The Pharaonic Origins of Erotically-charged Nilotic Landscapes within the Corpus of *Aegyptica* Romana

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IT IS FAIR TO state that no other region in the ancient Graeco-Roman world has produced a corpus of two- and three-dimensional works of erotica on the scale and volume of such works recovered from Italy's Campania. As more and more of those examples were progressively discovered during the course of explorations of sites buried by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius,[1] a decision was reached in the early 19th century to house those works in a segregated, iron-gated suite of galleries [Rooms 62 and 65a-e], designated as the Gabinetto Segreto, on the second floor of the National Archaeological Museum in Naples.[2] On successive visits in both 2005 and 2007, we were obliged to obtain special, timed-tickets for entry.

Among the more arresting works on view there is a large, rectangular wall painting[3] from the Casa del Medico, Pompeii[4] which features a couple engaged in *coitus a tergo* to the accompaniment of a flautist in the presence of a host of revelers seated around a semi-circular table in a riverine landscape, evocative of the Nile River, in which two individuals interact with a hippopotamus while a third sails in a vessel [fig. 1]. The male inhabitants of this landscape are short-limbed individuals, traditionally identified as pygmies, following that identification first mooted by Turnbull in 1740.[5] Such short-limbed individuals are a staple of two-dimensional Roman Nilotic representations, conveniently inventoried by Versluys.[6] Many are often macrophallic, as seen in a vignette from the Casa dello Scultore[7] [fig. 2]. Strocka has

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[1] P.W. FOSS, *Pliny and the eruption of Vesuvius*, Abingdon, 2022; and M. OSANNA, C. COMEGNA, "New evidence for the date of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius," in A. Lichtenberger, R. Raja (eds.), *The archaeology of seasonality*, Turnhout, 2021, p. 393-402.

[2] S. DE CARO, *The Secret Cabinet in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples: Quick Guide*, Naples, 2000, p. 6-7 and 12.

[3] Naples, National Archaeological Museum 113196: M. SWETNAM-BURLAND, "Encountering Ovid's Phaedra in House V.2,10-11, Pompeii," *AJA* 119, 2015, p. 217-132.

[4] Pompeii VIII. 5. 24: Casa del Medico, west wall of the peristyle [0.56 x 2.17 meters]: N. BELLUCCI, *I Reperti E I Motivi Egizi Ed Egittizzanti a Pompei Indagine Preliminare per Una Loro Contestualizzazione*, Oxford, 2021, p. 146-147.

[5] G. TURNBULL, *A treatise on ancient painting, containing observations on the rise, progress, and decline of that art amongst the Greeks and Romans*, London (Printed for the author, and sold by A. Millar, at Buchanan's Head, over-against St. Clement's Church, in the Strand, 1740), pl. 41, for which see V.M. STROCKA, *Pygmäen in Ägypten?: Die Widerlegung Eines Alten Irrtums: Bevölkerte Nillandschaften in Der Antiken Kunst*, Darmstadt, 2021, p. 6 and 152, n. 3.

[6] M.J. VERSLUYS, *Aegyptiaca romana: Nilotic scenes and the Roman views of Egypt*, Leiden, Boston, 2002, p. 43-236, "Corpus Figurarum Niloticarum."

[7] Pompeii, Regio VIII 7, 24: E. La Rocca, M. DE VOS, A. De Vos, *Guida Archeologica Di Pompei*, Milan, 1976, p. 167; and Versluys (2002), no. 060, p. 140-142.

convincingly documented the diachronic evolution of that subject, but he challenges the identification of those individuals as pygmies. He prefers to label them as grylloi.[8] His argument is based upon his interpretation of that noun in the Classical literary testimonia.[9] Although that identification may be open to question, Strocka nevertheless argues that such short-limbed, often macrophallic, individuals are an Alexandrian, Hellenistic innovation. We wish to consider the pharaonic background from which those images emerged because Strocka does not investigate their antecedents.

Pharaonic Egyptian ateliers were creating statuettes of short-limbed, macrophallic individuals either as single figures or as symplegmata earlier. Although many of those statuettes lack documentation and none of the nine on view in the Gabinetto Segreto in Naples can be associated with any site in Campania,[10] those with documented archaeological provenances from Sais [Sa el-Hagar],[11] Saqqara,[12] and Naucratis[13] seem to date to the Late Period in general [fig. 3]. Those from Tell el-Herr and Buto [Tell el-Fara-in] are suggested to date to the Persian Period of Dynasty XXVII.[14] An unfinished, limestone example from Tell Nabasha, associated with terracotta female plaques, is suggested to have been used in religious festivities conducted within the precinct of Wadjet as described in the Stela of Gemenefhorak, dated to Dynasty XXXIII.[15] The participants were concerned with issues of infertility.[16] It is possible that individuals not conversant with the religious context of such practices may have erroneously associated them with a form of secular promiscuity. Most of the examples in this corpus of pharaonic, erotic statuettes were primarily created in limestone, faience, and clay, but examples in organic material, such as bone [fig. 4] are attested. Many of these are dated to Dynasty XXXIII.[17] The pharaonic, Egyptian origin of short-limbed, macrophallic individuals is assured. Does it follow, therefore, that the depictions of coitus as a spectator sport in Pompeian paintings such as that from the west wall of the peristyle of the Casa del Medico are likewise indebted to pharaonic, Egyptian cultural norms?

Two-dimensional representations of intercourse seemingly performed in the presence of an audience are attested as least as early Dynasty XI in pharaonic Egypt. A painted vignette on the sarcophagus of Hunwy from Gebelein in Berlin[18] depicts a sexually engaged couple on a bed attended by two female figures [fig. 5]. To the causal observer such a scene might suggest that the women are spectators. Nevertheless within the context of pharaonic religious decorum, the

[8] STROCKA (2021), for which see R.S. BIANCHI, "Review of V. M. Strocka, *Pygmäen in Ägypten? Die Widerlegung eines alten Irrtums. Bevölkerte Nillandschaften in der antiken Kunst,* Darmstadt, 2021," *JARCE* 59, 2023, p. 336-341.
[9] STROCKA (2021), p. 25-28 and 34-35.
[10] C. COZZOLINO, "Some Egyptian erotic statuettes in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples," in R. Pirelli, (ed.), *Egyptological essays on state and society*, Naples, 2002, p. 63-78.
[11] A.-H. MASOUD, "Symposium and ithyphallic figures from Saïs, Egypt," *GM* 242, 2014, p. 25-56.
[12] Ph. DERCHAIN, "Observations sur les erotica," in G.T. Martin, *The sacred animal necropolis at North Saqqâra: the southern dependencies of the main temple complex*, London, 1981, p. 166-170.
[13] R.I. THOMAS, "Terracotta and stone figurines from Naukratis," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 24, 2019, p. 176-203.
[14] P. BALLET, "Remarques autour des phallus de Tell el-Herr," *NeHeT* 7, 2023, p. 3-17.
[15] V. RAZANAJAO, "La stèle de Gemenefhorbak (Caire JE 85932): dieux, fêtes et rites osiriens à Imet," *BIFAO* 106, 2006, p. 219-244.
[16] Tell Nabasha NAB15/005/119/S : N. NIELSEN, C. BEGGINGTON, "An assemblage of ceramic figurines from the site of Tell Nabasha," *JEA* 110, 2024, p. 194-195.
[17] R.S. BIANCHI, *Cleopatra's Egypt: age of the Ptolemies.* New York, 1988, p. 241-242.
[18] Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 13772: G. STEINDORFF, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II. *Der Sarg des Sebk-o: ein Grabfund aus Gebelên*, Berlin, 1901, p. 11-19.

two women, admittedly without either identifying attributes or captions, can still be convincingly identified as Isis and Nephthys.[19] Their presence can be considered in relationship to the vignette in the second register, left, of the stela of Sokebaa[20] from Thebes dating to the same period [fig. 6]. This vignette depicts a couple in the missionary position on a bed, the foot of which is occupied by a musician playing a harp. One attendant approaches the couple with a food offering, ostensibly prepared by his companion. Desroches-Noblecourt is clearly in error when she describes the couple as *un homme... couché sur un lit, et serrant dans ses bras un enfant.*[21] The great disparity in height between the two figures cannot be used as evidence for their respective ages because the design of the relative artistic scale of figures in a pharaonic Egyptian two-dimensional compositions is not normally dependent on naturalistic imperatives. It is a compositional device relating height to importance in a social hierarchy.[22] Furthermore, her interpretation passes over in silence the presence of the harpist seated at the foot of the bed. That presence is critical for an understanding of this vignette. Pharaonic scenes with partners on a bed[23] in the presence of a harp are erotically charged because the harp serves as the vignette's hieroglyphic caption representing the verb *bn / bnbn*, "to copulate,"[24] as seen in this vignette from the Mastaba of Mereruka [fig. 7]. The suggestion that this detail is probably a "re-enactment of the myth in which Isis sexually arouses the body of Osiris"[25] has merit. It is consistent with one's understanding of the "cryptographic" hieroglyph, serving as a determinative of a sexually engaged couple on the eastern side of the eastern pilaster in Tomb 17 [Khety] at Beni Hasan.[26]

The funerary context of these examples demands a religious, rather than a secular, understanding. Such representations are the antecedents for the later, more monumental depictions of this Osirian episode. The earliest known are from Dynasty XIX in the relief representations of the quickening of Osiris by Isis in the Ptah-Sokar and Nefertum chapels in the depths of the southwestern reaches of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos.[27] A similar suite of compositions was created much later at Dendera.[28] These compositions, like those of the Middle Kingdom, are populated as well by what appear to be spectators. Interpreting such compositions as analogues to that of the Casa del Medico erroneously imposes a Eurocentric understanding on the tenets of such pharaonic, Egyptian creations. Such compositions

