



ANDROGYNY AND FECUNDITY: SOME FEATURES OF THE AEGYPTIACA AROUND THE MEDITERRANEAN

Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi

National Research Council of Italy – Institute for Ancient Mediterranean Studies

ABSTRACT

The Aegyptiaca widespread throughout the Mediterranean region sometimes display androgynous traits. This paper reviews past research on the subject in both foreign Aegyptiaca and in Egyptian art, particularly of the New Kingdom and later, tracing it back to mythological meanings.

SOME FEATURES OF THE AEGYPTIACA IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA

The spread of Aegyptiaca during the 1st millennium BCE testifies to the dissemination and interpretation of the Nilotic tradition along the Mediterranean coasts.¹

Our knowledge about this phenomenon is indebted above all to the studies of G. Hölbl,² who has defined typologies and contexts. The works of Hölbl and other scholars³ have demonstrated the specific role played by Aegyptiaca; many of them come from women's tombs or temples dedicated to female deities⁴ and refer to the magical protection of fecundity and childhood. Studies on amulets and figurines made in Egypt and widespread in the Mediterranean have contributed to the knowledge of the mythical milieu represented by them.⁵

During the 1st millennium BCE, various Egyptian myths and several deities in different geographical contexts display a progressive convergence in common features referring to the annual flood and the myth of the Solar Eye, the so-called Distant Goddess, who came back to Egypt with her exotic cortège.⁶ Then, Egyptian traditions were connected with local beliefs regarding fertility and regeneration of life, and magical beliefs originating from a complexity of mythical tales were disseminated in Egypt and abroad⁷ through amulets and figurines.

Some important cities—such as Memphis,

Bubastis, Tanis, and Sais⁸—with their local religious practices played a key role. We know some important religious festivals, especially for the New Year that was determined by the coming of the Nile flood.⁹ Herodotus wrote about the celebrations in Bubastis for the cat goddess Bastet, describing dances, music, and drunkenness. The erotic features of this festival and of the cortège of the Distant Goddess are displayed in the faïence figurines studied by J. Bulté, who named them “talismans d'heureuse maternité.”¹⁰ Items have been found predominantly in the eastern delta¹¹ in archaeological contexts dating between the 7th and 6th centuries BCE and discovered also along the Mediterranean coasts. These “talismans” display a repertoire of images relating to the lands of the South whence the flood came back every year. We can see monkeys,¹² dwarfs,¹³ Nubian women, etc., lively characters, some of them already known in the New Kingdom ostraka and later presented in the terracottas of the Greco-Roman period.¹⁴

During the 1st millennium BCE, the fascination of Egypt, its fluvial festivals, and its myths generated workshops that produced Aegyptiaca in Egypt (for example, in the multicultural context of Naucratis¹⁵) and abroad, above all in Cyprus¹⁶ and Rhodes.¹⁷ These islands played an important role not only in the production, but also in the exportation of these pieces.

ANDROGyny AND SEXUAL AMBIGUITY IN THE "ARCHAIC MIXED STYLE FAIENCE FIGURES"

Some faience objects relating to Naucratis and East Greece have been named "Archaic mixed style faience figures" by V. Webb.¹⁸ They might be connected with the items made in Egypt and studied by A. Bulté.¹⁹ We can see among them figures of Bes, cats, monkeys, and human figures playing the double oboe or flute.²⁰ They have a loop at the back and could be used as amulets. The human figures, male and female, naked or dressed, have been well analyzed by V. Webb, who organized a typology.²¹ We have standing naked male figures that have been named *kouroi*.²² Sometimes the figurines wear a long dress and either seem to be female²³ or clearly are;²⁴ some naked figures are certainly female.²⁵ A popular type is represented by the *aulos* player, often standing and naked. We can find a remarkable affinity between male and female figures,²⁶ not only for the style but also for their shape. They both display shoulder-length hair. Sometimes it is difficult to define the sex, especially when the person is sitting or playing the flute. For example, the male naked standing players usually have wide hips and sometimes protruding breasts.²⁷ Moreover we have to consider that some *kouroi* have full hips, for example, some figures from Naucratis.²⁸ These little figures have been found in Rhodes, Naucratis,²⁹ and elsewhere around the Mediterranean.³⁰

