

Incense, the Alphabet and Other Elements

On the Movement of Persons, Commodities and Ideas between Egypt and the Southern Red Sea Region

Abstract. Ancient Egypt has a long history of interaction with the Red Sea region. Especially a region called Punt was, from the third millennium BCE onwards, the object of several expeditions by ship, which sought luxury products such as aromatics like incense and myrrh. Some of the expeditions were commemorated by royal monuments which included images and texts. Punt also became part of the Egyptian conceptual world-view, being the domain of some deities as well as the outer limit of rule of the Egyptian king. Punt is probably to be located on the African side of the Red Sea. Egyptian contacts with the Arabian side only became more intense in the first millennium BCE, when the incense road from South Arabia to the southern Levant became established. At that time, the ancient South Arabian letter-order was adopted in Egypt. Arabia and the Arabians are also referred to in some demotic Egyptian literary narratives.

The Land of Punt and its Incense

Preliminary Remarks

The present paper is, in some ways, an exploration of the ‘prehistory’ of Red Sea connections to Egypt, at least insofar as it transcends the chronological limits otherwise set for this volume. To speak of a ‘pre-history’ is, however, potentially misleading, as we are, even then, looking at a fully historic period with a rich written and pictorial record.

The primary focus of Egypt’s relations to the Red Sea region is the land called Punt in the Egyptian sources, and the trade in aromatics linked to this land from the Old Kingdom (3rd millennium BCE) onwards. Punt appears frequently in Egyptian texts as a region from which aromatic substances were obtained.¹

¹ Currently the online database of the Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (URL: <http://aaww.bbaw.de/tla>, accessed 3 January 2018) records 74 attestations, and by far not all texts

Its importance is due primarily to a climatic-geographical factor; the species of the family Burseraceae, especially the genus *Boswellia* and *Commiphora*, producing some much coveted aromatic substances, growing exclusively in South Arabia and parts of Somalia and Ethiopia.² Their products, especially incense and myrrh, were high-value commodities needed as much for the cult of gods and goddesses as for medical applications, while they also form part of the luxurious lifestyle of the elite. Consequently, they became the objects of very early long-distance trade.

Punt as a Real Place and where to Locate It

An enormous amount of egyptological literature has already been written on the possible identification of the land called Punt.³ From a geographical perspective, given the relevance of the aromatics, it should be sought in the south-

mentioning it are included in that database (although it has to be admitted that some of the attestations are doublets of texts attested in multiple copies, e.g. the Book of the Dead, the Kemit and the Instruction of a Man for his Son).

² Frank Nigel Hepper, *Arabian and African Frankincense Trees*, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969), 66–72; Victoria Asensi Amoros, *Essences à bruler en Égypte ancienne. Une enquête ethnobotanique du côté de la Corne de l’Afrique*, in: *Parfums, onguents et cosmétiques dans l’Égypte ancienne: actes des rencontres pluridisciplinaires tenues au Conseil National de la Culture, Le Caire 27–29 avril 2002*, ed. Christian Leblanc, Cairo 2003, 1–19.

³ See e.g. Max Hilzheimer, *Zur geographischen Lokalisierung von Punt*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 68 (1932), 112–114; Rolf Herzog, *Punt*, Glückstadt 1968; Kenneth Kitchen, *Punt and how to get there*, in: *Orientalia* 40 (1971), 184–207; Werner Vycichl, *Lag das Land Punt am Meer oder im Sudan?*, in: *Chronique d’Égypte* 45 (1970), 318–324; Bernard Couroyer, *Pount et la Terre du Dieu*, in: *Revue Biblique* 80 (1973), 53–74; Georges Posener, *L’or de Pount*, in: *Ägypten und Kusch: Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Erika Endesfelder, Karl Heinz Priese, Walter Friedrich Reincke et al., Berlin 1977, 337–342; Rodolfo Fattovich, *The problem of Punt in the light of recent field work in the eastern Sudan*, in: *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses München 1985. Vol. 4: Geschichte, Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Rechtsgeschichte, Nachbarkulturen*, ed. Sylvia Schoske, Hamburg 1991, 257–272; Jacques Degas, *Don Joam de Castro sur l’itinéraire de Pount (1541)*, in: *Revue d’égyptologie* 46 (1995), 215–237; Rodolfo Fattovich, *Punt: the Archaeological Perspective*, in: *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 6 (1996), 15–29; Kenneth Kitchen, *The Land of Punt*, in: *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns*, ed. Thurstan Shaw, Paul Sinclair, Bassey Andah et al., London / New York 1993, 587–608; Kenneth Kitchen, *Further Thoughts on Punt and its Neighbours*, in: *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, ed. Anthony Leahy and John Tait, London 1999, 173–178; Dimitri Meeks, *Coptos et les chemins du Pount*, in: *Autour de Coptos: actes du colloque organisé au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (17–18 mars 2000)*, ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac, Marc Gabolde, and Geneviève Galliano, Paris

ern Red Sea region, either in South Arabia or in Ethiopia or its vicinity. In fact, only the African shore deserves full attention, since there is evidence that Punt could also be reached by land from Egypt. Furthermore, one scene depicts a rhinoceros in the landscape of Punt, which is to be expected only in Africa.⁴ Other elements of the fauna, like baboons and giraffes, have also been used in

2002, 267–335; Dimitri Meeks, Locating Punt, in: *Mysterious Lands. Encounters with Ancient Egypt*, ed. David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke, London 2003, 53–80; Stephen Harvey, Interpreting Punt: Geographic, Cultural and Artistic Landscapes, in: *ibid.*, 81–91; Abdel Monem Abdel Haleem Sayed, The Land of Punt: problems of the archaeology of the Red Sea and the southeastern Delta, in: *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo 2000*, ed. Zahi Hawass and Lyla Pinch Brock, vol. 1, Cairo 2003, 432–439; Kenneth Kitchen, The Elusive Land of Punt Revisited, in: *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region: Proceedings of Red Sea Project 1, held in the British Museum, October 2002*, ed. Paul Lunde and Alexandra Porter, Oxford 2004, 25–31; Abdel Monem Abdel Haleem Sayed, On the Geographical Location of the Land of Punt, in: *Aegyptus et Pannonia II: acta symposii anno 2002* ed. Hedvig Györy, Budapest 2005, 203–237; Stanley Balanda, The So-Called “Mine of Punt” and its Location, in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 42 (2005–2006), 33–44; Ogden Goelet, *W3d-wr*, Punt, and Wadi Hammamat: the Implication of Verbs of Motion, in: *The Festschrift volume: a collection of studies presented to Professor Abdel Monem Abdel Haleem Sayed, Emeritus Prof. of Ancient History and Archaeology, Faculty of Arts – University of Alexandria (Egyptian pioneer of the archaeological studies of the Red Sea) by his European and American colleagues and friends on the occasion of his 80th birthday*, ed. Essam el-Saeed, El-Sayed Mahfouz, and Abdel Monem Megahed, Alexandria 2006, 177–191; Andrés Diego Espinel, *Abriendo los caminos de Punt: contactos entre Egipto y el ámbito afroárabe durante la Edad del Bronce [ca. 3000 a.C.–1065 a.C.]*, Barcelona 2011; Andrea Manzo, Punt in Egypt and beyond. Comments on the Impact of Maritime Activities of the 12th Dynasty in the Red Sea on Egyptian Crafts with some Historical and Ideological Thoughts, in: *Ägypten und Levante* 21 (2011), 71–85; *idem*, From the Sea to the Deserts and back. New research in Eastern Sudan, in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012), 75–106; Francis Breyer, Punt und die Seefahrer. Zum Nutzen von Logbüchern in der Punt-Diskussion, in: *Die Vermessung der Oikumene*, ed. Klaus Geus and Michael Rathmann, Berlin 2013, 311–319; *idem*, *Punt. Die Suche nach dem »Gottesland«*, Leiden, Boston 2016.

4 William Stevenson Smith, The Land of Punt, in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 1 (1962), 59–61; *idem*, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East. A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia*, New Haven 1965, 137–139, fig. 173–174; Lothar Störk, *Die Nashörner. Verbreitungs- und kulturgeschichtliche Materialien unter Berücksichtigung der afrikanischen Arten und des altägyptischen Kulturbereiches* (PhD thesis), Hamburg 1977, 221–238. While thus there are good indications for an African location, the argument brought forth by Kitchen, The Elusive Land of Punt (cf. n. 3), 26 and 29 that the sound *p* attested in the name of the land Punt as well as the name of its chief Parehu (attested in the Hatshepsut reliefs) and in other personal names would exclude Arabia since the South Arabian language had only *f* and not *p* is not valid – the supposed consonantal value *f* (and not *p*) of that letter is based on the modern Arabian pronunciation, not direct evidence. Given that Old South Ara-

attempts to identify its location. The depictions of an expedition by ship include an amazing amount of sea-life rendered in much detail, which permits us to identify the animals depicted as belonging to the Indian-Ocean-Red-Sea fauna.⁵

It has been proposed to identify the name of Punt with a place called Opône (variant Opôn) mentioned by the Roman period scholar Claudius Ptolemaios in his *Geographica* as a port on the Red Sea shore, which in turn has tentatively been identified with present-day Hāfoun in Somalia.⁶ However, the modern name refers to a specific city, not a region, and there are also phonetic problems with the equation of the first consonant.⁷

Currently, some specialists tend to locate Punt in the region of the Gash delta in Sudan where some specimens of Egyptian pottery have been found.⁸ I do not intend to focus on this specific question to which I could contribute little new insight.

