



Peer Reviewed

Title:

The Body

Author:

[Riggs, Christina](#), University of East Anglia, UK

Publication Date:

2010

Series:

[UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology](#)

Publication Info:

UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, UCLA

Permalink:

<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/8f21r7sj>

Additional Info:

Riggs, Christina, 2010, Body. In Elizabeth Frood, Willeke Wendrich (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, Los Angeles. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025nqg2>

Keywords:

body, self, person, art, representation, social role, enculturation, physical form, fate, lifetime, shadow, magic, force, soul, heart, Near Eastern Languages and Societies

Local Identifier:

nelc_uee_7961

Abstract:

The human body is both the physical form inhabited by an individual “self” and the medium through which an individual engages with society. Hence the body both shapes and is shaped by an individual’s social roles. In contrast to the cognate fields of archaeology, anthropology, and classics, there has been little explicit discussion or theorization of the body in Egyptology. Some recent works, discussed here, constitute an exception to this trend, but there is much more scope for exploring ancient Egyptian culture through the body, especially as evidenced in works of art and pictorial representation.

Copyright Information:

All rights reserved unless otherwise indicated. Contact the author or original publisher for any necessary permissions. eScholarship is not the copyright owner for deposited works. Learn more at http://www.escholarship.org/help_copyright.html#reuse



eScholarship
University of California

eScholarship provides open access, scholarly publishing services to the University of California and delivers a dynamic research platform to scholars worldwide.

BODY الجسد

Christina Riggs

EDITORS

WILLEKE WENDRICH
Editor-in-Chief
University of California, Los Angeles

JACCO DIELEMAN
Editor
University of California, Los Angeles

ELIZABETH FROOD
Editor
Area Editor Individual and Society
University of Oxford

JOHN BAINES
Senior Editorial Consultant
University of Oxford

Short Citation:
Riggs 2010, Body. *UEE*.

Full Citation:
Riggs, Christina, 2010, Body. In Elizabeth Frood, Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025nqg2>

Christina Riggs

Körper
Corps

The human body is both the physical form inhabited by an individual “self” and the medium through which an individual engages with society. Hence the body both shapes and is shaped by an individual’s social roles. In contrast to the cognate fields of archaeology, anthropology, and classics, there has been little explicit discussion or theorization of the body in Egyptology. Some recent works, discussed here, constitute an exception to this trend, but there is much more scope for exploring ancient Egyptian culture through the body, especially as evidenced in works of art and pictorial representation.

جسد الإنسان عبارة عن الجسد المادي الذي تقطنه «النفس» المترددة، وهو الوسيلة التي يقوم من خلالها الإنسان بالتفاعل مع المجتمع. ومن ثم فالجسد يشكل ويتأثّر على حد سواء تبعاً للوظائف الاجتماعية الفردية. مقارنة بالمجالات المتعلقة بالآثار وعلم الإنسان (الأنتروبولوجيا) والدراسات الكلاسيكية، فإنه لم يحدث أي نقاشات أو أفكار واضحة حول الجسد في علم المصريات. يتم هنا مناقشة بعض الأعمال الحديثة والتي تُشكّل إثنان من إسثناء لهذا الإتجاه ولكن هناك أكثر من مجال لاستكشاف الثقافة المصرية القديمة عبر الجسد خاصةً ما يظهر بالفن والتصوير.

Since the 1980s, the social sciences have developed analytical approaches to the concept of the body, the individual, and the construction of personhood, which have particular relevance for issues of gender, sexuality, class, and lifecycle. Building on these approaches, interpretive archaeology has also begun to concern itself with the individual in ancient societies as a core unit of agency on which social relations, progress, and institutionalized behavior are based. This notion of the individual moves beyond earlier anthropological and philosophical claims that the individual is a Western, Christian, or post-Enlightenment concept. As an ontological category, the individual retrieved through studies of the ancient past is inextricably tied to theories of the body and the “embodied

self.” Each individual in society has a material body through which the self, society, and the world are experienced: “to be human is to be embodied” (Meskell 1999: 37). Moreover, social discourse constitutes the body (as a concept) and gives it meanings that are specific to each society. The physical human body is a readily available image around which bodily practices, understandings of bodily difference, and ideological constructions accrue. In the words of sociologist Bryan S. Turner, the body is the critical juncture between “the natural order of the world and the cultural ordering of the world” (Turner 1984: 39).

The culture of ancient Egypt offers rich resources for analyzing the Egyptians’ conceptualization of the body and the

embodied self, in terms of texts and language, pictorial representation, religious beliefs and eschatology, rituals, bodily practices (including grooming and medicine), and social differentiation (such as class, age, and gender). The practice of mummification informs us, not only of the Egyptians' knowledge of human physiology, but of their conceptualization of the body, which is culturally constructed in every society, while extant physical remains give a much greater insight into the physical anthropology of the populace than is possible for other ancient societies.

In the Egyptian language, the physical form of the person is the *dt* or *hw*, the latter of which may refer more broadly to the concept of self (Walker 1996: 3 - 18). The *dt*-body outlasts the physical body, but at the same time is distinct from the corpse or the mummy. Assmann (2005: 88 - 89) interprets the *dt*-body as a physical form, whereas Walker (1996: 17) argues for the *dt* as an eternal, transcendent form—not the human body itself. The dead body, or *hst*, forms a binary opposition with the *bs* (*ba*) in funerary texts: "Your *ba* will live in the sky in the presence of Re. . . . Your corpse will endure in the underworld in the presence of Osiris" (Papyrus Leiden T32, in Smith 2009b: 405; see also Assmann 2005: 91). Loprieno (2003) treats the *ks* (*ka*), *ba*, and the transfigured spirit, *sh* (*akh*), as distinct conceptions of personhood, with the *ka* based on relations among the living, the *akh* associated with the dead and the gods, and the *ba* mediating between these worldly and otherworldly states of being. Smith (2009a: 3) goes further in proposing that the *ba* is not a component of the individual person, but the whole person as manifested after death.