In this documentation, where accepted male and female signifiers seem to be vague and mixed, we can notice a particular figure from Rhodes that clearly shows features both male and female³¹ (Fig. 1). The standing figurine has its left leg forward, and the arms are at its side; the breasts are large and pendulous; the hips are wide; but the figurine has male genitals. A dark color is used to bring focus to the breasts and genitals. The back pillar corresponds to the Egyptian tradition. The hair is shaped bell-like and flicks up at the end. Other figures have similar features.³² We note the presence of androgynous or ambiguous figures in this type of Aegyptiaca or "Archaic mixed style faience figures." They raise a question about their meaning and its Egyptian origin.

ANDROGyny IN EGYPT

S. Sauneron, in his study on the androgyny of the demiurge, writes that depictions of androgyny are uncommon in Egypt, in spite of the inclination to represent hybrid beings.³³

Atum, the creator of the Heliopolitan cosmogony,³⁴ plays an androgynous role: he emerges from the primordial ocean and gives birth to the first heterosexual couple. Nonetheless, the images of the creator are not androgynous.³⁵ The Nun, the primordial ocean, is undifferentiated. On the contrary, creation is built on a principle of duality and on separation.³⁶ The fertile diversity between the two genders is essential not only for the generation of life but also for the regeneration after death.³⁷ The Hermopolitan Ogdoad³⁸ is composed of four male primordial deities and their female equivalents.³⁹

J. Zandee considers the *Tilapia nilotica*, the fish often represented in funerary contexts, as an image of the demiurge because of its reproduction. In fact the tilapia incubates the eggs in its mouth, therefore it seems to give birth alone in the water.⁴⁰ The image of the tilapia renders present the demiurge and its creative power in the tomb. Moreover, in the *Book of the Dead*, the deceased identifies himself with Atum in the Primordial Water.⁴¹ In ancient Egypt the androgynous being is connected with primordial water, which every year submerged the valley, thus



FIGURE 1: Archaeological Museum of Rhodes, Inv. 13698: Androgynous figurine (after Höbl 2005, 121, fig. 17).

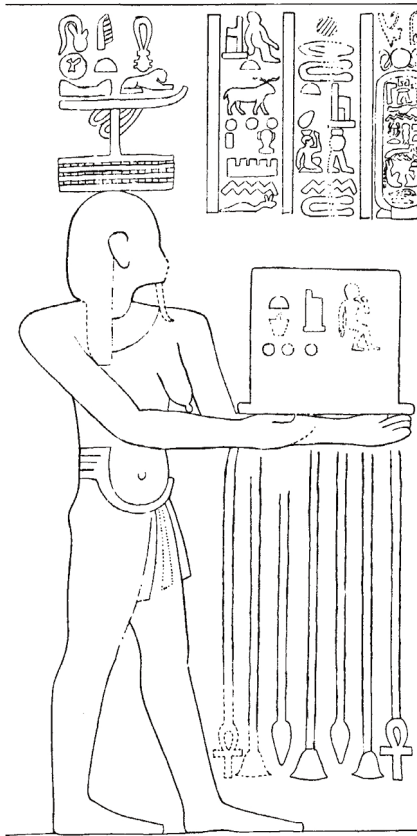


FIGURE 2: Philae: Temple of Isis: The god of the flood (after H. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä* [Wien: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1958], fig. 158).

renewing it.

