

THE DAILY OFFERING MEAL IN THE RITUAL OF AMENHOTEP I: AN INSTANCE OF THE LOCAL ADAPTATION OF CULT LITURGY¹

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Abstract

This article reexamines a limestone ostrakon of the Ramesside period, incompletely published by its previous editors, that was originally part of the Michaelides collection and is now owned by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The ostrakon contains a small portion of a long text known as the “Ritual of Amenhotep I.” The ostrakon lists a “menu” of items to be presented to Amen-Re and the deified Amenhotep I as part of the offering meal (*dbḥ ḥtp.w*) during the daily offering ritual. This ritual meal awakens the god from a wounded state, empowering his body and thus his divine agency. Through repeated and patterned actions of offering accompanied by chanted speech imbued with symbolic meaning, the participants are given experience of hidden cosmological processes that lie beyond the boundaries of normal knowledge. The ritual meal can be described as a liminal rite of awakening and healing for the god and, by extension, for the entire community of which this god is a patron. We present this ritual performance as a case study examining how mythological narrative and state rituals can be adapted for local cult use.

Introduction

Our first aim in presenting this ostrakon from the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art is to offer a facsimile copy, transliteration and translation of a text that heretofore has been published only partially in transcription.² Our second purpose is to examine the mythological content and context of the ritual meal

¹ We would like to thank a number of people at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art who made this work possible, especially Nancy Thomas who kindly permitted us to publish these pieces, Renée Montgomery and Delfin Magpantay who facilitated work at the museum, and Peter Brenner who kindly allowed us the use of his photographs. We would also like to thank Richard Jasnow and Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert for reading and commenting upon the manuscript.

² Hans Goedicke and Edward F. Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962), 14, pl. XXIII.

described in the text. This ritual meal has precursors in the Old Kingdom offering to the deceased king; on this ostrakon the rite appears as transformed a thousand years later for the cult service of a local Theban god: the deified Amenhotep I.³ We thus proceed to examine how rituals and the recitative texts that accompany them could be adapted to suit the needs of a local population with its own specific cultic needs.

The text contained on the ostrakon represents a discrete portion of a much larger ritual, an extensive New Kingdom ceremonial manual that Egyptologists have called the “Ritual of Amenhotep,” which records a variety of offerings and cultic activities meant to benefit the deified Amenhotep I.⁴ The “Ritual of Amenhotep” is closely related to a New Kingdom ritual set, known from scenes inscribed in the temples of Thebes, that formed part of the daily cult service of the god Amen-Re of Karnak.⁵ These rituals dedicated to Amen-Re or Amenhotep I draw in part upon a much older body of religious literature known from the Pyramid Texts. The adaptation of these elements of an ancient funerary ritual for temple service seems to indicate that the funerary meals enabled the rebirth not only of the state god (Amen),⁶ but also of a dead and deified king, Amenhotep I, who was popularly worshipped in more localized cult places on the west of Thebes.⁷

³ For general information on the cult of Amenhotep I in western Thebes, see Jaroslav Černý, “Le culte d’Amenophis I^{er} chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine,” in *BIFAO* 27 (1927): 159-203, Dominique Valbelle, “*Les ouvriers de la tombe*”: *Deir el-Médineh à l’époque ramesside*, *Bibliothèque d’Étude* 96 (Cairo: IFAO, 1985), 314.

⁴ For texts and translations of the so-called Ritual of Amenhotep, see Andrea G. McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 93-94, Ernesta Bacchi, *Il Rituale di Amenhotep I. Pubblicazioni egittologiche chi del R. Museo di Torino VI* (Turin: 1942), Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third series: Chester Beatty gift* (London: British Museum, 1935), 78-106, pls. 150-161, Harold H. Nelson, “Certain reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I,” *JNES* 8 (1949), 201-232, 310-345, Woldemar Golénisheff, *Papyrus hiératiques, Catalogue général 83* (Cairo: IFAO, 1927), 134-156, pls. XXIV-XXVII.

⁵ For these Theban rituals dedicated to Amen, see Nelson, “Ritual of Amenophis I.”

⁶ For example, Katja Goebis argues that, “In the case of early religious texts, which are our primary source for early Egyptian myth(eme)s, the function of texts is mostly the transfiguration of the deceased—his or her integration into the divine sphere—which is achieved by means of rituals and ritual recitations that mobilize myths as divine precedents. A similar function underlies the use of myths in the rituals of the cult of the gods in temples” (Katja Goebis, “A Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth and Mythemes,” *JANER* 2 (2002): 40).

⁷ For his West Theban origins, compare O. Oriental Institute 16991 where he is referred to as “Amenhotep who takes his seat in the area of the West Bank.”

The ostrakon contains the formal liturgical and magical elements of the ritual meal offered to Amen-Re, but its title also includes the throne name of the deified king Amenhotep I: "The offering meal for Amen-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands and for Djeserkare." Throughout the ritual itself, however, the god is addressed as Amen, not as Djeserkare. The ritual is thus adapted for its local context, but, for the most part, only the ritual's title and the locus of the cult seem to have been changed to suit this West Theban god. This implies that there was no religious or liturgical objection to addressing the god Amenhotep I as "Amen," at least not in this ritual context. In fact, the dominance of the name "Amen" suggests a powerful identity between the two deities. It also implies that it was considered suitable to perform the Amen ritual, known from Karnak, in the cult-place of a village's local deity.

This ritual meal, addressed to Amen, nevertheless includes allusions to the mythological conflict of Horus and Seth, and particularly to the wounded eye of Horus, even though Amen was not originally a part of this mythological cycle. For a variety of reasons to be considered below, it was essential that these allusions be retained, even in a ritual dedicated to Amen or Amenhotep. The text containing this ritual meal is therefore a testament to the flexibility of the Egyptian religious system,⁸ allowing rites originally created for deceased kings to be adapted over the centuries for a state deity such as Amen-Re, and then for a local god such as the deified Amenhotep I.

The adaptation of the Amen ritual for Amenhotep has raised questions from many scholars. Gardiner notes the many "obscurities" in the Ritual to Amenhotep and asks, "For whom has the banquet been prepared, for Amen-Re or for Djeserkare?"⁹ He continues, "There is only one fact which makes us hesitate to regard the present ritual of offerings as that normally employed in the temple of Karnak under the Ramesside rulers. This is the extraordinary prominence of Amenophis I."¹⁰ Nelson specifies the ceremonial context further and argues that the Ritual of Amenhotep

See Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical V* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975-1990), 583-584.

⁸ For this flexibility of myth and mythemes, see Goebis, "Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth."

⁹ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 102.

¹⁰ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 103-104.

was “employed in some temple on the West bank devoted to the service of that Pharaoh, perhaps in his mortuary temple,” suggesting that “the official liturgy of the great sanctuary of Amen might be adapted to the cult of a somewhat artificial and minor divinity.”¹¹

The Cairo-Turin version of “The Ritual of Amenhotep” was in fact found at the village of Deir el Medina by Schiaparelli in 1908,¹² and this is the version most closely related to the LACMA ostrakon. The excerpted text was chosen by priests of western Thebes in the Ramesside Period and transcribed onto this ostrakon in order to guide their own ritual.¹³ This article does not reinvestigate the entire “Ritual of Amenhotep I,” rather, it is an examination of this particular section, considering that it could be independently selected by local priests,¹⁴ perhaps allowing them to perform only this particular rite without necessarily including other portions of the Amenhotep ritual.

The ostrakon’s existence suggests that the clergy of smaller communities could take action at a local level on their own behalf to keep the gods satisfied and in their presence on a daily basis, at least during the Ramesside Period, a time of burgeoning personal piety.¹⁵ The “Ritual of Amenhotep” is therefore not just a reflection

¹¹ Nelson, “Ritual of Amenophis I,” 345.

¹² Giuseppe Botti, *Il culto divino dei Faroni*, *Real Accademia nazionale dei Lincei* 17 (1923), 161-163, Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 79, Černý, “Le culte d’Amenophis,” 196, n. 192.

¹³ For another example of part of the daily temple ritual excerpted for use as liturgical “manual” see Jaroslav Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, vol. 3 (Cairo, IFAO, 1937), pl. 5, no. 204 rt.; this ostrakon contains the spell for “Opening the face of the god” or “Opening the double doors” as found in P. Berlin 3055, the temple of Seti I at Abydos, the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, and other examples. For discussion see Waltraud Guglielmi and Knut Buroh, “Die Eingangssprüche des Täglichen Tempelrituals nach Papyrus Berlin 3055 (I, 1-VI, 3),” in *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, ed. Jacobus van Dijk (Groningen: Styx, 1997), 122-124, 134-136, 151-155.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the Deir el Medina villagers who called themselves *wḥb nb wuy m s.t mḥ.t* or “priest of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth,” the designation of a priest of the deified Amenhotep I in the village, see Černý, “Le culte d’Amenophis,” 191-197. Also see Ann H. Bomann, *The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1991), 75.

¹⁵ For general sources see the following: John Baines, “Practical Religion and Piety,” *JEA* 73 (1987): 79-98, *idem*, “Society, Morality and Religious Practice,” in *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*, ed. Byron Shafer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 123-200, Pascal Vernus, “La piété personnelle à Deir el Médineh: La construction de l’idée de pardon,” in *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois. La vie en Égypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 mai 2002*, ed. Guillemette Andreu

of ancient Egyptian cultural and religious values; rather, it reveals how those cultural and religious values could be adapted by practitioners. In this case, mythical forms were modified to fit particular social, spatial, and cultural needs for new rituals, adjustments that presumably created subtle changes in the Egyptian religious system over time.¹⁶ Ritualizing, as a response to social needs, was a dynamic element at the center of religious change. In fact, most of our early sources about Egyptian mythology come from ritualizing texts rather than from narratives.¹⁷ This case study shows the innovative adaptation of a ritual *vis-à-vis* the conservative retention of the formalized structure, order, and mythological underpinnings of its precursors, and the subtle syncretism of the two divinities Amen-Re and Amenhotep I within a ritual form.¹⁸

The papyri preserving the Amenhotep I ritual do not tell whether its component sections had any specific spatial requirements, except to say that they were performed in the *ḥw.t-nṯr* “temple” and the *r(ḥ)-pr* “sanctuary,”¹⁹ and the LACMA ostrakon says nothing about the location in which the daily meal was to be performed. Monumental graphic attestation of the ritual is found on the walls of the hypostyle hall at Karnak, dating to the reign of Seti I.²⁰ The locations of similar ritual depictions suggest that offering meals in particular were associated with barque chapels in the first half of the 18th Dynasty²¹ and interior temple spaces and sanctuaries during the latter part of the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period. The venues for the performances of the ritual meal recorded on the ostrakon were perhaps Deir el Medina’s Ramesside temples and cult places dedicated to the deified Amenhotep I, or perhaps the Temple of Amenhotep of the Garden,²² the Temple of Amenhotep

(Paris: Khéops, 2003), 309-347, Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 197-198, 224-232, 241-242.

¹⁶ For the myth-ritualist theory that ritual is what actually creates myth, see Robert A. Segal, *Myth: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 61-78.

