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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
PHARAONIC AND ARTISAN CLASSES OF NEW KINGDOM EGYPT

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for graduation with Honors in the Anthropology

Glenn Storey
Thesis Mentor

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All requirements for graduation with Honors in the
Anthropology have been completed.

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**An Analysis of the Social and Economic Relations Between the Pharaonic and Artisan
Classes of New Kingdom Egypt**

Maja Stina Sunleaf
Honors in Anthropology Senior Thesis
Advised by Dr. Glenn Storey
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Introduction

Ancient Egypt is celebrated for its monumental burial complexes and fascinating hieroglyphic language. The New Kingdom Period, lasting from approximately 1570 BCE to 1070 BCE, saw the rise of famous Egyptian pharaohs, such as Hatshepsut, Akhenaten, and Tutankhamen. Additionally, this period generated notable religious and artistic achievements, like the completion of the final draft of *The Book of the Dead*, a series of written incantations used for ensuring a deceased's successful journey to the afterlife, which will be addressed later in this study (Snape 2014; Mark 2016).

Perhaps influenced by the number of great accomplishments during this period, the rigid state-level social stratification of New Kingdom Egypt intensified as well. Pharaohs, who were viewed as god-like, resided at the top of the social pyramid, with elites and nobles, scribes, and warriors following in subsequently lower tiers (Lesko 1994). The bottom of the social pyramid was composed of the workers and craftsmen who built and decorated the physical monuments, followed by peasants, slaves, and servants (Shorter 1932). This study's purpose is to identify methods used by 18th Dynasty New Kingdom Egyptian pharaohs, specifically in Thebes, to maintain social structure and elucidate how members of the artisan class worked to achieve a lifestyle similar to that of the pharaohs, both in life on Earth and in the afterlife, in terms of burials and material goods, despite having less access to luxury goods and more meager means of obtaining them.

Research Problem

Thanks to the impressive burial complexes of the pharaohs, and the treasures and texts found within them, much is known about the way Egypt's ruling class lived and planned to

continue their lives after death. The most literate members of Egyptian society were in the pharaonic class, which left approximately 90% of Egyptian society illiterate (Johnson 1978). This high level of upper class literacy means that most of the recovered and deciphered Egyptian texts are from the elite and pharaonic viewpoint; the illiteracy of the lower class has severely limited the amount of textual evidence providing their perspective on various situations (Johnson 1978; Grajetzki 2010). Despite the overall high percentage of illiteracy in Egypt, the worker's village of Deir el-Medina, near Thebes, does provide some textual evidence for the lower classes, including the sons of villagers of all social ranks, due to a wide access to education (Lesko 1994). While Deir el-Medina includes written records from males of varying class levels, it is unfortunate that the voices of Egypt's female population are still relatively silent. The textual evidence at Deir el-Medina will be utilized in this study; noting however, that female voices are missing from the narrative. In addition, due to wider access to education, resulting from greater economic resources in the state-funded society of Deir el-Medina, other archaeological material evidence will also play an important role in determining the treatment and lifestyles of the artisan class. While acknowledging the bias in textual evidence, the recorded laws of Egypt's New Kingdom will also be vital to this study. The methods of law enforcement during the reigns of Tuthmosis I through Amenhotep III will be of importance in determining the treatment of artisans by the pharaohs and other high ranking members of Egyptian society.

Archaeologists identify the workmen's villages of Deir el-Medina, el-Amarna, and Kahun as major examples of working class settlements (Shaw 1992). In order to provide a greater focus, the village of Deir el-Medina and the other surrounding areas in Thebes will be crucial in this study. Deir el-Medina was thought to have been inhabited beginning sometime

during the regime of Tuthmosis I (1524-1518 BCE), reorganized under the rule of Horemheb (1321-1293 BCE), and abandoned after a worker's strike around 1169 BCE in the midst of Ramesses III's reign, and so should provide sufficient evidence regarding the everyday lives of Egyptians (Snape 2014; Bierbrier 1982; Dodson 1995; Brier and Hobbs 1999). However, Deir el-Medina was a state-funded village, and so may provide data that are anomalous relative to other, non-state funded Egyptian settlements; for example, the very high literacy rates.

Similarly, the inhabited areas surrounding Thebes will be of importance in establishing a limited set of assumptions about life during the rules of Tuthmosis I through Amenhotep III. The literature utilized in this study will aim to provide evidence of pharaonic efforts to control the artisan class, and limit their access to elite practices. Additionally, it will indicate ways the artisans resisted the pharaohs and their lower class status by mimicking pharaonic practices within their own economic means.

