



EGITTOLOGIA 6

ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE SURROUNDING WORLD: CONTACT, TRADE AND INFLUENCE

STUDIES PRESENTED TO MARILINA BETRÒ

edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Christian Greco,
Paolo Del Vesco, Mattia Mancini, Cristina Alù

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 1° vers. = Primo Versamento [First Deposit]
 2° vers. = Secondo Versamento [Second Deposit]
 AA = Archäologische Anzeiger (Berlin)
 ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)
 AAA = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)
 AAE = Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy (online)
 AAL Cl. Sc. mor. st. filol. = Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Roma)
 AASOR = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)
 ÄAT = Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments (Münster)
 ABoT = Balkan K., *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*, Istanbul 1948
 Acc. Sc. Torino - Memorie Sc. Mor. = Accademia delle Scienze di Torino – Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Torino)
 ACE Reports = Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports (Sydney)
 ACE Studies = Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies (Sydney)
 AcOr = Acta Orientalia; Societates Orientales Danica, Norregia, Svecica (Leiden-Copenhagen)
 ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK). Ägyptologische Reihe (Glückstadt-Berlin)
 ADAJ = Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (Amman)
 Aeg = Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia (Milano)
 Aegaeum = Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égyptienne de l'Université de Liège (Leuven-Liège)
 ÄF = Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt)
 AegLeo = Aegyptiaca Leodiensia (Liège)
 AegMonast = Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia (Aachen)
 ÄgLev = Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete (Wien)
 AERA = Ancient Egypt Research Associates (Brighton, MA)
 AERAGram = AERA biannual newsletter (Boston)
 ÄuAT => ÄAT
 Aevum = Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche (Milano)
 Africa = Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Roma)
 ÄgAbh => ÄA
 AH = Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Geneva-Basel)
 AHAW = Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse (Heidelberg)
 ÄHK = *siglum* of the letters between Egyptians and Hittites published by E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache, Band I: Umschriften und Übersetzungen*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 77, Opladen 1994
 AIIN = Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica (Roma)
 AJA = American Journal of Archaeology (Chicago)
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago) [after 1941: JNES]
 AKB = Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt (Mainz)
 Aldrovandiana = Aldrovandiana. Historical Studies in Natural History (Bologna)
 Am Antiquity = American Antiquity (Cambridge)
 AnAe = Analecta Aegyptiaca (Copenhagen)
 Anal Bioanal Chem = Analytical and Bioanalytical Chemistry (Berlin-Heidelberg)

- AncEg = Ancient Egypt Magazine (London-New York)
- AncSoc = Ancient Society (Leuven)
- AnnHistScSoc = Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales (Aubervilliers-Cambridge)
- Annu Brit Sch Athens = Annual of the British School at Athens (Athens)
- ANPM = Annals of the Náprstek Museum (Prague)
- ANSMI = Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Cattolici Italiani (Roma)
- Anthropol Forum = Anthropological Forum (online)
- Antiquity = Antiquity: quarterly journal of archaeological research (Cambridge)
- AntK = Antike Kunst (Basel)
- AO = Der Alte Orient (Berlin)
- AOAT = Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- AOF = Altorientalische Forschungen (Bern)
- APAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) [after 1945: ADAW]
- ARAAFU = Association des Restaurateurs d'Art et d'Archéologie de Formation Universitaire (Paris)
- ARC = Archaeological Review from Cambridge. Univ. of Cambridge (Cambridge)
- ARCE Bulletin = Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt (San Antonio, TX)
- Archaeol Prospect = Archaeological Prospection (online)
- Archéo-Nil = Archéo-Nil: Bulletin de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil (Paris)
- ARM = Archives royales de Mari (Paris)
- ArtB = The Art Bulletin (online)
- ArOr = Archiv Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies (Prague)
- ARWAW = Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Opladen)
- ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE) (Cairo)
- ASAtene = Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente (Roma)
- ASBR = Archivio Storico Generalizio del Centro Studi Storici PP. Barnabiti (Roma)
- ASOR = American Society of Overseas Research (Alexandria, VA)
- ASR = L'Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses (online)
- ASSic = Archivio Storico Siciliano. Soc. per la stor. patria (Palermo)
- ASTENE Bull. = Bulletin of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East: Notes and Queries (Durham-Cambridge)
- ASTo = Archivio di Stato, Torino
- Athenaeum = Athenaeum. Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità (Pavia)
- AttiAccTorino = Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino (Torino)
- Atti STSN = Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali (Pisa)
- AUB = American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum (Beirut)
- AUC = American University in Cairo (Cairo)
- AulaOr = Aula Orientalis. Revista de Estudios de Próximo Oriente Antiguo (Barcelona)
- AVDAIK = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin-Mainz)
- B = Busta [Envelope]
- BA = Biblical Archaeologist [now: NEA] (Ann Arbor-New Haven)
- BAAL = Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises (Beirut)
- BACE = Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (Sydney)
- BAEE = Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología (Madrid)
- BAEFE = Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger (online)
- BAH = Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique (Paris)
- BAJA = Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (Berlin)
- BaM = Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin)
- BAR IS = British Archaeological Reports International Series (London)
- BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)
- BASP = Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists (Ann Arbor)

- BBf = Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde (Berlin-Cairo-Zurich-Wiesbaden-Stuttgart)
- BCM = Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland)
- BdA = Bollettino d'Arte (Roma)
- BdE = Bibliothèque d'Étude (IFAO, Cairo)
- BdÉ, B d'E => BdE
- BE = Bibliothèque égyptologique (Paris-Cairo)
- BEHE SSR = Bibliothèque de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, Section des Sciences Religieuses (Paris)
- B Eng Geol Environ = Bulletin of Engineering Geology and the Environment (online)
- Berytus = Berytus: Archaeological Studies (Beirut)
- BES = Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar (Ann Arbor)
- Bessarione = Bessarione: Pubblicazione periodica di Studi Orientali (Roma)
- BESud = Brown Egyptological Studies (Providence)
- BEUMo = Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena
- BG = Bibliothèque Générale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BiAeg = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- Biblica = Biblica (Roma)
- BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte (Cairo)
- BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BIN = J.B. Nies, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, Yale 1917
- BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
- BM = British Museum, London
- BMB = Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth (Paris)
- BME = British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt (London)
- BMFA = Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)
- BMH = Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts (Budapest)
- BMJ = British Medical Journal (London)
- BMMA = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) (New York)
- BMonsMusPont = Bollettino dei Monumenti, Musei e gallerie Pontificie (Roma)
- BMPES = British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BMSAES = British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
- BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- Bo = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy/Hattuša
- Boğazköy-Hattuša = Boğazköy-Hattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen (Darmstadt-Berlin-Wiesbaden-Erbenheim)
- Brit J Hist Sci = British Journal for the History of Science (London)
- BRM = A.T. Clay (ed.), *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Piermont Morgan (New Haven)*, New York-New Heaven 1923
- BRT = Biblioteca Reale di Torino
- BSA => Annu Brit Sch Athens
- BSAE = British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London)
- BSAE/ERA = British School of Archaeology in Egypt / Egyptian Research Account (London)
- BSEG = Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève (Geneva)
- BSFE = Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie; Réunions trimestrielles, Communications archéologiques (Paris)
- BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
- BTMn = Biblioteca Teresiana di Mantova
- BUPI = Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa
- BzÄ = Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Wien)
- C2RMF = Centre de Recherche et Restauration des Musées de France (Paris)
- CAA = Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum (Mainz)
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols, Chicago 1956-2010
- CAENL = Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant. Acad. autrich. des sc. (Wien)
- CAJ = Cambridge Archaeological Journal (Cambridge)
- CAMS = Centro di Ateneo per i Musei Scientifici, Perugia
- CASAE = Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE (Cairo)

- CC = *Clavis Coptica* o *Clavis Patrum Coptorum, unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna opera copta nell'ambito del Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari
- CCdE = Les Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie (Martinique)
- CCE = Cahier de la céramique égyptienne (Cairo)
- CChEM = Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean (Wien)
- CdE = Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles (Bruxelles)
- CdÉ, CdEg => CdE
- CED = J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976.
- CGT = Catalogo Generale del Museo di Torino (serie)
- CENiM = Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (online)
- CeROArt = Conservation, exposition, Restauration d'Objets d'Art (Liège)
- CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)
- CLES = Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture, Brooklyn Museum (New York)
- CLM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna unità codicologica letteraria copta nell'ambito del progetto *PAThs* e del suo principale prodotto scientifico, l'*Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* (<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts>)
- CIQu = The Classical Quarterly (Cambridge)
- CMET = Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino (Torino)
- CNI => CNIANES
- CNIANES = Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNIP = Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNR = Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
- CollHell = Collectanea Hellenistica (Bruxelles)
- Comp Stud Soc Hist = Comparative Studies in Society and History (Cambridge)
- CP = Classical Philology (Chicago)
- CRAI => CRAIBL
- CRAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (Paris)
- CRBC = Conservation-Restauration des Biens Culturels (Sorbonne)
- CRIPEL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (Paris-Lille)
- CRUI = Conferenza dei Rettori delle Università Italiane (Roma)
- CSEG = Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève (Geneva)
- CSIS = Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid)
- CSCT = Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition (Leiden-Boston)
- CTH = E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris 1971 (with Supplements in RHA XXX, 1972, 94–133 = CTH Suppl., and RHA XXXIII, 1973, 68–71 (<https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>))
- Curr Anthropol = Current Anthropology (Chicago)
- D3T = Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives
- DAAM = D. Schwemer, E. Rieken (eds), *Documenta Antiqua Asiae Minoris*, Wiesbaden
- DAIK = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo (Cairo)
- DAIK S = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Sonderschrift (Cairo)
- DBH 46/2 = R. Akdoğan, *Hethitische Texte Bo 4658 – Bo 5000. Teil 2: Autographien*, Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 46/2, Wiesbaden 2016.
- DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Roma)
- DDbDP = Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (<https://papyri.info>)
- DE = Discussions in Egyptology (Oxford)
- DELC = W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1984
- DemStud = Demotische Studien (Leipzig-Sommerhausen)
- Der Antike Sudan = Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin (Berlin)
- DFIFAO = Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)
- DGÖAW = Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)

