



SNIFFING OUT THE GODS: ARCHAEOLOGY WITH THE SENSES

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ABSTRACT

All knowledge of the world is shaped by the way our senses perceive it. In archaeology, and especially in Egyptological studies, a visual approach has predominated the analysis of ancient material remains. When viewed from a sensory-based framework, however, a new, dynamic dimensionality of the material record might be revealed. This approach to the study of the past promises to open both innovative and rewarding avenues for exploration. Such work fosters an environment for interdisciplinary study involving researchers in such diverse fields as neuroscience, psychology, ethnography, and the digital humanities. This paper aims to explore the applications of sensory analysis to Egyptology by focusing on New Kingdom tomb depictions of banquets and relevant mortuary texts to champion this paradigm as one that has potential to truly humanize the past.

When attempting to concretely define a scent using the English language, the speaker will find that it is nearly impossible to offer an explicit description of the odor without settling for a metaphor or vague adjective.¹ Ambiguous terms such as “floral” or “stinky” offer very little help in distinguishing particular smells beyond basic hedonic judgments. This difficulty might be further substantiated by noting humans can recognize anywhere from 2,000 to millions of different fragrances.² Furthermore, the way people relate to a scent is greatly influenced by their memories and experiences; and familiar scents easily and efficiently can tie present moments to distant ones.³ For example, consider a smell that has affected you in some way. Perhaps it is the smell of freshly baked cookies, cut grass, or a loved one’s perfume. Just reading the above words and considering their smell may have triggered a physical or emotional change by conjuring a memory or affecting your emotional state. The human response to smell often is strong, but this reaction and even the above issue with the terminology for scent is culturally specific. Take for instance the Jahai language which is spoken by a people from the Malay Peninsula who can name odors as easily as English speakers can identify

colors.⁴ The Jahai language has over a dozen words that describe scents explicitly, and these terms are regularly used to dictate hunting, eating, and other social practices.

And yet, Egyptology, a field of study that seeks understanding of an ancient people, has barely scratched the surface with regards to this vital sense. It is important to consider when studying an ancient people how they defined the interaction of their bodies with the world. The sheer variety of sensorial systems might be seen in numerous ethnographic accounts, but Egyptology has seldom considered this significant facet of ancient lifeways, which informs the cultural production of knowledge in every context.⁵

This paper seeks to remedy this oversight by outlining how using a holistic, anthropological approach to the senses when studying Egyptian materials can reveal the multi-dimensional nature of ancient Egyptian lifeways. First, I will provide a short overview of the popular trends in sensory studies, both within and without Egyptological research, thus situating my work in this larger discussion. Following this section, I will present my own research methodology on how one might conduct analyses on the experience and function of

scent in ancient Egypt. Finally, I will offer a case study that demonstrates the practicality of this framework. This final analysis will suggest that the ancient Egyptian recognized a certain scent as representative of divinity and that this fragrance could be used to identify divine presence. Such a study promises to reveal insights into the significance of smell within the ancient Egyptian culture by demonstrating its intimate link with Egyptian concepts of identity. The evidence for this argument is derived from textual sources and from early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs.

HOW THE SENSES DESCRIBE OUR REALITY

Researchers have seldom recognized ancient sensory frameworks despite their importance in influencing lives and defining systems of value. By “sensory framework,” I am not referring to the Aristotelian model of the five senses first popularized in his treatise on the soul *De Anima* (II, 7–11). Rather I mean a system of understanding and manner of engagement with the world that our bodies submit to in order to internalize knowledge of our environment and which in turn is attributed value through our environmental and cultural context. If it is always through our bodies that we experience the world, must not that affect our understanding of it?

This idea stems from the tradition begun by Kant and later elaborated upon by Merleau-Ponty in which these philosophers recognized that what we perceive in the world is not necessarily that which exists.⁶ Kant defined the epistemology *Transcendental Idealism* which concerns itself with the “sensuous representation of things” as the reality of the world is beyond our perception.⁷ Merleau-Ponty agreed that the world is constituted by our experiences, but the central theme of his writings, according to Thomas Baldwin, was to replace Kant’s *consciousness* as the matrix through which our world is experienced with our *body*.⁸

This tradition became popular in contrast to Descartes and the other rationalists who viewed the senses as unreliable, trusting only their own intellect and ability to reason. Though we may be unable to decipher what the world is truly like, our experiences of it are meaningful. Merleau-Ponty argues that history cannot be deduced from a series of scientific laws, as these laws are an approximate representation of reality. Rather, perception is more reliable in that we can only perceive what is perceptible.⁹

Donald Hoffman et al.’s “Interface Theory of Perception” continues in a similar vein, but goes so far as to argue that strategies of perception are a result of evolution—that natural selection has shaped our ability to perceive as purposefully obscuring the truth of the world to encourage behavior adapted for survival.¹⁰ Hoffman et al. argue that animals which can judge the nature of their environments with information provided by their senses, thus altering their experience of the noumenon, i.e. reality, will survive. These sense-focused animals routinely outlive those animals that perceive the world as it truly is.¹¹ These authors liken their interface theory to a desktop on which icons for files guide effective action rather than being veridical representations of the files,

The simplicity of the desktop, which hides the complexity of the computer, and the nonveridicality of a desktop, which allows it to be tailored instead to the needs of the user, are in fact huge advantages that promote efficient interactions with the computer.¹²

Even William Molyneux’s thought experiment, which queried whether a blind individual whose sight is restored could identify a sphere from a cube without touching them, might be cited here as another inquiry into the nature of our systems of perception. Are our sensory experiences mapped onto one another as innate knowledge or is our mind’s interpreting of our sensory experiences learned? Though Molyneux, and later Locke, agreed that no, the individual would not be able to do this as linking touch with sight is likely a learned behavior, there have been many debates over the years.¹³ In 2011, an experiment was conducted on five participants ultimately supporting Molyneux’s and Locke’s original hypothesis.¹⁴

CULTURE AND THE SENSES

What these philosophical ponderings and Hoffman’s evolutionary games and mathematical algorithms have difficulty in demonstrating, however, is that the nature of these perception strategies are all culturally contingent. And it is this fact that makes archaeological evidence and anthropological ethnographies efficient tools in demonstrating the sheer variety of perceptual systems or *sensory frameworks*. Various scientific experiments have demonstrated, for example, how vocabulary affects

color or odor identification.¹⁵ While these examples take into account linguistic principles affecting perception, ethnographic accounts of diverse peoples from across the globe examine how culture shapes our perception systems.¹⁶ Thus, how can we as archaeologists study a past culture or, rather, an ancient people without first exploring the way they understood how their bodies engaged with the world around them?

Having situated the discussion within its early philosophical beginnings, it is important now to discuss where sensory studies are today. Many books and chapters have been written that lay out the development of this field of study, which can be consulted for a more thorough understanding.¹⁷ Put most simply, according to Howes, sensory studies increased in popularity in the 1980s as a response to the general linguistic turn in the social sciences.¹⁸ Much has been published in anthropology on the senses either as studies on individual sensory experiences¹⁹ or as studies on the sensory experiences of culture groups.²⁰ Many of these books focus on the interaction of social life and the senses, examining how the senses alter experience.

