Current Research in Egyptology 2019

Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Symposium, University of Alcalá, 17–21 June 2019

Edited by
Marta Arranz Cárcamo, Raúl Sánchez Casado, Albert Planelles Orozco, Sergio Alarcón Robledo, Jónatan Ortiz García, Patricia Mora Riudavets
About Access Archaeology

*Access Archaeology* offers a different publishing model for specialist academic material that might traditionally prove commercially unviable, perhaps due to its sheer extent or volume of colour content, or simply due to its relatively niche field of interest. This could apply, for example, to a PhD dissertation or a catalogue of archaeological data.

All *Access Archaeology* publications are available as a free-to-download pdf eBook and in print format. The free pdf download model supports dissemination in areas of the world where budgets are more severely limited, and also allows individual academics from all over the world the opportunity to access the material privately, rather than relying solely on their university or public library. Print copies, nevertheless, remain available to individuals and institutions who need or prefer them.

The material is refereed and/or peer reviewed. Copy-editing takes place prior to submission of the work for publication and is the responsibility of the author. Academics who are able to supply print-ready material are not charged any fee to publish (including making the material available as a free-to-download pdf). In some instances the material is type-set in-house and in these cases a small charge is passed on for layout work.

Our principal effort goes into promoting the material, both the free-to-download pdf and print edition, where *Access Archaeology* books get the same level of attention as all of our publications which are marketed through e-alerts, print catalogues, displays at academic conferences, and are supported by professional distribution worldwide.

The free pdf download allows for greater dissemination of academic work than traditional print models could ever hope to support. It is common for a free-to-download pdf to be downloaded hundreds or sometimes thousands of times when it first appears on our website. Print sales of such specialist material would take years to match this figure, if indeed they ever would.

This model may well evolve over time, but its ambition will always remain to publish archaeological material that would prove commercially unviable in traditional publishing models, without passing the expense on to the academic (author or reader).
Contents

Contents .................................................................................................................................................. i

Introduction .......................................................................................................................................... iii

List of paper presentations .................................................................................................................... v

List of poster presentations .................................................................................................................. xi

List of keynote lectures ......................................................................................................................... xii

Speaking bodies: an approach to the Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures of the Bronze Age (preliminary
remarks) .................................................................................................................................................. 1
Christos Kekes

Classification of ‘directive speech acts’ in Egyptian teaching texts ......................................................... 12
Simon Thuault

Preliminary study on offering trays in Qubbat el-Hawa ......................................................................... 23
Cristina Lechuga Ibáñez

Towards a prosopography of the priests of Akhmim from the Late Period to the Roman Period ........... 39
Marion Claude

Architectural models of ancient Egypt: the soul houses of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden ................ 47
Filippo Mi

The feminine touch: aspects of the role of women as evidenced in ancient Egyptian personal
correspondence ....................................................................................................................................... 78
Susan Thorpe

The temple of Khonsu at Karnak: the decoration of the south gate of the pylon ................................. 90
Abraham I. Fernández Pichel

Officials under Queen Mother Ahhotep ............................................................................................... 98
Beatriz Norla Serrano

Evidence for medical relations between Egypt and Hatti: a brief overview ........................................ 114
Marco De Pietri and Elena Urrí

Jmy-rī jpt nsw at the end of the 18th dynasty: an iconographical study .................................................. 130
Dana Běloňboviková

The perception of bodily fluids in ancient Egypt ................................................................................... 142
Clémente Audouit

Presenting four coloured linen in Ptolemaic temples ......................................................................... 157
Dorotea Wollnerová
Ancient Arabian horses? Revisiting ancient equine imagery ..................................................... 168
Lonneke Delpeut and Hylke Hettema

The demon-deity Maga: geographical variation and chronological transformation in ancient Egyptian demonology .................................................................................................................................. 183
John Rogers

What might the temple of Millions of Years of Thutmose III at Luxor have looked like? Some hypotheses about the decorative programme on sandstone remains ......................................................................................... 204
Linda Chapon
Introduction

The study of Egyptology has developed at the University of Alcalá only in the most recent years, but it is becoming firmly established thanks to a group of researchers that are very active in research and in establishing formal teaching, providing complementary courses, organizing conferences and seminars for both undergraduate and postgraduate students as well as for the general public interested on this ancient culture. Under these circumstances, organising the 20th edition of the Egyptological conference for young scholars, Current Research in Egyptology, was a significant challenge but also an important boost for a department that is trying to consolidate a high standard Egyptological programme. The conference was held on 17th–21st June 2019 with almost 200 participants who presented their research and attended very interesting and thought-provoking lectures. For one week, the city of Alcalá de Henares in Madrid became the frame for scientific discussion, exchange of ideas and networking with a conference programme that included not only scientific events but also a complete set of social and cultural activities.

The Organising Committee of CRE 2019 – Alcalá would like to express their gratitude to all participants and attendants to the conference for their exciting contributions and collaborative attitude. Special thanks are due to Dr Antonio J. Morales for his unconditional support and for his inestimable help during the organization of the conference and the edition of these proceedings. We would like to thank also the researchers who kindly accepted to join our conference by giving a keynote lecture. Thanks are due to Juan Carlos Moreno García, Antonio J. Morales Rondán, Josué J. Justel Vicente, María del Carmen Pérez Díez, José Ramón Pérez Accino Picatoste, Miguel Ángel Molinero Polo, Alejandro Jiménez Serrano, Joan Oller Guzmán and José Manuel Galán Allué. We would also like to acknowledge the authorities of the University of Alcalá for supporting us and providing premises, funding, and technical facilities for the CRE. We shall also mention the Asociación de Amigos de la Universidad de Alcalá, the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, the Temple of Debod and the City Councils of Alcalá de Henares, Madrid and Toledo for having contributed to the realisation of the conference. Last but not least, we would like to thank all our colleagues and students that have helped us during the whole process, especially our congress volunteers.

The present volume includes fourteen papers of a variety of topics that certainly represent the diversity, quality and interest of the contributions presented during CRE 2019 conference at Alcalá and stand for the research being developed by very promising young scholars in Egyptology in different institutions all over the world.