[19] Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, "Concubines du mort et mères de famille au Moyen Empire: à propos d'une supplique pour une naissance," *BIFAO* 53, 1954, p. 7-47.
[20] London, The British Museum EA 1372: O. GOLDWASSER, *Prophets, lovers and giraffes: wor(l)d classification in ancient Egypt*, Wiesbaden, 2002, p. 101; and E. FROOD, "Social structure and daily life: pharaonic," in A.B. Lloyd, (ed.), *A companion to ancient Egypt* 1, Chichester, 2010, p. 486.
[21] DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT (1954), p. 23.
[22] W. DAVIS, "Scale and pictoriality in ancient Egyptian painting and sculpture," *Art History* 38, 2015, p. 268-285; and *infra*, Note 147.
[23] R. MERZEBAN, "À propos de quelques analogies iconographiques dans les tombes privées," *BIFAO* 114, 2014, p. 362, fig. 8 (Saqqara, Tomb of Mereruka, Chamber A 10 and figure 9, Meir, D, no. 1, Tomb of Pepy, south wall).
[24] E.F. MORRIS, "Paddle dolls and performance," *JARCE* 47, 2011, p. 97.
[25] G. PINCH, *Magic in ancient Egypt*, London, 1994, p. 152.
[26] P.E. NEWBERRY, F.Ll. Griffith, *Beni Hasan* II, London, 1893, p. 59 with pl. 14.
[27] L.D. GRAHAM, "From Isis-kite to Nekhbet-vulture and Horus-falcon: changes in the identification of the bird above Osiris's phallus in temple 'conception of Horus' scenes," *Birmingham Egyptology Journal* 8, 2020-2021, p. 1-32; and R. SHALOMI-HEN, "The two kites and the Osirian revolution," in P. Piacentini, A. Delli Castelli (eds.), *Old Kingdom art and archaeology 7: proceedings of the international conference; Università degli studi di Milano 3-7 July 2017*, Milan, 2019, p. 372-277.
[28] GRAHAM (2020-2021).

invariably rely upon combing into one representation a series of selective episodes[29] which create a dynamic between the specific use of space into which simultaneous references to different temporalities are harmoniously integrated.[30] A classic example is the composition on the south east wall of the Ptah-Sokar chamber in the temple of Sety I at Abydos where the fully-grown Horus witnesses his own conception[31] [fig. 8]. The same imperatives obtain for similarly populated scenes of intercourse on figural ostraca of New Kingdom date.[32] These pharaonic compositions are very different indeed from the voyeurism inherent in Roman Imperial scenes of sexual activity witnessed by spectators,[33] as represented in a scene from the Casa dell'Efebo[34] [fig. 9].

The compositions in that suite of rooms at Abydos stand apart from other monumental, royal erotic scenes of divine births of New Kingdom date. In those compositions gods and their mortal female partners in the company of others[35] limit physical contact to hands and feet, as seen in the depictions of the divine birth of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari[36] and that of Amenhotep III in Luxor[37] [fig. 10]. In like manner the dalliance between Rameses III and the nubile members of his harem,[38] represented in the decoration of the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, is limited to chin chucks and elbows resting in the palms of a partner's hands.[39] None of these visual allusions to intercourse are sited in Nilotic environments.

Contemporary with those scenes of divine birth are a series of vignettes of fishing and fowling in elite Theban tombs of Dynasty XVIII. Whereas the traditional approach is to regard such compositions as genre scenes of recreation,[40] others interpret such compositions as allusions to resurrection couched in erotically charged, coded symbolism.[41] It is interesting to note that the motifs encountered on numerous, contemporary cosmetic spoons are virtually the same and are

[29] G.A. GABALLA, *Narrative in Egyptian art,* Mainz, 1976, p. 1-6; and J.M. BABCOCK, *Ancient Egyptian animal fables: tree climbing hippos and ennobled mice*, Leiden, Boston, 2022, p. 26-28 and 58-59.
[30] M. PEHAL, "Culturally reflexive aspects of time and space in New Kingdom mythological narratives," in G. Chantrain, J. Winand (eds.), *Time and space at issue in ancient Egypt*, Hamburg, 2018, p. 151-182.
[31] GRAHAM (2020-2021), p. 9, figure 2.
[32] L. Manniche, *Sexual life in ancient Egypt*, London, New York, 1987, p. 19-21.
[33] A. VARONE, *Eroticism in Pompeii*, Rome, 2000, p. 745-80.
[34] Pompeii, Regio I 7, 11: E. LA ROCCA *et al.* (1976), p. 221-215.
[35] W.J. Murnane, "Le mystère de la naissance divine du roi," *Dossiers: histoire et archéologie* 101,1986, p. 54-57; and U. MATIC, "The sap of life: materiality and sex in the divine birth legend of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III," in E. Maynart, C. Velloza, R. Lemos (eds.), *Perspectives on materiality in ancient Egypt: agency, cultural reproduction and change*, Oxford, 2018, p. 35-54.
[36] A. COYETTE, "La naissance merveilleuse d'Hatshepsout dans les reliefs de Deir el-Bahari," in Chr. Cannuyer, C. Vialle (eds.), *Les naissances merveilleuses en Orient: Jacques Vermeylen (1942-2014) in memoriam*, Brussels, 2015, p. 87-112; and S. KUBISCH, "Oracles as an instrument for political decisions and royal legitimation: a case study of ancient Egypt," in *id.* and H. Klinkott (eds.), *Power of the priests: political use of religious knowledge. Proceedings of the conference held at the Christian-Albrechts University Kiel November 29 until December 1, 2018*, Berlin, Boston, 2024, p. 35-51.
[37] W. WAITKUS, *Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels*, Gladbeck, 2008, p. 61-81.
[38] THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Medinet Habu* VIII. *The eastern high gate, with translations of texts*, Chicago, 1970, pls. 639, 646, 651, and 654.
[39] A. EISSA, "Eine metaphorische Geste der sexuellen Vereinigung," *GM* 184, 2001, p. 7-13.
[40] M. STEAD, *Egyptian life,* London, 1986, p. 56-58; E. FEUCHT, "Fishing and fowling with the spear and the throw-stick reconsidered," in U. Luft (ed.), *The intellectual heritage of Egypt: studies presented to László Kákosy by friends and colleagues on the occasion of his 60th birthday*, Budapest, 1992, p. 157-169; and R.B. PARKINSON, *Poetry and culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: a dark side to perfection,* London, New York, 2002, p. 226-232.
[41] W. WESTENDORF, *Das Alte Ägypten,* Baden-Baden, 1968 p. 123, furthered by Ph. DERCHAIN, "La perruque et le cristal," *SAK* 2, 1975, p. 64-65; and *id.*, "Le lotus, la mandragore et le perséa," *CdE* 50, 1975, p. 65-86.

likewise pressed into service to convey similar, coded erotic meanings.[42] The vocabulary of the love sonnets of the New Kingdom[43] rely upon the same bucolic, marshy settings and concomitant imagery.[44] Those literary compositions likewise resonate with the sexually charged symbolism of the fishing and fowling landscapes and cosmetic objects.[45] Nevertheless, the academic consensus tends to foreground the religious associations of the shared coded erotic connotations of the visual imagery of both the vignettes and cosmetic spoons, despite the fact that those images are derived from lived human experience, manifest in the lyrics of the love sonnets, upon which the religious meanings are based. It is, therefore, of interest to note that the divine, royal births in temples, the vignettes of fishing and fowling in elite tombs, the motifs on the cosmetic spoons, and the verses in the love sonnets all share two significant characteristics, namely, (1) a dependance upon the use of the same "coded" motifs and vocabulary in order to convey their erotic content[46] and (2) an avoidance of depictions of and verbal allusions to both genitalia and coitus. It would appear, therefore, that one cannot forge a link between those pharaonic cultural phenomena and the Nilotic erotica of *Aegyptiaca* Romana.

Although scenes of activity in the marshes seem to disappear from the decoration of elite Theban tombs dated to Dynasties XIX-XX, marsh scenes continue to be reproduced on plate, vessels in gold and silver, particularly those from the Tell Basta treasure, inscribed with the cartouches of pharaohs of Dynasty XIX[47] [figs. 11a-b]. These vessels were used in wine service. They are, therefore, appropriately inscribed with the names of oenophilic goddess such as Bastet and Hathor. The connection between those goddesses, wine, and sexual activity is a well-known trope of pharaonic, Egyptian culture.[48] The fact that such scenes were appropriated and reproduced on metal vessels, traditionally termed Phoenician bowls,[49] by foreign ateliers[50] may be an indication that their religious, funereal connotations were now relegated because aspects of their secular eroticism were being privileged. It has been cogently argued that the

[42] J. BULTE, "Ambivalence et valorisation de l'animal du désert: illustrations sur quelques cuillers d'offrande," in Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, I. GUERMEUR (eds.), *"Parcourir l'éternité": hommages à Jean Yoyotte* I, Turnhout, 2012, p. 197-218; and D. O'CONNOR, "'Objets de toilette' and the Egyptian world order," in J. Kamrin, M. Bárta, S. Ikram, M. Lehner, M. Megahed (eds), *Guardian of ancient Egypt: studies in honor of Zahi Hawass* II, Prague, 2020, p. 1105-1132.

[43] B. MATHIEU, *La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne: recherches sur un genre littéraire au Nouvel Empire*, Cairo, 1996.

[44] G. PINCH, *Votive offerings to Hathor*, Oxford, 1993, p. 312-315, for the similar way Nilotic imagery is pressed into service to convey similar concepts in the contemporary faience marsh bowls / Nunschale.

[45] J.C. DARNELL, "The rituals of love in ancient Egypt: festival songs of the eighteenth dynasty and the Ramesside love poetry," *Die Welt des Orients* 46, 2016, p. 22-26.