In Egyptological literature Hapy, the god of the flood, is often described as androgynous because of his pendulous breasts (Fig. 2). However, J. Baines, who has named this image the “fecundity figure,” has showed that it is a real male figure and that it is only in the Late Period that this figure is considered as androgynous.⁴²

The theological thought on the androgyny of the creator was remarkable during the Late Period. The god of Memphis Ptah was described as male and female.⁴³ In the temple of Hibis in Kharga, during the Persian period, Ptah is represented in a crouched position. The image is not well preserved, but we can distinguish some female features and the god appears similar to a woman in labor⁴⁴ while he is raising his arms to lift the sky. This is usually the performance of Shu, the male member of the first divine couple of the Heliopolitan Ennead.⁴⁵ In the same temple, we can see two unusual images of

Atum.⁴⁶ In one case he is represented in a way very similar to fecundity figures, with a large belly and carrying in his hand two little divine figures, Geb and Nut. In the other case, Atum is ithyphallic and has two eggs in his hand, while in front of him there are two divine hawks, one on the papyrus, the other on the lily; the hieroglyphic text testifies that he is carrying his brood.⁴⁷

In the late Period, the goddess Neith of Sais plays the role of the demiurge and she is described as androgynous.⁴⁸ In the texts of Esna, Neith is identified with the Primordial Water and is depicted as two thirds male and one third female.⁴⁹

It is interesting to note that Horapollon (*Hieroglyphica* I 12) reminds us of this tradition: according to him, ancient Egyptians used images of the scarab and the vulture to write the name of Ephaestus (identified with Ptah), and also images of the vulture and the scarab to write the name of Athena (identified with Neith). J. Yoyotte has⁵⁰ showed that the two signs are related to fatherhood and motherhood, and to the two deities as creators.

In pharaonic history, the “heretic” king Akhenaten displays androgynous features. His appearance has been explained in light of the relationship between the king and Aten, the unique undifferentiated god of creation.⁵¹

A particular case has been noticed by H.L. McCarthy in the paintings of the tomb of queen Nefertari, wife of Ramses II. The queen, on her death, assimilated herself to Osiris in order to regenerate. Her transmutation, according to McCarthy, happens through “a temporary state of gender fluidity in which she becomes both male and female.”⁵² This state of the queen is displayed by personal pronouns both male and female, and by the darker color of the skin, typical of figures of men.⁵³ McCarthy hypothesizes a relationship between this transition and the presence of Mut-Pakhet,⁵⁴ a composite figure both female and ithyphallic, in the *Book of the Dead* 164. Fluctuating between genders is related to her need to integrate between the regeneration of the sun, the male being assimilated by Osiris, who revives through the body of Nut, the goddess of the sky.

A study by F. Servajean on the *Tale of the two Brothers* (Pap. Orbiney, New Kingdom)⁵⁵ offers some causes for reflection. It is a mythological text, and Bata, the protagonist, displays Osirian features. He goes through lethal vicissitudes to reach regeneration. In one passage, Bata advises his wife

to be cautious because the Sea God may set upon her. He portrays himself as female due to his powerlessness to defend her because of a previous self-emasculation. The episode takes place on the shores of the Levant mentioned also by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 357). The wife of Bata might be a form of Astarte. In this tale we can denote a fluctuating gender connected with regeneration.

In ancient Egypt, sexuality and fecundity, and consequently regeneration, are related to a heterosexual differentiated couple, but we can track down undifferentiated androgyny through the role of the primordial flood in the renewal of life referred in particular to the Late Period.

K. M. Cooney⁵⁶ has studied a group of bronze items at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). They are composite figures with androgynous features dated between the Late and the Roman Periods. They are named “Pantheistic deities,” well known in Greco-Roman Egypt, and we can understand them within the framework of a long tradition.⁵⁷ The LACMA bronzes display some characters typical of the faience figurines, as dwarfs, children, and the feline goddess. The latter, according to Cooney, shows in one case the androgynous body of the flood god.⁵⁸

In the documentation about magic, we notice many composite figures, some of which are androgynous. We can consider, for example, a magical statue in the Museo Egizio at Turin:⁵⁹ its surface is covered by images and inscriptions, and among them we can see a lion-headed ithyphallic goddess “Sekhmet, the Great, beloved of Ptah.” In front of her is a sign of the horizon resting on two crocodiles; inside the sun disk, outlined by an ouroboros, there is a dwarf.⁶⁰



FIGURE 3: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, n. 1065: Pantheistic image on magical statue (after Kákósy 1999, 135, fig. 25).

