Narratives of Power in the Ancient World

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Edited by
Urška Furlan,
Thomas Alexander Husøy
and Henry Bohun

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Thomas Humphrey is a PhD candidate at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David. He received his Bachelor of Arts in ancient and medieval history from the University of Calgary, Canada, and his master's degree in the classical Mediterranean from the University of Leicester where his research interests shifted to the archaeology of interconnections in the Late Bronze Age, focusing particularly on Cyprus. Expanding upon this, his PhD research focuses on the relationship between agency – human and non-human – and the formation and expression of various identities on Cyprus at the end of the Bronze Age. His other research interests include the Mediterranean Bronze and Iron Ages, cultural and economic exchange networks, and the relationships between people and material culture.

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Richard Phillips completed BSc and PhD degrees in Chemistry at the University of Bristol in 1971 and 1974 respectively and worked in academia in the UK and the Philippines before embarking on an international career,

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Domiziana Rossi is a PhD student in Archaeology in Cardiff University with a research project titled 'The evolution of Sasanian Urbanism in Iran after the Arab-Muslim conquest: three cases study'. She holds a BA degree in 'Archaeology and Eastern and Western Cultures' from La Sapienza (Rome) and has written two MA dissertations; one on 'The city of Ardašīr-Xwarrah near Fīrūzābād (Fārs, Iran). Source and Territory' (Bologna), and more recently and in English 'Topographies of Power: City Foundation and the Shaping of Ērānšahr' (Cardiff). She has participated in several archaeological missions in Oman, Uzbekistan, and Iran. Recent publications include 'A road to Fīrūzābād' in EX NOVO, *Journal of Archaeology* 3, 75-

96. Her research interests span across Archaeology and History of Pre-Islamic Ērānshahr, with a special interest in Sasanian urbanism and the perception of urban spaces after the Arab-Muslim conquest.

INTRODUCTION

The UWICAH (Universities of Wales Institute of Classics and Ancient History) conference is an annual Postgraduate Research conference organised by postgraduate students at one of the three Welsh universities in the Institute; Swansea University, Cardiff University, and the University of Wales Trinity St. David at Lampeter. The three universities alternate between who is organising it, and it traditionally takes place in the autumn. In 2019, the turn had come to Swansea University to organise the conference, which took place on November 16th, in two rooms in Singleton Abbey on the university's Singleton Campus. The annual UWICAH conference aims to showcase postgraduate research in the host university's friendly and welcoming atmosphere.

The theme for the conference was 'Narratives of Power in and in Relation to the Ancient World', chosen as it fits with Swansea's academic profile for the ancient world. Thomas Alexander Husøy, one of the organisers of the conference, developed the idea for the theme together with PhD candidates from Cardiff University, when attending the 2018 UWICAH conference hosted by postgraduate students at Cardiff University. Following this, he brought the idea to his postgraduate colleagues at Swansea University, Urška Furlan and William Clayton. Together they drafted a call for papers, encouraging potential attendees to interpret the theme as broadly as possible; after a successful call for papers, a full programme comprising twenty-three speakers from universities in seven different countries was put together.

The present volume is a collection of ten papers from this conference, discussing powerful narratives ranging from Ancient Egypt, to Greece, and the Sasanian Empire. The editorial team for the conference proceeding comprises two of the organisers, Thomas Alexander Husøy and Urška Furlan, and Henry Bohun, who spoke at the conference, and also contributes with a chapter which is found in these proceedings.

The Oxford English Dictionary provides several definitions for the concept of 'power' relevant to the chapters of this volume, including the 'ability to act or affect something strongly' and the 'capacity to direct or influence the

behaviour of others'. In the same dictionary, we find a definition of narrative as 'an account of a series of events, facts, etc., given in order and with the establishing of connections between them'. Therefore, narratives of power refer to a spoken or written story that can influence people or affect historical events. Such influence can be wielded by individuals and groups alike, and we can trace these narratives in changing political, cultural, historical, and mythical narratives. Powerful structures, groups, and individuals are found in every society throughout history, and provide an interesting framework for examining history. The contributors to this volume provide a wide variety of viewpoints on powerful narratives in antiquity, which we hope will contribute to our understanding of the theme. The articles have been organised to fit a thematic and chronological framework, fitting with the conference narratives of power theme. The first thematic section focuses on papers related to ancient Egypt, and the second focuses on Ancient Greece before a final article examines the Sasanian Empire.