[46] R. SCHUMANN ANTELME, S. ROSSINI, *Sacred sexuality in ancient Egypt: the erotic secrets of the forbidden papyrus. A look at the unique role of Hathor*, Rochester, VT, 2001.

[47] C. LILYQUIST, "Treasures from Tell Basta: goddesses, officials, and artists in an international age," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 47, 2012, p. 9-72.

[48] A. VON LIEVEN, "Wein, Weib und Gesang: Rituale für die Gefährliche Göttin," in C. Metzner-Nebelsick (ed.), *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart: Studien zur Vorderasiatischen, Prähistorischen und Klassischen Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Alten Geschichte, Theologie und Religionswissenschaft; Interdisziplinäre Tagung vom 1. - 2. Februar 2002 an der Freien Universität Berlin*, Rahden-Westfalen, 2002, p. 47-55.

[49] G. MARKOE, *Phoenician bronze and silver bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*, Berkeley, 1985; but see M.H. Feldman, "Connectivity, style, and decorated metal bowls in the Iron Age Mediterranean," in J.M. Hall, J.F. Osborne (eds.), *The connected Iron Age: interregional networks in the eastern Mediterranean, 900-600 BCE*, Chicago, London: 2022, p. 73-97.

[50] G. PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, "Les questions d'identité culturelle que soulèvent certaines faïences de la première moitié du I[er] millénaire," in L. Bonadies, I. Chirpanlieva, É.Guillon (eds.), *Les Phéniciens, les Puniques et les autres: échanges et identités en Méditerranée ancienne*, Paris, 2019, p. 51-71.

commissioners of the "Phoenician bowls" were thoroughly versed in the symbolic content of their pharaonic models and adapted that content to their own cultural norms.[51]

During the course of the Third Intermediate Period, Nilotic landscapes continued to be created by pharaonic ateliers on faience vessels.[52] The Carnarvon Chalice[53] [fig. 12] and a fragment in Cairo are representative.[54] These were widely circulated. The faience situla from Tarquinia[55] and its duplicate in Palermo,[56] which may have been found in Mozia, are cases in point. Their purchasers apparently appreciated their secular, deluxe associations. Marsh scenes also continue to appear on cosmetic spoons of the period[57] but in simplified compositions because their setting is suggested only by the incorporation of isolated representations of Nilotic flora into their designs.[58] Adolescent swimming girls retain their popularity as a subject and were circulated abroad.[59] Whether such pharaonically-manufactured objects were commercially exchange by the same actors involved with the commerce of the Phoenician bowls remains an open question.

Nilotic scenes continued to be popular during Dynasty XXV. One of five worked blocks discovered within the Precinct of the Goddess Mut at Southern Karnak, dated to the time of Piankhy, has been interpreted as a depiction of an episode of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley[60] [fig. 13]. It is interesting to note the depiction of a water fowl in flight in the extreme upper lefthand corner of the block.[61] Its presence suggests that the composition of the divine barque of Amon on the Nile was replete with representations of the river's flora and fauna. Furthermore, the record of that ritual here would seem to suggest that the Precinct of Mut continued to serve as the venue for such religious practices which were being held there at least as early as the Thuthmoside era.[62]

One asks whether the disappearance of marsh scenes from their religious context in tombs and their concomitant emergence in these secular contexts was triggered by the period's transformation of funerary practices which abandoned the construction of tombs with decorated walls.[63] That abandonment may be linked to the period's changed attitude toward sex in

[51] G. HÖLBL, "Ägyptische Kunstelamente im phönikischen Kulturkreis des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.: zur Methodik ihrer Verwendung," *Orientalia* 58, 1989, p. 318-325.
[52] T.A.D. TAIT, "The Egyptian relief chalice," *JEA* 49, 1963, p. 93-139.
[53] New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.971: R.S. BIANCHI, in F.D. Friedman, G. Borromeo, M. Leveque (eds.), *Gifts of the Nile: ancient Egyptian faience*, London, New York, 1998, p. 225, no. 97.
[54] Cairo, The Egyptian Museum CG 3774: Fr.W. VON BISSING, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Fayencegefäße: Nos 3618-4000, 18001-18037, 18600, 18603,* Vienna, 1902, p. 53-54.
[55] Tarquinia, National Archaeological Museum RC 2010: B. CASOCAVALLO, in J. Aruz, S.B. Graff, Y. Rakic (eds.) *Assyria to Iberia: At the Dawn of the Classical Age*, New York, 2014, p. 318-319, no. 187.
[56] G. HÖLBL, "Die Aegyptiaca des griechischen, italischen und westphönikischen Raumes aus der Zeit des Pharao Bocchoris (718/17-712 v. Chr.)," *Grazer Beiträge* 10, 1981, p. 9.
[57] J. BULTÉ, "'Cuillers d'offrandes' en faïence et en pierre messagères de bien-être et de prospérité," *RdE* 59, 2008, p. 1-32.
[58] Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 67954: M. YOYOTTE, "The harem in ancient Egypt," in Chr. Ziegler (ed.), *Queens of Egypt: from Hetepheres to Cleopatra*, Monaco, Paris, 2008, p. 338, no. 175.
[59] H. CEVIZOĞLU, "Bemerkungen zu einem Elfenbeingriff in Form eines schwimmenden Mädchens aus Klazomenai," *AA* 2014/2, p. 1-18.
[60] G. FOUCART, "Études thébaines: la belle fête de la vallée  ," *BIFAO* 24, 1924, p. 1-209.
[61] FOUCART (1924), p. 118-121.
[62] *Infra,* no. 114.
[63] A. NIWIŃSKI, "The 21st dynasty religious iconography project: exemplified by the scene with three deities standing on a serpent," in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985* III. *Linguistik, Philologie, Religion*, Hamburg, 1989, p. 305-314.

general, for which one can adduce two examples. The Third Intermediate Period witnessed the innovative design for shabtis, some of which were now gender-specific depicting breasts for the very first time on some funerary figures representing women.[64]

The second example may be linked to the period's privileging of incumbents of the office of Divine Wife of Amun. During this period, the nature and function of that office was transformed so that its clerical obligations were supplanted by a secular, political mandate.[65] Ritual purity was demanded, but within clearly defined parameters which did not demand celibacy and certainly did not prohibit sexual activity.[66] Within this context one can consider two worked blocks from Medamud. The better known of the two,[67] now generally considered to be associated with Shepenwepet II,[68] herself a divine wife and daughter of Piye [Piankhy], a Kushite pharaoh of D-XXV, depicts a marsh scene populated by both individuals and animals [fig. 14] recalling the fables represented on earlier figural ostraca with erotic content.[69] A second worked block,[70] principally depicting quadrupeds engaged in human activity and a partially preserved tail of a crocodile to the far right, is suggested to have belonged to the same building. This example is accompanied by a lengthier, although fragmentary, inscription of eleven columns of hieroglyphs in the form of a dialogue between the animals depicted,[71] correspondingly oriented with the speakers [fig. 15]. The inscription[72] is generally understood within the erotic framework of the Myth of the Far-Off Goddess, although one has suggested its contents are homoerotic connected to the Kushite pharaoh Shabaka.[73] Two points need to be stressed. The first is that this worked block appears to be the only animal fable known to date accompanied by such an inscription. Secondly, if the proposed emendation of the hieroglyphs at the beginning of Column 8[74] as *[sm]ȝ.ty*, testicles, can be maintained, one might argue, despite its lacunose nature, that the inscription does contain erotic content. That argument would support the observation that some animal fables were clearly possessed of an erotic content. Acceptance of that conclusion might then help explain why the famous illustrated

[64] R. GLANZMANN, "The shabti of the lady of the house Iahhetep and the emergence of female shabtis in the new kingdom," *ZÄS* 149, 2022, p. 210.
[65] C. SEVILLA CUEVA, "El principio femenino de la realeza egipcia: las divinas adoratrices de Amón," *Isimu: Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la antigüedad* 1, 1999 p. 255-263.
[66] E. TEETER, "Celibacy and adoption among the God's Wives of Amun: a revaluation of the evidence," in *id.*, J.A. Larson (eds.), *Gold of praise: studies on ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente*, Chicago, 1999, p. 405-414.
[67] Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 58924: F. BISSON DE LA ROQUE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1930),* Cairo, 1931, p. 73.
[68] J.-P. Corteggiani (ed.), *Centenaire de l'institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale: Musée du Caire, 8 janvier - 8 février 1981*, Cairo, 1981, p. 94-96; and K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Ägyptische Geschichte der 21.-30. Dynastie: ein Handbuch*, Münster, 2024, p. 568-569.
[69] N.S. BRAUN, *Bilder erzählen: visuelle Narrativität im alten Ägypten*, Heidelberg, 2020, p. 169-172 and 202-204; and J.M. BABCOCK, *Ancient Egyptian animal fables: tree climbing hippos and ennobled mice*, Leiden, Boston, 2022, p. 71 and 73; and A. VON LIEVEN, "Fragments of a monumental Proto-Myth of the Sun's Eye," in G. Widmer, D. Devauchelle (eds.), *Actes du IXe Congrès International des Études Démotiques: Paris, 31 août - 3 septembre 2005*, Cairo, 2009, p. 173-181.
[70] Medamud 5282: BISSON DE LA ROQUE (1931), p. 74.
[71] P. COLLOMBERT, "Des animaux qui parlent néo-égytien (relief Caire JE 58925)," in Chr. Gallois, P. Grandet, L. Pantalacci (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à François Neveu: par ses amis, élèves et collègues à l'occasion de son soixante-quinzième anniversaire*, Cairo, 2008, p. 63-72.
[72] COLLOMBERT (2008), p. 65-67; followed by LIEVEN (2002), p. 52-53; and accepted by BRAUN (2020), p. 173-174.
[73] J. VAN DIJK, "The nocturnal wanderings of King Neferkarē'," in C. Berger, G. Clerc, N. Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, Cairo, 1994, p. 387-393.
[74] BRAUN (2020), p. 173, fig. 66.

papyrus in Turin exhibits erotic vignettes on one side and animal fables on the other.[75] Moreover, both worked blocks from Medamud provide further evidence that marsh imagery was being progressively employed to convey erotic content that transcended Osirian funerary exclusivity.