Another magical statue in Naples⁶¹ shows on its surface a pantheistic ithyphallic image, characterized by the body of beetle, a bird's tail, and four wings. It has six animal heads in profile and a frontal Hathoric face.⁶² Moreover, it has some typical features of the god Min and makes the gesture of masturbation distinctive of the demiurge (Fig. 3).

S. H. Aufrère has analyzed in detail

the figure of Hathor, a multifaceted celestial goddess with solar and lunar features, connected with mines and precious materials, who shows her polysemy also through androgynous traits.⁶³ As such a complex figure, the goddess Hathor, daughter of Ra, related to the flood, shows similar features also in Dendera.⁶⁴ In her temple she displays her identity as astral goddess, a primordial deity who pre-existed the creation as daughter of the Nun. She is guarantor of the flood and fecundity.⁶⁵

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, androgyny is often referenced within the mythological framework of fecundity and regeneration, reflected in the Aegyptiaca widespread in the Mediterranean. Double-flute players, dancers, children, and dwarfs, in particular Bes, thrive in this environment. The dwarf Bes can show some other data about androgyny. In fact he can display pendulous breasts and can play the role of *kourotrophos*, as we can often see in the “talismans d’heureuse maternité.”⁶⁶ On the other hand we have a female counterpart of Bes, the female dwarf Beset,⁶⁷ who can be represented with the same bearded face of Bes.⁶⁸ J. Bulté has identified some androgynous figures among the “talismans d’heureuse maternité”: they carry Bes on their shoulders.⁶⁹

In ancient Egyptian imagery connected with

fertility rites, especially in the Late Period, we can find figures displaying gigantic sex organs, in particular children and dwarves.⁷⁰ Androgynous figures are more sporadic but they seem to have been adopted in particular for “Archaic mixed style faience figures,” as we can notice thanks to some Egyptianizing images. In Egypt, the androgynous figures can be explained in the light of creation myths, related to the flood and the New Year. We can question if the presence of the androgynous among the mixed style figures brings to light the meeting of the Nilotic tradition and other Mediterranean myths.⁷¹

¹ This study was born within the framework of the research line “Ancient Egypt as a cultural crossroad” in the Institute for Ancient Mediterranean Studies of the National Research Council of Italy. In the same field, see Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, “A proposito delle fiaschette del nuovo anno e di altre classi di Aegyptiaca ritrovate in Etruria e in Magna Grecia,” in Dominique Frère and Laurent Hugot (eds.), *Les huiles parfumées en Méditerranée occidentale et en Gaule (VIIIe s. av. VIIe s. ap. J.-C.). École Française de Rome, 16–18 novembre 2009* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 101–112; Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, “Remarques sur les rapports entre l’Égypte et le milieu phéniciens et puniques: quelques perspectives de recherche,” in *Le VIIème Congrès Internationale des études phéniciennes et puniques, Hammamet 10–14 novembre 2009*, forthcoming; Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, “Elementi di tradizione egizia nella documentazione di Locri,” *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 36 (2011): 109–128; Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, “Note su Bes. Le sculture del Museo Egizio di Firenze e del Metropolitan Museum of Art,” in Paola Buzi, Daniela Picchi e Marco Zecchi (eds.), *Aegyptiaca et Coptica. Studi in onore di Sergio Pernigotti*. BAR Series 2264 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011): 69–84. I especially thank Fulvio De Salvia and Günther Hölbl for their advice and kindness.

