UCLA ENCYCLOPEDIA of EGYPTOLOGY

VIOLENCE

العنف

Kerry Muhlestein

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:
Muhlestein, Violence. *UEE*.

Full Citation:
Muhlestein, Kerry, 2015, Violence. In Elizabeth Frood and Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles. http://escholarship.org/uc/item/21198/21198/zz002k6dfb

8696 Version 1, November 2015
http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002k6dfb

UCLA ENCYCLOPEDIA of EGYPTOLOGY

VIOLENCE

العنف

Kerry Muhlestein

Gewalt
Violence

Throughout time, Egyptian sources display divergent attitudes towards violence expressing the belief that some situations of violence were positive and to be encouraged, while others were to be avoided. Sanctioned violence could be employed for a variety of reasons—the severity of which ranged from inflicting blows to gruesome death. Violence was part of the preternatural realm, notably as Egyptians attempted to thwart potential violence in the afterlife. While the average Egyptian was supposed to eschew violence, kings and their representatives were expected to engage in violent acts in many circumstances. Improper violence disturbed order while sanctioned violence restored it. While the types of sanctioned violence employed and the reasons for employing it changed over time, some attitudes about violence remained constant.

عرضت المصادر المصرية طوال الوقت مواقف متباينة تجاه العنف ، وعبرت عن الإعتقاد بأن بعض حالات العنف كانت إيجابية وينبغي تشجيعها، بينما البعض الآخر منها يجب تجنبه. ومن الممكن اعتماد عقوبات العنف لعدة أسباب مختلفة ، القوة التى تتراوح بين تسديد اللكمات حتى الموت الشنيع. كان العنف جزءا من عالم غير سوى (الإجرام) ولا سيما أن المصريون حاولوا التصدى للعنف المحتمل في الآخرة. في حين كان اغلبية المصريين من المفترض ان ينبذوا العنف، وكان من المتوقع أن ينخرط الملوك وممثليهم في أعمال عنف في العديد من الظروف. إن العنف الغير مبرر يُخل بالنظام في حين ان عقوبة العنف تعمل على استعادة النظام. وتغيرت أنواع عقوبات العنف المقررة والأسباب التى تم توظيفها لأجلها مع مرور الوقت، بينما ظلت بعض المواقف إزاء العنف ثابته.

Sources from ancient Egypt express ambivalence about violence. This is not to say that some Egyptians felt violence was never necessary while others supported it. Rather, it means that some violence was clearly abhorred and eschewed while other kinds were seen as necessary and desirable. Our knowledge of violence in ancient Egypt is largely determined by the nature of the sources available. From early stages in Egyptian civilization we have pictorial evidence for sanctioned violence. These pictorial representations were augmented by textual and archaeological sources of later stages in Egyptian civilization. In contrast, non-sanctioned violence was not typically recorded in the earliest eras. Court proceedings, letters, and oracle texts are our primary sources for this kind of violence, but these sources largely exist from later in Egyptian history. As a result we know more about sanctioned violence, mythical violence, and violence from an ideological point of view than we do about illicit violence. We also know more about later periods rather than earlier. We must use caution when retrojecting later views about violence to earlier periods, though often, all we have is later evidence. These considerations notwithstanding, when we examine all the data available, we can accumulate a fair view of Egypt's attitude towards and experience of violence.

Preternatural Violence

The earliest religious texts are replete with references to preternatural violence, a practice which remains consistent throughout Egyptian civilization. The Pyramid Texts contain numerous references to the violence of gods, many of which pertain to incidents for which we have later narratives. Even among the gods we are presented with a bifurcated view of violence. According to many texts, the first act to disturb order was an act of violence, whether it be the slaying and mutilation of Osiris or some kind of rebellion among mankind and a consequent violent response from a deity. These unsanctioned acts of violence were abhorrent, yet they were set aright by a violent response. In the case of Osiris' slaying, order was eventually restored after Horus defeats Seth in a violent battle that, in some versions, included spearing (fig. 1), decapitation, gouging eyes out, rape, and threats of killing other gods (the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*; Gardiner 1935). Mankind was punished for its rebellion by near-destruction (the *Myth of the Heavenly Cow*; Hornung 1982). The *Instructions for Merikara* tell us the creator slew his own children when they contemplated rebelling against him (Papyrus Leningrad 1116A; Quack 1992). Texts about deities are replete with descriptions of driving away or slaughtering enemies of gods, with frequent reference to the slaughterhouse of the gods as a place to send these enemies (e.g., the *Book of the Dead*: BD 1B; Meeks and Favard-Meeks 1993: 20; and Zandee 1960: 147). While such violent enemies represent chaos, their violent destruction represents a restoration of order. This battle often becomes personified, such as the ongoing battle between Apophis and the Sun God, or as in accounts of Seth stabbing and spearing the Chaos serpent. Some gods are even described as being "violent" (*pr-ˁ*; Sethe *Urk. IV*: 2059; see also Leitz 2002: 55-56).

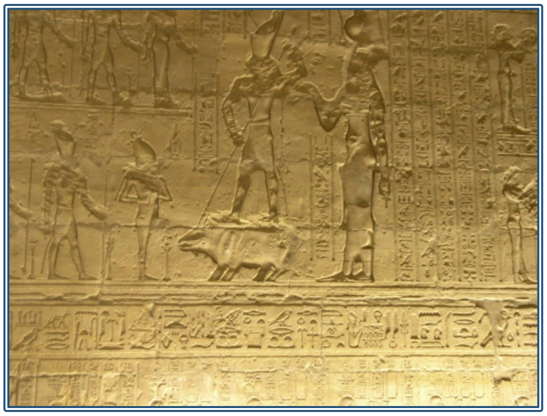

Figure 1. Horus spearing Apophis in the form of a hippopotamus. Edfu temple.

Sanctioned Violence

1. Punishments. The dichotomy between acceptable and unacceptable violence was also manifest among humankind. Clearly there were many situations in which violence was viewed as appropriate, even desirable. Sanctioned corporal punishment was prevalent. Old Kingdom tomb scenes frequently show people being beaten, sometimes with sticks that are shaped to look like a man's hand, often while tied to a post (Beaux 1991; also Fischer-Elfert 2005: 22-26). According to tomb captions and the *Satire of Trades*, one of the more frequent reasons for beatings was a failure to pay taxes (fig. 2). The *Instructions of Amenemope* seems to indicate that being among the chronically dependent poor could lead to violent punishment, even possibly execution (Papyrus BM 10474, XV, 274, Budge 1924; Muhlestein 2011: 55). Beatings and inflicting open wounds were among the most common forms of punishment and could be inflicted for crimes such as failure to pay a debt (Ostracon Gardiner 53, Černý and Gardiner 1957), theft (Lorton 1977: 43-44), improper appropriation of state workers (Lorton 1977: 25), bringing charges against a superior (McDowell 1990: 175), spreading rumors (McDowell 1990: 175), not prosecuting crimes (Lorton 1977: 27), unauthorized contact with sacred elements (Allen 1992: 17-18; contra Baines 1999: 23; but

agreed with by Loprieno 2001: 23-26), interference with fishing and fowling (Lorton 1977: 26), false legal action (Lorton 1977: 41), libel (Lorton 1977: 31), or inappropriate entrance of a tomb (Papyrus BM 10052, Peet 1930; and Lorton 1977: 40). The most common beatings consisted of either 100 or 200 blows, and in more severe punishments were commonly accompanied by five open wounds.