- DPDP = Demotic Palaeographical Database Project (<http://129.206.5.162/beta/index.html>)
- DS = Detroit Statue
- EA = Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) (London)
- EAO = Égypte, Afrique et Oriente (Paris)
- EAT = *siglum* of the edition of the cuneiform tablets unearthed at Tell el-Amarna
- EDAL = Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries (Milan)
- EtudTrav = Études et Travaux (Warsaw)
- EEF = (Publications of the) Egypt Exploration Fund => MEEF
- EEF Memoir => MEEF, EES EM
- E&G Quaternary Sci. J. = Eiszeitalter und Gegenwart Quaternary Science Journal (online)
- EES EM = EES Excavation Memoirs (London) [earlier names: MEEF/MEES]
- EES GRM = EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs (London)
- EES TM = EES Texts from Excavations, Memoirs (London)
- EgAT = O. Neugebauer, R.A. Parker, *Egyptian astronomical texts*, Providence (vol. 1) 1960, (vol. 2) 1966, (vol. 3) 1969
- EGE = Revista de Expresión Gráfica en la Edificación (Madrid)
- EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
- EI = Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies (Jerusalem)
- Eidola = Eidola. International Journal of Ancient Art History (Pisa)
- EME = Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie (Paris)
- Enchoria = Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie (Wiesbaden)
- ENiM = Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (Montpellier)
- EPRO = Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain (Leiden) [later RGRW]
- EQÄ = Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie (Münster)
- ERA = Egyptian Research Account (London) [after 1906: BSAE]
- ERUV = S.H. Aufrère (ed.), *Encyclopédie Religieuse de l'Univers Végétal : Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*, 4 vols, Montpellier 1999-2005
- EtudTrav => ET
- ET = Études et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences (Warsaw)
- EU => EgUit
- EVO = Egitto e Vicino Oriente (Pisa)
- [ExSaq] = Excavation at Saqqara (SAE, Cairo)
- FAT = Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 2nd series (Tübingen)
- FÄW = J. Kahl, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 2002)
- FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports préliminaires (Cairo)
- FoRa = Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt. Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir – Pi-Ramesse (Mainz)
- FR => FoRa
- FuB = Forschungen und Berichte der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)
- Geol Survey Israel Rep No GSI = Geological Survey of Israel, Report No. G.S.I. (Jerusalem)
- GFA = Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft (online)
- GHE = Golden House Egyptology (London)
- GHP Egyptology = Golden House Publications Egyptology (London)
- GM = Göttinger Miscellen (Göttingen)
- GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen (Wiesbaden)
- Greek Roman Byzantin = Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies (Durham)
- GrHL = H.A. Hoffner, H.C. Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar; Part 2: Tutorial*, Winona Lake, IN 2008.
- GRM => EES-GRM
- GSI = Geological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem)
- HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
- HAT = *Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches* (Wiesbaden)
- Hb Orient St Sect = Handbook of Oriental Studies Section (Leiden)
- HdO = Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie (Leiden)

- HGV = Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (<http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/start>)
- Hist Reflections = Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques (New York)
- HKM = S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları 6/34, Ankara 1991
- HPBM = Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (London)
- HR = History of Religions (Chicago)
- HSCP = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Cambridge MA)
- HZL = Ch. Rüster, E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Bogazköy-Texten*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 2, Wiesbaden 1989
- IAMS = Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies (London)
- IAWA = International Association of Wood Anatomists (Leiden)
- IBAES = Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (online)
- ICE = International Congress of Egyptologists
- IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal (Jerusalem)
- IFAO BG = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque Générale (Cairo)
- IFROA = Institut Français de Restauration des Œuvres d'Art (Saint-Denis)
- IJNA = International Journal of Nautical Archaeology (online)
- ILC = Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo (Madrid)
- Info DaF = Information Deutsch als Fremdsprache (Göttingen-Bonn)
- Int As Sed = International Association of Sedimentologists Special Publication (Gent)
- IOS = Israel Oriental Studies (Leiden)
- Iran = Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies (London)
- ISIMU = ISIMU. Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la Antigüedad (Madrid)
- ISMEO = Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma)
- JAC = Journal of Ancient Civilizations (Changchun)
- JACF = Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum (online)
- JAEA = The Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture (online)
- JAIE = Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections (Tucson)
- JANER = Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions (Leiden)
- JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore-Boston-New Haven)
- JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston-Princeton-New York-Cairo)
- J Archaeol Res = Journal of Archaeological Research (New York)
- JAS = Journal of Archaeological Science (Tucson)
- JbZMusMainz = Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (Mainz)
- JCH = Journal of Cultural Heritage (online)
- JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies (Chicago-New Haven-Cambridge)
- JEa = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (EES, London)
- JEGH = Journal of Egyptian History (Swansea)
- JEMAHs = Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies (Philadelphia)
- JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Voorazatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
- JES = Journal of Egyptological Studies (Sofia)
- JESHO = Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)
- JfAC = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum (Münster)
- J Glass Stud = Journal of Glass Studies (New York)
- JHA = Journal for the History of Astronomy (Chalfont St. Giles)
- J Hist Collect = Journal of the History of Collections (Oxford)
- J Hist Ideas = Journal of the History of Ideas (Philadelphia)
- JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies (London)
- JJP = Journal of Juristic Papyrology (Warsaw)
- JMA = Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology (online)
- JMC = Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes (Saint-Germain-en-Laye)
- JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
- JRAI = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London)

- JSAH = Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (Philadelphia)
 J Soc Archaeol = Journal of Social Archaeology (online)
 JSSEA = Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA) (Toronto)
 JWCi = Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (London)
 JWP = Journal of World Prehistory (New York)
 Kadmos = Kasmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und früh-griechische Epigraphik (Berlin-New York)
 KARNAK = Les Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (Cairo)
 KAW = Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz)
 KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Berlin)
 Kemi = Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes (Paris)
 KMT = KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt (San Francisco)
 KRI = K.A. Kitchen (ed.), *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, 7 vols, Oxford 1969-1990
 KUB => KBo
 Kush = Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service / Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) (Khartoum)
 KuT = *sighum* of the tablets and fragments excavated at Kuşaklı/Şarişša.
 LÄ = W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols, Wiesbaden 1972/5-
 LACMA = Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles)
 [LDA] = Les Dossiers d'Archéologie (Dijon)
 LDAB = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*
 LEAD = Late Egyptian Artefact Database (<https://lead.ifao.egnet.net/>)
 LETIAM = Laboratoire d'Étude des Techniques et Instruments d'Analyse Moléculaire (Paris)
 Levant = Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (Jerusalem)
 Lexis = Lexis. Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica (Abano Terme)
 LGG = Chr. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, OLA 110-116, 7 vols, Leuven 2002.
 LingAeg = Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies (Göttingen)
 LingAeg SM => LinAeg – StudMon
 LingAeg – StudMon = Linguae Aegyptia – Studia Monographica (Hamburg)
 LNS = Late New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1240-1180 BC)
 LRMF = Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France
 M = Mazzo [Bundle]
 MA = Musée des Antiquités (Rouen)
 MAAO = Münchener Abhandlungen zum Alten Orient (Gladbeck)
 MACA = Mantova Collezioni Antiche (Mantova)
 MAE = Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie (Torino)
 MAECI = Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale (Roma)
 MÄS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin-Munich-Mainz)
 MÄSB = Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)
 MAFTO = Mission Archéologique Française de Thèbe-Ouest
 MAI = Missione Archeologica Italiana
 MAM = Museo Archeologico, Milano
 Mar Geol = Marine Geology (Amsterdam-New York)
 Marmora = Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology, History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stones (Pisa)
 MASCA = Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology (Philadelphia)
 MascaP = MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology (Philadelphia)
 MBA-Dijon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon
 MBA-Lyon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon
 MDAI = Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran (Leiden-Paris)
 MDAIK = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK) (Mainz-Cairo-Berlin-Wiesbaden)
 MdS = Musées de Sens
 MedA = Mediterranean Archaeology (online)

- MEEF = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund [later: MEES] (London)
- MEES = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (London)
- MEFRA = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Antiquité (Paris)
- MEFRM = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge (Paris)
- MemAcInscr = Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Toulouse-Paris)
- Memnonia = Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Ramesseum (Cairo-Paris)
- [Mem.Phil.] = Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge (Philadelphia)
- MemPontAc = Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia. Memorie (Roma)
- MGC = Museo “Gaetano Chierici” di Paletnologia (Reggio Emilia)
- MH = Middle Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1500-1350)
- MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Caire (Berlin-Cairo)
- MIO = Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin)
- MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies (London)
- MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
- MMAF = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire (Paris) [later MIFAO]
- MMJ = Metropolitan Museum Journal (New York)
- MonAeg = Monumenta Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- MonPiot = Monument et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot (Paris)
- MPER = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)
- MRE = Monographies Reine Elisabeth (Bruxelles-Turnhout)
- MS = Middle Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1500-1350 BC)
- MSAE = Materiali e Studi Archeologici di Ebla (Roma)
- Msk = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Meskene/Emar
- MUP = Musei dell'Università di Pisa (Pisa)
- Mus = Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales/Tijdschrift voor Orientalisme (Leuven)
- Muséon => Mus
- MUSJ = Mémoires/Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beirut)
- MVCAE = Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt (Atlanta)
- NARCE = Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) (New York-Cairo)
- Nat Sci Arc = Natural Science in Archaeology (New York)
- NEA = Near Eastern Archaeology [formerly: Biblical Archeologist (BA)] (Boston)
- NeHeT = NeHeT. Revue numérique d'Égyptologie (Paris-Bruxelles)
- NH = New Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1350-1180 BC)
- NML = National Museum, Liverpool
- NS = New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1350-1240 BC)
- Numen = Numen: International Review for the History of Religions (Leiden)
- OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg-Göttingen)
- Ocnus = Ocnus. Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici (Bologna)
- OH = Old Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1650-1500 BC)
- OIAR = Oriental Institute Annual Report (Chicago)
- OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
- OJA = Oxford Journal of Archaeology (Oxford)
- OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)
- OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Münster-Berlin-Leipzig)
- OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- Or = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Ortaköy/Şapinuwa
- ORA = Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient (Tübingen)
- OrAnt = Oriens Antiquus (Roma)
- OrArch = Orient-Archäologie, DAI (Berlin)
- OrChrPer = Orientalia Christiana Periodica (Roma)
- OREA = Oriental and European Archaeology (Wien)
- Orientalia => OrNS

- Orient Christ Analec = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (Roma)
- OrMonsp = *Orientalia Monspeliensia* (Montpellier)
- OrNS = *Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series* (Roma)
- OS = Old Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1650-1500 BC)
- PÄ = *Probleme der Ägyptologie* (Leiden-Boston-Köln)
- PalHiéro => PH
- PALLAS = *Pallas. Revue d'études antiques* (Toulouse)
- PALMA = *Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, Egyptology* (Turnhout)
- PAM = *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* (Warsaw)
- P Am Philos Soc = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia)
- Palamedes = *Palamedes: A Journal of Ancient History* (Warsaw)
- PalArch => PJAEE
- PBF = *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* (München-Stuttgart)
- PBSEA = *Publications of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
- PEFQS = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (London)
- PEQ = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (London)
- PH = *Paléographie Hiéroglyphique* (Cairo)
- Philippika = *Philippika: Marburger Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen* (Wiesbaden)
- PHRP = The polychrome hieroglyph research project, ed. by D. Nunn (<https://phrp.be/About.html>)
- PIA = *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology, UCL* (London)
- PIHANS = *Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul* (Istanbul)
- PJAEE = *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* (Leiden)
- Plant Biosyst = *Plant Biosystem - An International Journal Dealing with all Aspects of Plant Biology* (online)
- PLB = *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* (Leiden)
- PLOS ONE = *Public Library of Science* (online)
- PLup = *Papyrologica Lupiensia* (Lecce)
- PM = B. Porter, R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols, Oxford 1927-1951 (1960-)
- PMMA = *Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition)* (New York)
- PN = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt 1935-1977
- PSAS = *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* (Oxford)
- PSG = *Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Bonn Statue*
- PSI = *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto* (Firenze)
- PT = K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums, neu herausgegeben und erläutert*, 4 vols, Leipzig 1908-1922
- QuadTorino = *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte* (Torino)
- RANT = *Res Antiquae* (Bruxelles)
- Rass. Ita. pol. lett. art. = *Rassegna Italiana politica, letteraria e artistica* (Roma)
- RB = *Revue Biblique* (Jerusalem-Paris)
- RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris)
- RE = *Rites Égyptiens* (Bruxelles)
- REAC = *Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte* (Imola-Bologna)
- REG = *Revue des Études Grecques* (Paris)
- RevEg = *Revue égyptologique* (Paris) [later: RdE]
- Rev Louvre = *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* (Paris)
- RGRW = *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden)
- RGTC VI = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1978
- RGTC VI/2 = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1992.
- RHA = *Revue Hittite et Asianique* (Paris)
- RHR = *Revue de l'Histoire de Religions* (Paris)
- Ric Stor Arte = *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* (Roma)