² Among several studies: Günther Hölbl, *Beziehungen der Ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien, I–II, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain* 62 (Leiden: Brill, 1979); Günther Hölbl, *Ägyptisches Kulturgut*

im phönikischen und punischen Sardinien, I–II, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain 102 (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

³ Günther Hölbl, “Die Problematik der spätzeitlichen Aegyptiaca im östlichen Mittelmeerraum,” in Manfred Görg and Günther Hölbl (eds.), *Ägypten und der östliche Mittelmeerraum im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr., Ägypten und Altes Testament* 44 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 119–161; Günther Hölbl, “Ägyptisches Kulturgut in der griechischen Welt im frühen ersten Jahrtausend vor Christus (10.–6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.),” in Peter C. Bol (ed.), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom. Abwehr und Berührung, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie. Ausstellung Katalog, Frankfurt, 2005–2006* (Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus, Museum Alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, 2005), 114–132.; Fulvio De Salvia, “Egitto faraonico e Campania pre-romana: gli Aegyptiaca (secoli IX–IV a.C.),” in Stefano De Caro (ed.), *Egittomania. Iside e il mistero. Catalogo della mostra, Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 12 ottobre 2006 – 26 febbraio 2007* (Milano: Electa, 2006). 21–30; Fulvio De Salvia, “La via mediterranea degli Aegyptiaca. I. Produttori, acquirenti e consumatori nell’Egitto faraonico,” in Stefano Francocci e Roberto Murgano (eds.), *La cultura egizia ed i suoi rapporti con i popoli del Mediterraneo durante il I millennio a. C. Atti del convegno, Viterbo, 6–7 novembre 2008* (Vetralla: Davide Ghaleb, 2011), 35–43.

⁴ See, for example, Günther Hölbl, “Die Aegyptiaca vom Aphroditetempel auf Thera,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 121 (2006): 72–103; Günther Hölbl, “Ägyptisches Kulturgut im archaischen Artemision,” in Ulrike Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Wien: Phoibos, 2008), 209–221; Günther Hölbl, “Ägyptisches Kulturgut in Ionien im 7. Jh. V. Chr.. Der Beitrag Milets zu einem religionshistorischen Phänomen,” in G. Fischer (ed.), *Der Beitrag Kleinasien zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Antike, Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums, 3.–5. November 2010*. *Archäologische Forschungen* 24 (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014), 181–209.

