

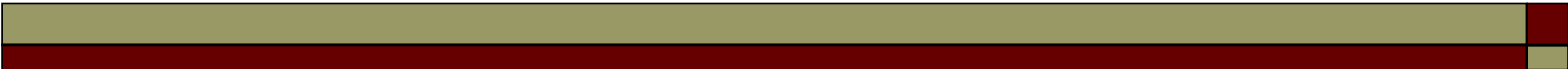
Week 5

When cult meets economics:
rituals, temples and priests

AHAR7004

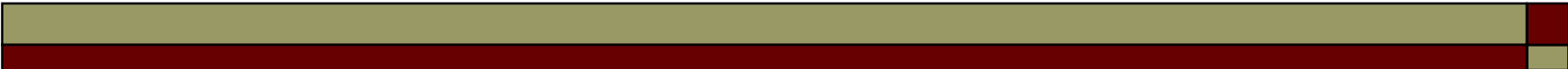
Ancient Egyptian Religion

Dr. Katharina Zinn



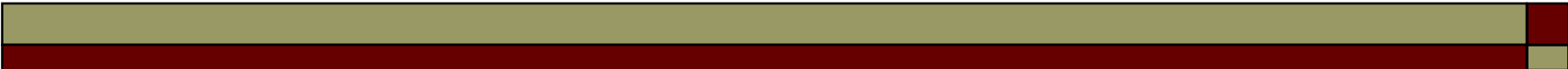
The nature of religion

- ❑ The myth(odology) (and theology)
- ❑ The cult
- ❑ Gods and Goddesses
- ❑ **Temples**
- ❑ Festivals and Processions
- ❑ Kingship
- ❑ Afterlife beliefs



The nature of religion: temples as institutionalised religion

- ❑ The myth(odology) (and theology)
- ❑ The cult
- ❑ Gods and Goddesses
- ❑ **Temples**
- ❑ Festivals and Processions
- ❑ Kingship
- ❑ Afterlife beliefs



The nature of religion: business done by priests

- The myth(odology) (and theology)
- **The cult**
- Gods and Goddesses
- **Temples**
- **Festivals and Processions**
- Kingship
- Afterlife beliefs

The nature of religion: business done by priests

- ❑ The myth(odology) (and **theology**) → phrased by priests
- ❑ **The cult** → performed by priests on behalf of the king
- ❑ Gods and Goddesses → priest communicate with them as substitutes of the king
- ❑ **Temples**
- ❑ **Festivals and Processions**
- ❑ Kingship → close relationship as king is the highest priest – role model
- ❑ Afterlife beliefs → very strong lay priesthood throughout all layers of society

Karnak: Sacred Lake

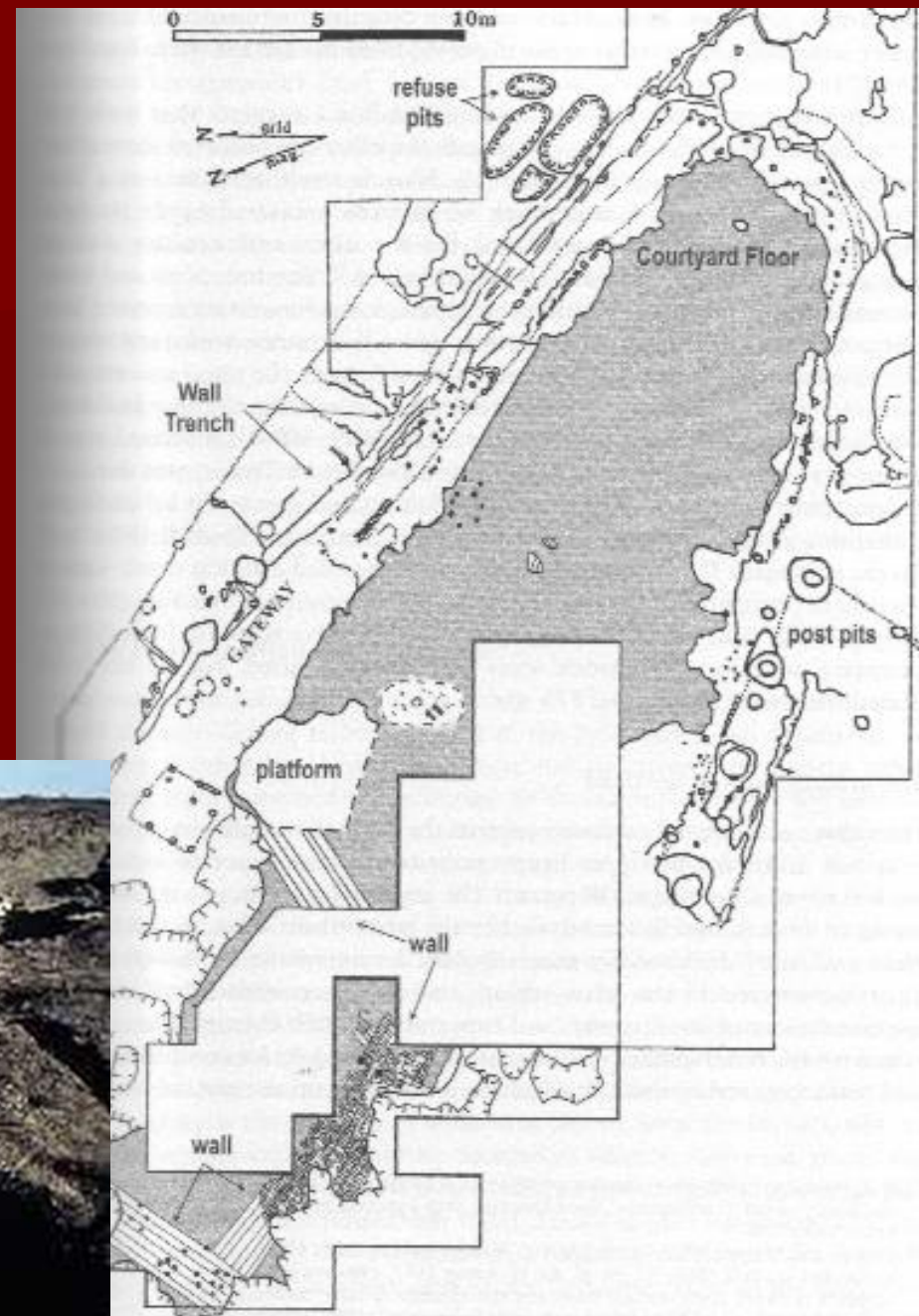


Ancient Egyptian temples

- ❑ temple as focus of Egyptian state religion
- ❑ **Not** a place of communal worship
- ❑ Rituals to underpin theology: after rigorous purification king (or priestly delegates) conducted rituals → offerings needed to please god(s) + maintain universal order Maat
- ❑ Public participation only during festivals: god is leaving temple

Early temples:

HK29A – Excavated Areas



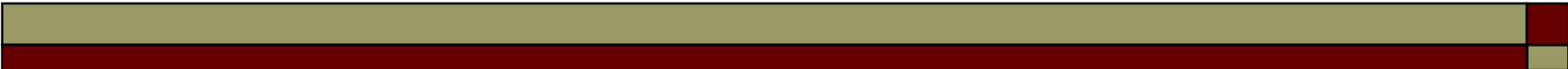
4.2 Ceremonial enclosure HK29A, Naqada II, Hierakonpolis





Comparison structure with Narmer- Macehead



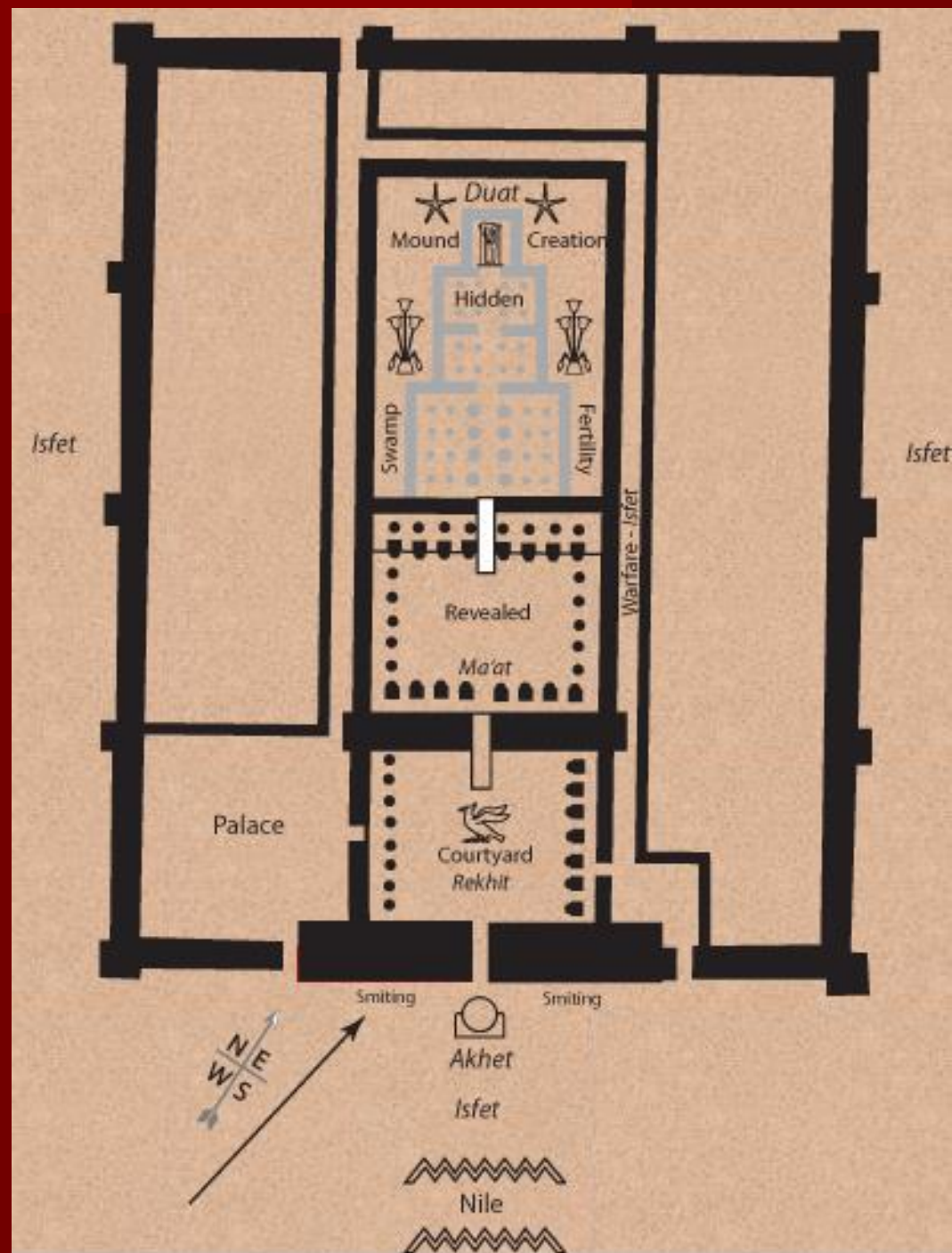


Ancient Egyptian temples - architecture

- temples = metaphor for universe and creation

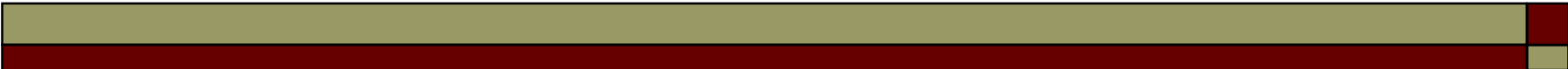
The Egyptian Temple as Cosmos

(ideal image superimposed on Medinet Habu)



"Temple as Cosmos"

- ❑ temple planning reflected the solar ideology of the state, materializing the cosmology of the sun god Re's daily cycle of rising and setting
- ❑ massive pylons represent the *akhet* (horizon)
→ sometimes despite of real orientation (more North-South than East-West)
- ❑ Remember: Nile as main compass referent → Egyptian temples follow

