

7. Tagung zur Königsideologie
Royal versus Divine Authority
Acquisition, Legitimization and Renewal of Power

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– Abstracts –

OPENING LECTURE

Who's the King?

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In the Egyptian realm the king and his authority represent one of the indisputable pillars that support the infallible functioning of the system, spreading both into divine and human spheres. A glimpse at the figure of the king and his authority through the prism of Egyptian written evidence provides us with a multi-layered image, depending mostly on the character and purpose of the respective texts. It is the aim of this paper to provide the audience with the opposite perspective – to demonstrate how the Egyptian king is seen and presented from the outside. A series of typologically different documents (Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic) from the Late Bronze Age mentioning the king of Egypt will be discussed in order to obtain a representative portrayal of the king and his authority towards the neighbouring political entities.

Who legitimizes whom? Priest and King in Temples

John Baines and Elizabeth Frood

(Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford)

Many works of Egyptology state that the king was the sole legitimate priest in temples and that non-royal priests acted by delegation from the king. With minor exceptions, this understanding of the position of priests appears not to be supported by textual material, whether it be priestly inscriptions, royal inscriptions, or narratives of various sorts. Similarly, few images of the king show him wearing attributes of priestly status, while in temples priests are for the most part depicted only in marginal areas or scenes. In this paper, we survey and assess selected examples of such textual and visual evidence, focusing in particular on features of priestly self-presentation, including role-play. We ask whether it is possible to arrive at a different understanding of the king's unquestionably dominant position as the representative of humanity in relation to temples and to the gods, whose office imparts a divine role to him. Is the king as much a beneficiary of ritual performance by priests as its protagonist?

Nyuserra's Paradigm – Solar Kings of Abusir and Their Aftermath

Miroslav Bárta

(Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague)

This inquiry represents a return to a topic I have been dealing with since the late 1990s. There is no doubt that the era of Nyuserra represents one of several major Old Kingdom anchoring points during which profound changes took place or assumed their definite contours within a relatively very short time span. I shall discuss the funerary landscape, the administrative development, the dynamics of 3D-art, the newly emerging religious concepts and also the approaching climate change as reflected (to a large degree) also by the recent archaeological projects in Abusir in order to shed new light on the rule of this outstanding king.

Die Erneuerung der königlichen Macht zum Anfang des Neuen Jahre im Fayum

Horst Beinlich

(Lehrstuhl für Ägyptologie, Universität Würzburg)

Eines der Hauptthemen des „Buches vom Fayum“ ist Regeneration der Natur durch den täglichen Kreislauf der Sonne und das jährliche Einsetzen der Überschwemmung, mit der Osiris ins Fayum kommt. Es soll in dem Vortrag gezeigt werden, daß auch das Ritual der Festigung und Erneuerung der königlichen Macht, das man als „confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an“ kennt, im Fayum durchgeführt wurde. Es wird weiter gezeigt, daß die Durchführung der Ritualhandlungen in konkreten Orten des Fayums erfolgte.

Royal Cult at the Beginning of Egyptian History: New Finds from Abydos

Laurel Bestock

(Egyptology & Ancient Western Asian Studies, Brown University)

In 2010 the Brown University Abydos Project discovered part of a previously unknown monumental mud brick structure in the Abydos North Cemetery. The architecture is unambiguously that of the so-called “funerary enclosures” or “Talbezirke” known from the First and Second Dynasties at Abydos. The associated pottery as well as the physical location of this monument suggest that it may be the earliest yet known of this type of structure, possibly dating to the reign of Narmer. Recent work by several scholars has suggested that these enclosures were not particularly funerary but rather had more general royal cultic application; the enclosure discovered by Brown thus potentially pushes back our knowledge of such cult practices to the very nascence of Egyptian kingship. This paper will examine the evidence for dating and use of the newly discovered structure and will compare it to other known enclosures. It will then discuss the implications of such enclosures for our understanding of early royal ideology and the relationship between royal and divine cult at the dawn of Egyptian history.

The Egyptian “re-conquest of Nubia” in the New Kingdom
Some thoughts on the legitimization of Pharaonic power in the South

Julia Budka

(Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)

Much has been written about the so-called “re-conquest of Nubia” during the early New Kingdom. Thanks to recent fieldwork in both Egypt and Nubia, our state of knowledge has markedly improved in the last years, but nevertheless the details of this period of Egyptian campaigns against the South are still not firmly established. The situation in Kush (Upper Nubia) is assumed to have been considerably different from Wawat (Lower Nubia) as the Kerma kingdom of Kush is known as a significant opponent of the Theban 17th Dynasty.