The University of Alcalá is also the institution under whose auspices is developed the Middle Kingdom Theban Project, led by Egyptologist Antonio J. Morales. The MKTP aims at the excavation, conservation, and epigraphic study of several Middle Kingdom tombs in the area of Deir el-Bahari and Asasif. Most of the editors of this volume and organisers of the conference are members of this archaeological mission. The development of the archaeological works of the MKTP expedition in its first five years of existence has also contributed to the consolidation of the Egyptological studies at Alcalá and the organization of events such as the CRE 2019. On that account, the cover photo illustrates a wall painting located in the early 11th dynasty tomb of Dagi (TT 103 / MMA 807), one of the monuments granted by the Egyptian Authorities to the Spanish concession of the University of Alcalá.
Group photograph taken by Patricia Mora Riudavets on June 19th 2019
Major College of San Ildefonso, University of Alcalá
Evidence for medical relations between Egypt and Ḫatti: a brief overview

Marco De Pietri and Elena Urzi

Abstract

Some Egyptian and Hittite documents refer to the exchange of medical knowledge; on one hand, Egypt sent physicians and medical ingredients to the Hittite land; on the other, the Hittites provided Egypt with raw materials used to prepare remedies for healing purposes. The Egypto-Hittite correspondence frequently mentions the dispatch of medicines to cure the sicknesses of members of the Hittite royal family, and the Amarna letters had already reported the exchange of medical notions and remedies. Egyptian physicians were needed by the Hittites on many occasions, e.g. to cure the sterility of the Hittite princess Matanazi, or to treat ocular diseases affecting Ḫattušili III and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša. Despite official and propagandistic accounts of political events, connections between Egypt and Hatti were strong including those in the field of medicine. This paper offers an overview of such relationships, reconsidering the work of previous studies in the light of both the Egyptian and the Hittite documentation: a history behind (and alongside) the official accounts, which provides us with greater insight on ancient medical practices and international relationships.

Keywords

Egyptian medicine; Egypto-Hittite correspondence; physicians; herbalists; Pariamaḫu; ḫr. t-pḫr. t = epēšu ñammi

Introduction

The relationships between Egypt and Ḫatti are well documented thanks to a wealth of historical sources (on both sides); nevertheless, it is probably less well known that many documents also refer to the field of medicine. Egypt sent physicians and medical ingredients to the Hittite land, while the Hittites supplied Egypt with vegetable ingredients used to prepare medical remedies (Lefebvre 1956; von Deines and Grapow 1959; Edel 1976; Germer 1979; Milani and Carruba 1986; Nunn 1996; Westendorf 1999; Bresciani and Del Tacca 2005; Allen 2005; Germer 2008; Cockitt and Rosalie 2010; Beck 2019). The Egypto-Hittite correspondence exchanged between Ramses II and Ḫattušili III (and possibly his successor Tutaliya IV) frequently mentions the dispatch of medicines to heal the sickness of members of the Hittite royal family, and the Amarna letters refer to the exchange of medical knowledge in the time of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. Egyptian physicians were requested by the Hittites on many occasions, e.g. to cure a fertility problem involving the Hittite princess

1 Further research on ancient Egyptian pharmacopoeia and its connections with medical practices are currently being conducted by a team of the University of Manchester, the ‘KNH Centre for Biomedical Egyptology’: [online] <http://www.knhcentre.manchester.ac.uk/research/previousandcompletedresearch/pharmacyproject/>, accessed 10 January 2020; cf. Urzi 2018.
Maššanawazi/Matanazi, sister of Ḥattušili III (text KBo XXVIII 30 = CTH 163: Edel 1994: 178–81 [75]; Bryce 1998; Cordani 2017: 145–6). Conversely, on some occasions, the Egyptians benefited from Near Eastern medical knowledge, e.g. when the precocious health of Amenhotep III led the King Tušratta of Mittanian to deliver a statue of the goddess Ištar of Nineveh to Egypt, with the purpose of improving the health of the sick Pharaoh (EA 23: Moran 1987: 61–2; Rainey 2015: 184–7).

The present contribution aims at pinpointing four key topics:

- The attestations and the role of physicians sent from Egypt to Ḥatti;
- An insight on Pariamahu, probably the most important Egyptian physician at that time, with some insights on his prosopography;
- An examination of the medicines dispatched to heal the sight of the Hittite King Ḥattušili III and of his vassal Kurunta, king of Taḫantāšša, trying to identify the nature of some of these medicines through the analysis of Egyptian medical papyri from the New Kingdom;
- An overview on the remedies for the eyes, the ingredients used by the Egyptian physicians to prepare eye medicaments and a possible magical use of ăḏātu-eye amulets.

Physicians, 10A.ZU = 10asā(m), sent from Egypt to Ḥatti

One of the most frequent classes of envoys sent from the Egyptian court to Ḥatti (often treated and considered just as ‘royal gifts’) is surely that of physicians. These envoys sometimes carried the second, complementary title of ‘scribe’ (10DUB.SAR). Considering that in Egypt many different figures acting within the medical field are attested (namely swm, z3w, ḫr.y-hb, w3b n šm.t, sm-priest and jr.t ḫr.t, possibly the ‘remedy-maker’), the equation of the term 10A.ZU = 10asā(m), which is probably also connected to the exorcist priest 10a-ši-pu (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 119ff), with an Egyptian counterpart is, unfortunately, still fairly obscure; therefore, it is not possible to further understand the actual nature of this specialist. Some physicians are nominally quoted in the Hittite sources: the most famous among them is surely Pariamahu, the physician sent by Ramesses II to Ḥatti, mentioned in many documents by Boğazköy; only three of them are reported here, some relevant words or passages have been highlighted (it is worth recalling that these texts have been strongly integrated by Elmar Edel, mostly for comparison):

a. KUB III 66 (Edel 1994: 170–3 [72, F4]); Ramesses II to Puduḫepa:

Transliteration

Verso

1' [.................................] 2 10DUB.SAR 10A.ZU 'Pa-ra- a-ma-ḥu-] dá
2' [a-na-ka aš-sa-ra-aḫ] 10DUB.SAR 10A.ZU 10A.ZU 'Pa-ri-a ma-ḥu-] dá
3' [a-na e-pe-ši ŠEŠ a-na LUGAL KUR Ta-hu-un-ta-aš kī]-at-tu-nu
4' [aš-pa-ra a-na iš-ša um-ma-a šu-up-ra-an-na-šī 10DUB.SAR 10A.ZU an-na-a
5' ŠEŠ a-na ku at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki-šu a-na aš-ši]-ša LUGAL aš-ra-nu
6' q[a-du gab-bi gab-bi ŠEŠ kī-i šu-ša i-kāš]-ša a-du a-na UGU-hi-ku-nu
7' [a-na UD-ši ul-li 2 10A.ZU ŠEŠ a-nu-t]-ša aš-ra-nu ŠEŠ a-la-ki-šu
8' ŠEŠ a-na ku at-ta-li-i a-na a-la-ki-šu a-na KUJR Mi-ša-ši-i Rasur
9' i-na [UD-ši ul-li a-mur al-te-mē ša a]-š-ti ŠEŠ a-la-ki-šu
10' "[x .........................] an-[n]-i ša ar-ti tāš-pu-ri
11' i-n[a]-an-na a-na ma DUB.SAR 16 A.ZU ša LUGAL]Iš-sa-bat I-na a-da-ni an-ni-i
12' [KASKAL 16 |a-at-tu-š]a UG[U Ú.MEŠ ša] i-pu-ši a-na UGU-ḫi-ki

Translation
Verso.
1' ..........................................................
2' [ich habe nunmehr den Schreiber (und) Arzt Pariamalḫū]ī [abgesandt]
3' [um für den König des Landes Tarḫuntašš Arzneien zu bereiten, wie] ihr
5' und [ich habe veranlaßt, daß er zu dem Ort [geht], wo sich der König (= Hattuššil) befindet,
6' mi[tt allen, allen Arzneien. Sobald er] zu euch [gela]ngt,
7' sollen a[n]en(jen Tag]e diese [zwei Ärzte], (die) sich dort befinden, (mit ihrer Tätigkeit) aufhören;
8' und [veranlasse sie], an [jenem Tage ins Land] Ägypten [zu gehen]
9' [Siehe, ich habe vernommen, was du geschrieben hast.
10' Und [.................................] die[sen Plan], den du geschrieben hast
11' so(eben). Der Schreiber (und) König(arzt] hat nunmehr [in diesem Augenblick
12' [den Weg nach Hattušša] eingesehen weg=en der Arzneien, die] er für dich bereiten wird.

b. KUB III 67 (Edel 1994: 170–1 [71, F3]); Ramses II to Ḫattušili III or Tutḫaliya IV:

Transliteration
Recto.
12' [u]m-ma-a a-nu-ma a-na-ka aš-sa-ra-aḫ DUB.SAR A.ZU-ū

Verso.
1  'Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-ū it-ta-an-ru a-na a-la-ki-šu u-na e-pe-ši
2  Ú.MEŠ a-na LUGAL KUR Tar-ḫu-un-ta-šKu ru-un-ta šu-ū
3  e-si-[i] ṭa-ŠUBRAG bi-gab-bi Ú.MEŠ a-kī-l la a-ta tāš-pu-ra
4  ṭa-ŠUBRAG ŠU[a]-la a-na UGU-ḫi-ka ša a-ta-ta qa-ki-šu
5  a-na LUGAL KUR Tar-ḫu-un-ta-šKu ru-un-ta a-na e-pe-ši Ú.MEŠ a-na
6  a-ta-su-ru-uh 2 A.ZU.MEŠ a-nu-ti ša aš-ra-nu it-ti-šu
7  a-ta-su-ru-uh 2 A.ZU.MEŠ a-nu-ti ša aš-ra-nu it-ti-šu
8  ša a-ta-su-ru-uh 2 A.ZU.MEŠ a-nu-ti ša aš-ra-nu it-ti-šu
9  ša a-ta-su-ru-uh 2 A.ZU.MEŠ a-nu-ti ša aš-ra-nu it-ti-šu
10  ša a-ta-su-ru-uh 2 A.ZU.MEŠ a-nu-ti ša aš-ra-nu it-ti-šu
11  ŠUBRAG ŠU[a]-la a-na UGU-ḫi-ka ša a-ta-ta qa-ki-šu
12  ŠUBRAG ŠU[a]-la a-na UGU-ḫi-ka ša a-ta-ta qa-ki-šu
13  [.................................] x

Translation
Recto.
13' So (sprich): Ich habe nunmehr den Schreiber (und) Arzt

Verso.
1  Pariamalḫū entsandt, man hat ihn zu gehen veranlaßt, um
2  Arzneien für den König des Landes Tarḫuntašš (namens) Kurunta herzustellen, und er
3  wird alle, alle (Arten von) Arzneien zuweisen entsprechend dem, was du geschrieben hast.

2 The Sumerogram 16 A.ZU-ū (representing the Akkadian nominative singular 16 asū) is mistakenly used here as a direct object.
4 Und sobald er zu dir gelangt, überstelle du ihn
dem König des Landes Tarḫuntašš (namens) Kurunta, um Arzneien für ihn herzustellen.
5 Und entsende du diese zwei Ärzt(e), die sich dort bei ihm (Kurunta) befinden,
6 und veranlasse sie, ins Land Ägypten zu gehen.
7 [Sobald der Schreiber (und) Arzt Parramahššī zu ihm gelangt,
8 [an] enem Tage sollen sie (die beiden Ärzte) ihre Tätigkeit einstellen. [Siehe, f]ürwahr, ich habe
9 vernommen,
10 [was du] gesagt hast. Man hat [den Schreiber (und) Arzt
11 [Parramahššī entsandt], und er [wird] alle, alle (Arten von) Arzneien [zuteilen],
12 [entsprechend dem, was du geschrieben hast. Siehe, fürwahr du [......
13 [.................................] ] [...

c. NBC 3934 (Edel 1994: 52–7 [22, D3]); Ramses II to Ḥattušili III:

Transliteration
Verso.
7' [a-a-mur at-ta-te-te-ri-š]a ma-la 2-ša 3-ša a-na ša-pa-ri
8' [10 a-sa-a a-na ka-ša-ša] i] al-ta-a-pa-ak-k]a 10 a-sa-a
10' [u ša-ru i]l-la-ku ar-da]-ša a-na k]a-a-ša u ul-te-bil-ak]-ka
11' ŠE.MEŠ SIG₃-qù-ti dan-niš dan-niš i ] na ŠU-ti DUMU.KIN,MEŠ-ri-ša
12' [u ša-ru i]p-pu-ša ša-am-ma a-na k]a-a-ša i na ŠA-bi-šu-nu
13' [a-mur a-na-ka-ki-ta-din a-na] ša-pa-ri 10 a-sa-a a-na ka-ša
15' [d]an-niš ša an-ni-ka i na KUR Mi]-le-ri]-i i ki i a-na-ka ad-din
16' [a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na ka]-a-ša ki DÜ.GA ki-i DÜ.GA
17' [a-na bu-u-li-ti-ka e-te-pu-uš] UGU šu-mi-ka

Translation
Verso.
7' [und siehe, du hast] einmal, zweimal, dreimal [gebete]n,
8' [dir einen Arzt] zu senden; [und] ich habe dir einen Arzt gesandt
9' [mit guten Arzneien], indem sich Leja bei ihm befindet,
10' [und sie sollen eilends zu d]ir [gehen], und ich habe di[rf]
11' [sehr, sehr gute Arzneien] durch die Hand meiner Boten übersandt,
12' [und sie sollen d]ir [ein Heilmittel] aus ihnen [bereiten];
13' [und siehe, ich habe veranlasst], dir den Arzt
14' [und den Leja zu] schicken, [und sie werden] dir alle [sehr] guten Arzneien [bringen],
15' [die es hier im Land Ägypten gibt; und da ich [sie] freundlicherweise veranlasstete,
16' [zu d]ir [zu gehen]
17' [um dich zu heilen, tat ich] wegen deines Namens.

18' [Und siehe, ich sagte] zu [diesen] Ärzten
19' [wie folgt:] „falls meinem Bruder Übü]nes angetan werden sollte,
20' [so bereitet für ihn alle Arten] sehr, sehr [guter] [Drogen]
21' [und ich ließe sie] ins Land Hatti
22' [zu meinem Bruder gehen.
These letters provide us with important information on the exchange and sharing of medical knowledge between the Egyptian and the Hittite courts: firstly, KUB III 66 attests the sending of the 10DUB.SAR 10A.ZU 1Pa-ri-a-ma-ṣu-ā, 'the scribe and physician Pariamaḥu', in charge of a specific purpose, i.e. a-na e-pe-ṣi Ū.MES,3 'to prepare (lit. make) medicines', which are qualified as gab-bi gab-bi (AHw 1 [A–L]: 282; cf. CDA: 87 and CAD 5 [G]: 4–5), 'all all (i.e. of any kind)' for Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša. Together with the (probably chief) physician Pariamaḥu, two other physicians (possibly his assistants) are sent to Ḫattuša. The second document, KUB III 67, mentions Pariamaḥu with the aforementioned titles, together with the same two 'assistant physicians'; the attestation of these functionaries in two letters of the same period indicates a specific event and possibly suggests a cluster or pattern of exchange, describing determined teams of physicians who were always sent in a group to the Hittite court (probably because of the difficulties of the journey, or maybe because the chief physician needed his own 'assistants'). The last letter, NBC 3934, mentions the sending of an unnamed physician together with the messenger Leja; this physician is specifically responsible for preparing gab-bi Ū.MES SIG₃-qī-ti dan-niṣ dan-niṣ,4 'all, very very good remedies (lit. plants)' (for this last term, reduplicated to render, as sometimes happens in Akkadian, the absolute superlative adjective, see AHw 1 [A–L]: 160–1; cf. CDA: 56 and CAD 3 (D): 91–2); furthermore, E. Edel translated the term same (lit. 'plants') in verso 12 as 'Heilmittel', suggesting the interpretation of the lemma as '(medical) remedy' (nevertheless, this last consideration has to be regarded as a personal, not cogent suggestion).

An attempted prosopography for Pariamaḥu

Since Pariamaḥu is frequently attested as a physician in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, further insight into his role is justified. Some information about this name has already been presented in two papers published by William Foxwell Albright and later by E. Edel (Albright 1946; Edel 1948). According to Albright, the name Pariamaḥu would have derived from the Egyptian name P3-ru-m-hb, 'the Sun-God is in Festival' ({{Z-pa-ri-a-ma-ṣu-ā-ī-mu}}; Ranke 1910: 17; Ranke 1935: 114 [13]), a hypothesis which was rejected by E. Edel, who read the name as P3-ru-m-har, 'the Sun-God is in front' ({{Z-pa-ri-a-ma-har-ī-mu}}; not attested in Ranke 1935), based on philology. If we share W. F. Albright's interpretation, we have, so far, only two funerary contexts related to the name 'Pa-re-a-ma-ṣu-ā = P3-ru-m-hb'; the first one is in a tomb at Dra' Abu el-Naga (TT 302) belonging to an 'overseer of the magazine', son of Userhat, chief of the magazine of Amun, dating to the Ramesside period (Porter and Moss 1960: 381 {{Z-pa-re-a-ma-ṣu-ā-ī-mu}}); the second one comes from a tomb at Khokha (TT 363) belonging to an 'overseer of the singers of Amun' and dated to the end of 19th dynasty (Porter and Moss 1960: 427 {{Z-pa-re-a-ma-ṣu-ā-ī-mu}}); no further archaeological

---

3 For the term Ū.MES, see the epSD2, under lemma Ū = u₃, 'bread, loaf, food, grass, herb, pasture, plant(s)'; the term is usually classified by the determinative for 'plant' and is here rendered in the plural form (MES). The equation between Sumerian Ū and Akkadian Sammum is clearly stated in the epSD2: cf. also AHw 3 (S-Z): 1156–7; CDA: 353; CAD 17/1 (S): 315–21. The equation of Sumerian Ū with Hittite wašši is stated e.g. in Burde 1974: 81 (cf. Haas 2003: 125–8, about the Sumerogram Ū in Hittite).