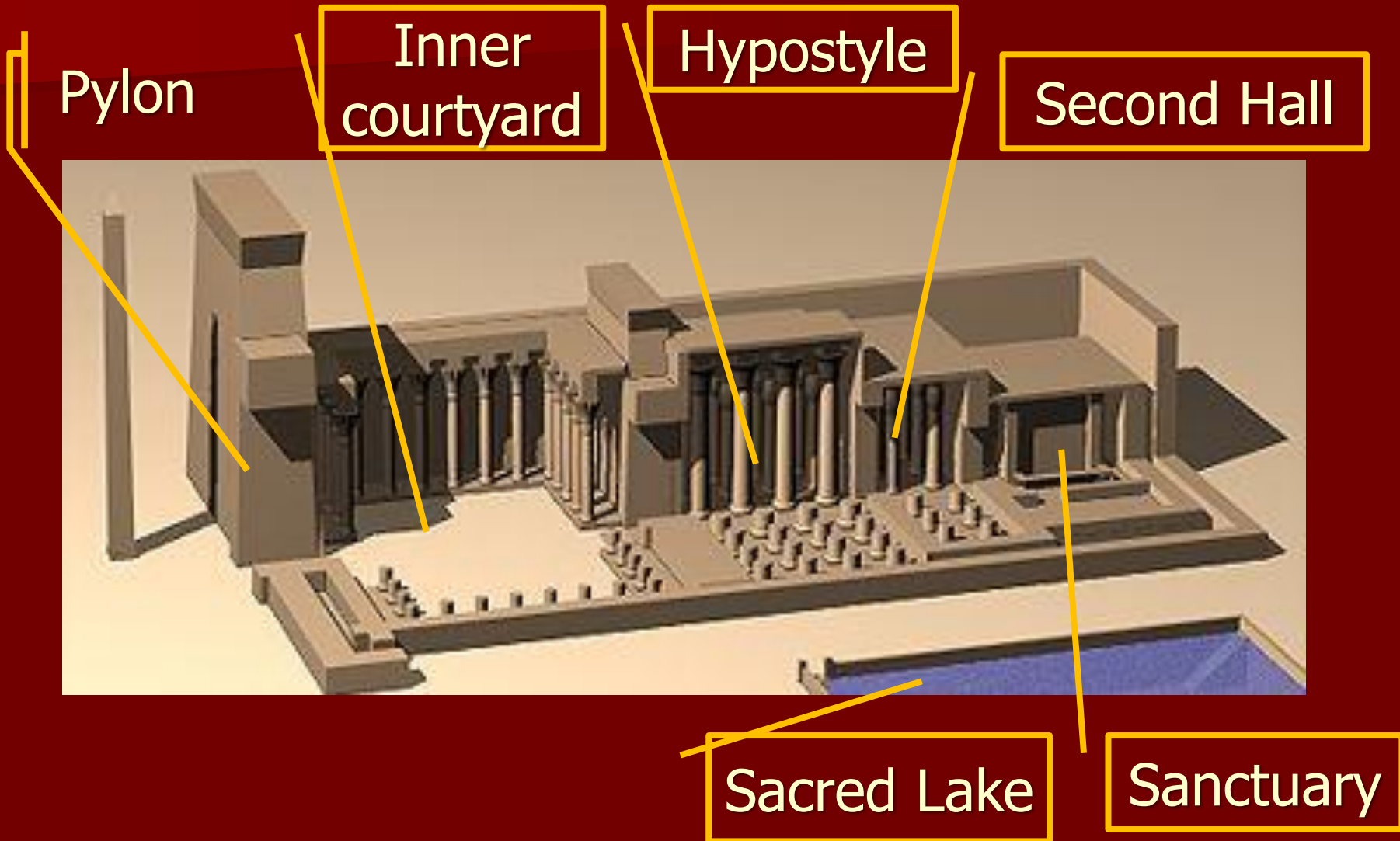


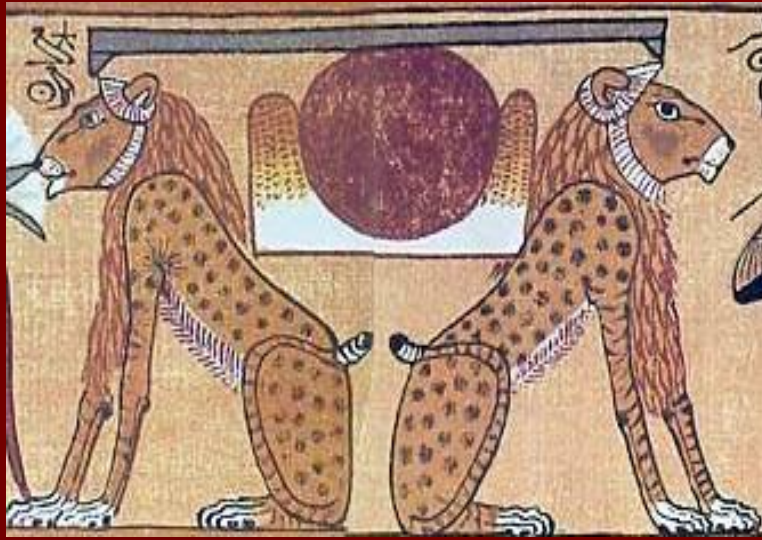
Ancient Egyptian temples - architecture

- ❑ temples = metaphor for universe and creation
- ❑ floor rose through courts, ceiling lowered
- ❑ halls of columns shaped like papyrus and lotus plants representing landscape of first creation
- ❑ ceilings decorated with stars → sky
- ❑ sanctuary was at the highest point, representing the Primeval Mound (seat of creation)

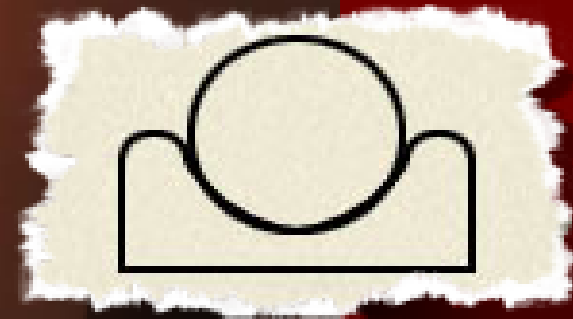
The ideal temple in Ancient Egypt

(from 18. dyn., 1500BC onwards)





Temples and nature: Theological interpretations

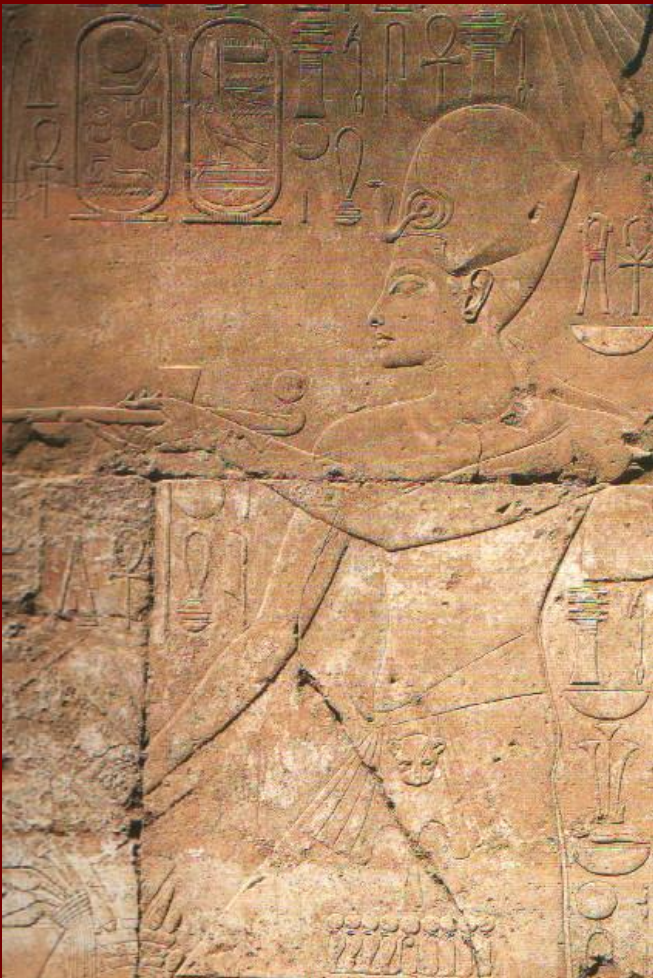


Interior decoration – reliefs

(showed the king performing the cult rituals of the god)

Opet festival:

Tutankhamun (Luxor)



Sokar and Min festivals (Medinet Habu: exterior of south wall → list of festivals)



Exterior decoration – reliefs
showed him repelling the forces of
chaos – **Edfu**



Exterior decoration – reliefs: battle scenes

Seti I Karnak Hypostyle
North



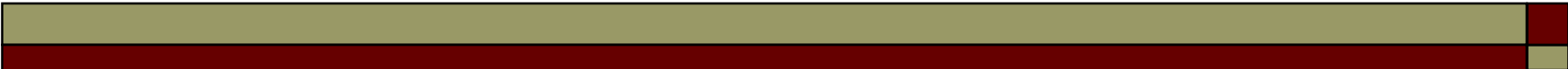
Ramses II Karnak
Hypostyle South

Architectural extra (equipment)

**Flagpoles – determine
importance of temple
(Tomb of Panehsi)**

Barque shrines



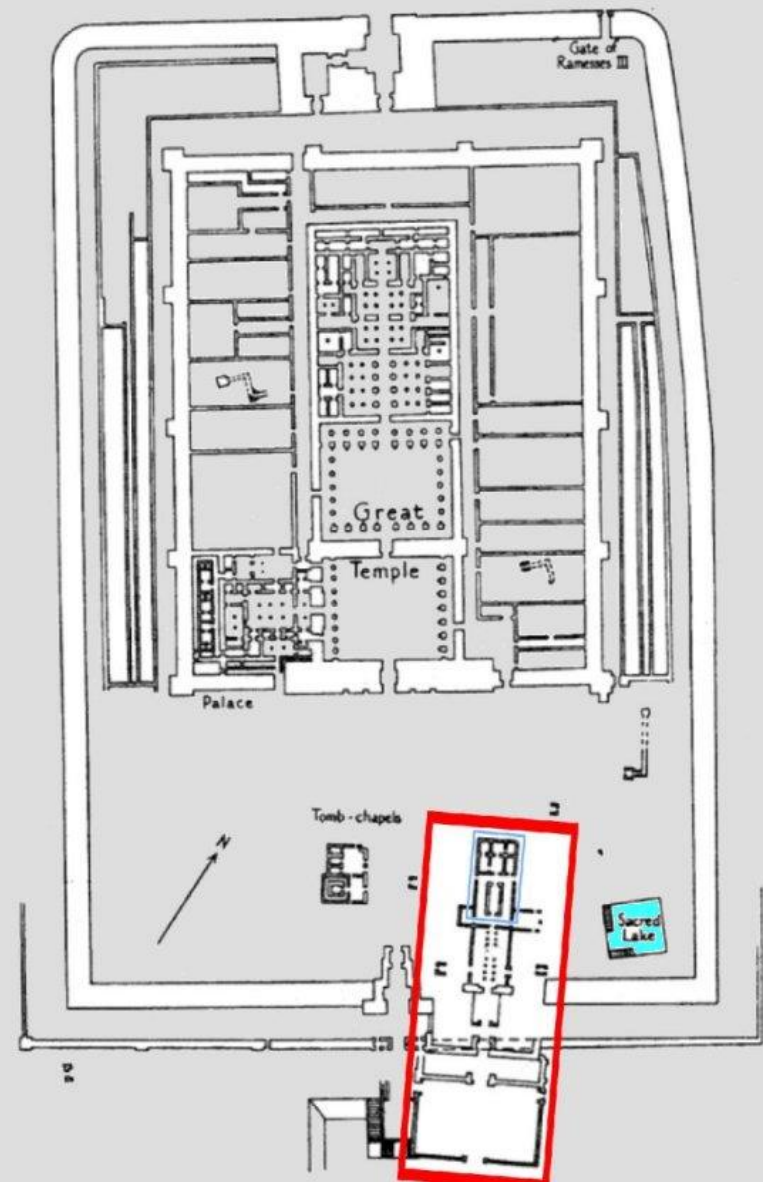
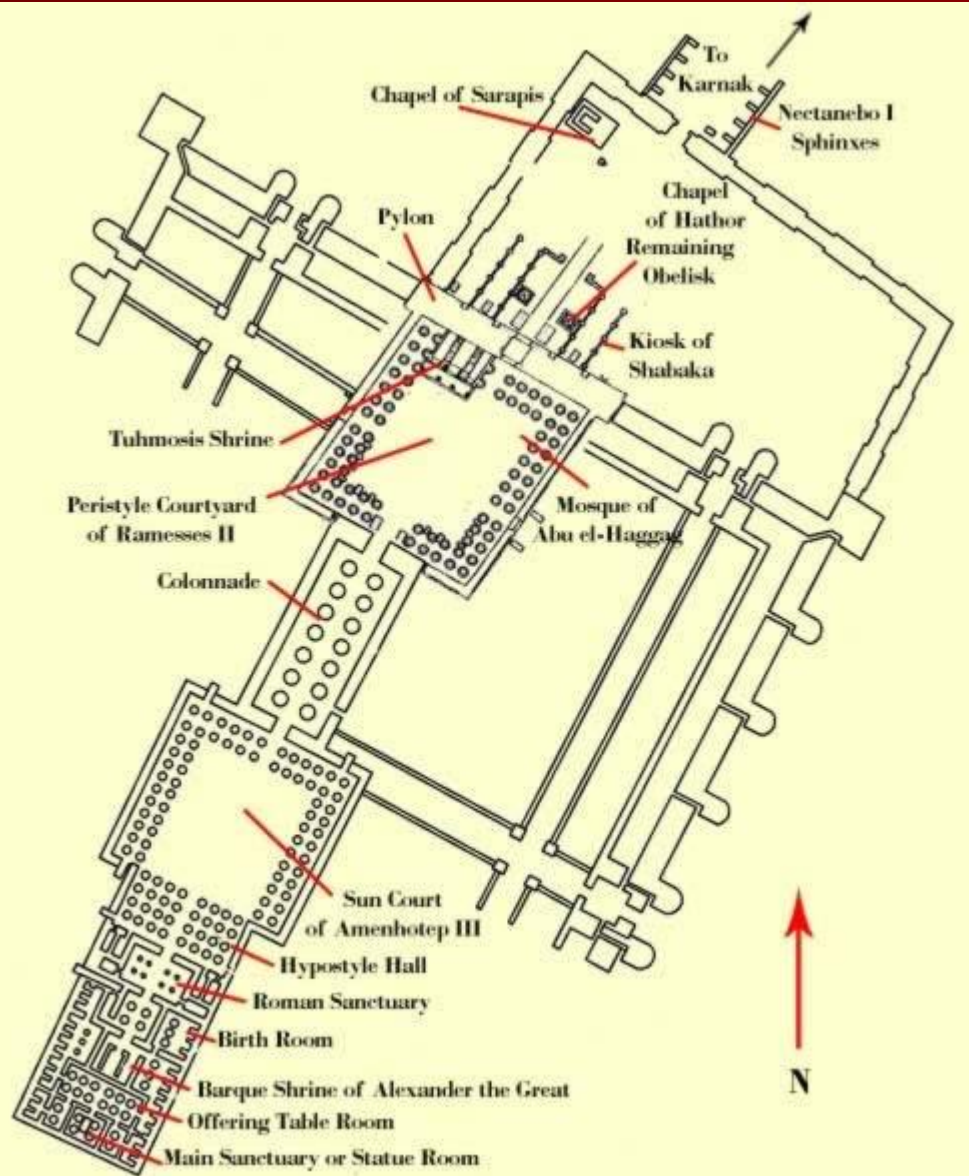


