
ANKHTAWY: NOTES ON ITS NATURE AND LOCATION BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW KINGDOMS¹

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ABSTRACT

Landscapes are dynamic and changing realities at a geographical and cognitive level that should be studied in detail in their synchronic and diachronic aspects for the correct understanding of their role in human societies. This paper presents a case study of the toponym Ankhtawy (ꜥnh-t3wj), the 'Life of the Two Lands', located in the Memphite region since the Third Millennium BC. Thanks to a combination of written, archaeological, geomorphological and palaeoenvironmental evidence, an analysis has been carried out that considers the scarce and not very detailed previous studies, the topography associated with the toponym, its spellings and possible meanings and its associated deities, together with new archaeological, geomorphological and paleoenvironmental evidence. It has been found that at first Ankhtawy could not designate (part of) the city of Memphis or its necropolis, but the Wadi Abusir; only in a later date it would designate the necropolitan and cultic area of the desert of North Saqqara.

KEY-WORDS

Ankhtawy, Ancient Egyptian toponymy, place names, Bastet, Memphis, Saqqara, Abusir, Wadi Abusir, wadi

ANJTAUY: NOTAS SOBRE SU NATURALEZA Y LOCALIZACIÓN ENTRE EL REINO ANTIGUO Y EL REINO NUEVO

RESUMEN

Los paisajes constituyen a nivel geográfico y cognitivo realidades dinámicas y cambiantes que deben estudiarse en detalle en sus aspectos sincrónicos y diacrónicos para la correcta comprensión de su papel en las sociedades humanas. En este artículo se presenta un estudio de caso acerca del topónimo Anjtauy (ꜥnh-t3wj), la "Vida de las Dos Tierras", localizado en la región menfita desde el Tercer Milenio a.C. Aunando fuentes escritas, arqueológicas, geomorfológicas y paleoambientales se ha efectuado un análisis que considera los escasos y poco detallados estudios previos, la topografía asociada con el topónimo, sus grafías y posibles significados y sus divinidades asociadas, junto con nuevas evidencias arqueológicas, geomorfológicas y paleoambientales. Merced a ello se puede plantear la hipótesis de que en un primer momento Anjtauy no designaba (parte de) la ciudad de Menfis o su necrópolis, sino el Wadi Abusir, para solamente más tarde designar el área necropolitana y cultural del desierto de Saqqara Norte.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Anjtauy, toponimia egipcia antigua, topónimos, Bastet, Menfis, Saqqara, Abusir, Wadi Abusir, wadi

§ 0 As recent studies in Humanities and Social Sciences have emphasised, landscape is not only the sum of geomorphological, climatic, biotopic and anthropic elements, but it is also a cultural construct which is built upon experience, conscience and emotion, and embodied and expressed by rich and complex means such as sociocultural *habitus* and cultural metaphors². Landscape is also a mutable, dynamic reality, changing over time, and

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² Cf. Tilley & Cameron-Daum 2017: 1-13.

its study has not only to pay attention to its characteristics, but also to the ways and reasons for its physical and cognitive transformations. This paper is an approach to this kind of study in the field of Egyptology, a case study which I want to present as a humble contribution in homage to K. Kessler, whose studies on historical geography –among other topics– of the Ancient Near East constitute a landmark in the discipline, but also for his inspiring example as a scholar and, above all, as a person. I hope that Dr. Kessler finds this study worthy of his interest.

1. Aim, sources and methodology of the study

§ 1 This paper is an approach to a locality, Ankhtawy (*ʿnḫ-t3wj*), which in the known sources of various periods, from the Old Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman period, presents a certain degree of variability and ambiguity as regards its nature and location. Thus, although it is always located within the Memphite area, the fact that this toponym knows different locations, associations and meanings makes a systematic study of it, not carried out as such to date, worthy of interest. In the case of this work, it has been chosen to focus on the sources between the Old Kingdom and the New Kingdom (*c.* 2592⁺²⁵-1077 BC, dynasties III-XX)³. As well as for reasons of space, the motivations for limiting the study to such a time frame lie basically in the fact that in the First Millennium BC the nature and location of Ankhtawy are far better known than for earlier periods⁴.

§ 2 The sources that have been used so far for determining the nature and location of Ankhtawy are textual, mainly hieroglyphic inscriptions from funerary contexts. Even though in this study they constitute the essential documentary base⁵, it is interesting to underline the usefulness of the combination of the data that can be drawn from them with new methodologies of textual analysis and several documents which have hardly been considered in order to understand and elucidate the questions raised by that toponym.

Among the new methodologies of textual analysis applied in this work, it is worth mentioning the study of the classifiers / determinatives of the spellings of the place name Ankhtawy in a diachronic and synchronic perspective, with the aim of studying how it has been conceptualized from its first appearance, in the Old Kingdom, to the New Kingdom (§§ 22-26). Another method that has been applied here is the study of the divine epithets composed with the toponym and the determination of the nature and personality of their holders in relation to Ankhtawy (§§ 27-37). It has also been decided to study the topographical features associated with this place name (§§ 15-20), being a type of analysis that has so far only been carried out partially in previous works.

Other sources complementary to the textual ones are those coming from other areas of study and analysis. First, the topography and archaeology of the Saqqara region (§§ 39-47), which in recent years have yielded interesting elements of comparison with the some data that can be inferred from the epigraphy. Secondly, the geomorphological and paleoclimatic studies carried out by the Survey of Memphis and the Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project in recent years provide an empirical basis for contextualizing the data from inscriptions and archaeology in the context of what has emerged as a more dynamic and changing landscape over time than previously assumed (§§ 48-51). Thirdly, some proposals derived from the principles of landscape archaeology that have been applied to the Memphite region are very

³ The chronology adopted, even with certain reservations, is that provided by Hornung et al. 2006.

⁴ Cf. e. g. Ray 1976: 146-154, esp. 150-151; id. 1978; Davies & Smith 1997: 112-114; Pasquali 2011: 81, n. 258.

⁵ Sources will be referred to throughout the work by means of an Arabic numeral between square brackets, which refer to the list at the end of the article, where they are listed in chronological order.

suggestive in terms of the interrelationship of all these elements with each other in a way that allows for a more reliable reconstruction of the experience of the ancient Egyptians in this region of the Nile Valley, integrating the epigraphic sources with the topography, geomorphology and archaeology (§§ 52-55).

2. Previous locations and interpretations

§ 3 The study of the place name Ankhtawy raises several difficulties and problems. First of all, as has already been pointed out, it has never been systematically examined, as it has only been the subject of study in specific⁶ or general synchronic analyses in reference works on the geography of the Nile Valley⁷. In both types of studies, reference has been made to several historical periods, although most of the times this has been done without analysing in detail their possible semantic evolution, taking for granted its static character over time. Another difficulty in its study, which should also be noted, is the fact that this place name does not appear to have survived in Greek, Coptic or Arabic toponymy, which has deprived research on the subject of a useful tool for support and comparison⁸.

§ 4 On the other hand, the place name Ankhtawy, as already outlined above and as it will be developed later, seems to have had a changing nature over time, which has made it present a relatively wide and flexible range of meanings and associations, and, probably, of locations. This also allows explain the great heterogeneity in the locations of this place name which have proposed by the Egyptologists, who overwhelmingly think it was located in the Memphite region.

2.1. Previous hypothesis for the location of Ankhtawy

§ 5 From textual sources of several historical periods, some scholars believe that Ankhtawy referred to Memphis itself as a whole or its region⁹. In that sense, this place name would function as a metaphorical synonym of Memphis itself (cf. § 7). However, as M. Sandman-Holmberg had already pointed out, the biographical text of Amenhotep-Huy [135] suggests that Ankhtawy would not be synonymous with Memphis, since it would be situated to the west of the latter (§§ 7 and 18)¹⁰.

§ 6 On the other hand, a more widespread view is that the place name would actually refer to a part of Memphis, either to its suburbs and neighbourhoods¹¹, one of its temples¹², the temple area of the city¹³ or, especially, to its necropolitan and desert area¹⁴.

§ 7 In this regard, some authors have proposed to place it during the New Kingdom in the region adjacent to the desert escarpment to the west of the Great Temple of Ptah,

⁶ E. g. De Meulenaere 1960; Ray 1976; id. 1978; Pasquali 2011.

⁷ Brugsch 1879: 127; Gauthier 1925: 149; Montet 1957: 32; Zibelius 1978: 55-56.

⁸ On this kind of source for the study of ancient Egyptian toponymy, see Razanajo 2016: 48-49 and 56-58.

⁹ E. g. Gardiner apud Petrie et al. 1913: 33, n. 5; Gauthier 1925: 149; Faulkner 1962: 44 (4); Vercoutter 1962: 4; Hannig 2003: 1549 {41161}; id. 2006: 2939-2940 {41161}; Ragazzoli 2008: 77, n. 9.

¹⁰ Sandman-Holmberg 1946: 214.

¹¹ E. g. Brugsch 1879: 127 ("nom de la place des arbres sacrés du grand temple de Memphis"); Maspero 1900: 24, n. 3 (locating it at Kom el-Aziz, the northernmost of the *kom* of Memphis); Montet 1957: 32;; Zivie 2012: 426, n. 6.

¹² Naville apud Petrie 1888b: 15, n. 4; cf. Sandman-Holmberg 1946: 214.

¹³ E. g. Mathieu 1996: 70, n. 175.

¹⁴ E. g. Zibelius 1978: 55 ("Durch die frühen Belege von *ʿnh t3wj* in Abū Šīr, den Kultbezug zu Ptah von Memphis und besonders durch die Statue Amenophis' aus der 18. Dyn. ist sicher, daß *ʿnh t3wj* im Raum von Memphis zu lokalisieren ist").

where the enclosures of millions of years of several kings of that period would be located¹⁵, or in the desert plateau of the Saqqara area, especially the zone of North Saqqara¹⁶. These interpretations are based on the ‘biographical’ text of Amenhotep-Huy [135], where he refers that he built a temple of this kind for Amenhotep III *m b^h [n(j)] jmntt-Ḥwt-K3-Pth hr jdb n(j) ḥt-t3wj* ‘in the inundated land [of] the west of Hutkaptah, on the fringe¹⁷ of Ankhtawy’¹⁸.

§ 8 Secondly, Ankhtawy has been understood as a general denomination of the Memphite necropolis¹⁹. This is what some documents from the New Kingdom seem to imply, where there are mentions of the *hrt*, a term that can be translated either as ‘necropolis’ [138] or as a ‘tomb’ [141] said to be located on that site. Some texts from the same period refer to the desire to have ‘a good burial’ (*qrst nfrt*) [125, 127, 155] there, the same expression appearing in an epithet of Hathor at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty [136], *nbt-qrst nfrt m ḥt-t3wj* ‘Mistress of the good burial in Ankhtawy’²⁰. There are also mentions to the ‘house’ (*pr*) [153] or the ‘tomb-chapel’ (*ḥwt*) [154] made (*jrj*) by the deceased in that place.

§ 9 Thirdly, several authors have identified Ankhtawy with the *temenos* of the temple of Bastet in North Saqqara, a cultic enclosure that is known in Greek sources as *Bubastieion* and was located between the Wadi Abusir and the causeway of the funerary complex of king Wenis. The basis for this interpretation lies in the textual sources dating from the Late and Graeco-Roman periods²¹.

§ 10 Finally, it has also been suggested that Ankhtawy was an alternative name to that of the goddess or goddesses who personify the Memphite necropolis (mainly Hathor and Imentet, cf. § 35), in a similar way to the goddess(es) of the West in the Theban area²².

2.2. Hypothesis for the meaning of the place name Ankhtawy

§ 11 As to the linguistic meaning of the toponym, several hypotheses have been raised to date. The second element of the compound, *t3wj*, does not present problems of interpretation as the dual masculine noun meaning ‘the Two Lands’, as the spellings of the place name make clear (vid. Appendix C)²³.

§ 12 For its part, the first element, *ḥt*, does raise some questions. Some authors have argued that *ḥt* is the word for ‘knot’, and they translate it as ‘Binding-knot of the Two

¹⁵ Kitchen 1991: 93, figs. 1-2.

¹⁶ E. g. Zivie 1988: 104 (“cette vaste zone de Saqqarah que l’on pourrait appeler peut-être du nom ancien de *dhnt ḥt-t3wj* ou «butte/plateau de ‘Ankh-taouy», désignation qui doit en fait dépasser le cadre de la zone du Bubasteion et englober une partie du plateau de Saqqarah et en tout cas une bonne portion de l’escarpement oriental du site, du wadi qui le sépare d’Abousir et jusqu’à la chaussée d’Ounas”); id. 2012: 426-427; Pasquali & Gessler-Löhr 2011: 285.

¹⁷ Vid. § 18.

¹⁸ Sandman-Holmberg 1946: 214; Zibelius 1978: 55; Pasquali 2011: 34-35 and 111-112; Pasquali & Gessler-Löhr 2011: 285-286.



¹⁹ E. g. Roeder 1911: 47 (§ 123); Gauthier 1925: 149; De Meulenaere 1960: 104; Clère 1968: 146-147; Altenmüller 1975: 267; Ray 1976: 146 and n. 2 (“In the Late Period, the term seems to have been a general one for the entire necropolis area of the desert west of Memphis, and particularly the northern sector where lay the shrines of Osorapis, Isis mother of the Apis, Thoth the Ibis, Imḥōtep, Anubis, and Bastet, ‘lady of Ankhtawy’”); Hannig 2003: 1549 {41161}; id. 2006: 2939-2940 {41161}; Garnett 2010: 56. Cf. Sandman-Holmberg 1946: 214; Zibelius 1978: 55; Ragazzoli 2008: 77, n. 9.

²⁰ In a similar sense, in [156], unfortunately incomplete, is the wish for a goddess described as ‘Great One’ (*wrt*) and ‘Lady of the Two Lands’ (*ḥnwt-t3wj*) (very probably Isis; cf. Martin 1991: 116, fig. 77), to give (*dj=s*) to the deceased ‘the West [of] (?) Ankhtawy’ (*jmntt [n(j)t] (?) ḥt-t3wj*).

²¹ Vercoutter 1962: 5 (D); Wildung 1969: 79, n. 10; Zibelius 1978: 56; Pasquali 2011: 81, n. 258, with references.

²² Málek 1981: 158, n. 17 (from [140]).

²³ Cf. *Wb.* V 219, 4-11; Hannig 2003: 1402-1403 {36321-36325}; id. 2006: II, 2641-2644 {36321-48602}.

Lands'²⁴, probably as a reference to the intermediate position of Memphis between Upper and Lower Egypt, in a way similar to that of another metaphorical denomination of that locality, *Mh3t-t3wj* 'Balance of the Two Lands'²⁵. However, the meaning of *ḥnh* connected to 'knot' or similar words does not seem to appear before the New Kingdom, when it is for the first time documented with the meaning of 'garland' or 'bouquet'²⁶. This makes the possibility of understanding the toponym as 'Binding-knot of the Two Lands' rather unlikely, since sources referring to Ankhtawy date from the Old Kingdom on. In addition, it should be noted that the classifiers present in the spellings of *ḥnh* as 'knot' etc. are  (V12) and  (M2)²⁷, which are absent in the spellings documented for the place name (cf. Appendix C).

§ 13 Other scholars²⁸ have understood the first element as the noun *ḥnh* 'life'²⁹, translating the compound as 'Life of the Two Lands'³⁰. In favour of this possibility are the spellings of the place name, given that all of them are consistent with this reading. Nevertheless, even if this seems to be the most plausible option, it is legitimate to wonder about the overall meaning of the expression, since the translation 'Life of the Two Lands' is not entirely clear. For that reason, the possible meaning of the place name and the landscape reality to which it could have referred will be discussed later (§§ 57-61).

§ 14 A third possibility, which has hardly been accepted, is to understand *ḥnh* as the intransitive 3-lit. verb 'to live'³¹, with *t3wj* as its subject. Thus, it has been proposed to translate the toponym as 'The Two Lands live'³². This option seems not very likely, since this kind of proper names is not usually composed as a verbal phrase, and they are usually limited to new foundations³³.

3. Topographical features related to Ankhtawy

§ 15 In order to understand the nature and determine the location of Ankhtawy attention should be paid to some documents that attest the existence of several topographical features which are related to the toponym *ḥnh-t3wj* from the New Kingdom on.

§ 16 A first topographical element of reference is the mention of a 'mountain' (*dw*), which appears documented among the wishes for the Beyond in a Ramesside stela [152], where it is mentioned that these wishes are fulfilled *hr dw pf n(j) ḥnh-t3wj* 'on that hill of Ankhtawy'. This would probably be an allusion to the rock-cut tombs of the New Kingdom in the North Saqqara area, possibly between the *Bubastieion* tombs in the north and the 'temple tombs' of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and of Ramesside age in the south³⁴.