4 SIG₃ is the Sumerogram (see epSD2 under lemma 'sag'; the Hittite version SIG₃ from the Akkadian syllabary, can be found in HZL: 236 [239]) corresponding to Akkadian damqu(m), feminine damiṣqtu(m); see AHw 1 (A–L): 157; cf. CDA: 55 and CAD 3 (D): 68–74. On this topic, cf. also Edel 1976: 77–8, advancing the hypothesis of the equation jnr-pbhr = epīŠu šammi, describing the expression as referring to the possible existence of a herbalist.
contexts offer information about P3-r⁻ᵐ-hb. Although the dating of these two tombs within the Ramesside period fits the span of the Hittite letters, it is impossible to attribute one of these tombs to the physician Pariamahu with any certainty since (as far as the archaeological evidence testifies) in both the aforementioned tombs, the owner is never defined as a 'physician' (swmv).

Moving to archaeological artefacts, the name P3-r⁻ᵐ-hb is attested nine times: on a djed-pillar, quoting an 'overseer of the cabinet', from the 19th dynasty (Bologna, no. 1892 ; on three canopic jars, one held in New Haven and two in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Tahrir Square (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery, no. 13.1.1953; Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CGC 4322); one of these refers to a 'Great Overseer of the cattle of Amun', probably dating to the 19th dynasty (Reisner 1967: 218–9, pl. 54, ); two stelae, one from the Temple of Hauron-Haremakhet, referring to a 'head of works' (reign of Seti I), the second one from the surroundings of the Great Sphinx (undatable); one door-jamb of P3y, at the British Museum, quoting P3-r⁻ᵐ-hb, dated to the 19th dynasty (BM EA 186 ); two stelae at the British Museum quoting P3y-nsy and P3-r⁻ᵐ-hb, dating to the 19th–20th dynasty (BM EA 141 / BM EA 1183 , the former referring to a 'chief of goldsmiths in the House of Gold'; finally, an inscription on a limestone portion of what could have been part of a sarcophagus or a wall, today held at the Berlin Museum, where the name P3-r⁻ᵐ-hb can be read in the central part of the inscription (Berlin 7289 , in Roeder 1924: 166 [7289]).

Broadening the textual evidence to attestations of the name on papyri, we have only two references to P3-r⁻ᵐ-hb in Papyrus Anastasi III, within the 'extracts of the journal of a border official'. Here, we find attestations of the 'garrison commander' P3-r⁻ᵐ-hb and of the 'lieutenant' P3-r⁻ᵐ-hb (relevant passages in bold):

![Figure 1. Transcription of Papyrus Anastasi III, vso. 5–6 (after Gardiner 1937: 32).](image)

'(vso. 6,1) Regnal-year 3, first month of Shômu, day 15. [...] (vso. 5,4) Coming by Pmerkhetem son of Any, stable-master of Meneptah-hôptphimâ-ê (l. p. h.), a town (vs. 5,5) which is in the district of Pirem. What he took to the place where the King is: 2 dispatches, viz. (vso. 5,6) (for the garrison-commander Pra-emhab, 1 dispatch; (vso. 5,7) (for the lieutenant Pra-emhab, 1 dispatch)' (Caminos 1954: 108–9).

In conclusion, we have neither any other Hittite references to P3-r⁻ᵐ-hb nor (on the Egyptian side) any striking attestations about this figure, which would align with the information found in the letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence. Thus, with the current data at hand, it is impossible to create a complete prosopography of Pariamahu.
Medicines for healing eye sicknesses

Many letters exchanged between the Egyptian and Hittite courts attest the dispatch of medical remedies sent to cure the ocular diseases of Ḫattušili III and of Kurunta (relevant words or passages are in bold):

a. **KBo XXVIII 4** (Edel 1994: 116–23 [46, E13]; Cordani 2017: 118–21); **Ramses II to Puduḫepa:**

**Transliteration**
Verso.

0′ [x IGI.MEŠ šum-mu-ḫu-šû ša KŪ.GI SIG, tam-lu-šû KILAL-šu 36 GIN] […]
12′ […] 5 ḫuḫu-ḫu-bu [š]a UM.EŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₃ SIG₄

Translation
Verso.

0′ [x verschiedene (Uzat)augen aus gutem Gold, mit Besatz, dessen Gewicht 36 Schekel beträgt], […]
12′ [……] 5 kukubu-Gefäße [m]it sehr guten Arzneien für die Augen;

13′ 20 Körbe mit sehr guten Arzneien für die Augen.

b. **KUB III 63** (Edel 1994: 164–71 [51, E18]; Cordani 2017: 123–4); **Ramses II to Puduḫepa:**

**Transliteration**
Verso.

8′ 1 na-aš-[pa-ku ša KŪ.GI (?) ša UM.EŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₂ SIG₃ […] 10 MEŠ [ku-]-šu GA[ša …] UM.EŠ ma-

Translation
Verso.

8′ 1 Vorrat[skrug aus Gold(?) mit sehr gut[ten Arzneien für die Augen(?)]; x • 10 gros[e] ku]kubu-Gefäße [aus Gold(?), die] mit Arzneien gefüllt sind.

c. **KBo XXVII 5(+)6** (Edel 1994: 112–6 [45, E12]); **Ramses II to Ḫattušili III:**

**Transliteration**
Verso.

7′ [x . . . . . . . IGI.MEŠ šum-mu-ḫu-tu ša KŪ.GI SIG, tam-šu KILAL-šu 36 GIN] […]
[19′] […] 5 ḫuḫu-ḫu-bu ša UM.EŠ ša IGI.MEŠ SIG₃ SIG₄

Translation
Verso.

7′ [x verschiedene ([Uzat]augen) aus gutem Gold, mit Besatz, dessen Gewicht 36 Schekel beträgt.
[…]
[19′] […] 5 kukubu-Gefäße mit sehr guten Drogen für die Augen;

20′ [20 Körbe mit sehr guten Drogen für die Augen]
d. KUB III 51 (Edel 1994: 16–9 [2, A1]); Ramses II to Ḫattušili III:

Transliteration

Verso. (?)