From the 1980s and into the present millennium, cognitive and the biological sciences also have engaged in describing sensory experience. There are many publications now on how smell affects memory²¹ or, more generally, on the role of language in altering sensory experience.²² And yet, much of our understanding and the science behind how the senses work remains a mystery.²³ In addition, according to Howes, the sciences in themselves are biased and have taken all culture out of our understanding of the senses. He argues that science universalizes from experiments conducted on sensory experience, ultimately removing perception from its cultural context as a social phenomenon.²⁴ While there certainly will be individual variation within a society, these are always functioning within a shared sensory framework.

David Howes and Constance Classen are the two names that are most commonly cited in the context of anthropology and the senses. David Howes, in addition to the history of the senses, has written extensively on the sterile nature of our modern environment in the West and how the senses have been relegated to the natural world.²⁵ By writing in this way, he has returned the reader's attention to how very prevalent sensory experience is to our lives. Though it might seem that the world revealed to us by our senses should be quite familiar by now,

Merleau-Ponty suggests,

the world of perception is... unknown territory as long as we remain in the practical or utilitarian attitude. I shall suggest that much time and effort, as well as culture, have been needed in order to lay this world bare and that one of the great achievements of modern art and philosophy... has been to allow us to rediscover the world in which we live, yet which we are always prone to forget.²⁶

I would propose that beyond only modern art and philosophy, both anthropology and archaeology are well suited to approach this gap in our knowledge as they both seek explanations of cultural systems. We could consider Barry Kemp's assertion that as archaeologists it is likely that our research into the past reveals more about the ancient persons we are studying than perhaps they consciously recognized on a day to day basis—a blanket statement that can be applied to any culture group, past or present.²⁷ As Merleau-Ponty was saying, to lay bare our constructed world requires a level of effort and exploration and I find this work particularly relevant to both anthropological and archaeological study. Merleau-Ponty goes on to argue that objects have the ability to recall a way of behaving and that “people's tastes, character, and attitude they adopt to the world can be deciphered from the objects with which they choose to surround themselves.”²⁸ And yet, once again, it is through our senses and the comparison of experience that allows us to decipher such ideas; and no detail is insignificant.²⁹ There is no space in which such objects might exist without the body there to experience it.³⁰ Thus, the body and its means of engaging with the world must be at the center of any archaeological analysis. By interpreting material culture from this perspective, scholars might be better able to reach ancient people's “tastes, character, and attitude they adopt to the world.”

This entire body of literature from Kant to Howes continues a tradition in which the senses represent the imperfect but necessary method with which we engage and can interpret the world around us. Sensory experience not only shapes our judgment of the world, but is a culturally conditioned system that is not limited to our scientific understanding of the five senses, but is only restricted by our learned behavior.

Egyptology, and archaeology more generally, has

a unique opportunity that other fields in the humanities and social sciences do not. With all of time at our disposal, and the material remains of sequential peoples, archaeologists possess the ability to view the evolution of sensory systems. Moreover, to deny the importance of systems of perception used by ancient cultures is to subtract data that can only enhance our understanding of their lives and choices.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE SENSES

Archaeologists across the discipline have begun only recently to recognize the importance of incorporating sensory studies into their investigations of the past. These studies range from those which have focused predominantly on the modern researcher's experience of past spaces³¹ to examinations of how space affects sensory experience³² to overviews of sensory experience within a particular culture.³³ Often, the ethnographic accounts cited in the previous section find reference in these volumes or researchers might take on their own ethnoarchaeological projects.³⁴ The issue that arises in a few of these accounts is their reliance on the modern researcher's interpretation of the sensory past. What becomes most critical then is to rely on the material culture and ancient accounts of sensory experience when seeking ancient sensory frameworks to avoid placing our own biases over that of the past.

Within Egyptology, studies on sensory experience are rather uncommon, though this has been changing in recent years.³⁵ For example, there seems to be a recent spike in the number of conference sessions and workshops specifically dedicated to archaeology and the senses which have featured Egyptological papers.³⁶ As for publications, José Roberto Pellini has published some, as well as co-edited a volume on sensory experience in archaeology.³⁷ His article in that volume, "Remembering through the Senses: The Funerary Practices in Ancient Egypt," experiments with an alternative, narrative style to convey what it would have been like to participate in the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.³⁸ In addition, Katharina Zinn has used experimental archaeology to better understand the experience of the Egyptian headrest in terms of its materiality.³⁹ Some work has also been conducted on sound and its relationship to meaning, experience, and symbolism.⁴⁰ One area in which the sensual nature of a space has been commented on rather extensively is the New Kingdom tomb depictions of

banquets.⁴¹ Much of this writing focuses on the overt sexual nature of the scene in which the servant's costumes, the music, and the revelers' use of intoxicating substances would have blurred the line between the here and the hereafter.

The methods employed by Egyptologists seeking out ancient Egyptian sensory frameworks are diverse. From Zinn's use of experimental archaeology to Pellini's application of creative narrative, there is no shortage of inspiration. It seems surprising, however, that few have cited Christopher Tilley's popular approach in landscape phenomenology, which finds references throughout the literature cited in this article.⁴² Merleau-Ponty's writings, however, have been put to use by scholars such as Lynn Meskell, Rune Nyord, and Jeremy Naydler, who have applied Merleau-Ponty's philosophizing to a diverse range of topics, from materiality and embodiment to reading texts and the practice of religion.⁴³

Sensory Archaeology is still in its early stages, though it is growing rapidly with at least one volume to come out on the topic in the next year and many others only recently published.⁴⁴ Furthermore, there has been an increase in the number of symposia dedicated specifically to this theoretical approach.⁴⁵ Understandably, no single methodology has yet been adopted discipline-wide. Thus, in the next section, I will describe a few major contributions, by Yannis Hamilakis, Eleanor Betts, and Jo Day, on the formation of this field, demonstrating where my own research and methodology will fit among this current literature.

A PARADIGMATIC SHIFT OR JUST A CHANGE IN PERSPECTIVE?

In his 2013 publication *Archaeology and the Senses: Human Experience, Memory and Affect*, Yannis Hamilakis offers a treatise of sorts which is summarized in another publication.⁴⁶ It describes how and from what perspective a sensory study of the past might be conducted. Hamilakis suggests that the "archaeologies of the senses," should represent a full, paradigmatic shift away from traditional archaeology.⁴⁷ Much of his recent work seems greatly in line with Robin Skeates' five-step model for studying the senses in archaeology.⁴⁸ Hamilakis argues the main area of inquiry for such an approach must be the sensorial flow or field of experience which incorporates things, beings, and landscapes, as well as their entanglements and engagements with the senses.⁴⁹ He emphasizes the

trans-corporeal nature of the senses rather than emphasizing the body as the source for sensory exploration.