§ 17 Another topographical feature that is related to the toponym Ankhtawy, very similar to the latter, is '(the) hill-top, summit' (*(t3) dhnt*) of Ankhtawy, that is written in the demotic sources as *thn*, *thnj* or *thn(y)t*³⁵. The earliest mention of this acroterionym seems to be in a tomb scene of Ramesside age [140], where the figure of the goddess personifying the

²⁴ Westendorf 1966: 153; Bergman, 1968: 44-45; pace Ray 1976: 146, n. 2.

²⁵ *Wb.* II 130, 13.

²⁶ *Wb.* I 204, 3-5; Faulkner 1962: 44 (6).

²⁷ See n. 24 for the references, and Westendorf 1966: 153.

²⁸ Zibelius 1978: 55, with earlier references.

²⁹ *Wb.* I 198, 11 – 200, 8; Faulkner 1962: 43-44 (no. 2); Hannig 2003: 275-277 {5364-5398}.

³⁰ E. g. *Wb.* I 203, 13; Zibelius 1978: 55; Jeffreys 2012: 222-223 ("symbolising the city's pivotal role between the two realms of Upper and Lower Egypt").

³¹ *Wb.* I 193, 8 – 198, 2; Faulkner 1962: 43-44 (no. 1); Hannig 2003: 272-275 {5330-5363}.

³² A. Erman apud Sethe 1928: 72 (g).

³³ Razanajo 2016: 38.

³⁴ Martin 1991; Schneider 1999; Buongarzone 2003: 118-119, all of them with references.

³⁵ De Meulenaere 1960: 104 (ç); Ray 1976: 150 and 183 (B. 4, index).

West is named in that way; such a personification is more frequent in instances of the Late Period on³⁶. In documents dated at the end of the Late Period and the Graeco-Roman period it designates a place where shrines and cults devoted to Bastet, Anubis, Imhotep and Osiris Rudjisut were located³⁷. In that sense, it has been interpreted as “the low plateau containing both the archaic cemetery of Dynasties I and II, and the later *mastabas* of the Old Kingdom”³⁸, as the area of the temple of Anubis (*Anubieion*)³⁹, or the *temenos* of Bastet (*Bubastieion*)⁴⁰. In a different way, the term *dhnt* has been interpreted not as a hill-top or summit, but, rather, as a foothill, sometimes giving access to an escarpment; in this case, it would designate the escarpment of the area of the *Bubastieion* at North Saqqara⁴¹.

§ 18 A third feature, which has already been mentioned, is ‘the fringe of Ankhtawy’ (*jdb n(j) ḥnh-t3wj*), an area close to the ‘inundated land [of] the west of Hutkaptah’ (*bḥ [n(j)] jmntt-Ḥwt-K3-Pth*), referred in the biographical inscription of Amenhotep Huy [135] and dated in the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. That characteristic is spelled as *ḥ* ; some scholars have read it as *w*, translating it as ‘region, area, district’⁴², but, as S. Pasquali has recently shown, it seems more preferable a more precise reading as *jdb* ‘fringe’, meaning ‘un type de terrain faisant la transition entre les hautes terres et la zone inondable’⁴³. Thus, that ‘fringe’ could be interpreted as the strip of desert running from north southwards and be located between the alluvial plain and the rocky escarpment of the area of North Saqqara, as some authors have suggested⁴⁴.

§ 19 Finally, there is some evidence on Ankhtawy as a necropolis area. Besides the references to ‘necropolis’ / ‘tomb’ (*hrt*), ‘burial’ (*qrst*) or ‘tomb-chapel’ (*hwt*) located there (§ 8)⁴⁵, several texts show details on this aspect from a more ‘topographical’ perspective. First, is the mention of *sm(j)t-ḥnh-t3wj* ‘the desert of Ankhtawy’ in epithets of deceased in the Ramesside period⁴⁶, such as *m3ḥtj m sm(j)t-ḥnh-t3wj* ‘righteous in the desert of Ankhtawy’ [149]. That sense seems to be also referred to in the visitors’ graffiti, where it is said of the *3ḥw 3w n(j)w jmntt-ḥnh-t3wj* ‘great *akhu* [i. e. the deceased kings] of the West of Ankhtawy’ [150], a reference that is synonymic to ‘the West of Memphis’ (*ḥr jmntt-Mn-nfr*) in other texts of the same kind⁴⁷. This would be in accordance with the feature of the ‘fringe’ (*jdb*) discussed *supra* (§ 18), since the monument on which that graffiti appears is the Step Pyramid complex of Netjerykhet Djoser, at North Saqqara. In another graffiti, found in the funerary complex of Senusert III at Dahshur and dated in the reign of Thutmose III, is the fragmentary and hence ambiguous allusion to a *st wr[t] n(j)t ḥnh-[t3wj]* ‘gre[at] place of Ankh[tawy]’⁴⁸, which probably refers to the monument itself, which would be intended to be located in that place.

§ 20 It must be noted, however, that no mention of those topographical features predates the New Kingdom. At the same time, since that period onwards the spellings of the

³⁶ E. g. *LÄGG* VII 566 ([2]: *Dhnt-ḥnh-t3wj*; [3]: *Dhnt wrt n(j)t ḥnh-t3wj*).

³⁷ De Meulenaere 1960: 104-106; Ray 1976: 150-151.

³⁸ Ray 1976: 149.

³⁹ De Meulenaere 1960: 106, n. 1.

⁴⁰ Vid. n. 34.

⁴¹ Yoyotte 2003: 289-294; Zivie 2012: 426-427.

⁴² Pasquali 2011: 112, n. 359; Pasquali & Gessler-Löhr 2011: 285, n. 10, for the references.

⁴³ Pasquali 2011: 112, n. 359; id. apud Pasquali & Gessler-Löhr 2011: 285.

⁴⁴ Kitchen 1991: 99-100 (figs. 1-2); Garnett 2010: 56.

⁴⁵ In [153] the deceased mentions *pr jr.n=j ntj m ḥnh-t3wj* ‘the house that I have made and that is in Ankhtawy’.

⁴⁶ There is also the desire of the deceased of becoming ‘a venerable *ba* of Ankhtawy’ (*b3 šps n(j) ḥnh-t3wj*) (*LÄGG* II 700 (1)).

⁴⁷ E. g. Navrátilová 2006: 91. Cf. [156], and following note.





⁴⁸ Navrátilová 2006: 103.





word show one classifier that is never present in them before: the ‘hill-land’ hieroglyph (N25) (§ 24) and also other that seem to be related to it (§ 25). If a coincidence cannot be discarded, it is rather possible that it is due to its location or to its landscape characteristics.

4. The evidence of the classifiers

§ 21 The classifiers, or determinatives, constitute a privileged window from which to look at aspects of the ancient Egyptian mind, as several studies have shown in recent times⁴⁹. Their study can provide some ways to understand the means by which the ancient Egyptians conceptualised and categorised their world and their experience with reality. Thus, this kind of cognitive analysis can give some clues to the understanding and meaning of the toponym Ankhtawy, as well as to help to determine if its semantics or characteristics have changed over time (vid. Appendix C).

§ 22 In its most ancient documents, those dated in the Old Kingdom [1-5], the place name is always written without any classifier {a}⁵⁰. Each of the two components of the compound noun does not show a classifier or phonetic complements, and so both the *regens* and the *rectum* are spelled as logograms.

§ 23 Since the Middle Kingdom, in addition to the same spellings documented for the Old Kingdom {a}, for the first time the word *ḥt-t3wj* shows classifiers and phonetic complements (especially of the first noun, *ḥt*) {b-c, e, i-j, o}. First, the second element of the compound, *t3wj*, begins to exhibit some of its usual determinatives of its dual form, which are written once or twice. They are the signs of the ‘irrigation canal’ (, N23) {f-j, l-m, q} and the ‘tongue of land’ (, N21) {d-e, p}. In some cases they are also accompanied by the vertical stroke (, Z1) (with N23 {g-h, j} and with N21 {p}). More interesting is the existence in some instances of one classifier at the end of the compound noun and related to it and not to its parts separately. It is the hieroglyph of the ‘town with the cross-roads’ (, O49) {k-l}, which also works as the logogram *njwt* ‘town’, ‘settlement’⁵¹. This sign is the most commonly employed determinative for the writing of toponyms, and more specifically it is used for classifying place-names considered as [URBAN(ISED)], [ANTHROPIZED AREA], [SEDENTARY], and, thus, properly [EGYPTIAN] and [INSIDE]⁵². The presence of that determinative in the spelling of the toponym could be interpreted as regularization of the writing of the word as place-name (belonging to the well-known phenomenon of normalization of the hieroglyphic script during the Middle Kingdom), on the one hand, showing its inclusion in those semantic categories, as a proper Egyptian place, on the other hand.

§ 24 The New Kingdom sees some interesting innovations in the hieroglyphic spelling of *ḥt-t3wj*. The first of them is a new logographic writing {u-v}, where *t3wj* is spelled by means of the use of one ‘lily’ (, M127) plus one papyrus plant (, M13), very commonly placing the sign  (S34, *ḥt*) between them, emphasising the visual aspects of it in a sportive, more symmetrical and emblematic, expression. The other development seems to be more significant for the topic treated in this paper. Since the Eighteenth Dynasty the determinative that is added to the end of the compound and that classifies the entire word is the ‘hill-land’ hieroglyph (, N25) {r-t, v-x}, that as logogram refers the word *ḥ3st* ‘hill-

⁴⁹ The theoretical grounds of this approach in Egyptology can be found in Goldwasser 1995; ead. 2002; Frandsen 1997.

⁵⁰ References to the hieroglyphic spellings, listed in the Appendix C, are given within curly parentheses ({}).

⁵¹ *Wb.* II 210, 7 – 212, 4; Gardiner 1957³: 498 (s. v. O49); Faulkner 1962: 125 (17); Hannig 2003: 595-598 {14860-14887}; id. 2006: I, 1199-1203 {14860-14887}.

⁵² Loprieno 2001: 58-88; Spalinger 2008: *passim*; Razanajo 2016: 36, 40-41, all of them with references.

land', 'foreign region'⁵³. Given that this sign is used as determinative for terms included in the category of [FOREIGNNESS], [NOMAD] and [OUTSIDE EGYPT], but also in those of [DESERT], [DESERT MOUNTAIN(S)]⁵⁴, the meaning that it conveys to *ʿnh-t3wj* seems to be related to the notion that this place is situated in the desert (cf. § 19) or, in addition to this meaning, that it emphasises the rocky, mountainous, nature of it (cf. §§ 16-17, 25).

§ 25 The preceding possibility seems more plausible if it is taken into consideration one very instructive instance [141] {w}, where the spelling of *ʿnh-t3wj* carries several determinatives: the sign of the 'hill-land' (N25), the two vertical strokes (ʿ, Z4A), denoting dual number, and the hieroglyph of the 'hill-slope' (𐀓, N29). The use of the latter as a phonogram, by far its most common use, is as the monoconsonantal *q*, whose origin is probably related to the root *q(3)*, denoting the notion of [HEIGHT], [ELEVATION]⁵⁵. The use of this hieroglyph as a classifier⁵⁶ is not very usual, and it is apparently limited to several words derived from that same root, like *q33* '(primeval) hill'⁵⁷ and *q3 / q33* 'hill', 'hillside, slope'⁵⁸. Combining the evidence of the classifiers of *ʿnh-t3wj* in this instance one could suggest that they could refer to the rocky escarpment west to Memphis, i. e. that of the Saqqara plateau. In that sense, it seems no coincidence that since the same period, the New Kingdom, some texts document for the first time the topographical features of the 'mountain' (*dw*) (§ 16) and 'the hill-top' or 'the escarpment' ((*t3*) *dhnt*) of Ankhtawy (§ 17), and the associations of the term with words such as *hrt* (§§ 8, 19), which is related to the notion of 'upland'⁵⁹. This could be interpreted as a semantic convergence, whose core or area of contact between those semantic clusters is apparently the idea of a rocky hillside in the desert, an idea which agrees with the topographical nature of the escarpment of North Saqqara⁶⁰, which is situated to the west of Memphis, as said of Ankhtawy in several texts from that period (cf. §§ 18-19).

§ 26 According to this evidence, it is apparent that between the Middle and the New Kingdoms there is a shift in the semantics implied in the categories of the classifiers employed in the writing of *ʿnh-t3wj*. Thus, the consideration of this place as fully integrated in the Egyptian sphere, as the use of the 'town' classifier (O49) attests, is nuanced and it sees emphasised its border, desert and mountainous nature, as inferred by the writings containing the 'hill-land' (N25) and the 'slope' (N29) determinatives⁶¹. The reasons that could explain this process of cognitive change will be suggested below in detail; nevertheless, for now it can be said that they would lie not only in a new consideration and understanding of the toponym, but also in a new experience of the place and the landscape it belonged to.

⁵³ *Wb.* III 234, 7 – 236, 2; Faulkner 1962: 185 (7-8); Hannig 2003: 927-928 {22805-22844}; id. 2006: II, 1838-1841 {22805-22844}.

⁵⁴ Loprieno 2001: 58-88; Diego Espinel 2006: 47-84; Spalinger 2008: passim; Baines 2013: 46; Razanajo 2016: 36-37; Gundacker 2017: passim, esp. 351, 356 and 362, all of them with earlier references.

⁵⁵ *Wb.* V 1, 1 – 5, 6; Faulkner 1962: 275 (1-6); Hannig 2003: 1327-1328 {33862-33902}; id. 2006: II, 2503-2506 {33862-33902}.

⁵⁶ Gardiner 1957³: 489 (s. v. N29).

⁵⁷ E. g. *PT* 587, § 1587c^{PN}; 600, § 1652a^N (the second one already noted by *ibid.*). Vid. Bickel 1994: 67-70.

⁵⁸ E. g. *Urk.* I 287, 7; 292, 1; *CT* 407, V 218b (M₂₂C, B₃Bo, S₂C, S₁C).

⁵⁹ Baines 2013: 46.

⁶⁰ Vid. e. g. Carlucci 2003: 240 and 250-253.

⁶¹ It is not documented for this term the joint use of the determinatives of the 'hill-land' (N25) and the 'town' (O49), as it appears in some toponyms from the New Kingdom on (Loprieno 2001: 76-86, figs. 4-7; Spalinger 2008).

5. Deities with epithets associated with Ankhtawy

§ 27 Further evidence that can be considered in order to shed light on this issue is the group of deities who show connections with Ankhtawy and the nature and meaning of their epithets in relation to this place name.

§ 28 The most ancient attestations of Ankhtawy associated to deities are only connected with goddesses and they come exclusively from royal funerary complexes. In these documents of the Old Kingdom they are all related to the Sun-god Ra as incarnations of the Eye of the Sun, mainly in their feline forms⁶². The most ancient and prominent of these lioness goddesses is Bastet, who exhibits the epithet *nbt-ḥtjw* ‘Mistress of Ankhtawy’ since the Old Kingdom [1, 3-4] on [9, 130-131, 134, 147, 158, 160-161]⁶³. The other goddess who is qualified as *nbt-ḥtjw* in this period and who is also connected with the Eye of the Sun is Wadjet, in only one instance [2].

§ 29 After a period of absence of evidence, the First Intermediate Period⁶⁴, in the Middle Kingdom, in addition to Bastet [9], another feline goddess associated with the Eye of the Sun who exhibits the epithet *nbt-ḥtjw* is Sekhmet [84]⁶⁵. However, the toponym begins to be related to deities that, in principle, do not have those solar characteristics. Among the goddesses, *nbt-ḥtjw* is held by Iunyt [62-64]⁶⁶, who is a deity not very well known. She does not seem directly related to felines or to the Eye of the Sun⁶⁷, since she is associated with the god Montu and the goddess Tjenenet at Armant. It is interesting to note, however, that it has been suggested that both Tjenenet and Iunyt could have several associations with the Memphite area according to their names and epithets⁶⁸, and that Montu presents important solar features⁶⁹, which so far have often been overlooked or underestimated. Although the characteristics of Iunyt in relation to the solar cult seem not clear, it does appear possible that her relationship with Ankhtawy is due to theological connections with and inspiration in Memphite deities. In fact, during the second half of the Eleventh Dynasty (documents [62-64], dated in the reign of Montuhotep III) there is a process of transference of relevant theological aspects of Memphite and Heliopolitan inspiration in the adaptation of the theologies of important gods of Theban origin, such as Montu and Amun, to the new political and ideological reality of the reunified state after the First Intermediate Period⁷⁰.

§ 30 The main innovation in the world of divinities related to Ankhtawy in the Middle Kingdom is, on the other hand, its association with male deities for the first time. One of them, of great importance, is Ptah, patron and main god of Memphis since the Thinite Period, who is now described as *nbt-ḥtjw* ‘Lord of Ankhtawy’⁷¹ in documents all over

⁶² On the deities incarnating this theological aspect, see recently Scandone-Matthiae 1993; Darnell 1997; De Jong 2001; Pinch 2002: 128-131 and 132-135; Bartos 2015: 3-5.