- RIDA = Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité (Bruxelles)
- RIMA = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods*
- RIME = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*
- RiME = Rivista del Museo Egizio (Torino)
- RITA = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, Oxford 1993
- RITANC = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments*, Oxford 1993
- Riv. Mil. = Rivista Militare (Roma)
- RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- RoczMuzWarsz = Rocznik Muzeum narodowego w Warszawie (Warsaw)
- RSO = Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Roma)
- RT = Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris)
- RVO = Religion in Vorderen Orient (Wiesbaden)
- SAAB = State Archives of Assyria Bulletin (Padova)
- SAAC = Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization. Jagiellonian Univ. (Cracovia)
- SaarBeitr = Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Saarbrücken)
- Saeculum = Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte (Freiburg)
- SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
- SAK = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg)
- SAK Bh = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur – Beihefte (Hamburg)
- SANER = Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin-Boston)
- SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago)
- SAT = Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch (Wiesbaden)
- SARS Newsletter = The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter (London)
- SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung (München)
- SBS = Stuttgarter Bibelstudien (Freudenstadt-Loßburg)
- ScAnt = Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia (Roma)
- SCO = Studi Classici e Orientali (Pisa)
- SDAW = Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin)
- SEAP = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- SEL = Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Roma)
- Serapis = Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology (Chicago)
- SGKAO = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Berlin)
- SHR = Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden)
- SIMA = Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology (Lund)
- SiMa = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SiMuA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- Sitzber K Preuss Aka = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin)
- SMA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SMAAR = Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes (Roma)
- SMEA = Studi Mediterranei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Roma)
- SÖAW = Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Wien)
- SRaT = Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel (Dettelbach)
- SSR = Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion (Wiesbaden)
- StadelJb = Stadel Jahrbuch (München)
- StBoT = Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden)
- StEgAntPun = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- StMatStorRel = Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni (Roma)
- StudAeg = Studia Aegyptiaca (Budapest-Roma)
- StudPAP = Studia Papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisina (Paris)
- Stud Piemontesi = Studi Piemontesi (Torino)

- Sudan & Nubia = Sudan & Nubia: Bulletin of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society (London)
- StudDem = Studia Demotica (Leuven)
- StudGener = Studium Generale. Zeitschrift für die Einheit der Wissenschaften im Zusammenhang Ihrer Begriffsbildungen und Forschungsmethoden (Berlin-Heidelberg-New York)
- SVB = Studia Varia Bruxellensia (ad orbem graeco-latinum pertinentia) (Leuven)
- Symbolon = Symbolon. Jahrb. Für Symbolforsch (Cologne)
- Syria = Syria: Revue d'art orientale et d'archéologie (Paris)
- Talanta = TalAnta: Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society (Hoofddorp)
- TbT = Totenbuchttexte (Basel)
- T C S Peirce Soc = Transactions of the Charles S Peirce Society (Indianapolis)
- TdE = Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt (Puerto de la Cruz)
- TEL AVIV = TEL AVIV: the Journal of the Institute of Archaeology (Tel Aviv)
- THEBEN = Theben (Mainz)
- TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>, Web app version 2.0.2.1, 8/8/2023, ed. by T. S. Richter, D. A. Werning, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, P. Dils
- TM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del database *Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary portal of the ancient world* (<https://www.trismegistos.org/>)
- TPOP = Turin Papyrus Online Platform (<https://collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it>; <https://papyri.museoegizio.it/Login.aspx>)
- TSL = Thot Sign List <http://thotsignlist.org>, ed. by Université de Liège and Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
- TTR = Tanis, travaux récents sur le Tell San El-Hagar (Paris)
- TUAT-NF = B. Janowski, G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge*, vols 1-10, Gütersloh 2004
- TVAT = Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico (Brescia)
- UAVA = Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (Berlin)
- UC = University of California
- UCLA = University of California, Los Angeles
- UF = Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- UGAÄ = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim-Leipzig-Berlin)
- UIT d'Orsay = Université Paris-Saclay
- UMAA = University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge)
- UMI = University of Michigan
- UPMJ = University Pennsylvania Museum Journal (Philadelphia)
- [UPMM] = University Pennsylvania Museum Monograph (Philadelphia)
- USE = Uppsala Studies in Egyptology (Uppsala)
- UZK = Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)
- VA = Varia Aegyptiaca (San Antonio)
- VBoT = A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Marburg 1930
- VDI = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii [Revue d'Histoire ancienne] (Moscow-Leningrad)
- V&A = Victoria and Albert Museum (London)
- VIAÄ = Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien (Wien)
- VisRel = Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography (Leiden)
- VO = Vicino Oriente (Roma)
- VRAMK = Voronezh Regional Art Museum of I.N. Kramskoy
- VT = Vetus Testamentum (Leiden)
- WA = Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta)
- Wb = A. Erman, H. Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Berlin 1926-1961
- WdO = Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Göttingen-Wupertal)
- WorldArch = World Archaeology (online)
- World Literature Tod = World Literature Today (online)
- WSEA = Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology (New York)

WVDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen
der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft (Leipzig-
Berlin-Saarbrücken-Saarwellingen)

WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des
Morgenlandes (Wien)

YES = Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven)

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasia-
tische Archäologie (Leipzig-Berlin)

ZÄS = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Al-
tertumskunde (Berlin-Leipzig)

ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Ver-
eins (Leipzig-Wiesbaden)

ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und
verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig)

INTRODUCTION

GIANLUCA MINIACI, CHRISTIAN GRECO, PAOLO DEL VESCO, MATTIA MANCINI, CRISTINA ALÙ

As former students of Prof. Marilina Betrò, on the occasion of her retirement, we decided to gather contributions from colleagues and friends on the topics she has significantly contributed to during her academic career. The outcome of this collaborative effort is the creation of six volumes that celebrate and honour her scholarly achievements.

The first volume, *The Sacred and the Secular in the Theban Necropolis*, is a collection of 18 papers that explore various aspects of life in the Theban Necropolis on the western bank of the Nile at modern-day Luxor. These papers encompass religious, ritual, material, and profane elements. The Theban Necropolis has been a focal point of archaeological research carried out by Marilina Betrò, who first became acquainted with this site at the beginning of her career while working in the ‘Temple of Millions of Years’ of Thutmose IV under the supervision of Edda Bresciani. In 2003, Marilina Betrò initiated and directed an ongoing archaeological expedition to investigate the Ramesside tomb of Huy (TT 14), located in the northern sector of the Theban Necropolis (Dra Abu el-Naga). Subsequently, in 2004, the Italian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga (M.I.D.A.N.) discovered a previously unknown early Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb called M.I.D.A.N.05 and, in 2010, two other smaller tombs cut into the northern side of its courtyard. The archaeological fieldwork in Thebes has shaped the careers of many of her students and produced significant results, published in several scientific articles and a monograph titled *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu El-Naga* (2009).

The second volume, *A Matter of Religions: Gods and People in Ancient Egypt*, gathers 18 papers that explore the complex dimensions of Egyptian religions, fostering a dialogue between gods, landscapes, animals, and people. Marilina Betrò’s seminal work, *Saqqara III: I testi solari del portale di Pasherientaisu (BN 2)* (1989), represents an important milestone in the studies of ancient Egyptian religion. The entrance portal of Pasherientaisu, discovered in the Saqqara necropolis during archaeological fieldwork directed by Edda Bresciani, was inscribed with a version of the cult-theological treatise studied by Jan Assmann in his work *Der König als Sonnenpriester*. Before the discovery of Pasherientaisu’s portal, only half of this religious composition was known, which concerned the sunrise and the king’s knowledge of the ‘arcana’ of the sun’s course. The portal inscription preserves the other half of the composition, translated and commented by Betrò, which is dedicated to the night journey of the sun. This ancient Egyptian religious text, discovered by Professor Betrò, represents a bridge between the ‘esoteric’ hymns of the solar cult and the so-called underworld books and was later quoted and incorporated by Assmann in his volume *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom* (1995). Betrò later presented a synthesis and critique of the religious system of ancient Egypt in a chapter of “Egittologia” (2005), edited by Alessandro Roccati, which has influenced the latest generations of Italian students of Egyptology.

The third volume, *Digging for Ancient Egypt and Egyptology in the Archives*, contains 14 articles exploring previously unpublished letters, notes, diaries, and other documents from the 17th century to the first decades of the 20th century. These documents preserve a vast amount of information essential for reconstructing the history of ancient Egypt and the evolution of the discipline of Egyptology. Marilina Betrò has led several research projects on this subject, with a particular focus on the rich documentation of Egyptian monuments and sites produced by Champollion, Rosellini, and other members of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition to Egypt in 1828-29. This valuable documentation is now preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. She has directed an important national project called “Progetto Rosellini”, which led to the discovery in the National Archives in Prague of two lists of the antiquities Ippolito Rosellini brought to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, now part of the Museo Archeologico in Florence. The

project's objective was to digitize all the documents (drawings, manuscripts, notebooks, and diaries) of the members of the *Spedizione* held in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. This culminated in an important publication on Egyptological archives titled *Talking along the Nile* (2013). As part of the project, she curated two exhibitions – one in Pisa and another in Cairo – of manuscripts and drawings of the *Spedizione*. The exhibition held in Cairo, 2009-2010, also facilitated the return of a selection of the original documents to Egypt, some 200 years after their composition in that country. Through her archival research, the powerful chief steward of Perunefer under Amenhotep II, Qenamun, owner of TT 93, was able to reclaim his material identity. His body and original coffin have since been reunited and are now part of the Collezioni Egittologiche 'Edda Bresciani' in Pisa (Betrò, *Kenamun: l'undicesima mummia*, 2014).