¹⁷ For this conclusion, see John Baines, “Egyptian Myth and Discourse: Myth, Gods, and the Early Written and Iconographic Record,” *JNES* 50 (1991): 81-105.

¹⁸ But compare Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 101-102.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.

²⁰ Nelson, “Ritual of Amenophis I,” 213, 326.

²¹ Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste, von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, *Münchener ägyptologische Studien* 3 (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1963), 139.

²² For the Temple of Amenhotep of the Garden / Vineyard (*pr ʾImn-ḥtp n ḥꜣ 3mw*), see P. Abbot in T. Eric. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian*

of the Forecourt,²³ or some other unknown shrine dedicated to this deity in the vicinity.²⁴

Description

The limestone ostrakon, originally part of the Michaelides collection,²⁵ is now owned by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (hereafter "LACMA").²⁶ Its two halves are numbered M. 80.203.192 (right) and M. 80.203.211 (left). When these are joined, the ostrakon measures approximately 28 × 24 cm. and is approximately 5 cm. thick. A few smaller breaks in the right half have been repaired, and parts of the original surface are missing along these fissures. The upper left, upper right and lower left corners of the ostrakon's right half are also broken away, but otherwise the original writing surface is largely complete. The reverse and sides of the piece are

Dynasty (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), pl. I, section 2, lines 3-4. Also see Černý, "Le culte d'Amenophis," 159-203.

²³ For the Temple of Amenhotep of the Forecourt (*pr 'Imn-ḥtp n ꜥꜣ wꜣꜣ*) mentioned in Theban Tomb 19, see Jaroslav Černý, "Egyptian Oracles," in *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, ed. Richard A. Parker (Providence: Brown University Press, 1962), 42. Also see Černý, "Le culte d'Amenophis," 159-203.

²⁴ For other possible cult locations for Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, especially the so-called Chapelle D and the *ḥnw* chapels of Amenhotep I, see Bomann, *The Private Chapel*, 45-55, 72, 119-120. For chapels dedicated to Ahmose-Nefertari, see Michel Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertari: Documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume* (Paris: Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 1975), 58-60.

²⁵ George Michaelides' name is also spelled Michaelidis in some publications. See Warren R. Dawson, Eric P. Uphill, and Morris L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 3rd revised edition (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1995), 286.

²⁶ In 1980, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art received gifts from four different donors (Frank J. Fertitta, Coletta Miller, Jerome Snyder, and Carl W. Thomas) comprising hundreds of ancient Egyptian artifacts and texts purchased from the private collection of George Michaelides, a collection assembled in Cairo in the early Twentieth Century. Michaelides died in 1973, after which most of his Egyptian artifacts were purchased by antiquities dealers who then sold lots to individuals, other dealers and various institutions. In 1976, the British Museum purchased a group of Demotic and other Egyptian papyri. In 1977, Cambridge University Library bought a number of manuscripts in Hieratic, Demotic, Coptic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, as did the British Library and the Oriental Collections in 1979. See Sarah J. Clackson, "The Michaelides Manuscript Collection," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100 (1994), 223-226. Because so many dealers were involved in the transactions after Michaelides' death, it is unclear which individuals and institutions purchased ostraca and when they acquired them. LACMA was given approximately 30% of the Michaelides textual hieratic ostraca. Unfortunately, we have so far been unable to confirm the location(s) of the rest of the Michaelides textual or figured ostraca collection.

uninscribed. The obverse bears twenty-eight lines of hieratic text in black ink, arranged in two irregular columns which are separated by a dividing line, also in black. Several verse points in red ink indicate divisions within the text. Portions of the far right side of the text are obscured by a layer of grime, and in some areas the handwriting has been rubbed out or has faded almost to the point of invisibility. Most of the text is nevertheless clear enough to read. The hieratic can safely be ascribed to Dyn. XIX.²⁷ The exact provenance of the piece is unknown, but the type of limestone is typical of ostraka from the western Theban region. The content of the text also suggests that it was written in western Thebes.

Text of the Offering Meal

The ostrakon contains the daily ritual meal from the "Ritual of Amenhotep I." The Amenhotep ritual is preserved in two papyri; the first, P. Brit. Mus. 10589 (henceforth "B"), was published by Gardiner.²⁸ The second papyrus is split horizontally into two sections, the upper of which, Cairo 58030 ("C"), was published by Golénischeff;²⁹ the lower half, now in Turin ("T"), was edited by Bacchi.³⁰ These papyri and their contents have been discussed in further detail by Nelson.³¹ The section of B that would have contained the text found in the LACMA ostrakon is not preserved. The text in the ostrakon corresponds closely, however, with part of the ritual found in C-T; specifically, the parallel for our text begins from T, XIV, 1.13, proceeds to the end of the page, and continues with C, IV, ll.1-12 and T, XV, ll.1-12 (note that C, IV, 1.12 = T, XV, 1.1/2).³² The text of the ostrakon differs in a few places from that of C-T, and there are variants in the writing of

²⁷ As shown by the form of the *h* (Aa21) in ll.16, 19 (compare Stefan Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie, Ägypten und Altes Testament* 28 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 396) and the *mn* (Y5) throughout the text (as in O. Ashmolean Museum 1938.912; see Jaroslav Černý and Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), pl. LXXXVI). The authors would like to thank R. J. Demarrée for providing this information.

²⁸ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, vol. I, 78-106 and vol. II, pls. 150-161.

²⁹ Golénischeff, *Papyrus hieratiques*, 134-156 and pls. XXIV-XXVII.

³⁰ Bacchi, *Il Rituale di Amenhotep I*.

³¹ Nelson, "Ritual of Amenophis I," 201-232, 310-245.

³² The line-numbering used here in reference to C-T is based on Bacchi's hieratic facsimile of T, XV, where the bottom parts of *hḫṣ* and the following statement constitute ll.1/2, 1.3 begins with *mīṣ.t*, and so on.

some words; these are noted below. Nevertheless, the two match closely enough that many problematic sections of the ostrakon can be clarified by comparison with C-T.

The text on the ostrakon consists of a “menu” of items to be presented to Amen-Re and Djoserkare, the deified Amenhotep I, as part of the offering meal (*dbḥ ḥtp.w*) during the daily offering ritual.³³ Each item is followed by a number, as in a formal offering list, indicating how many of each object was offered to the god.³⁴ After each number there appears a brief statement, intended to be spoken by the ritualist as the item was presented; these statements take the form of an address to the god, beginning with “(O) Amen, take to yourself . . .” and are similar to the spells of this type found in the Pyramid Texts, though here they are employed in an entirely different context.³⁵ Many of the statements contain wordplay on the item being presented, which will be discussed in more detail below.

An opportunity to examine the pieces in Los Angeles in August 2004, along with the availability of high-quality photographs (Pls. 1, 2) has facilitated the preparation of a facsimile copy of the text (Pl. 4),³⁶ along with a hieroglyphic transcription (Figs. 1, 2). The two halves are shown digitally joined in Pl. 3. Careful comparison with the parallel passages in C-T and B has led to a more accurate reading in several instances, noted below. A few areas of the text, in particular parts of ll.2-3, indicated on the Goedicke-Wente hand copy, have subsequently disappeared; so it was not possible to check the accuracy of the previously published transcription in those sections.

³³ The *dbḥ ḥtp.w* corresponds to Episode 20 in the Ritual of Amenhotep I; see Nelson, “Ritual of Amenophis I,” 224-225 and Pl. XX.

³⁴ The list in this text corresponds to the “Type E” list; see Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, 140-146.

³⁵ For further comments on the Pyramid Text precursors of these statements, see Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 82-83. For this type of invocation in relation to the Eye of Horus, see Günter Rudnitzky, *Die Aussage über “Das Auge des Horus”. Eine Altägyptische Art Geistiger Äusserung nach dem Zeugnis des alten Reiches. Analecta Aegyptiaca* vol. 5 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1956), 40-41.

³⁶ The drawing was made on a photographic background using the “Chicago House method” and carefully checked against both the original text and the published hand copy. The authors wish to thank Yarko Kobylecky, Susan Lezon, and Christina di Cerbo of the Epigraphic Survey, Chicago House, Luxor for creating photographic enlargements for the facsimile drawing and for their help in preparing the drawing for publication.



Figure 1. O. LACMA M. 80 203-192 + M. 80 203-211. Column 1.

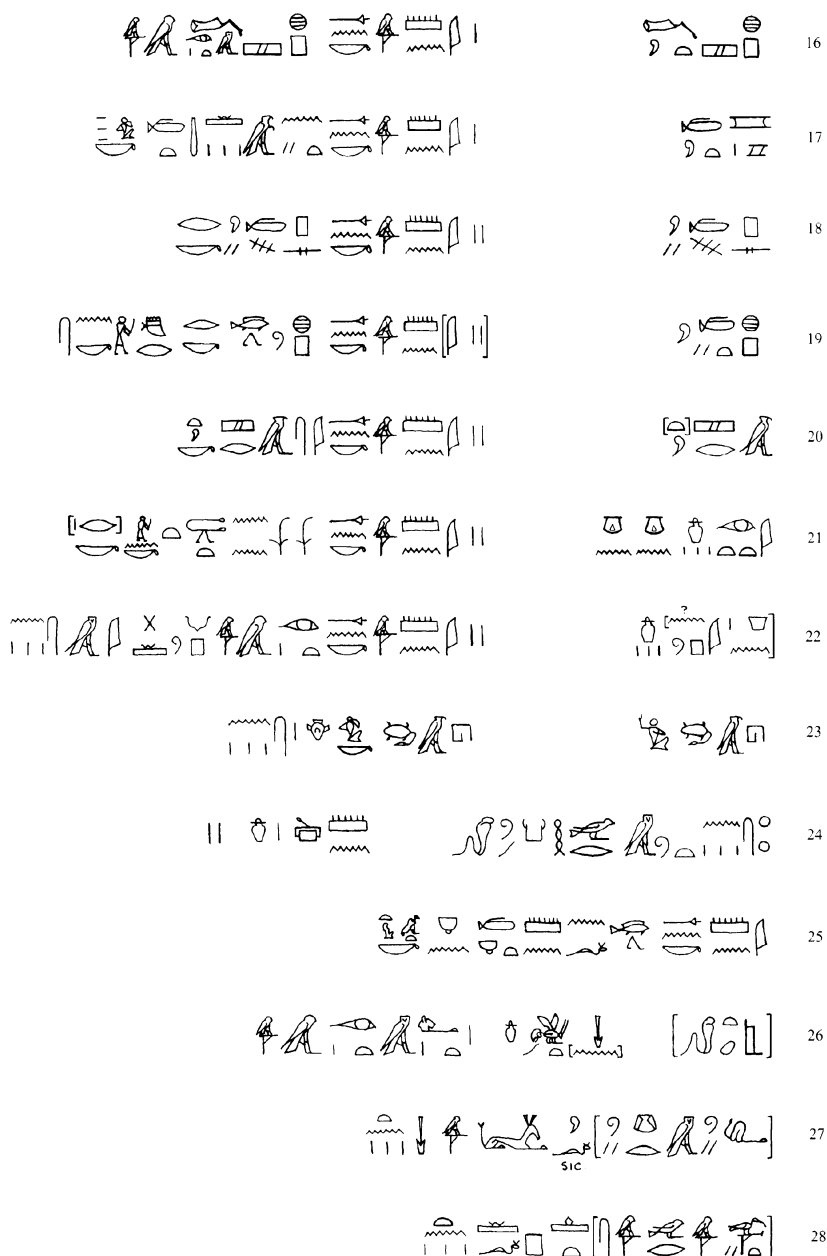


Figure 2. O. LACMA M. 80 203-192 + M. 80 203-211. Column 2.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[*dbh htp.w*]³⁷ *n*³ *Imn-R^c nb ns.(w)t b.wy n*
[*dsr-k3-R^c*]

²... *it(i).t*³⁸ *1* ³*Imn [m n=k it=k] ir.t Hr*
hnty[=*k*]³⁹

³... [*wšr.t*]⁴¹ *1* [⁴*Imn m n=k nh{m.} =k*
hr]⁴² *ir.t=k*

⁴*dbh*⁴⁴ *htp.w Nwn 1* ⁵*Imn m n=k ir.t Hr*...⁴⁵
htp=k hr=s{*l*}⁴⁶

TRANSLATION

¹[The offering meal] for Amen-Re, Lord of the Throne(s) of the Two Lands (and) for [Djeserka]re.