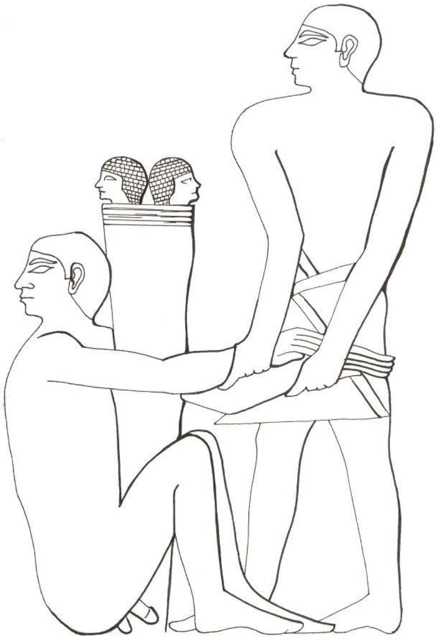

Figure 2. A depiction of pilloried punishment, from the 6th Dynasty Saqqara tomb of Mereruka.

Schoolboys could also be beaten for faulty scribal work (Papayrus Anastasi V, Caminos 1954: 254-58). This leads to the assumption that beatings would have been viewed as an appropriate disincentive for unworthy behavior or performance in other forms of training. While not extreme, such a practice must have created a somewhat regular feature of mild violence throughout a person's youth. Undoubtedly there were cases in which the violence did not remain mild.

Beatings were also used during interrogations. Such a beating, if it produced a confession, could be followed by more beatings or worse punishments. For instance, one man was beaten to get his confession and then beaten with 200 blows of palm rod as punishment (Papyrus BM 10335, Kitchen *KRI VII*: 416). It is possible that the threat of drowning, or perhaps the use of water in torture, were also part of interrogations (Muhlestein 2005: 175-176). Divorce was punishable by beating in one case, though this seems to be an anomaly (Lorton 1977: 45; Ostracon Bodleian Library 253).

Mutilation was another common form of violent punishment, most frequently manifested in cutting off the nose or ears. This could happen for various crimes, including encroachment on foundation fields (agricultural property dedicated to supporting cultic or royal undertakings), interfering with offerings, select thefts (Lorton 1977: 25 and 40), and even for involvement in the harem conspiracy recorded in the reign of Ramesses III (Judicial Papyrus of Turin, Goedicke 1963). In the latter case, the mutilation of one man was shortly followed by his suicide, perhaps because the mutilation was either too painful or too humiliating to bear (Muhlestein 2011: 59-60).

While beatings, open wounds, and mutilation were difficult and severe punishments, execution was the most extreme violence of the penalization repertoire. The reasons for and types of execution varied over time, but sanctioned violent death remained an invariable part of Egyptian society (see, for example, Ostraca IFAO 1864). Death by burning was a consistent type of violence employed throughout Egyptian history, though the evidence for it increased sharply after the end of the Ramesside Period. Decapitation was one of the more frequent tools of death early in Egyptian history (fig. 3), but appears to have declined from the Ramesside era on. Slaying in a ritual context (i.e., sanctioned killing that involved demonstrable ritual trappings) was consistently employed over time (fig. 4). Drowning was also sometimes employed. Impalement (fig. 5) was infrequently used, except during the Ramesside era, when it seems to have been the preferred form of punishment (Muhlestein 2011: 71-79).

While in many cases we know that either the king or vizier approved of executions, we do not have enough evidence to know if this was always the case. We are also unable to determine why some methods of killing were preferred vis-à-vis others in various time periods.

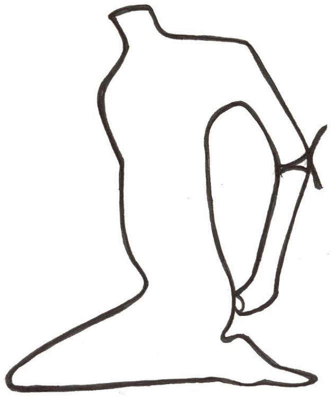

Figure 3. Determinative depicting a decapitated prisoner.

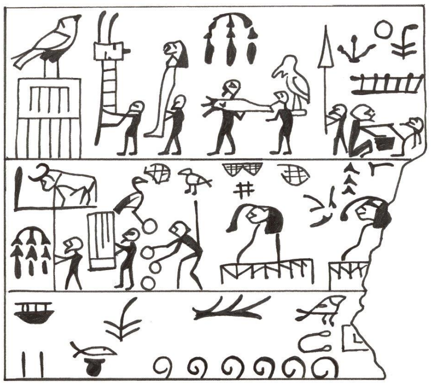

Figure 4. Line drawing of an ivory label of King Aha, depicting in the upper right corner what many consider to be a ritual slaying.

Similar to the methods of execution, the reasons for execution also demonstrate both consistency and change over time. While it is difficult to detect a consistent pattern, one small repetitive theme is that the disruption of cult could often result in ritualized execution (Muhlestein fc.). Other than this, our sources are generally silent as to why capital punishment was deemed necessary, a notable exception being in the harem conspiracy, wherein those being executed understood that it was because they had committed "the abomination of every god and every goddess" (Papyrus Lee, Goedicke 1963: 78). Yet the general (and surely simplified) pattern indicates that capital punishment was usually a result of crimes, which were deemed to be against the state or the gods (Muhlestein 2011: 80-82). These types of crimes were viewed as disruptive of order, inviting chaos. These acts were typically (though not uniformly) painted as some sort of rebellion, such as the many tomb inscriptions that labeled anyone who violated the tomb as a rebel (see Edel 1984: fig. 15 for an example). On the part of the state, violence was employed in the service of order. It was designed to rectify unacceptable situations or, in other words, to return to the order of the original creative state (Muhlestein 2011: 92-91).

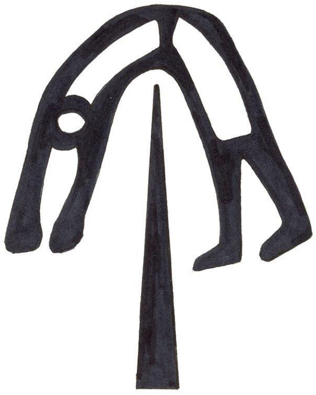

Figure 5. Determinative depicting impaling.

Execution for the rebellious was a constant. It appears that death for stealing or damaging state property was also fairly uniform, though it is difficult to assess this with confidence since we only have evidence from a few time periods, such as the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. Similarly, one would assume that execution for murder would have been invariable, but we only have evidence for murder from the Third Intermediate Period forward (see, for example, Cairo JE 48865 and Papyrus Rylands IX). Desecration of sacred land could be grounds for execution. Runaway (royal?) slaves could be deemed worthy of death. Desecration of royal tombs was viewed as a capital offense. Also, death was sometimes the punishment decreed for interference with mortuary cults, rendering false rulings, rendering false oracles, non-royal tomb desecration, interfering with temple cults, embezzling cultic proceeds, diverting corvée labor, issuing false documents, or stealing state property (Muhlestein 2011: 80-82, for example, Papyrus BM 10474, Ostracon BM 5631, Papyrus BM 10052, Kitchen *KRI I*: 55-56, 70, Papyrus Dem Saq. I, and Papyrus Turin A). In some decrees these acts are deemed worthy of death, and in others they are given lighter, though still violent and harsh, punishments. Even within the same decree the punishments vary without apparent rhyme or reason. For example, in Seti I's Nauri decree, he stipulates various beatings, wounding, and restitutions for embezzling and reselling temple estate goods (Edgerton 1947: 226; or Kitchen *KRI I*: 55-56). Yet if these crimes were committed by a keeper of hounds or keeper of cattle, they were to be impaled. The inconsistency of punishments in the decree is hard to explain (Muhlestein 2011: 54).