The Egyptological section comprises three articles, ranging from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the reign of the Ptolemies; this section begins with an article written by Lonneke Delput, who analyses the role of horses and discusses whether we should consider these as status markers and status symbols during Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty. Thomas Humphrey considers the relationship between ancient Cyprus and Egypt by analysing the Alashiya Amarna Letters from the same dynasty. Finally, Henry Bohun investigates the Egyptian origins of the Ptolemaic ruler cult as the final paper in the Egyptological section.

The Greek and Late Antique section of the book begins with an article by Rebecca Symonds, who analyses the role of Zeus in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Whilst Brian D. McPhee provides us with an analysis of Heracles' intelligence in mythopoetic developments of Heracles' monster combat myths. Thomas Alexander Husøy continues the focus on mythology in narratives of power by analysing mythical genealogical connections and myth-making events connecting Thessaly to the Phocians, Minyans, and Boeotians in Central Greece by applying an ethnosymbolic approach to their identities. Richard Phillips takes us out of the realm of mythology. He investigates the impact of soft power in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods of Greek history, emphasising Paros and Athens. Ana García Espinosa provides us with an analysis of mercenary commanders in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and aims to establish the meaning of leadership in this work. Roberta Dainotto looks into how individuals try to build elevated self-portraits through narrativity in forensic speeches, focusing on Apollodorus.

The volume is brought to a close by Domiziana Rossi, who focuses her article on the role of kings in the Sasanian Empire, specifically their role as decision-makers.

Next to these ten papers, we would also like to thank the other attendees and speakers at the conference for valuable questions and conversations, which undoubtedly aided in developing the ideas represented in these ten papers further.

We owe a great deal of gratitude to the former Department of Classics, Ancient History, and Egyptology (now a part of the Department of History, Heritage, and Classics) at Swansea University for their help during the organisation of the conference; and especially to the former head of department, Professor Mark Humphries, for opening the conference, and Dr Maria Pretzler for promoting the conference online throughout the day and for providing delicious home-baked cakes for the attendees. Moreover, we also thank UWICAH and the former College of Arts and Humanities (now a part of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science) at Swansea University for providing the funds necessary to organise the conference. Also, the staff in Singleton Abbey for their assistance in the booking process and aiding with technological equipment deserves a mention here. Finally, we thank Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their help in the publication process of the first published UWICAH Conference volume.

Thomas Alexander Husøy, Urška Furlan, and Henry Bohun
August 2021

CHAPTER 1

THE HORSE IN ANCIENT EGYPT: A STATUS SYMBOL OR A STATUS MARKER?

LONNEKE DELPEUT

Introduction

The horse was introduced into ancient Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period (ca. 1650-1539 BCE). The earliest two-dimensional depictions of the horse in a royal setting appear in the pyramid temple of Ahmose at Abydos, published by Stephen Harvey.[1] The first horses to appear in a private context do so during the reign of Thutmose I, in el-Kab as well as in Thebes. The following article will discuss the different contexts in which images of horses were used, and assess whether or not these can be interpreted as status symbols, status markers or neither. The scope of this article will seek to analyse horses in a royal and private settings during the Eighteenth Dynasty. First, the definition of a status symbol and a status marker will be clearly established. Secondly, using this terminology, this article will assess the horse as a status symbol within royal iconography. Thirdly, Costly Signaling Theory will be applied to horses in private tombs in order to establish the extent to which depictions of the animal were used as a status marker.

Methodology and Definitions

First, one has to establish a clear definition of 'status'. Michael Sauder *et al.* define it as such: 'Status, for organisations as well as individuals, is broadly understood as the position in a social hierarchy that results from accumulated acts of deference.'[2] Sauder further explains that 'status

[1] Harvey, S. (1994) 5.
[2] Sauder, M., *et al.* (2012) 268.

symbols are observable markers of social position such as modes of consumption, habits, language, and other styles of life, and an understanding of status symbols is therefore necessary in order to fully appreciate the nature of status relationships'.[3] According to Erving Goffman, 'status symbols indicate to other people how to treat a person, and visibly divide the social world into categories of persons'.[4] The current author distinguishes "status symbols" from "status markers" in the sense that a status *symbol* indicates high status, whereas a status *marker* does not necessarily refer to a high position or rank, but just to status in general, high or low. Sauder mentions that 'status symbols surreptitiously serve to support and reproduce the existing stratification order, and that the symbolic realm does not merely mirror overarching structures but also has the ability to constitute these structures independently.'[5] The most important element of the definition is that status is *always* defined and expressed in relation to others. The current author will try to demonstrate the difference between a status symbol and a status marker in the following example.