1' [.................................] x [.....] x [ ] x [...
2' [............................... ü a-na-kur ur-te-bi] gab-bi ša-am-mi[MEŠ]
3' [SIG₂,qu-ti a-na IG.LMEŠ ša ŠES-ia ü] a-na-kur at-ta-din 1-en 16š-aq-ru-ma[-aš]
4' [a-na a-la-ki it-ti PIR-ri-ḫa-hña-tű] šu-ú il-li-il-ki a-na [ZAG.ŠES]
6' [gab-bi ša-am-miMEŠ ša il-qu-ú al[j] šu-ú it-ta-din 1-en 16š-aq-ar-gu]
7' [a-na a-la-ki a-na UGU-ḫi ŠES-ia q]a-da ša-am-miMEŠ ša LUGAL ŠES-ia
8' [id-di ma a-na šu-bu-li šu-šu ar-bi]-še ar-bi-š a-na UGU-ḫi ŠES-ia
9' [i-na ŠU-ti šu PIR-ri-ḫa-na-ua] a-na-ki aš-ta-pār ṣu-pa a-na LÚ KUR [A-mur-ri]
10' [um-a a-na-ka u-še-bi-la a-na ŠES]-la ša-am-ma a-na IG.LMEŠ ša [ŠES-ia]

Translation

Verso. (?)

1' [.................................] ..... [...
3' [für die Augen meines Bruders] bringen [und] ich ließ einen Streitwagenoffizier
4' [mit Piripḫana] gehn, und dieser ging zu [Bentešina],
5' [dem Fürsten des Landes Amurru, mit meinem Boten] Piripḫana, und er gab ih[m]
6' [alle Arzneien, die er gebracht hatte; und] der ließ einen saggu-Offizier
7' [zu meinem Bruder gehen mi]t den Drogen, die der König, dein Bruder,
8' [e]le[ndis, etiendes zu meinem brüder [hatte bringen lassen]
9' [durch die Hand Piripḫanas, und ich] schrieb einen Brief an den Fürsten des Landes [Amurru]
10' [folgendermaßen:] „Ich habe meinem Bruder eine Arznei für die Augen [meines Bruders bringen lassen (sowie)].

KBo VII 10 (Edel 1994: 200–1 [93, 113]); Ramses II and Nefertari to Ḫattušili III and Puduḥepa:

List of gifts sent by the Egyptians:

Transliteration

Recto.

3' [...] 5 iḫ-ra-bu-nē-tuMEŠ
4' [ša URUDU(?)] ša ma-lu-ū ša-am-miMEŠ ša IG.LMEŠ SIG₂,MEŠ SIG₂,MEŠ
5' [20(?)] GL.MEŠ ša ma-lu-ū ša-am-miMEŠ ša IG.LMEŠ SIG₂,MEŠ SIG₂,MEŠ

Translation

Recto.

3' [...] 5 hubnumu-Gefäße
4' [aus Kupfer (?), die gehäuft sind mit] sehr guten [Arzneien für die Augen];
5' [20 (?) Körbe, die gehäuft sind mit sehr guten [Arzneien für die Augen];

KBo VIII 13 + KBo XXVIII 24 (Edel 1994: 80–5 [30, D11]; Cordani 2017: 138–9); Ramses II to Ḫattušili III:

Transliteration

Recto.

12' [u]ma-a a-na ŠES-ia-[a] ša ŠES-ia iš-pu-ra a-n[a] a-ši um-ma-ša [u-bi-la Ū.MEŠ li-ū-ti ša IG.LMEŠ-ia]
13' [ša tu-še-bi]-la-[a] a-na-ši a-na-pa-na-ša ŠES-ia-kān]-na iš-pu-ra[a-a-na a-ši a-nu-ma ul-te-bi-la Ū.MEŠ]

171
14' [li-ui]-ti ša IGL.MEŠ ša [ŠEŠ-ia i-na ŠU-ti 'Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu]-u dum-um-a-a [a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma u ša ŠEŠ-ia iš-pu-ra]

Verso
7 [a-nu-ma ŠEŠ-ia-[I]-ta-na-ap-pa-ra a-na ia-ši gi[n]-a gi-na-a um-ma-a-ul ta-[ša][p-pa-ra-a Ū.MEŠ]
8 [a-n-iš]a UGU 'ku-ru-un-ta ŠEŠ-ia liš-pu-ra ḫi-ši-ih-[ta] a-na ša-a-šu u a-na-ku u še-[bí]l ḫi-ši-ih-[ta]
9 [a-n-na ka-a-ša [u a-mur a-na-ka al-tap-ra a-na ŠEŠ-ia] u a-mur a-na-ka e-te-ri-[iš] ḫi-ši-[i]-ti ša IGL.MEŠ(?)-šu
10 [i-ti]-ki šEŠ-ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-mur il-ta[p]-ru Ū.MEŠ li-ú-ti₄₃ ṣa [IGL.MEŠ(?)] ša 'ku-ru-un-ta]
11 [i-nu li-ú-ti 'Pan-a-ma-ḫu]-u ............................................ [um-ni]-[n-i]-[a] x x-x[u] a[ ...]
12 [..................................................] šu-bi-la-[a]-ššu- ...
13 [ ..............................................................] ni-in-ni x[ ...]
14 [ ..............................................................] a-na-ti a-ni-ta um(?)-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma a-nu-ma ŠEŠ-ia il-ta-na-ap-pa-ra

Translation

Recto
12' [S]o (spricht) zu meinem Bruder: [Und was m]ir [mein Bruder geschrieben hat], wie folgt: „[Auf] w[irksam e Arzneien für meine Augen bringen]

Verso
9 [a]n dich schenken! Siehe, ich habe meinem Bruder geschrieben], und siehe, ich habe das [für seine Augen(?)] Gewünschtes.
10 [v]on dir erbete‘‘ - [so hat mein Bruder mir geschrieben. Siehe], man [hat] wirksame Arzneien für [die Augen (?)] Kuruntas geschickt
11 [d]urch die Hand des Pariamahu ................................................. wie folgt .................
12 [..................................................] laß ihn/sie bringen! [ ...]
13 [ ..............................................................] sie [ ......] mich [ ...]
14 [ ..............................................................] diese [Angelegenhet. S[o? (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Nunmehr schreibt mir mein Bruder]