The most famous cases of sanctioned violence stem from the texts recording the trial of harem conspirators under Ramesses III and those recording the trials of those involved in tomb robbery in the late 20th Dynasty. In both cases those directly responsible for the crimes met death. In the harem conspiracy, almost all those who were merely aware of the conspiracy were put to death or were allowed to commit suicide (Juridical Papyrus of Turin, Goedicke 1963). Despite the arguments of many scholars (e.g., Bedell 1973; Redford 2002: 129), there is no apparent pattern to explain why some individuals were put to death while others were permitted to commit suicide (Muhlestein 2011: 59-60).

Numerous texts indicate that capital punishment for unspecified criminal activity was an ongoing practice that continued throughout Egyptian history. Attestations of this are found in graffiti, which speak of desecrators' "flesh...burning together with the criminals (*ẖbnw*)," or being cooked with the criminals (Žába et al. 1974: 52 and 79-86; Willems 1990: 27-54; Muhlestein 2008b: 199-203). A Coffin Text descendant of the spell from the Pyramid Texts often termed the "Cannibal Hymn" also mentions burning criminals (PT 273-274). The transformation of the Cannibal Hymn into this Coffin Text suggests it is based, to some degree, on a continuing reality, for the text seems to have preserved the idea of its original Pyramid Text form, yet contains within it elements, which appear to have incorporated dynamic changes to the event it describes. The dynamic elements indicate that at the time the Coffin Text was created, some evolved form of a practice continued (Eyre 2002: 23-24). We cannot determine if the crimes referred to in this type of reference are those noted above (e.g., rebellion, murder) or if they refer to a specific type of crime in addition to those listed above that was deemed worthy of death.

Some have argued that killing was sanctioned in the case of a cuckolded husband in regards to the man with whom his wife had slept (Eyre 1984: 98; Hoch and Orel 1992: 89). The arguments for this are speculative and the evidence is inconclusive (Muhlestein 2011: 40 and 56).

2. Ritual and cultic violence. Violence was a real part of cultic practice and many rituals employed violent actions. Most of this violence, however, was enacted against animals or inanimate objects. In these rituals, the animals or objects were often seen as substitutes for humans (see the discussion on symbolic violence below). Sometimes the objects were anthropomorphic in form, as with the many clay, stone, and wax figures used in execration rituals (Muhlestein 2008a). During the ceremonies, these figures were smashed, decapitated, mutilated, stabbed, speared, burned, and buried. Violence against mortals and against preternatural enemies was often combined in the rites. At least two execration

rituals, one at Mirgissa during the Middle Kingdom and one at Avaris during the early 18th Dynasty, almost certainly used humans as the objects of the ritual (Muhlestein 2008a, 2008b: 194-196).

Early Dynastic labels appear to depict violent rituals, such as a Djer label illustrating some kind of royal festival, part of which depicts a bound man seemingly being stabbed by a priest (Baud and Étienne 2000: 66-67; Menu 2001: 172-75; and Muhlestein 2011: 10). Some form of ritual violence continued throughout Egyptian history, for such early iconographic evidence is matched by later philological evidence. The language used to describe several sanctioned killings implies that they took place in a ritual context, while other texts are explicit about the ritual nature of the slaying. For example, Senusret I slayed offenders at the temple of Tod (Redford 1987: 42; Muhlestein 2008b: 189-193), Ramesses III captured and killed Libyans in a ritual context (Kitchen *KRI V*: 25), and Prince Osorkon burned rebels in the temple of Amun at Karnak (Bubastite Portal, translation Caminos 1958). In all of these cases ritual language is employed to describe the killings. For example, the text of Osorkon records the punishment of rebels: "Then he struck them down for him, causing them to be carried like goats on the night of the Feast of the Evening Sacrifice in which braziers are lit...like braziers at the going forth of Sothis. Every man was burned with fire at the place of his crime" (Bubastite Portal, translation Caminos 1958: 48).

There is some evidence that the stereotypical smiting scene (e.g., fig. 6) at times may have been an actual ritual. Undoubtedly Amenhotep II smote captives as part of his coronation ritual (Sethe *Urk. IV*: 1408-1413). Several late New Kingdom non-royal stelae represent the king smiting prisoners within temple grounds, perhaps indicating that the owner of the stela had witnessed the ritual (Schulman 1988). Some have disagreed with this interpretation, such as Ahituv (1991), while others, including myself (Muhlestein 2011: 86-90), have supported Schulman's claims, showing faults with the arguments of his detractors, such as illustrating that Ahituv was wrong in stating there was no corroborating evidence for kings actually smiting prisoners, or demonstrating the illogic behind concluding that if Syrian prisoners were spared in the palace, none of them could have been smitten. Some texts describing Ramesses III's dealings with captives can be taken to indicate that he subjected them to ritual smiting, such as when a captive prince and his visiting father engendered distrust in Ramesses and he "came down upon their heads like a mountain of granite" (Kitchen *KRI V*: 70). Moreover, a number of specialized and individualized smiting scenes imply that these were based on real events, such as the depiction of a man with a unique physical deformity being struck by the king (Muhlestein 2011: 88-89). While we cannot be sure, it is quite likely that smiting enemies was a royal ritual.

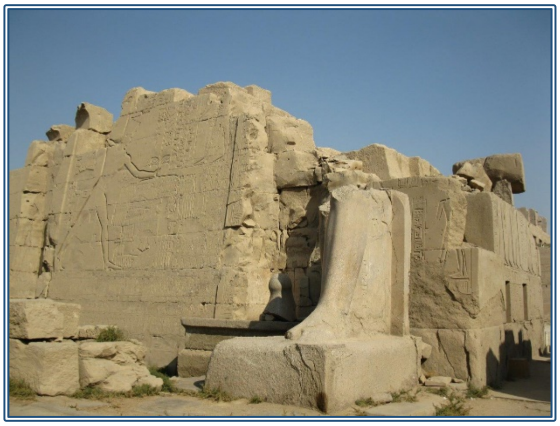

Figure 6. Smiting scene of Thutmose III, from the seventh pylon, temple of Amun-Ra, Karnak.