Expeditions to Punt

From an entry in the royal annals of the 5th dynasty we know that already in the Old Kingdom an expedition to Punt was undertaken, namely during the reign of King Sahure of the 5th dynasty (ca. 26/25th century BCE), which brought substantial amounts of myrrh and electron back to Egypt (Urk. I, 246, 5–6).⁹

Recently, an important addition to the evidence for this expedition has come to light in the form of a relief from the causeway of that very King

bian texts use the supposed *f* (and not *b*) to render foreign *p*, and that the alphabetic position of *f* in the South Arabian alphabet corresponds to Egyptian *p* (not *f*) (see below), it is likely that Ancient South Arabian had a labial sound sufficiently similar to Egyptian *p* to be rendered by that sign.

⁵ Eva Danelius and Heinz Steinitz, The Fishes and other Aquatic Animals on the Punt-Reliefs at Deir el-Bahri, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 53 (1967), 15–24.

⁶ Maurice Alliot, Pount-Pwāne, l'Opôné du géographe Ptolémée, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 8 (1951), 1–7.

⁷ Werner Vycichl, Punt, Opone, Hafun – das Weihrauchland der alten Ägypter?, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 13 (1967), 45–46.

⁸ Kathryn Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich, The Land of Punt and Recent Archaeological and Textual Evidence from the Pharaonic Harbour at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis, Egypt, in: *Human Expeditions: inspired by Bruce Trigger*, ed. Stephen Chrisomalis and Andre Costopoulos, Toronto 2013, 9–10.

⁹ See Toby Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and its Associated Fragments*, London 2000, 168–171; Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, Atlanta 2005, 72.

Sahure.¹⁰ On one block (fig. 1), the depiction of his fleet (including monkeys climbing in the rigging) is partially preserved. The image of the king of Egypt surrounded by family members and the court in front of trees, which he seems to be cutting, probably in order to let the sap flow and thus produce the resinous product, is of particular interest.¹¹ The second block (fig. 2) shows the king and again members of the court; this time one of the courtiers is holding the adze for cutting the tree. The inscription stresses that this is a singular event which has never happened before¹²—although, given the nature of Egyptian official inscriptions, this claim should not be pressed too hard.¹³

Perhaps an indirect, even older piece of evidence can be found in a relief from the valley temple of King Snofru of the early 4th dynasty (ca. 27/26th century BCE). There, the king is depicted inspecting the growing of cedar and myrrh trees (fig. 3).¹⁴ If the botanical identifications of the terms in question (‘š and ‘ntw) are at least halfway correct,¹⁵ that would imply an effort at cultivating species not indigenous to Egypt. Apart from the desired economic benefits, this would also convey a substantial symbolic message, commemorating the exploits of the king to the north-east¹⁶ and the south-east. Snofru’s efforts in

10 Tarek El-Awady, *Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway. History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom*, Prague 2009, 155–186 and 253–257, pl. V; Dominique Farout, Les déclarations du roi Sahourê, in: *Revue d’Égyptologie* 63 (2012), 103–113, esp. 103–105; Waltraud Guglielmi, Zur Identifikation der ‘nd(w)-Bäume auf den Relieffblöcken des Sahure, in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 235 (2012), 19–30; Samuel Mark, Notes on the Mediterranean and Red Sea Ships and Ship Construction from Sahure to Hatshepsut, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 6 (2014), 34–49.

11 The inscription for this scene (El-Awady, *Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway*, 161) is probably to be read retrograde as ‘inspecting the tribute of the [Puntites (?) which they brought] to his majesty’.

12 For the reading, see Farout, *Les déclarations du roi Sahourê* (cf. n. 10), 103–105.

13 For similar phraseology, see Pascal Vernus, *Essais sur la conscience de l’Histoire dans l’Égypte pharaonique*, Paris 1995, 62–70.

14 Elmar Edel, Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru, in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian, Boston 1996, 199–208, esp. 200–204.

15 For the identification of ‘š as cedar see W. Vivian Davies, Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports: An Analysis of Wooden Coffins in the British Museum, in: *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant. Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC*, ed. idem and Louise Schofield, London 1995, 146–156, esp. 149–152.

16 Also the annals on the Palermo stone indicate that forty ships with cedar wood arrived during his reign, see Strudwick, *Texts* (cf. n. 9), 66. For Old Kingdom objects found at Byblos, see Karin Sowada, *Egypt in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Old Kingdom*, Freiburg 2009, 128–141 (stressing the uncertain archaeological context of many pieces).

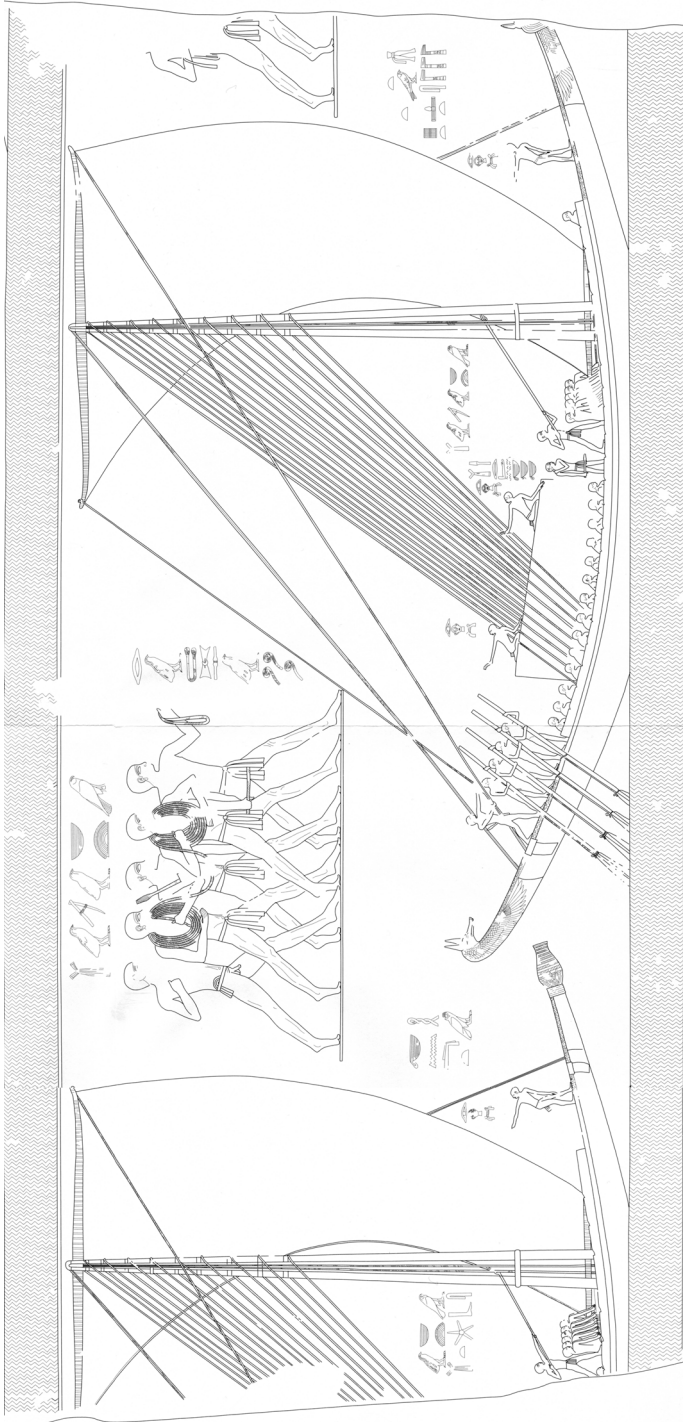


Figure 1. Relief from the causeway of Sahure (Courtesy Jolana Malátková)