Hamilakis also highlights the multi-temporal nature of the senses and their ability to invoke memories.⁵⁰ Drawing from Bergson who argued in the early 1900s that matter is significant because of its ability to endure and therefore to embody multiple, temporal moments, Hamilakis adds that materials also embody multiple memories.⁵¹ Materials signify various temporal moments by their sensorial affectivity, or, that is, their link to the production of emotional responses. This concept of the multi-temporality of material is one reason why Hamilakis calls for a paradigmatic shift away from traditional archaeology, which has difficulty embodying such an idea due to its emphasis on dating things. The last aspect of his framework that I would like to draw out here is that Hamilakis argues against the enumeration of past sensory processes, suggesting rather that all sensorial experiences are synesthetic—that they always interact with other sensory processes and should never be separated out.⁵²

Hamilakis' work on archaeology and the senses is both inspiring and instrumental to all who seek to study ancient sensory experience. His methodology, however, has yet to be accepted by all.⁵³ Rather, many of the edited volumes which have come out recently and which focus on the ancient senses each apply their own methodologies. Take for instance Jo Day's edited volume *Making Senses of the Past: Toward a Sensory Archaeology* in which nearly every chapter intentionally applies a unique methodology to seek its answers.⁵⁴ Some of the more obvious points of departure from Hamilakis' approach seem to be the enumeration of particular sensory experiences and the necessity of moving away from traditional archaeological methods for seeking answers to these sensory-based questions, i.e. textual and artistic investigation. Despite the diversity of approaches in these edited volumes,⁵⁵ there is much vehement support for Hamilakis' paradigm. For example, in the closing chapter of Betts' volume, she writes,

Focusing on sight, sound, taste, smell or touch in a vacuum will only ever tell part of the story, whereas investigating the full panoply of sensory experience, and establishing the methodologies necessary to achieve this, will potentially create a

“paradigmatic shift.”⁵⁶

Day's publication is not the only one to incorporate various methodologies. While *Senses of the Empire: Multisensory Approaches to Roman Culture* is based on Roman material culture, the methods and theoretical underpinnings of its chapters both enumerate the senses and espouse traditional methods, though many if not most cite Hamilakis as central to the formation of their individual contributions.⁵⁷ In Betts' *Afterword*, she states while textual mining and material culture are to remain at the center for any archaeological analysis, researchers in sensory archaeology are to be more open to subjective interpretations of past experiences, that is, “autoethnographical” and “emphatic” approaches.⁵⁸ She cites Ruth Van Dyke's use of “creative non-fiction” writing as an example.⁵⁹ Though she does agree that there will continue to be various ways of approaching such studies, she urges readers to consider the usefulness of “biological similarities”⁶⁰ in our interpretation of the past. She ultimately agrees with Hamilakis that the incorporation of such approaches (i.e. alternative narratives, biological similarities, and subjective descriptions) will result in a “paradigmatic shift” away from current archaeological theory.

Jo Day, who includes a chapter by Hamilakis, edited the volume *Making Senses of the Past: Toward a Sensory Archaeology* (2013). She, citing Howes,⁶¹ views the archaeology of the senses as a response to the paradigm of discourse championed in later post-processual publications. In these writings, material culture including human bodies were read as texts, commonly ignoring their materiality and the human corporeal experience.⁶² In her research, Day combines the study of both symbolism and social meaning with the bodily effects of materiality on people within a specific context.⁶³ For example, she discusses the “sensorial assemblage”⁶⁴ of certain kinds of Minoan pottery that display floral imagery. She downplays their visual importance and emphasizes how their decoration may have enhanced the actual aromas of the substance contained in those wares while also causing mnemonic olfactory responses.⁶⁵ To provide some contrast for this sort of approach, Candance Weddle in the same volume argues literary and artistic records offer only a “senseless” investigation of the past.⁶⁶ Rather in her essay, she seeks to use a graphic, sensory-focused, ethnographic account of the Islamic Kurban Bayram large-scale sacrifices in Istanbul as

a way of understanding the sensory impact of ancient sacrifice in Rome rather than looking at, for example, wall paintings and textual accounts.

ARCHAEOLOGY WITH THE SENSES

Despite what it may seem, I am unsure that what is being championed by Hamilakis and cited by Betts and Day represents a complete overhaul of our traditional, archaeological theories and methods. Certainly, many of the chapters in both Betts' and Day's volumes employ such methods. What I would like to make clear here is that many of these publications in addition to my own research are not asking new questions that destabilize the traditional paradigm championed by archaeologists which seeks understanding of ancient social, political, economic, and/or cultural systems. Rather, sensory archaeology should seek to bring to light previously understudied or new questions that will fundamentally alter how we understand these issues as such studies will reveal that systems of culture are in fact dictated, constructed with, and experienced through a sensory framework. As Skeates lays out as the goals for an anthropology of the senses:

the goal of these studies is to explore: how and why the senses are culturally constructed in different societies; how they interrelate with the society's multiple dimensions in a given time and place; and how they are affected by the stimuli and resources of the dynamic natural world.⁶⁷

None of these three endeavors need represent anything other than what archaeologists have been working toward, but rather are representative of a shifting in perspective to open for study this important facet of what it means to be human. That because all human experience is shaped by their concept of the senses, there is no way to truly understand a culture without first being exposed to their sensory framework, should one be acknowledged to exist. Research programs such as these move beyond traditional concerns rather than away from them, as questions concerning the body and the senses are essential to the fundamental organization of a culture.

Many sensory studies of past spaces have either tried too hard to de-center their investigations away from what is foremost a bodily experience toward the materiality of the world, or pushed too far into the modern researcher's imagined experience of past

spaces. In my own work, I focus on using the available, material evidence to talk about the way ancient Egyptians understood their world through their bodies. Such a study that retains the body at its center without turning the body into a book that is to be read but as a wielder of agency, does not ignore the materiality of the world, but rather focuses on how materials affect people *through* culture.

Egypt has the advantage of preservation—with the dry, desiccating sands of the desert capable to protecting the most delicate of materials. So, in addition to the wealth of textual and pictographic material, there is also much in the way of material culture that might communicate to us in the present aspects of their sensory framework. As an inevitable part of studying ancient times, I would argue any sensory analysis of the past must be based in material remains—whether textual, microscopic, artistic, architectural, etc. and cannot be based solely on how we the researchers might perceive of a material. In my view, the examination of textual evidence could fill out the meaning behind sensory experiences.⁶⁸ Such analyses then might also be further elucidated by residue analysis, ethnographic research on the senses, as well as digital reconstructions of spaces and experimentations on how space could affect sensory experience. Thus, such a study promises to quickly become interdisciplinary due to its holistic nature and requires an anthropological perspective that seeks a complete understanding of how material, bodily, and cultural systems interact.