Ancient Egyptian temples – economy

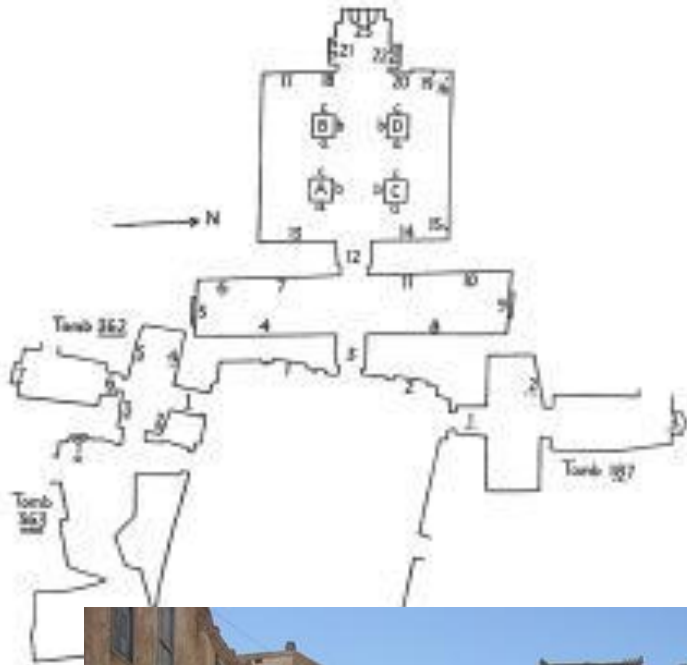
- interior decoration: of the temple showed the king performing the cult rituals of the god, while the exterior showed him repelling the forces of chaos.
- Temples = pivotal role in economy of Egypt
 - Each = endowed with large areas of agricultural land → employing large workforces
 - main temple surrounded by granaries, storerooms and slaughterhouses
 - Processing + stored of offerings → redistributed among the priesthood and other staff

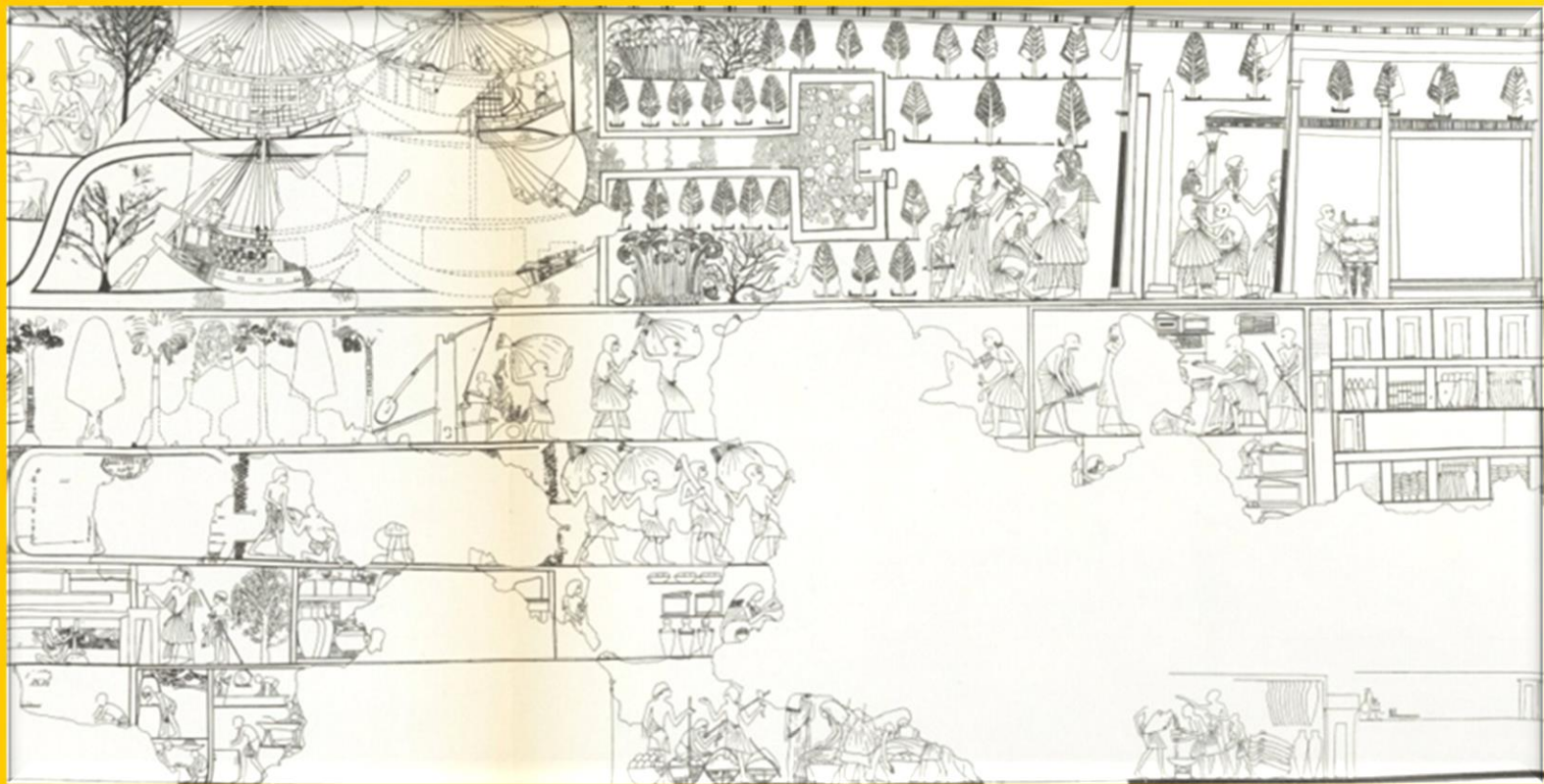
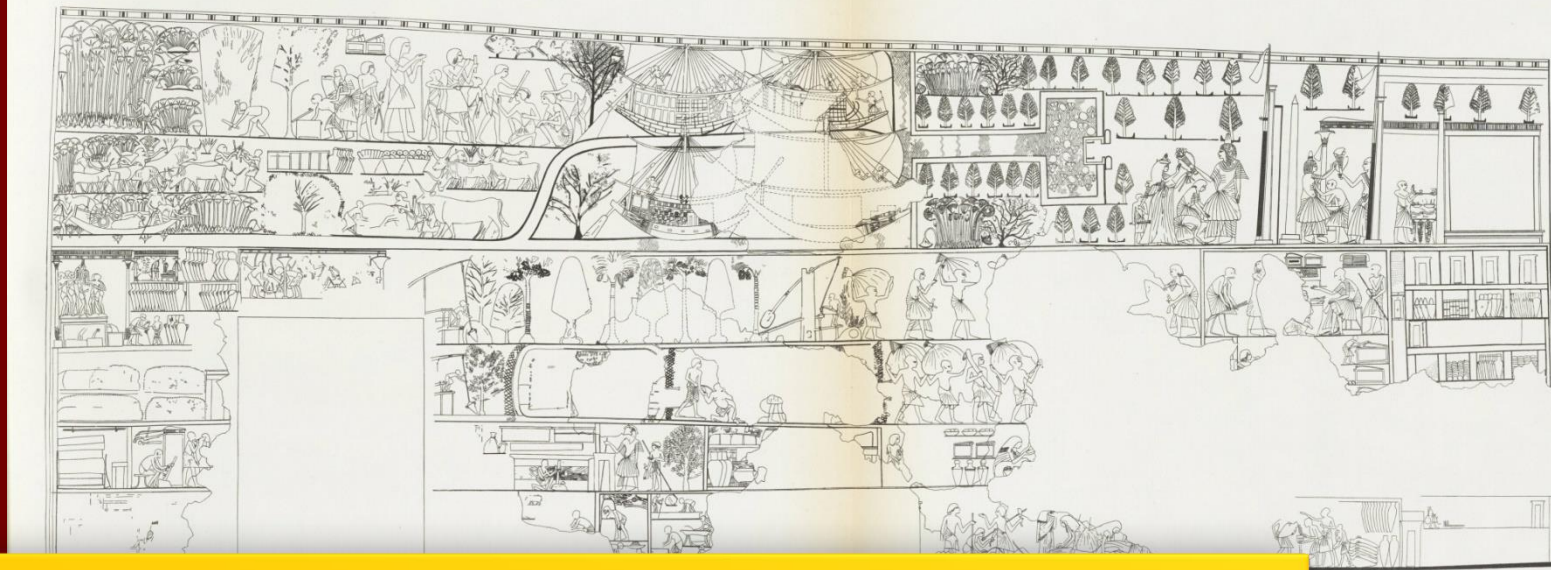
NK

- ❑ Temple layouts: compact, regularly disposed structure (Luxor – A III, Medinet Habu – R III)
- ❑ Development of the ideal temple layout
- ❑ Extensions of temples (growing inside and outside)



TT49 Neferhotep (El-khokha, Aye)





Model of a Votive Temple Gateway at Heliopolis (49.183)

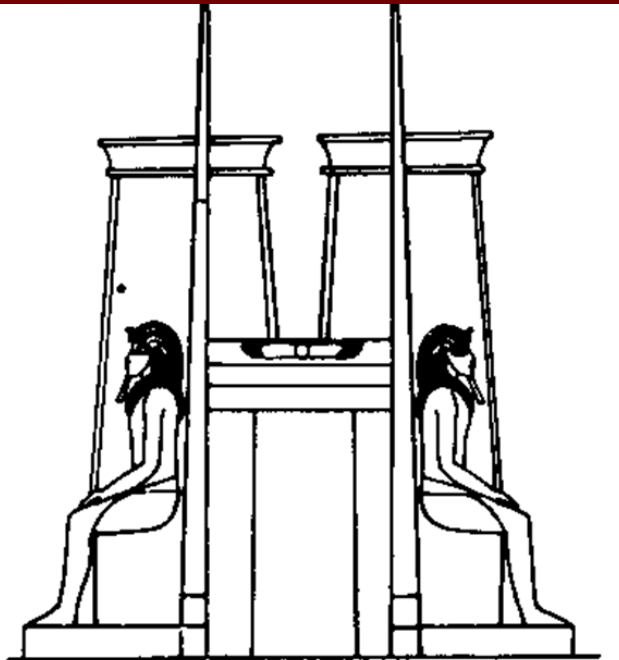
reconstruction worked up from 19th dyn. base of model temple gateway → decorated: representations Sety I making offerings

bottom = cast from original + painted brown to match quartzite stone

statues, flagstaffs, pylon, and sidewalls (were lost from original_ → reconstructed to fit depressions in the base result simulates basic elements of typical NK temple







The religious system (within
temples): priests

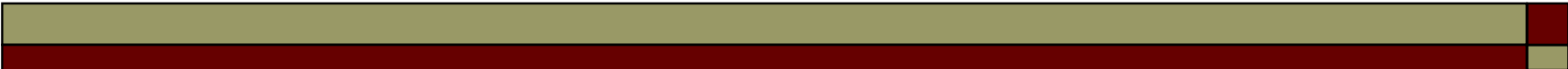
Priest of Hapy

bronze statuette
represents a priest of
Hapy (god of the
annual Nile inundation)

(Temple of Hapy in
Aswan?)