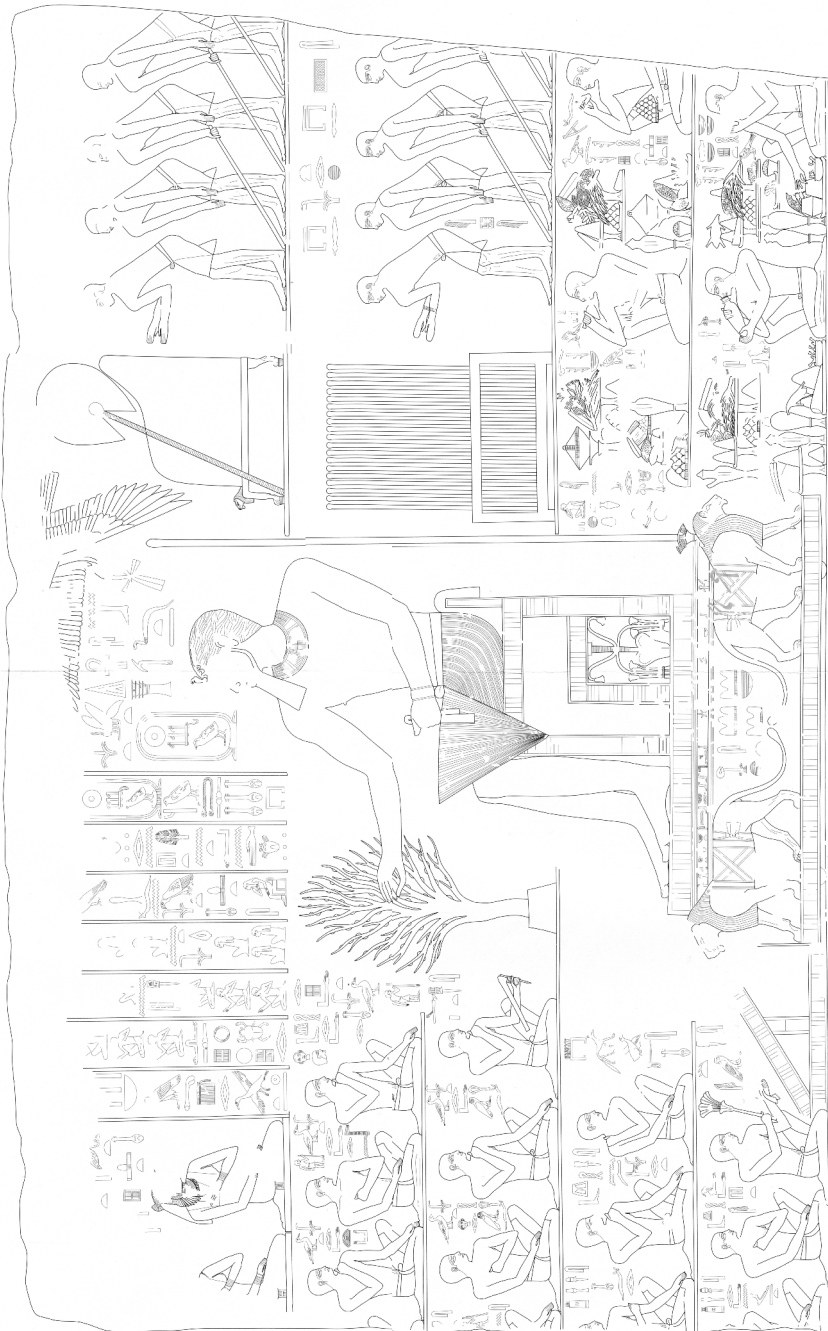


Figure 2. Relief from the causeway of Sahure (Courtesy Jolana Malátkova)

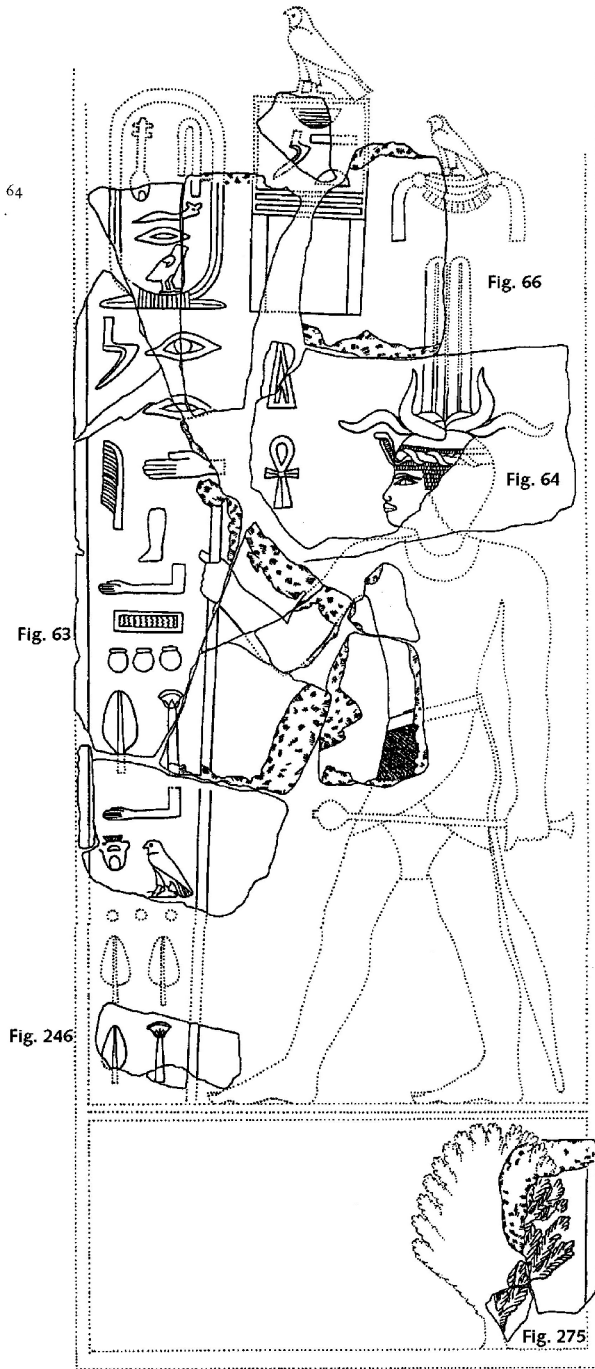


Figure 3. Relief from the valley temple of Snofru (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts Boston)

acclimatizing these trees, even if they are likely to have failed, are a notable precursor to similar activities by later Pharaohs, most prominently Hatshepsut.¹⁷

A further source is a tomb inscription from the late 6th dynasty at Elephantine (ca. 22nd century BCE) in which the owner Khnumhotep claims to have travelled to Byblos, Punt and probably Retenu (in the southern Levant) accompanying his masters.¹⁸

Recently, an Old Kingdom port at Wadi el-Jarf, on the shore of the Gulf of Suez, has been discovered which goes back to the time of King Cheops (ca. 27/26th century BCE).¹⁹ This at least attests a possible starting place for early maritime exploits in the Red Sea, although no positive evidence has been found to this day.

Besides the aromatics, one other precious ‘commodity’ from Punt turns up in the Egyptian texts of the Old Kingdom, if, indeed, it is proper to call it a commodity, namely dwarfs (or pygmies) designated in the texts by a word *ṯng/ṯlg* which is possibly a loanword from the Ethiopic region.²⁰ It should be stressed that they could also have been brought via the Nile route, and not by the Red Sea. An inscription of the governor Harkhuf at Elephantine, dating to

¹⁷ David Dixon, The Transplantation of Punt Incense Trees in Egypt, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969), 55–65; Susanne Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt.“ Ein Expeditionsziel im religiös-politischen Kontext, in: *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Nicole Kloth, Karl Martin, and Eva Pardey, Hamburg 2003, 263–274, here 271.

¹⁸ Elmar Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*. Erste Abteilung, Band I: *Architektur, Darstellungen, Texte archäologischer Befund und Funde der Gräber QH 24–QH 34p*, Paderborn 2008, 466–469. Compare Andrés Diego Espinel, Minima epigraphica, in: *Discussions in Egyptology* 59 (2004), 7–20, here 15–18 with a partially different reading.

¹⁹ Pierre Tallet, A New Pharaonic Harbour in Ayn Sokhna (Gulf of Suez), in: *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places: Proceedings of Red Sea Project V Held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, ed. Dionisius A. Agius, John P. Cooper, Athena Trakadas, and Chiara Zazzaro, Oxford 2012, 33–37; Pierre Tallet, Ayn Sukhna and Wadi el-Jarf. Two Newly Discovered Pharaonic Harbours on the Suez Gulf, in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012), 147–168; idem, Deux notes sur les expéditions au pays de Pount à la lumière de nouvelles données archéologiques, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 64 (2013), 189–209; idem, Des papyrus du temps de Chéops au Ouadi el-Jarf (golfe du Suez), in: *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 188 (2014), 25–49; idem, Les « ports intermittents » de la mer Rouge à l'époque pharaonique. Caractéristiques et chronologie, in: *Nehet* 3 (2015), 31–72; idem, *Les papyrus de la mer Rouge I: Le "journal de Merer" (Papyrus Jarf A et B)*, Cairo 2017.

²⁰ See also Francis Breyer, Zwerg-Wörter und ägyptisch-kuschitischer Sprachkontakt bzw. -vergleich: zur sprachlichen Situation im mittleren Niltal des 3.–2. Jts. v. Chr., in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 41 (2012), 99–112.

the late 6th dynasty (Urk. I, 128, 1–131, 7),²¹ contains the singular information, as part of a letter to the king, that this official has brought with him a dwarf like the one the god’s treasurer Bawerdjed at the time of King Asosi had brought from Punt. In the case of Harkhuf, it is clear that he was leading an expedition up through Nubia. By contrast, the previous case mentioned in the letter is likely to have been organized via the sea route.

A rock inscription of the Early Middle Kingdom (11th dynasty; ca. 2000 BCE) in the Wadi Hammamat (M 114) reports an important mission comprising 3,000 men.²² They were sent out in order to convey seagoing ships to Punt and to collect fresh myrrh from the chieftains of the desert. The mission set out from Koptos and finally reached the sea where its leader built up the fleet and returned after having executed all the orders of the king. This narration, in connection with the place of the inscription, clearly demonstrates that the Egyptians used the technique of disassembling ships for overland transport through the Wadis of the desert and putting them together again at the shore of the Red Sea.

During the Middle Kingdom, the port of Mersa Gawasis at the Red Sea shore, about 60 km north of modern-day Quseir, seems to have been the principal place for launching expeditions to Punt.²³ Some stelae located there explicitly mention Punt, and there is good archaeological evidence for ship construc-

²¹ New, improved edition by Edel, *Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa* (cf. n. 18), vol. 1, 620–621 and 626–628, pl. XXVIII.

²² Original edition in Jules Couyat and Pierre Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, Cairo 1912, 81–84, pl. XXXI; translations in Wolfgang Schenkel, *Memphis Herakleopolis Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens*, Wiesbaden 1965, 253–258; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom*, Freiburg / Göttingen 1988, 52–54. See also the study by Louise Bradbury, *Reflections on Traveling to “God’s Land” and Punt in the Middle Kingdom*, in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 25 (1988), 127–156, here 127–138.