⁶³ Sandman-Holmberg 1946: 214; De Wit 1951: 311; Vercoutter 1962: 5 (D); Zibelius 1978: 55; Ragazzoli 2008: 77, n. 9; Borrego Gallardo 2011: 12.

⁶⁴ It is surprising that there are no textual sources referring to Ankhtawy during the First Intermediate Period. This particularly noteworthy for the Memphite area (cf. Daoud 2005), where no inscription records this toponym.

⁶⁵ Seemingly there is no longer evidence for Wadjet as related to Ankhtawy.

⁶⁶ Jankuhn 1980; Wilkinson 2003: 150; *LÄGG* I 190-191.

⁶⁷ Her name (*Jwnjt* / *Jwnyt*), however, rather than being translated as ‘She of Iunu (Heliopolis)’, the most important locality related to the Sun-god, Ra, could mean ‘She of Armant’ (*LÄGG* I 190-191). Her associations with solar aspects seem to be later in date (Jankuhn 1980).

⁶⁸ Borghouts 1982: 201.

⁶⁹ E. g. Werner 2001.

⁷⁰ Postel 2004: *passim*.

⁷¹ Gardiner 1947: II, 124*; Sandman-Holmberg 1946: 29 and 214-215; Altenmüller 1975: 266 and 267; Ragazzoli 2008: 77, n. 9.

Egypt and not only in the First Nome of Lower Egypt [8, 23, 29, 43-44, 51-52, 57, 64-66, 74, 79-80, 85, 91, 94, 96-98, 100, 108-109]. The emergence of this new aspect of Ptah can be explained in several ways, but three are the most plausible reasons: 1) the area of influence of the cult of Ptah of Memphis and/or this city reached a broader area, including now the place where Ankhtawy was⁷²; 2) the placement of Ankhtawy changed, moving to a zone closer to Memphis, where the main worship centre of Ptah stood; 3) a cult devoted to Ptah has been installed in Ankhtawy, which still was a separate locality.

§ 31 Nevertheless, the god who in this period shows quantitatively stronger links with Ankhtawy is Osiris, especially in sources coming from the area of Abydos⁷³. As well as Ptah, he is denominated *nb-ḥtjw* ‘Lord of Ankhtawy’ [6-7, 10-22, 24-25, 28, 31-33, 35, 37, 39, 40-42, 45-50, 53, 55-56, 58-59, 61, 63, 67-68, 70-73, 75-76, 82-83, 87-90, 92-93, 95, 99, 101-107]. One document [82] adds to this epithet the phrase *m swt=f nb(w)t* ‘in all his places’, suggesting that this aspect of Osiris, present in several localities of Upper and Lower Egypt, has its origin in Ankhtawy, in the area of Memphis. This idea can be supported by the fact that in this period the epithet *nb-ḥtjw* is held by composite deities involving Ptah, Osiris and Sokar, also native of the Memphite region and with funerary associations: Ptah-Osiris [54], Osiris-Ptah-Sokar [60], Ptah-Sokar [38, 77] and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris [26-27, 34, 36, 78]. Thus, it is possible that since the Middle Kingdom (and apparently only since then) Ankhtawy has clear connections with (an area of) the necropolis of Memphis. In that sense, as already shown, later, in the New Kingdom, those associations seem to be incorporated into the spellings of this place name by means of the addition of several determinatives (§§ 24-25). One could ask for the reasons that are behind the election of the epithet *nb-ḥtjw* for Osirian deities in a traditional place of worship of Osiris as Abydos. Taking into consideration the absence of links between the Osirian mythic cycle and theology and the myths and cult of the Eye of the Sun in this period, besides the aspects shared by Osiris and Ptah, the possibility that the huge quantity of documents found in Abydos referring to Osiris as ‘Lord of Ankhtawy’ have been deposited by pilgrims of Memphite origin⁷⁴, it is possible to suggest that the landscape evoked by the place name Ankhtawy could have been projected into the Abydene environment where the annual procession of Osiris was performed⁷⁵.

§ 32 The evidence relating to Ankhtawy for the Second Intermediate Period is very scarce. The only deities who now show epithets related to it are all male (always described as *nb-ḥtjw*). They are Ptah [117-119, 121, 123] and Osiris [110-111, 114-115, 120, 122], and their combined forms Ptah-Sokar [113, 116] and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris [112]. Seemingly they follow the same patterns as those have been described for the Middle Kingdom (§§ 30-31).

§ 33 In the New Kingdom, the sources are somehow different and more varied in nature, texts and deities involved. Gods who had previously held epithets associated to Ankhtawy, such as Bastet [130-131, 134, 147, 158, 160-161]⁷⁶, Ptah [124, 128-129, 132-133, 137, 142, 144, 146, 157, 159, 162]⁷⁷ and Osiris⁷⁸ –who in one instance [139] is qualified as

⁷² This would be in accordance to the use of the sign of the ‘town’ (O49) as determinative of the toponym (§ 23).

⁷³ Sandman-Holmberg 1946: 214; Spiegel, 1973: 10 and 16-23, and 194 (index).

⁷⁴ Spiegel 1973: 16-23.

⁷⁵ The present author is currently preparing a work exploring this possibility (cf. n. 143).

⁷⁶ Besides the sources referred to in the Appendix A, it should be added those given by *LÄGG* IV 30 (2-3), doc. [1-2, 5-7, 12-13, 18, 21, 26, 34].

⁷⁷ See also the sources given by *LÄGG* III 601-602, doc. [5-6, 8, 10, 16, 20, 21, 26-28, 30, 34, 41, 48, 53].

⁷⁸ References to Osiris as ‘Lord of Ankhtawy’ are notably fewer than those of previous periods: *ibid.*, doc. [4, 15, 19, 37, 68].

nswt-ḥt-ḥw ‘King of Ankhtawy’—, still maintain their relationships with that place name. The new form of Ptah, Ptah-Tatjenen, is described as *Pth-T3-tnn m ḥt-ḥw* ‘Ptah-Tatjenen in Ankhtawy’ [143]. In the funerary sphere, the only ‘composite’ deity is Sokar-Osiris⁷⁹, and other divinities qualified as *nb-ḥt-ḥw* emerge, such as Anubis [148]—also as *ḥntj ḥt-ḥw* ‘Foremost of Ankhtawy’ in two instances [126, 145]—and Khentyimentyu⁸⁰.

§ 34 As well as Bastet, another goddess incarnating aspects related to the Eye of the Sun who is now referred to as *nbt-ḥt-ḥw* is a deity closely associated to her, Shesmetet [146]⁸¹. More intriguing to this respect is the mention of the goddess Semat (*Sm3t*) [146], a badly known deity who presents a feline iconography in later periods⁸². Apparently, for this period there is no longer evidence for Iunyt and Sekhmet in relation to Ankhtawy, a fact that could underline the close connections of Bastet with this place.

§ 35 On the other hand, in the New Kingdom is documented once and for the first time one epithet of the goddess personifying the West, Imentet, as incarnation of the ‘hill-top of Ankhtawy’ or ‘escarpment of Ankhtawy’ (*dhnt-ḥt-ḥw*) [140] (§§ 8, 16-17, 19, 25). The connections of Imentet with Hathor⁸³ could also explain why the latter is referred to in one instance as *nbt-qrst nfrt m ḥt-ḥw* ‘Mistress of the good burial in Ankhtawy’ [136] (§ 8). They both act, then, as the mother deity who propitiates the rebirth of the deceased buried in the (mountain of the) West.

§ 36 Thus, it is possible to infer that in the earliest testimonies Ankhtawy appears associated only with feline goddesses who are in close relationship with Ra through the aspect of the Eye of the Sun, Bastet and Wadjet, and in later periods with other lioness goddesses such as Sekhmet, Shesmetet and, probably, Semat. In this way, the deities initially associated with Ankhtawy are not funerary in nature, but rather female and solar. Its funerary aspect is only connected with this place name from the Middle Kingdom. In this period, in addition to the goddesses Bastet, Sekhmet and Iunyt, for the first time male funerary divinities are now described as lords of this place, such as Ptah, patron of Memphis, Osiris, Ptah-Osiris, Osiris-Ptah-Sokar, Ptah-Sokar and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. This association of Ankhtawy with these funerary and necropolitan gods is accentuated in the New Kingdom. It is at this time that deities with attributes and functions in this field, such as Anubis, Khentyimentyu, Imentet and Hathor, are added to the group, while in the toponym’s spellings there are determinatives related to the desert and the mountain (§§ 24-25), and references to burials and cemeteries in relation to it are multiplied (§§ 8, 16, 19). However, the association of Ankhtawy with lioness solar goddesses (Bastet, Shesmetet and Semat) and with the town of Memphis (Ptah) is still present.

§ 37 On the other hand, the epithets related to Ankhtawy are, in an immense proportion, composed with the word *nb / nbt* ‘lord’ / ‘mistress’, and only very rarely with *ḥntj* ‘foremost of’ (only two instances, from the New Kingdom, for Anubis [126, 145]) and none with the phrase *ḥrj(t)-jb*. This last fact suggests that Ankhtawy does not refer to the name of a particular temple or sanctuary, but—as the evidence concerning its topographical features suggests (§§ 15-20)—rather to a region or toponym, since the divine epithets constructed with *ḥrj(t)-jb* usually refer to shrines and sacred buildings⁸⁴, and not to localities and landscape

⁷⁹ Ibid., doc. [24].

⁸⁰ Ibid., doc. [35].

⁸¹ Newberry 1932: 318-319; De Wit 1951: 311; Vercoutter 1962: 5 (F).

⁸² *L'AGG* VI 316 (3) (omitting [146]).

⁸³ Vid. e. g. Bleeker 1973: 42-45; Pinch 2002: 138-139.

⁸⁴ Eaton 2012.

features⁸⁵. This is in accordance with the fact that in no case does the term Ankhtawy present in its spellings the hieroglyph of the house (𓂏, O1) as classifier.

6. Elements for a new proposal on the nature and location of Ankhtawy

§ 38 Since Ankhtawy seems to have been roughly located in the area of North Saqqara (§§ 18-19, 25) (a point which will be explained and nuanced in detail in the following pages), some sources of diverse nature from there may provide some elements of interest to help determine the nature and specify the original location of the realities conveyed by this toponym. The combination of the data derived from them with the analyses carried out previously makes it possible to offer a new hypothesis in relation to these questions.

6.1. Sanctuary of the Wadi Abusir

§ 39 It has already been pointed out that the oldest documents referring to Ankhtawy are associated with goddesses who constitute incarnations of the Eye of the Sun and who manifested themselves mainly in the form of lionesses (§§ 28-29), who have maintained their relations with this place until the New Kingdom (§§ 33-34) and in subsequent periods (§§ 9, 17).

§ 40 It is therefore of great interest for the understanding of the early nature of Ankhtawy to state the relevance of the discovery in an area near North Saqqara of a shrine that was very probably dedicated to a lioness goddess. This sanctuary, found and excavated by the Japanese mission of Waseda University⁸⁶, is located on the most prominent outcrop of the region of Abusir and Saqqara, within the so-called Wadi Abusir, approximately 1.5 km northwest of the Serapeum (Figure 1; cf. Figure 5.C)⁸⁷. This hillock, which presents various structures and artefacts ranging from the Early Dynastic Period to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (Figure 2), constitutes a landscape and cultic point of reference that can provide some clues to the subject of this paper.

§ 41 The oldest structure is a layered masonry platform supported on a wall 34.3 m long and 4.1 m high, whose construction technique resembles others from approximately the end of the Second and the beginning of the Third Dynasties, with associated pottery that can be dated between the Second and the Fourth Dynasties⁸⁸. Apparently in relation to this structure was found, near the eastern slope of the hill, a T-shaped rock-cut chamber with a forecourt (AKT01) excavated in the hill itself and dated in the Middle Kingdom. Within it were discovered several artefacts, apparently of a cultic nature, whose chronology can be placed between the Early Dynastic Period and the Middle Kingdom. Among them is a series of terracotta statues of lioness goddesses that will be analysed later and that seem to have been buried ritually in a sort of *cachette*⁸⁹. Another associated structure is another rock-cut chamber with stone *portcullis*, an architectural feature typical of constructions

⁸⁵ For their part, the epithets composed with the *nisba* adjective *hntj(t)* ‘foremost of’ are usually associated with: 1) sacred buildings (e.g. *hntj zh-ntr* ‘foremost of the god’s tent’: *LÄGG* V 860 (1)-861 (2)); 2) localities (e. g. *hntj Hr-wr* ‘foremost of Herwer’: *LÄGG* V 842 (1)); 3) localities which are also landscape elements (e.g. *hntj Qbhw* ‘foremost of the Cataract’: *LÄGG* V 867 (3)). The fact that Anubis exhibits epithets constructed with *hntj* and Ankhtawy seems to be related to the third category.

⁸⁶ Yoshimura & Kawai 2003; eid. 2006; Yoshimura et al. 2005; Kawai 2011.

⁸⁷ The absence of archaeological work prior to 2001 (date of start of the Japanese mission) at the site –called by some authors ‘Lion’s Hill’ or ‘Khaemwaset Hill’– is largely due to the fact that it was considered a military zone until the 1970s (Yoshimura & Kawai 2006: 363).

⁸⁸ Yoshimura & Kawai 2003: 38-39; eid. 2006: 365-373, fig. 2-8, pl. 25-29; Yoshimura et al. 2005: 364-366, fig. 2-4, pl. 51; Kawai 2011: 815-818, fig. 8 and 10.

⁸⁹ Yoshimura & Kawai 2003: 38-39; Yoshimura et al. 2005: 388-398, fig. 20-25, pl. 55-56.

between the Early Dynastic Period and the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, where other artefacts of a cultic nature from the Early Dynastic Period and the beginnings of the Old Kingdom were also found, among which were fragments of another terracotta statue of a feline goddess⁹⁰.

§ 42 The most relevant finding of this site is a series of terracotta statues that appear to have been made during the Old Kingdom and reused and buried between the middle of the Twelfth and the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasties, when the sanctuary appears to have been closed⁹¹. Among the seven statues found, a first group of five shows a standing lioness-headed goddess (Figure 3) and, in a second group of two, a recumbent lioness (Figure 4). In the first group, all the statues show the goddess with a tripartite wig. Four of them have their arms attached to their legs, while one of them holds in her right hand, with the arm crossed over her torso, a branch or sceptre of papyrus (*w3ḏ*), characteristic emblem of female deities at this moment (§ 45). Two of them –one of them is the one that holds the sceptre of papyrus– present on both sides the figure of a naked king⁹² (he only wears a *nms* crown) and with his forefinger to his mouth, characteristic attributes of childhood. The second group shows two recumbent lionesses, one of which has between its front legs the left foot of what seems to have been the figure of a king according to the attached inscription⁹³.

§ 43 The members of the Japanese mission have occasionally identified the lioness deity as Sekhmet⁹⁴, although they have opted for a greater caution in other works, designating her simply ‘lion goddess’ and pointing out that it could be Bastet or Sekhmet⁹⁵. However, as I have already pointed out elsewhere⁹⁶, it is possible to identify these sculptures as representations of Bastet. There are several arguments for this. First, Bastet is the most important feline deity during the Third Millennium BC⁹⁷. In this sense, secondly, the goddess Sekhmet is at that time a particular form of Bastet, as is also Shesmetet⁹⁸. It should also be noted that while the first appearance of Bastet in the documentary record can be traced back to the Early Dynastic Period –mainly the Second Dynasty, to which a large number of cultic artefacts found in the sanctuary of Wadi Abusir can be ascribed–, those relating to Sekhmet and Shesmetet can be dated later, in the last third of the Fifth Dynasty in the case of Sekhmet, and the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty in that of Shesmetet⁹⁹. Third, Bastet is represented as a lioness-headed goddess from the Early Dynastic Period (Second Dynasty)¹⁰⁰, exhibiting in other examples of the Old Kingdom the insignia he holds in one of the statues, the papyrus sceptre¹⁰¹. Fourthly, the maternal bond of the goddess in this sculptural ensemble (§§ 44-46)

⁹⁰ Yoshimura & Kawai 2003: 39-40; eid. 2006: 368-372, fig. 2-3 and 5-8, pl. 27-29; Yoshimura et al. 2005: 365-388, fig. 5-19, pl. 52-54; Kawai 2011.

⁹¹ Yoshimura & Kawai 2003: 38-39; Yoshimura et al. 2005: 376-379, fig. 12-13.1, pl. 54.b (fragmented standing statue of a lioness-headed goddess) (rock-cut chamber) and 389-398, fig. 21.1-2 and 22, pl. 55.c-d 56.c (excavated rock-cut T-shaped chamber AKT01); Kawai apud Yoshimura 2008: 19-20; id. 2011: 822-823.