Imagine a crown. Crowns are inextricably linked with royalty, which is the highest possible hierarchical position in a society. A crown is therefore a status symbol, as wearing a crown is generally only reserved for the king and/or queen, the highest ranking people in a community. If there was a room filled with people, and only one was wearing a crown, he would be associated as the person with the highest status; whether this person was a king or not, even if the rest of the people in the room might be as well. The fact that he is the only person wearing a crown denotes him as the person with the highest rank in the room, because he is wearing an object that is attributed with high(est) status. If there was a room filled with people who were all wearing crowns, it would lose its value as a status symbol because everyone in the room is equal in having the highest status. It is still a status *marker*, because we know the crown as being an object associated with high status, but in comparison to all the other kings wearing crowns it is no longer a status *symbol*. It is the relativity to others that makes something a status symbol. As Michael Sauder says 'status symbols are observable markers of social position such as modes of consumption, habits, language, and other styles of life'.[6] For us therefore to define a horse as a status symbol, we need

[3] Sauder, M. (2005) 281.
[4] Goffman, E. (1951) 294.
[5] Sauder, M. (2005) 286.
[6] Sauder, M. (2005) 281.

to be able to show that the horse is a defining factor in changing a person's hierarchical position in relation to others.

Now, why would the horse be a status marker in ancient Egypt at all? First of all, during the Eighteenth Dynasty the horse was a novelty item. When something is new, everyone wants to have it. A recent example is the modern day car: the first people to have a car were wealthy individuals who were able to afford the newest of the new, and since wealth is often related to high status, one can say that people who owned a car when it was invented were people that had a high social ranking. Nowadays, however, having a car is not per definition a status symbol, it is rather the kind of car you drive that makes the difference. The current author expects to detect a similar trend in the case of the horse: when it was first introduced in the Eighteenth Dynasty, owning this novelty item would have been only for the wealthy who had a close relation to the pharaoh. Secondly, as Miriam Bibby eloquently put it, 'raising and training draught animals and developing vehicular technology was an expensive and time-consuming investment and it is therefore likely to be representative of high status.'[7] Naturally, the position of the horse might transition throughout time. Thirdly, for private persons, the ultimate status symbol was to equate themselves with the pharaoh. Horses were closely associated with royalty at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, since it was their improvement of technological aspects of the chariot and the horse that was no doubt a defining factor in the expulsion of the Hyksos and being able to reunite Egypt as one country under one pharaoh. Frederik Rogner argues that the popularity of hunting scenes, both on foot and with a chariot, during the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II are due to the "war- and hunting ethos".[8] The elite enjoyed depicting themselves hunting like the pharaoh, placing themselves at an equal level, and lifting their own status to that of the king. In fact, the importance of the scene is emphasised by the fact that the location of hunting scenes in the tomb moved from the broad hall to the long hall. Not only is there more space in the long hall of a tomb to execute the scene, it is also impossible to miss it, since visitors would have to walk past it to reach the shrine.[9]

[7] Bibby, M. (2003) 13.
[8] Rogner, F.A. (2020) 167.
[9] Rogner, F.A. (2020) 167.

Figure 1: JE 61467, painted wooden box of Tutankhamun in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Photo: L.P.P. Delpeut.

Royal Setting

As seen in the aforementioned paragraph, in order for the horse to be considered a status symbol, it needs to be a distinguishing factor between at least two entities. For this purpose, the author will look at battle scenes, where the pharaoh will be one entity, and the enemy will be the other. The message of these scenes seems clear in principle: pharaoh is victorious over "the other", often a foreign enemy.[10] A famous example is depicted on the body of the chariot of Thutmose IV, first published in 1904 by Howard Carter and Percy Newberry.[11] Here the pharaoh is depicted mounted on a chariot, on one side shooting arrows and on the other side holding an axe. He is surrounded by foreign enemies who have fallen victim to the pharaoh's might. This scene of "pharaoh" and "the other" is a familiar one, and goes back to the predynastic period where the pharaoh was shown

[10] For an extensive discussion of "pharaoh" versus "the other", see Loprieno, A. (1988).
[11] Carter, H. and Newberry, P. (1904) 26-33.

smiting the enemy with a mace.[12] The horse and chariot are an integral part of this scene, simply because they take up so much space within it. To what extent however can the horse specifically be seen as a status symbol in this case? The enemy's chariots are also equipped with two horses, so it is not the horses themselves that make the distinction between "pharaoh" and "the other". In reality, there are other factors to distinguish between the two within the scene. First of all, the pharaoh's chariot shows eight spokes, in contrast to the enemy's chariot, which has only four. This was a recurring factor throughout the entire Eighteenth Dynasty,[13] and seems clearly status-defining: "the more spokes, the better", even though the ideal amount of spokes in a practical sense is later defined as six.