⁵ We can quote, for example, Jeanne Bulté,

- Talismans égyptiens d'heureuse maternité. 'Faience' bleu vert à pois foncés* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1991) and Jan Quaegebeur, *La naine et le bouquetin ou l'énigme de la barque en albâtre de Toutankhamon*, edited by N. Cherpion (Leuven: Peeters, 1999).
- ⁶ Edda Bresciani (ed.), *Il mito dell'Occhio del Sole* (Brescia: Paideia, 1992).
- ⁷ Sydney H. Aufrère, "Un prolongement méditerranéen du mythe de la Lointaine à l'époque tardive," in Nicholas Grimal and Bernadette Menu (eds.), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*. Bibliothèque d'étude 121 (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1998), 19–39.
- ⁸ De Salvia 2011.
- ⁹ For the Memphis area, see, for example, Jean-Pierre Corteggiani, "Une stèle héliopolitaine d'époque saïte," in *Hommage à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, I, Bibliothèque d'étude 81 (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1979), 138–139.
- ¹⁰ Bulté 1991.
- ¹¹ Bulté 1991, 119.
- ¹² Cybelle Greenlaw, *The Representation of Monkeys in the Art and Thought of Mediterranean Cultures: A New Perspective on Ancient Primates*, BAR International Series 2192 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011).
- ¹³ Véronique Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- ¹⁴ Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, "Il fanciullo, il nano, la scimmia: immagini 'grottesche' e religiosità popolare tra Greci ed Egizi," *Polis* 1 (2003): 141–154.
- ¹⁵ Günther Hölbl, "Ionien und Ägypten in archaischer Zeit, Frühes Ionien: eine Bestandsaufnahme," in Justus Cobet (ed.), *Panionion-Symposion Güzelçamlı, 26. September – 1. Oktober 1999* (Main am Rhein: Philip von Zabern, 2007), 447–461; De Salvia 2011.
- ¹⁶ Virginia Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience* (Warminster: Forest Grove, Ore.: Aris & Phillips, 1978); Fulvio De Salvia, "The Cypriots in the Saite Nile Delta: The Cypro-Egyptian Religious Syncretism," in Alessandra Nibbi (ed.), *The Archaeology, Geography and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times. Proceedings of Colloquium. Oxford, Wadham College 29 – 31 August 1988*, Discussions in Egyptology Special 1 (Oxford: Cotswold Press, 1989), 81–118, De Salvia 2006; De Salvia 2011; Hölbl 2000.
- ¹⁷ Hölbl 2000; Hölbl 2005; De Salvia 2006.
- ¹⁸ Virginia Webb, "Archaic Mixed Style Faience Figures," in Alexandra Villing et al., *Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt* (London: The British Museum, n.d.); https://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Webb_faience_figures.pdf; accessed 31 July 2017 (hereafter: Webb, *BM*).
- ¹⁹ Bulté 1991; Capriotti Vittozzi, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 36 (2011): 113–116.
- ²⁰ Christian Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914. Les petites objets, I, Texte—Planches* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1931); Webb 1978.
- ²¹ Webb, *BM*.
- ²² Hölbl 2014.
- ²³ For example, in items from Locri and Taranto: Hölbl 1979, II, 213, n. 1046–1047; 257, n. 1298–1299.
- ²⁴ Webb, *BM*, 7, fig. 11.
- ²⁵ Webb, *BM*, 7, fig. 10.
- ²⁶ For example, in Blinkenberg 1931, I, col. 351, n. 1285–1287; II, tav. 56. In these cases the position of the legs is different.
- ²⁷ Webb, *BM*, 1 fig. 4, 24 fig. 36, in particular p. 22. See also Blinkenberg 1931, I col. 352, n. 1279; II tav 56. In this case the breasts are not visible. A different category of objects, found in Rhodes and attributed by some scholars to a local workshop, shows interesting features. They are *unguentaria* in the form of a human figures holding a little vase with a frog on top. The figure is wearing a Hathoric wig. We cannot evaluate the body shape, but it seems plump. Sometimes this kind of figure is bearded and the hair is shorter (Webb 1978, 11–12).
- ²⁸ Peter C. Bol (ed.), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom. Abwehr und Berührung, Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie. Ausstellung Katalog, Frankfurt, 2005–2006* (Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus, Museum Alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, 2005), 466–467, cat. 18–19.
- ²⁹ Hölbl 1979, I, 283; Hölbl 2000, 135; Hölbl 2005,