The human being as a complete entity was composed of numerous elements in addition to, or residing in (cf. Assmann 2003), the physical body. These included fate (*ššw*, *ššy*), the extent of one's lifetime (*ḥw*), the name (*m*), the shadow (*šwt*), one's personal magic (*hkšw*), the life force (*ks*), and in some interpretations, the soul (*bs*). The heart (*jb* or

ḥṣtj) was a metonym for emotion and cognition, and the pumping of the heart was recognized as an indicator of health and life (Brunner 1988; Rueda 2003: 34 - 38). The *jb*-heart connoted emotions and cognition, while the *ḥṣtj*-heart was the physical organ, although the two words could be used interchangeably (Rueda 2003: 27; but cf. Assmann 2005: 29 - 30). An individual was also linked to his parents and ancestors through both the life force (*ks*) and the physical body, as the expression "heart (*jb*) of my mother" may suggest (*Book of the Dead* 30 a - b, for which see Allen 1960: 115). Bringing together these elements of the person is a goal expressed in funerary literature and in art, for instance through the symbolism of coffin iconography (Meyer-Dietrich 2006), including the Four Sons of Horus associated with the integrity of the corpse. A scene from the Ramesside tomb of Amenemhat (TT 163) depicts each of the Four Sons presenting one of these elements to the deceased: Amset bears the heart (*jb*), Hapi the *bs*, Duamutef the *ks*, and Qebehenuf the *hst*-corpse, presaged as a mummy (*sḥ*) by being shown in the wrapped form (fig. 1; Assmann 1979: 67 - 77).

The vessels, sinews, and muscles of the physical body were known as *mtw* (e.g., Papyrus Ebers: Fischer-Elfert 2005b), and the Egyptians had some conception of bodily fluids, especially blood, flowing through the body and making it whole and intact. Parts of the body that could be removed or excreted—especially hair, semen, saliva, and menstrual blood—were potent symbolic loci. Locks of hair were incorporated into amulets (Arnst 2006), and the shaving of children's heads might have signaled a rite of passage or invoked healing (Ikram 2003). Bodily fluids, which transcend the boundaries of the body and are created within it, were both powerful and dangerous (Meskell 1999: 45 - 50). Saliva was used in magical practice, through spitting, licking, or swallowing actions, and spittle was thought of as having generative powers. Semen and menstrual blood were pollutants, though their power could be corralled through magic (for magical practice, see Pinch 1994; Ritner 1993). The word *mtwt* could



Figure 1. Sandstone relief from Theban Tomb 163, Dynasty 19 or 20, British Museum EA 55336. The tomb owner, Amenemhat, kneels at right, adoring the Four Sons of Horus who present his heart (*ib*), *ba*, and body (*hst*), depicted in the form of a wrapped, mummiform figure.

mean both semen and poison; magical spells express fear of being inappropriately violated by semen, for instance by a demon ejaculating in one's ear during sleep (Borghouts 1978: 38, Spell 59). There is some evidence that women undertook purification after menstruation (Robins 1993: 78), and for the isolation of women during their menstrual periods (Wilfong 1999). The *tyet*-amulet, which may represent a blood-soaked menstrual cloth, was a protective symbol linked especially to the goddess Isis (Westendorf 1965: 144 - 154; 1980). Women's procreative ability meant that breast milk and the urine of pregnant women were used in predictive magic and medical diagnoses (e.g., Borghouts 1978: 24 - 25, spells 34 and 35 against burns).

The fragmentation of the self into several components—*ka*, heart, shadow, etc.—mirrored the fragmentation of the body in Egyptian thought. The Egyptians readily conceived of the body as a multitude of discrete parts—hair, head, skin, sensory organs, internal organs, arms, legs, blood, and so on—which must be bound together in both life and death for completeness. Egyptian texts for the rejuvenation of the dead list parts of the body from head to foot to energize them, comparing each body part with a god (for instance, Coffin Text spells 761 and 762), and the parts of the body are described as if deified in numerous funerary, magical, and religious texts (DuQuesne 2002; Erman 1901; Guilhou 1997). Funerary texts and other sources express a deep fear of the

body not being intact or being destroyed (Meskell and Joyce 2003: 144 - 153; Zandee 1960; and discussions in Hare 1999: esp. 1 - 43).

Physical fracture is also at the core of the hieroglyphic writing system, where human body parts (displayed in Gardiner sign-list section D) are even more numerous than animal body parts; the former are chiefly limbs and facial features, while the latter are internal organs (Hare 1999: 26). Human body parts are core alphabetic signs (Gardiner sign-list: D21 *r*, D36 *'*, D46 *d*, D58 *b*), common bi- and tri-literals (Gardiner sign-list: D2 *hr*, D4 *jr*, D37 *dj*, D40 *nht*), and determinatives (Gardiner sign-list: D9, a weeping eye; D54, a pair of legs to show movement). The whole human body is essential for the range of hieroglyphic determinatives (Gardiner sign-list sections A and B), which include sitting, standing, and dancing postures, as well as depictions of injured or dead bodies (Gardiner sign-list: A14, A15).