A CASE STUDY

While I recognize the complexity and synesthetic nature of sensory systems, I have chosen to focus specifically on smell as I find it evident in the Egyptian material that this was a highly valued sensory experience.⁶⁹ In Egyptology, publications on smell are rather rare. While some researchers such as Lise Manniche and Sydney Aufrère have worked tirelessly to identify ancient perfume and incense recipes,⁷⁰ others like Elliott Wise and Chloe Kroeter have focused on its link with purification and rebirth.⁷¹ None of these authors, however, have approached the study of smell from an anthropological sensory framework perspective, but have remained more interested in studying fragrances and incense rather than the interaction of the materials with the body and their engagement with the Egyptian cultural system.⁷² In addition, while it has been noted that the Egyptian gods

carried a particular smell,⁷³ the connotations of this characteristic have not been expanded upon, beyond how anointing the deceased might help them transition into the afterlife.⁷⁴

In examining early New Kingdom Theban tomb scenes⁷⁵ and noting the many visual and textual references to scents and smelling, it seems that the creation of a scent-rich environment was a significant part of the performance of particular rituals. To uncover the reason for this phenomenon, I will first establish the existence of ancient Egyptian terminology related to the act of smelling and its associated products. After having firmly established the presence of such a system, I will demonstrate how smell can be linked to a divine identity. Because gods exude an identifiable scent, their presence, whether invisible or disguised, might be revealed by that same odor. In the final part of the discussion, I will offer an example from Theban tomb scenes to demonstrate the usefulness of such a cultural meme as an artistic tool to reveal divine presence. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that a sensory approach within Egyptology promises to reveal innovative insights into the social significance of smell and its relationship to identity.

This case study only represents part of the picture, however, as the cultural meme of scent being related to identity existed outside the realm of the dead and divine (i.e. the tomb). In fact, scent is emphasized in a variety of contexts from Nineteenth Dynasty love poetry to satirical descriptions of work environments, from covering up the smell of stinky cheese⁷⁶ to its relationship to health and the provision of life.⁷⁷ The following case study represents only a portion of this research.⁷⁸ For a few textual references to these kinds of occurrences, consider these examples from Nineteenth Dynasty love poetry in which smell is used as a metaphor for closeness and desire.⁷⁹

The fragrance of your nose alone (*hnm fnd=k w^c.ty*) is that which gives life to my heart (pHarris 500, Collection II, 4)

I wish I were her Nubian, who is her companion in secret. She brings her [...] mandrakes. It is in her hand so that she might smell it. In other words: She brings me the form of all her limbs (oDM 1266 and OCGC 25218, B, 1)

There are also examples of smell used in

describing pitiful careers and lamentable levels of drunkenness:⁸⁰

The 'stoker, his fingers are foul; Their smell is that of corpses; His eyes are inflamed by much smoke (*Satire of the Trades*)

Now you are seated before the harlot, while you are soaked with *mrht*-oil with your *jstpn*-wreath at your neck, while you drum upon your belly. You stumble, falling upon your belly. You are anointed with manure (P Anast 4 12/4-5)

Though fascinating, these quotations are not the focus of this discussion. I included them, however, to demonstrate further the vast quantity of references one might pursue to discuss smell. In my study of early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tomb scenes, I discovered a stark contrast in images that are littered with scent based imagery (e.g., incense, flowers, garlands, unguents, and scented oils) and those that are not.⁸¹ I would suggest, by depicting this invisible sensory experience visibly with symbolic markers such as unguent cones, incense, and floral decoration, the Egyptians were evoking another invisible presence, that of the divine, as the gods were thought to exude such scents. Thus, by indicating their presence in tomb scenes, they are by extension ensuring their attendance.⁸²

Rune Nyord, citing Merleau-Ponty, suggests Egyptian art is aspective intending to display objects and figures in their entirety without the distraction of their perspective properties such as lighting, limited perception, or dimensional depth. In a sense, then, in Egyptian art, according to Nyord, "the visible is always a manifestation of the invisible."⁸³ Merleau-Ponty offers an example of a mountain. In order to see and know it is a mountain, the lighting, shadows, and reflections are not necessary, but rather the true mountain is hidden by these superfluous details.⁸⁴ Thus, for example, might this concept be expanded to consider tomb images of flowers resting on jars⁸⁵—are they in fact flowers placed on jars or are they visible representations of something invisible, that of the aromas contained within the vessels? The same occurrence might be at work with the offerings on a table—are they stacked or spread out? Do the musicians in a banquet scene represent only the figures or would the viewer have recognized the sound that would fill the room? It is from this perspective that I approach scent-related

imagery—not as concrete visualizations of an event, but as aspective artistic renderings of the invisible.

TERMINOLOGY

It is important first to establish the presence of smell in the repertoire of the ancient Egyptians as to limit researcher bias inherent in emphasizing a particular sensory experience. Even since the Predynastic period, the ancient Egyptians were known to have made unguents by combining oils, fats, or wax with smell-carrying materials like flowers and resins. The earliest example of this might be the Palestinian jugs excavated from Djer's Early Dynastic tomb at Abydos, in which chemical analyses revealed them once to have contained a mixture of lipids and pine resins.⁸⁶

There are many words recorded from the Egyptian language that might have referenced such products, such as *nwd*, *sgnn*, and *mrht*. Unfortunately, the nuanced meanings of such words make it difficult to determine their exact nature, though they are rather common in both literary and religious texts.⁸⁷ Similarly, Félix Relats-Montserrat conducted a two-part study on Gardiner's sign D19 "nose, eye, and cheek," which concluded that while the sign is generally used as a determinative in words relating to the nose, breathing, opposition, and feelings, the association between the determinative and the word's meaning is not systematic.⁸⁸ Though these areas of inquiry might not be so helpful to this discussion, it should be noted that the Egyptians did have words that referenced the act of smelling: *tpj* "sniff," *fnd* "nose," *hnm* "to smell or breath," and *stj* "odor, smell or perfume." While not exhaustive, nor surprising, this list should be sufficient to demonstrate the recognition of smelling as a facet of Egyptian life. Furthermore, *fnd* finds its way into epithets of at least two major deities: Osiris (*fnd.f-^cnh* "he who breaths life") and Thoth (*fndy* "beaky"), hinting at possibly a divine significance.⁸⁹

The word for incense, *sntr*, may also hint at a relationship between the divine and scent. *Sntr*, according to Faulkner's dictionary, might also be translated as the causative verb "to cense."⁹⁰ It is generally accepted that causative verbs in Middle Egyptian are formed by adding an "s" prefix to the verb root. If we were to separate the "s" from *sntr*, thus making *s.ntr* this word might also, sans context, be translated as "to cause to be divine." More typically, however, *sntr* is written with the *ntr* sign (R8) and the two-barbed arrowhead biliteral sign *sn* (T22) rather than the bolt-of-cloth "s" sign (S29).⁹¹

The translation of *sn.ntr* then could be "the smell of the god." The Pyramid Texts⁹² offer a perfect example for the exploitation of these variant spellings to make puns. Consider PT 200, in which *s.ntr* is juxtaposed with *sn.ntr*.⁹³ Or, as another example, PT 423 reads *m.k n.k sntr sntr*, "Take to yourself incense that you may be divine."⁹⁴ While the use of these alternate spellings as puns is likely not systematic across all examples, it does demonstrate an existing conversation taking place in ancient Egyptian on the nature of divinity and its relationship to scent and smell.