Violent Iconography

Whether smiting scenes represented real or purely symbolic events, they serve as the flagship of violent iconography. Clearly even real forms of violence also carried symbolism, but in this case the question is whether smiting scenes were ever carried out on real humans. From the Predynastic Period through the Roman era, smiting enemies was a prevalent and imposing form of iconographic violence (Hall 1986). These scenes occupied larger-

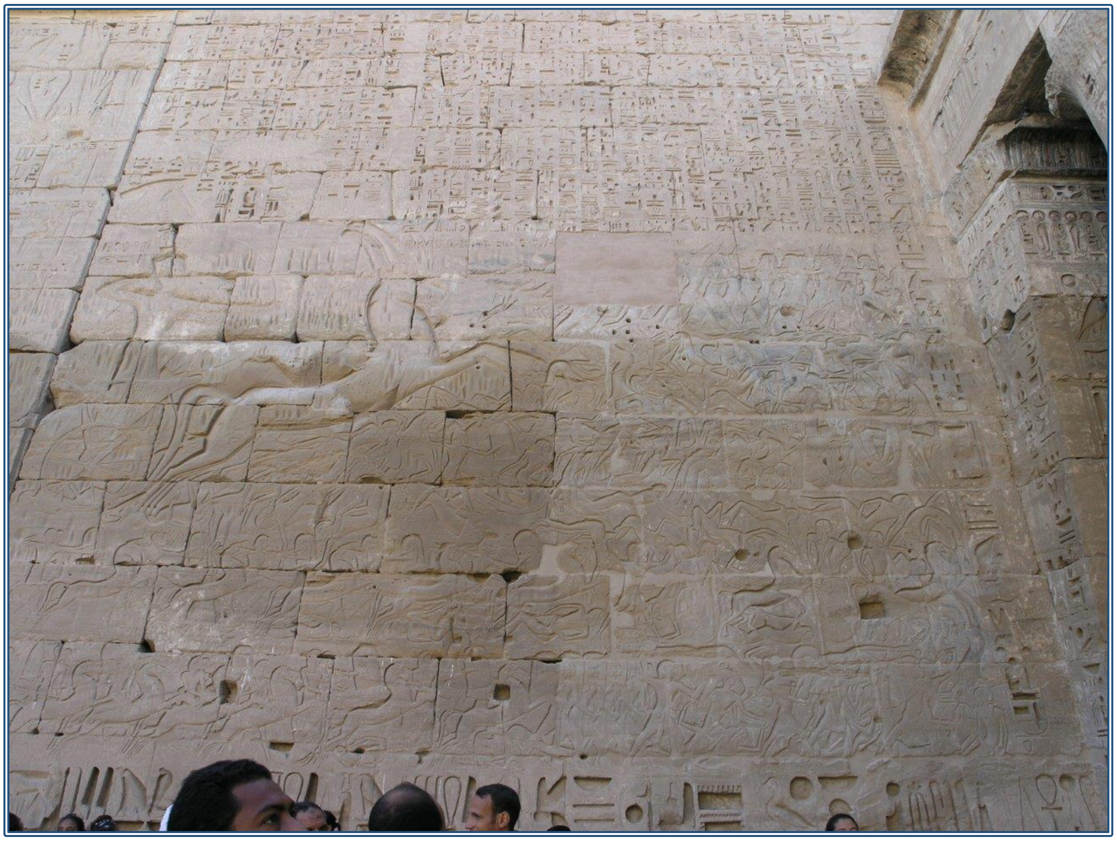

Figure 7. Violence in war, from Medinet Habu.

than-life positions on temple structures. Smiting scenes occur on a variety of media, from vases to signet rings to funerary equipment. War scenes were also ubiquitous displays of violence from at least the early New Kingdom (e.g., fig. 7). Scenes depicting prisoners bound with cords or symbolic plants are also a standard component of official ideology (Muhlestein 2007). Foreigners are invariably the victims of violence in these contexts. While we cannot know how accurate the portrayals are, the images present an iconography of domination, subjugation, and humiliation. If there is some degree of accuracy in depictions of how prisoners were bound, then often the binding was done in a way, which would have caused severe and painful damage to muscles and joints. Depictions frequently portrayed positions possibly leading to asphyxiation. Elbows, knees, necks, and ankles particularly were portrayed in awkward and painful positions (figs. 8 and 9).

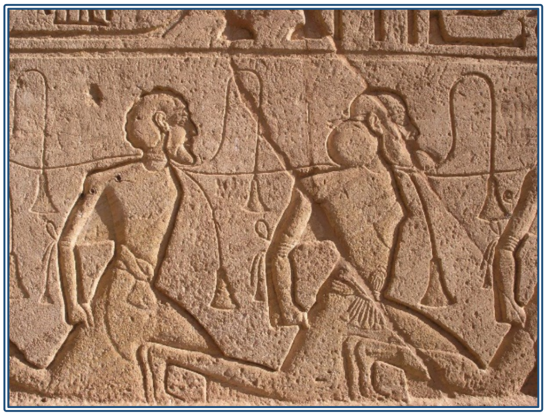

Figure 8. Detail of bound prisoners from the temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel.

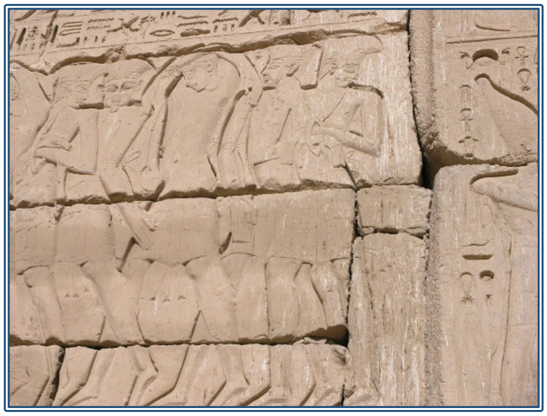

Figure 9. Detail of bound prisoners from Medinet Habu.

Frequently the violence portrayed was compounded by violence *done* to the image. Some images were broken, mutilated, or decapitated. Another class of bound prisoner images was continually placed where they would be walked on, such as tiles of a palace floor, the sill of the window of appearance, on sandals or on footstools. An Early Dynastic tomb has a bound prisoner as the pivot point for a door, so that each time the door moved it ground on the prisoner's back (Ritner 1993: 114). New Kingdom chariot wheels could be constructed so that each revolution furthered the torture of an iconographic enemy. Tutankhamen's bow was decorated with prisoners whose necks were bound by the bow string, thus further strangling them with each arrow shot. Enemy heads formed the oar stops on a barque of Amun, causing the enemies to be struck with each stroke. Thus an ongoing kinetic violence was often a component of violent iconography (for these, see Ritner 1993: 119-179).

War and Aftermath

Iconography also highlights the violence of war. Besides the gruesome violence that was part of the fighting itself, the binding and smiting of prisoners demonstrates the continuation of violence after the battle was over. The taking of a hand or an arm was often attested as a battle trophy. Depictions show piles of hands, arms, or penises as a part of battle aftermath (fig. 10). Amenhotep II slew a number of prisoners, hung their bodies from the prow of his boat (it is not clear if the killing was before or after the hanging), and then displayed them in Egypt and Nubia (Sethe *Urk. IV*: 1279). Thutmose I did the same, although again it is not clear if the prisoner he displayed had been killed during or after the battle (Sethe *Urk. IV*: 1-11; see also fig. 11). Various finds and depictions imply that such practices were common over most of Egypt's long history (Muhlestein 2005: 173-175). Moreover, Akhenaten is said to have impaled 225 Nubian prisoners of war after the battle (Buhen Stela, Smith 1976: 124-125 and pl. 29). Merenptah impaled a great number of Libyan prisoners after one battle, and burned many more after a Nubian campaign (Kitchen *KRI IV*: 1). Ramesses III slew captives on more than one occasion (Kitchen *KRI V*: 24, 70). Osorkon burned captive rebels (Bubastite Portal, translation Caminos 1958). The end of a battle did not end the violence inflicted on Egypt's enemies. Violence done to real foreigners and to inanimate representations was aimed at defeating forces of chaos. These were two prongs in the same weapon wielded by the servants of order against chaos.