The centrality of the human body in the Egyptian world-view is exemplified by the fact that almost all Egyptian gods take human forms, in whole or in part. A wrapped ("mummiform") body typifies many depictions of gods and otherworldly beings; indeed the chthonic, creative, or regenerative gods—Ptah, Min, and Osiris—take this form throughout Egyptian history. However, animal and animal-headed human forms prevail for other gods, offering various images

that the gods can inhabit; the true essence or appearance of the gods remains hidden, or unknowable (Hornung 1982: 109 - 125; Hornung 2005). Like mortals, the gods in their embodied forms are also susceptible to fragmentation, and Egyptian myth is replete with fractured bodies, in particular the dismembered corpse of Osiris. In magical and mythological formations the wounding and healing of Horus's eye is compared to the waning and waxing of the moon (Anthes 1961; Griffiths 1958), and in the Litany of Ra, the sun god takes on numerous physical forms as aspects of his complete being (Naville 1875; e.g., the tomb of Ramesses IV; Hornung 1990: plates 31 - 41).

Such “appearances” (*hprw*) or transformations suggest a physical shape-shifting, by which one body or state of being can be changed for another (Buchberger 1993). The ability to have multiple forms and move between them is a characteristic of the gods, and human beings aspired to this ability after death, exemplified by the transformation spells of the *Book of the Dead* (BD 76 – 88). Spell 76 calls, in particular, for “assuming any form one wishes” (Allen 1960: 150 - 164). Attaining a transfigured state (*sh*) depended on correct performance of the rituals relating to mummification and burial. One of the most important funerary rituals involved the embalming and wrapping of the corpse (*hst*), which turned the *hst* into a mummy (*s'h*). Encased in linen and wearing a mummy mask with tripartite wig and divine beard, the mummiform figure was no longer a human body made up of separate, movable parts. Instead, like the gods Ptah, Min, and Osiris, the *s'h* had an undifferentiated body whose wrapped or shrouded appearance hid the articulated limbs from view. Similarly, the hieroglyphic sign for a mummiform body could mean *twt*, “image” or “statue.” The common assertion in Egyptological literature that the chief goal of mummification was to preserve the physical body for the afterlife may be an overstatement, or oversimplification. The process of embalming, anointing, and wrapping the corpse was essential for turning the human body into an

“image” and a god-like body that transcended the mortal, physical form. The divine potential of the human body could be activated through funerary rituals and processes, such as the desiccation, anointing, and wrapping of the corpse; the incantation of prayers, hymns, and liturgies; and the performance of rites such as mourning, or the “Opening of the Mouth.” This potential has arguably been under-recognized in academic literature.

The anatomical knowledge gained through the practice of mummification may have contributed to Egyptian conceptions of the sectioned or fragmented body, and it certainly informed Egyptian medical practices. Evidence from medical papyri and from surviving mummies reveals that the Egyptians recognized the role of the brain, were generally familiar with blood circulation, and could treat wounds and broken limbs, and nurture the physically disabled or frail. Gynecological health is a concern of medical papyri from el-Lahun, suggesting that male doctors sometimes treated female patients; however, as in almost all traditional cultures, childbirth was probably attended only by women (Janssen, J.J. and Janssen 1990: 1 - 13; Robins 1993: 75 - 91). The bodily processes of gestation, birth, and breastfeeding were the basis of some elite cultural formulations in visual culture and ritual activities, such as the iconography of Isis and Horus, and perhaps the performance of the Opening of the Mouth (proposed by Roth 1992).

Bodily modifications, appearance, and grooming were part of the social construction of identity. The ideal elite adult body was clean, well cared for, and scented, with firm musculature for men and slender yet fecund proportions for women (fig. 2). The king's own body exemplified the ideal male form at all periods. Although most of the mummies thought to be those of kings were not circumcised, male circumcision was practiced (probably around the onset of puberty) to some extent (De Wit 1972; Gee 1998: 2; Janssen, J.J. and Janssen 1990: 90 - 98; Meskell 2002: 87 - 88; Roth 1991: 62 - 72;



Figure 2. Fragment of painted wall from tomb of Nebamun, Thebes, Dynasty 18, British Museum EA 37977. Nebamun, his wife, and their daughter (seated on floor of boat) exemplify elite ideals of physical beauty, with strong, sensual bodies, fine clothing, and carefully dressed hair.

Sauneron 2000: 37 - 38). There is no clear evidence for female circumcision (excision) during the Pharaonic Period, though there may be some indications for the practice, in particular from the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Cohen 1997: 563; Huebner 2009; *contra* Janssen, J.J. and Janssen 1990: 90). Male circumcision was one of a number of practices related to priestly service, all of which were concerned with purity (see Grunert 2002; Quack 1997; Fischer-Elfert 2005a). Other requirements included washing, cleaning the mouth, shaving body hair, abstaining from sexual activity, and adhering to dietary restrictions (Gee 1998; Roth 1991; Sauneron 2000: 36 - 40).