117. On Naucratis, see De Salvia 1989; Webb, *BM*.
- ³⁰ Webb 1978, 98–99; Nikolaos Chr. Stampolidis and Vassos Karageorghis (eds.), *Ploes... Sea Routes from Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th – 6th c. BC. Exhibition Catalogue, Athen—Museum of Cycladic Art 2003* (Athen: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 2003), 512–513; Webb, *BM*.
- ³¹ Archaeological Museum of Rhodes, Inv. 13698: Hölbl 2005, 121, fig. 17.
- ³² Blinkenberg 1931, I, col. 351 n. 1282-1284; II, tav 56. In particular: Webb, *BM*, 4 fig. or 26 fig. 18.
- ³³ Serge Sauneron, “Remarques de philologie et d’étymologie (au marge des textes d’Esna),” in *Mélanges Mariette, Bibliothèque d’étude 32* (Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1961), 242.
- ³⁴ Karol Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum. Band 2: Name – Epitheta – Ikonographie*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 8 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1979), 207–236; Jan Zandee, “The Birth-Giving Creator-God in Ancient Egypt,” in Alan B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1992), 169–185.
- ³⁵ For example, Atum or Neith (*infra*): Dimitri Meeks and Christine Favard-Meeks, *La vita quotidiana degli Egizi e dei loro dei* (Milano: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1997), 114.
- ³⁶ Frédéric Servajean, “Duality,” in Willeke Wendrich et al. (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: eScholarship, 2008), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/95b9b2db>, accessed 31 July 2017.
- ³⁷ Gay Robins, “Ancient Egyptian Sexuality,” *Discussions in Egyptology* 11 (1988): 61–72; Heather L. McCarthy, “The Osiris Nefertari: A Case Study of Decorum, Gender, and Regeneration,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 39 (2002): 173–195; Deborah Sweeney, “Sex and Gender,” in Willeke Wendrich et al. (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: eScholarship: 2011), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3rv0t4np>, accessed 31 July 2017.
- ³⁸ Kurt Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Her-mopolis. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des Ägyptischen Götterkönigs* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1929); Wolfhart Westendorf, “Götter, androgyne,” in Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977), 633–635.
- ³⁹ Zandee 1992, 180.
- ⁴⁰ Zandee 1992, 181. On the tilapia, see Douglas J. Brewer and Renée F. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt*, *Natural History of Egypt 2* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989). 77–79; Christian Cannuyer, “Le poisson Ichthus, symbole du Christ, serait-il d’origine égyptienne?,” in Christian Cannuyer et al. (eds.), *La Femme dans les civilisations orientales et Miscellanea aegyptologica Christiane Desroches Noblecourt in honorem*, *Acta Orientalia Belgica 15* (Bruxelles, Louvain-la-neuve: Société Belge d’Études Orientales, 2001), 255–292.
- ⁴¹ Zandee 1992, 179.
- ⁴² John Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Chicago, Warminster: Bolchazy-Carducci — Aris & Phillips, 1985), 118–122.
- ⁴³ Maj Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup) 1946, 31–42.
- ⁴⁴ See, for example, a Ptolemaic relief from Dendera in the Cairo Museum, JE 40627: John F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002). 193.
- ⁴⁵ Jocelyne Berlandini, “Ptah-demiurge et l’exaltation du ciel,” *Revue d’égyptologie* 46 (1995): 23.
- ⁴⁶ Myśliwiec 1979, 225.
- ⁴⁷ Baines 1985, 120, 121 fig. 82, 328, 329 fig. 186.
- ⁴⁸ Ramadan El-Sayed, *La Déesse Neith de Saïs, I. Importance et rayonnement de son culte*, *Bibliothèque d’étude 86.1* (Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1982), 58–60.
- ⁴⁹ Serge Sauneron, *Esna V, Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme* (Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1962), 110–111.
- ⁵⁰ Jean Yoyotte, “Jeux d’écriture sur une statuette de la XIXe dynastie,” *Revue d’égyptologie* 10 (1955): 88.
- ⁵¹ Gay Robins, “The Feminization of the Male Figure in New Kingdom Two-Dimensional Art,” in Elisabeth Goring, Nicholas Reeves, and John Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in*