²... movement:⁴⁰ 1. (O) Amen, [take to yourself when you take] the eye of Horus that is before [you].

³... [*wšr.t*-incense]:⁴³ 1. (O) Amen, [take to yourself that you may be renewed because of] your eye.

⁴The offering-meal of Nun: 1. (O) Amen, take to yourself the eye of Horus... that you may be content because of it.

³⁷ T, XIV, 1.13 has *dbh htp.w n r^c nb n nswt dsr-k3-R^c s3 R^c 3Imn-htp*. Based on the amount of space available at the beginning of this line, *dbh htp.w* is the most likely restoration.

³⁸ The strokes visible just at the break are the *y* (Z4) of the word *hnty* in the preceding phrase (now missing) *s3 hr hnty*; see note 40 below.

³⁹ Restoration based on T, XIV, 1.14.

⁴⁰ T, XIV, 1.14 has *st(β) hr hnty it(i).t 1*... "Pouring out upon the offering table, one movement," the "movement" (*it(i).t*) corresponding, presumably, to the ritual act of pouring from the vessel. For *s3t hr hnt* see *Wb.* 3, 423.

⁴¹ The full entry should be *hmk m wšr.t*; see Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, 140.

⁴² Most of this line has now been rubbed off of the ostrakon; the text must still have been intact when the hand-copy was made, yet if the transcription is followed, the reading differs from that of T, XIV, 1.15. The *m* in the hand-copy is questionable; unfortunately it is now impossible to check. It is clear from the verse-point, however, that the line in the ostrakon ends with *ir.t=k* (rather than *ir.ty=kj*), and did not continue on with *im=i*, as in T.

⁴³ T, XIV, 1.15 has the expected *hmk m wš(r).t* "presenting *wšr.t*-incense." This phrase also appears as *dl.(t) m wšr.t*; see The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, Vol. I. The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 112 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994), pl. 62, 1.62.

⁴⁴ By close examination of the hieratic it is possible to make out *d* and part of *bh*, which were mistakenly transcribed as *ir.t* in the published hand-copy.

⁴⁵ Based on C, *dbh-htp.w* is expected here. The sign whose left side is visible to the left of *Hr* cannot be read as *bh* (F18); it could possibly be the *d* (D46), but this would result in an anomalous writing of *dbh*, which appears at the beginning of 1.4 with *d* written above *bh*. If the sign is read as *n*, as in the hand copy, then it is difficult to suggest what the sign above might have been or what words were in the lacuna; some alternative play on the words *dbh-htp.w* would be likely.

⁴⁶ The determinative-stroke after *hr* has a short horizontal stroke at its base; this is best explained as a stray mark from the writing of the bottom stroke of *hr*.

⁵*mw mns* 2 ²*Imn m n=k bsl [m mnd{t}]*⁴⁷
n mw.t=k 3s.t

⁶*mw m.t.t{i}*⁴⁹ 2 ²*Imn m n=k [ir.t]*⁵⁰ *Hr*
*ib.(t).n=f*⁵¹

⁷*mw dsr.t{i}* 2 ²*Imn m n=k imy ir.t Hr*⁵²
dsr.ti

⁸*[b]d*⁵³ *n sb.t* 2 ²*Imn m n=k ir.t Hr b(dy.t)*⁵⁴
r=f

⁹*[t]*⁵⁶ *wr.t*⁵⁷ 1 ²*Imn m n=k ir.t Hr wr pf*

¹⁰*[s c]y*⁵⁸ 20⁵⁹ ²*Imn m n=k ir.t Hr nn*
s c{y}=s r=k

⁵*mns*-jars of water: 2. (O) Amen, take to yourself that which flows [from the breast] of your mother Isis.⁴⁸

⁶*m.t*-jars of water: 2. (O) Amen, take to yourself [the eye] of Horus which he has taken.

⁷Red pots of water: 2. (O) Amen, take to yourself what is in the eye of Horus, it being red.

⁸Natron of *sb.t*.⁵⁵ 2. (O) Amen, take to yourself the eye of Horus which purifies his mouth.

⁹Great [bread]: 1. (O) Amen, take to yourself the eye of Horus, that great one.

¹⁰[Cake]:s: 20. (O) Amen, take to yourself the eye of Horus; it shall not be cut off from you.⁶⁰

⁴⁷ There is no reason to restore *n=f* after *bsl* in this lacuna, as in the hand-copy; *m* fits the space just as well, as in the corresponding C, IV, 1.2, and gives a better reading. The otiose *t* at the end of *mnd* in C was probably also written here, as shown in the hand-copy.

⁴⁸ For remarks on this statement as it appears in a later episode of the ritual and its Karnak parallel, see Nelson, "Ritual of Amenophis I," 327-328 and fig. 33.

⁴⁹ For this writing of *m.t* compare *Wb.* 2, 175/4.

⁵⁰ Restoration based on C, IV, 1.3.

⁵¹ *n* is clear in the ostrakon; C, IV, 1.3 has *ib=f*.

⁵² C, IV, 1.4 has *ir.t n.t Hr*.

⁵³ See C, IV, 1.5. The signs at the beginning of 1.8, rendered as *ir.t* in the hand-copy, are in fact the *d*-hieroglyph (D46) followed by the pellet-sign (N33), which is partly lost.

⁵⁴ See C, IV, 1.5. For the verb *bd* "to purify with natron" see *Wb* 1, 486/9-10; *t* is written for *d* in this example.

⁵⁵ The precise meaning of *sb.t* is unclear; it is perhaps the same word as *šb* (*Wb* 4, 440).

⁵⁶ Restored based on C, IV, 1.6.

⁵⁷ The extra *r* is superfluous here, and does not appear in C.

⁵⁸ The determinatives for the entry *s c{y}* and the verb *s c{y}* in the following statement are shown by the editors of the previously published hand copy as N33 and X4(var.) respectively, but the two are in fact written identically. The first two signs of the entry *s c{y}*, shown by Goedicke and Wente, are no longer visible, the edge of the ostrakon having been broken off at this point.

⁵⁹ The 20 here helps to confirm Golénischeff's reading of C in *Papyrus hiératiques* (CGC 83), p. 141 over that of Georges Daressy, "Rituel des offrandes à Amenhotep I^{er}," *ASAE* 17 (1917), p. 101.

⁶⁰ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 83 translates the statement in C, IV, 1.7 "... it shall not trickle away(?) from thee." The phrase *m n=k ir.t Hr n s c{s} ir=k* is found in PT 142 Pyr 87a, accompanied by the offering of *s c(w).t*-cakes (Pyr 87b). This occurrence of *Sa* is translated as "sundered" in Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1969), 28. James Allen gives

¹¹[mw m_t.t]⁶¹ 10 ʾImn m n=k i_r.t Hr
(i)ḫ.(t)=f r ḫw.t=s⁶²

¹²mw [dš]r.{w}t{i}ḫ⁶³ 10 ʾImn m n=k mw
imy i_r.t Hr dšr.t(i)⁶⁴ m ḫw.t=s{i}t

¹³[mw] m_t.t(i)⁶⁵ 10 ʾImn m n=k mḫ [n=k
i_r.t]⁶⁶ Hr wp(i) r=k im=s{i}t

¹⁴[mw] d[š]r.t [...] ʾImn [m] n=k
mw imy i_r.t Hr dšr.t wp(i) [r=k] im=s{i}t⁶⁷

¹¹[m_t.t-jars of water]: 10. (O) Amen, take to yourself the eye of Horus, which he captured for (?) its sickness.

¹²Red pots of [water]: 10. (O) Amen, take to yourself the water that is in the eye of Horus, which is red from its sickness.

¹³m_t.t-jars of [water]: 10. (O) Amen, take to yourself (and) fill [for yourself the eye] of Horus and open your mouth with it.

¹⁴Red pots of [water]: [...] (O) Amen, [take] to yourself the water that is in the eye of Horus, it being red, and open [your mouth] with it.

the translation “cut off” and lists the inflection as a passive *sḏm=f* (*The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984), 547, 604). On the basis of the Pyramid Text parallel, Allen’s translation is followed here. The unusual writing *š{y}*, identical to that of the item *šy* (for *šw.t*) “cakes,” emphasizes the wordplay between the offering and the statement. For an occurrence of the same statement in Episode 42 of the ritual at Karnak, see Nelson, “Ritual of Amenophis I,” 328.

⁶¹ The text is covered with grime here, and it is difficult to make out anything of the entry, but the last sign can clearly be read as plural strokes. Though different from the writing of C, IV, 1.8, this should not preclude the restoration *mw m_t.t*, since the accompanying statement nearly matches that of the Cairo version.

⁶² C, IV, 1.8 lacks the *r*, but it is clear on the ostrakon. For the last word C has the *sḏm=f* form *ḫi=f*, though Bacchi, *Rituale di Amenhotpe I*, inexplicably gives *iḫi.t.<n>=f ḫy.<t>.<n>=f* (p. 27). The writing of this word in C differs substantially from that of the ostrakon, including in particular the pustule-determinative (Aa2). Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 83 translates this phrase as “. . . which he captured and thwarted(?)”. In the ostrakon, however, *ḫw.t* is written as a noun. If we accept the prothetic *i* in C as an indication that the relative form of the verb *ḫi* is intended, it can be suggested here as well, and we can translate our example as “. . . which he captured for (?) its sickness;” this would then accord with the text of the following line.

⁶³ The plural strokes are superfluous; the entry is otherwise the same as that in 1.7. Parts of two of the water-signs in *mw* are visible at the beginning of the line, but the signs *d* (D46) and *š* (N37), shown in the previously published hand copy, are now impossible to detect on the ostrakon, and are not shown in the facsimile.

⁶⁴ The old perfective is to be read here, as in 1.7; see also C, IV, 1.9: . . . *dšr.ti m ḫi=s{i}t*.