²³ Abdel Monem Abdel Haleem Sayed, *Discovery of the Site of the 12th Dynasty Port at Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea Shore* (Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria, in the Eastern Desert of Egypt – March 1976), in: *Revue d’Égyptologie* 29 (1977), 138–178; Bradbury, *Reflections on Traveling to “God’s Land” and Punt* (cf. n. 22), 138–145; Rodolfo Fattovich and Kathryn Bard, *À la recherche de Pount: Mersa Gaouasis et la navigation égyptienne dans la mer Rouge*. Translated by Viviana Miele, in: *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 41 (2006), 7–30; Rodolfo Fattovich, *De la mer Rouge au pays de Pount: le port pharaonique à l’embouchure du Ouadi Gaouasi. Recherches archéologiques 2001–2008*, in: *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie* 171 (2008), 11–27; Cheryl Ward, *Conservation of Maritime Remains at the Port of the Pharaohs to Punt: Mersa/Wadi Gawasis 2010–11*, in: *Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt* 202 (2013), 26–32; Cheryl Ward, *Building Pharaoh’s Ships: Cedar, Incense and Sailing the Great Green*, in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and*

tion. Compared with the Old Kingdom harbor, this place shows a considerable movement to the south. On the one hand, this could simply be connected with a shift in the seat of power in Egypt from the Old Kingdom's capital at Memphis to Thebes during the 11th dynasty. On the other hand, the prevalent currents and winds in the Red Sea area make it quite difficult to sail northwards during most of the year. Thus placing the sea-harbour further to the south would have facilitated the expeditions: similar movements can also be traced during other periods.²⁴

There is an inscription from the 17th dynasty at Elkab which might indicate that Punt was supporting the Nubians against Egypt,²⁵ but its state of preservation is quite precarious. If the reading is correct, this would provide important additional evidence in favor of the African location of Punt.²⁶

By far the most famous depiction of an expedition to Punt is preserved in the mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (western Thebes) from the 15th century BCE.²⁷ Even in its damaged condition, it provides by far the most substantial pictorial record for Punt and its inhabitants. It should be

Sudan 18 (2012), 217–232; Kathryn Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich, Spatial Use of the Twelfth Dynasty Harbor at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis for the Seafaring Expeditions to Punt, in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 2 (2010), 1–13. Manzo, Punt in Egypt and Beyond (cf. n. 3), 71–85; Rodolfo Fattovich, Egypt's Trade with Punt. New Discoveries on the Red Sea Coast, in: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012), 1–59; Bard and Fattovich, The Land of Punt (cf. n. 8), 3–11; Mahfouz El-Sayed Les ostraca hiératiques du ouadi Gaouasis, in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 59 (2008), 267–333; Kathryn Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich, Egyptian Long-Distance Trade in the Middle Kingdom and the Evidence at the Red Sea Harbour at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis, in: *Walls of the Prince: Egyptian Interactions with Southwest Asia in Antiquity. Essays in Honour of John S. Holladay, Jr.*, ed. Timothy Harrison, Edward Banning, and Stanley Klassen, Leiden 2015, 1–10.

²⁴ William Facey, The Red Sea: The Wind Regime and Location of Ports, in: *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region: Proceedings of Red Sea Project 1, held in the British Museum, October 2002*, ed. Paul Lunde and Alexandra Porter, Oxford 2004, 6–17.

²⁵ William Vivian Davies, Sobeknakht of Elkab and the Coming of Kush, in: *Egyptian Archaeology* 23 (2003), 3–6, here 5–6; accepted by Pearce Paul Creasman, Hatshepsut and the Politics of Punt, in: *African Archaeological Review* 31 (3) (2014), 395–405, here 396 (with an erroneous attribution to the 18th dynasty).

²⁶ Noted as such by Kitchen, The Elusive Land of Punt (cf. n. 3), 30.

²⁷ Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part III: *End of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform*, London 1898, 11–21, pl. LXIX–LXXXVI; the hieroglyphic inscriptions can also be found (with collations and improvements) in Kurth Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Leipzig 1906, 315–355. See discussions in Kurth Sethe, Eine bisher unbeachtete Episode der Punt-Expedition der Königin Hatschepsowet, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 42 (1905), 91–99; Abdel-Aziz Saleh, Some Problems Relating to the Pwenet Reliefs at Deir el Bahari, in: *Journal*

stressed that several orthographical and linguistic criteria raise the possibility that at least substantial parts of these inscriptions were copied from much older models²⁸ – and Hatshepsut is known to have taken up substantially older models elsewhere in the Deir el-Bahri temple too,²⁹ as in, for example, the text about the birth and youth of the future ruler.³⁰

A noteworthy point is how the expedition is presented as a rare event. The chieftains of Punt are reported to have said: “How then did you reach this, to this country which men do not know. Have you descended on the upper roads? Did you travel by sea and by land? How prosperous is the god’s land which you have trodden, like the sun-god.” (Urk. IV, 324, 8–12), and in a broken pas-

of Egyptian Archaeology 58 (1972), 143–145; Mario Liverani, *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Ancient Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.*, Padova 1990, 240–246; Rosanna Pirelli, Punt in Egyptian myth and trade, in: *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egitologia, Atti II*, ed. Gian Zaccane and Tomaso Di Netro, Turin 1993, 383–390; Irene Shirun-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle*, Wiesbaden 1993, 78–120; Thomas Hikade, *Das Expeditionswesen im ägyptischen Neuen Reich. Ein Beitrag zu Rohstoffversorgung und Aussenhandel*, Heidelberg 2001, 76–80; Christophe Barbotin, Pount et le mythe de la naissance divine à Deir el-Bahari, in: *Cahiers de Recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille* 24 (2004), 9–14; David Falk, The Products of Hatshepsut’s Trade Mission to Punt: An Alternative Translation of the Punt Reliefs at Deir el-Bahari, in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 238 (2013), 51–61; Francis Breyer, Vorlagen zur ›Punthalle‹ von Dair al-Baḥrī aus dem Alten Reich. Philologisch-epigraphische, textkritische und ikonographische cruces im Zusammenspiel von Darstellungen und Inschriften, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 43 (2014), 47–91.

²⁸ Briefly mentioned in Joachim Friedrich Quack, Punt [1], in: *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. 10, ed. Hubert Cancik, Stuttgart 2001, 599; idem, Bemerkungen zum Ostrakon Glasgow D 1925.91 und dem Menu-Lied, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 29 (2001), 283–306, here 289 note 17. See also Breyer, Vorlagen zur ›Punthalle‹ von Dair al-Baḥrī (cf. n. 27), 68–90.

²⁹ Andrzej Ćwiek, Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, *Études et travaux* 27 (2014), 61–93.

³⁰ For older fragmentary attestations, see Adela Oppenheim, The Early Life of Pharaoh. Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwostret III at Dahshur, in: *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010/11*, ed. Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, Prague 2011, 171–188; Mohamed Megahed and Hana Vymazalová, Ancient Egyptian Royal Circumcision from the Pyramid Complex of Djedkare, in: *Anthropologie* 49 (2011), 155–164; Hartwig Altenmüller, Anubis mit der Scheibe im Mythos von der Geburt des Gottkönigs, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 42 (2013), 15–35, there 15–16, pl. 6; Mohamed Megahed and Hana Vymazalová, The South-Saqqara Circumcision Scene. A Fragment of an Old Kingdom Birth-legend?, in: *Royal Versus Divine Authority: Acquisition, Legitimization and Renewal of Power, Prague, June 26–28, 2013. 7. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 7th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology*, ed. Filip Coppens, Jiří Janák, and Hana Vymazalová, Wiesbaden 2015, 275–287.

sage “which had not been trodden by other people” can still be recognized (Urk. IV, 331, 12).

A lot about the conceptualization of Punt can be found in the oracular speech of the god Amun towards Hatshepsut:

“I have given to you Punt entirely up to the countries of the gods; the god’s land which had not been trodden, the terrace of myrrh which men did not know. It had been heard from mouth to mouth as tales of the predecessors, and the marvels which are brought from there were brought during (the reign of) your fathers, the kings of Lower Egypt, one after the other since the time of the ancestors, the kings of Upper Egypt who existed previously, as counterpart for substantial payment. It had not been reached, except by your scouts. Now I will cause your army to tread it. I have guided them on water and on land, opening for them roads difficult to access. I have trod the terraces of myrrh. That is the sacred region of the god’s land, and now it is my place of relaxing my heart. I have made it for myself, in order to calm my heart together with Mut and Hathor, the lady of the crown, the lady of Punt, the lady of [heaven], the one with great magic, sovereign of all gods. They shall take myrrh as they like, they shall load their cargo ships to their contentment from the trees of fresh myrrh, all good gifts from this foreign country. The Puntites who did not know (Egyptian) men, the beard-wearers of the gods’ lands, I rendered them gracious for your sake. They shall render you homage like to a god because of the greatness of your might throughout the foreign country.” (Urk. IV, 344, 6–346, 2).

Reading closely, one can recognize that an important motive of the expedition was to cut costs by direct travel instead of a down-the-line-trade which could provide Egypt with the substances desired, but only at a high price. We can ask ourselves if the direct trade was really more cost-effective, given the equipment necessary for it and the risks linked with sea-travel. An important question behind this is whether direct expeditions from Egypt to Punt were triggered by difficulties in the land connections and rising prices resulting from them.

Relations with Punt during the time of Hatshepsut have also left their traces in contemporary tombs of some high-ranking officials,³¹ e.g. TT 26 (Hapuseneb),³² TT 39 (Puyemrê),³³ TT 100 (Rehmirê),³⁴ TT 143 (Urk. IV, 1472,

³¹ Silke Hallmann, *Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 2006, esp. 268–269, 276–279 and 314–315.

³² Nina Davies, A Fragment of a Punt Scene, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 47 (1961), 19–23, pl. IV–V.