In art, men were depicted as slightly larger than women of equal status, and women tended to be depicted with proportions different from those of men, with a shorter spinal column in relation to the buttocks and legs (see Robins 1994). Signs of status and age could be depicted through the body in limited ways, according to accepted conventions (Moers 2006): thus older men might have lined faces or thickened bellies (Gilroy 2002: 43, with n. 38; Riefstahl 1951), while women's bodies tended to retain their ideal, slender shape (but see Sweeney 2004). Both sexes

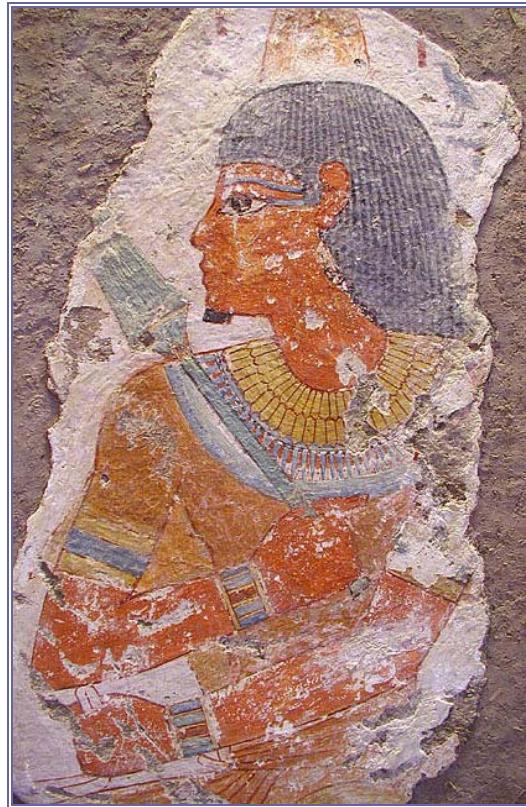


Figure 3. Fragment of painted wall from tomb of Nebamun, Thebes, Dynasty 18, Louvre E 32660. Nebamun wears a sheer garment and a scented cone on his head. His eyes and eyebrows are outlined with cosmetic, indicating his elevated status within the tomb.

dressed their hair in braids or covered it with wigs and hairpieces (Fletcher 2005; Naguib 1990; Robins 1999). Hairstyles changed with fashion over time, and men sometimes wore trimmed facial hair, such as a thin mustache or a short goatee beard (fig. 3). In some Ramesside tomb paintings, older men and women have white hair (e.g., the tomb of Pashedu at Deir el-Medina [TT 3]: Janssen, R. and Janssen 1996: 23 - 25, fig. 10, and front cover). Elite women's hair was usually long and full, and often worn in tight braids.

In the vast majority of visual representations, only lower-status figures are shown with paunches, poor posture, creased or snub-nosed faces, or (for men) receding hairlines (fig. 4; Gilroy 2002; Moers 2006). Lower-status female figures such as musicians



Figure 4. Wooden cosmetic spoon (lid missing), Dynasty 18, Louvre N 1738. The spoon is carved to represent a male servant, struggling with the weight of the “jar” that forms the bowl of the spoon. The servant presents a non-elite body type, with bald head, heavy facial features, and a pot belly.

and dancers may bear tattoos (Fletcher 2005) and are almost nude, with distinctive hairstyles that set them apart from elite women (Robins 1999). Their bodies may likewise adopt more informal postures and gestures, sometimes incorporating rear or frontal views (Müller



Figure 5. Limestone relief of mourning women, Saqqara, Dynasty 19, Louvre. The women’s loose hair and dresses, and flailing arms and hands, fit the trope of female mourners lamenting the dead.

1997; Volokhine 2000). The same holds true for male and female mourners, whether members of the deceased’s family, household dependants, or paid performers; their gestures, disarrayed hair and clothing, and (for men) unshaven heads and faces mark them out (fig. 5; Lüdeckens 1943; Werbrouck 1938). For both the elite and lower-status figures, expressive gestures were important carriers of meaning, and may be identified in pictorial representation through poses of prayer (e.g., Luiselli 2009) and begging or supplication (e.g., Frood 2007: 22). Figures with dysmorphic bodies—achondroplastic dwarves, or people with signs of illness or injury—appear in a few more elite instances, representing named individuals. In the Old Kingdom, the dwarf Seneb is one of a number of such individuals represented in art, attesting to the symbolic and social roles attached to dwarfism (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 51280: Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: cat. 39; for dwarfism, see Dasen 1993). The New Kingdom stela of a minor official named Roma represents him leaning on a staff with a withered leg, perhaps evidence of an injury or an illness such as poliomyelitis (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek AEIN 134: Nunn 1996: 77, fig. 4.5). The “queen of Punt” relief from Deir el-Bahri depicts a morbidly obese woman, which may reflect the appearance of an actual individual but also fits the trope of assigning stereotypical features to

the faces and bodies of non-Egyptians (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 14276: Nunn 1996: 83, fig. 4.13).

The adornment of the body through dress, cosmetics, jewellery, and ornaments was an extension of the bodily self (Assmann 1996: 68 - 71; Meskell and Joyce 2003: 53 - 66). Linen was an essential product in ancient Egypt, with a network of meanings and signification attached to it. The garments depicted in art do not correspond well to those discovered through archaeology, underscoring the idealization of pictorial representations (cf. Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993). Clothing found in archaeological contexts is cut-to-shape or left in rectangular form from the loom, with long, loose tunics to be pulled on and off over the head, and many types of wraps, shawls, and mantles, which could be folded and knotted to yield different garment types. In art, tight-fitting dresses or diaphanous robes (for women), and kilts that mold to the buttocks but are voluminous in the front, hiding the genitals (for men), are more concerned with revealing and concealing parts of the body than accurately depicting the clothes that Egyptians wore. Similarly, the nudity of children and lower-status females is symbolic. Scented and moisturizing preparations were widely used for skin and hair, along with cosmetics, in particular green and black eye make-up made from malachite and galena, respectively (fig. 6; Froschauer and Harrauer 2004; Leblanc et al. 2003; Manniche 1999). Cosmetic lines extending the eyebrows and the outer eye corners can indicate elevated or other-worldly status in art, being applied, for instance, to the king, the gods, and the transfigured dead (Hardwick 2003: 121 - 125). Skin color also had symbolic aspects in art: reddish brown paint was typically used to represent men, and light red or yellow for women, although there are a number of exceptions to these general observations. Yellow and white skin color symbolized the shining, bright skin of the gods and the transfigured dead, while deities like Osiris could be shown with black or green skin.