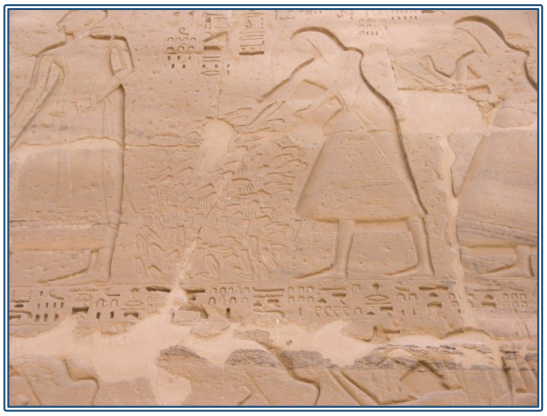

Figure 10. Pile of dismembered hands, from a battle scene at Medinet Habu.

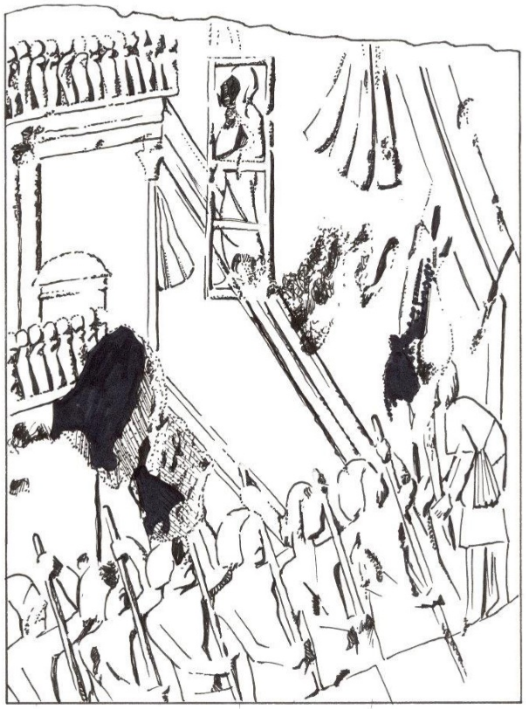

Figure 11. Relief from Karnak dating to the reign of Tutankhamen depicting a waterway procession with a caged prisoner hoisted for display.

Ambivalence Towards Violence

In most of the iconography and texts that depict violence, it is the king who is the perpetrator. Most violence we know of is royal violence. However, even royal violence was viewed with ambivalence. Kings both decried violence among others and extolled their own violent exercises. They claimed to have avoided violence, yet publicly portrayed it. For example, Sinuhe describes Senusret I as "a lord of kindness, great of sweetness. He conquered through love." Yet lines later Senusret is reported to be a "vengeful smasher of foreheads, one who subjugates countries, slaying with only one blow, and one who will strike Asiatics and trample sand dwellers" (Papyrus Berlin 3022, Koch 1990: 54). Were this a singular reference, it might be ascribed to the literary nature of the work, but it is just one example of a long tradition of juxtaposing the violence and non-violence of the king, such as in the *Loyalist Instruction* (Posener 1976). Thus, in one decree, the late 18th Dynasty king Horemheb claims to repel violence (or aggressive oppression, *ꜣdw*) *and* decrees death for those who are false in office (Edict of Horemheb, Pflüger 1946: pl. 1; or Kruchten 1981). In the Cannibal Hymn from the Pyramid Texts, the king is depicted being violent towards even the gods (PT 273-274), an accolade of violence however symbolic the reference may or may not be. Formulaic texts expressed the proclaimed ideal of the king and culture, yet could also be contradicted by other formulas expressing contrary ideals. For example, many of the same kings who employed some form of the negative confession in their funerary accoutrements, wherein they claim not to have slain men nor to have ordered them to be slain (Gee 1998: 255-256), nor even to have been violent (*n pr-ꜥ*), also slew men or ordered them to be slain, and repeatedly bragged of being violent (*pr-ꜥ*), such as when Ramesses III describes himself at Medinet Habu as "a violent ruler (*ḥḳꜣ pr-ꜥ*), Lord of the Two Lands" (Kitchen *KRI V*: 69). This phrase is used to describe pharaohs from the time of Senusret I through the Ptolemaic era (Gee 1998: 269). Kings regularly and formulaically proclaimed their violent acts and abilities.

Thus we are presented with an understandable paradox. Clearly, there was a proper time for the king and his kingdom to be violent. Yet at other times he and his subjects were supposed to eschew violence.

Violence is often portrayed negatively. Weni proudly proclaims that he did not allow anyone to attack another (Cairo Museum 1435, line 19). At Deir el-Medina, some foremen were punished for being too violent, indicating that perhaps a certain level of violence was acceptable but not to be exceeded (McDowell 1990: 226-227). The classical author Diodorus Siculus reports that an individual could be punished for not helping someone who was being attacked (*Bibliotecha Historica* 1.60-85). Priests were instructed not to hit because it could bring about too much harm (Gee 1998: 260-261; Papyrus Onch. 22/23, Glanville 1939: pl. 22). Tomb inscriptions boast of their protagonist's restraint: "never did I beat a man so that he fell, I didn't sleep in anger" (Sethe *Urk. I*: 215-221). But some inscriptions simultaneously decry and espouse violence, such as an Old Kingdom official who claims both to have pacified the angry so that violence was avoided *and* to have sent some to the great house to be beaten (Louvre E 10958, Hassan 1975: fig. 17). The First Intermediate Period nomarch/warlord Ankhtifi proudly proclaims he did not allow the heat of strife, and yet decrees violence for those who do not follow his wishes (Moalla Inscription 8, Vandier 1950). These and a multitude of other sources make it clear that there were situations in which violence was to be used, and others in which it should be avoided. Violence was even an appropriate means for stamping out violence.

The Egyptians themselves dealt with this apparent (and natural) contradiction by juxtaposing the two ideas, especially in regards to royalty. For example, a non-royal inscription describes Senusret III as "Bastet protecting the Two Lands. He who adores him will escape his arm. He is Sakhmet toward him who transgresses his command. He is calm to those who are satisfied" (Stela of Sehetepibra or *Loyalist Instruction*, Posener 1976: 14). The appropriateness of the king's violence mirrors that of the gods. According to the Pyramid Texts, before mankind rebelled was the time "before there was strife" (PT 1040). After the rebellion the creator slew his own children. Likewise, pharaoh, the gods' representative on earth, had to employ violence as part of the attempt to bring the world back to the order it had enjoyed before violence had erupted. Of Amenemhet I it was said, "his majesty came to drive out *isfet*, appearing as Atum himself, setting in order that which he found decaying. . . . since he loves *maat* so much" (Sethe *Urk. VII*: 27). Tutankhamen "drove out *isfet* so that he could reestablish *maat*, as it had been in *sep tepi* [or the first moment of creation]" (Sethe *Urk. IV*: 2026). A royal ritual text states that the purpose of having a king on earth was "so that he may bring about *maat*, so that he may destroy *isfet*" (king as sun priest, see Assmann 1970). As the king paralleled his divine counterparts in his use of violence against Chaos, he was assisted by a number of supernatural elements, such as the divine crowns, the uraeus, the eyes of Ra or Horus, and various gods. In these efforts the king was often compared to the gods, such as when Ramesses II says "I was like Ra when he rises at dawn. My rays burned the flesh of the rebels" (Kitchen *KRI II*: 887).