20th Dynasty (1200-
1085 BC)





Priests

- ❑ Servant of god – hem netjer
- ❑ Worked full- (NEW from NK onwards), part-time or as lay person in temple
- ❑ not always (well) versed in religious doctrine (smaller temples)
- ❑ Most did not come into contact with cult image
- ❑ In theory: only king had privilege to attend god (as high priest)
- ❑ In praxis: king's authority delegated to chief priest (First Prophet): **Delegation of Royal Power** → had therefore significant power and even influence in secular matters
- ❑ Second prophet = involved in all economic matters
- ❑ Lower ranks: wab-priests: attended numerous other duties

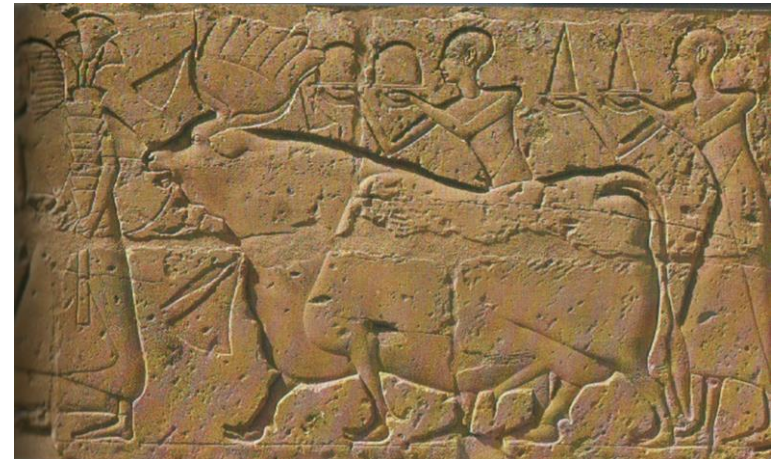
The different roles of the priests

<i>Hem-Netier</i> <i>servant of god</i>	The "Hem-Netier" prepared and carried forward offerings to the god and assisted at ceremonies and processions. They had access to the sanctuary where the divine image was kept, and controlled the entrance to the temple.
<i>Hem-Netier Tepey</i> <i>high priest</i>	The position of "Hem-Netier Tepey" or "overseer" was used at cult centres where there were a large number of hem-netier (servants of god). They would often work on their land or tend to their jobs in the state administration when they weren't doing their temple service. Generally this role was performed by high ranking individuals, often the sons or sons-in-law of the pharaoh, and on occasions even the viziers.
<i>Wa'eb</i> <i>pure one</i>	The "Wa'eb" would assist the hem-netier by carrying out lesser tasks in the maintainance of the temple and its rituals. He assured the purity of the ceremonial rooms, the people, instruments and tools. A basic but important role, all priests would have been trained as a wa'eb, and as such, could always act as a wa'eb if necessary.
<i>Kheri-Heb</i> <i>lector priest</i>	The "Kheri-Heb" would recite, sing or chant rites directly from the sacred books at ceremonies and processions. They also recited formulae and prayers to appeal to the gods, and functioned as oracles for people who sought out advice of the deities. Distinguished by a broad band worn diagonally across their chests, several kheri-heb could be based at each greater temple, taking turns to perform their functions.
<i>Sem priest</i>	The "Sem" priests performed the elaborate rituals at mummifications and burials. They are particularly associated with the "opening of the mouth" ritual, and are shown distinctively dressed in a panther or leopard skin.

Servant of God / the divine: *Hem-Netjer*



- ❑ oldest clerical title, known from the 1st Dynasty
- ❑ priests prepared and carried forward offerings to the god and assisted at ceremonies and processions, had access to the sanctuary where the divine image was kept, and controlled the entrance to the temple
- ❑ large cult centers with a great number of Servants of God had overseers or high priests of the priesthood



High Priest: *hem-netjer tepy*

- ❑ From Old Kingdom
- ❑ High Priest (*hem-netjer-tepy*) or Overseer (*jmj-r3 hm.w-ntr*) used at cult centers with large number of Servants of God (*hem-netjers*)
- ❑ Specific temples – specification of this title, saying something of what the work involved entailed
- ❑ → Overseeing distribution of offerings to all temples: Chief of the Servants of God of Upper and Lower Egypt

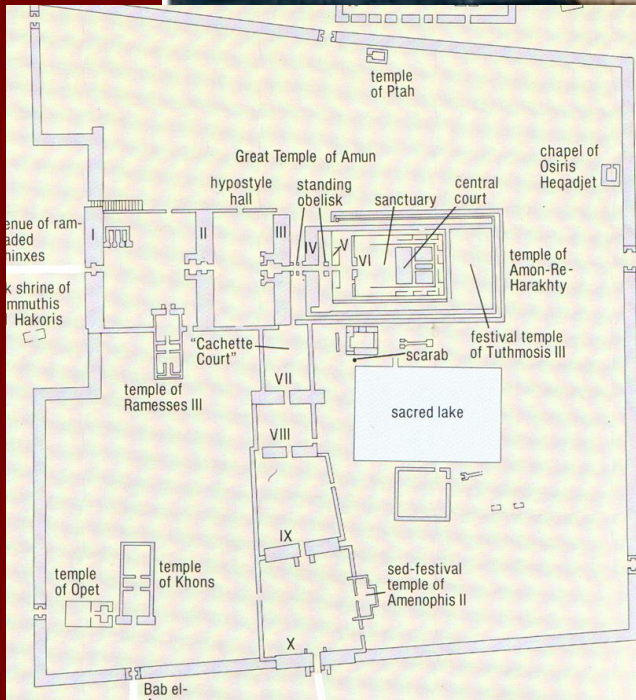




Wab-priests

- ❑ Perform lesser tasks requisite to maintaining temples and rituals, taking part in processions
- ❑ → had to be pure – wab
- ❑ Leader: Great Wab – handles instruments and cultic objects
- ❑ Not allowed to enter sanctuary or feed themselves in offering hall, had rations in tertiary sacred zone between enclosure wall and temple proper
- ❑ Could be promoted to hem-netjer (from NK onwards)

Karnak: Sacred Lake

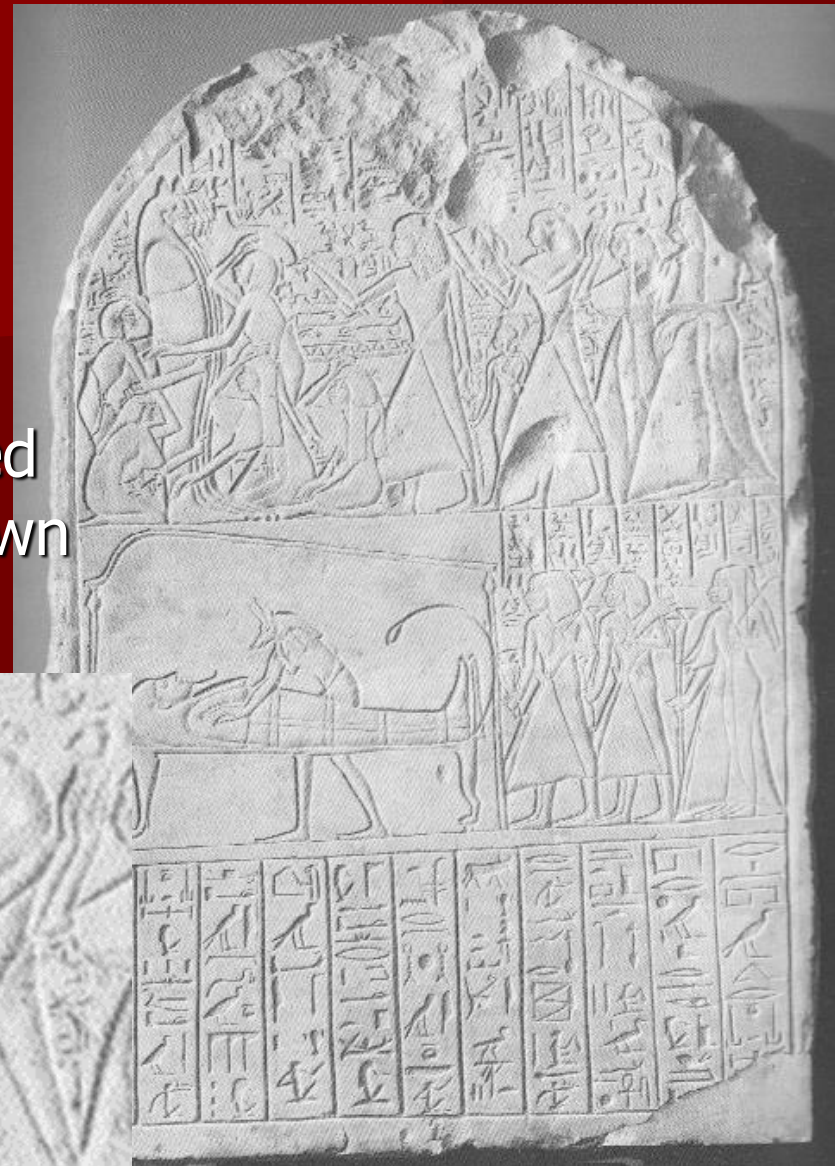


Lector Priest: *kheri-heb*

- ❑ Kheri-heb: 'He Who Is Over the Festive Scroll': recited, sang, chanted rites at ceremonies and processions, responsible for correct performance, several at greater temples: taking turns
- ❑ functioned as oracles for people who sought out advice of the deities
- ❑ broad band worn diagonally across their chests, Ptolemaic Period: band with 2 tall ostrich feathers on head ('Wing-wearers' – Gr: Pterophoroi)
- ❑ hold additional clerical titles (high priests, overseers of priests, inspector priest)
- ❑ Chief Lector Priest (*kheri-hb kheri-tp*)

Stela of Neferaaabet
Deir el Medina, BM EA305
(19th dyn)

Text from Book of the Dead
Opening of the Mouth
Rite performed by son of the deceased
under direction of a lector priest, shown
behind son, reading papyrus



Sem-priest (sem)

- ❑ Mortuary priest, as such should not be seen in temple
- ❑ However, many gods (as Ptah, Sokar) has associations with funerary religion
- ❑ So their High Priest is also called Sem and wears distinctive dress: panther skin, often sidelock of youth, as well as unique necklace (sakh – stylized jackal with human hands)



Sem priest (TT 62: Tutankhamun) the (future) king as priest officiating burial



High Priest of Amun – Karnak

(Bakenchons, RII, Munich)

- Particularly powerful and independent
- Distinctive title: wen aawj (en) pet – Opener of the Gate of Heaven (= opener of the doors of the divine image's shrine)
- During TIP became equally powerful to pharao



Red Chapel, Karnak:

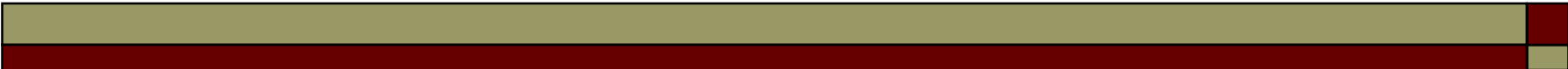
Upper register: Female acrobats perform, and harpists play for Maat-Ka-Re.

Lower register: Male dancers(?) pay homage and women play sistra for Maat-Ka-Re.



NK statistics (19th dyn.):

- Divine cult complexes:
 - Small – Temple of Anubis, Fayum: 6 permanent priests, 4 phyles with 11 part-time personnel each
 - Large – Karnak, Amun-Temple: 81,322 male personnel and fields, beasts, gardens, own market towns, work yards and boats



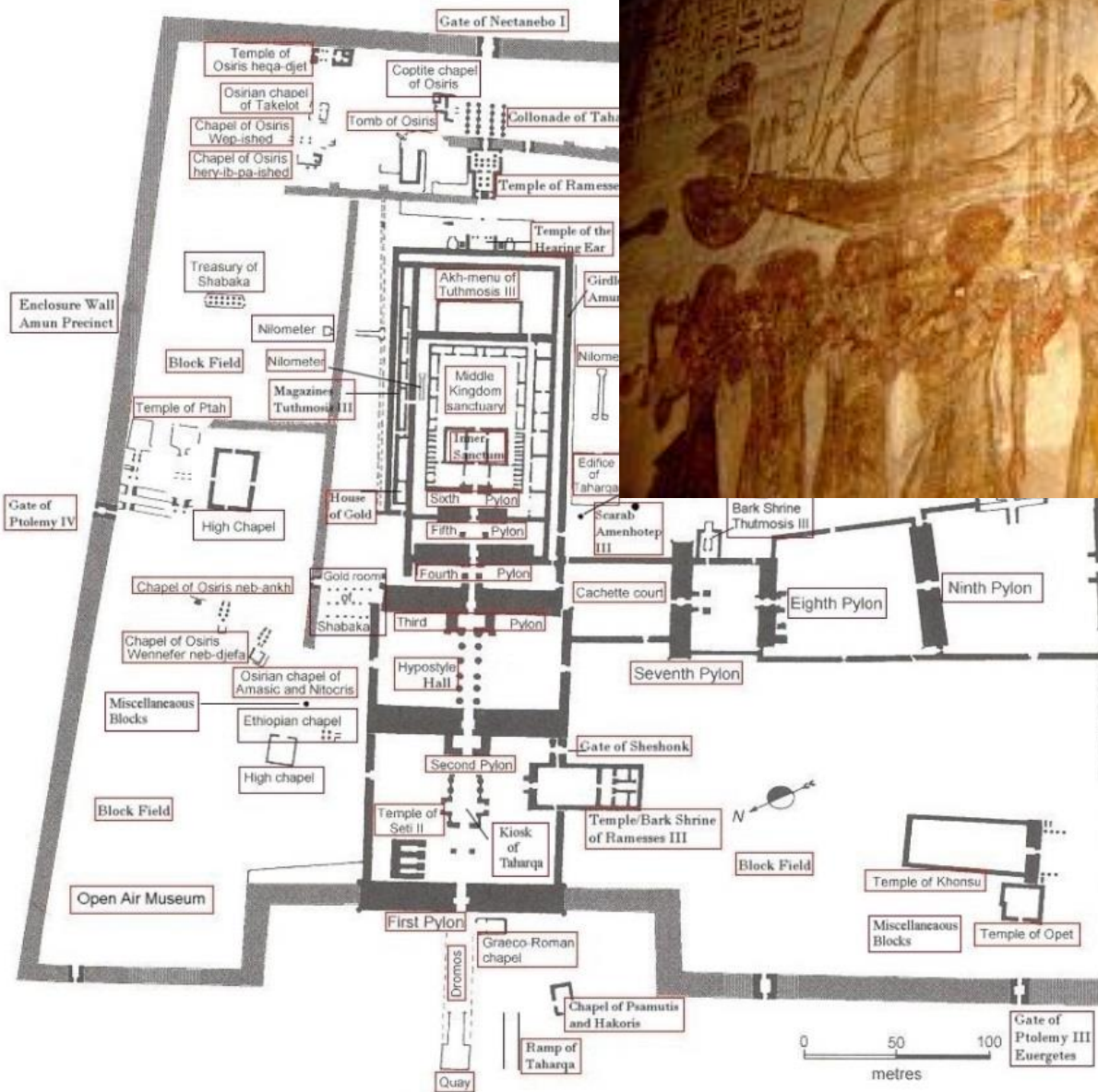
The nature of religion

- ❑ The myth(odology) (and theology)
- ❑ The cult
- ❑ Gods and Goddesses
- ❑ Temples
- ❑ Festivals and Processions
- ❑ Kingship
- ❑ Afterlife beliefs