This last text reports on agreements for the dispatch of some medicines for Ḫattušili’s eyes and openly quotes the ‘Pax Hittitica’, established with the ‘Silver Treaty’. The end of the verso, convincingly integrated by E. Edel, would probably have reported on the request for physicians (probably the usual Pariamahu) by Ḫattušili to take care of Kurunta’s health. The quotation, on the verso of KUB III 51 (supra, text d) is particularly noteworthy; among the other gifts, of ‘various good plants/medicines for the eyes’ (gab-bi ša-am-mi[îîs] / [SIG-qat-ti a-na] IGL.MEŠ, Verso 2‘-3‘), to heal a disease in the eyes of Ḫattušili (nevertheless, it is worth remembering that this last passage has been convincingly integrated by E. Edel and therefore a margin of error and uncertainty must be always considered). Rameses delivered these medicines firstly to Bentešina, king of Amurr, with the purpose of dispatching them ‘very quickly’ (ar-ḫi-[î]-ir ar-ḫi-[î], verso 8‘) to the Hittite king through a sarçu-official (for this title, see Edel 1994, vol. 2: 34). The recourse to this person could be explained (as E. Edel did) by the need for the quick dispatch of these medicines (maybe because the health problems of the Hittite king might have been
serious); in fact, the entire expedition led by Pirahmawa would have taken much more time to reach Ḫatti because of the considerable amount of gifts. Among the Hittite sources, some texts deal with medical treatments (CTH 461, 765, 808–9, 811); in particular, CTH 809 reports medical remedies for healing ocular diseases (Burdz 1974; Arnold 2002: 43; Fincke 2010; Schwemer 2013: 153). Unfortunately, these Hittite texts do not allow for the identification of the precise components of such remedies, and neither is the typology of the diseases healed not well-defined, generally referring to an eye sickness ‘making the eyes blank/white’ (probably something similar to albuginea). Furthermore, in the Hittite capital, some Akkadian uracural texts (ominu) against diseases were discovered (CTH 537: Wilhelm 1994); unfortunately, these documents do not provide us with any further information about ocular diseases, and neither does the oracular nature of the texts properly fit medical science as it was perceived in Egypt, taking a much more Mesopotamian approach to the topic. Nevertheless, the analysis of the Hittite medical documentation seems to show that the Hittite physicians did not succeed in providing effective therapies for the eye disease of Ḫattušili III, and thus, we can wonder if the Hittite king was forced to request the well-renowned medical assistance of the Egyptians.

Medical recipes for healing eye diseases, ingredients used to prepare eye medicaments and the possible magical use of udfat-eyes

In order to better clarify the quality and the components of the aforementioned remedies, this paragraph presents some data from New Kingdom Egyptian medical papyri, mostly the Ebers Papyrus, the London medical papyrus BM EA 10059 (hereinafter called the London Papyrus), and the papyrus Louvre E 32847.

Among the corpus of Egyptian medical texts, there are examples of many diseases that were healed: 37% of this information is related to unidentified diseases; 33% describes diseases which were specifically identified; 16% focuses on eye protection; 14% includes diseases which were not clearly identified. Focusing on the Egyptian sources concerning eye medicaments, we can find 150 remedies to heal eyes: 91 from the Ebers Papyrus, 5 six from the London Papyrus, 4 and 47 from papyrus Louvre E 32847. 7 It is important to consider that the remedies are not always clear; thus, all the data provided must be regarded as an approximation. When considered in detail, the remedies include 126 medicaments for specific ocular diseases (some of them still have not been identified), 29 medicaments for undefined ocular diseases (one, Eb. 422, for a person from Byblos), and thirteen formulae for eye protection, limited to ritual spells.

The following diseases are the most attested ones (for specific cases, see Grundriss V, Index; cf. also Pommerening 2017): snf m jr.t = trichiasis, lit. ‘hair in the eye’ (ten times); w3b m33 = ‘open the eyesight’ (nine times); shdw = albuginea (eight times); snf = ‘blood [in the eyes]’ (six times); h.t n.t mw = ‘water

---

7 Bardinet 2018, rto. x + 3,7; rto. 3,7–8; rto. 3,8–9; rto. 10,21–11,2; vso. 17,13–21 (A–C) + 18,1–4 (three remedies concerning the same treatment); vso. 19,19; vso. 19,20; vso. 19,21; vso. 20,1; vso. 20,1–2; vso. 20,2–3; vso. 20,3–5; vso. 20,5–6; vso. 20,6–7; vso. 20,7; vso. 20,8–9; vso. 20,9; vso. 20,21–21,2; vso. 21,2–3; vso. 21,3–4; vso. 21,4 (two remedies); vso. 21,4–5; vso. 21,5; vso. 21,5–6; vso. 21,6; vso. 21,6–7; vso. 21,7; vso. 21,7–8; vso. 21,8–9; vso. 22,1; vso. 22,1–2; vso. 22,2–4; vso. 22,4 (three remedies); vso. 22,4–5; vso. 22,5–7; vso. 22,7 (two remedies); vso. 22,8; vso. 22,8–9; vso. 22,9; vso. 22,9–10).
stasis [in the eyes] (five times); 3dj.t – glaucoma (five times); ‘to remove a pebble (psd.t) from the eyes’ (four times); hrw = ‘eyesight weakness’ (four times).

Medical papyri usually show a tripartite scheme for the remedies, presenting:

1) An introductory rubrum, sometimes missing either because of lacunae or because it was substituted by the general feminine pronoun k.t (phr.t), when the remedy follows another one dealing with the same topic; similar one;

2) The list of ingredients (sometimes with their quantities).

3) The posology.

Besides the recipes, magical/ritual formulae are also attested, composed of an invocation and a final section with indications about the correct use of the remedy itself.

The ingredients mentioned in the texts were used for both recipes and magical formulae (sometimes adding water) and can be divided into four major categories: vegetable ingredients (38%), animal ingredients (20%), mineral ingredients (19%), and unclear ingredients (7%), sometimes mixed together with water (16%). Some of these components are still unknown, especially in the vegetable category (Germer 1979; 2008). Some primary data can be outlined using statistical analysis:

1) Frequent use of plants or resin-like ingredients: d3r.t plant, maybe ‘colocynth’ (20.18%—22 times); h.t 3w3.t, lit. ‘rotten wood’ and ‘aloë’ (15.60%—seventeen times); nité, ‘resin’ (12.84%—fourteen times); sntr, ‘incense’ (12.84%—fourteen times);

2) Extremely frequent attestation of bj.t, ‘honey’ (24.77% 27 times), of snf, ‘blood’ (11.02% thirteen times), and of mrt.t, ‘fat’ (10.09%—eleven times);

3) Recurrent mention of some minerals: msdm.t, ‘galena’ (59.63%—65 times); 3w3, ‘malachite’ (29.36%—32 times); mnšt.t, ‘red ochre’ (10.27%—21 times), and the undefined sj3 (16.51%—seventeen times);

4) Several occurrences of the snn-balsam (11.01%—twelve times).