The fourth volume, *The Materiality of Ancient Egypt: Objects and Museums*, consists of 19 articles that explore the diverse stories hidden within museum objects and collection archives, fostering an ongoing dialogue between ancient materials, texts, and modern interpretation and methodologies. Professor Betrò has played a significant role in museum and object studies, introducing the first course in Egyptian Epigraphy in Pisa, utilising the material preserved in the National Archaeological Museum in Florence. She served as the director of the 'Sistema Museale di Ateneo' of the University of Pisa from 2012 to 2014, and since 2017, has been the head of the scientific committee of the Museo Egizio in Turin. She also organized two international conferences, both held in Pisa, focusing on the materiality of texts in ancient Egypt and other societies, resulting in a volume titled *The Ancient World Revisited: Material Dimensions of Written Artefacts* (2024). Additionally, Professor Betrò has played a vital role in advancing Egyptology by integrating new technologies into object studies. From 2005 to 2009, she led a research unit in the FIRB project *Tecnologie integrate di Robotica ed Ambienti Virtuali in Archeologia*.

The fifth volume, *Egypt in Ancient and Modern Tales, Travels and Explorations*, brings together 12 articles that explore Egypt not only as a land of wonders but also as a place that resonates with its ancient societies and their perspectives, captivating the imagination through its literature, tales, and accounts from both ancient and modern explorers. Professor Betrò's career has been shaped by her passion for travel, whether physical or intellectual. This passion has been applied to Egyptology with a project called "Egypt in India", exploring Egyptian antiquities beyond the traditional borders, culminating in the publication *Egypt in India: Egyptian antiquities in Indian museums* (2004), edited by Edda Bresciani and Marilina Betrò. In addition, she authored the monograph *Racconti di viaggio e di avventura dell'antico Egitto* (1994), presenting a collection of ancient Egyptian tales about travels and adventures. Her interest in the forms of expression of ancient Egyptian thought and narrative led to her co-editing the volume *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC)* (2017), an exploration of ancient Egypt through its images.

The sixth and final volume of this series, *Ancient Egypt and the Surrounding World: Contact, Trade, and Influence*, focuses on the complex cultural interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia, and North-East Africa, spanning from the 3rd millennium BC to Roman and Medieval times, encompassing regions from Mesopotamia to the Levant, from Anatolia to the Aegean, and from the Roman Empire to Syria. This theme has been a constant throughout Professor Betrò's academic career. The early part of her career as an Egyptologist was marked by significant publications of demotic texts on ostraca and papyri, such as contracts, accounts, and memos, which have made a major contribution to our understanding of daily life in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Greek and Egyptian elements coexisted within society, such as "Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco. Comunicazioni d'affari e conti vari", *EVO* 2 (1979); "Due tavolette demotiche e il p.gr. Amherst II 31", *EVO* 7 (1984); "Il p.dem. Lille 119: un'offerta d'affitto con relativo contratto", in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani* (1985). She also organised a conference in Pisa called 'Egitto e Vicino Oriente Antichi: Tra passato e futuro' that brought together Italian scholars of ancient Oriental Studies, fostering dialogue between different fields and disciplines, and which has now become a tradition in Italian studies (EVOA meetings). The resulting publication of the conference was *Egitto e Vicino Oriente antichi: tra passato e futuro. Studi e ricerche sull'Egitto e il Vicino Oriente in Italia*, I Convegno Nazionale, Pisa, 5-6 giugno 2017 (2018) edited by Marilina Betrò, Stefano De Martino, Gianluca Miniaci, and Frances Pinnock. In addition, she has been member of the *Consiglio Direttivo della Consulta Universitaria per gli Studi sull'Asia e Africa* (CUSTAA), demonstrating her commitment to integrating and connecting Egyptology with other neighbouring disciplines.



FIVE EGYPTIAN SCARABS FROM THE MYCENAEAN CEMETERY OF LANGADA ON KOS: CONTEXT, FUNCTION, AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

SALVATORE VITALE, KATARZYNA DUDLIK, LOUIS DAUTAIS*

Abstract

This article discusses five Egyptian scarabs recovered at the Mycenaean cemetery of Langada, located on the Greek island of Kos. On the one hand, this contribution provides new data on the production materials, date, and place of manufacture of the Langada scarabs. On the other, it explores for the first time the social and cultural significance of these items in the context of the Koan burial arena. While the funerary landscape, the typology of the tombs, and most of the pottery from Langada reflect the projected Mycenaean social identity of the Koan community, smaller personal objects, like the five Egyptian scarabs, express a more intimate association of this community with broader eastern Mediterranean traditions. The scarabs were likely placed in the Langada tombs during LH IIIC when, after the end of Mycenaean Palatial trade networks, a more heterogeneous pattern of contacts emerged in the Aegean. The fluid structure of Koan society during LH IIIC was the ideal stage for the appearance of a diverse sense of belonging that, while not denying the Mycenaean identity of the island, favored the development of more multifaceted cultural associations.

INTRODUCTION

This article examines five scarabs recovered at the Mycenaean cemetery of Langada (Figs 1-2), located on the island of Kos in the Southeast Aegean-Southwest Coastal Anatolian Region (SASCAR).¹ While these items have been known since 1967,² this work presents the preliminary results of their only first-hand re-study since their original publication. Its aim is twofold. On the one hand, this contribution provides new data on the production materials, date, and place of manufacture of the Koan scarabs. On the other, it explores for the first time the social and cultural significance of these objects in the context of the Langada burial arena. A more in-depth philological, typological, and iconographical analysis of the scarabs will appear elsewhere in the near future.

The first section of this article provides an overview of mortuary practices on Late Bronze Age (LBA) Kos. The second section summarizes the iconographic meaning of scarabs in Egypt and offers some outline information on the distributions of scarabs in the Aegean. The third section includes a contextual, as well as a preliminary chronological and philological analysis of the Koan scarabs. The fourth and fifth sections of this paper discuss the socio-cultural meaning of the scarabs in the burial arena of Mycenaean Kos.

The research presented in this paper stems from the results of the ‘Serraglio, Eleona, and Langada Archaeological Project’ (SELAP). SELAP is an on-going research endeavor directed by S. Vitale and C. McNamee, under the scientific aegis of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens.³

(S.V.)

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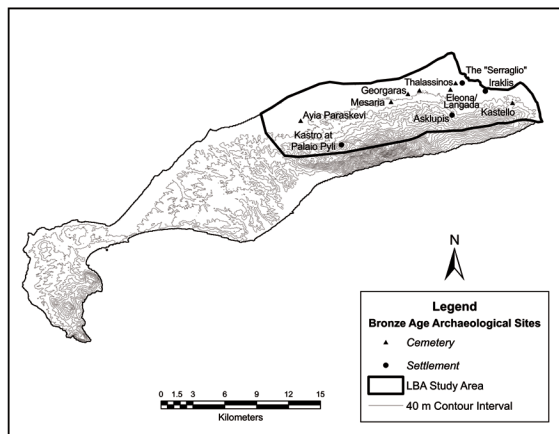
¹ The authors are delighted to present this paper as a token of their respect and admiration for Professor Marilina Betrò, whose research achievements have tremendously contributed to the international field of Egyptology.

² MORRICONE 1967.

³ SELAP's 2009 to 2023 seasons and this contribution were made possible through grants from the Ministry of Education, Lifelong Learning and Religious Affairs of the Hellenic Republic; the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP); the Shelby White Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications; the University of Calabria; the Mediterranean Archaeological Trust; the Rust Family Foundation; and the Polish National Science Centre (decision 2017/27/N/HS3/01665). SELAP is also very grateful to the former and present Directors of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens, Emanuele Greco and Emanuele



a



b

Fig. 1a - Map of northeast Kos including the main sites and areas under SEALP's study (after VITALE *et al.* 2017, 226, fig. 1).
Fig. 1b - Map of northeast Kos including SEALP's main study area during the LBA (after VITALE *et al.* 2017, 235, fig. 6).

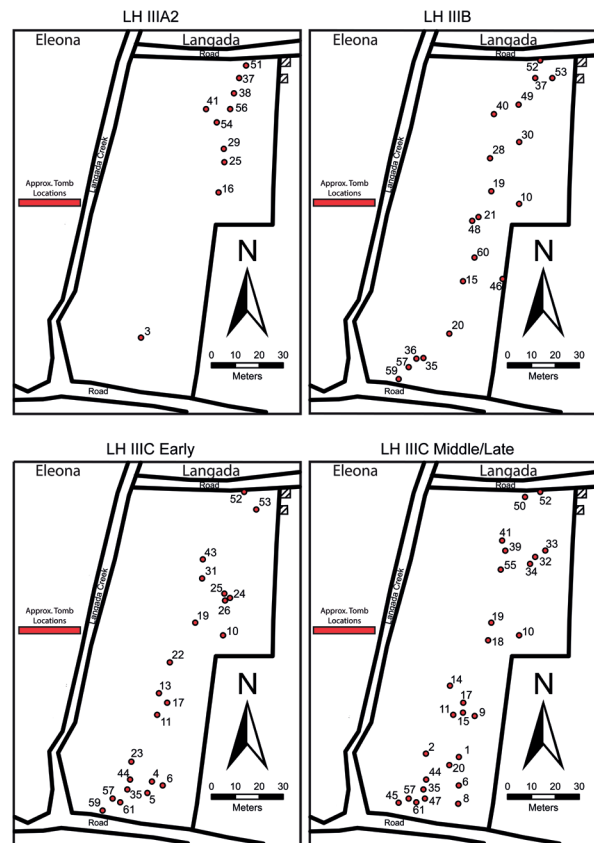


Fig. 2 - Spatial distribution of the tombs used at Langada during LH IIIA2, LH IIIB, LH IIIC Early, and LH IIIC Middle/Late (after VITALE, McNAMEE, DUDLIK 2022, 174, pl. 4, with revisions).

1. LBA MORTUARY PRACTICES ON KOS

From LBA II onwards, Koan funerary practices are mainly understood through the study of Eleona and Langada (Figs 1-2).⁴ Located on the opposite sides of the Langada stream and situated 750 meters southwest of the settlement of the 'Serraglio' (Tab. 1),⁵ to which they belonged, these two cemeteries were founded in LBA II and Late Helladic (LH) IIIA2 respectively and were both used until LH IIIC Middle/Late (Tabs 2-3). In total, they included 83 graves, 22 from Eleona and 61 from Langada.⁶

Eleona and Langada reflect well the composite character of Koan culture during the second half of the LBA. Since the beginning of LH IIIA2, the island was characterized by a distinctive type of Mycenaean identity that incorporated a mix of Greek mainland and Local Tradition features.⁷ This mix was the result of a gradual process of cultural fusion, which changed for good the island's previous long standing cultural affiliations.⁸

The predominantly Mycenaean character of funerary customs at Eleona and Langada is indicated by some of the most noticeable features of the

Papi, for logistical and scientific support to the project. For previous summaries of SEALP's research, see VITALE 2012; VITALE *et al.* 2017.