³³ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, Volume I. *The Hall of Memories*, New York 1942, pl. XXXII.

³⁴ Idem, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rê’ at Thebes*, New York 1935, pl. I.

14–20),³⁵ and TT 89 (Amenmose).³⁶ While the land of Punt is not explicitly mentioned, passages from the inscription of Senemiah are especially notable (Urk. IV, 502, 2–503, 14).³⁷ There, we see an active participation of the queen in the processing of aromatic substances.

Three New Kingdom inscriptions from the Sinai likewise mention Punt and thus hint at the existence of specialists who worked in the north as well as the south of the Red Sea region during that time.³⁸

There is also an inscription fragment from Bubastis, probably dating to the 18th dynasty, which has been proposed to possibly contain a reference to a royal visit to Punt.³⁹ However, since Punt is not explicitly mentioned in the preserved passages, no safe conclusions can be drawn.

In a depiction of foreigners bringing tributes to Egypt in the tomb of Merire II in Amarna, it has been proposed to recognize one group of people as Puntites because of the gifts they carry, even though their ethnic characteristics are difficult to recognize in the published images.⁴⁰

An inscription heading a toponym list of Ramses II (13th century BCE) at the temple of Aksha (KRI II, 211, 1f.) and Amara (KRI II, 215, 6f.) is quite remarkable as it indicates explicitly that he sent his expedition to Punt and that they brought back incense trees, animal hides and aromatics.⁴¹ Particularly noteworthy is that parts of the text are written in a cryptographic writing sys-

³⁵ Idem, The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition, in: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 30, n°11 (Nov. 1935), Part 2: *The Egyptian Expedition (1934–1935)*, 46–57, there 46–49. For the ship type of the Puntites depicted there, see Norbert Düring, *Materialien zum Schiffbau im Alten Ägypten*, Berlin 1985, 49–50.

³⁶ Nina Davies and Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Amenmosē (No. 89) at Thebes, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (1940), 131–136, pl. XXII–XXV, there 136, pl. XXV.

³⁷ Guglielmi, Zur Identifikation der 'nd(w)-Bäume (cf. n. 10), 26–28.

³⁸ Sinai 211 (Amenhotep III), 238 (18th dynasty), 427 (New Kingdom), see Alan Henderson Gardiner, Thomas Eric Peet, and Jaroslav Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, London 1955, 165–166, 173, 213, pl. LXVI, LXVII, LXXXIX.

³⁹ Raymond Faulkner, A Possible Royal Visit to Punt, in: *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte (4 giugno 1843 – 4 giugno 1943)*, vol. 2, Pisa 1949–1955, 84–90.

⁴⁰ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, Part II: *The Tombs of Panehsy and Meryra II*, London 1905, 41, pl. XXXVII and XL; Hallmann, Tributszenen (cf. n. 31), 99.

⁴¹ A special study of these passages, including improvements in the reading based on old photographs, was presented by Alicia Daneri Rodrigo, An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha, in: *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 15 (1985), 68–71. Unfortunately, this study was passed in silence by Kenneth Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated & Annotated, Translations*, vol. 2, Oxford 1996, 71 and 74; Kenneth

tem otherwise mainly known from arcane religious compositions, but which—especially during the Ramesside period—are also used on occasion in royal display texts. Furthermore, one of the products is written as *ʾnt* in that text. This word is otherwise mainly known from the Old Kingdom as a word probably to be identified with what is later normally written *ʾntw* “myrrh”.⁴² Again, we must not overlook the possibility that it is a copy from a much earlier model.

Three other texts from the time of Ramses II at the temples of Abydos (KRI II 514, 16) and Luxor (KRI II 619, 13) as well as an inscription in Sinai (KRI II 401,14) mention Punt, but they do not necessarily prove direct connections at that time: the first only mentions the presence of products from Punt in the temple magazines, the second only features a procession of personifications of geographic regions whose link to actual reality might be questioned, while the third only features a reference to the “lord of Punt” as an epithet of the god Thoth.⁴³

In the great Papyrus Harris I (77,8–78,1), Ramses III indicates that he directed an expedition to Punt.⁴⁴ He also planted *snčr*- and -trees in the courtyard of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, claiming to have brought them with his own arms from the lands of the gods⁴⁵ (pHarris I 49, 7),⁴⁶ and *snčr*-trees in the *temenos* of Amun at Thebes, claiming to have brought Punt to the god (pHarris I 7,

Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated & Annotated, Notes and Comments*, Vol. 2: *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, Oxford 1999, 121 and 125–128.

42 Guglielmi, Zur Identifikation der *ʾnd(w)*-Bäume (cf. n. 10), 19–33

43 Alaael-din M. Shaheen, Thoth, Lord of Punt. A Brief Note, in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 165 (1998), 9–11. For further inscriptions from the time of Ramses II mentioning Punt without specific content see Rainer Nutz, Zur ideologischen Verortung von T3-ntr und Punt, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39 (2010), 281–288, there 285 with note 33.

44 Pierre Grandet, *Le papyrus Harris I*, vol. 1, Cairo 1994, 328; Luisa Bongrani, The Punt Expedition of Ramses IIIrd. Considerations on the Report from the Papyrus Harris I, in: *L'impero ramesside: convegno internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni*, Roma 1997, 45–59.

45 The apparent dual which was defended by Grandet, Papyrus Harris I (cf. n. 44), vol. 1, 291 note au) and which has led Bongrani, The Punt Expedition of Ramses IIIrd (cf. n. 44), 52–53, to speculations that ‘the two god’s lands’ should designate the African and the Arab coast of the Red Sea is just an orthographic peculiarity which becomes frequent in the Late period, probably due to phonetic developments, i.e. writing what appears to be the dual *t3.wi* when in fact the plural *t3.w* is intended, see Joachim Friedrich Quack, review of Dieter Kurth, Edfu VIII, in: *Die Welt des Orients* 31 (2000/01), 196–201, there 199 (see also Harco Willems, Filip Coppens, Marleen De Meyer, et al., *The Temple of Shanhûr*, Vol. 1: *The Sanctuary, the Wabet, and the Gates of the Central Hall and the Great Vestibule (1–98)*, Leuven 2003, 113 note 133, where such writings are interpreted as singular forms, and Anke Ilona Blöbaum, Der übersetzte Gott? Transfer von theologischen Konzepten zur Legitimierung von Fremdherrschaft im pharaonischen Ägypten, in: *Der übersetzte Gott*, ed. Melanie Lange and Martin Rösel, Leipzig 2015, 9–36,

7). Linked with this might be a depiction in the temple of Medinet Habu where the king offers many precious items to the god Amun-Re, among them two trees and a heap of aromatic substances which are labelled as being from Punt (Medinet Habu V, pl. 328).⁴⁷ Probably this textual attestation can be linked with the discovery of a road leading into Arabia, dating from the time of Ramses III.⁴⁸ It is often assumed that this is the last mention of an Egyptian expedition to Punt, but in fact there are later attestations.

One text possibly speaking of traveling to Punt during the 26th dynasty (7th-6th century BCE) is found on a private statue of a royal envoy.⁴⁹ While the name Punt is partially damaged, the reading seems sufficiently certain. Less clear in its interpretation is a stela found at Defenneh in the Delta which is now normally dated to the 26th dynasty, although there is no royal name preserved. It speaks of rain on the mountains of Punt while the inundation is low in the nomes of Egypt.⁵⁰

here 25–26, who gives undue relevance to such a supposed dual writing). For another clear example where *n3 t3.wi r-çr=w* with plural article is written for ‘all lands’ already in the Ramesside period, see ostracon OIC 25346, rt. 6, published by John L. Foster, Oriental Institute Ostrakon 25346 (Ostrakon Wilson 100), in: *For his Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David Silverman, Chicago 1994, 87–97.

⁴⁶ See also Dixon, *The Transplantation of Punt Incense Trees in Egypt* (cf. n. 17), 59, whose argument hinges largely on the identification of *snçr* as pistachio as proposed by Victor Loret, *La résine de térébinthe (sonter) chez les anciens Égyptiens*, Cairo 1949. Critical of Dixon is Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* (cf. n. 44), vol. 2, 39, n. 154.

⁴⁷ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu, Vol. V: The Temple Proper. Part I: The Portico, the Treasury, and Chapels adjoining the First Hypostyle Hall with Marginal Material from the Forecourts*, Chicago 1957, pl. 328.

⁴⁸ Claire Somaglino and Pierre Tallet, *Une mystérieuse route sud-orientale sous le règne de Ramsès III*, in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 111 (2011), 36–369; Claire Somaglino and Pierre Tallet, *A Road to the Arabian Peninsula in the Reign of Ramesses III*, in: *Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond*, ed. Frank Förster and Heiko Riemer, Köln 2013, 511–518.

⁴⁹ Marilina Betrò, *Punt, la XXVI dinastia e il frammento di statua del Museo Pushkin I.1.B 1025*, in: *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 19 (1996), 41–49. Karl Jansen-Winkel, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit. Teil IV: Die 26. Dynastie. Band 2: Gottesgemahlinnen/26. Dynastie insgesamt*, Wiesbaden 2014, 828 (no. 60.170) accepts the datation and gives a new edition of the hieroglyphic text.

⁵⁰ William Matthew Flinders Petrie, A. S. Murray, and Francis L. Griffiths, *Tanis. Part II: Nebesheh (A M) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, London 1888, pl. XLII. Re-edition Jansen-Winkel, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit, Teil IV*, 761f. (no. 60.11) (following the earlier edition since the present whereabouts of the stela are not known). It should be stressed that the orthography and grammar of the inscriptions strongly indicate a precedent in Old Kingdom models.