Besides Kerma city itself, Sai Island is the major settlement site of Kerma culture in Upper Nubia. As northern stronghold of the Kerma kingdom it is likely that it may have prevented the unchecked Egyptian expansion towards the South. Several Nubian campaigns are attested by king Ahmose and although the precise location of his battles are not known, it can be assumed that he was concerned with this northernmost outpost of the rival Kingdom of Kush on Sai Island. Several textual sources from Sai Island refer to Ahmose, including a sandstone statue of the king, presumably set up in the small local temple.

In general, temples for Amun are key factors in the new fortified Egyptian towns in Upper Nubia and constitute together with rock inscriptions and stelae our primary sources for royal activity in the area. Recent work by the French Sai Island Archaeological Mission (Lille 3 University) on Sai Island provides new evidence for the establishment of Pharaonic administration in Upper Nubia. Taking Sai Island and the evolution of its fortified town with a small sandstone temple as a case study, this paper will re-examine the evidence for Egyptian authority in Upper Nubia during the 18th Dynasty. The viceregal administration, gods and temples and royal cult are the focal points of the presentation.

The Ogdoad of Hermopolis and Divine Kingship in Dendara

Filip Coppens and Jiří Janák

(Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague)

The enthronizations of the goddesses Hathor and Isis, and the commemoration of the event, belong among the most important festivities celebrated within the temple precinct of Hathor at Dendara. While text and image related to these ritual festivities has been the object of several studies over the past decades, another group of scenes related to the divine kingship of these and other deities have barely been touched upon. The walls of the main temple of Hathor as well as the birth temple of Isis contain depictions portraying the presentation of a plethora of diverse crowns to both Hathor and her counterpart Isis, but on occasion also to Horus of Edfu and Harsomtus. A crucial role in the presentation of these crowns is played by the Ogdoad of Hermopolis, more often than not accompanied by Thoth *Dismegistos*, lord of Hermopolis.

The paper intends to offer an overview of these scenes and tender some initial suggestions regarding the reasons behind the presence of and the role played by the Ogdoad of Hermopolis in this context.

Royal Power in Times of Catastrophy

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(Ägyptologie, Universität Basel)

Favourable climatic and geo-ecological conditions encouraged the emergence of centralized power and of a significant elite culture in Ancient Egypt already at an early stage in history. While the Mediterranean sea in the north, the first Nile cataract in the south and the desert mountains in the east and west formed a natural shield around the Nile valley, the recurrent inundation of the Nile carrying fertile silts on arable land every year, rich resources of raw materials in the deserts and a fast communication, transportation and trade system based on river navigation made Egypt a privileged country in antiquity and may have had a strong impact on the Egyptian concept of royal power. But the propitious natural surroundings and life conditions could, at times, turn into life threatening forces and trigger catastrophes. Deluges and flash floods, earthquakes, famine and infectious diseases are well documented for premodern and modern times and also befell Ancient Egypt. Written evidence from Pharaonic times, is, however, scarce. This suggests that, in general, forces of nature and epidemics were understood as adverse interferences of the cosmic order by a divine power and, thus, deliberately excluded from the records. The paper will discuss relevant sources and text genres from which information can be drawn. It will examine the impact natural catastrophes exerted on the perception of royal power during and after periods of crisis and inquire which patterns, if any, were used to explain disaster and to make it consistent with the past and the present.

‘Receive the *Henu*-Crown – that you may shine forth in it like Akhty!’

Treatise on the cosmic symbolism of Egyptian composite crowns

Katja Goebis

(Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto)

It is common knowledge that Egyptian crowns, just like the royal or divine regalia of which they form part, function as semiotic signs, or sign complexes. As such, they convey a range of meanings that encompass basic, broad, notions such as “king(ship)”, but also more specific ones like “King of Lower Egypt” or “Son of Re”.

This paper will focus on the horned and feathered composite crowns that become increasingly popular in royal iconography from the later New Kingdom onwards. In tracing the use, etymology, and resulting semantic meaning of their key elements – feathers and horns – I suggest that these crowns actually

portray the ruler as part, representative, and facilitator of specific cosmo-mythological scenarios. This meaning flows from the king's role as deputy (*sty*) of the sungod on earth.