Reading - Cult

- ❑ David, R. (2002). *Religion and magic in Ancient Egypt*. London.
- ❑ Ritner, R. K. (1993) *The mechanics of Ancient Egyptian magical practice*. Chicago.
- ❑ Baines, J. (2006) “Display of magic in Old Kingdom Egypt”. In K. Szpakowska, ed., *Through a glass darkly: magic, dreams, and prophecy in ancient Egypt: 1–32*. Swansea.
- ❑ TeVelde, H. (1970) “The God Heka in Egyptian Theology” *Jaarbericht van het Voorasiatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 21: 175-87.
- ❑ Shafer, B. (Ed.) 1991. *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*. Ithaca & London: Cornell Univ. Pr.
- ❑ Zinn, K. 2012. Cults: Divine. In: *Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. New York: Wiley.
- ❑ Barta, W. 1972. Kult. In: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*. pp. 839-847. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

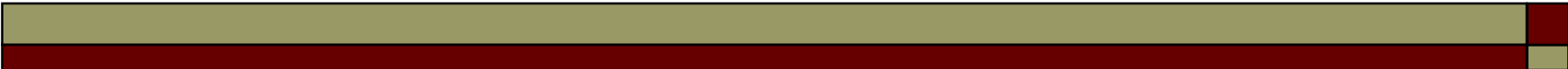
Cult





Cult

- = expression of religious ideas and values
 - in ritual actions
 - in verbal expressions
- → “divine cult” = idea that every human activity is
 - authorized by a divine order
 - aimed at contact with a particular celestial power
- manifested in natural phenomena or on-going cycles of life
 - sunset to sunrise to sunset
 - birth to death,
 - endlessly repeated as an act of on-going creation

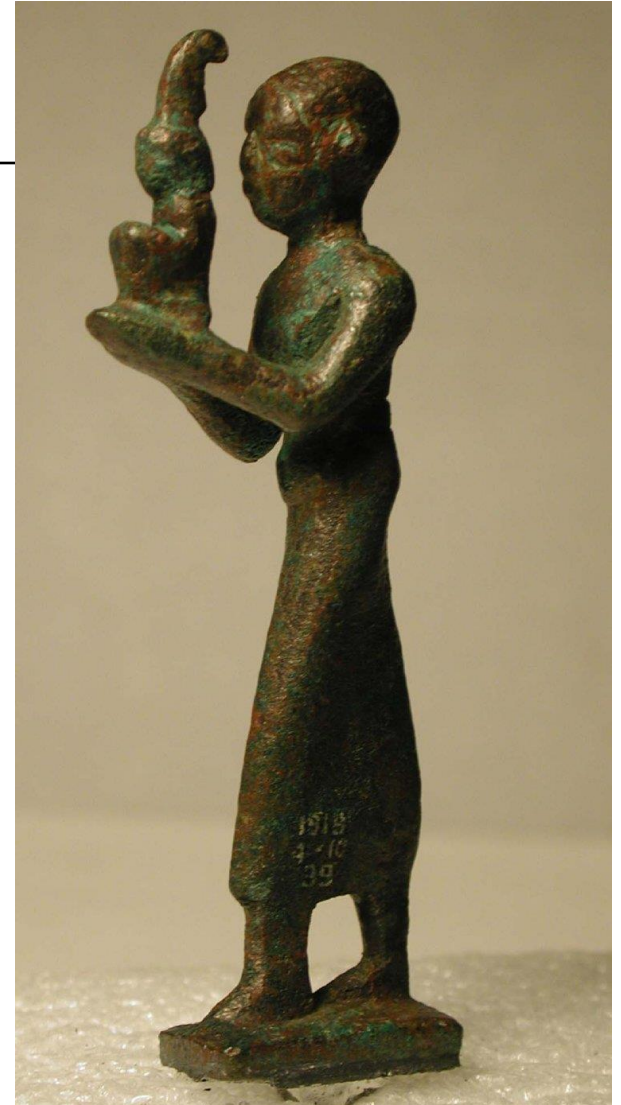


Cult as constant creation

- ❑ kept alive through continuous religious ceremonies + worship of gods
 - sun god as most important
- ❑ King (earthly representative of the sun) ensured happening of necessary rituals for the gods in temples
- ❑ Mostly covered by divine cult: focus on the gods (netjerw) as beneficiaries of divine cult
 - all entities called netjerw (people or things) could be beneficiaries of rituals
 - ❑ gods in the strictest sense
 - ❑ deified kings or other persons deified after their death
 - ❑ animals considered manifestations of gods

Cult recipients

- divine cult
 - Gods, goddesses



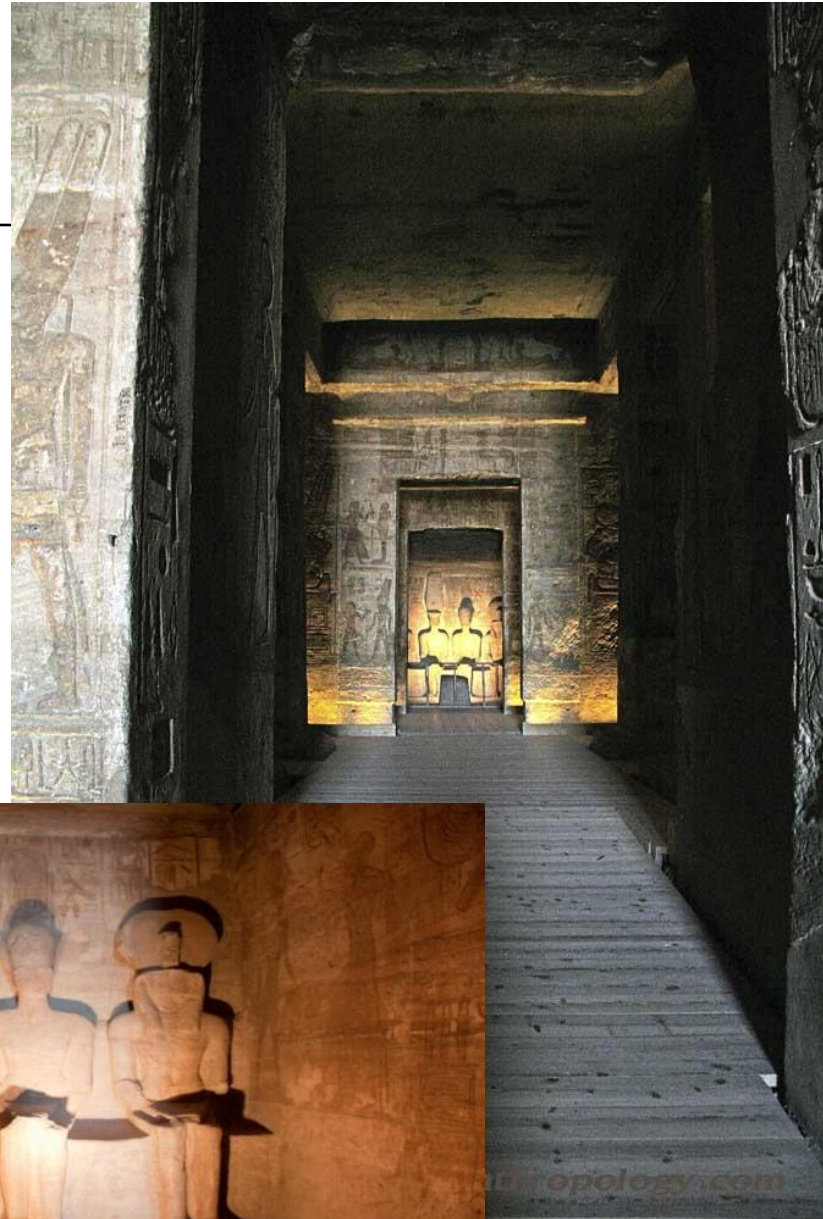
Cult recipients

- divine cult
 - Gods, goddesses
 - deceased kings



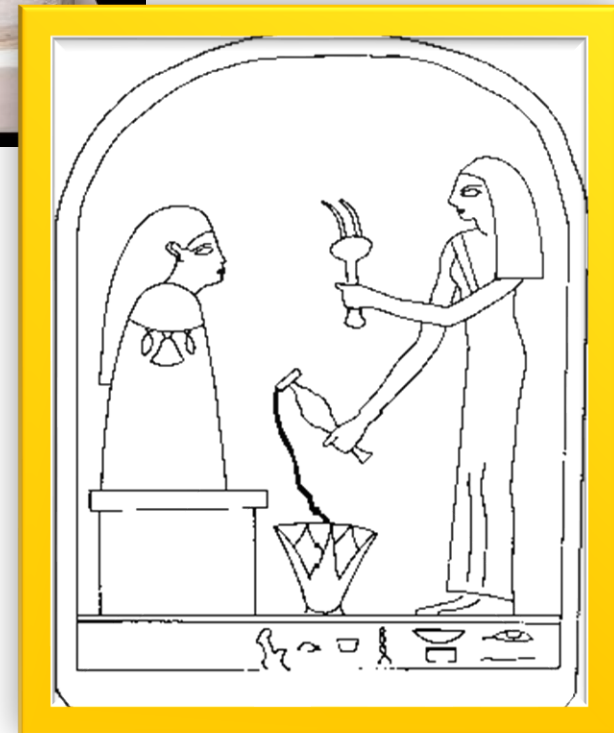
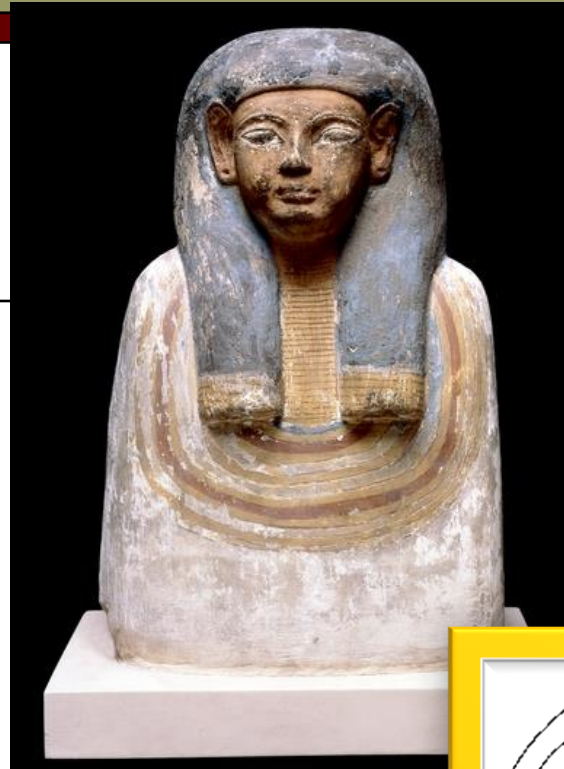
Cult recipients

- divine cult
 - Gods, goddesses
 - deceased kings
- royal or ruler cult
 - Living / reigning kings



Cult recipients

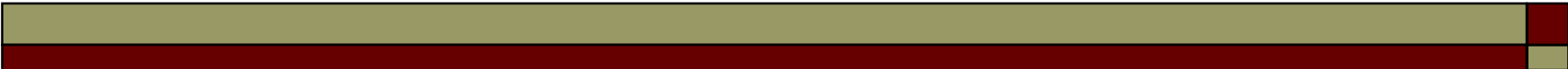
- divine cult
 - Gods, goddesses
 - deceased kings
- royal or ruler cult
 - Living / reigning kings
- private mortuary cult
 - deceased private individuals



Cult

- ❑ involved a huge variety of rituals including provision of offerings
- ❑ Rituals provided a mechanism to maintain fabric and process of universe (from upholding Maat to guaranty afterlife for a deceased relative)
- ❑ no specific word for cult, worship or ritual
- ❑ “doing things” (iret ikhet – *jr.t-jh.t*)





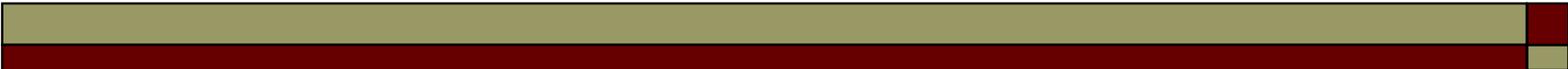
Cult - making offerings in rituals

- ❑ men and women make offerings of food, drink, clothing and ointment
- ❑ Directed to divine forces
 - made accessible in the form of images (3-dimensional images more important, but also 2-dimensional images)
 - images not themselves divine forces, but visualisations of divine beings for human beings