⁹² One of the statues preserves, next to the infant king of the right side, the Horus name of Khufu (*Hrw Mḏdw*), whereas the infant king of the left side shows part of the titulary of Pepy I ((*n*)*swt bjt(j) Mry-Rꜥ ꜥnh(.j) ḏt*) (Yoshimura et al. 2005: 392, fig. 22.1, pl. 55.d).

⁹³ King Khufu in that case ((*n*)*swt bjt(j) Hw=f-w(j)*) (Yoshimura et al. 2005: 390, fig. 21.1, pl. 55.c).

⁹⁴ Yoshimura & Kawai 2003: 38; Kawai 2011: 823.

⁹⁵ Yoshimura et al. 2005: passim, esp. 392, n. 81.

⁹⁶ Borrego Gallardo 2011a: 10, n. 23.

⁹⁷ Scandone-Matthiae 1993: 11-12; Ćwiek 2003: 312-314; Borrego Gallardo 2011a.

⁹⁸ Newberry 1932: 318; Hoenes 1976: passim, esp. 20-28 and 167-174; Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981: 39-40; Sternberg 1984: 323-325; Borrego Gallardo 2011a: 9.

⁹⁹ Vid. preceding note.

¹⁰⁰ T. A. H. Wilkinson 1999: 282; Raffaele 2005.

¹⁰¹ Borchardt 1910: pl. 35 (Sahura); id. 1907: 94, fig. 72 (Nyuserra).

finds its correlation in several sources of the Old Kingdom, especially in relation to the king's conception, birth¹⁰² and breastfeeding¹⁰³.

§ 44 The aspect that in the opinion of the members of the Japanese mission the feline goddess embodies in this sanctuary, according to the recovered materials, would be that of “divine mother goddess, showing an intimate bond between mother and child[-king]”¹⁰⁴. Furthermore, at least for the Middle Kingdom, the aspect of “the Lioness goddess as ‘the dangerous goddess’” would emerge, in such a way that “the cult ritual for the Lioness goddess was probably an earlier version of ‘the festival of drunkenness’ known from later textual evidence”¹⁰⁵. This interpretation, which appears to be generally correct, can be expanded, enriched and nuanced with arguments that may already have been presented previously¹⁰⁶ and also with new ones.

§ 45 First, the papyrus sceptre would show that Bastet, a goddess who embodies the Eye of the Sun, with her inherent aggressive / violent / daughter – peaceful / gentle / mother duplicity, exhibits her aspect of a pacified lioness, of fecundity and prosperity, as incarnation of the Distant Goddess –a feature closely related to the Eye of Ra¹⁰⁷, which approaches the alluvial valley from the wadis during the Inundation season in order to give birth or feed her offspring¹⁰⁸, which is represented in these statues by the small figures of the infant kings. Likewise, this sceptre maintains close relations with the Delta, and, above all, with the goddess Wadjet¹⁰⁹, a cobra deity (occasionally in her main place cult, Buto, also a lioness), protector of the royalty, patroness of Lower Egypt and also a form of the Eye of the Sun that already appears designated as ‘Mistress of Ankhtawy’ among the oldest testimonies of this toponym [2]¹¹⁰. Besides the high number of representations of the goddess exhibiting this sceptre, some priestly titles also show the importance of this insignia and its meaning for Bastet¹¹¹.

§ 46 These aspects of the feline goddesses related to the Eye of Ra and the Distant Goddess keep very close and well known relations with the wadis¹¹², where their sanctuaries are usually located, which, in addition, are often *speoi* or rock-cut chambers, as in the case of the sanctuary of the Wadi Abusir, such as, for example, the shrines of Pakhet in Speos Artemidos, of Hathor in Deir el-Bahari or of Shesmetet (Smithis) in El-Kab¹¹³. Wadis, prominent points of communication between the desert and the alluvial valley, were, as P. Derchain has shown, areas where the presence of lionesses would not be rare during the hottest months of summer, at the beginning of the Inundation season. These felines approach

¹⁰² PT 248, §§ 262a-263b^w (Sekhmet and Shesmetet).

¹⁰³ The king's breastfeeding scenes by Bastet from royal funerary complexes are: 1) Berlín AMP 17911: Borchardt 1907: 39-41, fig. 21 and 23; Ćwiek 2003: 179; Borrego Gallardo 2011b: 35-37 (Nyusera); 2) Jéquier 1938: pl. 30-31; Ćwiek 2003: 181; Borrego Gallardo 2011b: 50-53, esp. § x (Pepy II). In the *Pyramid Texts* is only the spell PT 508, § 1111a^p (Bastet).

¹⁰⁴ Yoshimura et al. 2005: 392.

¹⁰⁵ Kawai 2015.

¹⁰⁶ Borrego Gallardo 2011a: 15-19.

¹⁰⁷ E. g. Goyon 1992; id. 2006; Darnell 1995; Blétry 2001: 42-43; Pinch 2002: 71-74, 90-91, 96 (n. 23), 115-117 and 134-135.

¹⁰⁸ For the meaning of this insignia, vid. De Wit 1951: 290-291; Yoyotte 1980: 53 and 57, fig. 5-6 and 14; Aufrère 2001.

¹⁰⁹ Aufrère 2001: 85 and 87.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Borrego Gallardo 2011a: 15-16.

¹¹¹ E. g. *wr-w3d m pr-B3stt nbt-ḥt-3wj* “Great of papyrus-sceptre in the House of Bastet, Mistress of Ankhtawy” [130].

¹¹² E. g. De Wit 1951: 285-290; Derchain 1972: passim; id. 1991; Darnell 1995: 92.

¹¹³ E. g. De Wit 1951: 285-288; Darnell 1995: 92.

the banks and seasonal lakes, often pregnant, in search of water, hunting and a good place to give birth and / or raise their offspring. It was a periodic, annual coming that constituted a double and ambiguous manifestation of fecundity that would not also arouse fear¹¹⁴.

§ 47 With these facts in mind, it is worth noting, as I did elsewhere¹¹⁵, an aspect of great importance that has been partly ignored by the members of the Japanese mission: the location of the sanctuary itself. It is in the most prominent and elevated place in the area, on an outcrop that is on the north bank of the Wadi Abusir. In addition to the fact that the sanctuary of this hillock is oriented towards the wadi itself, with the best panoramic view of the area¹¹⁶, the wadi ends in a very notable landscape feature that is often found in relation to the lioness goddesses and that strengthens and enhances the set of associations of meaning of the lioness goddesses with this area: the Lake of Abusir (Figure 5)¹¹⁷. This lake has been identified, even inconclusively, with the *pdw-š* related to the god Sokar that are mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts*¹¹⁸. More plausible seems the identification of the Lake of Abusir with ‘the Lake (of the Pharaoh)’ (*p3 š (n(j) Pr-ʿ3)*)¹¹⁹ known from demotic texts of the Ptolemaic period. Moreover, in some of these texts, such as the archive of Hor, the goddess Isis is referred to as ‘the Great Goddess of the wadi of the Lake’ (*t3 ntrt ʿ3t n(j) p3 q3n p3 š*)¹²⁰, which allows to relate both topographical features –wadi and lake– with a female deity. Recent studies have shown that this lake, very possibly of a seasonal nature, already was the subject of human activity. In its surroundings, mudbrick structures have been documented, possibly an installation of landing, dating from the end of the Third Dynasty to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, a date that coincides to a large extent with the exterior architecture and the statues of the sanctuary on the hill of the Wadi Abusir¹²¹.

6.2. Geomorphology and paleoecology of the Wadi Abusir

§ 48 The geomorphology and paleoecology of Wadi Abusir and its surrounding areas (Figure 5; cf. Figure 1) may also provide some interesting data in relation to these issues. The wadi, which has a thick cover of sand, borders on the Lake of Abusir to the

¹¹⁴ Derchain 1991. In his own words: “la lionne (...) appartient au vieux fonds de l’iconographie, prêtant son apparence à l’épiphanie du *numen loci* à l’embouchure de nombreux ouadis ou dans ces mystérieux lacs en forme de croissant que l’on rencontré tant en Haute qu’en Basse Égypte. Dans ces paysages se développe une vie particulière, favorisée par une humidité durable. En effet, dans la zone légèrement déprimée au pied du plateau, surtout là où celui-ci s’ouvre en vallées où déferlent les eaux des orages, des mares subsistent longtemps, attirant la faune du désert, hébergeant les serpents qui filent comme l’éclair entre les hautes herbes ou se cachent sous les pierres, vers lesquelles enfin on dirige les bovins de la vallée pour qu’ils paissent sans risque pour les cultures, dissimulés par les fourrés des roseaux d’où ils émergent parfois. L’expérience de ces lieux inquiétants et pleins d’une vie qui se dérobe à la vue est la source des mythes et d’icônes qui tiennent une grande place en Égypte ancienne. (...) [E]n plein Delta cultivé (...) le site correspondait idéalement aux conditions que recherche la lionne pour mettre bas et élever les lionceaux jusqu’à ce qu’ils soient assez forts pour chasser avec leur mère avant de disparaître avec elle dans la steppe tant qu’une nouvelle portée ne la fait pas revenir. Ces mœurs expliquent parfaitement l’ambiguïté des *numina* localisés dans les *icherou* et les entrées d’ouadis. En effet, les déesses-lionnes sont à la fois maternelles lorsqu’elles résident dans la vallée, mais insaisissables errantes quand elles sont au désert, d’où elles reviennent, attendues et terribles” (Derchain 1991: 85 and 87). Cf. Scandone-Matthiae 1993: 9-10.

¹¹⁵ Borrego Gallardo 2011a: 16, n. 71.

¹¹⁶ Reader 2017: 74 and 85.

¹¹⁷ On this feature of the landscape in the Third Millennium BC: Bárta 1999: 113-115, fig. 1; id. 2013; Cílek et al. 2012; Reader 2017: 72.

¹¹⁸ Gaballa & Kitchen 1969: 5, n. 6.

¹¹⁹ Ray 1976: 150 and 152-153, fig. 3-4; id. 1978: 152-153, fig. 1.

¹²⁰ Ray 1976: 46-47 (no. 10, r^e, 3-4), 105-107 (no. 33, 2) and 150.

¹²¹ Cílek et al. 2012; Bárta 2013.

north, while its southern limit is marked by an east-west-oriented ridge close to the funerary enclosures of Sekhemkhet and Netjerykhet, the Gisir el-Mudir and the L-shaped enclosure¹²². Explorations such as those carried out by the Saqqara Geophysical Project, complemented by those carried out by the Survey of Memphis, have shown that the Wadi Abusir has undergone several transformations that have altered its nature and appearance over time. It seems to have had little surface water and to have been covered by a more widespread and extensive scrub vegetation than today, from at least the Early Dynastic Period until approximately the end of the Fifth Dynasty, decreasing progressively throughout the Third Millennium B.C., although this scrub vegetation still partially subsists today. Thus, the Wadi Abusir functioned as an extension of the Nile Valley and of Lake of Abusir, in the manner of a *cordon sanitaire* that extended the Black Land and gave life to this part of the desert¹²³.

§ 49 These environmental characteristics of the Wadi Abusir have been altered since approximately the end of the Fifth Dynasty. For this period, there are indications in the area of a climate change characterised by a progressively greater aridity, more or less accomplished by the end of the Sixth Dynasty¹²⁴, as revealed by the archaeozoological evidence¹²⁵ and the greater presence of aeolian desert sand both in the Wadi Abusir and the Lake of Abusir and in the area of the alluvial valley next to them (Figure 6)¹²⁶. This process of climate change seems to have completely ended, reaching the current patterns, approximately at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

§ 50 With these data it can be stated that the environment of the Wadi Abusir during the Third Millennium BC presented a greater degree of biodiversity than today, as an ecological niche full of life that was a much more suitable environment for life than today. It provided a good hunting environment and refuge for lionesses and other animal species that approached from within the desert environment annually with the arrival of the annual Nile inundation, in the middle of summer. This geomorphological and ecological reality of the area in the Third Millennium BC allows to better understand the creation and existence of a sanctuary dedicated to a feline goddess in the Wadi Abusir in that period (§§ 40-47), during which the material and landscape references of that lioness cult seem to have been notably more patent.

§ 51 Besides this, the continued work of the Survey of Memphis through borehole records and interpretation of satellite imagery and topographic maps has also shown that in the period in which the toponym Ankhtawy appears for the first time (when a notable degree of biodiversity is still maintained in the wadi and in which the first cult structures of relevance in the place are documented), i. e. the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom, the Delta head, which has migrated over time, was located quite further south than today, approximately at the latitude of Memphis at Mit Rahina, close to the area of North Saqqara and Abusir¹²⁷. Thus, this area was at that period the point of split in the Nile and beginning of Lower Egypt. The Wadi Abusir, then, was a point where the prominent landscape feature of the confluence of the Two Lands would be clearly visible and experienced.

¹²² Reader 2017: 72.

¹²³ Reader 2004: 63-65 and 68-69, fig. 1-3; id. 2017: 85; Bunbury et al. 2017: 80 (for the diachronic dynamics of the wadis of the area).

¹²⁴ Bárta & Bezděk 2008.

¹²⁵ Bárta & Bezděk 2008; Čílek et al. 2012: 18; Bárta 2013: 76-80.

¹²⁶ Bunbury & Jeffreys 2011: 69; Čílek et al. 2012: 17-23; Jeffreys 2012: 228-231; Bunbury et al. 2017: 80-82.

¹²⁷ Jeffreys 2008: 7; id. 2012: 226; Lutley & Bunbury 2008: 5; Bunbury & Jeffreys 2011: 71; Bunbury et al. 2017: 73-75 and 77. Cf. Love 2003.

6.3. *The Wadi Abusir as access to the necropolis and as processional way*

§ 52 The importance and landscape relevance of the Wadi Abusir that these recent works have pointed out have also been evident in some recent interpretations of the function of this place as an important point of articulation of the sacred landscape of North Saqqara and Abusir.

§ 53 First, the importance of the Wadi Abusir as an access way to the area of the monumental constructions of North Saqqara in the Early Dynastic Period and beginning of the Old Kingdom (funerary complexes of Netjerykhet and Sekhemkhet, and the L-shaped and Gisir el-Mudir enclosures) has recently been highlighted (Figure 5)¹²⁸. The existence of vegetation in the wadi at that time (§ 48) seems to have favoured this use, especially if considering that the notable elevation of the escarpment of North Saqqara seems to have made direct access from the alluvial valley extremely difficult. In that sense, the first causeways of royal funerary complexes that connect the necropolis of Saqqara with the alluvial valley are not prior to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, when the greatest aridity is registered in the area, which would prevent the previous use of wadi and lakes as ways of access to the royal funerary complexes¹²⁹.

§ 54 On the other hand, the importance of the wadi in the landscape and symbolic configuration of the area seems even to have determined the orientation of these enclosures and of the private tombs of the area, which would have been located around the wadi itself, but not inside it¹³⁰. In this sense, in the period in which the wadi seems to have registered a greater degree of biodiversity, prior to the increase in aridity in the area, no private tombs are documented within the wadi from the mid Second Dynasty¹³¹, but only around it. This absence of monumental constructions inside further emphasises its character as a sacred access way in the area, as shown by some later parallels in similar landscapes in which it is forbidden to erect any kind of private monument in a sacred area clearly delimited by border stelae¹³². In fact, this use as a processional way of (at least a part of) the Wadi Abusir is observed in the Late Period –if not before– in relation to the Sacred Animal Necropolis¹³³.

§ 55 It should also be noted that the enclosures and private tombs surrounding the wadi were arranged in such a way that they were conceived so that they were not visible from the Nile Valley as well as from within the wadi itself¹³⁴. In a similar sense, the outcrop excavated by the mission of the Waseda University seems to have had a very outstanding visual prominence¹³⁵. Thus, the relevance of its sanctuary, oriented towards the wadi itself (§ 47), seems to be even higher.

¹²⁸ Reader 2004; id. 2017; Włodarska 2009: 179; Dodson 2016.

¹²⁹ Reader 2004: 68-71; id. 2017: 85-86; Włodarska 2009: 180-181. Cf. Dodson 2016: 12-16.

¹³⁰ Jeffreys & Tavares 1994: 147; Włodarska 2009: 179-180.

¹³¹ In that sense, as van Wetering (2017: 420) has recently pointed out, the so-called ‘Macramallah burials’, located within the lower Wadi Abusir (Figure 5.A1), “have a date range from the First Dynasty into the (early) Second Dynasty”. In that sense, it seems to be no coincidental that the emergence of Bastet in the documentary record and the erection of the sanctuary very probably dedicated to her on the outcrop excavated by the Japanese mission of the Waseda University are just later than those elite burials (mid-late Second Dynasty). Thus, one could think that the creation of that shrine might be a reason for prohibiting the construction of tombs in the wadi.