⁶⁵ C, IV, 1.10 has *iḫp ḫ-mḫw dšr.t* here; our text repeats the earlier *mw m_t.t* instead. This results in the loss of the paronomasia with *mḫ*. The deviation from the expected order of entries may be responsible for the anomalous writing of *m_t.t* in this line.

⁶⁶ Restored from C, IV, 1.10.

⁶⁷ Here the order of the ostrakon deviates from C, which has *nms.t . . . m n=k Dhwtj*. . .

¹⁵ ...⁶⁸ 1 *Dḥwty nb md.wt-ntr*⁶⁹ *Imn* ...

*r=f*⁷⁰

¹⁶ *ḥpš* 1 ' *Imn m n=k ḥpš m ir.t Hr*⁷¹

¹⁷ *mid(3){t}*⁷² 1 ' *Imn m n=k nty.w md.wt=k*

¹⁸ *psd.wy* 2 ' *Imn m n=k psd r=k*

¹⁹ *ḥpd.{t}wy* [2 ' *I]mn m n=k ḥp{w}* *r=k*
*ḏr.n=k s.(t)*⁷⁵

²⁰ *ššr.[t]* 2 ' *Imn m n=k is ššr.t=k*⁷⁷

²¹ *irt.t gngn.(t)*⁷⁸ 2 ' *Imn m n=k nn it(i).t n=k*
*[r]*⁷⁹=*k*

²² [*wšh n ir*]⁸⁰ 2 ' *Imn m n=k ir.t Hr wšp(i)*
(*r=k*) *im=sn*⁸¹

¹⁵[...] 1. Thoth the lord of hieroglyphs, (and) Amen ... towards him.

¹⁶Foreleg: 1. (O) Amen, take to yourself the strength in the eye of Horus.

¹⁷*mid*-meat: 1. (O) Amen, take to yourself those that pertain to (?) your words.⁷³

¹⁸Back-cuts: 2. (O) Amen, take to yourself what is far from you.⁷⁴

¹⁹Rumps: 2. (O) Amen, take to yourself (and) get yourself (to?) that which you have obstructed (?).⁷⁶

²⁰Roast joints: 2. (O) Amen, take to yourself, then, your roast joint.

²¹Milk, *gngn.(t)*-vessels: 2. (O) Amen, take to yourself these things which your [mouth] has taken for you.

²²[Cups of *wi*]ne: 2. (O) Amen, take to yourself the eye of Horus, and open (your mouth) with them (*sic*).

⁶⁸ The bits of signs preserved here are shown as they appear; it is possible that they could be made out as part of *nms.t* (C, IV, 1.11).

⁶⁹ For this writing compare Christian Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, 3 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 654.

⁷⁰ This line corresponds roughly to the preceding line in C, in which Thoth is mentioned. The following line, 1.16 of the ostrakon, continues on the left fragment, at the top of the second column of entries, with *ḥpš*, corresponding to C, IV, 1.12 = T, XV, 1.1/2 (the line split between the two halves of the papyrus).

⁷¹ T, XV, 1.1/2 has *ir.t n.t Hr*.

⁷² T, XV, 1.3 has *mš.t* "liver." This entry corresponds to a later entry in B, 10, 1.8.

⁷³ *nty.w mdw.t=k* is difficult to understand; Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 93 translates this phrase in B, 10, 1.8 as "... take to thyself those whom thy words (*sic*)."

⁷⁴ For this meaning of *psd* see *Wb.* 1, 556/13.

⁷⁵ The dependent pronoun is fully written in T, XV, 1.5. The writing of *ḥpi* with the fish-determinative (K5) is unusual; it can perhaps be explained by comparison to occasional writings of the word *ḥpd* "rump" with the determinative of the back half of a fish, see *Wb.* 3, 270/14-16.

⁷⁶ The translation here is uncertain. T, XV, 1.5 has the even more problematic *m n=k ḥpw n=k sw <n> ḏr n=k s.t*.

⁷⁷ Corresponds to T, XV, 1.6 and B, 10, 1.10.

⁷⁸ The editors have transcribed *mmmn* in the hand copy; Bacchi has transcribed T, XV, 1.7 as *gngn.(t)*. The signs on the ostrakon are much abraded and could be read as either *mn* (Y5) or *g* (W11), while the hieratic writing of the Turin papyrus is ambiguous, and it is difficult to tell whether the sign is *mn* or *g*. Since *gngn.(t)* is otherwise attested in this position in the Type E offering list (Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, 141, *Wb.* 5, 177/11), it is best to amend the reading here; a type of vessel also fits the context better than something like "*mmmn.(t)*-cattle."

⁷⁹ *r* can be restored based on T, XV, 1.7.

⁸⁰ The entry is now difficult to make out on the ostrakon; if *n*, indicated on the previously published hand copy, is actually present; it is an error for *r*, written correctly in T, XV, 1.8.

⁸¹ *r=k* is supplied based on T, XV, 1.8; there is no indication that it was writ-

²³*h3 snḏ h3 snḏ (n)=k ib.(w)=sn*⁸² ²⁴*m33=sn*
*tw m Wr-hk3(w)*⁸³

*mns*⁸⁵ 2 ²⁵*Imn m n=k bsṯ.n=f mnd{t} n*
mw.t=k ²⁶*[3s.t]*⁸⁶

*sn-bit*⁸⁷ 1 *h3.t m ṯr.t Hr* ²⁷*[ph.wy m hr].wy*⁸⁸
*Stḥ sn*⁸⁹=*tn* ²⁸*[Dḥwty wr s]ḥtp=f tn*⁹⁰

²³“Oh, be fearful!”⁸⁴ Oh, let their heart(s) have fear (of) you ²⁴when they see you as the One Great of Magic.

mns > jars: 2. ²⁵(O) Amen, take to yourself that which has flowed (from) the breast of your mother ²⁶[Isis].

Bee-honey: 1. The forepart being the eye of Horus ²⁷(and) [the hindquarters being the testicle]s of Seth:⁹¹ your brother (is) ²⁸[Thoth, the Great One]; may he [make] you content.

ten on the ostrakon, since the edge of the writing surface at this point is apparently intact. *im=sn* is written below *wp(i) r=k*, since it was too long to fit at the end of the line, and is separated from 1.23 by a slash mark in black ink.

⁸² Neither the ostrakon nor T supplies a dative *n*, but without a dative before *=k* it is difficult to make any sense of this statement. Bacchi, *Rituale*, p. 30, suggests inserting an *n* here. The extended Type C offering lists of TT57 (unpublished) contain a similar statement *h3 snḏ n=t ib.w=sn sp 4* “Oh, let their hearts have fear of you, four times,” in light of which it seems reasonable to emend our examples to read likewise. The authors are grateful to Harold Hays for this information and for his critical reading of this difficult section of the text; one of the unpublished Type C lists referred to above will be presented by him and Will Schenk among the forthcoming papers from the 2003 Chicago-Johns Hopkins Theban Workshop, to be published by the Oriental Institute.

⁸³ The beginning of 1.24 continues the end of the recitation in 1.23, which itself was shortened by the intrusion of the end of 1.22.

⁸⁴ The authors are grateful to Harold Hays for recommending this translation of the problematic *h3 snḏ*, discussed in his article, *h3 snḏ* ‘Oh, be fearful!’ in *Göttinger Miszellen* 204 (2005) 51–56.

⁸⁵ *mns* is written directly at the end of 1.24, but constitutes the offering-entry for the recitation in 1.25.

⁸⁶ *3s.t* appears after *mw.t=k* in T, XV, 1.10.

⁸⁷ *sn* is restored based on T, XV, 1.11.

⁸⁸ Restored based on T, XV, 1.11, where *Imn m n=k h3.t m ṯr.t Hr ph.wy <m> Hr.wy Stḥ sn=tn* . . . is clearly written. In the ostrakon the second flesh-determinative (Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie II* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1927), no. 178.) seems to have been written erroneously as an *f*.

⁸⁹ The sign written on the ostrakon appears to be either *hm* or *hd*. T, XV, 1.11 has a clearly written *sn*, which makes better sense in the context of the complete text as preserved in the papyrus. We suggest that the scribe of the ostrakon made another minor error here, omitting the stroke at the base of the sign that would give the reading *sn*.

⁹⁰ The beginning of the line may tentatively be restored based on T, XV, 1.12.

⁹¹ The scribe of the ostrakon has omitted “(O) Amen, take to yourself . . .” at the beginning of this statement, perhaps because of limited space. The statement is written out in full in T, XV, 1.11. A somewhat different version of this statement is given earlier in the Ritual (T, XII, 1.7), entitled *r n ṯwḥ hr h.t* “Spell for meat upon the fire.” For discussion see Nelson, “Ritual of Amenophis I,” 209.

Commentary and Interpretation

*Ritual defined in the most general and basic terms is a performance, planned or improvised, that effects a transition from everyday life to an alternative context within which the everyday is transformed.*⁹²

Sustenance is required every day for human beings, but a ritual meal such as that preserved in the LACMA ostrakon creates a transformative effect in which nourishment grants magical efficacy for the god to whom it is offered.⁹³ The meal presented above was presumably offered every day,⁹⁴ perhaps with the rising of the sun. The existence of papyrus copies of the full ritual of Amenhotep I at the village of Deir el Medina as well as the existence of many cult centers for the deified king suggests that such ritual activity was a regular preoccupation of the priests of Western Thebes. The ostrakon itself does not seem to have been well used, suggesting that it may not have been a part of the daily rituals themselves, as papyri probably were. It may instead provide evidence of priestly text transmission, excerption, or study.

Ostensibly then, this meal was offered every day to the statue of the deified Amenhotep I in the inner barque sanctuary in one of the temples in Western Thebes. If a meal itself was not formally offered, one might assume that the list of offerings was at least recited in the presence of the shrine. The text does not include any explicit indicators that it was spoken aloud (i.e. *dd mdw*), but such is implied by the red verse points on the ostrakon, which suggest recitation, as well as by the list of forceful imperative statements, addressing the god directly.⁹⁵

The metaphorical language in the ritual attests the Egyptians'

⁹² Bobby C. Alexander, "Ritual and Current Studies of Ritual: Overview," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 4, no. 1 (1990): 139.

⁹³ J. F. Borghouts, "La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d'une définition," in *La magie égyptienne: à la recherche d'une définition. Cycle de conférences, musée du Louvre 2000*, ed. Yvan Koenig (Paris: La documentation française-musée du Louvre, 2002). On p. 22, he ties magical practice to temple cult activity, "La formulation magique révèle une intention de manipulation, et c'est ce qui caractérise le mieux l'esprit de la procédure. Le rituel magique peut être cependant aussi exécuté dans un temple, et les hymnes mêmes peuvent être adaptés à des fins magiques: tout dépend de l'intention première."

⁹⁴ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 82, n. 83.