- Memory of Cyril Aldred (London: Kegan Paul International, 1997), 261–262; Lise Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi of Karnak* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 88–90, with previous literature.
- ⁵² McCarthy 2002, 176.
- ⁵³ MacCarthy 2002, 190–193.
- ⁵⁴ MacCarthy 2002, 193.
- ⁵⁵ Frédéric Servajean, “Le conte des Deux Frères (2). La route de Phénicie,” *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 4 (2011): 197–232.
- ⁵⁶ Kathlyn M. Cooney, “Androginous Bronze Figurines in Storage at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art,” in Sue H. D’Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 63–69.
- ⁵⁷ Erik Hornung, “Komposite Gottheiten in der ägyptischen Ikonographie,” in Christoph Uehlinger (ed.), *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean*, *Orbis biblicus et orientalis* 175 (Fribourg, Göttingen: University Press Fribourg Switzerland, 2000), 1–20.
- ⁵⁸ Cooney 2008, 67, fig. 4.
- ⁵⁹ Cat. 3031: László Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy (Turin, Florence, Naples)*, *Catalogo del Museo egizio di Torino*, Serie prima, Monumenti e testi 9 (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie 1999). 91–107.
- ⁶⁰ Kákosy 1999, 100–101.
- ⁶¹ Museo Archeologico Nazionale, n. 1065: Kákosy 1999, 119–153.
- ⁶² Kákosy 1999, 134–135.
- ⁶³ Sydney H. Aufrère, “L’Univers mineral dans la pensée égyptienne: essai de synthèse et perspectives (Autour de l’univers mineral X),” *Archéo-Nil* 7 (1997): 127, 129; Sydney H. Aufrère, “L’univers des minéraux et des métaux précieux dans l’Égypte ancienne,” in A. Caubet (ed.), *Cornaline et pierres précieuses: la Méditerranée, de l’antiquité à l’Islam. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 24 et 25 novembre 1995* (Paris: La Documentation Française — Musée du Louvre, 1999): 280; Sydney H. Aufrère, “Les trésors dans les temples égyptiens,” in Caubet, 1999, 363. It is interesting to note the relationship between Hathor and Min on the statue in Naples.
- ⁶⁴ René Preys, “Hathor au sceptre-ouas. Images et textes au service de la théologie,” *Revue d’égyptologie* 53 (2002): 197–211.
- ⁶⁵ René Preys, “Hathor fille du Noun: créateur et demiurge dans le temple de Dendera,” *Revue d’égyptologie* 57 (2006): 199–216.
- ⁶⁶ Michel Malaise, “Bès et Béset: métamorphoses d’un démon et naissance d’une démonsse dans l’Égypte ancienne,” in Julien Ries and Henri Limet (eds.), *Anges et démons. Actes du colloque de Liège et de Louvain-la-neuve, 25–26 novembre 1987*, *Homo religiosus* 14 (Louvain-la-neuve : Centre d’histoire des religions, 1989), 59–60; Geraldine Pinch, *Handbook of Egyptian Mythology* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2002): 118; Annie Caubet and Geneviève Pierrat-Bonnefois (ed.), *Faïences de l’antiquité de l’Égypte à l’Iran. Catalogue de l’exposition, Paris — Musée du Louvre 2005* (Paris: 5 Continents Editions, 2005), 44 and 159.
- ⁶⁷ Malaise 1989.
- ⁶⁸ Malaise 1989, 60. We can question if it is a composite being or if it is a female figure wearing a mask. On Bes as a mask, see Youri Volokhine, “Dieux, masques et hommes: à propos de la formation de l’iconographie de Bès,” *Bulletin de la Société d’égyptologie de Genève* 18 (1994): 81–95; Dimitri Meeks, “Dieu masqué, dieu sans tête,” *Archéo-Nil* 1 (1991): 5–15. We can consider that Furio Jesi (“Bes bifronte e ermafrodito,” *Aegyptus* 43 [1963]: 237–255) has correlated the androgyny of Bes with his two-faced appearance.
- ⁶⁹ Bulté 1991, 32–33.
- ⁷⁰ Jutta Fischer, “Der Zwerg, der Phallos und der Buckel. Grotteskfiguren aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten,” *Cronique d’Égypte* 73 (1998): 327–361; Capriotti Vittozzi 2003. On the erotica from Saqqara: Philippe Derchain, “Observations sur les erotica,” in Geoffrey T. Martin (ed.), *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra: The Southern Dependencies of the Main Temple Complex* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1981), 166–170.
- ⁷¹ We can consider, for example, an androgynous feature of Aphrodite: Sophocles Sophocleous, “L’Aphrodite en tant qu’androgynie,”

Archaeologia Cypria 1 (1985): 79–96; Sandra Christou, *Sexually Ambiguous Imagery in Cyprus from the Neolithic to the Cypro-Archaic Period*, BAR Series 2329 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012).