Secondly, the pharaoh's horses show attributes that the enemy's horses do not, as they are decorated with a significant headdress, including two circular shapes which might be sun-disks and several large plumes. They also have some sort of blanket on their back, which might have had both a practical as well as a decorative function. The enemy's horses show neither of these elements, again creating a distance between the pharaoh and his enemies. Thirdly, the simple size difference seems to be an obvious status-marker, as the Egyptian king and his horse and chariot are depicted much larger than the enemy, who are greater in number, but not in size. This is an example of what René van Walsem calls ideological immaterial reality: 'experiential or conceivable configurations, scenes that are not sensorially observable or thinkable'.[14] One can argue that the size difference has more than one function, also putting the focus on the pharaoh, but this too is a difference in status: putting the focus on the pharaoh instead of the other elements within the scene. Even if the pharaoh is shown surrounded by his fellow Egyptians, they would still be depicted smaller: it is the pharaoh who has the highest status and is therefore depicted the largest. The pharaoh has the luxury to do this, and therefore does it.

A second case study which shows similar elements to the ones shown above can be seen on the wooden box found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Fig.1). On both sides we see the pharaoh mounted on his chariot in the middle of a battle scene fighting his enemies. Interestingly enough, on one side there are no horses or chariots depicted on the side of the enemy, making the horse and the chariot a status symbol, distinguishing the enemies' troops from that of the Egyptian king. On the other side we can observe chariots

[12] Spalinger, A. (2011) 15.
[13] Spalinger, A. (2011) 15.
[14] Walsem, R. (2005) 36-37.

and horses of the enemies being destroyed by Tutankhamun, as seen in Figure 1. What is interesting in this scene however, is that another element has been added: it is not simply the pharaoh who is fighting the enemy as he is accompanied by some of his troops. A third entity, and therefore a third hierarchical layer has been added to the composition. This distinction is also visible in status markers. Where the king's horses wear an adorned headdress, his Egyptian entourage wears only a head cover, and the enemy wears none. Curiously enough, the number of spokes has been taken out of the equation: all chariots in the scene have six spokes, which is an interesting contrast to what is depicted on the body of the chariot of Thutmose IV discussed above.

The interaction within this scene is not simply "pharaoh" versus "the other", it is "the Egyptians" versus "the other". Both the pharaoh's horses as well as those of his soldiers have distinct genital sex markers, in contrast to those of the enemy. Where the Egyptians' horses are clearly to be interpreted as stallions, the enemy's horses show either no sex markers or only a phallus sheath. The emphasis placed on masculinity seems to be a clear sex marker here between the Egyptians and the enemies. A second observation is that the enemy's horses are all chestnut coloured,[15] whereas the Egyptians' horses show greater variety, with a pair of white horses as a distinct highlight. White horses are much less common than chestnut horses, and they do not "just happen"; one has to breed specific horses in order to obtain a white horse. Whether or not the Egyptian soldiers had white horses is irrelevant; they are sending the message that they do, showing that they have the wealth, resources, time and knowledge to breed such horses. White horses are even specifically mentioned in Amarna letter EA 16, saying "I send as your greeting-gift a beautiful royal chariot outfitted for me, and 2 white horses also outfitted for me…".[16] This suggests their prestigious value as it is the only time in the Amarna letters that the colour of the horses is specified.

As seen above, there are several factors that identify the different hierarchical layers visible within a royal setting. In most cases, it is these factors that create the clear superiority between "pharaoh" and "the other", not the horse itself. Whether it is just the "pharaoh" versus "the other" or "the Egyptians" versus "the other", the status markers are clear. A recurring element in every context is the difference in size between the pharaoh and the others within the scene; he is at all times the most

[15] Light brown: sorrel chestnut, darker brown: liver chestnut.
[16] Moran, W.L. (1987) 39.

important element of the scene. Size is the status symbol, not the horse and chariot, since that is the only element that recurs within royal settings. The other elements are status markers to distinguish the three different hierarchical layers, such as the number of spokes on the body of the chariot of Thutmose IV and the gender markers visible on the wooden box of Tutankhamun. In conclusion, it is not the animal that is the status symbol, but certain elements pertaining to the animal that either count as a status marker, or, rarely, a status symbol.