¹³² E. g. Abydos in the Late Middle Kingdom: Leahy 1989; O’Connor 2009: 90-91.

¹³³ Davies & Smith 1997: 116-120, fig. 3; Dodson 2016: 6.

¹³⁴ Jeffreys & Tavares 1994: 149-151; Reader 2004: 64-67, fig. 2 and 4-5; id. 2017: 72-74.

¹³⁵ Reader 2017: 74 and 85.

7. Discussion: a new proposal for the location and nature of Ankhtawy

§ 56 The landscape of the Memphite area appears as a dynamic and changing environment in its geomorphological, climatic and ecological aspects throughout the Third and Second Millennium BC. A good reflection of the ways in which the ancient Egyptians experienced this fluctuating setting and incorporated it into their mental landscape through emotion or metaphor is the place which they named Ankhtawy. Previous studies on this toponym diverge in their interpretation of its linguistic meaning, nature and location, as has already been seen (§§ 5-14). However, a diachronic study of this place name in its graphic and contextual dimensions has not yet been considered; only its most outstanding topographical features (§§ 15-20) and its associations with deities and places of worship have been the subject of a slightly detailed analysis.

§ 57 Here I propose a new understanding of Ankhtawy. By means of an exhaustive analysis of the textual sources concerning Ankhtawy between the Old and the New Kingdoms, on the one hand, and the comparison of its results with the archaeological, paleoecological and geomorphological evidence of the environment where this toponym has traditionally been located (the area of Abusir and Saqqara), on the other hand, it is possible to suggest a new hypothesis about the location and nature of this place and its diachronic evolution.

This new hypothesis can be raised as follows. Until the beginning of the New Kingdom, the toponym Ankhtawy would not refer in origin to (part of) the city of Memphis or its necropolis *stricto sensu*, but to the Wadi Abusir. To support this hypothesis several facts can be argued. First, the textual sources that refer to part of its topography, all of them dated in the New Kingdom, coincide in situating it to the west of Memphis (§§ 18-19), as several authors have pointed out. Although later there will be an opportunity to explain how the Egyptians of the New Kingdom seem to have understood Ankhtawy and where they seem to have placed it (§ 65), it can be suggested that it is not very likely that, despite the changes made before that date –changes indicated by the nature of its topographical features (§§ 16-20) and by the different semantic classification of this place name (§§ 24-26)– that place would not have undergone a very pronounced change of character or geographic displacement. Thus, it seems that the location to the west of the city of Memphis is quite certain, even in periods prior to the New Kingdom. On the other hand, the surroundings of the Wadi Abusir, especially the plateau and escarpment of North Saqqara, is presented as rocky and with outstanding heights, which is consistent with the textual description of its features, in written sources of the New Kingdom but also of later periods, where mountains, hill-tops and elevations are referred to in relation to Ankhtawy (§§ 16-17).

§ 58 One could point out against this attribution the absence of references to the term *jnt* ‘valley, wadi’¹³⁶ in relation to this toponym. Now, most of the few attestations documented in the Third Millennium BC of *jnt* seem to refer to deities and places in Upper Egypt, where valleys and wadis are more enclosed and deeper, and the date of the majority of such attestations is Sixth Dynasty or later¹³⁷, when the climate change leading to greater aridity in the Nile Valley seems already quite accomplished (§ 49). Besides this, it must be said that the Wadi Abusir in the Third Millennium BC was a more open space, wider and more vegetated than the wadis described by the term *jnt* in the same period, when it is frequent that

¹³⁶ *Wb.* I 93, 2-13; Faulkner 1962: 23 (6); Hannig 2003: 153 {2777} and 1547 {40850 and 40858}.

¹³⁷ The four instances known are (arranged chronologically): Junker 1929: 226, fig. 51, pl. xxxvi (cf. Hannig 2003: 153 {2777}); *PT* 459, § 867a^{PMN} (cf. Hannig 2003: 1547 {40850}); *PT* 470, § 910d^{PAnN} (cf. Hannig 2003: 153 {2777}); Clère & Vandier 1948: 14 (§ 18.6) (cf. Hannig 2003: 1547 {40858}).

the associated determinative of *jnt* is that of ‘hill-land’ (N25) (cf. § 24). In light of this data, then, the absence of such a word in relation to Ankhtawy should not be surprising.

§ 59 Secondly, the earliest epigraphic evidence links this place exclusively to lioness goddesses, and especially to Bastet. This goddess, the most important lioness deity in the Egyptian pantheon during the Third Millennium BC, is then described as ‘Mistress of Ankhtawy’ (§ 28), and continued to be so for subsequent periods (§§ 9, 29, 33). In light of the identification of the Wadi Abusir with Ankhtawy, it does not seem coincidental that on the most prominent outcrop of the entire Wadi Abusir there is a sanctuary dedicated to a lioness goddess, active from the end of the Early Dynastic Period to the Late Middle Kingdom (§§ 39-47). The importance of this shrine lies not only in the prominence of this hill within the landscape of the area (§§ 47, 53-55), but also in its size, in the massive use of stone (§ 41) –a very unusual occurrence in the sanctuaries of divine worship at the end of the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom¹³⁸– and in the royal patronage of its worship (which contrasts with the loose involvement of kingship in the other contemporary divine temples¹³⁹), as some of the terracotta statues of that goddess that have been discovered attest (§§ 41-45). The importance of Ankhtawy would thus agree with the relevance of the Wadi Abusir within the sacred landscape of Memphis as an access way to the great stone enclosures of the late Second and early Third Dynasties (§§ 52-55).

§ 60 Thirdly, at the time of erection of this shrine dedicated to the lioness goddess –which coincides *grosso modo* with the emergence of Bastet in the documentary record, the Second Dynasty– the Wadi Abusir, which ends in the Lake of Abusir, had different geomorphological and ecological characteristics from the present-day ones, with a greater presence of water and a richer biodiversity (§§ 48-50), which made this place an appropriate environment for the arrival and settlement of lionesses and their litters at the time of the Inundation season (§§ 45-46, 48, 50). The importance of landscape features such as wadis and lakes in the worship of lioness goddesses has already been emphasized (§§ 45-46). Therefore, it does not seem to be a coincidence that a sanctuary dedicated to a deity of this kind was erected in an environment where it would be relatively frequent to see the arrival of these felines at the time of the year when the calorific power of the sun was most accentuated –it should be remembered that Bastet and other lioness goddesses are incarnations of the Eye of the Sun (§ 28)– and the wadi grew green as a result of the annual flooding of the Nile, making the wadis full of plant and animal life, the latter attracted by the vegetation of the place and the access to water resources (here represented above all by the Lake of Abusir). This reality evokes that this landscape constituted an extension of the alluvial valley in the manner of a *cordon sanitaire* of life within the more arid environment located to the west of the Nile Valley, a niche full of life where *a priori* its presence would be more difficult (§§ 48-50). It is noteworthy, then, that the meaning of ‘life’ of the first term of the syntagm of the toponym (*ꜥnh*) (§§ 12-14) finds a good correlation with the landscape reality of the Wadi Abusir and with those ecological features of it that seem to have attracted the attention of the Egyptians of the Third Millennium BC.

§ 61 It should be noted, fourthly, that important landscape and ecological changes have taken place not only in the Wadi Abusir itself, but also in the course of the Nile as a result of a global climate change. Among several relevant aspects, it is worth mentioning one now. This is the migration of the Delta head. In the Third Millennium BC this geographical and symbolically very powerful point – the border between Upper and Lower Egypt– was located

¹³⁸ Kemp 2006: 112-158; Bussmann 2011: 747-750 and 759-760.

¹³⁹ Bussmann 2011: 758-759; id. 2014: 85-87.

precisely at the latitude of Memphis and to the east of the Wadi Abusir (§ 51). The observation of this outstanding landscape reality is well in accordance with the second element of the toponym Ankhtawy, *ḥwꜥj*, ‘the Two Lands’ (§§ 11, 23). Thus, it is not unreasonable to think that the position of the Wadi Abusir in relation to this outstanding geographical, ideological and landscape reference point could have influenced the creation of the name Ankhtawy for referring to the Wadi Abusir. Thus, the meaning of Ankhtawy, the ‘Life of the Two Lands’, would reflect both the ecological and environmental conditions of the Wadi Abusir during much of the Third Millennium BC, when the toponym emerges, on the one hand, and its location, since at that time not only was the Delta head at the same latitude, but it was further west, much closer to the Lake of Abusir and the end of the wadi than at later times, on the other hand. This proximity would further reinforce this set of landscape, experiential and semantic relationships.

§ 62 The discussion of this proposal for the location and nature of Ankhtawy would not be complete without a study of its diachronic evolution. This allows understand better some specific aspects derived from this new hypothesis and, above all, to appreciate the alterations that the toponym seems to have undergone, with variations both of the character of the represented reality and of its own location.

§ 63 At the moment when the toponym Ankhtawy emerges in the documentation (the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty), the spelling of the term –restricted to documents from the Memphite area– appears very condensed and reduced, without phonetic complements or determinatives (§ 22). In this period it is linked only and exclusively with female deities, who are described as ‘Mistress of Ankhtawy’. This is the case of two goddesses who incarnate the Eye of the Sun: Wadjet, in his only documented link with this place, and, above all, Bastet, which shows a remarkable continuity in his association with it (§ 28). The latter is the one who very probably was subject of worship in the shrine of the most significant outcrop from the landscape point of view in the Wadi Abusir (§§ 39-47). The beginning of this cult can be traced back to the mid-late Second Dynasty, when tombs ceased to be erected in the Wadi Abusir, and which also coincides with the goddess’ oldest attestations (in stone vases from Saqqara¹⁴⁰). It should be noted that in that period the Wadi Abusir had different geomorphological, ecological and landscape characteristics from those of today (§§ 48-51). In fact, the higher humidity level and its clear connection with the Lake of Abusir made the surroundings of this low and wide extension an area where the vegetation was much richer and widespread, which, together with the greater presence of water, made it an appropriate environment for a greater presence of animals. All this seems to have favoured the presence of lionesses, who around the moments of the Inundation season arrived through the wadis to the vicinity of the alluvial valley in order to bear and take care of their litters, in an environment much more propitious than the adjacent desert (§§ 45-46, 48, 50). In this way, the Wadi Abusir presented some landscape features that are recurrent in the cults of lioness goddesses throughout the Nile Valley. On the other hand, this environment full of life, especially in the most difficult climatic moments of the year (the middle of the summer, coinciding with the beginning of the Inundation season), was located just opposite the Delta head, the apex where it splits into several branches and the border between Upper and Lower Egypt, to the west of Memphis, which was located more to the west than today, with the Nile to the east of the city (§ 51). These facts seem to have been part of the reasons that motivated the name of the place, Ankhtawy, the ‘Life of the Two Lands’. The importance of this place in the sacred and mental landscape of the Egyptians is witnessed not only by its use as an access way to the

¹⁴⁰ Vid. n. 100.

enclosures and funerary complexes of the late Second and early Third Dynasties (§§ 52-55), but also by the architectural entity of the sanctuary to the lioness goddess of the Wadi Abusir outcrop and the royal interest in it, as is clear from the representations of several kings in the terracotta statues found there. The relevance of the Wadi Abusir landscape and its powerful visual connection to the territorial and cosmic concept of the Two Lands would also allow a better understanding of why Bastet maintains close theological-political connections with kingship in the Old Kingdom¹⁴¹.

§ 64 Since the end of Fifth Dynasty, the beginning of a climate change has been clearly recorded, which is already consolidated throughout Sixth Dynasty, characterized by greater aridity, as shown by the greater quantity of aeolian sand in contemporary levels, and which is going to be a factor of great relevance in the evolution of Ankhtawy (Figure 6). After the First Intermediate Period, for which there is hardly any evidence beyond the data provided by geomorphological analyses, in the Middle Kingdom there are some changes of relevance in relation to Ankhtawy. The spelling of the toponym, which now appears in documents scattered throughout Egypt, is more varied. Among them the very occasional use of the city determinative (O49) (§ 23) {k-l} stands out. This suggests that in certain cases Ankhtawy was included categorically in an anthropic, habitable sphere (possibly because of its still relative proximity to the city of Memphis), although the general reality conveyed by the semantic classifiers of the spellings of the toponym, even within a greater variety, do not include categorical variants of relevance with respect to the evidence of the Old Kingdom. On the other hand, the range of divinities related to Ankhtawy is greatly expanded (§§ 29-31). The original group of feline goddesses related to the Eye of the Sun includes other analogous goddesses (e. g. Sekhmet) and, above all, for the first time appear male deities from other mythical cycles, other theological domains and different aspects than those of these feline goddesses. The presence of Ptah, first, could be due to the proximity of the city of Memphis, which knows in that period an expansion of its area (Figure 7)¹⁴², which could in turn explain the use of the hieroglyphic classifier of the city (O49) in certain cases. Even more remarkable is the case of Osiris, who holds the lordship over Ankhtawy in documents coming from places quite far from the Memphite territory¹⁴³. For all that, despite the fact that the ecological change of the surroundings of Abusir and North Saqqara, climatically more arid, already seemed completed¹⁴⁴, the character of the place in the mental universe of the ancient Egyptians seems to remain in general in the same lines as those present in the Third Millennium BC, although it knows a greater variety of associated deities, among which Ptah and, above all, Osiris stand out. However, the cease of cultic activities of the shrine dedicated to the lioness goddess in the outcrop of the Wadi Abusir at the end of the Middle Kingdom could agree with the stabilization of the ecological and geomorphological conditions resulting from the climate change that begins to manifest earlier, with an inexorable migration eastwards of the course of the Nile, further away from the environment of the Wadi Abusir and the Lake of

¹⁴¹ Borrego Gallardo 2011a; id. 2011b: 112-121.

¹⁴² E. g. Bunbury et al. 2017: 83-85, 88-89 and 90, fig. 5.

¹⁴³ This aspect is currently being studied by me and it will be presented elsewhere. It can be advanced that approximately of the 70 documents that show Osiris as Lord of Ankhtawy nearly one third of them comes from Abydos, while another third is of unknown origin; of the rest, only two documents come from the area of Lower Egypt, Memphis included.

¹⁴⁴ In fact, it should not be ruled out that even in conditions of greater aridity the presence of lionesses in the Wadi Abusir and the lake where it ends was not rare, given that it is still visible today that characteristic scrub vegetation and the maintenance of the cult of the lioness goddess of the outcrop sanctuary of the Wadi Abusir until the Late Middle Kingdom.

Abusir (Figures 6-7). Such a change would explain the abandonment of that sanctuary but not the end of the cult devoted to Bastet here. It is not unreasonable to think that this worship was moved to a place closer to the alluvial valley, possibly in the area of the later *Bubastieion*, given that the cult of Bastet Mistress of Ankhtawy in later periods was not only maintained but was also one of the most important in the area, as is well known.

§ 65 After the Second Intermediate Period, when there is only evidence of Ankhtawy in relation to male deities (§ 32), there are important changes in the history of Ankhtawy in the New Kingdom. First of all, it does not seem to be a coincidence that since the New Kingdom there have been major changes in the geomorphology of the Memphite environment. The continuation of the process of migration of the Nile to the east is attested. Thus, to the west of Memphis, where the Nile was previously, the Bahr el-Libeini canal is now located, and the Nile itself moves to the east of the city (Figure 7)¹⁴⁵. This movement of the river seems to have led to the conformation of the place known as ‘the fringe of Ankhtawy’ (*jdb n(j) ‘nh-t3wj*), situated in the ‘inundated land [of] the west of Hutkaptah’ (*b‘h [n(j)] jmntt-Hwt-K3-Pth*) (§ 18). This suggests, then, a change in the nature and location of Ankhtawy. The eastwards migration of the Nile could have motivated an even greater degree of aridity in the area, which would have led, as already noted, to the abandonment of the shrine of the outcrop of the Wadi Abusir¹⁴⁶ and the transfer of the worship to Bastet to the east, to a place closer to the alluvial valley and the Lake of Abusir, possibly in the *Bubastieion* area, in the escarpment of North Saqqara. The fact that Ankhtawy has been so closely linked to the cult of Bastet for millennia could explain the fact that this area has also been known as Ankhtawy since the New Kingdom on. This process can also be related to the important and significant developments experienced by the toponym from the New Kingdom. First of all, several terms related to the topography of Ankhtawy arise in the documentation, which highlight its relation to different elevations (§§ 16-17) and deities related to the mountains (§ 35), and a strip of desert (§ 18), as well as the mention, for the first time, of deceased, burials and cemeteries in the place, which is now for the first time described as a desert environment and located west of Memphis (§§ 19-20). In accordance with this, secondly, it does not seem coincidental that from this period onwards the toponym incorporates in its hieroglyphic spellings several determinatives of a mountainous nature (§§ 20, 24-25), which seem to reflect its location within the escarpment of North Saqqara, located in the desert to the west of the temple of Ptah in Memphis (the Hutkaptah of [135] (§ 18)).