⁹⁵ For the belief that the many meals in the Ritual of Amenhotep were recited, see Nelson, "Ritual of Amenophis I," 328-331.

understanding that the offering of food or drink, in and of itself, was not the element that allowed the god to reawaken. Rather the transformative elements are found in the charged powers symbolized in the food or drink—magical powers created through the act of ritualizing. So, in line 16, when we read, “Foreleg: 1. (O) Amen, take to yourself the strength in the eye of Horus,” it is clear that the meat offering represents divine power, not just nourishment. The power of renewal is granted to the god by associating the offering with ancient mythological figures. Jan Assmann asserts that:

The Egyptian, therefore, was convinced that the incessant service, feeding, dressing and adoring of divine images is of utmost importance. But, at the same time, he was perfectly aware of the fact that he was dealing with symbols, not with “real” gods or with gods in their “true” appearance.⁹⁶

Assmann argues that the ancient Egyptian gods were thought to be absent from everyday life (as opposed to Greek gods, for example), creating a particular human responsibility that was required to draw them into the earthly realm.⁹⁷ Whether we accept Assmann’s bold statement that Egyptians doubted the “real” existence of their gods in their temple space, it does seem to be the case that the state, the community, and the household took on the responsibility of pulling divinity into their lives through means of complex and symbolic rituals, all of them charged with magical power. This LACMA ostrakon recording the daily meal is just such a ritual of human responsibility, offering the god all that he might need to awaken into a human context and material form.

According to Catherine Bell, most religious rituals include a number of elements,⁹⁸ including formalism, defined as a set of texts and actions that are strictly organized. The different copies of the Ritual of Amehotep I on both papyrus and ostrakon are a testament to its formal recension. Most rituals also include traditionalism, or references to past time, included here in the mention of a mythic past when Horus and Seth contended for mastery, framed within archaic

⁹⁶ Jan Assmann, “Semiosis and Interpretation in Ancient Egyptian Ritual,” in *Interpretation in Religion*, ed. Shlomo Biderman and Ben-Ami Scharfstein, Philosophy and Religion 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 91.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁹⁸ Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 139-161. For another list of the attributes of religious rituals, compare Ronald Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 2nd ed. (Columbia, S.C.: The University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 60-61.

funerary texts. Bell also tells us that most rituals are meant to be invariable and to follow rules, meaning that the ritual adhered to a precise set of actions and verbal cues, enacted in the same way each time. Practitioners are not supposed to veer away from the prescribed ritual. The fact that this particular ritual was recorded several times, with relatively few changes from copy to copy, shows a concern for correct order and content. The redactors of the Ritual of Amenhotep do not seem to have changed the core of the older rituals meant for Amen-Re because these had to stay the same to retain their efficacy, but they could adapt them for the local god Amenhotep by adding his name and epithets in appropriate places.

Most rituals also include what Bell calls "Sacral Symbolism," meaning that a ritual can "evoke experiences of greater, higher, or more universalized reality,"⁹⁹ that existed for the priests who performed it. The ritual meal itself focuses on the divine body and life force of the divinity, and thus it was presumably directed towards the god's statue, the earthly container of his essence.¹⁰⁰ The ritual meal is meant to arouse the senses of the god and thus awaken his body in the temple space. By so doing the practitioners also heightened their own awareness. Incense, one of the first offerings in the rite, stimulated the sense of smell of those involved in the ritual as it also roused the god. The rite almost certainly included physical action, in the form of gesture alone, or in the activity of pouring libations and offering food, which would have affected the experience of the officiant. Aurally, the ritual featured chants, each accompanied by an offering, the ritualist making repeated invocations. Visually, the low light of the inner sanctuary would have created a liminal space of secrecy, mystery, and sanctity. Tactilely, the handling of particular implements reserved only for consecrated rites would have heightened the practitioner's sense of touching the sacred.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 159.

¹⁰⁰ For depictions of the manifestation, and presumably the statue, of Amenhotep of the Village (*ʿInn-ḥtp ꜥꜣ dmi*) associated with Deir el Medina, see Černý, "Le culte d'Amenophis," 166-169, figs. 161-166.

¹⁰¹ For the notion that ritualizing creates a sacred form, see Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans. Willard R. Trask, *Bollingen Series XLVI* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954), 3-27. On p. 11, he comments on ritual space: "... through the effect of ritual it is given a 'form' which makes it become real. Evidently, for the archaic mentality, reality manifests itself as force, effectiveness, and duration. Hence the outstanding reality is the sacred; for only the sacred *is* in an

Finally, rituals include elements of performance, which, according to Bell, consists of “the deliberate, self-conscious ‘doing’ of highly symbolic actions in public.”¹⁰² This ritual was “performed,” in a sense, but probably only in front of a small audience of other priests. This ostrakon may have been part of an instructive manual for the priests, telling them what *actions* to perform, what incantations to speak, and in what order.¹⁰³ There are no explanatory glosses in this text or in other versions of it. The text on the ostrakon is an example of ancient Egyptian liturgical and magical practice, identifying the appropriate ritual object to be offered, as well as the accompanying words meant to be chanted aloud at the time of offering—incantations that are full of wordplay and rich mythological meanings that grant the offering magical efficacy.¹⁰⁴

The ritual meal transforms an absent (dead) god into an awake (living) being; it is a transformative rite. Because the god is in a weakened and vulnerable state throughout many of the offerings, the ritual probably required sanctity and protection of a barque chapel, a shrine, an offering hall, or a sanctuary.¹⁰⁵ To raise himself out of this vulnerable state, the god was exhorted to be aggressive. Such a ritual would not take place at a private household shrine,¹⁰⁶ nor was it likely to happen in an open public space,

absolute fashion, acts effectively, creates things and makes them endure. The innumerable gestures of consecration—of tracts and territories, of objects, of men, etc.—reveal the primitive’s obsession with the real, his thirst for being.”

¹⁰² Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 161.

¹⁰³ For another “ritual manual,” this one of a magical variety, see Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, “Quelques textes et une vignette du Papyrus magique no. 1826 de la Bibliothèque nationale d’Athènes,” in *La magie égyptienne: à la recherche d’une définition. Cycle de conférences, musée du Louvre 2000*, ed. Yvain Koenig (Paris: La documentation française-musée du Louvre, 2002), 167-184, esp. 173.

¹⁰⁴ For an examination of magical texts, including temple rituals with a magical and transformative purpose, see Borghouts, “La magie en Égypte,” 17-39. On p. 22, he argues for the magical nature of temple rituals, particularly the transformative rituals of the inner sanctuary, “Dans les textes cultuels et les rituels exécutés dans les temples apparaît une interdépendance symbolique entre le texte, l’acte et l’objet. . . . Lorsque, par exemple, un prêtre ouvre le naos d’un temple au petit matin, afin de procéder au rituel quotidien dédié à la statue divine, les divers éléments constitutifs du naos reçoivent des noms spécifiques. Ainsi les verrous sont-ils appelés ‘doigts de Seth,’ et les portes, ‘portes du Ciel.’ À ce moment-là, le naos n’est plus une simple caisse en bois, plaquée d’or, il s’élève au-dessus du monde ordinaire.”

¹⁰⁵ In general, see Dieter Arnold, *Wandbild und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1962).

¹⁰⁶ For household and domestic cult activity in general, see Florence D. Friedheim,

as was the oracle of Amenhotep at Deir el Medina.¹⁰⁷ Witnesses and practitioners of the ritual were presumably limited by requirements for ritual purity of the body as well as by the literacy demanded of them to perform it.¹⁰⁸ Occurring in the innermost sanctuary in the presence of a few ranking priests, the ritual meal would reinforce hierarchical authority and the ability of a few to help deal with the community's problems of sickness, violence and death.¹⁰⁹ Only the proper ritual, performed by properly prepared individuals, could bring the god into the human realm. The written text presupposes the literacy of the ritual enactors; one had to be able to read or to recite from memory the incantations in order to perform the meal. The heavy reliance on written language to impart mythic meaning and efficacy automatically kept a large proportion of the Egyptian population from understanding and participating in the ritual,¹¹⁰ suggesting that educated priests from the scribal class understood the archaism of the ritual, even if they probably did not realize their ultimate source to be Old Kingdom funerary literature.

This Ritual of Amenhotep is a testament to local adaptation of state sponsored rituals to deal with a community's own daily cycle of social change, anxiety, and crisis.¹¹¹ The close link made between Amen and Amenhotep I allows us a glimpse into the ancient

"Aspects of Domestic Life and Religion," in *Pharaoh's Workers: The Villagers of Deir el Medina*, ed. Leonard H. Lesko (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). Also see Ashraf I. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*. *Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge* 23 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1988).

¹⁰⁷ Černý, "Le culte d'Amenophis." Also see Andrea G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medineh*. *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), Aylward M. Blackman, "Oracles in Ancient Egypt II," *JEA* 12 (1926). Černý, "Egyptian Oracles."

¹⁰⁸ For some general notes on literacy, see John Baines and Christopher J. Eyre, "Four Notes on Literacy," *GM* 67 (1983): 65-96. Also see Leonard H. Lesko, "Some Comments on Ancient Egyptian Literacy and Literati," in *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, ed. Sarah Israelit-Groll (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1990), 656-667.

¹⁰⁹ Little work has been done on priestly hierarchy at Deir el Medina, but see the following: Christopher J. Eyre, *Employment and Labour Relations in the Theban Necropolis in the Ramesside Period* (Oxford: unpublished dissertation, Oxford University, 1980), 151, Lesko, ed., *Pharaoh's Workers*, 90, 93.

¹¹⁰ For a discussion of "decorum," or the demand for education, preparation, or status in ritual, see Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 2nd ed. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 44-47.

¹¹¹ For the use of mythology and ritual to deal with these human issues, see especially Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, 95-102. For an Egyptological view of the same, see Baines, "Society, Morality and Religious Practice," 123-200.

Egyptian mind of the Ramesside Period that was increasingly open to the post-Amarna belief that all divinity has one source.¹¹² Both Amen and the deified Amenhotep were the focus of amplified expressions of personal piety, preserved to us in hymns and prayers,¹¹³ as well as oracular activity from Deir el Medina and elsewhere.¹¹⁴

It must nevertheless be stressed that, in spite of the adaptation of this ritual to the cult of the deified Amenhotep, the ritual meal of the ostrakon and the more elaborated versions in the papyri are entirely orthodox productions of the priestly elite; they contain nothing that is inconsistent with the general ideas of Egyptian religion in the New Kingdom, and the very fact that they contain an offering list that also appears inscribed on the walls of the great state temples, as well as ritual statements that are duplicated in the offering scenes of the hypostyle hall of Karnak, suggests that these rites are probably not dissimilar from those that would have been performed in other sanctuaries before the other deities of Thebes. The innovation was simply to include the local god Amenhotep I in a syncretistic relationship with Amen.

In this ritual meal, Amen-Re and the deified Amenhotep I are further associated with Horus and Seth¹¹⁵ and their mythology of conflict.¹¹⁶ In fact, these references to the battles of Horus and Seth have been included to revivify the god on a daily basis, even though

¹¹² Assmann, *Search for God*, 10-13, 221-244.

¹¹³ Baines, "Practical Religion and Piety," 79-98, Assmann, *Search for God*, 197-198, 224-232, 241-242, McDowell, *Village Life*, 98-101. For the depiction of the deified Amenhotep I in the company of other deities, including Amen-Re, Khonsu, Ptah, and Osiris, see Černý, "Le culte d'Amenophis," 161-162.

¹¹⁴ Černý, "Egyptian Oracles," 35-28. See also McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medineh*, 107-140.