Having established the existence of a system for discussing smell, we might now turn to the material record of early New Kingdom tombs to seek the relevance of such an experience within the burial context. Archaeologically, it is difficult to assert which qualities of material goods might have necessitated their inclusion as burial goods, but it is worth noting that flowers, garlands, unguents, and incense make regular appearances as pieces of burial assemblages. If we take the pharaoh Tutankhamen as an example, he was buried with at least three floral arrangements on his body and nearly 350 liters of scented oils and fats.⁹⁵ The value of the buried unguent might further be emphasized by noting that some of the alabaster jar necks holding the unguent were broken and inside the excavators discovered fingerprints in the remains where some had been scooped out presumably by ancient robbers.⁹⁶

If it can be accepted that both the act of smelling and the characteristic of smell were recognized by the ancient Egyptians, it may yet be possible to establish the significance of such things from textual and artistic references limited in scope by both place and time. I now wish to reveal smell's function within the mortuary context by examining major mortuary texts and tomb scenes.

SMELL AND DIVINE IDENTITY

Evidence from the early New Kingdom indicates that at least by this time the ancient Egyptians believed the gods to carry with them a particular scent. For example, consider the *Ritual of Amun*, which has been found both on the walls of the temple of Seti I and in the Berlin Papyrus no. 3055, both of which date to the Nineteenth Dynasty. This document is made up of over thirty chapters which list the required rituals necessary to revivify Amun-Re each day.⁹⁷ Take for instance this excerpt:

r n sntr
dd mdw jj ntr dbw m h'w.f k3pw.n.f sw m jrt.f nt
dt.f sntr n ntr pr jm.f hr st r dwt pr m jwf.f ntr fdt
h3t(j)w.w r t3 rdjt.n.f sw n ntrw nbw...m33.sn tw
hnm.sn sty.k jw h'(j)w.w hr t3.k

A Speech of Becoming Divine/Incense

Words spoken, the god comes, whose body is adorned. He fumigated himself with his eye of his body and the incense of god, which comes out from within himself on account of the smell from the efflux which comes out of his flesh. The god's sweat, which he gave to all gods, descends to the land ... They shall see you when they smell your odor for you will appear in glory upon your land.⁹⁸

It becomes clear from this passage that Amun's sweat carries a particular odor, that of incense. Not only is his scent particularly recognizable by the living, but Amun gives this divine fragrance to all the gods thus intimately linking it with divine identity. It is not the material object, incense, which identifies a god's presence, but its pleasant scent.

IN ANOTHER New Kingdom example, this time from the Book of the Dead, Anubis recognizes the scent of Ani as one belonging among the gods, "I am satisfied with him. I smell his odor as belonging to one among you" (Spell 125).⁹⁹ In this quotation, Ani's scent identifies both the individual man and his divine nature.

Identifying a deceased person as smelling divine seems to stem from a much older tradition evidenced in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts. Using basic scent terms such as *sn* "to smell" and *stj* "smell, odor," these examples also use the divine scent as a means of identifying the deceased in a way that they will be accepted as one belonging among the gods. For example, PT 412 is simply, "your scent is as their scent."¹⁰⁰ Also consider PT 508 which similarly states, "this Pepi's scent is Horus's scent."¹⁰¹ Other examples include: PT 524 "His scent is the god's scent: the scent of Horus's eye is on the flesh of this Pepi;"¹⁰² PT 576 "Pepi's scent is that of Osiris;"¹⁰³ and PT 637 "Receive [the Eye of Horus's] scent on you and your scent will be sweet (*ndm*) like the Sun when he comes from the Akhet and [the Akhet gods] are agreeable to him."¹⁰⁴ All of these examples serve to demonstrate it was important for the deceased to be identified by the gods' scent rather than by their

own. As the Book of the Dead example might indicate above, this was to assist the deceased with transitioning into the hereafter and be accepted as one who belongs among the gods.

The fact that gods have a generally identifiable smell logically indicates that the recognition of such a smell could lead to the exposure of a divine being's presence, regardless of disguise or invisibility. A well-known example of such an instance comes from Deir el-Bahari, where the queen Hatshepsut has depicted her divine birth. This scene is in the north half of the middle colonnade of her mortuary complex. In it, Ahmosi, Hatshepsut's mother, is visited by the god Amun who has disguised himself as her husband. Ahmosi is offered an "ankh" symbol of life from Amun and it is captioned, "She awakened upon smelling the god" (*rs.n.s hr stj ntr*).¹⁰⁵ This concept is repeated in another caption in which Ahmosi "smells him," and so identifies him.¹⁰⁵ Like smell, a divine presence is invisible; and like smell, a divine presence might have a physical effect on the living. Therefore, even though divine presence is not readily visible in and of itself, it is through the god's smell, another invisible presence but one that has a physical effect on those upon the earth, that their divinity might be identified. Should this concept be recognized as an accepted cultural meme, then it might be used in other, namely related artistic, contexts to reveal this invisible presence visibly.

BANQUET SCENES

In the early Eighteenth Dynasty, elite, non-royal individuals had tombs constructed for themselves in the Theban necropolis. This period represented a time of increased prosperity and relative peace during which "the servants of this empire desired to display their own wealth and status through their tombs."¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, depictions of funerary rituals ultimately assisted the deceased with their transformation into an effective being prepared to endure in the hereafter. One of the most ubiquitous scenes present in these tombs is that of a banquet, which is regularly depicted on the wall of the transverse passage, arguably to focal wall of the T-shaped tombs popular at this time.¹⁰⁷ These banquet scenes are commonly broken into registers on which the revelers are placed single file across the register line or layered to show depth. Young servants are depicted holding a variety of serving vessels, unguent, and *menat*-necklaces while attending to the guests by offering drinks, anointing oils, or helping to put on necklaces and unguent cones. Where

musicians and dancers are included, they are often placed separately from the guests occupying their own space. The deceased is also separated from the general banqueters, being depicted larger and seated behind an offering table.

These scenes are rampant with scent-related imagery, including incense, anointing oils, flowers, and unguents. Unguent cones, which are round-topped cylinders found on the heads of both living and deceased banqueters, have often been written about, but there has been no agreement on their significance. Bruyère first offered an interpretation of these cones. He suggested that because the cone was regularly depicted on the head of the deceased they might be symbolic of rebirth.¹⁰⁸ Cherpion offered in response that the cones were symbolic representations of the invisible perfume worn by the banqueters.¹⁰⁹ Later, Simpson countered that the cones represent actual, material objects which were made of animal fat or wax mixed with scented materials and were worn as perfume and moisturizer for the hair.¹¹⁰ Manniche agreed with Simpson and went on to say that these cones would have melted in the heat and may have stained the garments of the wearers—thus explaining the yellowed stains that become more prevalent in later tomb scenes.¹¹¹

Neither supporting nor denying any of these interpretations, a scented cone was excavated from a burial at Amarna; this was placed on the head of individual 150, aged 25–30.¹¹² The excavated cone was hollow, and the interior was marked by crisscrossed lines which may indicate that the center was of an organic matter. While this discovery may indicate the cone was a material object by the Amarna Period, it is hard to disprove or support any of the interpretations for the earlier period which is under scrutiny in this discussion.