In general, the ideal was that violence was to be avoided. Yet when *isfet* needed to be destroyed, violence was the appropriate response. While a study examining the changes in all forms of violence over time remains to be done, we do know something of these changes for sanctioned killing. When allowing for changes in the availability of evidence, we see that sanctioned killing remained fairly consistent throughout Egyptian culture. As for the manner of inflicting it, decapitation appeared to drop in use over time while burning rose. Impalement arose largely from the New Kingdom on. Ritual slaying appears to have remained constant. Evidence supporting reasons for sanctioned killing suggests that executing rebels was consistent, but it also indicates that slaying because of damaging or stealing state property, or for murder, was a later phenomenon, though this may be due to a change in the kinds of sources available and the types of events it was thought appropriate to record (Muhlestein 2011: 70-76).

Non-sanctioned Violence

Despite the ideology of avoiding violence outside sanctioned domains, undoubtedly Egypt had its share of violent citizens. However, very few genres or occasions would have called for the recording of violent acts. When we do learn of non-sanctioned violence, it seems to be largely due to the accident of preservation. Letters and ostraca are one source for learning of such violence. From these we know that some in Deir el-Medina beat their inferiors (for example, Papyrus Salt 124, see Černý 1929), and even that one man was beaten for reporting that a superior had slept with his wife (Janssen 1982: 119-120). The latter instance was seen by some in the village as inappropriate, indicating that views about appropriate use of violence were not always uniform. Rape, domestic violence, and even murder are attested at the village (Papyrus Salt 124, see Černý 1929). These illicit acts of violence were viewed, at least by some, in a negative light, for we learn about them in the form of complaints. From three letters of the Late Ramesside era we recover hints of a plot to kill two *Medjay* (Papyrus Berlin 10487 and 10488, Černý 1939: 53-54: ref) apparently in order to keep them from testifying in some manner against the perpetrators. The secrecy of the plot makes it clear that this act would be looked upon most unfavorably, even though people of power were involved.

Records of legal proceedings also hint at violence, such as the acts attempted in connection with the harem conspiracy in the reign of Ramesses. These records may give us a clue as to what Weni, an Old Kingdom official, meant when he enigmatically spoke of hearing a secret matter in the harem, but we cannot know (Sethe *Urk. I*: 98-110). Similarly, the Persian Period *Petition of Petiese* outlines a case of murder (Papyrus Rylands IX, Griffith 1909: 233-234; and Traunecker 2008), giving us a small insight into violent events that must have happened throughout Egyptian history. Royal decrees can provide traces of violent acts among non-royal individuals. For example, when the 21st Dynasty Banishment Stela stipulates that murder was worthy of death, we may safely assume that murder was not an unknown act (Brugsch 1878: pl. XXII; von Beckerath 1968). Similarly, a Demotic literary tale, which culminates in the burning of murderers, implies that such things happened in reality as well (Papyrus Demotic Saqqara I, see Smith and Tait 1983: 8 and 40), as does a literary tale from the 21st Dynasty, which recounts the murder of a woman and scattering of her children (Papyrus Pushkin, Caminos 1977; and Hoch and Orel 1992: 106). Other literary tales portray violence in a negative light, such as when a minor official is portrayed as beating a peasant in such a way that the beating is clearly viewed as unjustifiable and wrong (Parkinson 1991).

One of the most profitable sources for learning about violence are oracular texts. For example, we can read of death being decreed by oracle for embezzlers (Muhlestein 2011: 61). When trials were decided by appeals to oracles, often the deeds of the accused were either written on a text presented to the oracle, or the oracle's decision was written down. From these kinds of texts we learn of two boys who were beaten to death and of the execution of their murderers (Papyrus Rylands IX, Traunecker 2008). In another we learn of two men who had been caught in illegal acts trying to murder the man who had discovered them before he could tell anyone (Cairo JE 48865). While the official writings of Egypt do not present us with the illicit violence that could be a part of lived experience, such acts become more apparent in their laundry lists.

Clearly murder, or killing someone who was innocent, was viewed as wrong. Piankhy forbade certain men from entering a temple because they "did a thing which god did not command should be done, they conceived evil in their hearts, even slaying one who was without guilt" (Schäfer *Urk. III*: 110-113). While it is clear that such killing was outside of what the divine and mortal realms sanctioned, it is curious that the punishment, apparently for attempted or at least plotted murder, appears to be so mild. At least in this writing the only punishment listed was a prohibition from entering the temple. This may be due to Piankhy's concentration on purity, for he emphasized that these men had done the killing within the very temple they were forbidden to enter. In a literary narrative, the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, even a king killing one who was innocent is portrayed negatively (Gardiner 1932). The *Myth of the Eye of the Sun* more clearly depicts the negative view of those who murdered. In one conversation it is recorded that those who kill should be killed, and that those who go unpunished will never have the blood removed from them and will be punished eventually, even if it is in the next life (Spiegelberg 1917: 38-40; Hoch and Orel 1992: 114-115).

While in formal complaints or actions, grievous offenses such as adultery were not typically punished by violence (Papyrus Salt 124, Ostracon DeM 439), some texts might imply that this could happen on occasion (Papyrus Berlin 3033, Papyrus Prisse, see Goedicke 1963: 89; Eyre 1984: 97), and a few wisdom texts intimate that it was not unheard of for the wronged spouse to seek illicit retribution (Papyrus Prisse, Papyrus Boulaq 4; Eyre 1984: 95; Galpaz-Feller 2004: 154-157).

Violence in Funerary Texts

However violent reality was, it pales in comparison to the violence potentially experienced as part of the afterlife. From the earliest funerary literature to the latest, the afterlife was depicted as a place fraught with violence. Thus, the texts appropriately contained instructions and spells aimed at avoiding it. There are repeated references to divine slaughterhouses and to gods slaughtering men (CT VI 132d, CT III 295h-296e, BD 1B, BD 17). A frequent theme is wishing to avoid those who beat with sticks (BD 75), or who cut off heads (BD 38), stab (BD 125), entrap, or mutilate. Frequently in the afterlife, gates present fearsome guardians with knives who await those who are unprepared. Ultimate violence, the second death, was an afterlife possibility all sought to avoid. Yet these texts simultaneously depict the need for violence, such as various gods, or even the dead, slaying multifarious enemies on behalf of themselves or others (BD 108). Violence filled the afterlife, but the potential for an individual to avoid this violence was also present (Zandee 1960; Kemboly 2000).

Our greatest barrier to understanding violence in ancient Egypt is the reticence, which sources express towards the recording of illicit acts of violence. This in and of itself indicates something of attitudes towards violence. In general, while we know violence existed, private actions were supposed to avoid violence. Undoubtedly, however, sanctioned violence, or violence deemed as appropriate, permeated most aspects of Egyptian society. This led to a higher level of regular violence than in many modern cultures. While sanctioned violence was seen as a regular and necessary part of life, and illicit violence obviously occurred, Egypt's stated cultural values of eschewing unsanctioned violence, or even anger, is a clearly held value that influenced society.