In any case, the episode of the circumnavigation of Africa ordered by Nekho II as recorded by Herodotus IV, 42 should also be mentioned.⁵¹ There might be a larger geopolitical strategy behind this. Egypt under the 26th dynasty had tried to gain a foothold in the Levant and Syria, marching up to the Euphrates in order to help the floundering Neo-Assyrian Empire, but eventually the Egyptians lost against the Neo-Babylonian rulers. Since the roads in the north were thus blocked, attempting an exploration in the south-east would have made sense.

Egyptian trade with countries providing aromatics continues into the Ptolemaic Period,⁵² but since the evidence is now in the Greek language, I defer to the contribution of Andrea Jördens in this volume. Within this framework, the finds of bronze objects of Mediterranean features at Gebel al-‘Awd in Yemen also have to be considered.⁵³

The Possibility of the Presence of People from Punt in Egypt

Some depictions of people on Old Kingdom monuments have been interpreted as men from Punt, mainly because their iconography shows similarity to the New Kingdom depictions of people from Punt.⁵⁴ At least two of them are not from royal monuments (where they can occasionally appear as vanquished enemies) but depict actual individuals living in Egypt. That fact would be highly

⁵¹ The historicity of this expedition was doubted by Jan Moje, *Die angebliche phönizische Umseglung Afrikas im Auftrag des Pharaos Necho. Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Textstelle Herodot IV, 42*, in: *Ägypten-Münster: kulturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Ägypten, dem Vorderen Orient und verwandten Gebieten. Donum natalicium viro doctissimo Erharto Graefe sexagenario ab amicis collegis discipulis ex aedibus Schlaunstrasse 2/Rosenstrasse 9 oblatum*, ed. Anke Ilona Blöbaum, Jochem Kahl, and Simon D. Schweitzer, Wiesbaden 2003, 197–212, but his arguments are hardly cogent, see my remarks in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 155 (2005), 609. See further Stephan Heilen, *Die Anfänge der wissenschaftlichen Geographie. Anaximander und Hekataios*, in: *Geographie und verwandte Wissenschaften*, ed. Wolfgang Hübner, Stuttgart 2000, 33–54, here 40 with note 39.

⁵² Ulrich Wilcken, *Punt-Fahrten in der Ptolemäerzeit*, in: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 60 (1925), 86–102; compare Stephan Schuster, *Das Seedarlehen in den Gerichtsreden des Demosthenes. Mit einem Ausblick auf die weitere historische Entwicklung des Rechtsinstitutes: dāneion nautikón, fenus nauticum und Bodmerei*, Berlin 2005, 171–172 with note 788. This means that the claim of Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt“ (cf. n. 17), 264, that during the Ptolemaic period trade relations between Egypt and Punt are no longer attested, is exaggerated.

⁵³ See for the moment the presentation at URL: <https://www.dainst.org/projekt/-/projekt-display/96489> (accessed 1 April 2016).

important as it shows not only a long-term exchange of goods but also the settlement of persons in Egypt. Most significantly, one of the cases is quite early, probably from the 2nd dynasty (ca. 28th century BCE),⁵⁵ thus prior to all currently known textual attestations of the land of Punt. Also the second case, from the tomb of Hetep-Seschat and probably dating back to the 4th dynasty (ca. 26th century BCE), counts among the earliest attestations of Punt.⁵⁶

Concerning the presence of people from Punt in Egypt, we should also refer to images attested in the New Kingdom depicting the festival of the god Min.⁵⁷ In the accompanying texts, a “negro⁵⁸ from Punt” is actually mentioned.⁵⁹ One of the hymns attested in these scenes, as well as much later in the Ptolemaic period temple of Athribis,⁶⁰ contains passages which are not amenable to any meaningful analysis as Egyptian language. It can be proposed that these passages are more or less garbled phonetic transcriptions of Puntite languages,⁶¹ while it is also likely that these inscriptions are garbled copies taken over from much older originals. In any case, it should be noted that the Egyp-

54 Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re*, Leipzig 1907, 47–48 and 87; Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa³hu-Re*. Vol. II: *Die Wandbilder*, Leipzig 1913, 19–21; Henry G. Fischer, *Varia Aegyptiaca*, in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963): 17–51, there 34–39; Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Darstellungen von Negern in Ägypten* (PhD thesis), Hamburg 1967, 5–9; Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt“ (cf. n. 17), 264.

55 Stela from Helwan, see Zaky Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavations at Helwan*, Cairo 1947, 46–48, pl. XXVII.

56 Hermann Junker, *Giza II. Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizäus[†] unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza*. Vol. II: *Die Maṣtabas der beginnenden 5. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*, Wien 1934, 182, fig. 28 and 194 (LD III, 23); Tallet, *Deux notes sur les expéditions au pays de Pount* (cf. n. 19), 192–195.

57 Detailed study by Henri Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, Cairo 1931.

58 While this term is not ‘politically correct’, I use it because it reflects the derogatory meaning of the Egyptian term *nḥs* used here.

59 Gauthier, *Fêtes* (cf. n. 57), 189–199; Alexandra von Lieven, *Native and Foreign Elements in the Musical Life of Ancient Egypt*, in: *Herausforderungen und Ziele der Musikarchäologie, Vorträge des 5. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Ethnologischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 19.–23. September 2006* (Studien zur Musikarchäologie 6, *Orientalarchäologie* 22), ed. Arnd Both, Ricardo Eichmann, Ellen Hickmann et al., Rahden (Westf.) 2008, 155–160.

60 Christian Leitz, Rafed El-Sayed, Daniela Mendel et al., *The Epigraphic Record*, in: *Athribis I. General Survey 2003–2007. Archaeological & Conservation Studies. The Gate of Ptolemy IX. Architecture and Inscriptions*, ed. Rafed El-Sayed and Yahya El-Masry, Cairo 2012, 158–161, here 157.

tians saw it fitting that a person coming, at least on a conceptual level, from the Red Sea region should play an important part in an Egyptian festival.

Punt as a Conceptual Landscape

Punt is also a conceptual landscape embedded in the Egyptian world view.⁶² There is an Old Kingdom alabaster vessel, found during the excavations at Abusir, which depicts a personification of Punt giving myrrh to King Teti.⁶³ An interesting example from the early Middle Kingdom is CT IV, 182 o-q, where the speaker in the role of the divine child Ihy (who conceptualizes himself as a child of different deities, especially Hathor and Re)⁶⁴ says that he has found himself in Punt and built a house there for himself at his place of birth, while his mother was under its trees. In several texts, Punt is mentioned as a place in the far south east linked with the sunrise, e.g. in CT III 90f., Book of the Dead chapter 15 c, the Book of Nut (P. Carlsberg 1, 1, 16. 26),⁶⁵ or in an invocation to the sun-god in the morning in the frame of a ritual of protection.⁶⁶

61 Joachim Friedrich Quack, Punt [1] (cf. n. 28), 599; idem, Egyptian Writing for non-Egyptian Languages and Vice-Versa—A Short Overview, in: *The Idea of Writing. Play and Complexity*, ed. Alex de Voogt and Irving Finkel, Leiden 2010, 317–325, here 318.

62 Nathalie Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*, Leuven 1990, 293–306; Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt“ (cf. n. 17), 263–274; Creasman, Hatshepsut and the Politics of Punt (cf. n. 25), 395–405; Harvey, Interpreting Punt (cf. n. 3), 81–91; Rainer Nutz, Zur ideologischen Verortung von T3-nṯr und Punt (cf. n. 43), 281, 288; Françoise Labrique, Le regard d'Hérodote sur le phénix (II, 73), in: *Hérodote et l'Égypte: regards croisés sur le livre II de l'Enquête d'Hérodote. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, Lyon, le 10 mai 2010*, ed. Laurent Coulon, Pascale Giovannelli-Jouanna, and Flore Kimmel-Clauzet, Lyon 2013, 119–143, here 132–133.

63 Peter Kaplony, Bemerkungen zu einigen Steingefäßen mit archaischen Königsnamen, in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 20 (1965), 1–46, here 35–37.

64 Ludwig Morenz, *Die Zeit der Regionen im Spiegel der Gebelein-Region. Kulturgeschichtliche Re-Konstruktionen*, Leiden 2010, 369.

65 Alexandra von Lieven, *Grundriß des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch*, Copenhagen 2007, 49, 51 and 127–130.

66 Andreas Pries, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual zum Schutz des Königs und verwandte Kompositionen. Der Papyrus Kairo 58027 und die Textvarianten in den Geburtshäusern von Dendara und Edfu*, Heidelberg 2009, 72–3. By now, the history of this composition can be traced further back, see Kenneth Griffin, Toward a Better Understanding of the *Ritual of the Hours of the Night (Stundenritual)*, in: *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis. New Discoveries and Research 2012–14*, ed. Elena Pischikova, Cairo/New York 2017, 97–134.

Egyptian gods can be labeled as lords of Punt.⁶⁷ One rather early example is Amun who is called “lord of the Medjai, ruler of Punt” in an important hymn attested since the Second Intermediate Period (c. 17th century) (pBoulaq 17, 1, 4 and parallels).⁶⁸ Even earlier there is a passage in the story of Sinuhe from the 12th dynasty where “the great goddess, lady of Punt” is mentioned (Sinuhe B 209–210). Deities linked with perfumes also tend to be associated with Punt.⁶⁹ In the *Book of the Day*, Punt is conceptualized as home of a group of baboons adoring the sun-god.⁷⁰

Given the location of Punt at one of the outer points of the Egyptian worldview, it also marked the outer limit of Egyptian rule. Indeed, some Egyptian texts explicitly make this point. In the *Instruction of a Man for his Son*, a wisdom text from the Middle Kingdom, it is said about the Egyptian king: “His might traverses the sea, the islanders are in awe of him, Punt and the coasts of the Aegean. The god binds them together for him” (§ 8, 3–6).⁷¹

Furthermore, the Demotic Myth of the Sun’s Eye should also be mentioned, which is attested in several 2nd century CE manuscripts. In this text Punt appears once in broken context (Lille B 45),⁷² twice simply as a source of aromatics (Leiden 11, 10; 16, 4),⁷³ and in a third, more remarkable, attestation

⁶⁷ Some further examples Martinssen, „Ich gebe dir ganz Punt“ (cf. n. 17), 270 with note 62.