The worked block from Medamud just discussed can be used to introduce the reception of Egyptian cultural norms into the Greek world. That intercourse burgeons during Dynasty XXV/XXVI, particularly on the island of Samos. This is the era in which the Egyptian technology of hollow-casting bronze via the lost wax method was adopted by Greek metalsmiths, presumably on the island of Samos, where most of the pharaonic bronzes excavated in the precinct of the goddess Hera appear to date to the Kushite Period.[76] At about roughly the same time, Greek sculptors adopted the use of the claw chisel,[77] employed by pharaonic stone masons in the tombs of Dynasty XXV/XXVI in the Asasif, which enabled them to sculpt marble, particularly colossal kouroi, such as the Samian example inscribed in Greek as a dedication of Isches, son of Rhesis, Ἰσχῆς ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Ῥήσιος.[78] Such Greek kouroi are ostensibly modeled upon pharaonic antecedents of the traditional striding male figure[79] which had formerly been sculpted in Greece in softer limestone.[80]

Such cultural interaction may also have impacted on the Greek reception of pharaonic literature, again linked to the island of Samos. Plutarch states that Aesop was a guest at the court of Croesus where he met the Athenian Solon, which places the floruit of Aesop into the early 6th century BC.[81] Herodotus[82] and Aristotle[83] associate him with the island of Samos.[84] A least one tradition maintains that the goddess Isis cured the dumbness of Aesop by granting him the power of eloquence.[85] Several commentators suggest that the Myth of the Far-Off Goddess,

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[75] J.A. OMLIN, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften*, Turin, 1973.

[76] R.S. Bianchi, "Egyptian metal statuary of the Third Intermediate Period (circa 1070-656 B.C.) from its Egyptian antecedents to its Samian examples," in The J. Paul Getty Museum, *Small bronze sculpture from the ancient world. Papers delivered at a symposium organized by the department of antiquities and antiquities conservation and held at the J. Paul Getty Museum, March 16-19, 1989*, Malibu, 1990, p. 61-84; and H. KYRIELEIS, "Samos and some aspects of archaic Greek bronzen casting," in The J. Paul Getty Museum, *Small bronze sculpture from the ancient world. Papers delivered at a symposium organized by the department of antiquities and antiquities conservation and held at the J. Paul Getty Museum, March 16-19, 1989*, Malibu, 1990, p. 15-30.

[77] R.S. BIANCHI, O. PALAGIA, "Who invented the claw chisel?," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 13, 1994, p. 185-197.

[78] H. KYRIELEIS, H.J. KIENAST, G. NEUMANN, *Der Grosse Kuros von Samos*. Bonn, 1996.

[79] R.S. BIANCHI, "Der archaischer griechischer Kouros und der ägyptische kanonische Bildnistypus der schreitenden männlichen Figur (Kat. 13-15)," in H. Beck, P.C. Bol, M. Bückling (eds.), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom: Abwehr und Berührung*, Frankfurt am Main, 2005, p. 65-73 and 461-464.

[80] K.A. SHEEDY, S. PIKE, "The colossal archaic Naxian statues in the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos," *AJA* 129, 2025 p. 25-58.

[81] PLUTARCH, *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* 4.1 (https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/Dinner_of_the_Seven*.html [2025 February 4]).

[82] HERODOTUS, *The Histories* II.134-135 (https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/Dinner_of_the_Seven*.html [2025 February 4]).

[83] ARISTOTLE, *Rhetoric* 2.20.6 (https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0060:book=2:chapter=20 [2025 February 4]).

[84] A. CARTY, *Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos: New light on Archaic Greece*, Stuttgart, 2014, for Egyptian-Greek interfaces during Dynasty XXVI.

[85] T. HAGG, L.B. MORTENSEN, T. EIDE, *Parthenope: Selected studies in ancient Greek fiction (1969-2004)*, Copenhagen, 2004, p. 43.

referenced in the block from Medamud, lies behind certain fables attributed to Aesop.[86] The use of dialogue to accompany the animal fable on the block from Medamud resonates with the same literary conceit characterizing the fables of Aesop. The themes treated in the pharaonic love sonnets are also suggested to have influenced the oeuvre of the Archaic Greek poet Ibycus.[87]

Greek colonists, some of whose families are suggested to have been resident in Egypt for at least two generations,[88] from several city states were established at Naucratis during this period.[89] Those Greek colonists must certainly have been aware of the presence of small erotic statuettes of short-limbed macrophallic males created singly or as symplegma. Such statuettes now enter the repertoire of Egyptian sculptural types for the very first time.[90] Terracotta examples, characterized as exhibiting Greek features, enter the repertoire later during the course of the fifth century BC, assuring the primacy of Egyptian craftsmen for the innovative introduction of the typology.[91] Marsh scenes are frequent subjects of so-called Neo-memphite reliefs[92], worked blocks ostensibly from elite tombs.[93] This example in Boston is representative[94] [fig. 16]. The corpus is united by their stylistic homogeneity which they share in common with similar subjects on ceramic vessels,[95] ivory plaques,[96] one example having been found on Rhodes,[97] a papyrus vignette,[98] and a fragmentary, ivory lid of a box.[99]

[86] S. AUFRÈRE, "Un prolongement méditerranéen du mythe de la Lointaine à l'époque tardive," in N. Grimal, B. Menu (eds.), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*, Cairo, 1998, p. 23, already mooted by W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge (der Papyrus der Tierfabeln – "Kufi"): nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384,* Strassburg, 1917, p. 44, and R. JASNOW, "'From Alexandria to Rakotis': progress, prospects and problems in the study of Greco-Egyptian literary interaction," in P. Kousoulis, N. Lazaridis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists: University of the Aegean, Rhodes. 22-29 May 2008* 2, Leuven, 2015, p. 1378.

[87] A. Sofia, "Ibyc. PMGF 287 and ancient Egyptian love songs," in G. Rosati, M.C. Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, Florence Egyptian Museum, Florence, 23-30 August 2015*, Oxford, 2017, p. 597-602.

[88] CARTY (2014), p. 152-153.

[89] M.S. VENIT, *Greek Painted Pottery from Naukratis in Egyptian Museums*, Winona Lake, Ind., 1988.

[90] R.I. THOMAS, "Egyptian and Cypriot stone statuettes in context at late period Naukratis," in A. Masson-Berghoff (ed.), *Statues in context: production, meaning and (re)uses*, Leuven, 2019, p. 161-163; and *id.*, *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 24, 2019, p. 183-187.

[91] THOMAS (2019), p. 186.

[92] G. MASPERO, *Le Musée Égyptien: recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte* II, Cairo, 1904, p. 54-63.

[93] A. SCHARFF, "Bemerkungen zur Kunst der 30. Dynastie," in *Miscellanea Gregoriana: raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I centenario dalla fondazione del Pont. Museo Egizio (1839-1939),* Vatican City, 1941, p. 195-203, for a summary of the earlier literature.

[94] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 40.619: W.S. SMITH, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston, p. 180-181.

[95] Moscow, Pushkin Museum I, 1a 5144 and 5145: A. MASSON, "Jarres au décor polychrome du Musée Pouchkine: manifestations originales de la tendance archaïsante des 25e-26e dynasties ?," in D. Aston, B. Bader, C. Gallorini, P. Nicholson, S. Buckingham (eds.), *Under the potters tree: studies on ancient Egypt presented to Janine Bourriau on the occasion of her 70th birthday*, Leuven, Paris, Walpole, MA, 2011, p. 645-677.

[96] Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum 164: M.H. ASSAM, *Arte egípcia: colecçao Calouste Gulbenkian,* Lisbon, 1991, p. 66-67, no. 17.

[97] Copenhagen, National Museum 10341: J. LUND, in J. Aruz, S.B. Graff, Y. Rakic (eds.), *Assyria to Iberia: At the dawn of the classical age*, New York, 2014, p. 303, no. 175.

p. 303, no. 175.

[98] London, The British Museum 99061: M. VANDENBEUSCH, "Evidence of an ancient archive? The papyrus British Museum EA 9961," *JEA* 104, 2018, p. 177-194.

[99] Paris, Musée du Louvre E 4868: S. EMERIT, H. GUICHARD, V. JEAMMET, S. PERROT, A. THOMAS, C. VENDRIES, A. VINCENT, N. ZIEGLER, *Musiques ! Echos de l'Antiquité*, Gand, 2017, p. 340, cat. 392.