¹¹⁵ For general literature on this Horus and Seth mythology and the Eye of Horus mytheme in particular, see Geraldine Pinch, *Egyptian Myth: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 83-99. Rudnitzky, *Das Auge des Horus*, J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960), J. F. Borghouts, "The Victorious Eyes: A Structural Analysis of Two Egyptian Mythologizing Texts of the Middle Kingdom," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens, zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, ed. Friedrich Junge (Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 1984), 703-716, Jan Zandee, "A Site of the Conflict between Horus and Seth," in *Ex Orbe Religione: Studia Geo Widengren* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 32-38, Hermann te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), *idem*, "Relations and Conflicts Between Egyptian Gods: Particularly in the Divine Ennead," in *Struggles of Gods*, ed. H. G. Kippenberg (New York: Mouton, 1984), 239-257.

¹¹⁶ For mythologies of conflict in general, see Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, 27-33, 95-137. For mythologies of conflict with relation to Horus and Seth, see te Velde, "Relations and Conflicts Between Egyptian Gods," 239-257.

neither Amen nor Amenhotep should be a part of that mythological narrative. McDowell states:

The gods named in the ritual are especially those associated with the story of Osiris, god of the underworld, whose death and resurrection set the pattern that all deceased persons hoped to follow. . . . These gods were not objects of significant cults in the village, but belonged to a corpus of myths, spells and rituals largely separate from the everyday religious routine of the villagers.¹¹⁷

The god to whom the ritual is performed is in a weakened state. The offerings and their association with the mythological "Eye of Horus" create power and life for the god. Even though it is Horus who is wounded in the mythological narrative, by likening Amen or Amenhotep to this wounded divinity, the mythology becomes functional for a variety of gods who share the same ritual needs, allowing adaptation by local priestly elements for a number of different purposes.¹¹⁸

So how are we to interpret the meaning of the Horus and Seth mythology in relation to the Amen-Amenhotep cult? The last few lines of the meal ritual read, "The forepart being the eye of Horus and the hindquarters being the testicles of Seth: your brother is Thoth, the Great One; may he make you content." In this last section, the god Thoth is the initiator of peace after extreme conflict. He is the supplier of healing and life after mutilation and death. In her structural approach to the Horus and Seth mythology, K. Goebis suggests that:

When this structural relationship is applied to a ritual context, the cultic performer may take on the role of Thoth, who is the archetypical restorer of the Eye of Horus, and the offering is accordingly equated with the Eye.¹¹⁹

In many ways, the ritualist was meant to take on Thoth's responsibilities during this ritual meal for the god Amenhotep. The priest continually offers the god a food or drink item, exhorting him to "Take to yourself the Eye of Horus." In the last lines of this ostrakon, the ritualist self-referentially tells the god: "Your brother is Thoth, the Great One, may he make you (pl.) content." The possessive

¹¹⁷ McDowell, *Village Life*, 93.

¹¹⁸ This approach is suggested in Goebis, "Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth."

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 47. For Thoth as the restorer, also see Zandee, "A Site of the Conflict," 32-38.

pronoun “you” is plural (=tn), not singular (=k) as in the rest of the text, and the pronoun must address both Horus and Seth. It is not clear if this pronoun =tn could, by extension, address both Amen-Re and Amenhotep I, as the dual the recipients of the meal, or if this is pushing a structural analysis too far.

The Eye of Horus mytheme is powerful because, according to Pinch, “The mutilations of Horus and Osiris seem to lead to increased power.”¹²⁰ Pinch continues:

In the oldest sources (in which Seth and Horus are generally regarded as brothers rather than uncle and nephew), two pairs of life-giving circular objects, the eyes of Horus and the testicles of Seth, are damaged. Thoth has to heal both wounds so that the equilibrium can be restored. Then Seth, strongest of the gods, will join Horus the Harpooner, the eye of Ra, and many other warlike deities to defeat and dismember the ultimate enemy, the chaos serpent Apophis. This fits the pattern of mutilations as ultimately beneficial transformations.¹²¹

Indeed, the ritual meal preserved on the LACMA ostrakon is granted to Amenhotep, a king who has died, his death making him into a divinity. Rudnitzky explains the symbolic use of the Eye of Horus in Pyramid Text rituals:

Nun zeigt die Erwähnung des Auges häufig eine Kopplung mit kultischen Handlungen, wobei auf eine große Zahl von Speisen und Gebrauchsgegenständen, aber auch auf Königsinsignien Bezug genommen wird, als ob sie das Auge des Horus wären. Damit entsteht eine Art Schauspiel, das vorführt, wie das Auge wieder an seinen Platz kommt, wie wunderbarerweise die leere Augenhöhle wieder voll wird.¹²²

Death and mutilation are powerful liminal events, and the Eye of Horus mytheme is utilized repeatedly throughout the ritual to realize that transformation. Mircea Eliade would classify the mytheme of the Eye of Horus as an “archetype.” For example, he argues that “repetition has a meaning” and that:

... it alone confers a reality upon events; events repeat themselves because they imitate an archetype—the exemplary event. Furthermore, through this repetition, time is suspended, or at least its virulence is diminished.

¹²⁰ Pinch, *Egyptian Myth*, 97.

¹²¹ Ibid., 99. Similarly, see Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. On p. 88, he states, “the death of the individual and the death of humanity are alike necessary for their regeneration. Any form whatever, by the mere fact that it exists as such and endures, necessarily loses vigor and becomes worn; to recover vigor, it must be reabsorbed into the formless if only for an instant; it must be restored to the primordial unity from which it issued...”

¹²² Rudnitzky, *Das Auge des Horus*, 11.

The Eye of Horus mytheme is certainly repetitive in this ritual. Eliade argues that:

Collective or individual, periodic or spontaneous, regeneration rites always comprise, in their structure and meaning, an element of regeneration through repetition of an archetypal act, usually of the cosmogonic act.¹²³

The Eye of Horus would be an archetype of rebirth, but also of suffering. It represents, through ritual re-enactment, the necessary suffering that all humans experience, not out of sheer absurdity, but because there is a mythological or religious reason, in this case, suffering allows a powerful subsequent rebirth.¹²⁴

One of the most striking features of this ritual meal is its connection with the Pyramid Texts, funerary compositions, adapted here for temple use. Both the standard daily offering ritual for the cult of Amen as depicted at Karnak and the modified version of the Ritual of Amenhotep I contain liturgical elements based on much older compositions whose origins may be traced to these Old Kingdom mortuary texts. Although none of the offering statements in this daily meal are exact “quotes” of Pyramid Text statements, almost every one of the incantations has a Pyramid Text antecedent in some form. The first 213 PT Utterances comprise an offering ritual as part of the funeral of the deceased king.¹²⁵ Not only are the form and content of these Pyramid Texts similar to those found in our text, it is clear that they both share the same underlying mythological theme—the myth of the eye of Horus that was wounded or lost and then made whole or returned.¹²⁶ This theme was an essential part of the Egyptians’ whole conception of the daily ritual presentation of offerings. This mytheme of the Eye is utilized for its transformative and magical power. The symbol of the Eye is not obscure, but completely understandable and direct, even if

¹²³ Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, 85. For the particular notion that cosmogonic myths are consistently used in many cultures within curative and regenerative rituals, see *ibid.*, 73-92.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 95-102. On p. 97, he states, “. . . every moment of magico-religious treatment of suffering most clearly illustrates its meaning: suffering proceeds from the magical action of an enemy, from breaking a taboo, from entering a baneful zone, from the anger of a god, or—when all other hypotheses have proven insufficient—from the will or the wrath of the Supreme Being.”

¹²⁵ Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 1-41.

¹²⁶ For the Eye of Horus and its treatment in the Pyramid texts, see Rudnitzky, *Das Auge des Horus*.

it is used for a god not originally connected to that particular mythology. Borghouts states:

C'est l'épisode mythique qui sert de fondement à la cause que le magicien instruit soigneusement. Il tient lieu d'introduction à l'exposé des objectifs que le magicien s'est lui-même fixés; celui-ci en tire des arguments à l'appui de sa demande.¹²⁷

For the educated Egyptian priest who performed the ritual, the food items and the accompanying verbal incantations may have had deeply-rooted connotations which we can only understand superficially, by analyzing word play and mythic context. The statements hint at much deeper themes—sickness and health, harm and the protection from evil, magic, nourishment, and the power of spoken words embodied in offerings—but for us the full significance of the incantations is masked because we lack the “unspoken” cultural understanding to arrive at contextual meanings. It is unlikely that these statements were borrowed directly from the Pyramid Texts, or that the ritualists even knew what the Pyramid Texts were; rather, it must be that these archaic offering formulae formed part of a standard tradition of statements to be recited while the components of a ritual meal were being presented to the deceased in a funerary context, or to the deity in a cult context. Specific statements from the archaic mythological and ritual tradition associated with the revivifying funerary meal of the deceased king were employed in these specific sections of the Ritual. The text of the ostrakon is thus an important example of the extent to which various liturgical statements could be retained over incredibly long periods of time, whether their source was completely understood or not, and then adapted to suit a new divinity and a new cult context.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Borghouts, “La magie en Égypte,” 27.

¹²⁸ Bernard Mathieu has demonstrated the extent of continuity in the development of funerary literature from Pyramid Texts to Coffin Texts and argues against a strict distinction between these two genres (“La distinction entre les Textes des Pyramides et Textes des Sarcophages est-elle légitime?,” in Suzanne Bickel and Bernard Mathieu, eds., *D'un monde à l'autre: textes des pyramides et textes des sarcophages* (Cairo: IFAO, 2004), 247-259). The retention of very ancient elements in the ritual statements of the New Kingdom versions of the daily offering meal can, by extension, be seen as part of the ongoing adaptation of these core ritual-mythological compositions, which maintained their efficacy over time, even when employed in changing contexts. This may be understood as an extension of the “living discourse” indicated by Harold Hays in his discussion of transformations of context

All of the offerings given to the god have symbolic associations with archaic mythological allusions.¹²⁹ In line 4, the offering meal (*dbḥ-ḥtp*) of Nun is linked with the eye of Horus and his subsequent contentment (*ḥtp*) after having received it. Not only is there an obvious word play between the word “meal” and the word “contentment,” but the god’s renewal is thus associated with the rising Nile’s flood waters of the Nun.¹³⁰ In line 5, the libation from the *mns* jars of water is associated with flowing breast milk of Isis,¹³¹ linking the gods Amen and Amenhotep I more clearly with Osiris, for whom the breast milk of his sister-wife Isis is one element of nourishment that helps him to revivify himself after death, at least according to mythological allusions in the Pyramid Texts.¹³² In line 6, two *mṯ.t* jars of water are associated with the eye “which he has taken,” perhaps linking the *mṯ.t* jars with the verb to take (*iṯ*), and possibly also associating these two jars with two healthy eyes. In line 7, two red pots of water are associated with “what is in the eye of Horus, it being red,” alluding to the blood of the wound through word play between the redness of the pots and the redness of the eye (*dšr.t*).¹³³ The Natron (*bd*) of line 8 is associated with purification (*bdy.t*) of the eye, thus cleansing the wound of the god.¹³⁴ The “great bread (*t wr.t*)” in line 9 is associated with Horus as

from Pyramid Texts to Coffin Texts: “Transformation of Context: The Field of Rushes in Old and Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature,” in Bickel and Mathieu, *op. cit.*, 181 and 200.