Figure 6. Limestone tomb statue of Sepa, Dynasty 3, Louvre A36. The statue has actual malachite around the eyes. The application of pigments on sculpture was not merely cosmetic: it indicated the elevated status of the person depicted, and was part of “bringing to life” a statue or image.

The importance of grooming and adorning the body is reflected in the number of cosmetic preparations and utensils buried with the dead, along with jewelry and artifacts worn on the body. This pattern of grave goods is observed already in prehistoric times, when combs, pins, tags, beads, and cosmetic vessels dominate burial assemblages (Wengrow 2006: 69 - 71). Bodily associations also permeate the realm of objects and images used in offering rituals. Model phalli and vulvae are attested as votive offerings, as are figurines of naked women and nursing women (Pinch 1993: 197 - 245; see also Pinch and Waraksa 2009; Waraksa 2008, 2009; Pinch 1983). Censers were made in the form of a human hand (fig. 7) and offering tables could have pouring spouts in the shape of the glans penis (fig. 8; Meskell 2002: 151). The action of pouring an offering (*stj*; water and water-related determinatives) is homologous with the word used for both ejaculation and impregnation (*stj*; phallus determinative),



Figure 7. Bronze censer, Ptolemaic Period, Petrie Museum UC30663. The censer has a human hand at one end, holding the bowl for burning incense, and a falcon head at the other end; a cartouche-shaped box in the middle held pellets of incense.

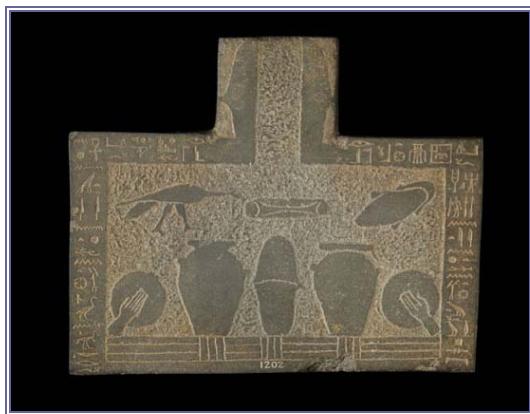


Figure 8. Schist offering table, El Kab, Late Period, British Museum EA 1202. The “spout” is bifurcated but not hollowed into a channel as on some examples; the surface is carved with food offerings, including round loaves offered by disembodied hands.

setting up a punning relationship between the body and the bodily act of prayerful libations (Meskell 2002: 150; cf. Westendorf 1967: 141 - 142). This link between sexuality and

religious practice underscores the important role the body played in constructions of gender and sexual relations (see Hare 1999: 106 - 124; Meskell and Joyce 2003: 95 - 119).

Medical papyri, spells for healing, and physical anthropology are three sources for understanding the body and disease in ancient Egypt. As mentioned above, there was minimal allowance in Egyptian art for the representation of disease or deformity. Medical texts (Bardinet 1995) and surviving mummies point to the prevalence of illnesses that would leave a lasting mark on the body, such as trachoma resulting in blindness, poliomyelitis and tuberculosis leading to muscular and skeletal changes, and accidental damage resulting in disfigurement, broken bones, or amputation. Both textual sources and the evidence from mummies attest that such ailments could be treated, and that the people thus afflicted remained members of society to such an extent that they received mummification and burial rites. A man whose skull showed severe hydrocephaly, for instance, would have been very disabled and required care throughout his life (Nunn 1996: 79 - 80, fig. 4.9; Petrie and Mackay 1915: 47 - 48, pl. lvi). Illness, aging, and, after death, putrefaction were conceptualized in the Egyptian world-view as bodily problems that could be countered by healing, fertility and rejuvenation, and the process of mummification, thereby restoring function and wholeness to the human body.

Bibliographic Notes

Key texts on the body in sociology, feminist studies, classics, and archaeology include Gatens (1996), Grosz (1994), Shilling (1993), Turner (1984), and Wyke (1998). Meskell (1999: esp. 8 - 52 and 107 - 135) theorizes the body with reference to Egyptian archaeology, further developed in Meskell (2001; 2002: 57 - 93 and 148 - 177), and Meskell and Joyce (2003). On the components of the self, personhood, and the fragmentation of the body, see Meskell (1999: 111 - 113), Assmann (2005), Hare (1999), te Velde (1990), and Walker (1996: 259 - 260), as well as the study by Moers (2006). For the *ka*, Bolshakov (1997: 123 - 213) offers a review of literature, though with his own formulation of the *ka* as a double in mind; the earlier views of Frankfort (1948: 61 - 65) and others, interpreting the *ka* as a transgenerational life-force, offer an important and viable alternative. On the *ba* see Žabkar (1968); for the *akh* see Englund (1978) and Demaree (1983). Published studies of mummification and Egyptian medicine vary widely in quality; however,

Nunn (1996) offers a reliable and accessible survey of the field. For medical texts in translation, see Bardinet (1995), while Grapow's multi-volumed series, *Grundriss der Medizin* (including Grapow [1954] on Egyptian physiology), is a fundamental scholarly source for medical texts, evidence, and interpretations.