Individual plaques,[100] some in plaster,[101] and at least one stone vessel[102] rely on the convention established earlier for cosmetic spoons which allude to a Nilotic setting by the incorporation of isolated representations of Nilotic flora into their designs. The provenances of these reliefs[103] are not firmly established but some appear to have come from Heliopolis.[104] Their dating is problematic, on the one hand, because the prosopographical evidence lacks specificity[105] and on the other because stylistic analyses appears to be imprecise. Whereas some commentators prefer to date the entire corpus to D-XXVI,[106] others, while entertaining the possibility of such dating, prefer to leave the question open.[107] Ippel[108] argues for a later date because of the correspondences he finds between the corpus of Neo-memphite reliefs and those in the Tomb of Petosiris[109] at Tuna el-Gebel, which the academic consensus now favors dating to the late fourth century BC.[110] That such relief continued to be created during Dynasty XXXIII[111] is suggested by the one example excavated at Tanis.[112]

Erotic Nilotic visual imagery was, therefore, continuously created in a variety of media from Dynasty XXV into Dynasty XXXIII. That visual continuum must now be considered against the background of communal festivals of sexual excess,[113] a fixture of pharaonic ritual praxis which is attested as early as the Middle Kingdom. Linked to deities such as Sakhmet and interwoven into the fabric of several rituals of New Kingdom date,[114] the festivals were known

[100] Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 10290: J. JANCZIAK, in F. Seyfried, M. Jung (eds.), *China und Ägypten: Wiegen der Welt*, Berlin, Munich, 2017, p. 128-129, no. II.2.1.
[101] Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum of Art 35.1312: É. CHASSINAT, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de la collection Fouquet*, Paris, 1922, p. 25-28; for which compare, Paris, Musée du Louvre E. 10817: G. BÉNÉDITE, "Un thème nouveau de la décoration murale des tombes néo-memphites : la cueillette du lis et le 'lirinon' à propos d'un bas-relief et d'un fragment de bas-relief au Musée du Louvre, *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot* 25, 1921-1922, Paris, p. 7-8.
[102] London, The British Museum 47992: A.F. SHORE, "A silver libation bowl from Egypt," *British Museum Quarterly* 29, 1964-1965, p. 19-21; and S.P. VLEEMING, "Some coins of Artaxerxes and other short texts in the Demotic script found on various objects and gathered from many publications," *Studia Demotica* 5, 2001, p. 11, no. 25.
[103] É. DRIOTON, "La stèle d'un brasseur d'Héliopolis," *BIE* 20, 1937-1938, p. 231-245, inventories twenty-five examples; and D.K. HILL, "Notes on some neo-memphite reliefs," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19/20, 1956-1957, p. 34-41 and 97.
[104] Drioton (1937-1938); J. Yoyotte, "La provenance des reliefs de Tjanefer," *CdE* 29, 1954, p. 278-280; and S. BICKEL, P. TALLET, "La nécropole saïte d'Héliopolis: étude préliminaire," *BIFAO* 97,1997, p. 67-90.
[105] E. JELÍNKOVÁ, "Un titre saïte emprunté à l'Ancien Empire," *ASAE* 55,1958, p. 121; and R. EL-SAYED, "Deux aspects nouveaux du culte à Saïs: – un prophète du nain de Neith, – des châteaux d'Ageb," *BIFAO* 76, 1976, p. 91-100.
[106] Chr. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, "La cueillette du raisin dans la tombe d'une musicienne de Neïth à Saïs (un exemple du 'romantisme' égyptien au Musée du Louvre)," *Arts asiatiques* 1, 1954, p. 40-60.
[107] R.B. GOZZOLI, *Psammetichus II: reign, documents and officials*, London, 2017, p. 192-193.
[108] A. IPPEL, "Sitzung von 7. Juni 1921," *Archäologischen Anzeiger* 36, 1921, p. 262-264.
[109] N. CHERPION, J.-P. CORTEGGIANI, J.-Fr. GOUT, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris à Touna el-Gebel: relevé photographique* [revised digital edition], Cairo, 2022.
[110] M. WASMUTH, "The impact of Alexander historiography on contemporary sources: the tomb of Petosiris," in K. Nawotka, A. Wojciechowska (eds.), *Legacy of the East and legacy of Alexander*, Wiesbaden, 2023, p. 229-253.
[111] R.S. BIANCHI, "The nature of pharaonic art during Dynasty XXXIII-XXXIV," *ENiM* 17, 2024, p. 61-81.
[112] Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis: travaux récents sur le tell Sân el-Hagar* III. *Statues et autobiographies de dignitaires : Tanis à l'époque ptolémaïque. Mission française des fouilles de Tanis*, Paris, 2004, p. 44-46.
[113] D. MONTSERRAT, *Sex and society in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, London, New York, 1996, p. 163-179.
[114] B.M. Bryan, "The temple of Mut: new evidence on Hatshepsut's building activity," in C.H. Roehrig, R. Dreyfus, C.A. Keller (eds.), *Hatshepsut: from queen to pharaoh*, New York, New Haven, 2005, p. 181-183; and *supra*, no. 62.

and recorded during Dynasty XXXIII and Dynasty XXXIV in both temple relief[115] and on papyri.[116] Such hearty partying included alcoholic consumption and promiscuity, ostensibly in opposition to societal norms of probity. At least one commentator seeks to justify such activity by observing that such behavior vicariously bonds the participants with the goddess, mimicking her behavior in order to ensure the efficacy of the ritual, the objective of which was to maintain cosmic order.[117]

The Classical literary testimonia alludes to such behavior. The earliest such reference is found in Herodotus who describes a festival celebrated at Bubastis.[118]

> When the people are on their way to Bubastis, they go by river, a great number in every boat, men and women together. Some of the women make a noise with rattles, others play flutes all the way, while the rest of the women, and the men, sing and clap their hands. [2] As they travel by river to Bubastis, whenever they come near any other town they bring their boat near the bank; then some of the women do as I have said, while some shout mockery of the women of the town; others dance, and others stand up and lift their skirts. They do this whenever they come alongside any riverside town. [3] But when they have reached Bubastis, they make a festival with great sacrifices, and more wine is drunk at this feast than in the whole year besides. It is customary for men and women (but not children) to assemble there to the number of seven hundred thousand, as the people of the place say.

Strabo, somewhat more summarily, alludes to similar practices at Canopus:[119]

> On passing through the Canopic gate of the city, on the right hand is the canal leading to Canopus, close to the lake. They sail by this canal to Schedia, to the great river, and to Canopus, but the first place at which they arrive is Eleusis. This is a settlement near Alexandria and Nicopolis, and situated on the Canopic canal. It has houses of entertainment which command beautiful views, and hither resort men and women who are inclined to indulge in noisy revelry, a prelude to Canopic life, and the dissolute manners of the people of Canopus.

Both Herodotus and Strabo stress the secular nature of both of these activities and site them within Nilotic landscapes. Whereas Herodotus is explicit in identifying the Egyptians as participants in such salacious behavior, Strabo is more circumspect, but his references to

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[115] A. GUTBUB, "Un emprunt aux Textes des Pyramides dans l'hymne à Hathor, dame de l'ivresse," in *Mélanges Maspero* I. *Orient ancien* 4, Cairo, 1961, p. 31-72.

[116] R. JASNOW, K.-T. ZAUZICH, "Another praise of the Goddess Ait (O. Sommerhausen 1)," in *id.*, G. Widmer (eds.), *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological studies in honor of Mark Smith*, Atlanta, 2017, p. 155-162, citing M. DEPAUW, M. SMITH, "Visions of ecstasy: cultic revelry before the goddess Ai / Nehemanit. Ostraca Faculteit Letteren (K.U.Leuven) dem. 1-2," in F. Hoffmann, H. J. Thissen (eds.), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, Leuven; Dudley, MA, 2004, p. 67-93.

[117] M.M. NIELSEN, "Understanding the conduct during Festivals of Drunkenness: how the Egyptian worldview justified breaking with social conduct norms during religious festivals," *Chronolog* 1, 2023, p. 22-37.

[118] HERODOTUS, *The Histories* II, 60 (https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0126:book=2:chapter=60 [2015 February 19]).

[119] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, I. 16 (https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0239:book=17:chapter=1:section=16 [2025 February 19]). The spelling of some of the proper nouns in this passage have been edited by the author.

Alexandria, Nicopolis, and Canopus[120] suggest that Alexandrian Greeks are the party-goers. Both passages, however, must be understood within the bawdy context of the kinaidos,[121] a type of person noted in ancient literature for his effeminacy and outrageous sexual behavior, who, according to the Greek papyrological documentation of Dynasty XXXIII, was often a well-paid performer noted for combing racy metric compositions with a rapid shimmying of the buttocks in his act.

It is now time to connect the dots. Nilotic landscapes charged with erotic symbolism, communal religious praxis involving intercourse, and the existence of statuettes of short-limbed, macrophallic males either alone or as symplegma are all attested in the cultural record of Dynasty XXXIII. At some point in time, those subjects are synthesized into a two-dimensional visual vocabulary which resulted in the creation of works of art such as the following two mosaics, the first of which was reportedly discovered in Middle Egypt[122] [fig. 17], the second in the Alexandrian suburb of Canopus [Abu Qir][123] [fig. 18]. Both mosaics were created in Hellenistic and not in pharaonic ateliers to judge from their design, execution, and technique.[124] Both mosaics feature a single, short-limbed nude male in a Nilotic environment, the first in a skiff, the second fishing. Both, dated to first century BC, appear to be the earliest, documented, two-dimensional representations of short-limbed individuals within such an expansive, marshy, Egyptian landscape created in a Hellenistic idiom.

The fact that both figures are nude precludes identifying the subject matter of both mosaics as genre scenes because nudity was not generally associated with daily activities by the Greeks.[125] The fact that both figures are not macrophallic does not preclude considering the subject matter erotic because there is a consensus that: One curiosity in the artistic representation of male nudity in the small size of genitals.[126]

Within ancient Greek culture, depictions of macrophallism connoted the opposite of ideal, male beauty. Macrophallism was regarded as a marker of the uncivilized, the other.[127] Individuals so endowed lived "permanently outside the norms of polis society."[128] The revelers in the erotic, communal festivals described by both Herodotus and Strabo are mortals. The portrayal of their genitalia necessarily conforms to established decorum. Their micromelicism, or short-limbed, may in fact be influenced by the design of the short-limbed macrophallic statuettes which is pressed into service to allude to the eroticism inherent in the Nilotic setting. And here one must

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[120] S. AUFRÈRE, "Portrait palimpseste de Cléopâtre VII. Genèse de l'hubris barbare de la dernière reine lagide," in *id.*, A. Michel (eds.), *Cléopâtre en Abyme : Aux Frontières de La Mythistoire et de La Littérature*, Paris, 2018, p.48-53.