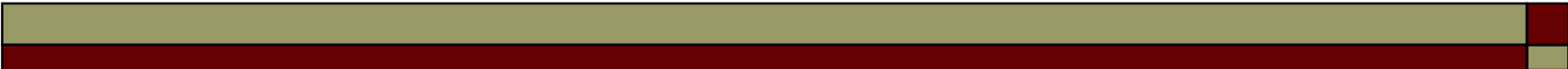
Seti opening shrine in divine cult for Horus

(Abydos,
temple Seti I)



Cult - making offerings in rituals

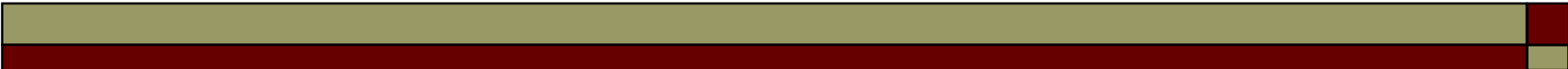
- ❑ men and women make offerings of food, drink, clothing and ointment
- ❑ Directed to divine forces
 - made accessible in the form of images (3-dimensional images more important, but also two dimensional images)
 - images not themselves divine forces, but visualisations of divine beings for human beings
- ❑ most essential: daily offerings to the gods
- ❑ architectural and written sources → in dynastic times rituals performed in dedicated spaces



Cult - making offerings in rituals

- Presentations:
 - decoration of monumental architecture and small scale
 - using formal Egyptian art and hieroglyphic inscription
- only reigning king offers to gods within the temple
- reigning king = 'lord of ritual' (literally 'lord of doing things' with the technical meaning of 'performing offerings')
- as cult needs to be maintained in each town across country, daily ritual performance = delegated to local substitutes
- not shown on temple walls → create a perfect reality: king alone offers eternally to the deity





Temple – worship – gods

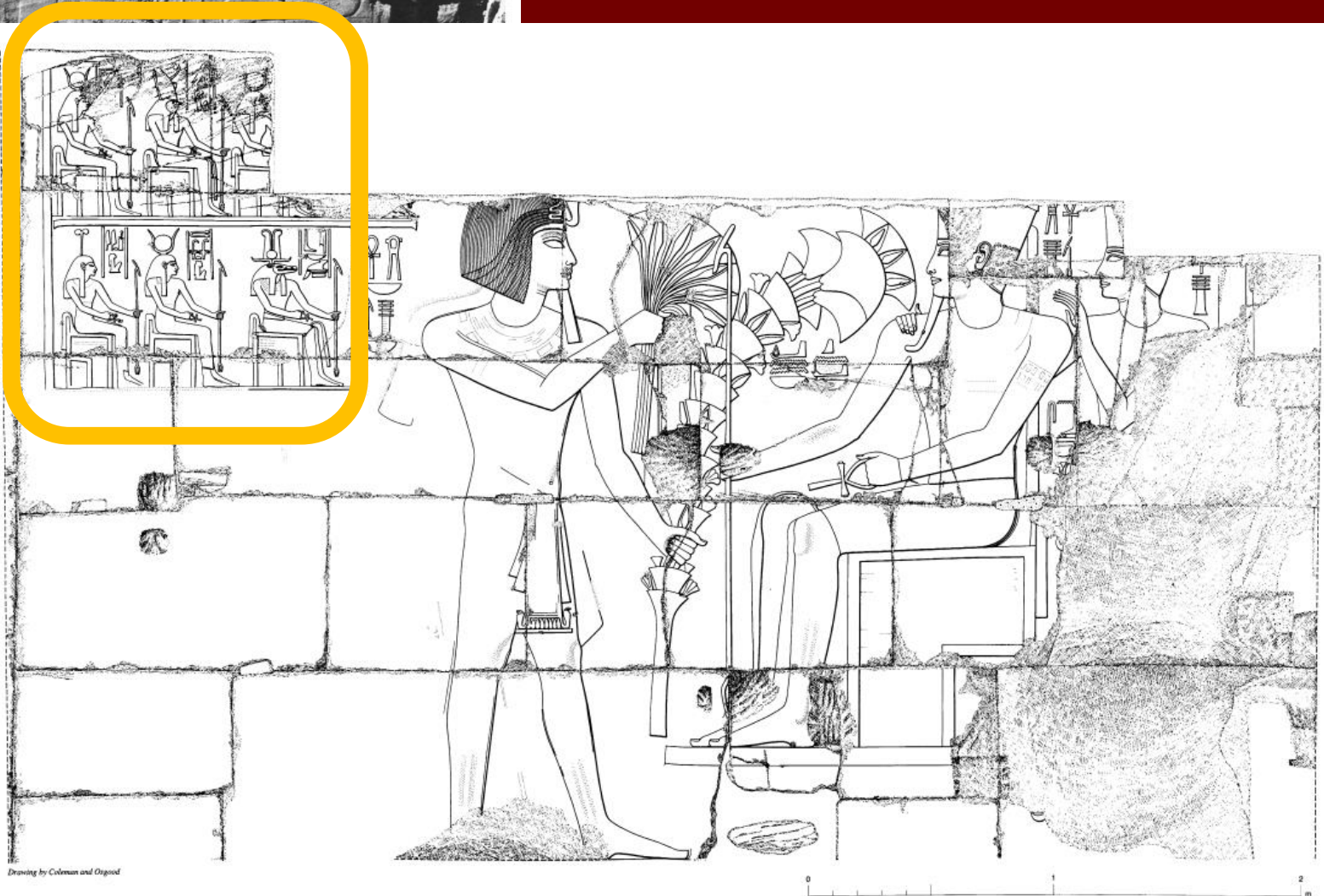
- ❑ place of its practice = temple, called the “House of the God” (Hwt netjer)
- ❑ main contact and communication point between the gods and their human partner in the dialogue, the king
- ❑ king served as mediator: joined in dialogue of the gods, was seen as god himself during the ritual
- ❑ cult developed forms of ritual adoration and worship
- ❑ human site stayed the same → hierarchy of cults and classification of temples resulted from relevance of the specific gods who were the recipients of worship

Ennead – state religion



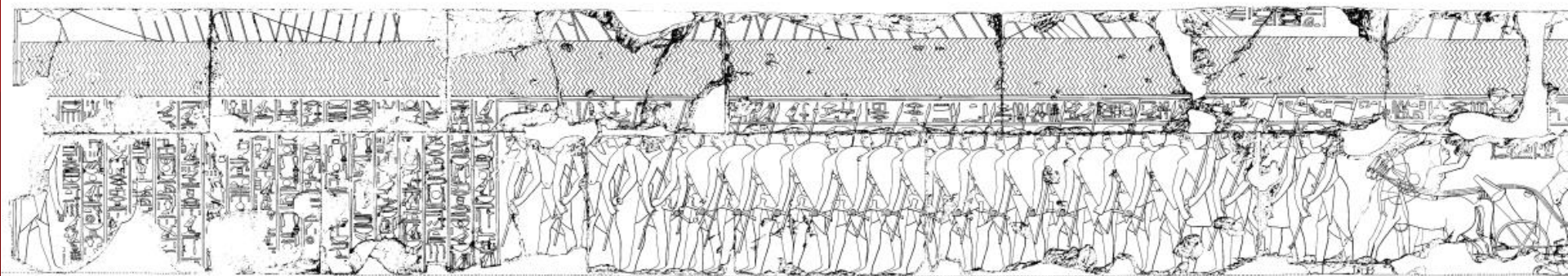
Photographs by Koch

THE KING GIVING FL.



River procession to Luxor

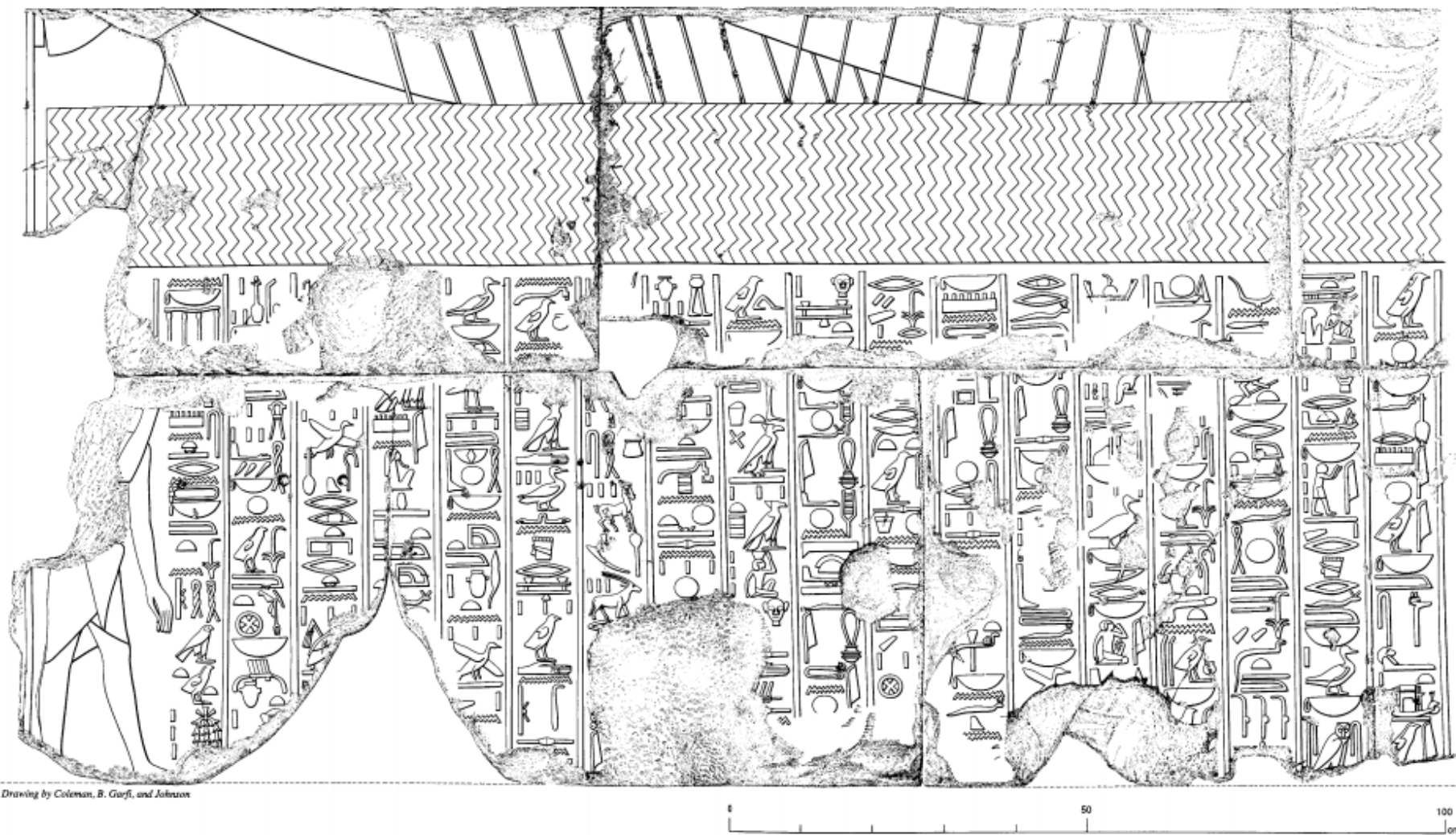
¹“When you are in (the bark) “Mighty-of-Prow,” you appear beautifully,^a O Amun-Re. ²Everyone gives praise to you, the whole land being in festival, while your eldest son, ³your first-born, rows^b you to Opet. May you give him eternity as king of the two lands and everlastingness (consisting) of years of p[ease].^c ⁴May you endow h[im] with life, stability, and dominion, and es[tablish]^d him as a ruler of joy. May you reward him [with] ⁵mill[ions and] myriads^e of jubilees, (namely) your beloved son, whom [you] have placed [upon your throne].^f ⁶He prepares your [cult cha]pel,^g even as he has made festive your [tem]ple.^h He doubles your off[erings]ⁱ for you, ⁷they being established [in the]r places^j according to their [forme]r condition.^k]



Drawing by Coleman, B. Garfi, S. Garfi, Johnson, and Luck

0

CELEBRANTS ACCOMPANYING THE PROCESSION OF THE CEREMONIAL BARGES FROM KARNAK TO LUXOR,
WITH REMAINS OF TOWBOATS ABOVE: DETAIL OF PLATE 17
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