§ 66 Finally, it should be noted that the location and character of Ankhtawy from the New Kingdom seem to have remained unchanged until the Graeco-Roman period, as reflected in the archaeological and textual sources that are known from the Third Intermediate Period onwards (§ 9).

8. Conclusions

Ankhtawy, the ‘Life of the Two Lands’ reveals a good case study for the understanding of the dynamics by which the ancient Egyptians experienced, conceived and represented their environment and integrated it into their mental and cultural landscapes. The combination of written, archaeological, geomorphological and paleoenvironmental sources has allowed to propose a new hypothesis about the nature and location of Ankhtawy and its history between

¹⁴⁵ Bunbury & Jeffreys 2011: 68 and 72, fig. 4; Bunbury et al. 2017: 78, 83-84 and 91, fig. 5 (F).

¹⁴⁶ After the sanctuary ceased activity at the end of the Middle Kingdom, the outcrop was occupied by non-cultural royal facilities during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and other cultic and funerary structures during the Ramesside period (Yoshimura & Takamiya 1994; eid. 2000; Kawai & Yoshimura 2009; Kawai 2014).

the Early Dynastic Period and the New Kingdom. During the Third Millennium BC and until the end of the Middle Kingdom, Ankhtawy seems to have designated the Wadi Abusir, which would have functioned as an important reference point within the sacred landscape of the Memphite area and the political landscape within Egypt, as it is situated directly in front of the Delta head, the meeting point of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Two Lands. In addition to serving as an outstanding access way to the royal necropolis of mid-late Second and early Third Dynasties, the cult of a lioness goddess, most probably Bastet, was established on the most prominent outcrop of this place, thanks to the combination of various landscape elements of the wadi, which would make the place a more favourable environment for plant and animal life and for the arrival and settlement of lionesses and their litters, as it functioned as an extension of the alluvial valley in the desert. As a result of climate change during the last third of the Old Kingdom, these conditions, as well as the course of the Nile, changed towards greater aridity, which eventually meant the displacement of Ankhtawy towards a place closer to the alluvial valley, most probably the escarpment of North Saqqara. Thus, since the New Kingdom, and thanks in part to the climate change that had previously taken place and, very possibly, to the migration of the Nile towards the east of the city of Memphis, the character of Ankhtawy also includes within its semantic sphere the notion of desert and necropolis, which until then it had lacked, although the cult of Bastet associated with this place name was maintained. Ankhtawy constitutes a good example of how a place of great relevance is far from having been a static entity. Its complex history, woven from memories and survivals, changes and mutations is good proof of this.

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APPENDIX A: DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE TOPONYM ANKHTAWY

Old Kingdom

- [1] Leipzig 2093, Vth Dynasty (*temp.* Sahura), Abusir, upper temple, royal funerary complex: Borchardt 1913: I, 113; II, pl. 35.
- [2] Strasbourg 1908, Vth Dynasty (*temp.* Sahura), Abusir, upper temple, royal funerary complex: Borchardt 1913: I, 128-129; II, pl. 70.
- [3] Abusir exc. no. 425/I/82, Vth Dynasty (*temp.* Neferefra), Abusir, upper temple, royal funerary complex, faience inlay: Landgráfová 2006a: 468 (F0669); ead. 2006b: 24, 26 and 97 (F0669).
- [4] Location unknown, Vth Dynasty (*temp.* Nyusera), Abusir, upper temple, royal funerary complex: Borchardt 1907: 94, fig. 72.
- [5] JE 65340, VIth Dynasty (*temp.* Pepy II), Saqqara, pyramid, royal funerary complex: Jéquier 1934: 99 and 100 (no. 4), figs. 6-7.

Middle Kingdom

- [6] Aswan area, *in situ*, Middle Kingdom, rock inscription (*htp dj nswt* formula): de Morgan *et al.* 1894: 12 (no. 50).
- [7] Riqqeh, *in situ*, Middle Kingdom, scene (*htp dj nswt* formula): Engelbach 1915: 25-26, pl. xxvii.
- [8] Berlin ÄS 1189, Middle Kingdom, Thebes, offering table (*htp dj nswt* formula): Roeder 1913: I, 208 (B).
- [9] CG 525, Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, statue (*hm-ntr* title): Borchardt 1925: 81; Newberry 1932: 318, n. 6; De Wit 1951: 311.
- [10] CG 20027, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 34; IV, pl. iii.
- [11] CG 20092, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 112; IV, pl. ix.
- [12] CG 20150, Middle Kingdom, Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 177 (b1), pl. xiv.
- [13] CG 20152, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 179.
- [14] CG 20226, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 245.
- [15] CG 20243, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 266; IV, pl. xix.
- [16] CG 20279, Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 294.
- [17] CG 20321, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 333.
- [18] CG 20336, Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 348; IV, pl. xxv.
- [19] CG 20418, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 15; Simpson 1974: 22, pl. 33 (ANOC 68.2).
- [20] CG 20545, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*htp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 169.

- [21] CG 20570, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 207; Simpson 1974: 20, pl. 69 (ANOC 51.1).
- [22] CG 20722, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 352; IV, pl. liv.
- [23] CG 20742, Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela of *pr-nw* shrine (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 374; IV, pl. lvi.
- [24] CG 23066, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, offering table (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Kamal 1909: 56-57.
- [25] Chicago OIM E8308, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Petrie 1903: 43, pl. xxix.2.
- [26] Edfu (?), Middle Kingdom, Edfu, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Alliot 1935: 35, pl. xviii.2 (no. 20).
- [27] Edfu (?), Middle Kingdom, Edfu, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Alliot 1935: 34, pl. xv.2 (no. 16).
- [28] Florence 2579, Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Bosticco 1959: 44, pl. 39.
- [29] Philadelphia, University Museum E 347, Middle Kingdom, El-Arabah (area of Abydos), stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Garstang 1901: 9 and 35, pl. xiii (3).
- [30]* Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum of Natural History 4558-2, Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, statue: O'Connor 1990: 22.
- [31] Tübingen 463, Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Brunner & Brunner-Traut 1981: I, 92-93; II, pl. 60.
- [32] Tübingen 464, Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Brunner & Brunner-Traut 1981: I, 86-87; II, pl. 56.
- [33] Oxford, Queens College 1113 (on loan to Ashmolean Museum), Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula in an invocation to the living): Smither & Dakin 1939: 164-165, pl. xxi (no. 4).
- [34] Brussels MRAH E.5024, Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, scarab (*hṭp dj nswt*): Martin 1971: 55 (no. 661), pl. 19 (no. 31), with references.
- [35] BM EA 197 [318], Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): *HTBM* IV 11, pl. 46.
- [36] BM EA 209 [240], Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): *HTBM* III 10, pl. 45.
- [37] BM EA 1245 [324], Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): *HTBM* III 8, pl. 21.
- [38] UC 14358, Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown (Fayum?), stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Stewart 1979: 35, pl. 36.3 (no. 147).
- [39] UC 14561, Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Stewart 1979: 26, pl. 28.1 (no. 111).
- [40] CG 20054, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 64; IV, pl. vi.
- [41] CG 20207, Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, funerary chapel (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 232.
- [42] CG 20210, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 234; IV, pl. xvii.
- [43] CG 20253, Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, funerary chapel (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 273.
- [44] CG 20281, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*j.nd-ḥr=k* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 295; IV, pl. xx.

- [45] CG 20320, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 332.
- [46] CG 20378, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 378.
- [47] CG 20446, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*jm3hy* epithet): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 42; IV pl. xxxi.
- [48] CG 20521, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 122; IV pl. xxxvii.
- [49] CG 20709, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 335; IV, pl. liv.
- [50] CG 20730, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 360; IV, pl. lv.
- [51] Copenhagen ÆIN 1539, Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown (Lahun?), stela, r^o (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Koefoed-Petersen 1948: 10-11, pl. 11.b; Jørgensen 1996: 196-197 (no. 82).
- [52] Copenhagen ÆIN 1539, Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown (Lahun?), stela, v^o (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Koefoed-Petersen 1948: 10-11, pl. 11.a; Jørgensen 1996: 196-197 (no. 82).
- [53] Florence inv. 6373, Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula) (*ʿnh{t}-t3wj*): Bosticco 1959: 55-56, pl. 56.
- [54] Florence inv. 6382, Late Middle Kingdom, Coptos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula) (*ʿnh{t}-t3wj*): Bosticco 1959: 52, pl. 50.
- [55] Leiden RMO AP 38 (V 78), Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos (?), stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Boeser 1909: 6, pl. xiv; Simpson 1974: 19, pl. 54 (ANOC 36.1).
- [56] Leiden RMO L.XI.10 (V 91), Late Middle Kingdom, provenance unknown, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Boeser 1909: 8, pl. xxii.
- [57] Manchester 1926.213, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Frankfort 1928: 239, pl. xxi.1.
- [58] Private collection, Canada, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos (?), stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Leprohon 1996.
- [59] Collection Cassirer, Late Middle Kingdom, Thebes (?), stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Cassirer 1954.
- [60] Location unknown, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, statuette (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Peet 1914: 114, fig. 70, pl. xv (4-5).
- [61] Hannover Kestner Museum 2929, XIth Dynasty, Abydos (?), stela (*jm3hy* epithet): Drenkhahn 1989: 68-70.
- [62] Armant (?), XIth Dynasty (*temp.* Mentuhotep III), Armant, temple: Mond & Myers 1940: I, 158-159 and 167; II, pl. xcv.
- [63] Brooklyn MMA 37.16E, XIth Dynasty (*temp.* Mentuhotep III), Armant, temple: Mond & Myers 1940: I, 158-159 and 167; II, pl. xcvi.1; Fazzini 1975: 49 (no. 35).
- [64] Armant (?), XIth Dynasty (*temp.* Mentuhotep III), Armant, temple: Mond & Myers 1940: I, 158-159 and 168; II, pl. xcix.8.
- [65] El Cairo (?), XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenemhat I) Tanis, statue (*mry* formula): Petrie 1885: pl. i (3.a); Daressy 1917: 170 (no. 3).
- [66] Medinet el-Fayum, XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Senusert I), Abgig, standing pillar (divine epithet): Sandman-Holmberg 1946: 29, fig. 8* (no. 20).
- [67] Location unknown, XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Senusert I), Tanis, statue (*mry* formula): Daressy 1917: 170 (nos. 5 and 8).

- [68] Bologna KS 1903, XIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Bresciani 1985: 22-23, pl. 5.
- [63] CG 28091, XIIth Dynasty, Deir el-Bersha, coffin (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Lacau 1906: 48, pl. xxviii.
- [70] Deir el-Bersha, *in situ*, XIIth Dynasty, funeral scene (*jm3hy* epithet): Newberry 1895: 19 (no. 2).
- [71] Deir el-Bersha, *in situ*, XIIth Dynasty, lintel (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Newberry 1895: 25, pl. vii.
- [72] Location unknown, XIIth Dynasty, Memphis, offering table (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Petrie 1909: 6 (no. 18), pl. iv.
- [73] Location unknown, XIIth Dynasty, Qau el-Kebir, offering table (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Petrie 1930: pl. v (4) and xvii (top right).
- [74] JE 35133 / 35745, XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenemhat III), Dahshur, pyramidion (*mry* formula): Maspero 1902: 207, pl. xliii (west); Arnold 1987: 16, pl. 38 (bottom).
- [75] Liverpool 49.56, XIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Bourriau 1988: 47-48, pl. i (3).
- [76] Louvre C 22 (N 176), XIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, stela (*jm3hy* epithet): Gayet 1886: pl. xii.
- [77] Serabit el-Khadim, *in situ*, XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenemhat IV), stela: Gardiner & Peet 1917: pl. xliii (no. 120); Černý 1955: 123.
- [78] Serabit el-Khadim, *in situ*, XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenemhat IV), stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Gardiner & Peet 1917: pl. xlv (no. 122); Černý 1955: 126.
- [79] Serabit el-Khadim, *in situ*, XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenemhat IV), scene (*mry* formula): Gardiner & Peet 1917: pl. xlvii (no. 124.a); Černý 1955: 130.
- [80] Serabit el-Khadim, *in situ*, XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenemhat IV), offering scene: Gardiner & Peet 1917: pl. xlvii (no. 125.c); Černý 1955: 130.
- [81]* Turin (?), XIIth Dynasty, offering table: PM V 14; Steckeweh 1936: 48.7.
- [82] Berlin ÄS 13, Late XIIth Dynasty, Thebes, basket of a servant statue (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Steindorff 1896: 40; Roeder 1913: I, 251; Miniaci & Quirke 2009: 364 (for the dating criteria).
- [83] Aswan, *in situ*, Late XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenemhat III), graffito (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Petrie 1888a: pl. iii (no. 84).
- [84] JE 30770bis, Late XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenemhat III), Koptos, statue of a vulture: PM V 131; Petrie 1896: 12, pl. xi (no. 1); Bolshakov 2008: 23.
- [85] Louvre C 7, Late XIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenemhat III-Amenemhat IV), Abydos (?), stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Valloggia 1969: pl. 12.
- [86] Saqqara (?), Late XIIth Dynasty, Saqqara, statue (administrative title): Moussa & Altenmüller 1975: 94-95, pl. 32.
- [87] Copenhagen ÆIN 961, XIIth – XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos (?), stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Koefoed-Petersen 1948: 17-18, pl. 17.
- [88] Aswan Museum 1309, XIIIth Dynasty, temple of Heqaib, Elephantine, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Habachi 1984: 116, pl. 4.B, with references.
- [89] Berlin ÄS 1624, XIIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, funerary chapel (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Roeder 1913: I, 151; Il'in-Tomich 2011: 23 (1) (for the dating criterion).
- [90] BM EA 328 [236], XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos (?), stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): *HTBM* V 7, pl. 15; Simpson 1974: 20, pl. 63 (ANOC 45.2).
- [91] BM EA 428, XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Peet 1914: 111, fig. 65, pl. xxiii.3; *HTBM* VI 8, pl. 26.

- [92] BM EA 861 [286], XIIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): *HTBM* II 11, pl. 45.
- [93] Bologna 1839, XIIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, statuette (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Habachi 1984: 118, pl. 5.
- [94] JE 37486, XIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Sobekhotep IV) Tanis, statue (*mry* formula): Petrie 1885: pl. iii (16.B); Ryholt 1997: 348 (13/29.6).
- [95] CG 20266, XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 284; Ilin-Tomich 2011: 28 (no. 132, for the dating).
- [96] CG 20716, XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 343.
- [97] JE 37466, XIIIth Dynasty, Tanis, statue: PM IV 19; Ryholt 1997: 342 (13/23.1).
- [98] JE 37467, XIIIth Dynasty, Tanis, statue: PM IV 19; Ryholt 1997: 342 (13/23.1).
- [99] Copenhagen ÆIN 673, XIIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, statuette (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Koefoed-Petersen 1950: 12-13, pl. 14; Jørgensen 1996: 184-185 (no. 76).
- [100] Khartum 31, Second Intermediate Period, Buhen, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Smith 1976: 41-42, pl. lxix (2-3), with references.
- [101] Louvre C 8, XIIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Ryholt 1997: 343 (13/26.6).
- [102] Louvre E 14330, XIIIth Dynasty, Edfu, statue (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Alliot 1935: 15-16 and 28, pl. xi; Delange 1987: 72-75.
- [103] Hermitage 1075, XIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Khendjer), provenance unknown, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Simpson 1974: 21 and 24, pl. 79 (ANOC 57.3).
- [104] Vienna KHM ÄS 97, late XIIth – XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos (?), stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Hein & Satzinger 1989: 5-8.
- [105] Vienna KHM ÄS 103, XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos (?), stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Hein & Satzinger 1989: 9-12.
- [106] Vienna KHM ÄS 115, XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos (?), stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Hein & Satzinger 1989: 30-33.
- [107] Vienna KHM ÄS 146, XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos (?), stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Hein & Satzinger 1993: 64-66.
- [108] Vienna KHM ÄS 191, XIIIth Dynasty, Abydos (?), stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Hein & Satzinger 1989: 143-147.
- [109] Fitzwilliam E.SS.37, Late XIIIth Dynasty, Memphis (?), stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Martin 2005: 48-49 (no. 29).

Second Intermediate Period

- [110] CG 20059, Second Intermediate Period, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 73; IV, pl. vi; Ilin-Tomich 2011: 30 (no. 291, for the dating).
- [111] CG 20183, Second Intermediate Period, provenance unknown, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 212; IV, pl. xv; Ilin-Tomich 2011: 30 (no. 301, for the dating).
- [112] CG 20434, Second Intermediate Period, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 32; IV, pl. xxxi; Ilin-Tomich 2011: 31 (no. 333, for the dating).
- [113] CG 20610, Second Intermediate Period, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: II, 249; Ilin-Tomich 2011: 31 (no. 344, for the dating).
- [114] CG 20613, Second Intermediate Period, Abydos, stela (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Lange & Schäfer 1902: I, 252; IV, pl. xlvi; Ilin-Tomich 2011: 31 (no. 345, for the dating).