⁴ MORRICONE 1967.

⁵ MORRICONE 1975.

⁶ VITALE *et al.* 2017, 243; McNAMEE, VITALE 2020, 221-2, tabs 11:1-3; VITALE 2023a.

⁷ VITALE *et al.* 2017, 278-9.

⁸ VITALE, McNAMEE, DUDLIK 2022 (with previous bibliography).

Morricone's Excavations		Marketou's Excavations	Vitale (2012)	Current SELAP Sequence		Approximate Synchronisms	
Building Phases	Suggested Chronology	Suggested Chronology		Building Phases	Suggested Chronology	Crete	Greek Mainland
-	-	EBA 3 Early	-	I:1	EBA 3 Early	EM IIB-EM III	EH III
-	-	EBA 3 Late	-	1:2	EBA 3 Late		
-	-	MBA	-	II	MBA	MM IA-III A	MH I-III Early
Settlement Preceding City I, First Sub-Phase	MM III	LBA IA Early	LBA IA Early	III:1.a	LBA IA Early	MM IIIB or LM IA Early-Advanced	MH III Late
Settlement Preceding City I, Second Sub-phase		LBA IA Mature	LBA IA Mature	III:1.b	LBA IA Mature	LM IA or LM IA Final	LH I
City I	MBA III-LBA I or LBA I	LBA IB	LBA IB	III:2	LBA IB	LM IB	LH IIA
City II, First Sub-phase	LBA IIIA (= end of the period)	Disturbed	LBA II-LBA IIIA1	III:3.a	LBA II-LBA IIIA1	LM II-LM IIIA1	LH IIB-LH IIIA1
City II, Second Sub-phase			LBA IIIA1	III:3.b	LBA IIIA1	LM IIIA1	LH IIIA1
City III, First Sub-phase	LBA IIIA-LBA IIIB	LM II/LH IIB to LM/LH IIIC Late Sequence	LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1	III:4.a	LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1	LM IIIA2-LM IIIB1	LH IIIA2-LH IIIB1
City III, Second Sub-phase	LBA IIIB Final (= end of the period)		LH IIIB1-LH IIIB2 Late	III:4.b	LH IIIB1-LH IIIB2 Late	LM IIIB1-LM IIIB2	LH IIIB1-LH IIIB2 Late
City IV	LBA IIIC		LH IIIC Early-Late	III:5	LH IIIC Early-Middle/Late	LM IIIC Early-Subminoan	LH IIIC Early-Late
Continued Occupation		-	-	IV:1	EPG-MPG	Subminoan-EPG	EPG-MPG
EIA Cemetery	PG		-	IV:2	MPG-LPG	EPG	MPG-LPG

Abbreviations: EM (Early Minoan); EH (Early Helladic); MM (Middle Minoan); MH (Middle Helladic); LM (Late Minoan); PG (Protogeometric).

Tab. 1 - Stratigraphic and Chronological Sequences at the 'Serraglio' during the Bronze Age and the PG Period (after Vitale 2023b).

funerary landscape and mortuary rituals. Most of the graves built at these cemeteries were chamber tombs (14 out of 22 at Eleona and 44 out of 61 at Langada) and were intended for multiple burials (at least 41 out of 83).⁹ Inhumation was the dominant treatment of human remains.¹⁰ The deceased were equipped with offerings, that included pottery and a diverse array of other objects, such as personal

adornments, weaponry, metal implements, and anthropomorphic figurines.¹¹ Other distinctive Mycenaean cultural features at Eleona and Langada included the occurrence of drinking rituals in the *dromoi* of the tombs, the performance of burning ceremonies within the mortuary chambers, and the ritual 'killing' of weapons.¹²

⁹ McNamee, Vitale 2020, 225, tab. 11.5; Vitale 2023a, 21-22, tabs 5-6; Vitale, McNamee, Dudlik 2022.

¹⁰ Morricone 1967, 26-8; Vitale *et al.* 2017, 249.

¹¹ Morricone 1967, 32-261; Vitale 2016; Vitale, Blackwell, McNamee 2017; Vitale *et al.* 2017, 275-7; Vitale, Dudlik 2023.

¹² Morricone 1967, 25, 136-42, 148, 195-6, 247, 260, 262-5, figs 121, 126-8; Vitale *et al.* 2017, 250.

Sites	LBA II	LBA IIIA1	LH IIIA2	LH IIIB	LH IIIC Early	LH IIIC Middle/Late	Not Datable	Total
Eleona	4	10	1	4	1	2	-	22
Langada	-	-	10	18	14	14	5	61
Total	4 (4.8%)	10 (12.0%)	11 (13.3%)	22 (26.5%)	15 (18.1%)	16 (19.3%)	5 (6.0%)	83 (100.0%)

LBA II: E. Ts. 2, 4, 8, 18.
 LBA IIIA1: E. Ts. 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22.
 LH IIIA2: E. T. 15; L. Ts. 3, 16, 25, 29, 37, 38, 41, 51, 54, 56.
 LH IIIB: E. Ts. 5, 6, 19, 20; L. Ts. 10, 15, 19, 20, 21, 28, 30, 35, 36, 40, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 57, 59, 60.
 LH IIIC Early: E. T. 13; L. Ts. 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 17, 22, 23, 24, 26, 31, 43, 44, 61.
 LH IIIC Middle/Late: E. Ts. 1, 23; L. Ts. 1, 2, 8, 9, 14, 18, 32, 33, 34, 39, 45, 47, 50, 55.
 Not Datable: L. Ts. 7, 12, 27, 42, 58.

Tab. 2 - Absolute Number of the Tombs Built at Eleona and Langada from LBA II to LH IIIC Middle/Late.

Sites	LBA II	LBA IIIA1	LH IIIA2	LH IIIB	LH IIIC Early	LH IIIC Middle/Late	Not Datable
Eleona	4	13	5	6	4	13	-
Langada	-	-	10	19	22	27	5
Total	4	13	15	25	26	40	5

LBA II: E. Ts. 2, 4, 8, 18.
 LBA IIIA1: E. Ts. 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22.
 LH IIIA2: E. Ts. 2, 10, 15, 16, 18; L. Ts. 3, 16, 25, 29, 37, 38, 41, 51, 54, 56.
 LH IIIB: E. Ts. 4, 5, 6, 15, 19, 20; L. Ts. 10, 15, 19, 20, 21, 28, 30, 35, 36, 37, 40, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 57, 59, 60.
 LH IIIC Early: E. Ts. 4, 11, 13, 20; L. Ts. 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 35, 43, 44, 52, 53, 57, 59, 61.
 LH IIIC Middle: E. Ts. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 21, 23; L. Ts. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 32, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 47, 50, 52, 55, 57, 61.
 Not Datable: L. Ts. 7, 12, 27, 42, 58.

* The total exceeds 83, because many tombs were utilized during more than one phase.

Tab. 3 - Distribution of the Tombs in Use at Eleona and Langada between LBA II and LH IIIC Middle/Late*.

Despite the overall Mycenaean character of Eleona and Langada, several idiosyncrasies associated with Koan Local Traditions can also be observed. These features reflect the island's previous ties, which reached back to the Early Bronze Age (EBA), when Kos and the wider SASCAR shared many distinctive traits with coastal and western Anatolian rather than Aegean cultures.¹³ At Eleona and Langada, elements linked with Koan pre-Mycenaean cultural trends included: the exclusive use of the contracted position for the deceased; the early appearance of cremation in LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB; and the occurrence of Local Tradition vessels among the grave offerings.¹⁴ The contracted position may reflect the widespread use of jar burials,

typical of the funerary customs of the SASCAR and western Anatolia during the EBA.

Besides cultural affiliations, Eleona and Langada also provide significant information on changes in Koan societal structure between LBA II and LH IIIC Middle/Late.¹⁵ Specifically, the foundation of Langada, which coincides with the beginning of the Mycenaean Palatial phase on the Greek mainland, marks a peak in the occurrence of a well-organized spatial layout in the local burial arena (Fig. 2). During LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB, this is demonstrated by Langada's linearly arranged and consistently spaced tombs.¹⁶ During LH IIIC, which corresponds to the Postpalatial phase of Mycenaean civilization, a shift towards grave clusters occurred, possibly indicating a transition from a

¹³ VITALE 2013; VITALE, MORRISON 2018, 249; VITALE *et al.* 2017, 236-8, 241-3; VITALE, McNAMEE, DUDLIK 2022, 154-5.

¹⁴ VITALE 2012, 1244; 2013, 55; VITALE *et al.* 2017, 249; VITALE, McNAMEE, DUDLIK 2022, 158.

¹⁵ VITALE *et al.* 2017, 236-8, 238-41, 243-7; McNAMEE, VITALE 2020, 242-3, fig. 11:6; VITALE, NANI, McNAMEE 2023.

¹⁶ VITALE *et al.* 2017, 245; McNAMEE, VITALE 2020, 240-1, 244.

well-defined and hierarchically organized to a more fluid social structure.¹⁷ Shifts similar to those seen at Eleona and Langada can also be observed during the same time spans in the spatial organization of the built environment at the nearby settlement of the ‘Serraglio’.¹⁸

(K.D.)

2. EGYPTIAN SCARABS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION IN THE AEGEAN

2.1. Egyptian Scarabs

Because of the association between beetles and the Sun god, scarabs were symbolically connected to rebirth and regeneration and played a prominent role in Pharaonic visual and material culture.¹⁹ As a manifestation of this belief, scarab shaped amulets were made in a variety of materials over a long time period, spanning from the First Intermediate Period to Graeco-Roman times.

Despite their small sizes, Egyptian scarabs featured precise beetle outlines, usually showing details of the head, folded wings, and side legs. Their oval-shaped bottom provided an ideal surface for engraving figural or abstract representations, apotropaic formulas, titles and names of their owners, invocations to the gods, or names of pharaohs. The scarabs were often pierced longitudinally, allowing the owner to wear them as a necklace or a bracelet. Beyond their talismanic function, they could also serve as administrative tools, markers of social status, or vehicles for state ideology.²⁰ The small size and compact shape of the scarabs facilitated their mobility and distribution beyond the Nile valley.²¹

(K.D.)