[121] T. SAPSFORD, *Performing the kinaidos: unmanly men in ancient Mediterranean cultures*, Oxford, 2022; T. GAZZARRI, J. WEINER, *Searching for the cinaedus in ancient Rome*, Leiden, Boston, 2023; and J. WEINER, "Fearful laughter: Bodily horror in Roman sexual humour," G. Kazantzidis, C. Thumiger (eds.), *Horror in classical antiquity and beyond: Body, affect, concepts*, London, 2025, p. 117-121.

[122] Cairo, Museum of Agriculture, Historical Section 477: A.-M. GUIMIER-SORBETS, *Mosaics of Alexandria: Pavements of Greek and Roman Egypt* [Translated by Colin Clement], Cairo, 2021,, no. 41; and STROCKA (2021), p. 29-33, fig. 28 [cited as Cairo, Cotton Museum 477].

[123] Alexandria, the Graeco Roman Museum 21147: GUIMIER-SORBETS (2021), no. 42; and STROCKA (2021), p. 29-33, fig. 29.

[124] GUIMIER-SORBETS (2021), p. 108.

[125] I. JENKINS, V. TURNER, D. HUBBARD, S. DODD, *The Greek body*, Los Angeles, 2009, p. 15.

[126] E.C. KEULS, *The reign of the phallus: Sexual politics in ancient Athens*, Berkeley, 1993, p. 68; and JENKINS, TURNER (2009), p. 15.

[127] A. ZISKOWSKI, "Clubfeet and kypselids: Contextualizing Corinthian padded dancers in the archaic period," *Annual of the British School of Athens* 107, 2012, p. 211-232.

[128] JENKINS, TURNER (2009), p. 15-16.

emphasize that such statuettes are rarely found in tombs of the period,[129] where they would have been concealed from sight. Their presence was seen and known. It is significant to note, as Strocka observes, that the earliest, datable representations of short-limbed individuals in a Nilotic landscape in an Italic context are just as sanitized (*Dezenz*)[130] as are the subjects in the two mosaics just discussed, because the Italian examples avoid depicting macrophallism and explicit sexual activity.The preceding discussion argues that representations of short-limbed individuals in Nilotic settings with erotic overtones was an innovation introduced by Hellenes during Dynasty XXXIII who adapted and used pharaonic antecedents as their models.

It now remains to consider the means by which the cultural transference of the subject of erotically charged Nilotic landscapes from Ptolemaic Egypt to Imperial Rome was achieved. Strabo, writing with a decade of the annexation of Egypt by Octavian/Augustus, was an intimate of Cornelius Gallus, Rome's first prefect of Egypt,[131] in whose entourage he toured the country. Strabo was resident in Alexandria for almost five years, ostensibly using the resources of the Great Library for his *Geography.* Because he describes the festivities at Canopus, one can reasonably suggest that that description is based on his own lived experience. Cornelius Gallus was also a man of letters.[132] He is considered to be the first author to write love elegies in Latin,[133] a literary genre infused with erotic overtones. Although it is suggested that his oeuvre may have been proscribed following his fall from grace,[134] some of his work appears to have survived into the Renaissance.[135] One can be certain that works of both men enjoyed a wide readership during the Principate. To that observation must be added another factor. Despite the prohibition against travel to Egypt imposed by Augustus, that prohibition may not have applied to the work force, some members of which were assuredly Roman citizens, who were involved in the removal, transport, and re-erection of two obelisks[136] from Egypt to Rome during his reign. Since such a project was not completed within the course of a single day, one might cautiously suggest that while the obelisks were being transported to Alexandria for their maritime transport to Rome, members of that work force may have also participated in the Mardi-Gras-like activities of Canopus. And in point of fact, Canopus is one of the two centers, the second being Nikopolis, receiving goods transported on the Nile for overland transport to Alexandria before their overseas transport to Italy.[137] It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that some members at least of that Roman workforce may have shared recollections of such activity with family and friends back home. The number of Romans working on this and other projects in Egypt under Augustus was considerable, as a consideration of the so-called Curator

[129] MONTSERRAT (1996), p. 173.
[130] STROCKA (2021), p. 29-33 and 68-69.
[131] F. HOFFMANN, M. MINAS-NERPEL, S. PFEIFFER, *Die dreisprachige Stela des C. Cornelius Gallus: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Berlin, New York, 2009; and J. COERT, "Der kaiserliche Freundschaftsentzug als Instrument der Gewalt und Ordnung im Imperium Romanum," in J. Diemke (ed.), *Forschungen zur Gewalt in der römischen Antike*, Stuttgart, 2023, p. 59-88, for the background of his fall from grace.
[132] Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2820: R.D. ANDERSON, P.J. PARSONS, R.G.M. NISBET, "Elegiacs by Gallus from Qasr Ibrim," *Journal of Roman Studies* 69, 1969, p. 125-155; and N. LEWIS, "P.Oxy, 2820: Gallus...Vous dites Gallus?," *CdE* 62, 1987, p. 219-222.
[133] P.L. BOWDITCH, *Roman Love Elegy and the Eros of Empire*, Cham, Switzerland, 2023, p. 55-56 and 85.
[134] T. POLAŃSKI, "The destructive force of Roman censorship. A retrospective view across the limes," *Classica Cracoviensia* 11, 2007, p. 263-287.
[135] P. WHITE, *Gallus Reborn. A study of the diffusion and reception of works ascribed to Gaius Cornelius Gallus,* London, New York, 2019.
[136] R.S. BIANCHI, "Duplication and Continuity," *ENiM* 18, 2025, p. 21-27.
[137] S. PEARSON, *The triumph and trade of Egyptian objects in Rome: collecting art in the ancient Mediterranean*, Berlin, Boston, 2021, p.121-127.

Inscription from the Shrine of Pan at Ophiates dated to regnal year 40 [AD 11] of Augustus, reveals.[138]

In addition to transmissions of the subject of pharaonic erotica via literary works and word of mouth, the discussion of the transference of pharaonic subjects can be furthered by considering examples of cameo glass, another typology of *Aegyptica* Romana.[139] The academic consensus argues that cameo glass was created during a very limited period of time, circa 15 BC - AD 25.[140] Whereas the interdependencies between artisans and the technologies required to manipulate various media--glass, pottery, silver, and hard stones for gems--are clearly acknowledged,[141] one cannot privilege Alexandria as the pioneering center for the development of cameo glass.[142] The design and manufacture of cameo glass is, therefore, to be regarded as a typical and uniquely Roman Imperial phenomenon.[143] Nevertheless, of the estimated three hundred seventy-seven examples of cameo glass inventoried, twenty-seven, or about 7%, exhibit Egyptian themes. At least two of those examples exhibit quintessentially pharaonic subjects evocative of those associated with marsh scenes within the Neo-Memphite repertoire. Two such examples are the fragment of a punter [144] [fig. 19] and that of a cowherd[145] [fig. 20]. The design of the punter's stance, posture, and papyrus skiff which he punts find their closes parallel in that of punters in a papyrus vignette in London[146] [fig. 21]. The fragment depicting a cowherd, the mammal of which is clearly bovine because of the attention paid to its cloven hooves. Its height relative to that of the cowherd cannot be use as an index of age to suggest that it is a calf.[147] The subject finds its parallel in Neo-Memphite reliefs in both Cairo[148] [fig. 22] and Amsterdam,[149] as well as in the relief decoration of the tomb of Petosiris.[150] The most extensive discussions about the models which informed the design of those two examples, although they are fragmentary, rely exclusively upon parallels from Italy.[151] Those discussions foreground stylistic features which are suggested to be classical and not pharaonic[152] in order to support the conclusion that both motifs derive from Roman, Italian sources. Certain details on both of those examples are so close to known pharaonic creations that the question of

[138] I. Pan. 121 = SM VIII 10173: J.C. FANT, "Pliny's marmor Augusteum and the Eastern desert of Egypt," *JEA* 111, 2024, p. 274; and see M. GIBBS, "Artisans and their gods: the religious activities of trade associations in Roman Egypt," in A. Cazemier, S. Skaltsa (eds,), *Associations and religion in context: the Hellenistic and Roman Eastern Mediterranean*, Liège, 2022, p. 271-285, for the socio-religious context of such dedications.
[139] M.E.J.J. VAN AERDE, *Egypt and the Augustan cultural revolution: An interpretative archaeological overview*, Leuven, 2019, p. 137.
[140] AERDE (2019), p. 136; and P. GOLYŹNIAK, *Engraved gems and propaganda in the Roman Republic and under Augustus*, Oxford, 2020, p. 238-241.
[141] Golyzniak (2020), p.193, 207, 211, 238, *passim.*
[142] AERDE (2019), p.136-156.
[143] AERDE (2019), p. 136-138.
[144] London, The British Museum 1999,0927.1: M.E.J.J. VAN AERDE, "Concepts of Egypt in Augustan Rome: two case studies of cameo glass from the British Museum," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 20, 2013, p. 4-5.
[145] London, The British Museum 16630: AERDE (2013), p. 5.
[146] London, The British Museum 99061: VANDENBEUSCH (2018).
[147] AERDE (2019), p. 149; and *supra*, no. 22.
[148] Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 36194: I. GUERMEUR, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes: recherches de géographie religieuse*, Turnhout, 2005, p. 75-77.
[149] Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 7790: W.M. VAN HAARLEM, *Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam* III. *Stelae and reliefs*. *Corpus antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum: Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptischer Altertümer*, Amsterdam, 1995, p. 56-57.
[150] AERDE (2019), p. 149.
[151] AERDE (2019), p. 147-148 and 149-150.
[152] AERDE (2019), p. 149-150.