- [115] Ithaca, University Museum, Second Intermediate Period, Abydos, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Peet 1914: 116, fig. 75 (no. 15).
- [116] Khartum (?), Second Intermediate Period, Buhen, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula into an invocation to the living): Smith 1976: 6-7, pl. i (3) and lvii (4).
- [117] Khartum (?), Second Intermediate Period, Buhen, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Smith 1976: 48-49.
- [118] Khartum 370, Second Intermediate Period, Buhen, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Smith 1976: 46, pl. lxx (4).
- [119] Khartum 371, Second Intermediate Period, Buhen, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Smith 1976: 46-47, pl. lxxi (1).
- [120] BM EA 1653, Late Middle Kingdom, Abydos, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Frankfort 1928: 241-242, pl. xx.2; Ilin-Tomich 2011: 30 (no. 275, for the dating).
- [121] *pBerlin 3033* = *pWestcar* 1.20, XVIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, papyrus (hieratic): Blackman 1988: 1, pl. 1.
- [122] Vienna KHM ÄS 91, XVIIth Dynasty, provenance unknown, stela (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Hein & Satzinger 1993: 12-16; Ilin-Tomich 2011: 33 (no. 475).
- [123] New York MMA 25.329, XVIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Sobekemsaf II), provenance unknown, shrine (*hṭp dj nswt* formula?): Winlock 1947: 134, pl. 48; Hayes 1959: 10-11, fig. 3 (bottom right); Ryholt 1997: 393 (17/2.3).

New Kingdom, 1. XVIIIth Dynasty

- [124] CG 870, New Kingdom, Saqqara, statue (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Borchardt 1930: 131.
- [125] CG 1174, New Kingdom, Mit Rahina, statue base: Borchardt 1934: 90; Clère 1968: 147.
- [126] Brussels E 5182, New Kingdom, Heliopolis, funeral scene: Petrie & Mackay 1915: 6, pl. vii-viii (no. 4); *LÄGG* IV 147 (3).
- [127] Leiden D 31, New Kingdom, Memphis (?), statue: Clère 1968: 147.
- [128] CG 1169, XVIIIth Dynasty, Mit Rahina, statue (altar formula): Borchardt 1934: 88.
- [129] Turin C. 3017, XVIIIth Dynasty (usurped in XIXth Dynasty), provenance unknown, statue (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Connor 2016: 120 and 124-125, fig. 129-130.
- [130] Medamud (?), XVIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Thutmose III), Medamud, statue (biographical inscription): *Urk.* IV 1443, 5; 1444, 12; Drioton 1927: 52-56; Helck 1961: 143 (i); Pasquali 2011: 81 (B.27).
- [131] CG 648, XVIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Hatshepsut), Karnak, Mut temple, statue (offering formula): *Urk.* IV 478, 14; Borchardt 1925: 194, pl. 119.
- [132] Brussels MRAH E.1103, XVIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenhotep III), Thebes, West Bank, temple of Wadjmose, statue (biographical inscription): *Urk.* IV 1885, 13; Pasquali 2011: 37 (A.72).
- [133] JE 34558, XVIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenhotep III), Kom el-Fakhry, stela (lunette): PM III/2² 843; Pasquali 2011: 31 (A.56), with earlier references.
- [134] MMA 23.8, XVIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenhotep III), Dendera, statue (*hṭp dj nswt* formula): Helck 1995: 58 (no. 36), with earlier references.
- [135] Oxford Ashmolean 1913.163, XVIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenhotep III), Mit Rahina, statue (biographical inscription): *Urk.* IV 1795, 6; Petrie *et al.* 1913: 33-36, pl. lxxviii-lxxx, ll. 13-14; Pasquali 2011: 34-35 and 111-115 (A.64), with earlier references.
- [136] Louvre A 116, XVIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Amenhotep III), provenance unknown, statue (offering formula): *LÄGG* IV 147 (3); <https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/13-585157-2C6NU06QTD62.html>.

- [137] CG 34183, XVIIIth Dynasty (*temp.* Tutankhamun), Karnak, Amun temple, stela: *Urk.* IV 2028, 17; Lacau 1926: 227, l. 14; Pasquali 2011: 53-54 (A.107).
- [138] Berlin ÄM 12410, late XVIIIth Dynasty, Saqqara (?), block of tomb scene: Roeder 1924: 179 (up); Clère 1968: 147; Kitchen 1991: 93.

New Kingdom, 2. Ramesside Period

- [139] Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 23, Ramesside period, Saqqara (?), block of tomb scene: Martin 1987: 40-41, pl. 38 (no. 105).
- [140] *In situ*, Ramesside Period (?), Saqqara, tomb scene (divine epithet): PM III/2² 592; Málek 1981: 158, n. 17.
- [141] Yale University Art Gallery 37.126, Ramesside Period, Saqqara (?), tomb scene (harper's song): Simpson 1969-70.
- [142] CG 606, XIXth Dynasty, Saqqara, statue (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Borchardt 1925: 156, pl. 110.
- [143] CG 42147, XIXth Dynasty, Karnak, statue (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Legrain 1909: 12, pl. ix-x; *KRI* II 890, 13.
- [144] *In situ*, XIXth Dynasty (*temp.* Sethy I), Abydos, temple of Sethy I: Calverley 1958: pl. 76 (10.C, S).
- [145] Leiden RMO AST 11, XIXth Dynasty (*temp.* Sethy I-Ramesses II), provenance unknown (*jm3hy* formula?): *LÄGG* IV 147 (3).
- [146] *pSallier IV* v^o (Eulogy to Memphis), XIXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses II): Gardiner 1937: 88-92; Ragazzoli 2008: 24 and 70-81.
- [147] TT 111, XIXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses II), wall scene (title): *KRI* III 304, 6.
- [148] Location unknown, XIXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses II), Saqqara, Serapeum, statue (divine epithet): *KRI* II 881, 7.
- [149] *In situ*, XIXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses II), Saqqara, tomb scene (deceased's epithet): Gaballa 1977: pl. 3; *KRI* III 420, 4; *LÄGG* III 230 (2).
- [150] *In situ*, XIXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses II), Saqqara, Step Pyramid enclosure (visitor's graffito): Firth & Quibell 1935: 82 (S, 2); *KRI* III 148, 8-9; *LÄGG* I 43 (3).
- [151] Private collection, Lyon, XIXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses II), statue: Clère 1968: 138-141, pl. xxii and xxiii (H).
- [152] BM EA 165, XIXth Dynasty, Memphis (?), stela (wish for the Afterlife): *HTBM* IX 28-29, pl. xxiv; *KRI* III 278, 6; Pasquali 2011: 81, n. 258.
- [153] *In situ*, XIXth Dynasty, North Saqqara, doorjamb (wish for the Afterlife): Gohary 2009: 28, pl. 38a.
- [154] *In situ*, XIXth Dynasty, North Saqqara, funeral scene (harper's song): Gohary 2009: 28, pl. 40a; Raven 2017: 91, fig. 10.
- [155] SCA storeroom at Saqqara, XIXth Dynasty, North Saqqara, column (wish for the Afterlife): Gohary 2009: 35, pl. 48 (LB 11b).
- [156] SCA storeroom at Saqqara (?), XIXth Dynasty, North Saqqara, fragment of scene (wish for the Afterlife): Gohary 2009: 36, pl. 49 (LB 14).
- [157] CG 631, XXth Dynasty, provenance unknown, statue (*hṯp dj nswt* formula): Borchardt 1925: 179-180.
- [158] *In situ*, XXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses III), Medinet Habu, temple of Ramesses III: The Epigraphic Survey 1957: pl. 343 (A.5).
- [159] *In situ*, XXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses III), Medinet Habu, temple of Ramesses III: The Epigraphic Survey 1963: pl. 458.2.

- [160] *In situ*, XXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses III), Medinet Habu, temple of Ramesses III: The Epigraphic Survey 1964: pl. 515.6.
- [161] *In situ*, XXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses III), Medinet Habu, temple of Ramesses III: The Epigraphic Survey 1964: pl. 582 (A.3).
- [162] *In situ*, XXth Dynasty (*temp.* Ramesses III), Medinet Habu, temple of Ramesses III: The Epigraphic Survey 1970: 7, pl. 608.1.

APPENDIX B: EPITHETS AND DEITIES RELATED TO ANKHTAWY

Anubis

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nb-ᵑnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	—	—	[148]
<i>hntj ᵑnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	—	—	[126], [145]

Bastet

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nbt-ᵑnh-t3wj</i>	[1], [3] ¹ , [4] ²	—	[9]	—	[130-131], [134], [147], [158], [160-161]

Hathor

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nbt-qrst nfrt m ᵑnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	—	—	[136]

Imentet

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>dhnt-ᵑnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	—	—	[140]

Iunyt

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nbt-ᵑnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	[62-64]	—	—

Osiris

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nb-ᵑnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	[6-7], [10-22], [24-25], [28], [31-33], [35], [37], [39], [40-42], [45-50], [53], [55-56], [58-59], [61], [63], [67-68], [70-73], [75-76], [82] ³ , [83], [87-90], [92-93], [95], [99], [101], [102] ⁴ , [103-107]	[110-111], [114-115] ⁵ , [120], [122]	— ⁶
<i>nswt-ᵑnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	—	—	[139]

Osiris-Ptah-Sokar

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nb-ꜥnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	[60]	—	—

Ptah

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nb-ꜥnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	[8], [23], [29], [43-44], [51-52], [57], [64-66], [74], [79-80], [85], [91], [94], [96-98], [100], [108-109],	[117-119], [121], [123] ⁷	[124], [128-129], [132-133], [137], [142], [144], [146], [157], [159], [162]

Ptah-Osiris

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nb-ꜥnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	[54]	—	—

Ptah-Sokar

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nb-ꜥnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	[38], [77]	[113], [116]	—

Ptah-Sokar-Osiris

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nb-ꜥnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	[26-27], [34], [36], [78]	[112]	—

Ptah-Tatjenen

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>m ꜥnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	—	—	[143]

Sekhmet

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nbt-ꜥnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	[84]	—	—

Semat (*Sm3t*)

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nbt-ꜥnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	—	—	[146]

Shesmetet (Šsmṯt)

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nbt-ḥnh-t3wj</i>	—	—	—	—	[146]

Wadjet

Epithet	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
<i>nbt-ḥnh-t3wj</i>	[2]	—	—	—	—

OK = Old Kingdom | FIP = First Intermediate Period | MK = Middle Kingdom | SPI = Second Intermediate Period | NK = New Kingdom

¹ Doubtful.

² Doubtful.

³ Followed by the phrase *m swt=f nb(w)t* ‘in all *his* places’.

⁴ Partial (Wsjr <*nb->ḥnh-t3wj*).


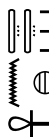









⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Vid. n. 77.

⁷ Doubtful.

APPENDIX C: HIEROGLYPHIC SPELLINGS OF THE TOPONYM ANKHTAWY

	Spelling	OK	FIP	MK	SPI	NK
a		[1-3], [4] ⁱ	—	[6], [8], [10-11], [13-14], [16-17], [20], [22-24], [28], [37], [47-48], [61-63-66], [72-73], [75-76], [82-83], [90], [102]	[120] ² , [122]	[128]
b		—	—	[7], [9], [15], [18], [25], [27], [31-34], [38], [40-43], [45], [51], [53-54], [56], [58-60], [67], [74], [77-80], [84-85], [88-89], [91], [92], [95], [97-98], [101], [103-105], [108], [130] ³ , [131], [133-135], [137], [143-145], [158],	[110], [112-113], [115], [123]	[130] ³ , [131], [133-135], [137], [143-145], [158],
c		—	—	[52], [99]	—	—
d		—	—	[19], [36], [86], [100]	[118]	[132]
e		—	—	[21], [26], [68], [107]	—	[129], [160]
f		—	—	[35], [93-94]	[116], [119]	—
g		—	—	[55]	—	—
h		—	—	—	[111]	—
i		—	—	[44], [96], [109]	[121]	[146] ⁴ , [150]
j		—	—	[49-50], [106]	[114]	—
k		—	—	[57]	—	—
l		—	—	[63], [70-71]?	—	—
m		—	—	—	—	[139]

n		—	—	[12]	—	—
o		—	—	[29]	—	—
p		—	—	[46], [87]	—	—
q		—	—	[39]	—	—
r		—	—	—	—	[124-125], [138], [147], [152-154], [156]
s		—	—	—	—	[127], [136], [151], [155] ⁵
t		—	—	—	—	[148]
u	 etc.	—	—	—	—	[140], [149], [157], [159], [161-162]
v		—	—	—	—	[142]
w		—	—	—	—	[141]
x		—	—	—	—	[126]

¹ Doubtful.

² The group *ʿnh* and *t3wj* are reversed, written first *t3wj* and secondly *ʿnh*.

³ Twice.

⁴ Thrice (1.3, 1.6 and 1.7); on 1.3 between *ʿnh* and *t3wj* a divine determinative (G7), most probably referred to *nb* 'lord', is inserted; on 1.7 that determinative appears at the end of the construct.

⁵ Partial (damaged).

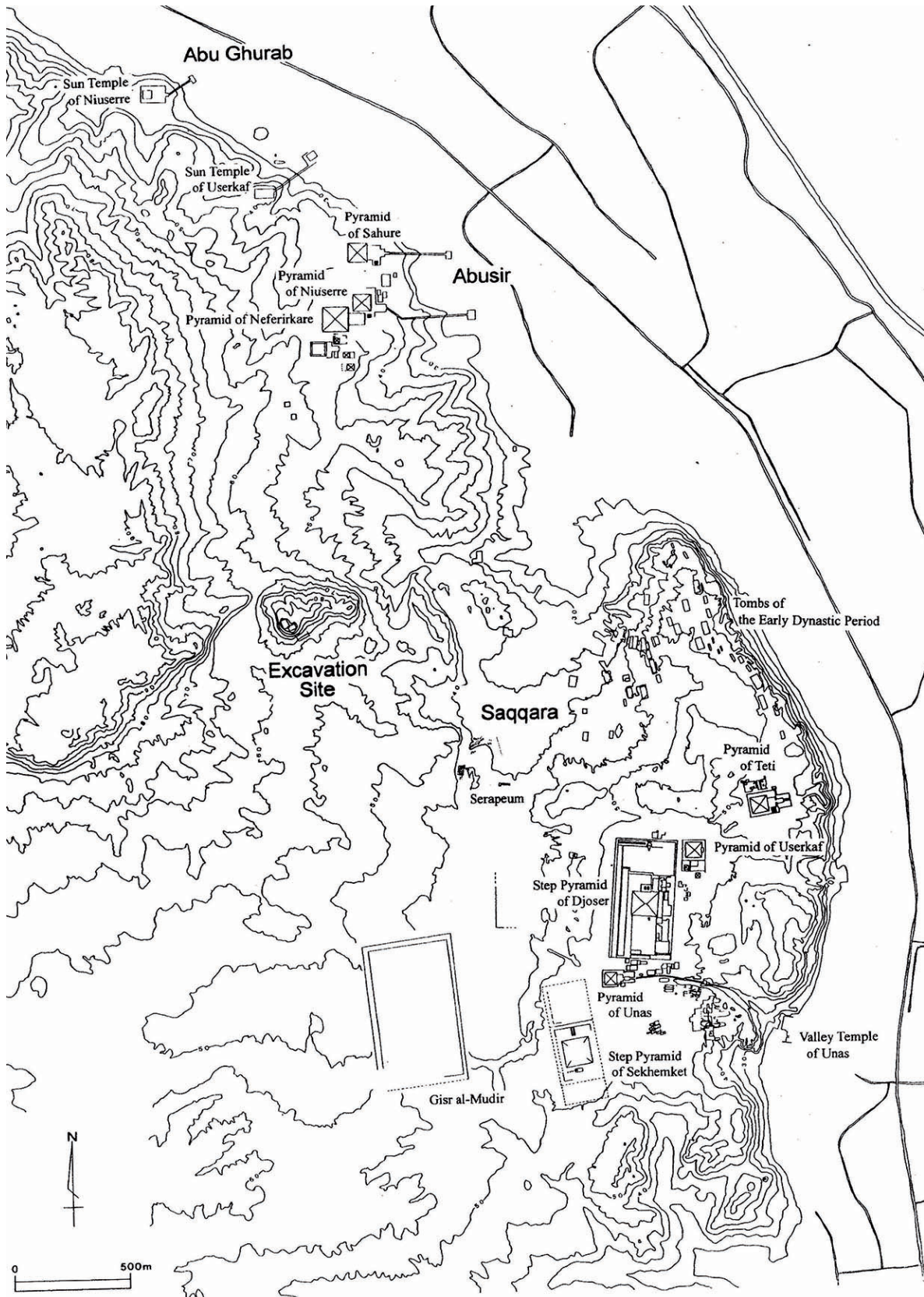


Fig. 1. Location of the outcrop excavated by the Japanese mission of the Waseda University in the context of the Saqqara-Abusir area. Source: Yoshimura et al. 2005: fig. 1.