Bibliographic Notes

Because Egyptians typically eschewed actual violence as a central literary topic, the primary textual sources for violence are scattered throughout a variety of genres from all periods. Juridical texts, tomb inscriptions, wisdom literature, graffiti, literary tales, etc. all contribute to our understanding. Interestingly, violence is often mentioned almost incidentally. Some of the more detailed primary sources include the Edict of Horemheb (Kruchten 1981), which addresses several crimes and punishments; the Nauri Decree of Seti I (Edgerton 1947; Kitchen *KRI I*: 55-56), which outlines potential crimes and punishments associated with interfering with a temple and its estate; the Judicial Papyrus of Turin, which is the primary source for the trial of the harem conspirators in the reign of Ramesses III (Goedicke 1963); and Papyrus Rylands IX (Griffith 1909), which records a murder as well as the punishment of the perpetrators. Innumerable similar texts could be cited for their contributions to our understanding, but these give a representative sense. Among much later texts, Diodorus Siculus provides information on Egyptian violence, but is not the most reliable of ancient sources.

Much secondary literature concerns this topic. Regarding violent punishment for crimes, pioneering work was done by Lorton (1977), who outlines typical crimes and punishments. A more comprehensive treatment of this topic is Müller-Wollermann (2004), who treats in great depth a quite narrow data-set. Bazin (2004) treats the subject, though only superficially. McDowell (1990) investigates the topic as part of her study of law and jurisdiction in the community of Deir el-Medina, and Bontty (1997) examines how mediation could be used to avoid violence. Baud and Étienne (2000) and Menu (2001) both explore evidence for human sacrifice in the Early Dynastic Period. Beaux (1991) examined the use of pillories in punishment; Capart (1898) has a brief note on decapitation; and Leahy (1984, 1989) investigated burning. Fischer-Elfert (2005) examined people who were seen as aberrations to *maat*, and at times violence played a role in their treatment. Hall (1986) made a thorough examination of the smiting scene, while Schulman (1988) provided convincing evidence that some non-royal stelae indicate that people witnessed actual smitings in ritual contexts. A section of Gee's (1998: 257-274) dissertation discusses the need to avoid violence in order to maintain ritual purity, and also explores the paradoxical descriptions of violent pharaohs. Ritner (1993: 112-169) masterfully outlines the type of violence that was marked by a "magical" aspect. Boochs (1991) investigates religious aspects of punishment. Willems (1990) surveys a range of evidence for violence to support his argument that the First Intermediate Period nomarch Ankhtifi intended violence to be done to tomb desecrators. Hoch and Orel (1992) examine the evidence for murder in ancient Egypt. Muhlestein (2011) examines all forms of sanctioned killing, with other studies paying special attention to drowning (2005), ritual violence (2008a, fc.), binding (2007), and execution during the Middle Kingdom (2008b). Ritual violence is also treated by Griffiths (1948), Green (1973), Yoyotte (1980-1981), Beaux (1991), Baud and Étienne (2000), and Albert and Midant-Reynes (2005), as well as others. Zandee (1960) outlines the fear of violence in funerary literature, as does Kemboly (2000) in his unpublished Master's thesis and in his monograph developed out of his doctoral research (2010). A special issue of *Near Eastern Archaeology*, planned to appear in 2015, is dedicated to crime and violence in the Near East, with chapters slated to be done by Müller-Wollermann on evidence from Egyptian texts, and by Muhlestein on ritual evidence.

References

Ahituv, Shmuel
1991 Review of Schulman 1988. *Israel Exploration Journal* 41(4), pp. 301-305.

Albert, Jean-Pierre, and Béatrix Midant-Reynes (eds.)
2005 Le sacrifice humain en Égypte ancienne et ailleurs. Paris: Soleb.

Allen, James P.
1992 Re‘-Wer's accident. In *Studies in Pharaonic religion and society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, Occasional Publications 8, ed. Alan B. Lloyd. London: The Egypt Exploration Society.

Assmann, Jan
1970 Der König als Sonnenpriester. Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin.

Baines, John
1999 Prehistories of literature: Performance, fiction, myth. In *Definitely Egyptian literature: Proceedings of the symposium "Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms," Los Angeles, March 24-26, 1995*, Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 2, ed. Gerald Moers, pp. 17-41. Göttingen: Lingua Aegyptia.

Baud, Michel, and Marc Étienne
2000 Le vanneau et le couteau: Un rituel monarchique sacrificiel dans l'Ègype de la Ire dynastie. *Archèo-Nil* 10, pp. 55-77.

Bazin, Laure
2004 Enquête sur les lieux d'exécution dans l'Égypte ancienne. *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 35, pp. 31-40.

Beaux, Nathalie
1991 Ennemis étrangers et malfaiteurs Égyptiens. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 91, pp. 33-53.

Beckerath, Jürgen von
1968 Die "Stele der Verbannten" im Museum des Louvre. *Revue d'Egyptologie* 20, pp. 7-36.

Bedell, Ellen
1973 *Criminal law in the Egyptian Ramesside Period*. PhD dissertation, Department of Mediterranean Studies, Brandeis University.

Bontty, Mónica
1997 *Conflict management in ancient Egypt: Law as a social phenomenon*. PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Boochs, Wolfgang
1991 Religöse Strafen. In *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 39, ed. Ursula Verhoeven and Erhart Graefe, pp. 57-64. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters.

Brugsch, Heinrich
1878 *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh in der libyschen Wüste: Beschreibung ihrer Denkmäler und wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen über das Vorkommen der Oasen in den altägyptischen Inschriften auf Stein und Papyrus*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

Budge, E.A. Wallis
1924 *The Teaching of Amen-Em-Apt, son of Kanekht*. London: Martin Hopkinson and Company, Ltd.

Caminos, Ricardo
1954 *Late-Egyptian miscellanies*. London: Oxford University Press.
1958 *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
1977 *P. Pushkin: A tale of woe from a hieratic papyrus in the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow*. Oxford: Griffith Institute and Ashmolian Museum.

Capart, Jean
1898 Note sur la décapitation en Égypte. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 36, pp. 125-126.

Černý, Jaroslav
1929 Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055). *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15, pp. 243-258.
1939 *Late Ramesside letters*. Brussels: Édition de la Fondation égytologique reine Élisabeth.

Černý, Jaroslav, and Alan Gardiner
1957 *Hieratic ostraca*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Edel, Elmar
1984 *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der 57 Siut-Gräber in Mittelägypten aus der Herakleopolitenzeit: Eine Wiederherstellung nach den Zeichnungen der Description de l'Egypte*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Edgerton, William
1947 The Nauri Decree of Seti I: A translation and analysis of the legal portion. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6(4), pp. 219-230.

Eyre, Christopher
1984 Crime and adultery in ancient Egypt. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 70, pp. 92-105.
2002 *The Cannibal Hymn: A cultural and literary study*. Bolton: Liverpool University Press.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner
2005 *Abseits von Ma'at: Fallstudien zu Außenseitern im Alten Ägypten*. Würzberg: Ergon Verlag.

Galpaz-Feller, Pnina
2004 Private lives and public censure: Adultery in ancient Egypt and biblical Israel. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67(3), pp. 152-161.

Gardiner, Alan
1932 *Late Egyptian stories*. Brussels: Édition de la Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.
1935 *Hieratic papyri in the British Museum*. London: British Museum.

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

Glanville, Stephen
1939 *The Instructions of Onchsheshonqy*. London: British Museum Press.

Goedicke, Hans
1963 Was magic used in the harem conspiracy against Ramesses III? *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49, pp. 71-92, pls. 10 and 11.

Green, Alberto
1973 *The role of human sacrifice in the ancient Near East*. PhD dissertation, University of Michigan.