References

- Allen, Thomas
- 1960 *The Egyptian Book of the Dead. Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago.* Oriental Institute Publications 82. (Translation.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Anthes, Rudolf
- 1961 Das Sonnenauge in den Pyramidentexten. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 86, pp. 1 - 21.
- Arnst, Caris-Beatrice
- 2006 Nilschlammfälle mit Haaren: Zum Opfer des ersten Haarschnitts. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 133, pp. 10 - 19.
- Assmann, Jan
- 1979 Harfnerlied und Horussöhne: Zwei blöcke aus dem verschollenen Grab des Bürgermeisters Amenemhet (Theben nr. 163) im Britischen Museum. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 65, pp. 54 - 77.
 - 1996 Preservation and presentation of self in ancient Egyptian portraiture. In *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*, Vol. 1, ed. Peter Der Manuelian, pp. 55 - 81. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
 - 2003 Einwohnung. In *Menschenbilder-Bildermenschen: Kunst und Kultur im alten Ägypten*, ed. Tobias Hofmann, and Alexandra Sturm, pp. 1 - 14. Norderstedt: Books on Demand.
 - 2005 *Death and salvation in ancient Egypt*. Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (Originally published 2001 as *Tod und Jenseits im alten Ägypten*.)
- Bardinet, Thierry
- 1995 *Les papyrus médicaux de l'Égypte pharaonique: Traduction intégrale et commentaire*. Penser la Médecine. Paris: Fayard.
- Bolshakov, Andrey
- 1997 *Man and his double in Egyptian ideology of the Old Kingdom*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 37. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Borghouts, Joris
- 1978 *Ancient Egyptian magical texts*. Translated by Joris Borghouts. Leiden: Brill.
- Brunner, Hellmut
- 1988 Das Herz im ägyptischen Glaube. In *Das hörende Herz: Kleine Schriften zur Religions- und Geistesgeschichte Ägyptens*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 80, ed. Wolfgang Röllig, pp. 8 - 41. Freiburg: Academic Press; and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Buchberger, Hannes
- 1993 *Transformation und Transformat: Sargtextstudien I*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 52. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Cohen, Shaye
- 1997 Why aren't Jewish women circumcised? *Gender and History* 9(3), pp. 560 - 578.
- Dasen, Véronique
- 1993 *Dwarfs in ancient Egypt and Greece*. Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- De Wit, Constant
- 1972 La circoncision chez les anciens Égyptiens. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 99, pp. 41 - 48.

Demarée, Robert J.

- 1983 *The sh ikr n R ϵ -stelae: On ancestor worship in ancient Egypt*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 3. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

DuQuesne, Terrence

- 2002 La deification des parties du corps: Correspondances magiques et identification avec les dieux dans l'Égypte ancienne. In *La magie en Égypte: À la recherche d'une définition: Actes du colloque organisé par le Musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000*, ed. Yvan Koenig, pp. 237 - 271. Paris: La Documentation Française.

Englund, Gertie

- 1978 *Akk: Une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Boreas 11. Uppsala: University Press.

Erman, Adolf

- 1901 *Zauberprüche für Mutter und Kind aus dem Papyrus 3027 des Berliner Museums*. Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin: Reimer.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner

- 2005a *Auseits von Ma'at: Fallstudien zu Aussenseitern im alten Ägypten*. Wahrnehmungen und Spuren Altägyptens 1. Würzburg: Ergon.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner (ed.)

- 2005b *Papyrus Ebers und die antike Heilkunde*. Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Fletcher, Joann

- 2005 The decorated body in ancient Egypt: Hairstyles, cosmetics, and tattoos. In *The clothed body in the ancient world*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, pp. 3 - 13. Oxford: Oxbow.

Frankfort, Henri

- 1948 *Kingship and the gods*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Frood, Elizabeth

- 2007 *Biographical texts from Ramessid Egypt*. Writings from the Ancient World 26. ed. John Baines. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Froschauer, Harald, and Hermann Harrauer (eds.)

- 2004 "... und will schön sein": Schmuck und Kosmetik im spätantiken Ägypten. Nilos: Studien zur Kultur Ägyptens und des Vorderen Orients 9. Vienna: Phoibos.

Gardiner, Alan

- 1957 *Egyptian grammar*. Third edition, revised. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Gatens, Moira

- 1996 *Imaginary bodies: Ethics, power and corporeality*. London and New York: Routledge.

Gee, John

- 1998 *The requirements of ritual purity in ancient Egypt*. PhD dissertation, Yale University.

Gilroy, Thomas

- 2002 Outlandish outlanders: Foreigners and caricature in Egyptian art. *Göttinger Miszellen* 191, pp. 35 - 52.

Grapow, Hermann

- 1954 *Anatomie und Physiologie*. Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter 1. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Griffiths, J. Gwyn

- 1958 Remarks on the mythology of the eye of Horus. *Chronique d'Égypte* 33, pp. 182 - 193.

Grosz, Elizabeth

- 1994 *Volatile bodies: Toward a corporeal feminism. Theories of Representation and Difference*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Grunert, Stefan

- 2002 Nicht nur sauber, sondern rein: Rituelle Reinigungsanweisungen aus dem Grab des Anchmahor in Saqqara. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 30, pp. 137 - 151.

Guilhou, Nadine

- 1997 Les parties du corps humain dans les textes de la pyramide d'Ounas: Pensée religieuse et pratiques funéraires. In *Études sur l'ancien empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, Orientalia Monspeliensis 9, ed. Cathérine Berger el-Naggar, and Bernard Mathieu, pp. 221 - 229. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry.

Hardwick, Tom

- 2003 The iconography of the blue crown in the New Kingdom. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 89, pp. 117 - 141.