Among these medical recipes, only one (a spell recited on a ‘jackal and an adjat-eye [amulets]’, the London Papyrus 22) mentions the use of an adjat-eye; in this case, it represents the object on which the physician had to pronounce the incantation formula against §3rw, ‘night blindness’. This text (Fig. 2) includes a discussion on the possible use of adjat-eye amulets for healing practices, maybe suggesting the application of such an amulet on the body of the patient (relevant words are in bold):

![Figure 2. Transcription of the London Papyrus (BM EA 10059), L. 22 (after Leitz 1999: pl. 32).](image-url)
Incantation for night blindness: ‘O dead male and female, who cause the night blindness and veiling of my eyes: you should not cause me night blindness, veiling and poor sight. Anubis [...] when he had found there a dead male or female, etc. as [...] he [...] djat of Osiris, who swallows [...] wry.t.-canal (?). That night of [...] dead male or female, etc. [...] saying [...] delay. May you place yourself before me [...] indeed, That is beside [...] They see this your name [...] you are there and you shall see. [This incantation is to be] spoken [four times over] a jackal and a wedjat-eye, drawn in... [...] To be added to it in beer and [...] or... To be rubbed into his eyes with the hand of the one suffering night blindness. Then he will see at once’ (Leitz 1999: 64–5 [L. 22]).

A noteworthy archaeological datum (strengthening the connection between Egypt and Anatolia) is represented by the finding of actual udjat-eye amulets in Turkey (in total, six udjat-eyes have been found in Anatolia so far: three at Alishar Höyük, one at Eskiyapar, and two at Tarsus; see Schmidt 1933: 61, fig. 83; Özkutan 2007, 93, fig. 9; Goldman 1963, vol. 2, 181, fig. 36; Helft 2010, 283 [140]; cf. De Pietri 2019, object cat. [A11-3, A21, A26, A37]), respectively; such objects, like the two udjat-eyes from Alishar Höyük and Eskiyapar (Figs. 3–4), could be evidence of such specific amulets actually being sent to heal the eyes of local people who were ill, as suggested by the aforementioned Egyptian remedy (Haas 2003: 765 reports other eye-shaped amulets which were already in use in Syria at this time).

Figure 3. Green frit udjat-eye from Alishar Höyük (after Schmidt 1933: 61, fig. 83).

Figure 4. Frit udjat-eye from Eskiyapar (after Özkutan 2007: 93, fig. 7).

This archaeological evidence can be further supported by two letters from the Egypto-Hittite correspondence which mentioned the sending of ‘eyes’ (IGL.MES) from Egypt to Hittites; these ‘eyes’ could be easily interpreted as being udjat-eye amulets, since they are described as being made of fine gold, probably inlaid with precious stones (cf. Edel 1994, vol. 2: 193; the relevant words are in bold):

a. KBo XXVIII 4 (Edel 1994: 116–23 [46, E13]; Cordani 2017: 118–21); Ramses II to Puduhepa:

Transliteration

Verso.

[0'] [x IGL.MES šiim-mu-iš-tu ša KÚ.GI SIG3 tam-lt-u KILAL-šu 36 GÍN]

Translation
Conclusions

Ultimately, we can feel fairly confident in drawing the following (preliminary) conclusions, pinpointing some topics for further research (such as the spirit of ‘Current Research in Egyptology’ conference).

First of all, from the information contained in original sources (mostly the Egypto-Hittite correspondence), Egyptian physicians sent to Hatti played a peculiar role in cases of particular pathologies, e.g. those affecting eyes (specifically those involving the Hittite King Ḥattušili III and Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša). Among the physicians sent to the Hittite land, a preeminent position was taken by the Egyptian (chief?) physician Pariamahu, who certainly deserves further research, adding much more information from other types of sources (e.g. Deir el-Medina documentary sources, the Book of the Dead, or other artefacts which possibly carry his name and titles together).

The identification of the actual ingredients sent to the Hittites is still quite evanescent (on the topic see e.g. Imhausen and Pomeraning 2016); further information could be gained by comparing the Egyptian documentation with Hittite medical texts, such as CTH 809 (see supra), or other Mesopotamian (i.e. Akkadian) texts mentioning similar or equivalent medical components.

E. Edel’s hypothesis about the equation šamma = pḥr.t and jr.t-pḥr.t = epešu šammī (only briefly alluded to here, for specifics, see Edel 1976: 77–8) needs further research in order to better clarify the still quite obscure identification of šammu(m) and to confirm the alleged existence of an jr.t-pḥr.t = epešu šammī (i.e. a ‘herbalist’), as suggested by some Egyptian documents (this will definitely be the topic for another contribution).

On a statistical (therefore not strictly definitive) analysis of occurrences within the Egyptian medical corpus, the results show that the most frequent eye diseases were the šnj m jr.t = trichiasis, and the šḥdw = a ubugine. Considering the medical components of the remedies, the most attested ingredients are the dšr.t-plant, which could be ‘colocynth’ (for the vegetable group), the bj.t, ‘honey’ (regarding animal materials), the nsdm.t, ‘galena’ (within mineral components), and the still obscure snn-balsam.

A hypothesis about the use of uδjat-eyes for healing purposes has finally been put forward; unfortunately, only one magical spell could support such an interpretation (i.e. L. 22 Leitz = L. 34 Grundriss), and an unequivocal archaeological confirmation is still lacking, since the medical use of these amulets in Egypt cannot yet be proven on strict and definitive archaeological grounds.

Further research, always carried out from an interdisciplinary perspective, will help to better define all these suggestions and insights on this noteworthy but, nevertheless, very elusive topic.
Bibliography


Pommerening, T. 2017. 'Medical re-enactments: ancient Egyptian prescriptions from an emic viewpoint'. In G. Rosati and M. C. Guidotti (eds) *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists*. 128