Another scent-related object depicted in the banquet scenes is the lotus flower, of which nearly every banqueter commonly is shown holding one. They also can be drawn about the heads of the attendees or attached to the necks of vessels, which likely indicates a scented material is being held within the container. The lotus flower is traditionally associated with rebirth through its relationship to the creation myth. In it, Nefertem, God of the Lotus Blossom, places a sun disc in a lotus flower, which, once it emerges from the water, blossoms and there reveals the sun god.¹¹³ Some scholars have also suggested the lotus flower may have been an intoxicant,¹¹⁴ but a recent study by David Counsell

suggests otherwise.¹¹⁵

These depictions of banquets do not resemble reality. All participants are youthful and vibrant, the deceased are seated among the living, dancers undertake elaborate movements with cones positioned precariously on their heads, and the focus is on drinking without the complement of food.¹¹⁶ I would suggest then that these observations indicate that the scene represents a ritual organized in such a way that marks it as distinct from the everyday. And, where might this ritual be taking place that the deceased can partake of the festivities alongside the living? Neither in the afterworld nor among the living, the scene appears as if it is taking place in a liminal zone between the visible and the invisible. If this is so, then might not the scented imagery in this sensescape be invoking another invisible presence, that of the divine? To provide stronger support for such a function of these scent-related motifs, I would suggest that they are demarcating the success of a ritual, in which a divine presence is revealed. I will suggest that the banquet scene is a ritual space meant to appease Hathor, Guardian of the West, who permits deceased persons to travel back and forth between the here and the hereafter to receive offerings. If scent-related imagery might reveal a divine presence, then by using it as an artistic marker for such a being in this context could ensure the success of the ritual—that of demonstrating that the deceased, having successfully been accepted into the afterworld among the gods, has been permitted to return to take part in the festivities. To demonstrate this, in a short digression, I will establish how banquet scenes are thought to invoke Hathor so as to add weight to the interpretation that the scented imagery in tomb scenes might reveal divine presence.

The banquet scene was likely used to invoke both Hathor and the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, representing an augmented reality in which the deceased are permitted to interact with the living.¹¹⁷ This festival occurred annually marking the transportation of the statue of Amun from the Karnak Temple on the east bank of Thebes, through the Theban necropolis, and to Hathor's chapel at Deir el-Bahari. Amun's statue stayed that night in Hathor's temple and then was returned the next day to Karnak, thus intertwining themes of rebirth and sexuality with the festival's overtones.¹¹⁸ By travelling through the necropolis, the festival, like the banquet scene, was taking place in a liminal space in which the dead and the living could

communicate.¹¹⁹ The festival followers would stop along the way to Hathor's chapel at their own family chapels to feast and revel. Archaeological evidence has been used to attest to this. For example, outside the tomb of Tjannui (TT 74), excavators unearthed fragments of pottery, reed mats, and food vessels.¹²⁰ There is also artistic evidence, in which the most common illustration on either side of the tomb's opening was the deceased making an offering to Amun, who would only be visible when the statue crossed the tomb's threshold.¹²¹

Sexual symbolism from these banquet scenes might also reference Hathor who was considered a fertility goddess.¹²² Separating guests based on sex, the nude adolescent serving girl motif, and images of mandrake and persea fruits have all been cited as sexual metaphors.¹²³ Relevant here to note is the visual pun represented by the serving girl pouring drinks for the guests, as the act of ejaculation and that of pouring are both translations of the word *stj*. Perhaps also interesting to note is that despite a change in lexical form, this word is a homonym for the word *stj* "smell or odor."¹²⁴

The final set of symbols that may invoke Hathor are those which relate to drunkenness. Hathor, also the goddess celebrated at the Festival of Drunkenness (Feast of *Thy*) attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty on, was often referenced as a Goddess of Drink.¹²⁵ The captions and illustrations of the servers in these banquet scenes encourage revelers to drink to excess. In TT100, a servant says while pouring a drink, "For your *ka*, to make a *hrw nfr* (good day).¹²⁶ In TT 77, a caption says "[...] your *ka* [...drink] to drunkenness! Spend a *hrw nfr*."¹²⁷

Perhaps by invoking Hathor, Guardian of the West, with this series of motifs, the scene is meant to appease her so that the deceased might be able to travel to the living-world to receive offerings. This suggestion might make sense as the deceased, when attending the banquet scene, is often depicted behind an offering table.¹²⁸ Hathor guards the entrance to the West. She is referenced in the Book of the Dead as "Hathor, Lady of the West; She of the West; Lady of the Sacred Land."¹²⁹ In an example from the tomb of Nebamun and Ipouky (TT 181), there is an inscription in which Nebamun begs permission from Hathor to temporarily return to the land of the living.¹³⁰ I would argue then that these banquet scenes represent a ritual space meant to appease Hathor that she might allow the deceased to travel between the here and the hereafter to receive offerings and so ensure their everlasting life.

As explained earlier, divine presence can be revealed by the god's smell. Though we do not know what the actual smell was, if we can accept that smell was intimately linked with identity within the Egyptian worldview and recognize the contrast in ritual and production scenes in these tombs in terms of smell-related imagery, it could be said that these images are serving a particular function related to identity. Thus, after deciphering the meaning behind such ritual scenes, it seems apparent that these scented materials reveal a divine presence, something that would be invisible in any other context. The presence of smell-related imagery in banquet scenes supports this interpretation by demonstrating the success of the ritual—that Hathor has indeed been appeased and that the deceased, and perhaps even Hathor herself, have returned to take part in the festivities.

CONCLUSION

In this discussion, I sought to demonstrate how scent was intimately linked with identity within the Egyptian mortuary context. I am not suggesting by focusing on scent in this paper any kind of hierarchy for the senses. Rather, it would likely be just as fruitful a discussion to seek to uncover information regarding other sensory experiences recognized by the ancient Egyptians. Further, as most of the evidence I used was textual and iconographic, rather than material or spatial, this research is only the foundation needed to be established before beginning an overall study of scent as part of the Egyptian sensory framework. Incorporating research into what is traditionally described as the mundane, daily life of the ancient Egyptian will enable us to understand better how smell functioned outside of the mortuary context. Through residue analysis of resins and scented oils, in examining the visibility of goods in burial assemblages, by tracking the importation and dispersion of scented materials, and seeking answers to questions concerning the level of standardization of scented materials and their accessibility, it will be possible to uncover the way smell and its role as part of the Egyptian sensory framework interpenetrated the Egyptian cultural system and its attributions of value. It is my wish that the framework and case study here presented serves to begin the effort to reincorporate the Egyptian experience back into Egyptology and to better recognize how the senses and our understanding of them affects and is affected by cultural context.