**Zur Rolle der Götter bei der Königswerdung Sesostris' I.
Die göttliche Legitimation des Königs am Beginn der 12. Dynastie.**

Rolf Gundlach

(Institut für Ägyptologie und Altorientalistik, Universität Mainz)

Der Begründer der 12. Dynastie, Amenemhet I., war, ausgehend von seiner Macht als Wesir Mentuhoteps IV., zum Königtum nur „politisch legitimiert“ gewesen. Seine Regierungszeit war dann ausgefüllt mit der sukzessiven Erringung der tatsächlichen Herrschaft. Demgegenüber hat sein Nachfolger Sesostris I. die Königsideologie der 12. Dynastie entscheidend ausgebaut. Seine „juristische Legitimation“ bestand zwar nur durch die Designation seitens seines Vaters, obwohl auch das umstritten ist, aber die „politische Legitimation“ mußte er sich nach der Ermordung Amenemhets I. erst verschaffen. Demgegenüber hat er sich intensiv um die „göttliche Legitimation“ bemüht.

Abgesehen von der Titulatur, mit der Sesostris die Tradition seines Vaters fortsetzte, und der „Lehre Amenemhets I.“ bildet die Dekoration der Chapelle Blanche das entscheidende ideologische Traktat der Königsideologie der frühen 12. Dynastie. Formal geht es zwar um Darstellungen des Kultvollzuges, aber diese sind verwoben mit Angaben zur Heranbildung des Prinzen Sesostris zum Königtum, deren Akteure die Mitglieder des thebanischen Pantheons waren.

Im Rahmen der 60 Szenen der Chapelle Blanche heben sich solche Szenen heraus, die jede für sich von der grundlegenden Entscheidung seitens der obersten Sonnengottform zugunsten des künftigen Königs ausgeht. Aus diesen Szenen läßt sich die Stufenfolge der Königswerdung bis zur Übernahme der Herrscherrolle durch den König rekonstruieren. Diese Struktur läßt sich szenenweise als Re-Reihe oder Atum-Reihe fassen. Der thematische Katalog dieser Reihen umfaßt mehr als zwei Dutzend „Systemstellen“ göttlicher Einwirkung auf die Entwicklung des Prinzen zum König, die wiederum von dem Rang der jeweiligen Gottheit abhängen.

Im Zentrum des Referates stehen die Funktionen der wichtigsten Götter in der Stufenfolge vom Prinzen Sesostris über den Rang des Amtskönigs bis zum Horus-Herrscher. Dabei spielen die Rituale von Thronbesteigung/Krönung in der „Abhandlung ‚Weiße Kapelle‘“ kaum eine Rolle. Entscheidend ist dagegen die Ideologie der Königswerdung.

Legitimation through Innovative Tradition
Perspectives on the use of old models in royal and private monuments during the Third
Intermediate Period

Claus Jurman

(Institut für Ägyptologie der Universität Wien)

It is widely acknowledged that the conscious revitalisation of old traditions are a recurring phenomenon in ancient Egyptian history, even though the period of their most conspicuous manifestation, i.e. from the 8th to the 6th centuries BC, are often referred to as the “age of archaism” *par excellence*. There is also a broad consensus that during that period the new emphasis placed upon cultural repertoires which had long since ceased to be part of a living tradition was at least partly connected with its legitimising power in the context of a polycentric political system featuring many foreign and indigenous competitors.

What the present paper seeks to address are the many ways in which “archaising” cultural repertoires were used by the different parts of élite society at different times in different parts of the country. It will ask, e.g., whether kings and warlords of Libyan descent made different uses of the past than autochthonous members of the Egyptian priesthood, or whether the development of the phenomenon went along similar lines in the north and the south of Egypt. Finally, it will also try to shed light on the potential significance of “old paradigms” at the intersection of royal ideology and politics, theology and decorum.

Niuserre and Fifth Dynasty Renewals at Giza: Legitimizing?

Mark Lehner

(Ancient Egypt Research Associates – AERA)

Reinvestigation by Ancient Egypt Research Associates (AERA) of the Menkaure Valley Temple (MVT) and Khentkawes Town (KKT) 100 years after Reisner's excavations and 80 years after Selim Hassan's affirms a distinct and significant middle phase of building and renewal in the MVT, most probably 5th Dynasty, temporally between Reisner's “first (Shepseskaf) and second (6th Dynasty) temples’.