Hare, Tom

- 1999 *ReRemembering Osiris: Number, gender, and the word in ancient Egyptian representational systems*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hornung, Erik

- 1982 *Conceptions of god in ancient Egypt: The one and the many*. Translated by John Baines. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 1990 *Zwei ramsidische königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* Theben 11. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- 2005 *Der Eine und die Vielen: Altägyptische Götterwelt*. 6th edition. Primus: Darmstadt. (Originally published 1971 as *Der Eine und die Vielen: ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen*.) Translated by John Baines as *Conceptions of god in ancient Egypt: The one and the many* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

Huebner, Sabine

- 2009 Female circumcision as a *rite de passage* in Egypt: Continuity through the millenia? *Journal of Egyptian History* 2(1 - 2), pp. 149 - 171.

Ikram, Salima

- 2003 Barbering the beardless: A possible explanation for the tufted hairstyle depicted in the "Fayum" portrait of a young boy (J.P. Getty 78.AP.262). *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 89, pp. 247 - 251.

Janssen, Jac. J., and Rosalind Janssen

- 1990 *Growing up in ancient Egypt*. London: Rubicon Press.

Janssen, Rosalind, and Jac. J. Janssen

- 1996 *Getting old in ancient Egypt*. London: Rubicon Press.

Leblanc, Christian, Mohamed Abdel Hamid Shimy, and Jean-Claude Goyon (eds.)

- 2003 *Parfums, onguents et cosmétiques dans l'Egypte ancienne: Actes des rencontres pluridisciplinaires tenues au Conseil National de la Culture, Le Caire 27 - 29 avril 2002*. Memnonia Cahier Supplémentaire 1. Cairo: Centre française de culture et de coopération; Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum.

Loprieno, Antonio

- 2003 Drei Leben nach dem Tod: Wieviele Seelen hatten die alten Ägypter? In *Grab und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten (Festschrift für Jan Assmann)*, ed. Heike Guksch, Eva Hofmann, and Martin Bommas, pp. 200 - 225. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Lüddeckens, Erich

- 1943 Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 11, pp. 1 - 189.

- Luiselli, Maria Michela
 2009 Das Bild des Betens: Versuch einer bildtheoretischen Analyse der altägyptischen Anbetungsgestik. *Imago Aegypti* 2, pp. 87 - 96.
- Manniche, Lise
 1999 *Sacred luxuries: Fragrance, aromatherapy, and cosmetics in ancient Egypt*. London: Opus.
- Meskell, Lynn
 1999 *Archaeologies of social life: Age, sex, class et cetera in ancient Egypt*. Oxford, UK, and Malden, MA: Blackwell.
 2001 Archaeologies of identity. In *Archaeological theory today*, ed. Ian Hodder, pp. 187 - 213. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press; and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
 2002 *Private life in New Kingdom Egypt*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Meskell, Lynn, and Rosemary Joyce
 2003 *Embodied lives: Figuring ancient Maya and Egyptian experience*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Meyer-Dietrich, Erika
 2006 *Senebi und Selbst: Personenkonstituenten zur rituellen Wiedergeburt in einem Frauensarg des Mittleren Reiches*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 216. Freiburg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Moers, Gerald
 2006 Ägyptische Körper-Bilder in physischen, visuellen und textuellen Medien. *Imago Aegypti* 1, pp. 9 - 26.
- Müller, Christiane
 1997 Das Kalksteinfragment E.6783 aus den Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brüssel und verwandte Frontaldarstellungen: Eine Analyse. *Göttinger Miszellen* 160, pp. 69 - 83.
- Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal
 1990 Hair in ancient Egypt. *Acta Orientalia* 51, pp. 7 - 26.
- Naville, Édouard
 1875 *La litanie du soleil: Inscriptions recueillies dans les tombeaux des rois à Thèbes*. Leipzig: Engelmann.
- Nunn, John F.
 1996 *Ancient Egyptian medicine*. London: British Museum Press.
- Petrie, William Matthew Flinders, and Ernest Mackay
 1915 *Heliopolis, Kafjr Ammar, and Shurafa*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt Publications 24. London: Bernard Quaritch.
- Pinch, Geraldine
 1983 Childbirth and female figurines at Deir el-Medina and el-'Amarna. *Orientalia* 52, pp. 405 - 414.
 1993 *Votive offerings to Hathor*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
 1994 *Magic in ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- Pinch, Geraldine, and Elizabeth A. Waraksa
 2009 Votive practices. In Jacco Dieleman, Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles. <http://repositories.cdlib.org/nclc/uee/1831>.
- Quack, Joachim
 1997 Ein ägyptisches Handbuch des Tempels und seine griechische Übersetzung. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119, pp. 297 - 300.
- Riefstahl, Elizabeth
 1951 An Egyptian portrait of an old man. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10(2), pp. 65 - 73.
- Ritner, Robert
 1993 *The mechanics of ancient Egyptian magical practice*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Robins, Gay

- 1993 *Women in ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
 1994 *Proportion and style in ancient Egyptian art*. Austin: University of Texas Press; London: Thames and Hudson.
 1999 Hair and the construction of identity in ancient Egypt, c. 1480 - 1350 B.C. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36, pp. 55 - 69.

Roth, Ann Macy

- 1991 *Egyptian phyles of the Old Kingdom: The evolution of a system of social organization*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 48. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
 1992 The *psš-kf* and the "Opening of the Mouth" ceremony: A ritual of birth and rebirth. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 78, pp. 113 - 147.