⁶⁸ See the (rather faulty) edition in Maria Michela Luiselli, *Der Amun-Re Hymnus des P. Boulaq 17 (P. Kairo CG 58038)*, Wiesbaden 2004, 1, 5 and 43; and for the age of the text Detlef Franke, *Middle Kingdom Hymns and Other Sundry Religious Texts – an Inventory*, in: *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World, Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, ed. Sibylle Meyer, Leiden 2003, 95–135, there 113 and 131. Punt as subjected to Amun is also indicated in P. Leiden I 350, 1, 5, see Jan Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350*, Leiden 1948, 5–6.

⁶⁹ Sydney Aufrère, *Le « champ divin » de Bastet à Bubastis, l’albâtre, les parfums et les curiosités de la mer rouge (=autour de l’univers minéral XI)*, in: *Res Orientales XI. Parfums d’Orient*, ed. Rika Gyselen, Burres-sur-Yvette 1998, 65–83; for a special case involving Neith and Nekhbet, see Alexandra von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna. Eine Fallstudie zur Religiösen Astronomie in Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 2000, 145.

⁷⁰ Marcus Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, Fribourg 2008, 155–163.

⁷¹ Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn. Eine Etappe auf dem „Gottesweg“ des loyalen und solidarischen Beamten des Mittleren Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1999, 101 and 103–106.

⁷² Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, Berlin 2007, 198.

⁷³ Meeks, *Coptos et les chemins du Pount* (cf. n. 3), 271 notes that there Punt seems curiously located in the north, but I am not sure about this interpretation. While *mḥyt* etymologically means ‘north wind’, it experienced a semantic shift by Coptic, leading to a primary meaning as ‘fresh breeze’, compare Lycopolitan M2H.

(Leiden 6, 1), which contrasts the vegetation of Punt with that of Egypt: “Ebony does not become black in Egypt. The water places of Punt are overgrown with rush and reed, but sycamores are not found in them”.

In the temple of Repit at Athribis, during the Ptolemaic period, a special “Punt chamber” was decorated showing different aromatic trees and describing them.⁷⁴ The treatise on the different trees has a direct parallel in the temple of Edfu; it classifies them according to the possibilities of use and attributes them to different deities.⁷⁵

A particular facet of this conceptual valorization can be seen in the cult of the Egyptian god Min. He is one of the earliest attested deities in Egypt. By his main place of veneration in Koptos, he is associated with the main road through the Wadi Hammamat leading to the Red Sea. As a result, many later texts associate him with the land of Punt, to the far south-east of Egypt.⁷⁶ New Kingdom and Ptolemaic period depictions of his festival (c. 13th century BCE) even show that there were ritual spells to be recited by a “negro of Punt” (see above).

There is one late attestation of the land of Punt for which it is unclear whether it is linked to reality or conceptualization. According to the building inscription in the temple of Edfu, Ptolemy X fled to “Punt” when his elder brother Ptolemy IX regained the throne in 88 BCE (Edfou VII, 8).⁷⁷ From historical sources we know that in reality he fled first to Upper Egypt (the Thebaid),

⁷⁴ Nathalie Baum, La salle de Pount du temple de Repit à Wennina, in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant*. Vol. 2: *Nubie, Soudan, Éthiopie*, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal, Cairo 1994, 23–37; Michèle Chermette and Jean-Claude Goyon, Le catalogue raisonné de producteurs de Styrax et d’oliban d’Edfou et d’Athribis de Haute Égypte, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 23 (1996), 47–82; Christian Leitz, Daniela Mendel, and Mohamed el-Bialy, *Die Außenwände und westlichen Seitenkapellen des Tempels von Athribis*, Cairo 2014, 243–285.

⁷⁵ Alexandra von Lieven, Das Göttliche in der Natur erkennen. Tiere, Pflanzen und Phänomene der unbelebten Natur als Manifestationen des Göttlichen, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 131 (2004), 156–172, pl. XX–XXI.

⁷⁶ Jean Yoyotte, Une épithète de Min comme explorateur des régions orientales, in: *Revue d’Égyptologie* 9 (1952), 125–137.

⁷⁷ See also Dieter Kurth, *Edfu VII*, Wiesbaden 2004, 11 with note 9, although the metaphorical sense of ‘to die’ for ‘to flee to Punt’ supposed by him is nowhere else attested and his interpretation of a simple narrative *s̄m=f* as circumstantial clause ‘until he disappeared’ is not well founded, see my review in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 160 (2010), 461. Previously, Sylvie Cauville and Didier Devauchelle, Le temple d’Edfou. Étapes de la construction. Nouvelles données historiques, in: *Revue d’Égyptologie* 35 (1984), 31–55, here 52–53 had understood that the priests did not know where the king had fled; similarly John Ray, Psammuthis and Hakoris, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 72 (1986), 149–158, here 153 interpreted this as global expression

then back to the Delta and embarked on a fleet in the Mediterranean Sea. There he was pursued and fled to Lycia.⁷⁸ Unless the first move to the Thebaid is intended, the reference to ‘Punt’ as a northern location would be most surprising.⁷⁹ There is, however, one other option to consider: the last indigenous king of Egypt Nectanebos II fled to Nubia/Ethiopia (Diodorus 16.51.1) when Artaxerxes III reconquered Egypt in 343/342 BCE.⁸⁰ One can speculate if, due to this incident, “to flee to Punt” might have become an idiomatic expression for a king deserting his kingdom.

Arabia

Actual Encounters and Their Legacy

If we agree that Punt is more likely to be located on the African side of the Red Sea, the Arabian one is not well documented in Egypt during the earlier periods, except for some very northern places like the Arabah.

It is only with the advent of the first millennium BCE that the documentation for Arabia and Arabian people becomes substantial.⁸¹ This is likely to be linked with the Incense Road, which went by land from South Arabia to the southern Levant, with Gaza on the Mediterranean shore as an important destination.⁸² One important tribe from South Arabia involved in this trade are the Mineans. Their inscriptions mention travels to Egypt from the 4th century BCE

for seeking refuge in a foreign country. See also Edmond Van’t Dack, Willy Clarysse, Getzel Cohen, Jan Quaegebeur, and Jan Winnicki, *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103–101 B.C. A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a “War of Sceptres”*, Brussels 1989, 145–146.

⁷⁸ Werner Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v. Chr.*, Munich 2001, 657–658.

⁷⁹ Still, Robert Ritner, Ptolemy IX (Soter II) at Thebes, in: *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2006*, ed. Peter Dorman and Betsy Bryan, Chicago 2011, 97–114, here 106 note 77 thinks that Punt is substituted here for Cyprus. Meeks, Locating Punt (cf. n. 3), 69 argues in the frame of a theory to locate Punt in Arabia that the king had been twice quite near to Arabia during his flight, but passing “quite near” is hardly enough to explain why Punt was indicated as his goal in the inscription. Edwyn Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London 1927, 334 note 1 thinks that “Punt” at this time might be used for any foreign country, but unambiguous further evidence for such a claim is lacking.

⁸⁰ Huß, *Ägypten* (cf. n. 78), 53; Stephen Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West. Egypt and the Persian Empire 525–332 BCE*, Oxford 2012, 193.

⁸¹ Günter Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, Mainz 2003, 180–193; Jan Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours. Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC*, Warsaw 2009, 306–365.

onwards.⁸³ One interesting source within this record are inscriptions speaking of Mineans marrying women from foreign places distributed along the incense road.⁸⁴ Most of them (thirty) are from Gaza, but there are also nine from Dedan in Arabia and eight from Egypt. At least in a few cases, the names given in the inscriptions can be provided with plausible Egyptian etymologies. In a somewhat similar vein, an inscription from Gebel Ghuneim (near Tayma) speaks of an Arab lying with an Egyptian woman.⁸⁵ There is one sarcophagus from Giza in Egypt which is very notable for having an inscription in the Minean language as well as incorporating Egyptian religious conceptions; according to one interpretation, the owner even became a priest in the Egyptian cult.⁸⁶ While most of the inscriptions concerning trade mention place names like Gaza, Sidon, or Tyre and thus imply that the incense road was used, there are two South Arabian graffiti from the Wadi Hammamat which could be interpreted as evidence for conforming to the Pharaonic pattern of sea travel in the Red Sea followed by an overland route to the Nile.⁸⁷

Even though South Arabian texts are sparsely documented in Egypt, the South Arabian script left an important legacy in late Egypt, i.e. the period encompassing the 1st millennium BCE and the Roman Period. From about the 4th century BCE onwards, there are indications that the Egyptians used a sequence of sounds for ordering words and signs, so that we can speak of a late-Egyptian alphabet. Surprising as it might seem, the sequence actually used is not based on some writing system frequently used and attested in Egypt but on the Ancient South Arabian script.⁸⁸ The South Arabian sequence is the so-

82 Michaël Jasmin, Les conditions d'émergence de la route de l'encens à la fin du II^e millénaire avant notre ère, in: *Syria* 82 (2005), 49–62.