2.2. Summary of the Aegean Distribution of Egyptian Scarabs in the LBA

Almost forty scarabs made in Egyptian workshops during the New Kingdom (NK) were found within the LBA Aegean, although few were unearthed in stratified domestic or funerary contexts. Of the 16 NK scarabs found on Crete,²² for example, only three (dating from the late Dynasty XVIII up to the early Dynasty XIX) were found in closed contexts. Two were re-used as part of Aegean beaded necklaces adorning the male deceased buried in Chamber Tomb 4 from Sellopoulo during Late Minoan (LM) IIIA1 and Chamber Tomb 99 from Zapher Papoura during LM IIIA2-LM IIIB1. The third specimen was found on the floor of a LM IIIB multi-storeyed house in the harbor area of Poros.²³

Although a detailed contextual analysis has not yet been published, the situation concerning the 23 scarabs known from mainland Greece and the Dodecanese does not seem to differ from Crete.²⁴ Apart from two scarabs of Queen Tiye (Amenhotep III’s wife) found in LH IIIB contexts from the citadel of Mycenae²⁵ and a few scarabs from LH I-LH IIIA graves,²⁶ most specimens (16) are dated to the Ramesside period (Dynasty XIX-XX) and come from LH IIIB-LH IIIC burials from the Kalkani Cemetery at Mycenae,²⁷ Perati in Attica,²⁸ and Ialysos on Rhodes.²⁹ At Perati, where all graves dated to LH IIIC, approximately ten scarabs were recovered by S. Iakovidis, who stressed that “the variety [of these scarabs] shows that they belong to different styles and that they were therefore acquired by different persons and brought to Perati not as merchandise, but as personal and cherished possessions”.³⁰ The scarabs unearthed at Langada

¹⁷ VITALE *et al.* 2017, 245-6; McNAMEE, VITALE 2020, 243-4.

¹⁸ VITALE *et al.* 2017, 239-41; VITALE, NANI, McNAMEE 2023.

¹⁹ GIVEON 1985.

²⁰ ANDREWS 1994, 50-9.

²¹ CLINE 1995.

²² PHILLIPS 2008, II, nos 39, 44, 125, 260, 262, 265, 314-5, 320, 455, 482, 513, 521A, 521B, 537 and 546.

²³ For HM Y 489, see CLINE 1994, 147, no. 128; PHILLIPS 2008, II, 136-7, no. 262. For HM Σ-K 687, see CLINE 1994, 150, no. 153; PHILLIPS 2008, II, 139, no. 265. For HM 2474, see CLINE 1994, 147, no. 127; PHILLIPS 2008, II, 235, no. 482.

²⁴ See CLINE 1994, 144-50. In addition to excluding those from the Ulu Burun and Cape Gelidonya shipwrecks, our counts for mainland Greece and the Dodecanese also do not consider items that we attribute to LBA Cypriot (CLINE 1994, 146, 150, nos 118, 152) or Levantine (CLINE 1994, 146-7, no. 124) manufactures. Moreover, three of the scarabs listed by E.H. Cline (CLINE 1994, 148, 150, nos 133-4, 150) are dated here to the Archaic Period. An updated contextual catalogue of these and other more recently discovered *Aegyptiaca* from the LBA Aegean is underway as part of L. Dautais’ PhD dissertation.

²⁵ CLINE 1994, 146, nos 119-20.

²⁶ CLINE 1994, 146, 148, nos 121-3, 132.

²⁷ CLINE 1994, 146, nos 116-7. For the date of the Egyptian scarabs, see PHILLIPS 2008, I, 137, fn. 647.

²⁸ CLINE 1994, 144-5, nos 106-15.

²⁹ CLINE 1994, 147-50, nos 130-1, 147, 151.

³⁰ IAKOVIDIS 1980, 84.

seem to have been used and placed in the tombs during similar time spans as those from Mycenae, Ialysos, and Perati, and may have followed similar trajectories as those proposed by Iakovidis.

(L.D.)

3. THE LANGADA SCARABS

Four of the Langada scarabs were found within one of the 61 tombs recovered by Morricone at this cemetery (Tab. 4).³¹ A fifth one comes from the area of Langada but could not be associated with any specific grave. Three of the tombs in which the scarabs were found, nos 12, 35, and 50 were chamber tombs, while the fourth, no. 42, was probably a pit.³² Unfortunately, the contextual and spatial relationships between the scarabs and the other finds from Tombs 12, 35, 50, and 42 are in all cases unclear.³³

At the request of Morricone, who provided him with some black and white photographs, the Koan scarabs were initially examined by G. Botti,³⁴ whose work was then incorporated in Morricone's original publication of the finds from Eleona and Langada. As stated previously, the comments provided below in Sub-Section 3.2 represent a first contribution towards a more complete philological, typological, and iconographical publication of these items conducted by the authors in the context of SELAP.³⁵

3.1. Contexts

Langada's Tomb 12, where Cat. No. 1 was recovered (Tab. 4; Fig. 3:a), was used for no fewer than five burials. The ceramics found inside this grave consisted of a flask (Fig. 4) and six other vases, which were lost after excavation making it impossible to precisely date the construction and use of this tomb.³⁶ Lost vases included a stirrup jar, a tripod, a straight-sided alabastron, as well as two other miscellaneous specimens, one of which was equipped with a spout. Although an Anatolian man-

ufacture cannot be fully ruled out, the flask from Langada's Tomb 12 may be a Cypriot import, made in the so-called Red Lustrous Wheelmade class, the chronology of which ranges between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIC Middle/Late.³⁷ One wonders if the scarab may have travelled alongside the flask and reached Kos via Cyprus and Rhodes. Beside pottery and the scarab, and alongside a bronze tweezer and a spindle whorl, which were lost after excavation, a biconical faience bead decorated with incised parallel vertical lines and a globular plain glass bead were also retrieved from Langada's Tomb 12.³⁸

The vessels from Tomb 35, where scarab Cat. No. 2 was recovered (Tab. 4; Fig. 3:b), suggest that the grave was constructed in LH IIIB2 Early or Late and used through LH IIIC Middle/Late. The number of buried individuals is uncertain. However, based on pottery, Tomb 35 must have had multiple interments. The deceased were buried with a wide array of vessels, including: a stirrup jar FS 173 with flowers FM 18 (LH IIIB2 Early/Late; Fig. 5:a); two amphoriskoi FS 59 (LH IIIC Early), one linear (Fig. 5:b) and the other decorated with zigzag FM 61 (Fig. 5:c); a linear straight-sided alabastron FS 97 (LH IIIC Early; Fig. 5:d); and two straight-sided alabastra FS 96 (LH IIIC Middle/Late), one with wavy band FM 53 (Fig. 5:e) and the other with linear decoration (Fig. 5:f). In addition to pottery and the scarab, Tomb 35 contained one bronze ring, three possible bronze hairclips, one globular and flattened glass bead, and seven fragments of amber beads.³⁹

Tomb 42, where Cat. No. 3 was discovered, was one of Langada's single burials (Tab. 4; Fig. 3:c).⁴⁰ Only one vessel was recovered from this grave. While its shape is reminiscent of a Mycenaean mug FS 226 (Fig. 6), the surface treatment suggests an attribution to a Local Tradition class, the so-called Monochrome Dark. In fact, as already noticed by Morricone, this form is a local

³¹ MORRICONE 1967.

³² McNAMEE, VITALE 2020, 222, tab. 11:2, fig. 11:6.

³³ MORRICONE 1967, 115-6, 169-72, 198-200, 225-7, 268-9, figs 96-7, 172-7, 206-9, 243-6, 301.

³⁴ MORRICONE 1967, 116, fn. 1, 169, fn. 1, 225, fn. 4, 268-9, fn. 6.

³⁵ Between Morricone's original publication and SELAP's new study of the Koan scarabs, these objects have been regularly mentioned and discussed by other scholars in Aegean archaeology (see, among others, MEE 1975, 271; YANNAI 1983, 119, n. 30; CLINE 1994; BENZI 2009, 53; KOUSOULIS 2011, 287).

³⁶ MORRICONE 1967, 115-6, figs 96-7; VITALE *et al.* 2017, 233-4, tabs IV-VI.

³⁷ CLINE 1994, 195, no. 537; BENZI 2009, 50, fn. 20.

³⁸ MORRICONE 1967, 115-6, fig. 96.

³⁹ MORRICONE 1967, 169-72, figs 172-7; VITALE *et al.* 2017, 233-4, tabs IV-VI.

⁴⁰ MORRICONE 1967, 198-200, figs 206-9; VITALE *et al.* 2017, 233-4, tabs IV-VI.

Cat. No.	Context	Material	Dimensions H./L./W. (cm)	Manufacturing Date	Context Date	Figure
1	Langada, Tomb 12	Glazed steatite	0.75 / 1.6 / 1.2	NK, Dynasty XIX, Seti I's reign	Not datable	3:a
2	Langada, Tomb 35	Glazed steatite	0.8 / 1.8 / 1.3	NK, Dynasty XIX-XX (Ramesside period)	LH IIIB2 Early/Late- LH IIIC Middle/Late	3:b
3	Langada, Tomb 42	Faience	0.75 / 2.0 / 1.35	NK, Mid-Dynasty XVIII-Dynasty XX	Not datable	3:c
4	Langada, Tomb 50	Glazed steatite	0.95 / 2.0 / 1.45	NK, Dynasty XIX-XX (Ramesside period)	LH IIIC Middle/Late	3:d
5	Langada, Stray Find	Glazed steatite	0.80 / 1.95 / 1.35	NK, Dynasty XIX-XX (Ramesside period)	Not datable	3:e

Keys:
Dimensions: H: Height; L: Length; W: Wight.
Context Date: Not datable contexts must fall within the broadest possible time range assigned to the cemetery of Langada, i.e. between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIC Middle/Late.

Tab. 4 - Tabular Catalogue of Langada's Scarabs.

development of Koan prototypes that go back to the EBA phase. As such, this vessel does not provide precise chronological information for the construction and the use of Tomb 42, which must fall somewhere between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIC Middle/Late, i.e. the overall period of Langada's existence. In addition to pottery and the scarab, the deceased from this grave was buried with a variety of other offerings, including: a bronze knife; a biconical terracotta button or spindle whorl; a phytomorphic carnelian pendant; a lentoid carnelian pendant; two carnelian beads, one with a globular shape and one with a flattened shape; a steatite discoid and flattened incised seal stone; and three faience beads, one with a globular shape and two with a discoid shape.⁴¹ The phytomorphic pendant has good Egyptian parallels and is likely an Egyptian import.⁴² Most of the beads from this tomb could also be of Egyptian origin.

Langada's Tomb 50, where Cat. No. 4 was recovered (Tab. 4; Fig. 3:d), was used for no fewer than four burials. Based on ceramic data, this grave was constructed and used during LH IIIC Middle/Late.⁴³ Unearthed vessels included a patterned belly handled amphora FS 58 with wavy band FM 53 (Fig. 7:a), a monochrome juglet FS 115 (Fig. 7:b), a monochrome feeding bottle

FS 162 (Fig. 7:c), and a stirrup jar FS 176 with vertical wiggly wavy lines FM 53 (Fig. 7:d). Because of the biconical body shape and the wiggly lines, this stirrup jar is one of the latest vessels from Langada, being stylistically assignable to what some would call Submycenaean.⁴⁴ Besides pottery and the scarab, no other offerings occurred in this tomb.

(S.V.)