Private Setting

In order to determine the value of the depicted horse as a status marker in private tombs, one needs to prove it is the distinguishing factor between the tomb owner and his peers. Depictions in this setting, as well as the audience, differ from the depictions discussed previously in a royal setting, and so this setting therefore requires a different approach. In order to do this, the author will use the theory of Costly Signaling (CST). This theory was originally designed to study animals who have motivation to deceive each other,[17] but can also be applied in anthropology, to what Smith and Bird call "cooperative behaviour".[18] CST proposes that expensive and often seemingly arbitrary or "wasteful" behavioural or morphological signals are designed to convey honest information benefitting both signallers and observers. These signals reveal information about underlying qualities of the signalling individuals, or groups.[19] "Qualities" in this context mean characteristics of the signaller that are of importance to observers, but that are directly observable with difficulty or not at all.[20] Smith and Bird identified four conditions within anthropology for behaviour to be considered as Costly Signaling. First, the behaviour must be easily observable by others. Second, it must be costly to the actor in resources, energy, or some other significant domain. According to the author, 'third, the signal must be a reliable indicator of some trait or characteristic of the signaller, such as health, intelligence or access to resources. Finally, the behaviour in question must lead to some advantage for the signaler.'[21]

[17] Zahavi, A. (1975) 205-214.
[18] Smith, E.A. and Bird, R.B. (2005) 115-148.
[19] Smith, E.A. and Bird, R.B. (2005) 116.
[20] Smith, E.A. and Bird, R.B. (2005) 116.
[21] McAndrew, F.T. (2018) 2.

Tomb	Tomb owner	Titles	Date	Other horses?
	Group A: tomb owners	**with horse and chariot within scene**		
TT21	User	Scribe, steward of Thutmose I	Thutmose I	No
TT123	Amenemhat	Scribe, overseer of the granary, counter of bread	Thutmose III	Yes, tribute
TT84	Amunezeh	First royal herald, overseer of the gate	Thutmose III	Yes, tribute
TT342	Djehutymes	Hereditary prince, royal herald	Thutmose III	No
TT56	Userhat	Royal scribe	Amenhotep II	Yes, tribute
TT72	Re	First prophet of the temple of Amun of Thutmose III	Amenhotep II	No
	Group B: tomb owners	**without horse and chariot within scene**		
TT11	Djehuty	Treasurer, overseer of the works	Hatshepsut - Thutmose	Yes, daily use
TT12	Hery	Overseer of the granary of the King's wife and King's mother Ahhotep	Amosis - Amenhotep I	No
TT20	Mentuherkhopshef	Fan-bearer, mayor of aphroditopolis (Gebelein)	Thutmose III	No
TT24	Nebamun	Steward of the royal wife Nebtu	Thutmose III	No
TT29	Amenemope called Pairi	Governer of the town, vizier.	Amenhotep II	No
TT39	Puyemre	Second prophet of Amun	Thutmose III	Yes, daily use

TT53	Amenemhat	Agent of Amun	Thutmose III	No
TT81	Ineni	Overseer of the granary of Amun	Amenhotep I - Thutmose III	No
TT82	Amenemhat	Scribe, counter of the grain of Amun, steward of the vizier	Thutmose III	No
TT93	Kenamun	Chief steward of the king	Amenhotep II	No
TT100	Rekhmire	Governor of the village, vizier	Thutmose I - Thutmose III	Yes, tribute
TT109	Min	Mayor of Thinis, overseer of prophets of Onuris	Thutmose III	No
TT131	Amenuser, same owner as TT61	Thutmose III	Thutmose III	No
TT155	Antef	Great herald of the king	Hatshepsut - Thutmose III	Yes, daily use
TT172	Mentiywy	Royal butler	Thutmose III - Amenhotep II	No
TT241	Ahmose	Scribe of the divine writings, child of the nursery, head of mysteries in the house of the morning	Thutmose III	No
TT256	Nebenkemet	Overseer of the cabinet, fanbearer, child of the nursery	Amenhotep II	No

A. 5	Neferhotep	Overseer of the granary	Thutmose III - Amenhotep II	No
TT276	Amenemopet	Overseer of the treasury of gold and silver, judge, overseer of the cabinets	Thutmose IV	No