¹²⁹ For more on the word play and symbolism, see Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 82-83, Alexandre Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin en Égypte. Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Études*, vol. 14. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902), 77-79. See also Waltraud Guglielmi, “Der Gebrauch rhetorischer Stilmittel in der ägyptischen Literatur,” in A. Loprieno, (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 479-481. For a discussion of the many offerings usually associated with the Eye of Horus in various rituals, see Rudnitzky, *Das Auge des Horus*, 25-28.

¹³⁰ For the *ḥtp* meal in the Pyramid Texts and its relation to the Eye of Horus, see *ibid.*, 41-42. For a funerary meal mentioned as coming from the Nun, see PT 258 Pyr 310.

¹³¹ For a discussion of the milk associated with the white eye, see Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 120.

¹³² For example, see PT 42 Pyr 32b. For the argument that the Eye of Horus is actually offered to Osiris, not to Horus who is rather the officiant of the ritual, see Rudnitzky, *Das Auge des Horus*, 39.

¹³³ For the redness associated with blood, see *ibid.*, 29. Also see Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 38.

¹³⁴ For the association of natron with the Eye of Horus, see Rudnitzky, *Das Auge des Horus*, 27, 54.

“that great one (*wr pf*),” and the bread offered is presumably associated with the increasing strength the god gains as the meal continues. In line 10, the twenty offered cakes (*šꜣ*) create a word play with the verb “to cut (*šꜣ*),” and it is stated that the eye will not be “cut off” from the god. In line 11, ten *mt.t* jars of water allow Amen to take back the eye, “which he captured” perhaps providing a word link between the *mt.t* jar and the verb “to capture (*itꜣw*).” In line 12, ten red (*dšr.t*) pots are associated with the eye “which is red (*dšr.t*) from its sickness,” again linking the offering with the bloody wound that Horus bears. In line 13, there is another offering of *mt.t* jars, and the liquid held therein seems associated with tears, because he is exhorted to “fill the eye of Horus, that you may open your mouth with it.”

In this first part of the ritual meal (up to 1.15), the god is repeatedly offered symbols that are explicitly associated with his wound and the violence that caused it. Red is associated with the bloody injury. The cakes represent the cutting of the eye. These symbolic offerings do not further enfeeble the god; rather they empower him, granting him ownership over the wound and the violence that caused it. The first part of the ritual is one of defensive power. When the god is offered symbols of blood, of cutting, or of tears, the ritualists provide him with the means to gain control over his wound, and to overcome it.

The nature of the symbolic association changes in the second part of the daily ritual meal, and, beginning in 1.16, it becomes a ritual of offensive power. In line 16, the foreleg of meat (*hps*) is associated with the strength (*hps*) that is “in the eye of Horus.” The *mdb* meat offered in line 17 is linked with the magical words (*mdw*) that the god can utter, presumably now that his mouth has been opened. Line 18 links the *psd* meat offering to the god’s ability to conquer that which is far from him (*psd*). In line 21, the offering of milk (*irt.t*) may be linked with the verb “to take (*itꜣ*),” as in “to conquer.” In line 22, the wine (*irp*) may be a word play with the verb “to open (*wp*).”

The offerings in this second part of the ritual are not symbolic of sickness or weakness, as in the first part, but rather of strength and rejuvenation. Line 23 contains the climax of the ritual when the god has acquired full agency; it does not include a discernable offering, only the statement, “Oh, be fearful! Oh let their heart(s) have fear of you when they see you as the One Great of Magic!” The liminal part of the ritual is complete, and the god has fully

transitioned into the temple space.¹³⁵ The ritual then includes another libation, again likening the liquid to the breast milk of Isis. The next lines associate Amen, or Djeserkare (or both), with both Horus and Seth and thereby the kingship. The very last line of the ritual meal is, “. . . Thoth, the Great One, may he make you (=tn) content.” According to mythological allusions,¹³⁶ Thoth returns the eye to the divinity and is the master of the liturgy and magic that allows the transformation. The last word in the rite is “to make content (*shṭp*),” thus linking back to the title of the ritual daily meal: *dbḥ-ḥtp* or “required offerings.” The name of the ritual itself, as with every other ritual offering, anticipates the desired outcome—the contentment (*ḥtp*) of the god.

Mircea Eliade claims that ritual is the repeated performance of archetypes or “divine models”.¹³⁷ For Claude Lévi-Strauss, ritual is a collection of oppositions.¹³⁸ Others claim that the ritual is a list of symbolic and metaphorical associations. Ronald Grimes states: “The basic unit of ritual is a symbol.”¹³⁹ The language of this particular ritual manual supports all of these approaches, to some extent. The ritual can be seen to have a structure of opposition. In the first part, the god takes ownership over his wound and self, while in the second part, he takes ownership over everything outside of him. The symbolic meaning is also clear. The visual organization of the ostrakon shows a physical separation between the word for the actual object offered to the god and the spoken words containing the magical attributes associated with the object, the latter marked with red verse points. Thus, on the one hand, the object itself is named, and next to it on the ostrakon are the incantations of powers symbolically associated with it. Object and symbolism are separated by spaces in the text, representative of the interpretive jump in meaning between liturgy and magical outcome. The writer of this particular ostrakon understood that one column

¹³⁵ For this notion that the ritual makes the god present in the temple space, see Assmann, “Die Macht der Bilder.”

¹³⁶ For example: See also Erik Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat, Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 13-15 (Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1987-1994), vol. III, hour 10.

¹³⁷ Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, 21.

¹³⁸ For his myth ritualism theory, see “Comparative Religions of Nonliterate Peoples” in Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, trans. C. Jacobsen and B. G. Schoepf (New York: Basic Books, 1961).

¹³⁹ Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 67.

represented the “offering” (the tangible thing) and the other column contained the “interpretation” (the symbolism of that offering).

The most important symbol, or archetype, in this ritual is the eye of Horus, which symbolizes wholeness.¹⁴⁰ To gain this wholeness, the god must partake of offerings from the human realm, of food and drink. To begin, the god is exhorted: “Take to yourself the eye of Horus.” It is not given to him by the practitioner. Instead the divinity is offered various elements that he must take through his own agency and that allow him to awaken and begin his transformation.¹⁴¹ Many of the offerings are associated with other deities, including Isis, Horus, and Seth. The god to whom all of this is offered is both Amen and Amenhotep I. One is named in the title, while the other is named in the ritual incantations, but they are the same being. The eye of Horus is the symbol of the power to acquire this interconnected wholeness. Both the mythical allusions and the desired magical-religious¹⁴² results are specifically described, with reference to a particular mythological event, the conflict of Seth and Horus. The eye actually takes on different meanings throughout the ritual, shifting and changing subtly throughout the structure of the ritual.¹⁴³ In the second and third lines, the eye is mentioned as something that has been lost and wounded. It represents the strength and wholeness that the god will not possess until the ritual’s end, and yet it is mentioned at the beginning, so as to predestine the outcome.

This rite is part of a larger ritual calendar of meals and offerings. More elaborate meals take place on particular feast days, such as the New Year, during the Opet Festival or during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.¹⁴⁴ This daily meal, on the other hand, is the

¹⁴⁰ Rudnitzky, *Das Auge des Horus*, 52-53.

¹⁴¹ For the declarative form in magical texts, see Borghouts, “La magie en Égypte,” 33-34.

¹⁴² For the argument that magic and religion should not be separated, see the following: Baines, “Society, Morality and Religious Practice,” 126, J. F. Borghouts, “Magical Practices among the Villagers,” in *Pharaoh’s Workers: The Villagers of Deir el Medina*, ed. Leonard H. Lesko (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 119-130, esp. 120.

¹⁴³ For all of the symbolic associations with the eye, see Rudnitzky, *Das Auge des Horus*, 25, 54-56.

¹⁴⁴ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, 92-94, 98-99, Nelson, “Ritual of Amenophis I.” For festivals particularly associated with the deified Amenhotep I, see Černý, “Le culte d’Amenophis,” 182-184. Also see Ashraf I. Sadek, “Glimpses of Popular Religion in New Kingdom Egypt: Mourning for Amenophis I at Deir el-Medina,” *GM* 36

offering ritual most commonly performed, another likely reason that it was excerpted and copied from papyrus versions. This short offering ritual is aligned with the human daily schedule, linking the revivification of the god and the well-being of the human community in a common cosmological pattern. This ritual not only has strong mythological roots, but also biological sources. It deals with the most basic aspects of human life—sickness, death (sleep), food, power, and sexuality. The ritual stresses human interdependence with the daily solar cycle, and it has implications of survival: the meal can awaken a god, a powerful tool for vulnerable humans who require divine protective force in their midst.

The ritual is a magical adaptive tool galvanized through human anxiety and impotence in the face of uncontrollable natural and cosmological elements.¹⁴⁵ Magic must be confident, declarative in stating the way things should be. The god is exhorted to take the offerings and awaken himself (“Take to yourself the eye of Horus”). The offerings are said to *be* certain powerful elements, not to simply be *like* them. Magical practice is a means to an end. This particular ritual meal is meant to revivify and appease the god so as to bring him into earthly space and into communion with humanity.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, the ritual meal is not just a set of magical spells; it is embedded in religious liturgy, defined as “any ritual action with an ultimate frame of reference and the doing of which is understood to be of cosmic necessity.”¹⁴⁷ Liturgy is religious practice that allows humans to understand and control their place in the cosmic environment. Liturgical practice *waits* for divinity to manifest itself by creating the conditions for the god to appear. The ritual meal, the sacred space, the magical incantations, and the offerings that symbolically become what they need to be all create the necessary conditions, but in the end, the human element must simply wait for the divine element to become manifest.

(1979): 51-56. For some letters mentioning preparation for festivals of Amenhotep, see O. Brussels E. 6781 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, VII: 200-201), P. Deir el Medina 10 (Jaroslav Černý and Georges Posener, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, nos. I-XVII, *Documents de fouilles de l'IFAO*, vol. 8 (Cairo: IFAO, 1978), 22-23, pls. 26-27a).

¹⁴⁵ See Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 48-50.

¹⁴⁶ For discussion of the actual difference between “magic” and “religion” in ancient Egypt see Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 4-28 and 236-249.

¹⁴⁷ Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 51.

Lévi-Strauss' structuralism¹⁴⁸ has already been mentioned with regard to the ritual overall structure. This ritual meal also plays with a number of opposite sensibilities throughout—vulnerability and strength; dependence and independence; sleep and aggression; passivity and activity; impotence and power.¹⁴⁹ Both the divinity and the human performers take active and passive roles. The god passively receives offerings in the gestured ritual, but he actively takes what he needs according to the symbolic language following each offering. The human participants actively offer, gesture, and speak, but they must passively wait for the ritual to have the desired effect, for the so-called “contentment” (*hṯp*) of the god. At the core of the rite is suffering: the vulnerability of divinity and, at the same time, the human dependence on manifested divine power. The ritual stems from this human anxiety. In this ritual meal, there is as focus on the god's susceptibility—on his childlike need for milk, on his need to retake his wounded and lost eye, on his need to regain his sexual strength (testicles of Seth)—but this divine vulnerability is simply a mirror of human physical and psychological requirements. Divinity and humanity are interconnected in this ritual; both god and human must go through a cycle of birth, sickness, death, and a rebirth, all centered around the mythos of the Eye of Horus and its capacity for cyclical regeneration.