3.2. Scarabs

All Koan scarabs have well-detailed ovoid bodies, engraved with clear and deep lines, and exhibit narrow holes drilled along them (Tab. 4; Fig. 3). Apart from Cat. No. 3, which is badly preserved, all other objects had a minimal to light degree of depositional wear. Cat. Nos 1-2 and 4-5 were made of glazed steatite, while Cat. No. 3 was made of faience.

Cat. No. 1 from Tomb 12 (Tab. 4; Fig. 3:a) was considered as a Mycenaean imitation of Egyptian craftwork by Botti⁴⁵, who read the inscription as meaning *jmn- r^c nsw.t* ('King Amun-Ra'). In the 1980's, M. Antonioli correctly identified the scarab from Langada's Tomb 12 as the product of an Egyptian workshop.⁴⁶ Her interpretation of the

⁴¹ MORRICONE 1967, 199-200, fig. 207.

⁴² See GOMES 2023, 30, tab. 3. For similar Egyptian phytomorphic pendants dating from the mid-Dynasty XVIII up to the late Dynasty XIX, whether they represent a lotus seed, an opium poppy, a pomegranate, or a cornflower, see PHILLIPS 2008, I, 140-5; GOMES 2023, 27.

⁴³ MORRICONE 1967, 225-8, figs 242-6; VITALE *et al.* 2017, 233-4, tabs IV-VI.

⁴⁴ VITALE 2023b, 69, figs 11:f, 14:c.

⁴⁵ MORRICONE 1967, 115, fn. 1, fig. 96. Listed within *orientalia* in the following catalogues: BROWN 1974, 34 (no. 1); LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990, 376 (no. 540), pl. 55; CLINE 1994, 149 (no. 144).

⁴⁶ ANTONIOLI 1983, 323-4 (no. 5), fig. 1:e.



Fig. 3 - Scarabs from the Mycenaean cemetery of Langada (photos, S. Vitale, K. Dudlik).

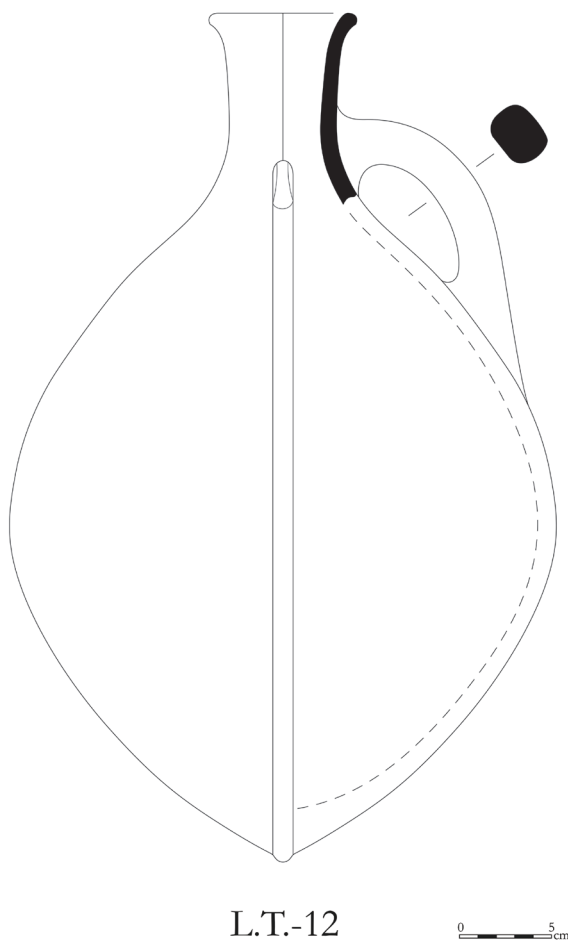


Fig. 4 - Flask from Langada's Tomb 12
(drawing, S. Regio, C. Kolb).

inscription, however, was also imprecise, as she proposed to read the signs as meaning $m\overline{3}^c.t.tj.t$ $jmn-r^c$ ('Maat, image of Amun-Ra'). The correct reading is $mn-m\overline{3}^c.t-r^c.tj.t-r^c$ ('Established is the Justice of Re, image of Ra'),⁴⁷ thus referring to Seti I's throne name (c. 1294-1279 BCE).

Cat. No. 2 from Langada's Tomb 35 (Tab. 4; Fig. 3:b) was correctly attributed to an Egyptian work by G. Botti, who identified the zoomorphic

representation of $jmn-r^c$ (Amun-Ra) as a ram (sphinx) wearing a composite crown with double falcon feathers.⁴⁸ While he suggested a broad NK dating for this object (Dynasty XVIII-XX), we believe that a Ramesside dating (Dynasty XIX-XX) is more likely.

Cat. No. 3 from Langada's Tomb 42 (Tab. 4; Fig. 3:c) was described as illegible by G. Botti.⁴⁹ By contrast, we read $jmn-r^c nb<=>j>$ ('Amun-Ra, [my] Lord'),⁵⁰ a formula commonly used in the NK (mid-Dynasty XVIII to Dynasty XX).

Cat. No. 4 from Langada's Tomb 50 (Tab. 4; Fig. 3:d) was correctly identified by Botti as a scene in which a Pharaoh is defeating his enemy. Botti, however, remained uncertain about the place of manufacture.⁵¹ We suggest that also this scarab was the product of an Egyptian workshop. The subject depicted on Cat. No. 4 appeared first under Thutmose III and flourished under the Ramessides. The sign wsr should be considered a diminutive of a Ramesses' throne name. In addition to Ramesses II, other possible identifications include Ramesses III, IV, V, VII, or VIII, without it being possible to choose among any of the Ramessides (Dynasty XIX-XX).

Cat. No. 5, a stray find from the wider Langada area (Tab. 4; Fig. 3:e), was initially described by Botti as non-Egyptian.⁵² He mistakenly identified the animal depicted in this scene as a horse instead of a lion and possibly also misread the signs. Antonioli rightfully argued that this specimen was made in Egypt⁵³ and we are confident that a Ramesside dating (Dynasty XIX-XX) is likely for this specimen.

(L.D.)

4. DISCUSSION

Our preliminary discussion of the scarabs has clarified three points of key significance. The first one concerns the materials used to manufacture these objects. Previous studies had suggested that

⁴⁷ This was already suggested by G. Hölbl (HÖBL 1987, 127, fn. 34).

⁴⁸ MORRICONE 1967, 169, fn.1, figs 173-4. Listed within *orientalia* in the following catalogues: BROWN 1974, 35-6 (no. 5); LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990, 376-7 (no. 541); CLINE 1994, 149 (no. 145).

⁴⁹ MORRICONE 1967, 200, figs 207-8. Listed within *orientalia* in the following catalogues: BROWN 1974, 35 (no. 4); LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990, 376 (no. 539), pl. 55; CLINE 1994, 147 (no. 129).

⁵⁰ This was already suggested by Hölbl (HÖBL 1987, 127, fn. 34).

⁵¹ MORRICONE 1967, 225-6, fn. 4, fig. 244; VITALE 2016, 262-3, 273, fig. 9. Listed within *orientalia* in the following catalogues: BROWN 1974, 134-5 (no. 3); CLINE 1994, 149 (no. 146).

⁵² MORRICONE 1967, 268, fn. 6, figs 300-1. Listed within *orientalia* in the following catalogues: BROWN 1974, 36 (no. 6); LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990, 377 (no. 542), pl. 55; CLINE 1994, 149 (no. 143).

⁵³ ANTONIOLI 1983, 324 (no. 6), fig. 1:f.

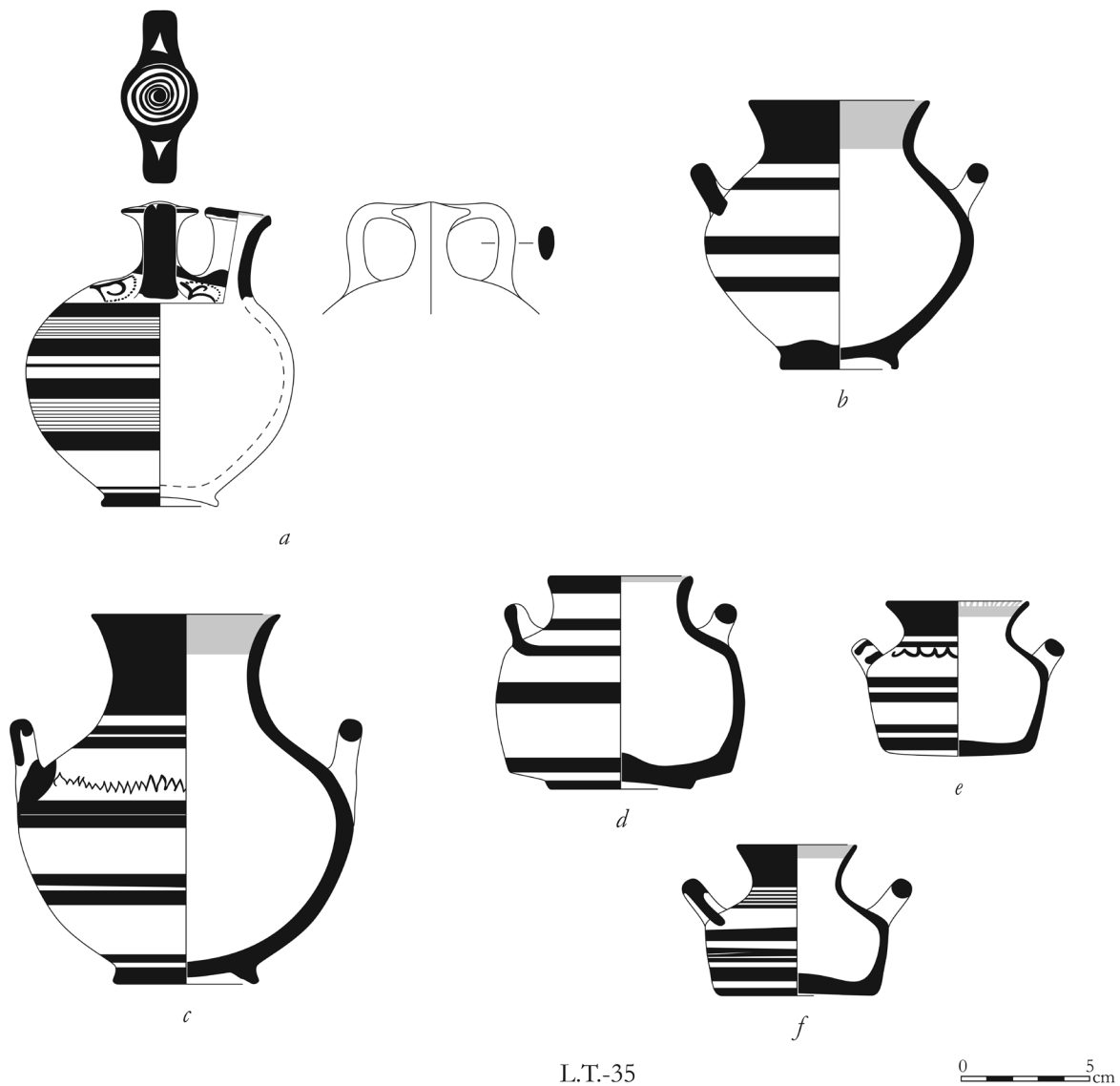


Fig. 5 - Pottery from Langada's Tomb 35 (drawings, S. Regio, M. Rossin, C. Kolb).

the scarabs were made of ivory (Cat. Nos 1, 5), bone or ivory (Cat. Nos 2, 4), and faience (Cat. No. 3).⁵⁴ Our new analysis has demonstrated that four specimens were in fact made of glazed steatite (Cat. Nos 1-2, 4-5), while only the fifth was made of faience (Cat. No. 3), as initially suggested by Morricone. The second point concerns the date of manufacture of the scarabs, which overall ranges between Dynasty XVIII and Dynasty XX. Particularly important is the new dating suggested for Cat. No. 1, which can now be assigned to Seti I's throne name, *i.e.* the first quarter of the 13th

century BCE. The third and final point clarified by our research concerns the place of manufacture of the scarabs recovered at Langada. While most previous studies had suggested that at least some of the items were not made in Egypt (see above, Sub-Section 3.2), our research implies that they were all the product of Egyptian workshops. At present, the exact areas of manufacture within the kingdom cannot be identified.