AERA's work from 2008 – 2011 established that the so-called “Valley Temple of Khentkawes”, was actually an extension and Annex of the MVT, built upon a terrace that had to have been part of the original MVT plan already in the reigns of Menkaure and Shepseskaf. Matching vestibules, each with four alabaster column bases, in the Annex (opening north through a kind of *Eckbau*) and the MVT (opening east), may have been part of the 5th Dynasty renewal, which also finds expression in the rather organized middle phase of the settlement within the MVT court. A limestone pathway and ramp, rebuilt eastern magazine walls, a screen wall between the court and the inner temple, all belong to the middle phase of renewal. Prior to 2012 we tentatively related this middle MVT phase to the alterations in Menkaure's upper pyramid temple, including the construction in limestone of a new inner temple

between the main upper temple and the pyramid. The new inner temple was entered from the main temple through a doorway at the end of the northern corridor (space 13) into a square, single-pillar room that makes its appearance in the route back to the inner pyramid temple in the reign of Niuserre. This and other evidence, while scant, led to the inference the changes to Menkaure's cult structures took place in the reign of Niuserre.

In 2012 the AERA team excavated a complex of long bakeries surrounding a core administrative and residential unit on the terrace extending east of the wide basin and valley complex east of, and below, the Khentkawes Town. (The Khentkawes valley complex and basin came to light 2007 – 2009). For convenience, I dubbed this building the Silo Building Complex, after the fact of five round silos, no doubt for grain used for ingredients in the bakeries. While lying just beyond the eastern end of a long corridor sloping north from the end of the Khentkawes causeway and turning east to run along the northern side of the Khentkawes basin, the SBC seems to have been inaccessible from that corridor. In fact the SBC is certainly a 5th dynasty building set with the massive (2.60 m thick) walls of an enclosure that is older than the SBC, as well as older than the enclosure walls (near equal in thickness) that frame the north-eastern corner of the Khentkawes basin. The older enclosure (of the Khafre Pyramid Town?) makes a corner opening southeast, which contains the SBC. The SBC walls were built later against the older enclosure's walls.

The point of these finds for the theme, legitimization and renewal of power is that from so-far only limited excavation through the fill and through material from the collapse of the upper walls, the SBC yielded ten sealings with Niuserre's Horus name, including one with the title, between Niuserre's serekhs, "Overseer of the Pyramid, Great is Khafre." Smaller numbers of sealings were also found with the names Userkaf, Sahure and Raneferef. John Nolan presents the results of his detailed study of the sealings in a forthcoming report. These findings contribute to the discussion of continuity and legitimization between the 5th and 4th dynasties, and to the issue of two queen mothers named Khentkawes.

A Birth Myth in the Old Kingdom?

Mohamed Megahed and Hana Vymazalová

(Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague)

Male circumcision is well documented in ancient Egyptian reliefs and statuary, as well as in the physical remains of the Egyptian people from various periods. Scenes showing the operation of circumcision are however very rare and only a few examples have been preserved from the millennia of Egyptian history. One example of such a scene will be presented, which was found on a relief fragment discovered in the pyramid complex of the Fifth Dynasty king Djedkare. At the moment, it is the oldest preserved depiction of this operation known so far.

The evidence from later periods indicates that scenes of circumcision were part of a theme showing the birth of a god-king. The role of the circumcision scene within Djedkare's pyramid complex and its decoration program will be discussed. In addition, suggestions will be presented concerning the various gods and the round disk associated with the theme.

Royal Authority, Divine Legitimization

Topography as an element of acquisition, confirmation and renewal of power in the Fifth Dynasty

Massimiliano Nuzzolo

(Independent scholar, Italy)

Ever since the beginning of Egyptology, "kingship" has certainly been one of the main subjects. In this sense, the study of the interaction between the divine and the royal authority has always represented a key-point due to the fact that this dialectic relationship has widely and primarily shaped the main features of the Egyptian civilization throughout the millennia. Scholars have analyzed, from different perspectives, in which way this relationship has been realized and expressed, and they have focused on the architectural, decorative or textual means depending on the specific contexts and circumstances. However, an aspect of the issue to which scholarly debate has paid attention only recently is topography. How topography was used to indicate and, sometimes, to solve important matters concerning the acquisition, legitimation and renewal of power? Is it possible to find out a precise topographical arrangement and meaning in the location of one or more monuments? Can we discern a sort of intentional, religious topography in the sacred landscape of Egypt? These questions will be approached in the present paper as regards the area of the Fifth Dynasty main sites of Abusir and Abu Ghurab.

The King and Solar Deities in the Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III, Dahshur

Adela Oppenheim

(Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

The relationship between solar deities, the cult center of Heliopolis and royal pyramid complexes has been a much discussed. This talk will focus on the evidence for the relationship between the king and solar deities found in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition has excavated all or part of four structures dedicated to Senwosret III's cult: a Pyramid Temple attached to the east side of the pyramid, a North Chapel attached to the north side of the pyramid, a South Temple located to the south of the original complex, and a Causeway that connected the South Temple to an unexcavated Valley Temple. To date, inscriptions and imagery related to solar deities has been recovered most prominently in the Pyramid Temple and the Causeway.