antecedents must be revisited. The thinness and the curvilinear design of one of the legs of those bovines, the design of the papyrus stalks from which the skiffs are created and of the vertical lashing which secures them in place are similar to those details on the suggested pharaonic antecedents. Furthermore the rosettes on that skiff find no parallels whatsoever in the ornament associated with contemporary examples of *Aegyptica* Romana.[153] Although its meaning is still imperfectly understood,[154] the rosette apparently possessed a singular significance because it is the principal motif of the mosaic of the pavement of the andron in the House of the Rosette.[155] Its dating to the late 4th century BC would seem to establish its primacy as a motif which becomes ubiquitous in the visual arts of Dynasty XXXIII-XXXIV. Depiction of rosettes are found, for example, on royal relief in temples,[156] in private tombs,[157] on sarcophagi,[158] and on faience vessels.[159]

The seemingly strict dependence on pharaonic antecedents for the subject matter of the two cameo glass examples just passed in review, although extremely limited, warrants consideration that the means of the transference of such motifs may have also been via pattern books. The evidence, indirect as some of it admittedly is, is nevertheless telling. One begins with a discussion of the possible use of pattern books in the construction and decoration of temples of the period. The appearance of very similar texts within the same temple and on walls of temples separated in time by several centuries and in space by hundreds of kilometers during Dynasty XXXIII-XXXIV,[160] the suggestion that such a plan was used for a naos,[161] the function of a worked block recycled in the ceiling of the Temple of Edfu,[162] and the statement by the Petosiris of Tuna el-Gebel that he designed a structure mj nty iw ḥbt, according to the sacred book,[163] would suggest that architectural plans preserved in P.Oxy. 24.2406 and P.Oxy. LXXI 4842 are

[153] AERDE (2019), p. 29-46, 65-77, and 109-119; and PEARSON (2021).
[154] C. HART, "An examination and analysis of the role of the iconographic rosette motif in the Egyptian artistic repertoire: a case study," in M. Tomorad, J. Popielska-Grzybowska (eds.), *Egypt 2015: perspectives of research: proceedings of the Seventh European Conference of Egyptologists, 2nd-7th June 2015, Zagreb, Croatia*, Oxford, 2017, p. 59-69.
[155] Alexandria SCA 751: A.-M. GUIMIER-SORBETS, "Chantier du Cricket Ground (Alexandrie) : le geste des mosaïstes. Éléments préfabriqués dans un nouveau pavement alexandrin,' in M.-D. Nenna (ed.), *Alexandrina* 5, 2020, p. 209-220.
[156] S. CAUVILLE, *Le temple de Dendara* XI/2. *chambre D', chambre E', passage E'-H', chambre F'*, Cairo, 2000, pl. 103.
[157] A. FAKHRY, *The oases of Egypt. Volume* I. *Siwa oasis*, Cairo, 1973, p. 201; and A.-M. GUIMIER-SORBETS, "L'architecture et le décor peint des tombes d'Anfouchi à Alexandrie: nouvelles perspectives, in P. Ballet (ed.), *Grecs et Romains en Égypte : territoires, espaces de la vie et de la mort, objets de prestige et du quotidien*, Cairo, 2012, p. 186.
[158] Cairo, The Egyptian Museum CG 33274: C.C. EDGAR, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Graeco-Egyptian coffins, masks and portraits: nos 33101-33285*, Cairo,1905. p. 116.
[159] *Inter alia*, Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 5801, 18736, and 5679: M.-D. NENNA, M. SEIF EL-DIN, *La vaisselle en faïence d'époque gréco-romaine: catalogue du Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie,* Cairo, 2000, p. 246, 247, and 289, respectively.
[160] R. PREYS, "La destruction des animaux dans le temple de Dendera: interprétation 'géographique' et interprétation 'architecturale' des scènes rituelles," in A.O.I. Fernández Pichel (ed.), *Of gods and men: research on the Egyptian temple from the New Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman Period*, Alcalá de Henares, 2022, p. 229.
[161] N. SPENCER, *A naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis: religious iconography and temple building in the 30th Dynasty*, London, 2006, p. 15 and 24-26.
[162] U. FAUERBACH, "Planning and building the stairwells in the pylon of Edfu, or: the heaviest architectural drawing ever," in A. Rickert, S. Schlosser (eds.), *Gestaltung, Funktion und Bedeutung antiker Treppenanlagen: multiperspektivische Analyse einer transkulturellen Konstante*, Münster, 2022, p. 207-225.
[163] G. LEFEBVRE, *Le tombeau de Petosiris* II, Cairo, 1923 [2007] p. 36, line 23; and G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après les sources privées*, Leuven, 2009, p. 180-181, and no. 473.

Roman Imperial period descendants of an earlier Ptolemaic tradition.[164] The apparent homogeneity of the design of objects in the minor arts such as tesserae and oil lamps[165] as well as bronze statuettes representing female figures suggested to represent Isis with a ship's rudder may have likewise been created according to preexisting models.[166]

The evidence for the use of such pattern books for two-dimensional works of art is more compelling. A papyrus document[167] in Greek from the archive of Zenon states that that a painter, Theophilos by name, traveled from Alexandria to the Philadelphia in the Faiyum to paint a mural in part of a private home according to a model [οἷον τὸ παράδειγμα].[168] The same archive contains a second papyrus document,[169] also in Greek, which contains specific instructions for the creation of a mosaic floor to be laid in the women's tholos of a bathhouse in the same village.[170] It has long been mooted that ancient mosaics were created in ateliers and were then shipped to their final destination for installation.[171] This suggestion is now commonly embraced for some mosaics created not only in Egypt during Dynasty XXXIII,[172] but also for mosaics created in Italy, such as the Nilotic mosaic at Palestrina which is suggested to have been created in sections at Puteoli, and the Alexander mosaic in Pompeii's Casa del Fauno.[173]

One can, therefore, confidently conclude that the subject of short-limbed, macrophallic individuals in erotically charged Nilotic landscape was developed in Egypt during the course of Dynasty XXXIII and might have possibly been transmitted to Rome by one or more of the following methods: by word of mouth, via literary accounts, by pattern books, by the importation of actual mosaics.

Over the course of the first century AD these erotically-charged Nilotic landscapes within the repertoire of *Aegyptiaca* Romana spike in popularity, particularly during the Neronian-Flavian Period at which time depictions of the short-limbed, male individuals foreground their macrophallism.[174] That foregrounding is understandable within the context of contemporary Campanian decorum which exhibits an explosion of macrophallism in domestic contexts not only in wall painting,[175] but also in the design of furnishings,[176] and street signs,[177] all of which

[164] A. CORSO, *Drawings in Greek and Roman Architecture*, Oxford, 2016, p. 73 and 74, respectively.
[165] E. ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM, "Alexandriaca. Studies on Roman game. Counters III," *Chiron* 6, 1976, p. 227.
[166] N. AMOROSO, "Les petits bronzes d'Isis au gouvernail et à la *cornucopia*," in F. Doyen, R. Preys, A. Quertinmont (eds.), *Sur le chemin du Mouseion d'Alexandrie : études offertes à Marie-Cécile Bruwier*, Montpellier, 2018, p. 7-9.
[167] P. Cair. Zenon 59445: https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.cair.zen;3;59445 (2025 February 12).
[168] M. NOWICKA, "Théophilos, peintre Alexandrin, et son activité," in N. Bonacasa, A. Di Vita (eds.), *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: studi in onore di Achille Adriani* 2, Rome, 1984, p. 257.
[169] P. Cair. Zenon 59665: https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.cair.zen;3;59445 (2015 February 132).
[170] W.A. DASZEWSKI, "Some problems of early mosaics from Egypt," in H. Maehler, V.M. Strocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposions, 27.-29. September 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz am Rhein, 1978, p. 123.
[171] P. BRUNEAU, "Les mosaïstes antiques avaient-ils des cahiers de modèles ?," *Revue archéologique* NS 2, 1984, p. 241-272; so, too, GUIMIER-SORBETS (2021), p. 107 and 144.
[172] GUIMIER-SORBETS (2020), p. 217; and S.E. COLE, "Negotiating identity through the architecture and interior decoration of elite households in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Arts* 11, 2022, (1, article 3), p. 18.
[173] P.G.P. MEYBOOM, *The Nile mosaic of Palestrina: early evidence of Egyptian religion in Italy*, Leiden, 1995, p. 19, 91-95, and 168.
[174] STROCKA (2021), p. 76-86.
[175] Pompeii VI. 15.1: Casa dei Vettii: VARONE (2000), p. 24-25.
[176] M. GRANT, A. MULAS, A. DE SIMONE, M.T. MERELLA, *Eros in Pompeii: The secret rooms of the National Museum of Naples*, New York, 1975, p. 121-123.
[177] VARONE (2000), p. 15-27.

have nothing whatsoever to do with Nilotica,[178] and everything to do with the way the ancient Romans approached sexuality, divorced as it was from more modern Eurocentric sensibilities.[179]

Within such domestic contexts, the erotic content of the Nilotica landscapes within the repertoire of *Aegyptiaca* Romana does not appear to be infused with any esoteric, symbolic significance, particularly in light of the descriptions by both Herodotus and Strabo about the Mardi Gras aspects of communal, Nilotic revels at Bubastis and Canopus, respectively. One may suggest that those descriptions and Nilotic landscapes were aimed at eliciting from their audience the conclusion that Egypt was the land of non-complicated, easily attainable sexual satisfaction. A visitor's graffito in Latin scratched over one of the Nilotic sanitized scenes in the Temple of Isis at Pompeii, veni hoc, is instructive[180] in this regard. Within the corpus of such graffiti at Pompeii, the graffito can be paraphrased into English as, "I could not wait to get there, but now cannot leave fast enough!"[181] Reality may not have satisfied expectations. The objective of these Nilotic landscapes may have been to cause laughter[182] and that laughter was informed by the observation that "Greek and Roman humour was based on character, or more specifically, people acting in ways that go against the norms of society."[183] The depiction of coitus a tergo in the wall painting with which this essay began would seem to reinforce that conclusion because a Roman taboo was the experience of anal penetration.[184]

[178] GRANT, MULAS, MERELLA (1975).
[179] VARONE (2000), p. 8-13 and 14-27.
[180] STROCKA (2021), p. 87, 89, and 90; so, too, VARONE (2000), p. 28-39.
[181] M. SWETNAM-BURLAND, "Egypt embodied: The Vatican Nile," *AJA* 113, 2009, p. 450-451.
[182] STROCKA (2021), p. 92-93.
[183] R.D. GRIFFITH, R.B. MARKS, *A funny thing happened on the way to the agora: Ancient Greek and Roman humour: Agora harder!* [2nd edition], Kingston, Ont., 2011, p. 195.
[184] VERSLUYS (2002), p. 436.