While the lack of recognized associations among individual interments, the scarabs, and other finds from the tombs limit our ability to extract

⁵⁴ MORRICONE 1967, 115, 169, 200, 225, 268; VITALE 2016, 262, fig. 9, tab. 4.

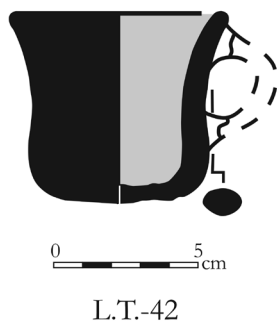


Fig. 6 - Pottery from Langada's Tomb 42
(drawing, M. Rossin, T. Ross).

interpretative meaning from the data, the information at our disposal still provides us with some interesting insights about Koan society and identity. Particularly important is the relationship between the dates of manufacture of the scarabs and the dates they were incorporated in the Langada burial arena. All tombs where the scarabs were found have their possible final use in LH IIIC Middle/

Late and, at least in one instance, that of Langa-da's Tomb 50, LH IIIC Middle/Late was surely the time, in which one of the scarabs was placed in this grave. While the resolution of our contextual information does not allow definitive conclusions, our data give the impression that, like at Perati, there may have been a delay between the date of manufacture and the date of incorporation of the scarabs in the Langada assemblages, with LH IIIC being the period, when most if not all of the items were placed in the Koan burials.

This delay highlights the complex and possibly intergenerational biographies of the scarabs, which presumably contributed to their perceived value. Their significance was also likely enhanced by their exotic place of manufacture, the materials they were made of, and above all their elaborate iconography, which was charged with powerful images of sphinxes, pharaohs in combat, and striding lions.

In this respect, the Langada scarabs can be seen as part of a relatively small, but qualitatively rele-

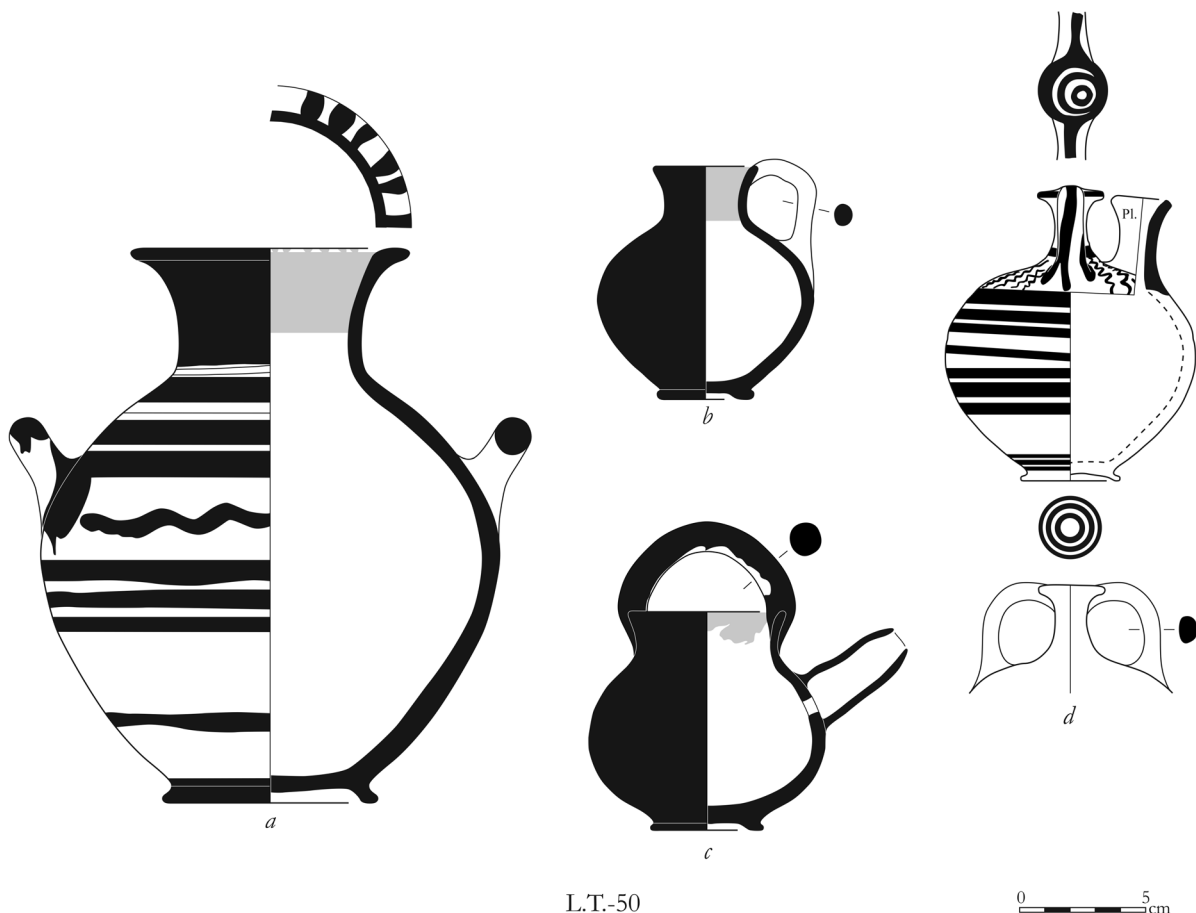


Fig. 7 - Pottery from Langada's Tomb 50 (drawings, S. Regio, T. Ross).

vant group of non-Mycenaean items represented in the funerary arena of Eleona and Langada, among which an important assemblage of seal stones of eastern Mediterranean provenance stands out. In addition to the previously mentioned discoid and flattened steatite specimen from Tomb 42 (see Sub-Section 3.1), this group consists of: a steatite cylinder seal from Eleona's Tomb 22, decorated with a complex incised hunting scene;⁵⁵ and an undecorated cylinder seal made of lapis lazuli and equipped with golden caps from Langada's Tomb 10.⁵⁶ While no close parallels are known for the seal from Langada's Tomb 42, the other seals have comparisons with objects coming from the Levantine region (for the specimen from Eleona's Tomb 22)⁵⁷ and Cyprus (for the specimen from Langada's Tomb 10).⁵⁸

None of these objects served any sphragistic or administrative purposes on Kos. Most likely, they were used as pendants or bracelets and had complex meanings to their owners, possibly holding an amuletic and/or talismanic function.⁵⁹ They may have been worn during special social occasions and thus may have gained a distinctive symbolic value within the individual memory of their owners, as well as for the collective memory of their families and the wider Koan community.

(S.V., K.D., L.D.)

5. FINAL STATEMENTS

The scarabs presented in this paper provide valuable information about Koan cultural trajectories between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIC Middle/Late (mid-14th to 11th century BCE). Alongside other objects, such as the seal stones mentioned in Section 4, the Langada scarabs demonstrate the importance of Egyptian, Levantine, and Cypriot fashions for the individual definition of identity and display of status within the Koan community. At the same time, they also reveal a wider and more diverse array of interactions compared to the otherwise predominantly Mycenaean cultural environment, which characterize the burial arena of Eleona and Langada.

What typifies the Egyptian scarabs and the other Levantine and Cypriot adornments mentioned

above is their possible personal meaning to their owners. While the funerary landscape, the typology of the tombs, and most of the pottery intentionally reflect the projected Mycenaean social identity of the local community,⁶⁰ these smaller objects seem to express a more intimate association of this community with broader eastern Mediterranean traditions. The same intimate connection emerges in another prominently personal dimension of Koan funerary practices, *i.e.* the body treatment of the deceased. Here, the exclusive use of the contracted position reflects pre-Mycenaean burial customs, reaching back to the EBA period, when Kos and the wider SASCAR shared many cultural traditions with western Anatolia.

It is perhaps not due to chance that these more intimate aspects of Koan local identity (re-)emerged during LH IIIC, when most if not all the Egyptian scarabs were placed in the Langada burials. In LH IIIC, the end of Mycenaean Palatial trade networks favored a more heterogeneous and multidirectional pattern of contacts, where eastern Mediterranean connections became easier than in the past. The fluid structure of Koan society during LH IIIC was in fact the ideal stage for the appearance of a diverse sense of belonging that, while not denying the Mycenaean identity of the island, favored the development of more complex and multifaceted cultural associations.

(S.V.)

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⁵⁵ MORRICONE 1967, 80-1, figs 55-6; VITALE 2016, 259, fig. 1:a, pl. 1:a.

⁵⁶ MORRICONE 1967, 95-6, fig. 83; VITALE 2016, 263-4, fig. 10:1, pl. 4:1.

⁵⁷ VITALE 2016, 259 (with previous bibliography); MATTHEWS 1990, 3, fig. 566.

⁵⁸ VITALE 2016, 263-4 (with previous bibliography); CREWE 2009, inv. no. 1897,0401.59.

⁵⁹ KONSTANTINIDI 2001, 23-4.

⁶⁰ FEUER 2011, 512-3; VITALE, McNAMEE, DUDLIK 2022 (with previous bibliography).

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The stark contrast of the desert, mountains, seas, and cataracts surrounding the fertile river valley creates a dramatic separation between Egypt and the rest of the world. Despite this physical – often pretended – barrier, Egypt has historically been deeply connected to the cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia, and Northeast Africa. These interactions have led to a complex intermingling of culture, materials, religions, ideas, and iconography, resulting in the emergence of new forms of cultural identity. The papers of this volume, presented to prof. Marilina Betrò, aim to explore various aspects of these interactions, spanning from the 3rd millennium BC to Roman and Medieval times, encompassing regions from Mesopotamia to the Levant, from Anatolia to the Aegean, and from the Roman Empire to Syria.

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