Table 1: Hunting scenes in the Theban necropolis

The behaviour in question is depicting horses in private tombs. For the sake of a controlled scope, this particular part will investigate the Theban Necropolis, where a total of 35 tombs contain depictions of one or more horses. This is out of a total of 219 tombs,[22] which in total makes a percentage of 16%.[23] As we can see from Table 1, most of these tombs date from the reign of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. There are four different types of scenes in which horses occur in Thebes, namely scenes of private transportation (14), tribute scenes (17), funerary procession scenes (5), and hunting scenes (6).[24]

[22] Based on the list of Theban Tombs of the UCL website: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/thebes/tombs/thebantomblist.html
[23] (35 / 219) x 100 = 15,98%.
[24] Some tombs have more than one different scene with horses, which is why the number of scenes is more than the number of tombs in which horses occur. Two scenes are of unknown themes.

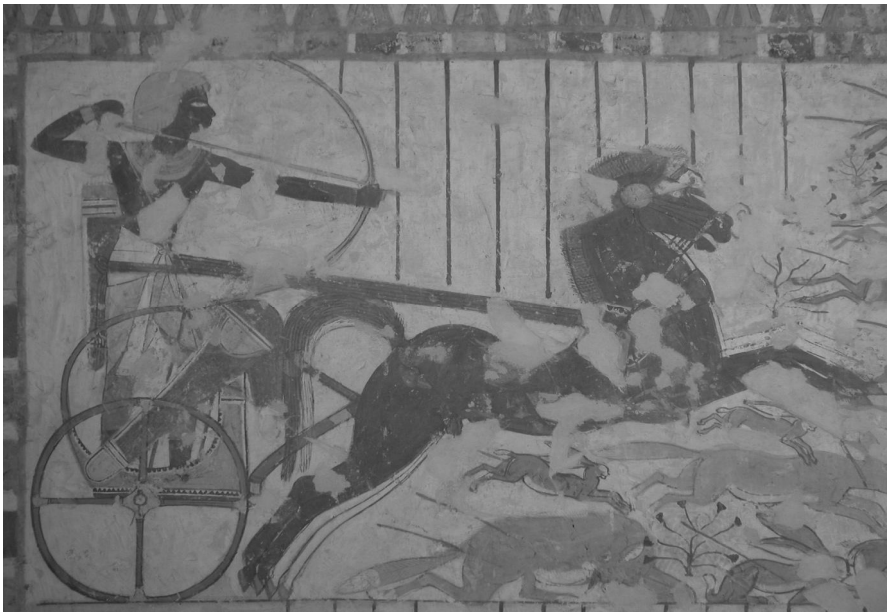

Figure 2: Hunting scene from the tomb of Userhat, TT56. Photo: JJ. Shirley.

The very first criterion for the CST is to be easily observable by others. The scenes that are most easily observable by others are hunting scenes. Hunting scenes show the tomb owner mounted on a chariot pulled by two horses hunting in the desert, as can be seen in the example in Fig. 2. The size of these scenes suggests an importance of them being observed, due to the fact that its mere size causes it to catch the audience's attention immediately when entering the tomb, on their way to the statue of the tomb owner. As mentioned before, placing the scene in the long hall ensured all visitors saw the scene on their way to the shrine.[25] Hunting scenes lend themselves to a display of grandeur, as the tomb owner and his chariot are the central focus of the scene. The depictions are located in the super structure of the tomb and were therefore depicted to be seen by an audience. Hartwig mentions that outside of family members and priests, the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb owner intended that his tomb chapel be viewed by an entire range of visitors who were requested to read aloud the inscriptions, because "a man lives when his name is called''.[26] The deceased inscribed his name along with his

[25] Rogner, F.A. (2020) 167.
[26] Hartwig, M. (2004) 8-9.

life history in the hope that it would be read, repeated and remembered by the living.[27] The relative importance of the hunting scene is shown by the fact that in Theban Tomb 69 (TT69) another pair of horses is depicted on the other side of the long hall (Fig. 3). These horses are shown in a funerary procession scene, and a few differences are interesting to observe within the scope of this article. First, the horses, as well as the entire scene, are much smaller in size, which might suggest that funerary procession scenes are of less importance than hunting scenes. Additionally, scenes of funerary processions do not lend themselves very well for a large display, in contrast to hunting scenes. Another interesting difference is the fact that they are seemingly the same horses, but when taking a closer look, one can see that the horses in the hunting scene display clear genital sex markers conforming with stallions, whilst the horses in the funerary procession scene do not display any sex markers at all. This difference in the horses' genital sex markers opens up another discussion on the importance of sex, and might suggest an importance of sex distinction within certain contexts. In the funerary procession scene, it does not seem to matter whether the horses are stallions, mares, or geldings: the simple conceptual display of the horse as the animal is enough.