ABBREVIATIONS

Pyr. = Sethe, Kurt. 1908–1910. *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrucken und Photographien des Berliner Museums I–II*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

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NOTES

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- ² Firestein 2001; Hoover 2010.
- ³ The oft-quoted Proust and his thousands of pages resulting from the scent of a madeleine is a good example of this: Proust 1925. For other references see: Le Guérér 1992, 200–202; Shulman 2006; Engen 1982, 14–15.
- ⁴ Majid and Burenhult 2014.
- ⁵ Here are a few examples of how differently smell has been treated: Corbin 1986; Harvey

- 2006; Green 2011.
- 6 Kant 1905; Merleau-Ponty 2012.
- 7 Kant 1997, 40–41.
- 8 Merleau-Ponty 2004, 9–10; Merleau-Ponty 2012, 353.
- 9 Merleau-Ponty 2004, 7, 44; Merleau-Ponty 2012, 334.
- 10 Hoffman et al. 2015.
- 11 Hoffman et al. 2015, 1486.
- 12 Hoffman et al. 2015, 1484–1485.
- 13 Locke 2010, book 2, chapter 9.
- 14 Held et al. 2011.
- 15 Ayabe-Kanamura et al. 1998; Roberson 2008; Goldstein et al. 2009; Wnuk 2014, 125–138.
- 16 See examples from note 5.
- 17 Classen 1993; Howes 2003; Jütte 2005; Howes 2004; Howes 2014, 27–30; Betts 2017b.
- 18 Howes 2004, 1.
- 19 See note 5 for examples on smell. Also consider the seven-book *Sensory Formations Series* published by Berg (David Howes ed.). For more examples see the bibliography in Howes 2004.
- 20 Corbin 1986; Houston and Taube 2000; Harvey 2006; Green 2011; Betts 2017a.
- 21 Willander and Larsson 2006, 240–244; Li et al. 2007.
- 22 Goldstein et al. 2008; Frank et al. 2008; Boroditsky et al. 2011, 123–129; Wnuk and Majid 2013; Majid and Burenhult 2013.
- 23 For example, Hoover (2013) discusses how limited our knowledge of olfaction is.
- 24 Howes 2004, 4–5.
- 25 Howes 2014, 15–18.
- 26 Merleau-Ponty 2004, 39.
- 27 Kemp 1991.
- 28 Merleau-Ponty 2004, 63.
- 29 Merleau-Ponty 2004, 94.
- 30 Merleau-Ponty 2012, 104.
- 31 Tilley 1994; Van Dyke 2003; Allen et al. 2013.
- 32 Van Dyke 2003; Murphy 2013; Kolar 2017; Shep-
person 2017.
- 33 Skeates 2010; Betts 2017b.
- 34 Weddle 2013, 137–159.
- 35 For examples, consider Finnestad 1999; and from the Nubian Nile valley, Kleinitz 2008; also, Goebis 2011; and Froot 2013.
- 36 Goldsmith 2017; Masquelier-Looris and Tallet 2017; Moers 2017.
- 37 Pellini et al. 2015.
- 38 Pellini 2015.
- 39 Zinn, this volume.
- 40 Emerit and Elwart 2017; also, Meyer-Dietrich 2018.
- 41 Manniche 1997; Kroeter 2009; Harrington 2016; Hartley 2012.
- 42 Tilley 1994. For criticism of this approach, see Hamilakis 2013a.
- 43 Phenomenology and the body: Meskell 2000; Nyord 2009. Phenomenology and materiality: Meskell 2004. Phenomenology and religion: Naydler 2005.
- 44 Skeates and Day Forthcoming; Skeates 2010; Fahlander and Kjellström 2010; Hamilakis 2013a; Day 2013; Pellini 2015; Betts 2017b.
- 45 See note 36. Also, Kiersten Neumann has chaired the session *Senses and Sensibility in the Near East* for two years (2016, 2017) at the American Schools of Oriental Research annual conference with a third year already approved. The 2017 meeting in Boston had enough papers to warrant two separate sessions. Furthermore, at least two separate symposia involving archaeology and the senses are scheduled in 2018: 1) the 10th Annual McGill Anthropology Graduate Conference whose theme is “Sensing, Making Sense, and Sensibilities,” on 6–8 April 2018 at McGill University; and 2) the “Senses of Place” conference/workshop as organized by Eleanor Betts on 22–23 February, 2018 at the University of Roehampton.
- 46 Hamilakis 2013a; Hamilakis 2013b.
- 47 Hamilakis 2013b, 416.
- 48 Skeates 2010.
- 49 Hamilakis 2013a, 115–117.
- 50 Hamilakis 2013a, 119–124.
- 51 Hamilakis 2013a, 68.