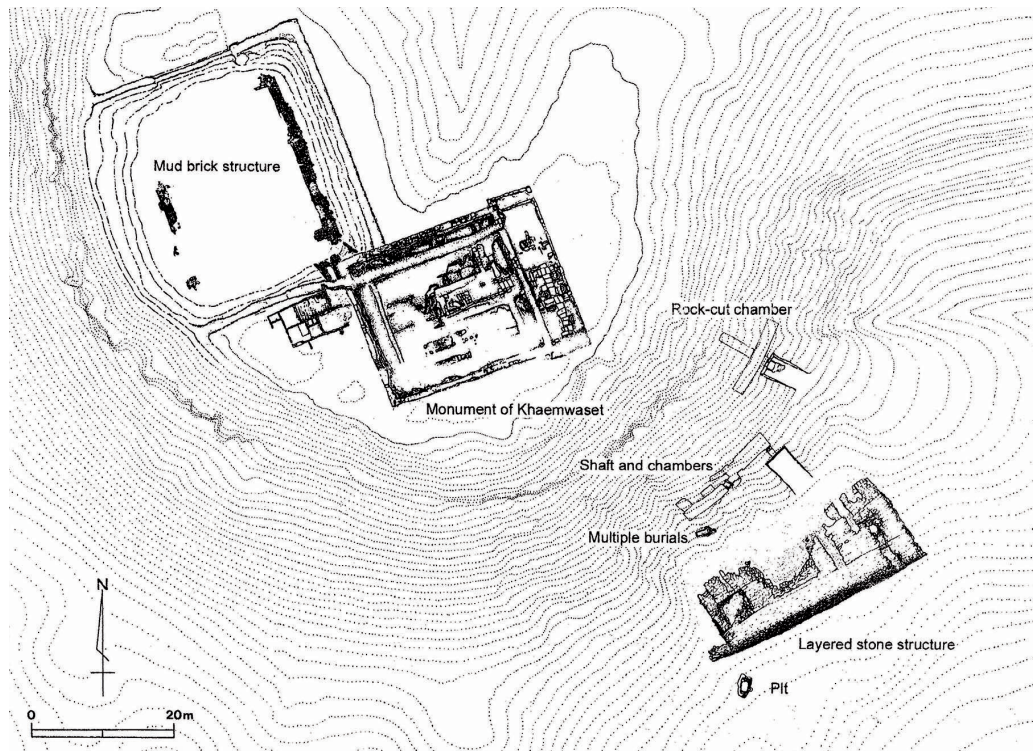


Fig. 2. Structures and contexts excavated by the Japanese mission of the Waseda University in the outcrop of the Wadi Abusir. Source: Kawai 2011: fig. 1.

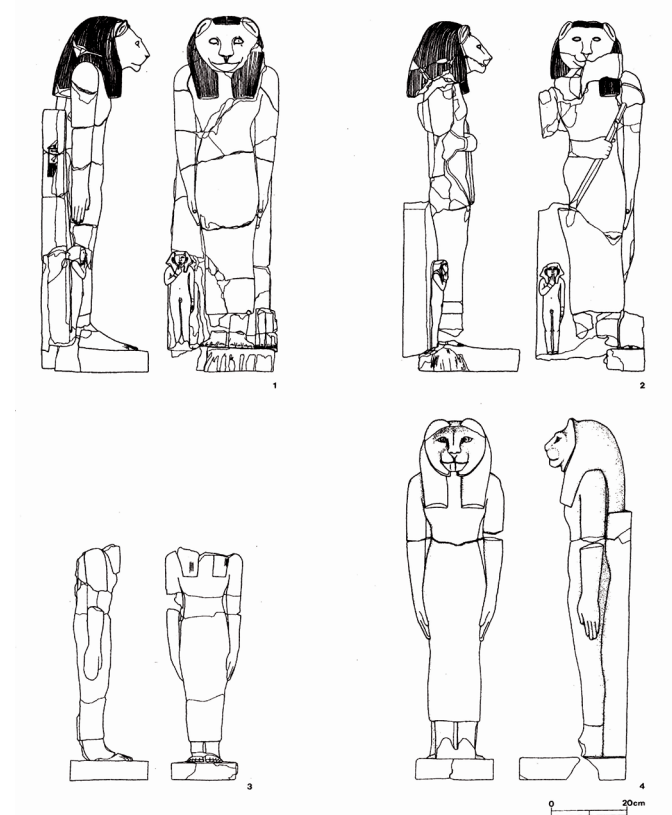


Fig. 3. Some of the terracotta statues of a standing lioness goddess with infant kings found by the Japanese mission of the Waseda University in the contexts dated between the Early Dynastic Period and the Late Middle Kingdom in the outcrop of the Wadi Abusir. Source: Yoshimura et al. 2005: fig. 22.

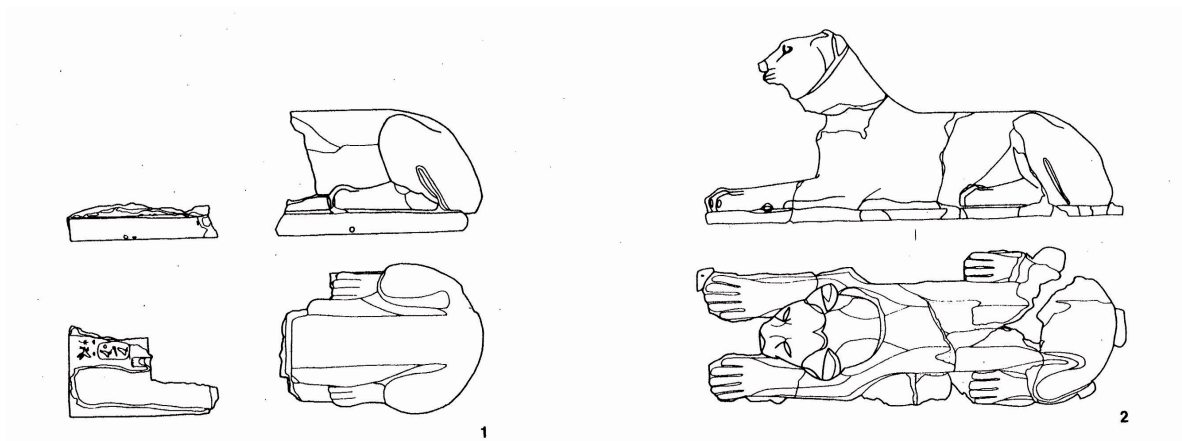


Fig. 4. The two terracotta statues of a recumbent lioness goddess found by the Japanese mission of the Waseda University in the contexts dated between the Early Dynastic Period and the Late Middle Kingdom in the outcrop of the Wadi Abusir. Source: Yoshimura et al. 2005: fig. 21.

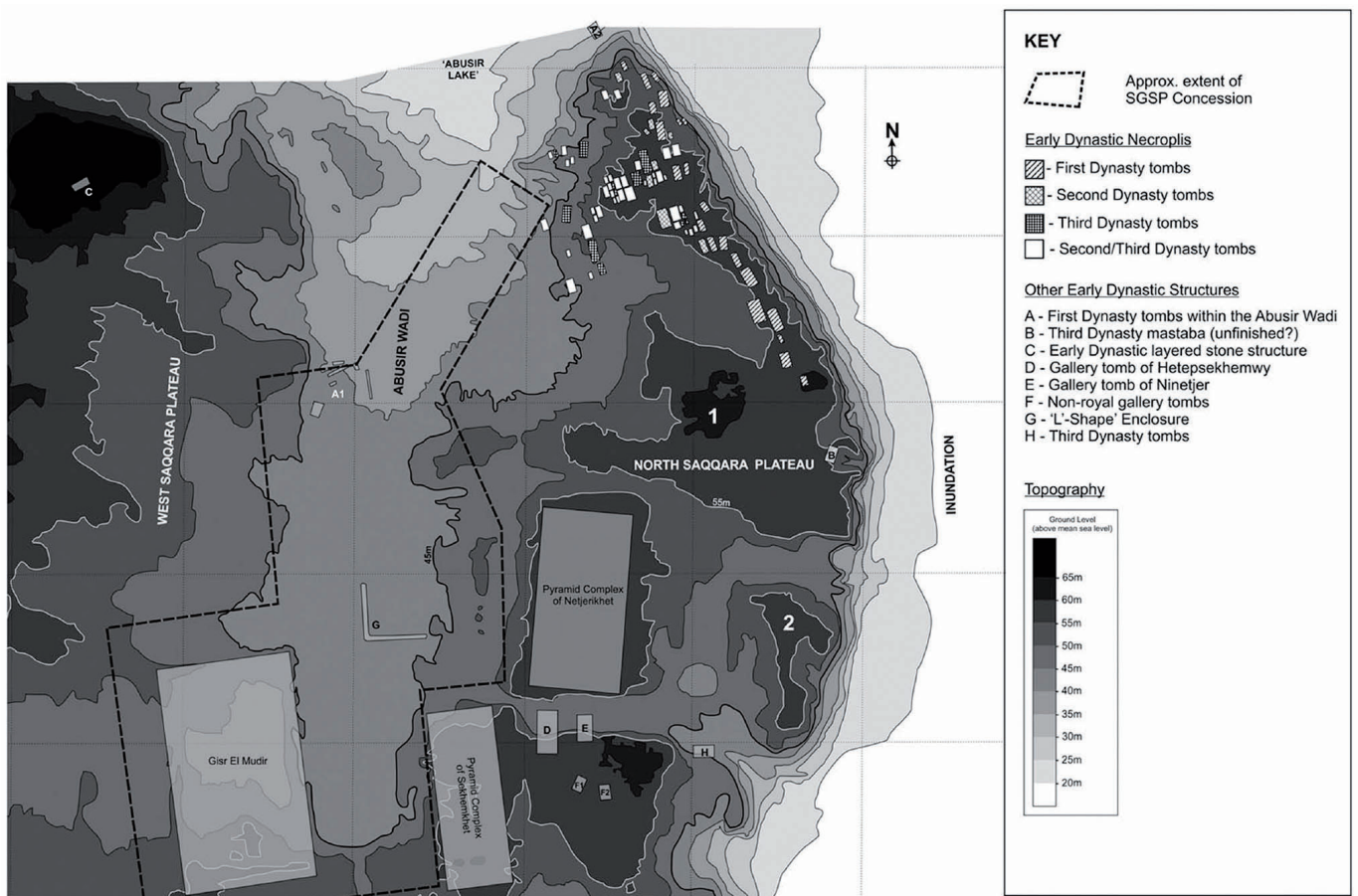


Fig. 5. Plan of the area of North Saqqara and the Wadi Abusir, showing the concession of the Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project and the most relevant archaeological contexts and structures. Source: Reader 2017: fig. 1.

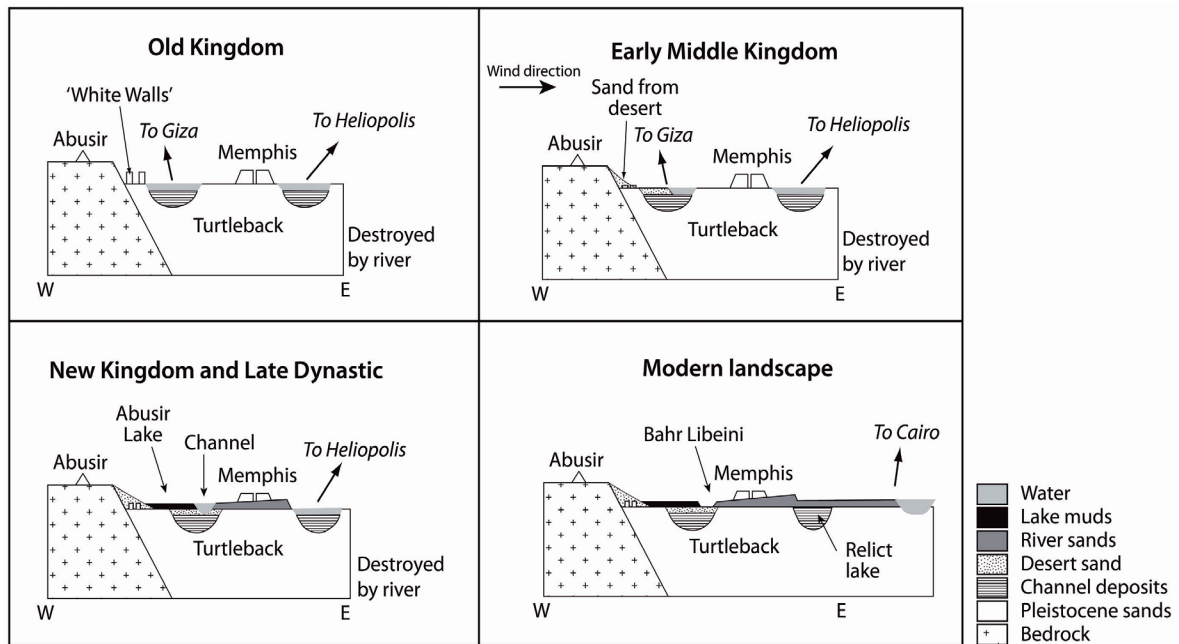


Fig. 6. Diagram showing the sequence of sediments found by the Survey of Memphis and their interpretation for the area of Memphis. Source: Bunbury & Jeffreys 2011: fig. 4.

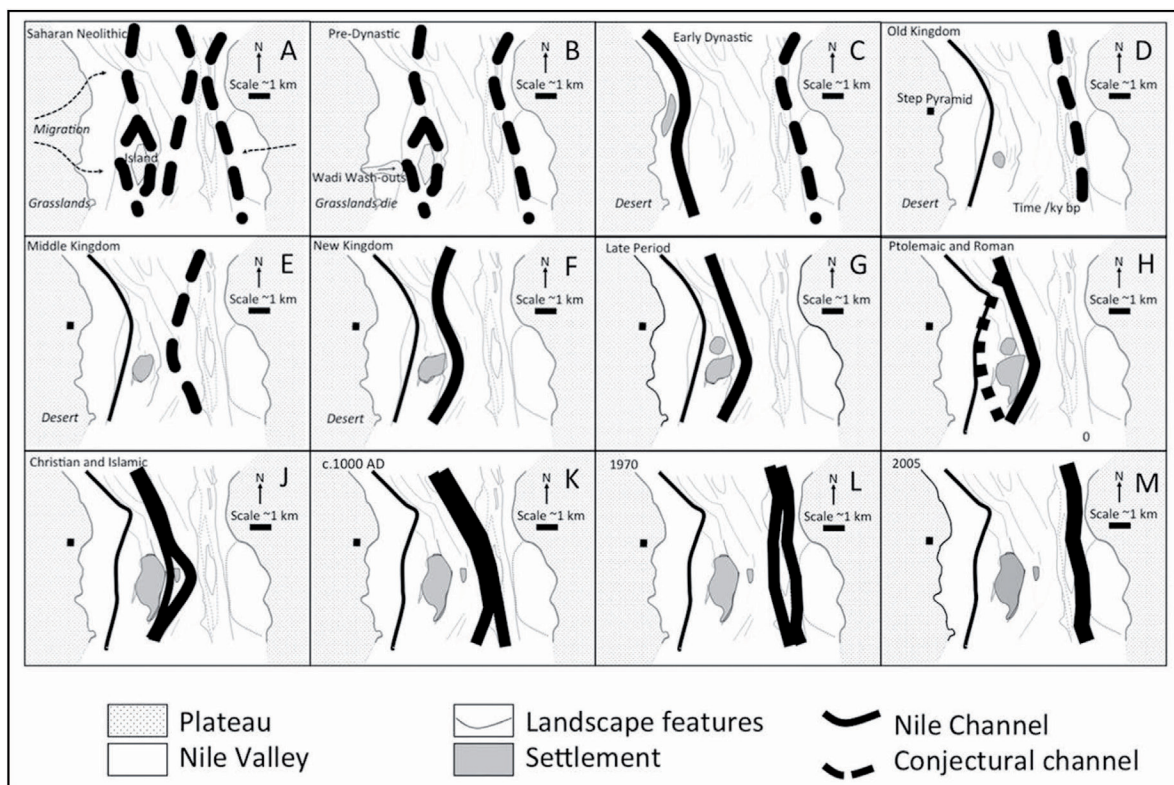


Fig. 7. Diagram showing the time series of the migration of the Nile since the Saharan Neolithic period to AD 2005. Source: Bunbury et al. 2017: fig. 5.