Figure 3: Funerary procession scene from TT56. Photo: JJ Shirley.

[27] Hartwig, M. (2004) 9.

The second criterion requires the behaviour to be costly to the actor in resources, energy, or some other significant domain. First of all, having such a scene commissioned in your tomb shows the tomb owner had the resources to do this. Secondly, the fact that only five Theban Tombs show this scene, which depicts a leisurely activity, suggests there was some privilege attached to showing the scene in one's tomb. The overwhelming majority of tombs (88%) do not show any form of hunting scenes. Twelve percent of Theban Tombs have a hunting scene depicted, of which seventy five percent of these show a hunting scene on foot and only twenty five percent show a hunting scene with horses and chariot, as can be seen in Table 1. This distinction seems to suggest the privilege even more: not only did the tomb owner depict himself performing a luxury activity, the message he conveys is that he is even better than the majority by showing himself not hunting on foot, but mounted on a chariot. The author is aware that the emergence of the popularity of hunting scenes could very well be related to the war- and hunting ethos at the time of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, as mentioned by Rogner. Out of eighty-two tombs dating from Thutmose III - Amenhotep II, still only fifteen have a hunting scene (18%).

This perfectly complements the third criterion, which requires that the signal must be a reliable indicator of some trait or characteristic of the signaller, such as health, intelligence or access to resources. In this case, the content of the scene conveys a message about the wealth of the tomb owner, suggesting his access to resources. The message that is being conveyed is that of a member of the Egyptian aristocracy enjoying a leisurely activity. Hunting was not a necessity for survival in the New Kingdom, so it can be considered a luxury activity.[28] The tomb owner is showing that he participates in this activity, suggesting his access to resources such as the chariot and two horses. As said before, raising and training draught animals and developing vehicular technology was an expensive and time-consuming investment. The display of a chariot and horses within a hunting scene would therefore indicate wealth, if we assume the depiction represents access to or even ownership of the vehicle and the animals. Even if the tomb owner did not actually go hunting, this is still the message he is trying to send, *suggesting* wealth and access to resources, whether he had it or not.

Erwin Panofsky was the first to define iconography and iconology.[29] Where iconography studies the form and content of the representation, iconology

[28] Decker, W. (1992) 147.
[29] Panofsky, E. (1983) 51-67.

studies any potential symbolical values.[30] Depictions can be interpreted in several ways, and whereas in the former paragraph hunting scenes were interpreted as such, there has been a lot of discussion on whether there is a deeper layer attached to them, representing a private rendering of a royal victory of foreign forces. Katarzyna Bodziony-Szweda outlines the debate in her article 'The Great Hunt: Some Remarks on the Symbolic and Ritual Significance of the Hunt and Chase Motifs in Egyptian Art'. She mentions, apart from being a means of providing nourishment and a pleasant pastime and whether or not it was actually performed or merely depicted in art, it is not clear if hunting was also a symbolic activity.[31] Some Egyptologists tend to disagree, however, on where a distinction should be made between sport and ritual, while others suggest that in most cases such distinctions should not be made at all.[32] If hunting scenes are nothing more than a symbolic activity, it would still show the tomb owner had the privilege to depict one in his tomb. Hunting scenes in private tombs were not a new feature. Introducing the chariot into these scenes seems like a natural development, as pharaoh is shown "hunting" for enemies in his funerary temple. Perhaps the artists would "translate" the royal battle scenes into a hunting scene that is appropriate for private tombs. Taking these things into consideration, the current author believes that hunting scenes in private tombs originated from royal iconography, which would again stress the access to the privilege of depicting hunting scenes in private tombs.

The fourth and final criterion is that the behaviour in question must lead to some advantage for the signaller. Sociologists have long recognised that status is fundamentally rooted in the accumulation of deference behaviours,[33] meaning that a higher status leads to respectful behaviour from others.