83 Christian Robin, L'Égypte dans les inscriptions de l'Arabie méridionale préislamique, in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant*. Vol. 4: *Varia*, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal, Cairo 1994, 286–301.

84 Walter Müller and Günter Vittmann, Zu den Personennamen der aus Ägypten stammenden Frauen in den sogenannten „Hierodulenlisten“ von Ma'in, in: *Orientalia* 62 (1993), 1–10.

85 Gunnar Sperveslage, Intercultural Contacts Between Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula at the Turn of the 2nd to the 1st millennium BCE, in: *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East 1300–500 BC*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, Oxford 2016, 303–330, here 316.

86 Günter Vittmann, Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu Fremden und hellenisierten Ägyptern im Dienste einheimischer Kulte, in: *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, ed. Willy Clarysse, Anthoon Schoors, and Harco Willems, Leuven 1998, 1231–1250, there 1241–1244.

87 Robin, L'Égypte dans les inscriptions (cf. n. 83), 296–297.

called *halaham* order (after the first letters), and it has been speculated whether this might be a possible origin of the Latin word “element”.⁸⁹

Arabia and Its People in Demotic Egyptian Literature

I do not want to pass the role of Arabia in Egyptian literature in silence. While such texts do not easily provide what a historian would call ‘facts’, they can tell us a lot about the imagination of the people who created them, and indeed there are some Egyptian literary works where Arabia or the Arabs play a relevant role.

A first text to be mentioned is P. Carlsberg 459 + PSI Inv. D 51, a manuscript from 2nd century CE Tebtunis.⁹⁰ There we encounter an Egyptian woman who travels with an Arab to the country of Lihyan, which is known from other sources as an Arabian kingdom that flourished especially during the Ptolemaic period. In one episode, she takes a bath in a lake, and the Arab perceives her beauty. Things proceed as it is to be expected, and soon they sleep with each other. Without entering into all the details of a rather fragmentary text, such an

⁸⁸ First observations about the sequence were made by Jochem Kahl, Von *h* bis *k*. Indizien für eine ‚alphabetische‘ Reihenfolge einkonsonantiger Lautwerte in spätzeitlichen Papyri, in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 122 (1991), 33–47. In Joachim Friedrich Quack, Ägyptisches und südarabisches Alphabet, in: *Revue d’Égyptologie* 44 (1993), 141–151, I first demonstrated the connection between the two traditions. For more recent studies, see especially Joachim Friedrich Quack, Die spätägyptische Alphabetreihenfolge und das ‘südsemitische’ Alphabet, in: *Lingua Aegyptia* 11 (2003), 163–184; François Gaudard, Le P. Berlin 8278 et ses fragments. Un « nouveau » texte démotique comprenant des noms de lettres, in: *Verba manent. Recueil d’études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks*, ed. Isabelle Régen and Frédéric Servajean, Montpellier 2009, 165–169; François Gaudard, Birds in the Ancient Egyptian and Coptic Alphabet, in: *Between Heaven and Hell. Birds in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, Chicago 2012, 65–70; Didier Devauchelle, L’alphabet des oiseaux (O. dém. DelM 4–2), in: *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man. Studies in Honour of W. J. Tait*, ed. Aidan Dodson, John Johnston, and Wendy Monkhouse, London 2014, 57–65; new source material can also be found in John Ray, *Demotic Ostraca and Other Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara*, London 2013, 86–90.

⁸⁹ See the critical discussion in Reinhard G. Lehmann, 27 – 30 – 22 – 26 – How Many Letters Needs an Alphabet? The Case of Semitic, in: *The Idea of Writing: Writing Across Borders*, ed. Alex de Voogt and Joachim Friedrich Quack, Leiden 2011, 11–52, there 15–16, note 8.

⁹⁰ Kim Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri 10. Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, Copenhagen 2012, 35–72. Compare for this episode Joachim Friedrich Quack, Where Once was Love, Love is no More? What Happens to Expressions of Love in Late Period Egypt?, in: *Die Welt des Orients* 46 (2016), 62–89, here 69.

episode gives at least some fleshed-out background to the Mineans marrying Egyptian women we have encountered previously. It seems especially close to the inscription from Gebel Ghuneim.

Another relevant literary text is the narrative about the prince and future king Sesostris. There are some fragments of a Greek novel about him, and they mention a battle between the Egyptians and Arabs led by a king called Webelis. Remnants of three Demotic manuscripts are still unpublished. Mostly, they narrate how King Amenemhet and his son Prince Sesostris fought against the Nubians, but at least one fragment mentions a turn of the army to Arabia, which might imply traversing the Red Sea. Indeed, the Sesostris story as told by Greek historians, especially Diodorus, clearly indicates that the armed expedition of Sesostris set out from Egypt, first south along the Red Sea coast, and then passed over to Arabia.⁹¹ Harkening back to such episodes, Pliny NH VI 174 indicates a port of Isis a ten day journey by rowboat from Adulis where troglodytian myrrh is brought, and indicates a place Mossylites, still further on, as the farthest point Sesostris has reached.⁹²

One piece of Demotic literature has a special significance as being a piece of literary imagination employing a supposed ruler from Arabia as a major figure. It is a Demotic text transmitted together with several others on a pottery jar from Roman period Egypt.⁹³ The object shows all the hallmarks of being a school exercise. It presents a sequence of short texts stylized as letters. One of them is introduced as a letter by Auski, Prince of Arabia, to King Psammetich Neferibre.⁹⁴ The Egyptian king, whose name was only correctly deciphered recently,⁹⁵ ruled from 595–589 BCE. Previously, it had been proposed to identify the Egyptian form Auski with the famous king Aśoka of India.⁹⁶ However, with the correct identification of his Egyptian counterpart, this proposal loses its chronological plausibility, while it was always burdened with the problem of

⁹¹ Iris Sulimani, *Diodorus' Mythistory and the Pagan Mission. Historiography and Culture-Heroes in the First Pentad of the Bibliothek*, Leiden 2011.

⁹² Bongrani, The Punt Expedition of Ramses IIIrd (cf. n. 44), 56–58.

⁹³ Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen*, Leipzig 1912.

⁹⁴ See the special study of Phillippe Collombert, Le conte de l'hirondelle et de la mer, in: *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999*, ed. Kim Ryholt, Copenhagen 2002, 59–76 as well as the overall presentation in Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III. Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, Berlin ²2009, 170–171 and the German translation in Hoffmann and Quack, *Anthologie* (cf. n. 72), 194–195 and 355–356.

⁹⁵ Hoffmann and Quack, *Anthologie* (cf. n. 72), 355 note b.

⁹⁶ Maria Carmela Betrò, Aśoka in un testo letterario demotico?, in: *Studi Ellenistici* 12 (1999), 112–125.

turning a person clearly labeled as Arab into an Indian.⁹⁷ The interpretation of the short letter is not without problems. In essence, it concerns a swallow whose nest with its young is destroyed by the raging sea. The swallow tries to take revenge by spitting sand into it and drinking out its water piecemeal. It is, however, not completely clear if this is presented as a futile effort or as an example of the power of even small creatures to successfully deal with big adversaries—and any possible interpretation of the text as conveying a hidden symbolic message concerning the relation between Egypt and Arabia is fraught with this additional complication.

The ethnic designation Hagar, probably meaning ‘Arab’, occurs several times in a manual of divination (P. Vienna D 12006), as a sort of role model for certain actions, perhaps regarding somebody who would do well not to leave his tent.⁹⁸ However, due to the lexical uncertainty of a crucial word, the interpretation remains doubtful.

Beyond Arabia, the African side of the Red Sea region is also relevant in Demotic Egyptian literature, but with a special connotation. Griffons are supposed to come from there, and especially in the narrative of the heroic deeds of Inaros, it is told how one came to the Egyptian army and wreaked havoc before it was killed by Inaros with an iron lance.⁹⁹

Conclusions

This volume is put under the two categories of ‘entre mers’ and ‘outré mer’. For the first of them, my material probably has to invert the perspective and create an ‘entre terres’, at least for the Punt expeditions where the Red Sea was a transition zone between lands, and the voyage through the eastern desert of Egypt meant transporting ships over a substantial land mass.

⁹⁷ Recently, Günter Vittmann, *Die Schwalbe und das Meer*, in: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*. Neue Folge, Band 8: *Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Daniel Schwemer, Gütersloh 2015, 440–441, there 440 note 508 has tried to support the identification with Aśoka. While Aśoka left numerous inscriptions in India and sent embassies to the Hellenistic rulers (see the contribution of Alexandra von Lieven in this volume), there is no evidence that his memory was kept alive in the Mediterranean region.

⁹⁸ Martin Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung. Neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayum nach dem Papyrus Wien D. 12006 Recto*, Wien 2004, 64–5, 76, 80, 131–135.

⁹⁹ Kim Ryholt, *The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition. A Survey of the Narrative Source Material*, in: *Assyria and Beyond. Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, ed. Jan Gerrit Dercksen, Leiden 2004, 483–510, here 493–494.

As for the second term, I am not quite sure whether the sea, in my case, provided a firm link between distant coasts. While there is a history of Punt voyages, they seem to have been relatively rare, and indeed the Puntites reacted rather surprised when the Egyptians arrived, at least according to the Deir el-Bahri texts. Firmer links with Arabia can only be grasped from the first millennium BCE onwards, and they are based mainly on land travel, i.e. on the development of the incense road linking South Arabia to the Southern Levant. Thus, this contribution is perhaps primarily concerned with evidence for 'sans mer', though concerning the land par excellence between the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean Worlds.