Griffith, Francis Llewellyn
1909 *Catalogue of the Demotic papyri in the John Rylands library, Manchester, with facsimiles and complete translations*. Manchester: University Press; London: B. Quaritch.

Griffiths, John
1948 Human sacrifices in Egypt: The classical evidence. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 48, pp. 409-423.

Hall, Emma
1986 *The pharaoh smites his enemies: A comparative study*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

Hassan, Selim
1975 *Excavations at Saqqara*. Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices.

Hoch, James, and Sara Orel
1992 Murder in ancient Egypt. In *Death and taxes in the ancient Near East*, ed. Sara Orel, pp. 87-128. Lewiston: E. Mellen Press.

Hornung, Erik
1982 *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen*. Freiburg: Universitätverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Janssen, Jac J.
1982 Two personalities. In *Gleanings from Deir el Medina*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 1, ed. Robert Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen, pp. 109-131. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Kemboly, Mpay
2000 *Violence and protection in early Egyptian funerary texts*. Masters thesis, Oxford University.
2010 *The question of evil in ancient Egypt*. London: Golden House.

Kitchen, Kenneth
1969- *Ramesside inscriptions: Historical and biographical (KRI)*. 8 volumes (1969-1990). Oxford: Blackwell.

Koch, Roland
1990 *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.

Kruchten, Jean
1981 *Le Décret d'Horemheb*. Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles.

Leahy, Anthony
1984 Death by fire in ancient Egypt. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27, pp. 199-206.
1989 A protective measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75, pp. 41-60.

Leitz, Christian (ed.)
2002 *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Vol. 3. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 112. Leuven: Peeters.

Loprieno, Antonio
2001 *La pensee et l'écriture: Pour une analyse sémiotique de la culture égyptienne*. Paris: Cybele.

Lorton, David
1977 The treatment of criminals in ancient Egypt. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* XX(I), pp. 2-64.

McDowell, Andrea
1990 *Jurisdiction in the workmen's community of Deir el-Medina*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten.

Meeks, Dimitri, and Christine Favard-Meeks
1993 *Daily life of the Egyptian gods*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Menu, Bernadette
2001 Mise á mort cérémonielle et prélèvements royaux sous la 1ère Dynastie (Nârmer-Den). *Archèo-Nil* 11, pp. 163-175.

Muhlestein, Kerry
2005 Death by water: The role of water in ancient Egypt's treatment of enemies and juridical process. In *L'acqua nell'antico Egitto: Vita, rigenerazione, incantesimo, medicamento*, ed. Alessia Amenta, Maria Luiselli, and Maria Novella Sordi, pp. 173-179. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
2007 Binding foreigners with heraldic plants. *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of Egyptologists*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 150, ed. Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin, pp. 1335-1342. Leuven: Peeters.
2008a Execration ritual. In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. Los Angeles: University of California.
(Internet resource: http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz000s3mqr)
2008b Royal executions: Evidence bearing on the subject of sanctioned killing in the Middle Kingdom. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51(2), pp. 181-208.
2011 *Violence in the service of order: The religious framework for sanctioned killing in ancient Egypt*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 2299. Oxford: Archaeopress.
fc. Sacred violence: When ancient Egyptian punishment was dressed in ritual trappings. *Near Eastern Archaeology* (2015).

Müller-Wollermann, Renate
2004 *Vergehen und Strafen: Zur Sanktionierung abweichenden Verhaltens im alten Ägypten*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Parkinson, Richard
1991 *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.

Peet, T. Eric
1930 *The great tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pflüger, Kurt
1946 The Edict of King Haremhab. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 5(4), pp. 260-276.

Posener, Georges
1976 *L'Enseignement loyaliste: Sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire*. Geneva: Librairie Droz.

Quack, Joachim
1992 *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Redford, Donald
1987 The Tod Inscriptions of Senwosret I and early 12th Dynasty involvement in Nubia and the South. *Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Journal* 17(1/2), pp. 36-55.

Redford, Susan
2002 *The harem conspiracy: The murder of Ramesses III*. Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press.

Ritner, Robert
1993 *The mechanics of ancient Egyptian magical practice*. Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Schäfer, Heinrich
1905- *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopenkönige (Urk. III)*. 2 volumes (1905-1908). Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums III. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

Schulman, Alan
1988 *Ceremonial execution and public rewards: Some historical scenes on New Kingdom private stelae*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 75. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Sethe, Kurt
1906- *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Urk. IV)*. 4 volumes (1906-1958). Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums IV. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
1933 *Urkunden des Alten Reiches (Urk. I)*. Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums I. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
1935 *Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches (Urk. VII)*. Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums VII. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

Smith, Harry S.
1976 *The fortress of Buhen: The inscriptions*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Smith, Harry S., and William Tait
1983 *Saqqâra Demotic papyri*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Spiegelberg, Wilhelm
1917 *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge: Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln, Kufi, nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384*. Strassburg: R. Schultz.

Traunecker, Claude
2008 Les deux enfants du temple de Teudjoï (à propos du P. Rylands IV). In *Hommages à Jean-Claude Goyon*, Bibliothèque d'étude 143, ed. Luc Gabolde, pp. 381-396. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Vandier, Jacques
1950 *Mo'alla: La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*. Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Willems, Harco
1990 Crime, cult and capital punishment (Mo'alla Inscription 8). *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76, pp. 27-54.

Yoyotte, Jean
1980- Héra d' Héliopolis et le sacrifice humain. *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, Ve section-sciences religieuses* 89 (1980-1981), pp. 31-102.

Zandee, Jan
1960 *Death as an enemy according to ancient Egyptian conceptions*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Žába, Zbyněk, Fritz Hintze, and Miroslav Verner
1974 *The rock inscriptions of Lower Nubia (Czechoslovak concession)*. Prague: Charles University

Image Credits

Figure 1. Horus spearing Apophis in the form of a hippopotamus. Edfu temple. Photograph by the author.

Figure 2. A depiction of pilloried punishment, from the 6th Dynasty Saqqara tomb of Mereruka. Line drawing by Daniel McClellan, courtesy of the Brigham Young University Ancient Near Eastern Studies Program.

Figure 3. Determinative depicting a decapitated prisoner. Drawing by Daniel McClellan, courtesy of the Brigham Young University Ancient Near Eastern Studies Program.

Figure 4. Line drawing of an ivory label of King Aha, depicting in the upper right corner what many consider to be a ritual slaying. Drawing by Daniel McClellan, courtesy of the Brigham Young University Ancient Near Eastern Studies Program.

Figure 5. Determinative depicting impaling. Drawing by Daniel McClellan, courtesy of the Brigham Young University Ancient Near Eastern Studies Program.

Figure 6. Smiting scene of Thutmose III, from the seventh pylon, temple of Amun-Ra, Karnak. Photograph by the author.

Figure 7. Violence in war, from Medinet Habu. Photograph by the author.

Figure 8. Detail of bound prisoners from the temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel. Photograph by the author.

Figure 9. Detail of bound prisoners from Medinet Habu. Photograph by the author.

Figure 10. Pile of dismembered hands, from a battle scene at Medinet Habu. Photograph by the author.

Figure 11. Relief from Karnak dating to the reign of Tutankhamen depicting a waterway procession with a caged prisoner hoisted for display. Drawing by Daniel McClellan, courtesy of the Brigham Young University Ancient Near Eastern Studies Program.