- ⁵² Hamilakis 2013a, 114.
- ⁵³ For example, both Ruth Tringham and Tim Flohr Sørensen praise Hamilakis for his theoretical paradigm, but are disappointed by the application of his theory in his two case studies at the end of his book, Hamilakis 2013a. See Sørensen 2015; Tringham 2015.
- ⁵⁴ Day 2013, 2.
- ⁵⁵ Day 2013; Pellini 2015; Betts 2017b. Also, Fahlander and Kjellström 2010.
- ⁵⁶ Betts 2017b, 198; citing Hamilakis 2013a, 203.
- ⁵⁷ Betts 2017b, 198.
- ⁵⁸ Betts 2017b, 197.
- ⁵⁹ Van Dyke 2013, 395; cited in Betts 2017b, 195.
- ⁶⁰ Betts 2017b, 194.
- ⁶¹ Howes 2005, 1–4.
- ⁶² Day 2013, 5.
- ⁶³ Day 2017; Day 2013.
- ⁶⁴ Hamilakis 2013, 126–127.
- ⁶⁵ Day 2013.
- ⁶⁶ Weddle 2013, 140; compare Weddle 2017, 106.
- ⁶⁷ Skeates 2010, 4.
- ⁶⁸ Of course, it should be noted, a reliance on texts for filling out the meaning behind sensory experiences as observed in other artistic or material spheres is going to have its problems. But, equally problematic is a sensory archaeology without texts, which must rely on subjective, etic-based interpretations of past spaces. Whether one is employing creative narrative, ethnographic comparisons, or an examination of movement through space, the ultimate reliance is on the researcher’s ability to link the available evidence with their own probable conclusions. And, similarly, the same must be done even when texts are available. See Fahlander and Kjellström 2010, 6.
- ⁶⁹ Thompson 1994; Manniche 2003; El-Shimy 2003.
- ⁷⁰ Manniche 1989; Aufrère 1991; Manniche 2002.
- ⁷¹ Wise 2009, 67–80; Kroeter 2009.
- ⁷² For a rare example, see Finnestad 1999.
- ⁷³ Hornung 1982, 133–134; Meeks and Favard-Meeks 1996, 92.
- ⁷⁴ Thompson 1998.
- ⁷⁵ Dates represent an approximation of the time period covered in this case study. They are cited from the *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (UEE)* as determined by Thomas Schneider (University of British Columbia).
- ⁷⁶ A market scene with a seated figure selling cheese and wearing an unguent cone (TT 217): Davies 1927, pl. XXX.
- ⁷⁷ Consider an example from TT 38, the Tomb of Djoserkaere’s sonb, in which there is an offering scene that shows the deceased’s son presenting a bouquet of Amun so that it can, “exhale breath to [the father’s] nose day by day” (Davies 1963, 5, pl. 3). In another example from a garden scene in the Tomb of Rekhmire, TT100, a caption suggests scented (*st*) flowers are given to the deceased to help the deceased live forever (Davies 1943, I, 78; II, 4, pl. CXII).
- ⁷⁸ For a more complete overview of this research see my MA thesis: Price 2015, unpublished.
- ⁷⁹ Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009, 120.
- ⁸⁰ Lichtheim 1973, 184; Gardiner 1937, 48.
- ⁸¹ The following examples have little to no scent-related imagery: Selected examples: Manufacturing Scenes: Davies 1933, pl. XI–XII (TT 86); Davies 1923, pl. VIII, X (TT 75); Davies 1943 (vol. 2), pl. LII–LVII (TT 100); Davies 1963, pl. VIII, IX (TT 66). Agricultural Scenes: Davies 1963, pl. II (TT 38); Hartwig 2013, 28–29, fig. 2.3b; Davies 1923, pl. IX (TT 75); Davies 1943, II, pl. XXXIV (TT 100); Davies 1933, pl. XVII (TT 86). Miscellaneous scenes: Cattle Procession, Davies 1933, pl. XIV (TT 86). Foreign tribute: Davies 1933, pl. XXXV (TT 42). Hunting desert animals: Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. IX (TT 82). Collecting taxes: Davies 1943, II, pl. XXIX–XXXII (TT 100). In contrast, compare these scenes to any offering or banquet scenes from these same tombs.
- ⁸² Price 2015. For other examples of scent related to divine identity, consider Houston and Taube 2000; Harvey 2006, 126; and Murphy 2013.
- ⁸³ Nyord 2013, 145.
- ⁸⁴ Merleau-Ponty 2004, 298; cited in Nyord 2013, 145.
- ⁸⁵ For just two examples consider, TT75: Norman de Garis Davies 1923, pl. 6; and TT69: Hartwig

- 2013, 78.
- ⁸⁶ Serpico 2000, 457; Aufrère 1991, 463.
- ⁸⁷ For examples of *nwd*, see Erman and Grapow 1938, II, pt. 4, 327–328. For examples of *sngg*, see Erman and Grapow 1938, IV, 52. For examples of *mrht*, see Erman and Grapow 1938, IV, pt. 2, 160–162.
- ⁸⁸ Relats-Montserrat 2014; Relats-Montserrat 2016.
- ⁸⁹ Erman and Grapow 1938, I, 578. For examples, see Erman and Grapow 1938, I, 92.
- ⁹⁰ Faulkner 1962, 234.
- ⁹¹ See Gardiner 1957 for the sign references, e.g., D19.
- ⁹² It should be noted whenever the Pyramid Texts are referenced in this article, I will include both Faulkner’s and Allen’s labels, as the authors’ manner of designating individual spells differ (e.g., Faulkner Utterance 200 versus Allen W 137b). See both Faulkner 1969; and Allen 2005.
- ⁹³ Allen 2005, 18: W 137b. Also, Faulkner 1969, 36: Utterance 200; Sethe 1908, 67, 116. This example shows both variations of the writing for this word: one with *s* (S29) and the other with *sn* (T22).
- ⁹⁴ *PT* 423 (personal translation, cited from Price 2015, unpublished). See Sethe 1908, 419: *Pyr.* 765b. For translations, see Allen 2005, 101: P 7, W 176, and P 503; and Faulkner 2005, 140: Utterance 423.
- ⁹⁵ Newberry 1963; also Manniche 2002, 85.
- ⁹⁶ Reeves 1990, 95.
- ⁹⁷ See Mariette 1869; Erman 1901; Moret 1902.
- ⁹⁸ Moret 1902, 115–116: Chapter XII, 8. This translation is from Price 2015, unpublished.
- ⁹⁹ Faulkner 1994, pl. 30.
- ¹⁰⁰ Faulkner 1969, 135: PT 412; Allen 2005, 87: T228.
- ¹⁰¹ Faulkner 1969, 183: PT 508; Allen 2005, 140: P 357.
- ¹⁰² Faulkner 1969, 197: PT 524; Allen 2005, 163: P 472.
- ¹⁰³ Faulkner 1969, 231–232: PT 576; Allen 2005, 183: P 518.
- ¹⁰⁴ Faulkner 1969, 264: PT 637; Allen 2005, 262: N 302.
- ¹⁰⁵ Sethe 1961, 220, IV.14: *sn[.n.sw]*.
- ¹⁰⁶ Snape 2011, 190–191.
- ¹⁰⁷ Padgham 2012, 57. Of the 51 tombs she studied, there were 66 banquet scenes.
- ¹⁰⁸ Bruyère 1926, 113–178.
- ¹⁰⁹ Cherpion 1994, 83.
- ¹¹⁰ Simpson 1972, 73.
- ¹¹¹ Manniche 2002, 84.
- ¹¹² Kemp 2010; Kemp and Stevens 2010.
- ¹¹³ Wilkinson 2003, 133–134.
- ¹¹⁴ Emboden 1981; Harer 1985; Manniche 1997, 29–36; Hartley 2012, 25–44.
- ¹¹⁵ Counsell 2008, 208.
- ¹¹⁶ Manniche 1997, 29; Bryan 2009.
- ¹¹⁷ Schott 1953.
- ¹¹⁸ Kroeter 2009, 50.
- ¹¹⁹ Bryan 2009, 28–29.
- ¹²⁰ Brack and Brack 1977, 60.
- ¹²¹ Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 161.
- ¹²² Pinch 1993, 225.
- ¹²³ Kroeter 2009, 49; Robins 1993, 181.
- ¹²⁴ Compare the entries for these words in Erman and Grapow 1938, IV, 346–348 and 349–350.
- ¹²⁵ Spalinger 1993; Hartley 2012, 30.
- ¹²⁶ Davies 1943, II, pl LXIV (TT100).
- ¹²⁷ Manniche 1988, 20.
- ¹²⁸ For examples, see Davies 1923, pl. IV (TT 75), XXI, XXIII (TT 90); Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. IV (TT 82); Davies 1943, II, pl. LXIII.
- ¹²⁹ Spell 186: Faulkner 1994, pl. 37.
- ¹³⁰ Padgham 2012, 62.