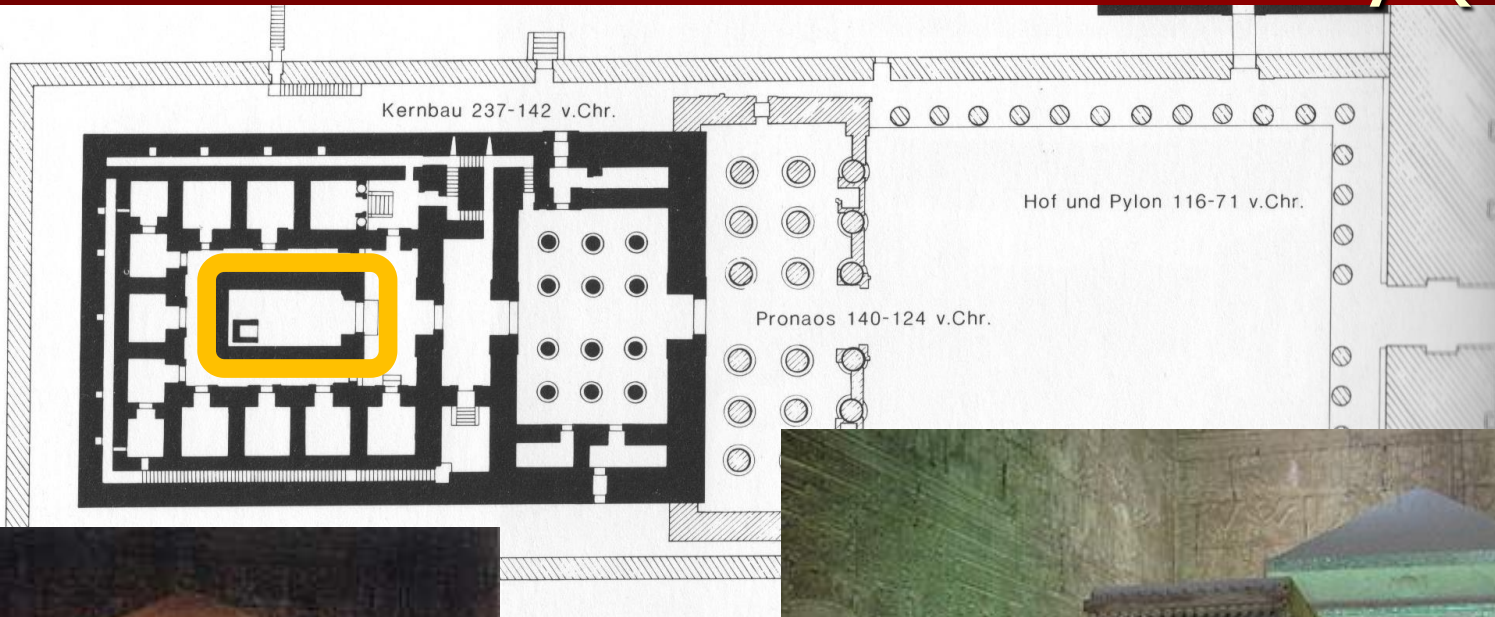
Drawing by Coleman, B. Garfi, and Johnson

CELEBRANT AND HYMN: DETAIL OF PLATE 18

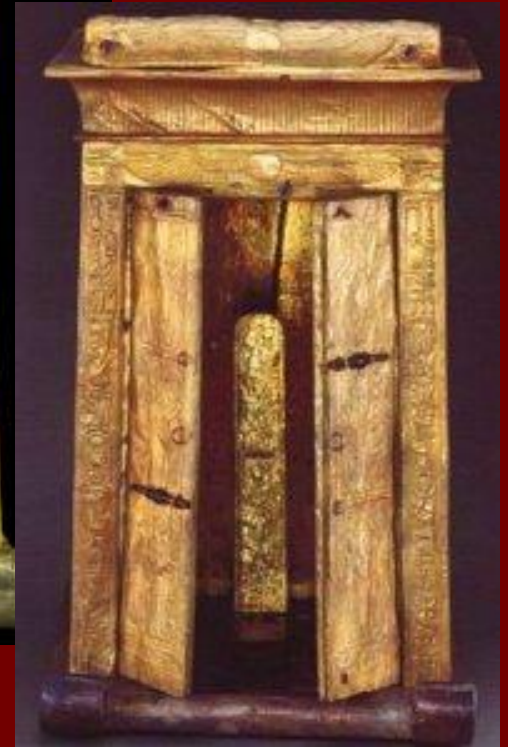
WEST WALL, CENTRAL SECTION

(See plate 19)

Shrine – the holiest of the holy (Edfu)



Shrines (Naophor BM EA1119 + Small golden shrine Tutankhamun, JE JE 61481)



Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

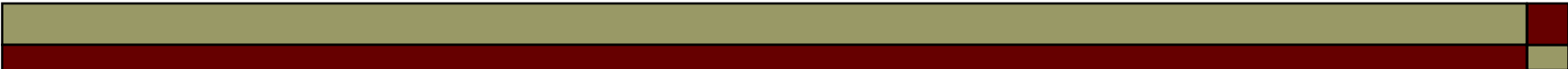
- ❑ **Title of manuscript**
- ❑ Beginning of the formulae of offerings to the god made at the temple of Amun-Ra king of the gods in the course of every day by the principal pure-priest who is in his day of service
- ❑ **Preparations**
 - ❑ 1. lighting the fire
 - ❑ 2. taking the censer
 - ❑ 3. placing the offering-cup on the censer
 - ❑ 4. placing the incense on the flame
 - ❑ 5. proceeding to the sacred place
 - ❑ 6. Another formula

Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ **Opening the shrine**
- ❑ 7. breaking the seal-tie
- ❑ 8. breaking the clay seal
- ❑ 9. untying the seal-cord
- ❑ **Facing the image - hymns to the deity**
- ❑ 10. opening the face (= introducing light to the face of the image)
- ❑ 11. seeing the deity
- ❑ 12. kissing the earth
- ❑ 13+14. placing oneself on one's stomach and stretching out
- ❑ 15. kissing the earth, face down
- ❑ 16 +17. Another formula
- ❑ 18+19. Formula for adoring Amun

Kissing Ground (Schimmel Collection, New York)



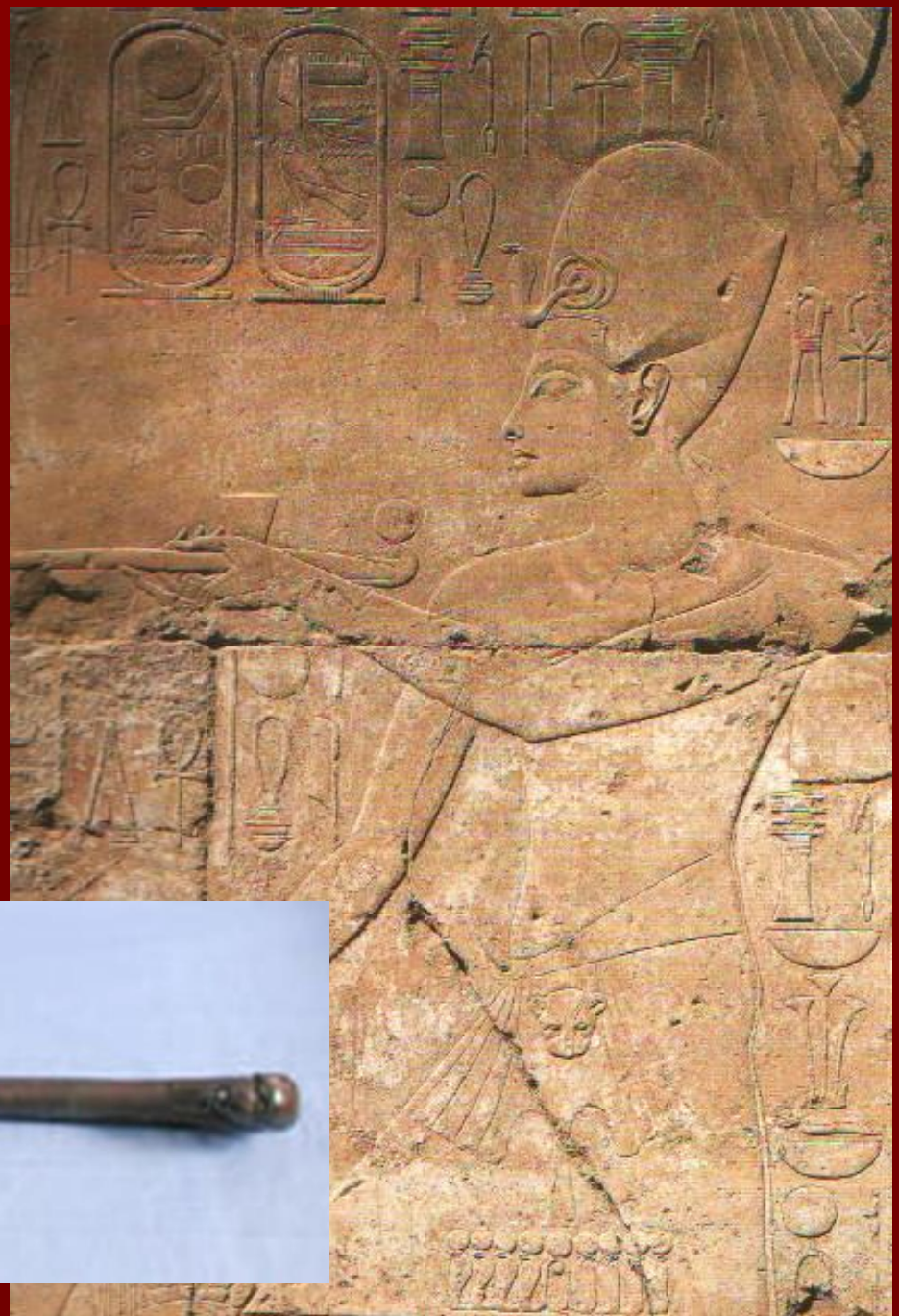


Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ **Ointment and incense**
- ❑ 20. Formula for the oil -festival-perfume' with honey
- ❑ 21. Formula for incense

Opet festival: Tutankhamun

Bronze censer UC 30663, from the
temples for the cult of sacred
animals and birds at [Saqqara](#).



Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ **Entry**
- ❑ 22. entering the temple
- ❑ 23. entering the sanctuary of the deity
- ❑ 24. Another formula
- ❑ 25. going to the stairway
- ❑ **Facing the image**



Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ **Facing the image**
- ❑ 26+27. Formula for opening the face in festivity (= introducing light to the face of the image)(= no.10)
- ❑ 28. seeing the deity (= no.11)
- ❑ 29. kissing the earth (= no.12)
- ❑ 30+31. Formula for placing oneself on one's stomach and stretching out (= no.13 + no.14)
- ❑ 32. kissing the earth, face down (= no.15)
- ❑ 33+34. Other formula (= no.16+ no.17)
- ❑ **Incense**
- ❑ 35. Formula for incense
- ❑ 36. Another formula

Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ **Hymns to the deity**
- ❑ 37. Adoration of Amun
- ❑ 38. Another
- ❑ 39. Another
- ❑ 40. Another adoration of Amun
- ❑ 41. Another adoration of Amun at dawn



Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ The offering of the goddess Maat (personifying: What is Right)
- ❑ 42. Formula for the offering of Maat



Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ **Incense**
- ❑ 43. Formula for incense for the Nine Gods (= the other deities in the same temple)



Daily Cult Ritual

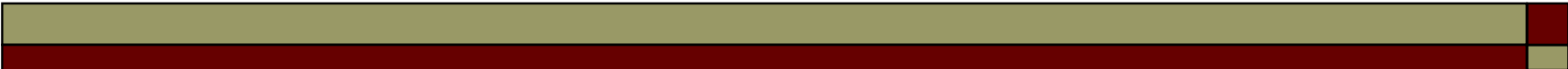
(Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ **Robing the deity**
- ❑ 44. placing one's hands on the deity
- ❑ 45. placing one's hands on the box for performing the purification
- ❑ 46. four purifications of the four nemset-vessels of water
- ❑ 47. four purifications of the four red vessels of water
- ❑ 48. purification with incense
- ❑ 49. Formula for the white cloth
- ❑ 50. Formula for donning the cloth
- ❑ 51. Formula for donning the plant-fresh cloth
- ❑ 52. Formula for donning the cloth of red-soaked linen
- ❑ 53. Formula for donning the idemi-cloth

Nemset vessel (Eton Myers ECM 1908)



- Nemset vessels were used to pour water in ritual contexts
- usually during Daily Cult Ritual and Ritual of Opening the Mouth



Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ **Adorning the deity with scented oil and eye-paint**
- ❑ 54. offering of oil
- ❑ 55. offering of oil for the daily offerings
- ❑ 56. offering the copper eye-paint
- ❑ 57. offering the lead eye-paint

Eye Make-up (Kohl container MMA)



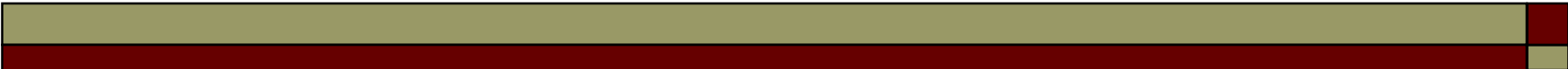
Daily Cult Ritual (Amun, Karnak, as recorded in manuscript Papyrus Berlin 3055)

- ❑ **Closing the ritual**
- ❑ 58. spreading the sand
- ❑ 59. smin-natron at circuiting four times
- ❑ 60. cup of natron
- ❑ 61. cup of incense
- ❑ 62. Performing the purifications
- ❑ 63. Formula for smin-natron (= abbreviated version of no.59)
- ❑ 64. Formula for the cup of water
- ❑ 65. Formula for incense (= version of no.21/48)
- ❑ 66. Formula for censuring with antyu (= myrrh?)