Fig. 1. Erotic, Nilotic landscape (Pompeii VIII. 5. 24: Casa del Medico, west wall of the peristyle; Naples, National Archaeological Museum 113196; ALEA-Archive of Late Egyptian Art, a photographic and bibliographic archive maintained by Dr Robert Steven Bianchi, Holiday, Florida USA).

Fig. 2. Short-limbed, macrophallic individuals in a Nilotic landscape (Pompeii VIII 7, 24: Casa dello Scultore, north wall, right hand side; Pompeii, now stored in Regio 1 8, 17a [41654] [ALEA]).

Fig. 3. A statuette of a macrophallic, short-limbed male from Naucratis (London, The British Museum EA 90337 [© The Trustees of the British Museum]).

Fig. 4. A bone statuette of a macrophallic, short-limbed male (The Sorvats-Trebor Collection 2013.12.14 [ALEA]).

Fig. 5. A painted vignette on the sarcophagus of Hunwy from Gebelein (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 13772; After, Steindorff [1901], pl. III).

Fig. 6. The funerary stele of Sobekaa (London, The British Museum EA 1372 [© The Trustees of the British Museum]).

Fig. 7. Detail of the west wall of Room 10 A from the Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara (ALEA).

Fig. 8. The depiction of the Quickening of Osiris on the southeastern wall of the Chapel of Ptah-Sokar in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos (ALEA).

Fig. 9. An erotic scene taking place beneath a velum in the presence of others (Pompeii I 7, 11: Casa dell'Efebo, *in situ* (ALEA).

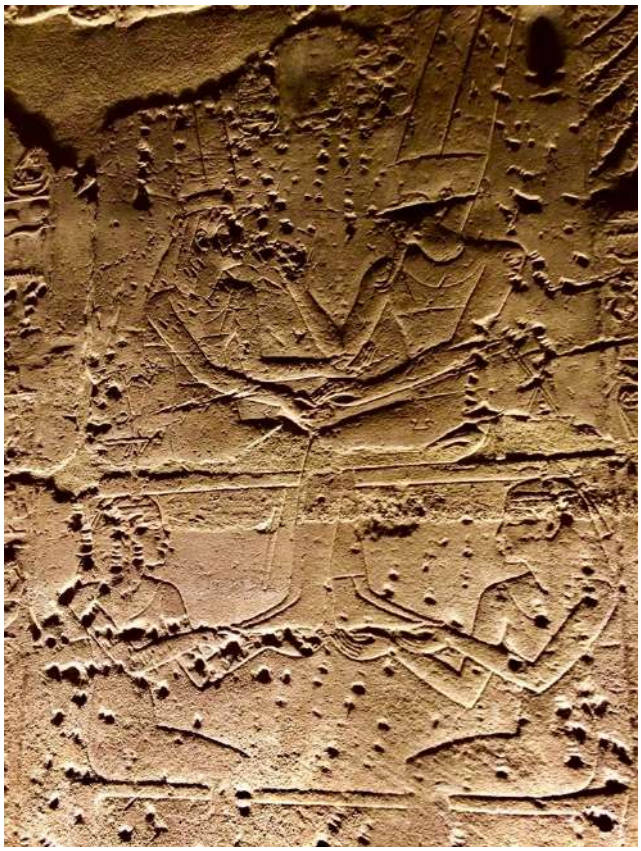

Fig. 10. The conception of Amenhotep III in the Birth Room of Luxor Temple (ALEA).

Fig. 11a-b. Two jugs from the Tell Basta treasury with Nilotic scenes; a. (left), New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.228.187 (Rogers Fund, 1907); b. (right) Cairo (The Egyptian Museum CG 53263 [Reproduction] [Public domain]).

Fig. 12. The Carnarvon chalice (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.971; Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926 [Public domain]).

Fig. 13. A Nilotic scene on a worked block from the Precinct of the Goddess Mut, South Karnak (After, Foucart [1924], pl. IXB).

Fig. 14. Relief from Medamud with an animal fable in a Nilotic setting (Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 58924 [After, Bisson de la Roque (1931), fig. 54]).

Fig. 15. Relief from Medamud with an animal fable (Cairo, The Egyptian Museum; Medamud 5282 [After, Bisson de la Roque 1931, fig. 55]).

Fig. 16. A marsh scene on a Neo-Memphite relief (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 40.619; Gift of Mrs. T. Handasyd Cabot in name of her father Raphael Pumpelly).

Fig. 17. Punting on the Nile River (Cairo, Agricultural Museum 477; After Guimier-Sorbets [2021], cat. no. 41).

Fig. 18. Short-limbed male in a Nilotic landscape (Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21147; After Guimier-Sorbets [2021], cat. no. 42).

Fig. 19. A cameo glass fragment of a punter (London, British Museum 1999,0927.1 [© The Trustees of the British Museum]).

Fig. 20. A cameo glass fragment of a cowherd (London, British Museum EA 16630 [© The Trustees of the British Museum]).

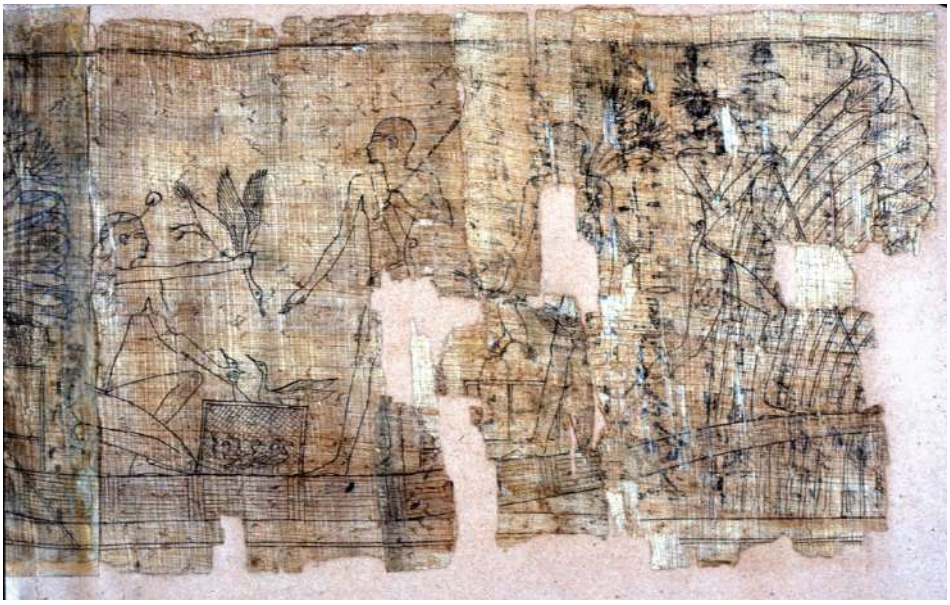

Fig. 21. A vignette of a Nilotic scene on papyrus (London, British Museum 9961,1 [© The Trustees of the British Museum]).

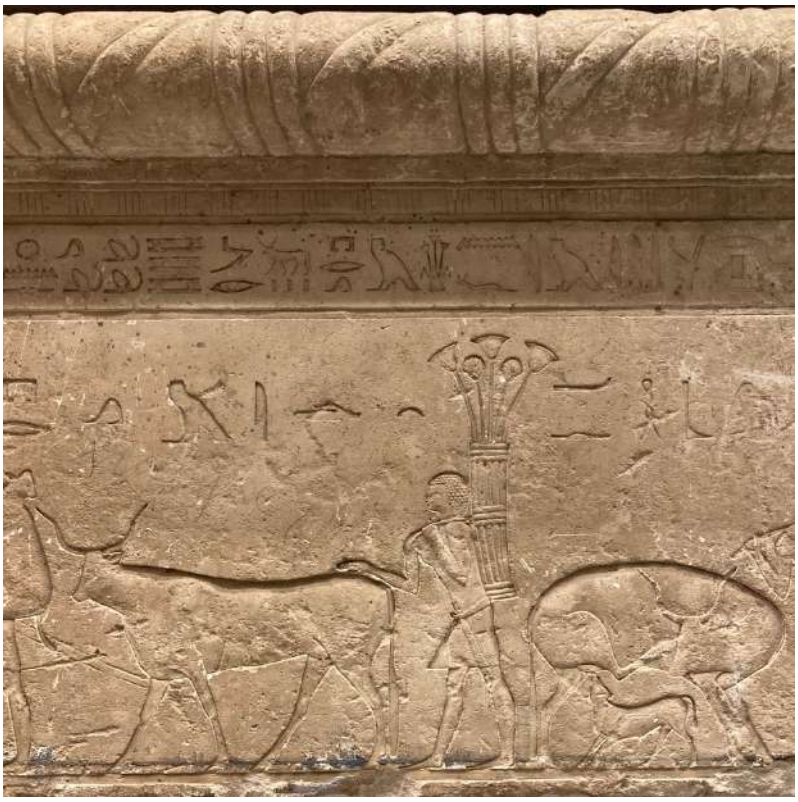

Fig. 22. A detail from a Neo-Memphite relief with a Nilotic scene (Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 36194 [ALEA]).