The function of the superstructure of the tomb was to sustain the deceased in the afterlife. This was done in two parts. The first part consists of the family of the deceased performing cultic activities and leaving offerings for the deceased, as well as depicting elements that would provide for the tomb owner in the afterlife.[34] The second part consists of the interaction visitors had with the tomb, as they kept the name of the deceased alive

[30] Walsem, R. (2005) 21.
[31] Bodziony-Szweda, K. (2004) 55-66.
[32] Bodziony-Szweda, K. (2004) 55-56.
[33] Sauder, M. *et al*. (2012) 268.
[34] Hartwig, M. (2004) 8.

through recitation of the tomb owner's name.[35] The hunting scene, as a display of a luxury activity par excellence, would be the perfect medium to impress his tomb visitors to participate in keeping his name alive. This would be the ultimate advantage for the tomb owner, which means that the fourth requirement for the CST is also met.

Hunting scenes meet all four requirements necessary to be considered a "costly signal". They are easily observable by others, as the tombs are open to visitors and invite interaction. It is costly to the actor in resources in the sense that he commissioned artists and craftsmen to execute the scene within his tomb, and shows that he had the privilege to depict himself hunting mounted on a chariot. This signal, hunting in the desert mounted on a chariot, also suggests that he had access to resources. Whether he had this access or not, he is conveying a message of wealth. Finally, the depiction of the scene might result in the tomb visitors reciting and remembering his name after his passing, keeping him alive in the afterlife. The other themes, daily use, tribute and funerary procession, do not meet these criteria in the same way, as their setting, purpose and execution are completely different.

The Aspect of Time

As the Eighteenth Dynasty progresses, the horse seems to become a more common feature in Egyptian society, and it would therefore lose its symbolism as a status symbol. The horse seems to have gone through a similar process as the car, and there are aspects of the horse in combination with the chariot that can differentiate between an Aston Martin and a Volkswagen around 1400 BCE. Something that once was a status-definer by itself, lost its value, depending on context and the time frame. As soon as everyone has something, "it is no longer cool'', as happened to the famous handbag brand Michael Kors.[36] The brand made their handbags too accessible to the public, and as a consequence lost its value as a status symbol. The differentiation in the status of horses has also been studied in other cultures. An example that shows similar developments is portrayed in *Breeds of Empire*, discussing the colonial introduction and use of horses in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa between 1500-1950.[37] Sandra Swart mentions that 'by the time the colonisers reached the Cape around 1654 AD, horses in western Europe were long associated with the society of the

[35] Hartwig, M. (2004) 9.
[36] Lutz, A. *It's Official: Micheal Kors isn't Cool Anymore*, www.businessinsider.com, April 10, 2015. Article accessed on 20 September 2017.
[37] Bankoff, G. *et al.* (2007)

elite and with the culture of hegemony.'[38] She thoroughly explains how horses played a significant role in social and political processes in the early settlement of the Cape. She also shows how history was made with horse power and equally the horses were shaped by human history.[39] They were used by the VOC[40] authorities as a signifier of difference, a marker of social status, used to emphasise the difference between native and settler. Swart remarked that 'the rising number of horses however created two distinct horse cultures, one embracing the British-led racing industry and the other a more utilitarian use of horses. Where horses started as a signifier of difference, the settlers were unable to keep the horses in white hands and as soon as the indigenous people also had the horse, the animal itself was not a status symbol anymore; however, it was rather the different kinds of horses that were bred'.[41] Another example of the devaluation of the horse is illustrated by Greg Bankoff in his chapter of the volume *The Horse as a Cultural Icon: The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World.* He explains that when the horse was imported to the Philippines with their Spanish conquistadors, 'the horses responded to their altered circumstances and environment by rapidly attenuating, and within a century they were barely able to support a fully grown European rider, and in the process lost its iconic appeal. At the same time, its diminished size and steady gait made it a perfect means of locomotion for the indigenous rural population who readily adopted it for transport and as a beast of burden'.[42] Both these cases show how the horse was first valued as a status symbol, but lost this status because it became too common.

During the reign of Thutmose III the horse seems to be fully integrated into Egyptian society. This is supported by the increased frequency in the depictions of horses in private tombs, as well as multiple accounts of the influx of horses due to the booty of war, as the texts from Megiddo show.[43] Where at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the horse could potentially be seen as a status marker for being a novelty item, this is no longer valid by the time of Amenhotep II. Both Thutmose III and Amenhotep II display themselves as athletes and were responsible for building a tradition of sportsmanship.[44] After the reign of Amenhotep II,

[38] Swart, S. (2007) 127.
[39] Swart, S. (2007) 139.
[40] Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East Indian Company).
[41] Swart, S. (2007) 139.
[42] Bankoff, G. (2012) 99.
[43] Sethe, K.H. (1907) 894.
[44] Decker, W. (1987) 30