The exterior walls of Senwosret III's pyramid temple included a complex series of inscriptions with multiple and prominent references to (Re)-Horakhty. Inside the structure, a room depicting deity processions on all four walls (a so-called square antechamber) contained depictions of nine souls or spirits of Heliopolis along with other Heliopolitan deities; the group filled an entire register of the presumed north wall. Senwosret III's pyramid temple not only included prominent references to solar deities, but other elements of its decorative program suggest the possibility that the structure was conceived as a cult place in which deities were worshipped along with the king.

The interior walls of Senwosret III's causeway were decorated with an extensive series of elaborate scenes that depicted complex aspects of the ancient Egyptian worldview. Several of these depictions can be connected to the solar deity Re. A sequence of scenes has been shown to illustrate the conception, birth, childhood and affirmation of pharaoh, a narrative that was previously believed to have arisen only under the reign of Hatshepsut. The Senwosret III sequence clearly shows that the divine father of the pharaoh was Re, a pictorial account of the common Egyptian epithet that describes the king as the "son of Re." Other scenes in the causeway also allude to the power of Re, specifically a sequence that illustrates the seasons of the Egyptian year. These complex arrangements include repeated and prominent re-signs, and may suggest that a kind of calendar was illustrated on the walls of the causeway. As is known from other contexts, the seasonal cycle was closely identified with Re.

Finally, the question will be addressed as to whether or not the partially excavated South Temple can be connected with solar deities. Although its form seems to have parallels with New Kingdom temples, the exact meaning of the South Temple has yet to be determined, and the question as to whether or not it had a solar connection must be considered.

Sanctuary *meret* and the Royal Cult

Miroslav Verner

(Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague)

The paper deals with the as yet archaeologically unidentified Old Kingdom sanctuaries *meret* and their role in the royal cult.

Feast Calendars, Royalty and Economics: A Trio of Unwilling Associates

Anthony Spalinger

(Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Auckland)

A discussion of the royal and divine aspects of the officially promulgated festival calendars in Ancient Egypt, commencing with Niuserre and concluding with the Graeco-Roman Period.

CLOSING LECTURE

The Power of the Preserved Body

Embalming and Display of Communist Leaders with a Focus on Georgi Dimitrov and Klement Gottwald

Luděk Vacín

(Freie Universität Berlin)

The mausolea of communist leaders, a major component of Stalinist symbolic politics, are still shrouded in mystery. Some are destroyed, like Dimitrov's in Sofia, Gottwald's in Prague and Neto's in Luanda. The Lenin mausoleum in Moscow is basically defunct. Yet the Ho Chi Minh mausoleum in Hanoi, Mao's in Beijing and the Kumsusan mausoleum complex of the Kim dynasty in Pyongyang keep fulfilling their task of a powerful symbol of a different political, social and economic order, with the embalmed cadavers of the founding fathers embodying the supposed eternal duration of that order and thereby perpetuating its legitimacy.

While the destroyed and defunct mausolea continue to be a subject of rumours and fables widely circulating among citizens of the respective countries, and globally among journalists and some scholars, very little is currently known about what actually transpired in a communist mausoleum.

This talk will offer first an overview of the cultural background and ideological reasons for the origin of communist mausolea in general. Second, it will demonstrate the details of the Soviet embalming method and the symbolic meaning of displaying the leader's body, based on archival documents relating to the mausoleum of Bulgarian leader Georgi Dimitrov (on display 1949–1990) and Czechoslovak president Klement Gottwald (on display 1953–1962). The recently declassified archives of these mausolea currently represent the only freely accessible documentation of its kind. The formerly top secret material to be presented in this talk was never seen before by anybody else than the embalmers.

The talk will conclude with a discussion of the relationship of the embalmers to the practice of preserving dead bodies in the past. It will be shown that the Soviet, and to a lesser extent also the Bulgarian, specialists were fully aware that their preservation work in a monumental tomb constituted a continuation of a tradition inherited from antiquity, and they did not hesitate to publicly acknowledge that, at the same time highlighting the fundamental differences between the context and method of ancient and modern body preservation. They were (and still are) proud of their work while the attitude of particularly the Soviet population to the mausoleum project certainly was not negative. The attitude of the Czech specialists, however, was marked by indifference or even shame while the mausoleum project met with condemnation among the majority of Czechoslovaks.