TEMPLES AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

Reading economic aspects

- ❑ Warburton, D. (1997). *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt: Fiscal Vocabulary of the New Kingdom*. Fribourg: University Press
- ❑ Wilke, T. (2000). "Ancient Egypt: An Economist's View," GM 178, 81-95.
- ❑ McDowell, A. (1999). *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ❑ Muhs, Brian P. (2005) Tax Receipts, Tax Payers and Taxes. Chicago: University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications. Available here: <http://oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/PUB/SRC/OIP/126/OIP126.pdf>
- ❑ Bleiberg, E. Understanding the Ancient Egyptian Economy. Available online: http://www.byblos.org.hu/documents/Bleiberg_Understanding_the_Ancient_Egyptian_Economy.pdf
- ❑ Posener-Krieger, P. (1976). *Les archives du temple funeraire de Neferirkare-Kakai* (Les papyrus d'Abousir) 2 vols. Cairo, IFAO.

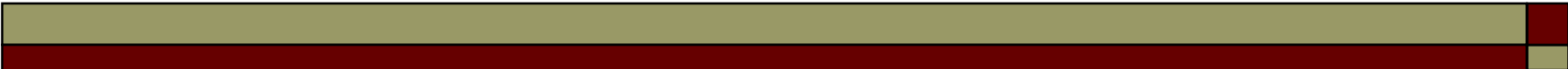


Ancient Egyptian Economy

- ❑ One of the best functioning economic states over nearly 4000 years
- ❑ BUT: still no agreement on the best way to analyze Egypt's economy
- ❑ debate over model to use , which is most explanatory for the data remaining to us
- ❑ → **Karl Polanyi: redistributive model** = good starting point for understanding the Egyptian economy → makes sense of many of the actual transactions we can observe in the data
- ❑ Polanyi now much debated – new publications to be expected

Main question:

- ❑ should large institutions such as the temple be the focus of economic analysis
- ❑ OR
- ❑ should be the individual household the main unit of analysis
- ❑ → recognizing that there is both
 - a temple/state economy
 - a private economy
- ❑ scholars still debate the nature of and connections between state and private enterprise in ancient Egypt



Sources

□ Ceremonial

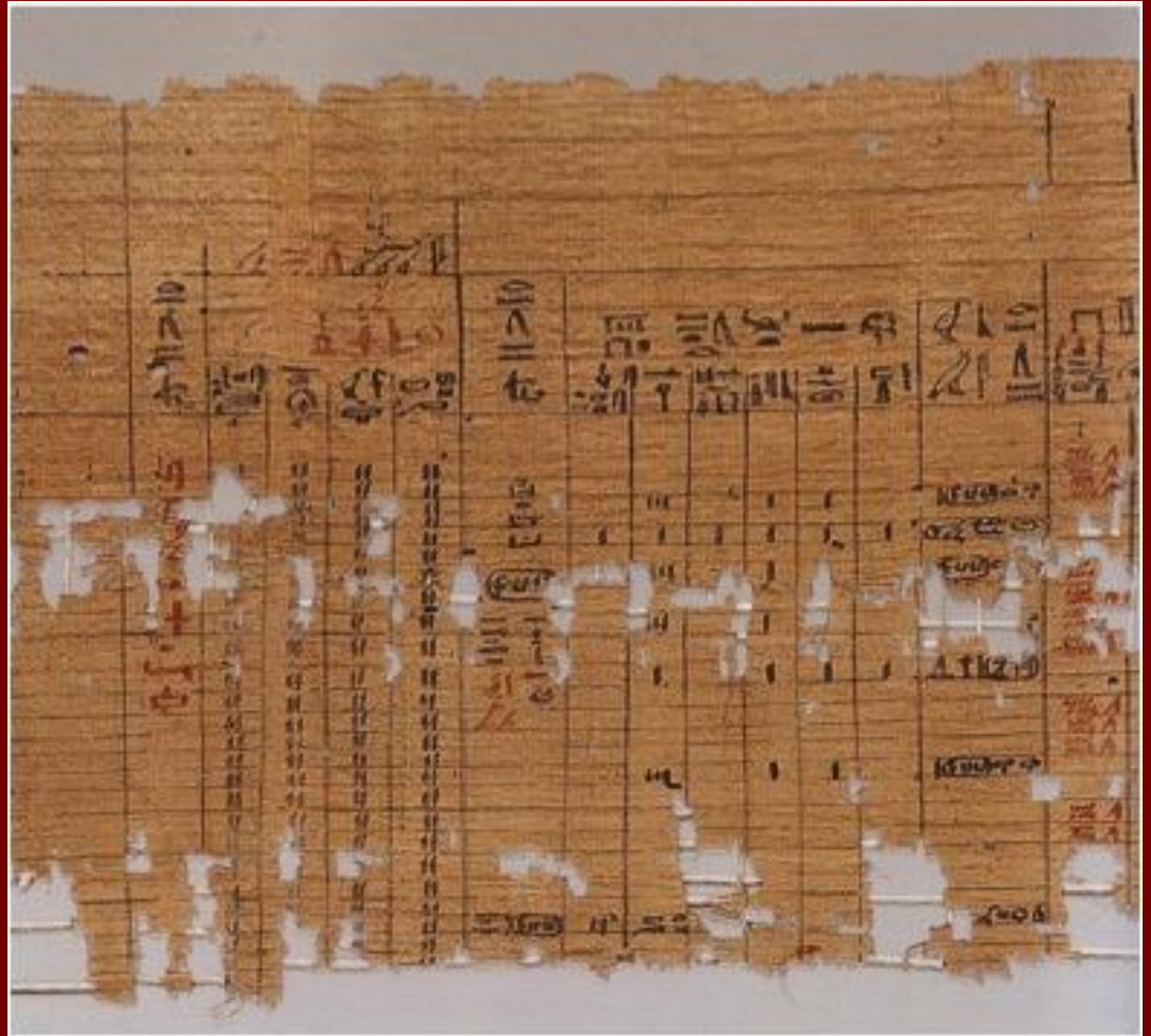
- Royal → inscriptions on the walls of temples, texts written on papyri
- Private → inscriptions on the walls of tombs, very few texts written on papyrus.
- → useful for determining ideology behind Egyptian statements about economic issues

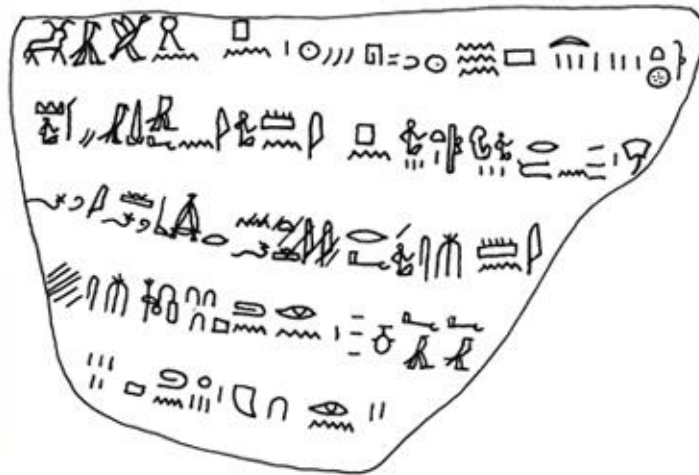
□ Administrative

- recorded on papyrus or ostraca
- actual bureaucratic documents with records of the reception + disbursement of commodities at royal palace or temple
- accounts of privately conducted exchanges

Administrative sources

■ Abusir Papyri





- A receipt for the workman Penamun, who sold an ox (bull) to the policeman Amenmose (Amenmes) for:
 - 1 large jar of fat worth 30 deben
 - fine linen dresses worth 10 deben
 - 5 deben of copper
 - oil worth 5 deben
- „Total silver/³ that he gave for it: 50 deben“
³ this doesn't mean silver metal, but ‚price‘

Economy in Deir el Medina

- Received:
 - regular earning for their services to the Pharaoh
 - extra earning for any goods or services exchanged with other villagers
 - daily supply of some cakes and loafs from the temples
 - regular presents from the Pharaoh on special occasions (religious festivals, marriage or birthday of the king): oil, salt, natron soap (imported beer from Syria), meat or garments (partial redistribution of the state collections – taxes – paid in material or days of work



Temples as institutions

- ❑ Economic role: temple owns productive sources (land, farmer, personnel) to produce offerings, renting out land (high proportion soldiers and women!)
- ❑ Spiritual contribution: shelter for divine image and gods with regular sustenance (food offerings)
- ❑ Bolstering monarchy as symbiotic relationship (theological, strengthen king's role, economical) – exchange goods and ideas (temples get prisoners of war to work for them), Khato-land (owned by king, administered by temples)

Temple business

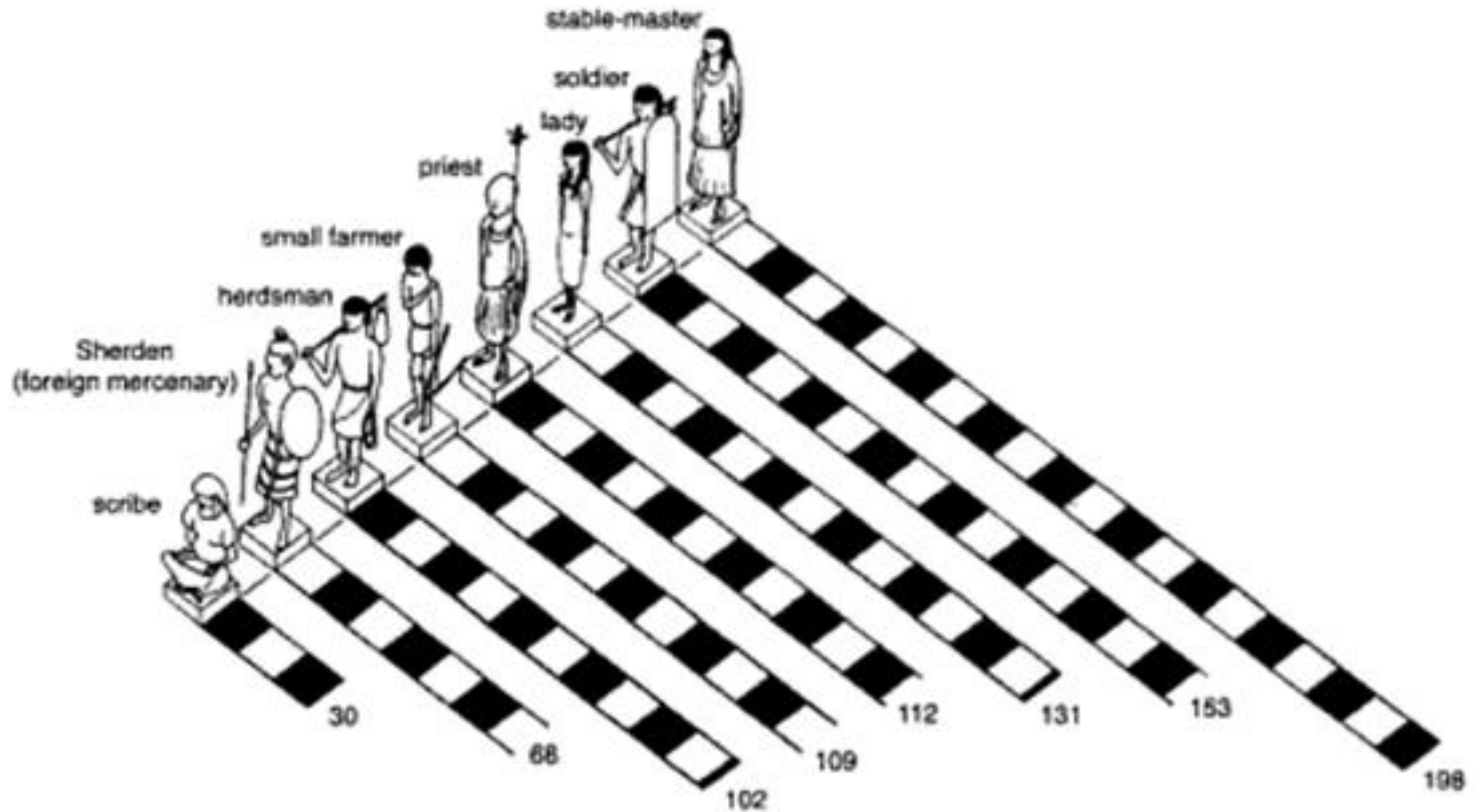


Figure 93 Temple business: categories of persons renting land in Middle Egypt in the 20th Dynasty (after the Wilbour Papyrus). Each square represents ten persons.

Did large temples increase political power on basis of economical wealth and theological authority?

□ Amun-Priesthood:

- backing kingship by providing myth and regular reinforcement → idea of divine birth with Amun as divine father figure and ultimate basis of royal aspect (better than sun as poetic image of king) – king visits Thebes as divine son of Amun, has palace with in Amun precinct (while Luxor was place for royal ka)

Did large temples increase political power on basis of economical wealth and theological authority?

- Until R II – High priest Amun was appointed by king (chosen from high rank officials or temple service background)
- Late 19 dyn. onwards dynasties of priests from only 2 families (marriage connection) with civilian power base (family connection and family connections)
- From early 20 dyn. onwards military connection (Bakenkhonsu, Herihor) → real priest power based on military power
- Late 20 dyn. kingship got weaker and instable, Amun priesthood got hereditary, independent and more powerful: controlled vast majority of state-owned land in Middle Egypt: High priest Amenhotep and RIX depicted at same scale in “gold of honor” scene
- RXI – Herihor: H. proclaims himself king (Temple of Khonsu)