When this ritual was developed, the mythological structure already existed, as did the basic form of its incantations. Ritualists adapted both to fit a local god of Thebes and his cultic needs. They added the name of the new god Djeserkare, the deified Amenhotep, to the title, and they changed the cultic context of the ritual. Even though these adaptations seem to be just a slight veneer, Amenhotep was thereby added to a number of other gods already associated with the mythology of the ritual: Horus, Seth, Osiris, and most recently added, Amen-Re of Karnak. Such adaptations represent part of the mechanism for steady and gradual change over time in the ancient Egyptian religious system.

¹⁴⁸ For a short introduction to structuralism, see Segal, *Myth*, 113-125.

¹⁴⁹ For a good structural approach to the Horus and Seth myth, see Goebis, “Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth,” 42-59.

Abbreviations

ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> . Cairo, 1900-
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> . Göttingen, 1972-
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i> . Leiden, 2001-
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> . London, 1914-
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago, 1942-
PT/Pyr	Sethé, Kurt. <i>Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte</i> . Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908.
Wb.	Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> 1-7, and <i>Belegstellen</i> 1-5. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926-1951.

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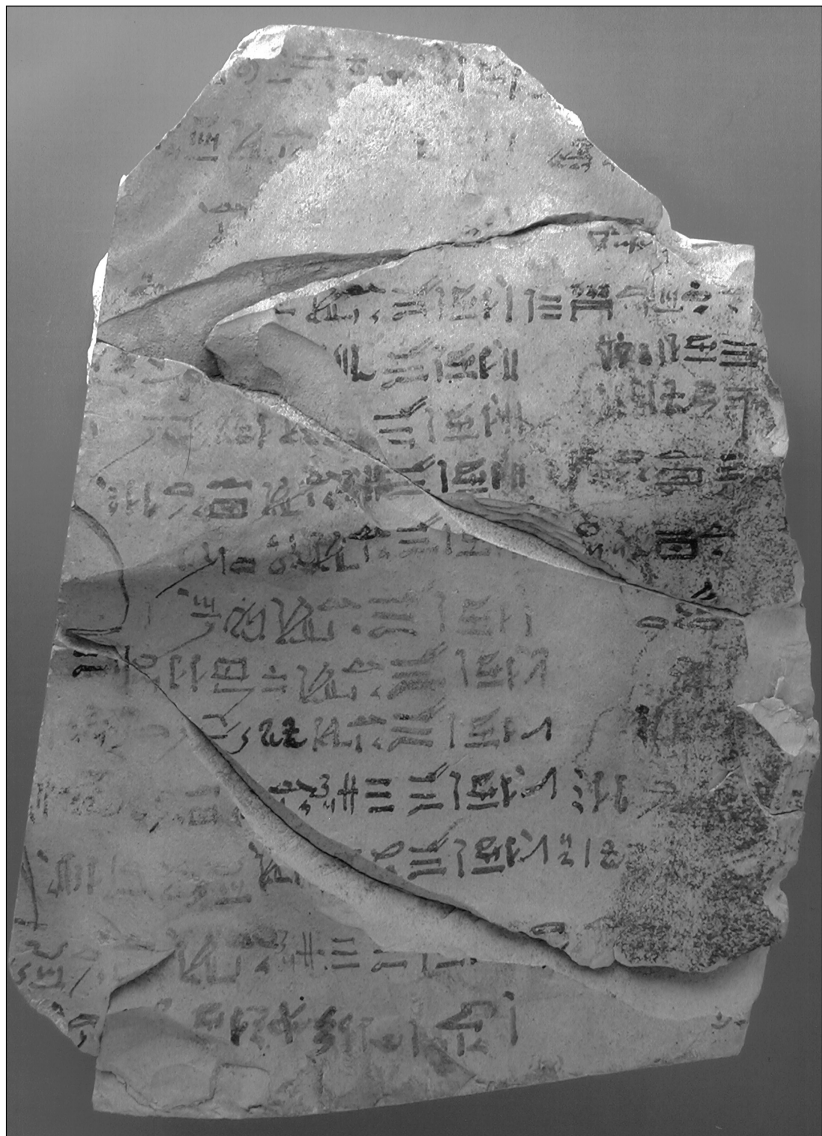


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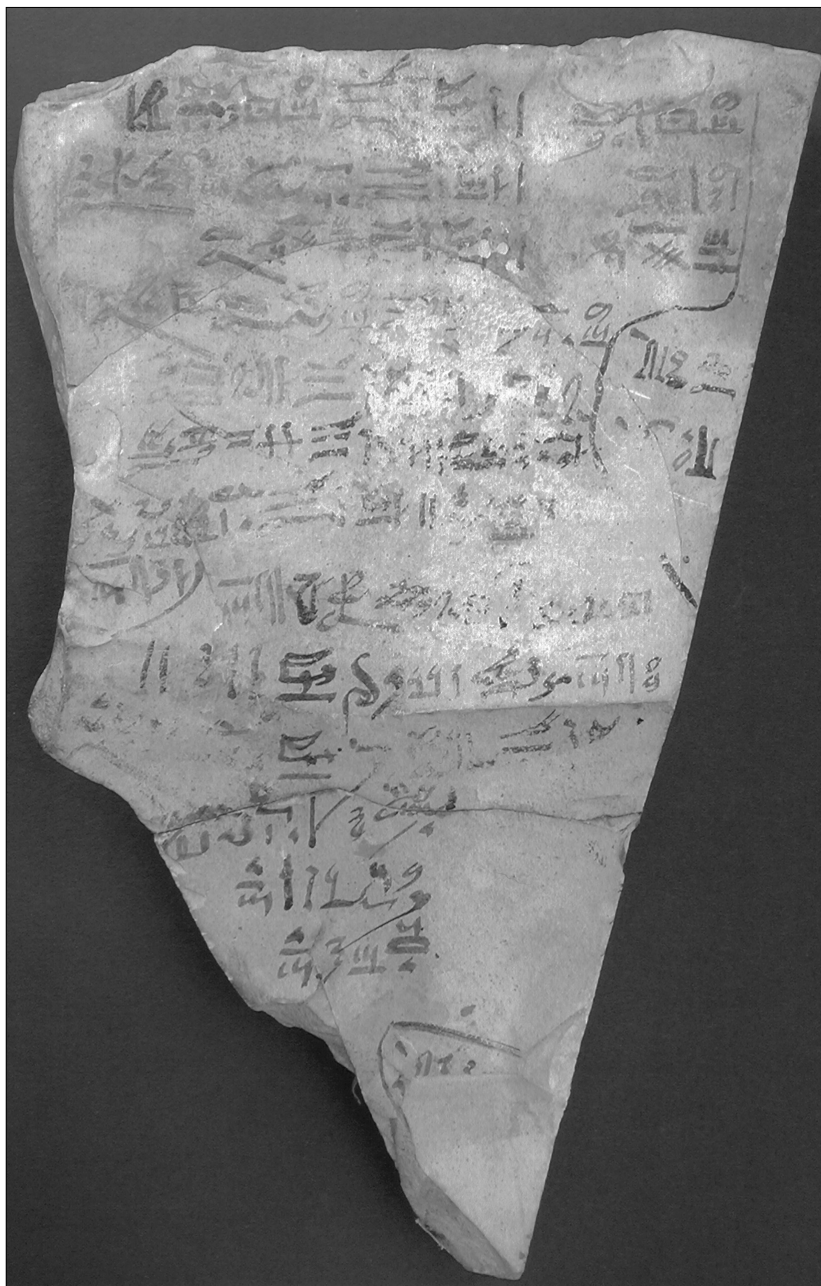


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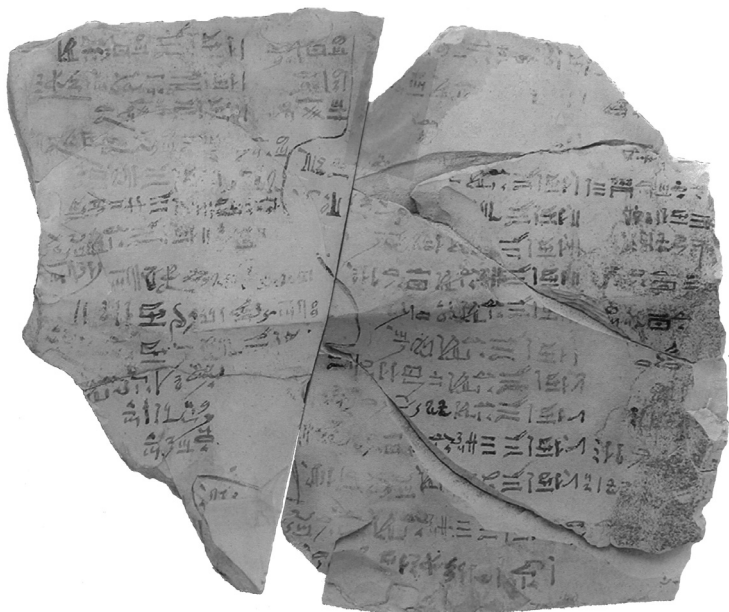


Plate 3. O. LACMA M. 80. 203.192 + M. 80. 203.211

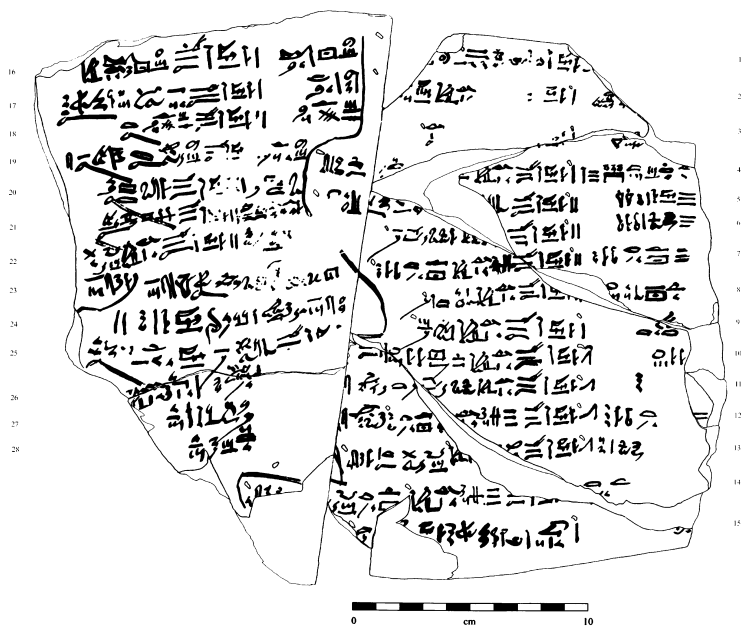


Plate 4. O. LACMA M. 80. 203.192 + M. 80. 203.211. Facsimile Drawing