Rueda, María Isabel Toro

- 2003 *Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr: Untersuchungen zu Idiomatik und Metaphorik von Ausdrücken mit jb und h3tj*. PhD dissertation, Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen. (Internet resource: http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/diss/2004/toro_rueda/toro_rueda.pdf. Accession date: 8/2010.)

Saleh, Mohamed, and Hourig Sourouzian

- 1987 *The Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official catalogue*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

Sauneron, Serge

- 2000 *The priests of ancient Egypt*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. (Foreword by Jean-Pierre Corteggiani; translated from the French by David Lorton.)

Shilling, Chris

- 1993 *The body and social theory*. Theory, Culture and Society. London and Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Smith, Mark

- 2009a Democratization of the afterlife. In Jacco Dieleman, Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles. <http://repositories.cdlib.org/nclc/uee/1147>.
 2009b *Traversing eternity: Texts for the afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sweeney, Deborah

- 2004 Forever young? The representation of older and aging women in ancient Egyptian art. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41, pp. 67 - 84.

te Velde, Herman

- 1990 Some remarks on the concept "person" in the ancient Egyptian culture. In *Concepts of person in religion and thought*, ed. Hans Kippenberg, Yme Kuiper, and Andy Sanders, pp. 83 - 102. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Turner, Bryan

- 1984 *The body and society: Explorations in social theory*. Oxford and New York: Blackwell.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian

- 1993 *Pharaonic Egyptian clothing*. Studies in Textile and Costume History 2. Leiden: Brill.

Volokhine, Youri

- 2000 *La frontalité dans l'iconographie de l'Égypte ancienne*. Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie Génève 6. Geneva: Société d'Égyptologie.

Walker, James H.

- 1996 *Studies in ancient Egyptian anatomical terminology*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Waraksa, Elizabeth A.

- 2008 Female figurines (Pharaonic Period). In Willeke Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles. <http://repositories.cdlib.org/nclc/uee/1033>.

- 2009 *Female figurines from the Mut Precinct: Context and ritual function*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 240. Freiburg: Academic Press; and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wengrow, David
 2006 *The archaeology of early Egypt: Social transformations in North-East Africa, 10,000 - 2650 BC*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Werbrouck, Marcelle
 1938 *Les pleureuses dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Bruxelles: Éditions de la Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.
- Westendorf, Wolfhart
 1965 Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 92, pp. 128 - 154.
 1967 Bermerkungen zur Kammer der Wiedergeburt im Tutanchamungrab. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 94, pp. 139 - 150.
 1980 Isisknoten. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. 3 (Column 204), ed. Wolfgang Helck, and Wolfhart Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Wilfong, Terry
 1999 Menstrual synchrony and the "place of women" in ancient Egypt (OIM 13512). In *Gold of praise: Studies on ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations 58, ed. Emily Teeter, and John Larson, pp. 419 - 434. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Wyke, Maria
 1998 Introduction. In *Gender and the body in the ancient Mediterranean*, Gender and History (special issue), ed. Maria Wyke, pp. 1 - 7. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Žabkar, Louis
 1968 *A study of the ba concept in ancient Egyptian texts*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 34. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Zandee, Jan
 1960 *Death as an enemy according to ancient Egyptian conceptions*. Leiden: Brill.

Image Credits

- Figure 1. Sandstone relief from Theban Tomb 163, Dynasty 19 or 20, British Museum EA 55336. The tomb owner, Amenemhat, kneels at right, adoring the Four Sons of Horus who present his heart (*jb*), ba, ka, and body (*hst*), depicted in the form of a wrapped, mummiform figure. © The Trustees of the British Museum.
- Figure 2. Fragment of painted wall from tomb of Nebamun, Thebes, Dynasty 18, British Museum EA 37977. Nebamun, his wife, and their daughter (seated on floor of boat) exemplify elite ideals of physical beauty, with strong, sensual bodies, fine clothing, and carefully dressed hair. © The Trustees of the British Museum.
- Figure 3. Fragment of painted wall from tomb of Nebamun, Thebes, Dynasty 18, Louvre E 32660. Nebamun wears a sheer garment and a scented cone on his head. His eyes and eyebrows are outlined with cosmetic, indicating his elevated status within the tomb. Courtesy of www.egyptarchive.co.uk/.
- Figure 4. Wooden cosmetic spoon (lid missing), Dynasty 18, Louvre N 1738. The spoon is carved to represent a male servant, struggling with the weight of the "jar" that forms the bowl of the spoon. The servant presents a non-elite body type, with bald head, heavy facial features, and a pot belly. Courtesy of www.egyptarchive.co.uk/.

- Figure 5. Limestone relief of mourning women, Saqqara, Dynasty 19, Louvre. The women's loose hair and dresses, and flailing arms and hands, fit the trope of female mourners lamenting the dead. Courtesy of www.egyptarchive.co.uk/.
- Figure 6. Limestone tomb statue of Sepa, Dynasty 3, Louvre A36. The statue has actual malachite around the eyes. The application of pigments on sculpture was not merely cosmetic: it indicated the elevated status of the person depicted, and was part of "bringing to life" a statue or image. Courtesy of www.egyptarchive.co.uk/.
- Figure 7. Bronze censer, Ptolemaic Period, Petrie Museum UC30663. The censer has a human hand at one end, holding the bowl for burning incense, and a falcon head at the other end; a cartouche-shaped box in the middle held pellets of incense. © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London UC30663+2.
- Figure 8. Schist offering table, El Kab, Late Period, British Museum EA 1202. The "spout" of the table is bifurcated but not hollowed into a channel as on some examples; the surface is carved with food offerings, including round loaves offered by disembodied hands. © The Trustees of the British Museum.