Methods

Publications detailing the lifestyles of artisans in villages throughout Thebes, with specific emphasis on the village of Deir el-Medina, will serve as the primary sources of evidence in this study. Additionally, literature that focuses on the methods employed by the pharaohs through decrees and laws to enforce a social hierarchy and that reflects the treatment of artisans by those in higher classes will be of importance. Information gleaned from these sources will be useful in establishing the relationship between the artisan and pharaonic classes during the rules of Tuthmosis I through Amenhotep III. Archaeological evidence, such as material goods and burials, addressed in these publications will provide evidence to support the hypothesis that artisans utilized their incomes to mimic pharaonic practices in an effort to achieve a similar

comfort in lifestyle both on Earth and in the afterlife. In particular, analyses of works by Morris Bierbrier, Wolfram Grajetzki, Leonard Lesko, and Lynn Meskell offer sufficient evidence of the treatment of artisans by the pharaohs and the artisan class' response. The pharaonic dating of Brier and Hobbs (1999) will be utilized in this study; they attest that the New Kingdom Period began with the 18th Dynasty pharaoh, Ahmose, in 1570 BCE and ended with one of the many Tenth Dynasty Ramesseses, presumably Ramesses XI, in 1070 BCE.

For the purpose of this study, two sectors of the Egyptian social strata will be analyzed: the pharaohs and the artisans. The pharaonic class will consist solely of the rulers of Egypt from Tuthmosis I through Amenhotep III and their immediate families. The artisan class will refer to workers and craftsman whose labor would directly benefit members of the pharaonic class, particularly those who worked on erecting and decorating the pharaohs' monumental burial places and whose work was done in return for an income. Slaves/servants will not be of primary interest in the context of this research. This study will endeavor to identify how the pharaohs of New Kingdom Egypt treated artisans, specifically in terms of law enforcement, payment for goods and services, and acknowledgement of work. The working conditions of the artisans when under contract by the pharaohs will be evaluated, as it may provide insight into their treatment. Additionally, the daily lifestyles, religious practices, and burial preparations of artisans will be analyzed in an effort to establish relations between artisan beliefs and actions with those of the pharaonic class and to ascertain if pharaohs adjusted and intensified their practices in response to mimicking by the artisan class.

Background

The Artisan Class

With many architectural achievements and building programs conducted from the reign of Tuthmosis I through that of Amenhotep III, the artisan class was busy at work during the New Kingdom Period. The worker's village of Deir el-Medina provides substantial evidence for the daily operations of the artisan class, as the persons who lived there completed construction projects at Karnak and in the Valley of the Kings throughout the 18th Dynasty. Much evidence from the village of Deir el-Medina has been dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, likely due to his expansive construction projects, which will be addressed further in this paper. In Deir el-Medina, excluding the pharaoh, the highest-ranking positions in the village were those of scribe, architect, and foremen; the artisan class filled the lower tier of Deir el-Medina society, followed by governmentally provided servants (Riefsthal 1964; Bierbrier 1982). It has been noted by scholars (Riefsthal 1964; Lesko 1994) that much about the lifestyles of the artisans at Deir el-Medina was a deviation from the norm; for example, the artisans in Deir el-Medina had much greater literacy rates than those found in other Egyptian settlements. It has also been attested by these same sources that it may be an anomaly purely because less is known about other villages throughout Thebes (Riefsthal 1964; Lesko 1994). Despite this uncertainty, for the purpose of this study, evidence from Deir el-Medina will serve as the primary source of information pertaining to artisan daily life in Thebes.

The Pharaonic Class

During all three Kingdom Periods of Egypt, the pharaohs were said to be successors of the god Ra. In the pharaonic myth, Ra was believed to have taken human form, allowing him to

live on Earth and serve as the first pharaoh of Egypt; this allowed him to establish order, which the Egyptians called ma'at, throughout the land (Brier and Hobbs 1999). The myth of the pharaonic Ra led to the belief that the pharaoh held otherworldly power which would allow him to prevent untold horrors from befalling Egypt; those who held the title of pharaoh came to be viewed as protectors and guardians of the country (Brier and Hobbs 1999). In order to properly protect their domain, a pharaoh had to ensure that ma'at was maintained (Brier and Hobbs 1999). The most basic method of maintaining ma'at was through the creation of class distinctions, with the prevailing thinking being that as long as the rich and powerful prospered and the poor and enslaved remained as such, Egypt would remain balanced and in order (Brier and Hobbs 1999). Due to the importance of enforcing social class divisions to maintain ma'at, Egyptians believed that when a lower class individual experienced incredible good fortune, this was actually a sign that the world was not in order (Brier and Hobbs 1999). The idea of ma'at allowed the pharaohs of Egypt to maintain a rigid social structure; as Egyptians believed both the pharaoh's power and concept of ma'at were derived from the gods.

New Kingdom Pharaohs

An overview of the reigns of the pharaohs from Tuthmosis I, beginning about 1524 BCE, to Amenhotep III, ending around 1349 BCE, during the 18th Dynasty New Kingdom Period will provide greater context for the amount of work undertaken by the artisans of Thebes and the social, economic, and legal conditions in Egypt that may have affected their treatment and way of life (Brier and Hobbs 1999). Beginning with Tuthmosis I, the royal court of Egypt was moved from Thebes to Memphis in order to create a more centralized location for the pharaoh's rule (Baker 2008). As a response to this move, Tuthmosis I, who could not be physically present

in all cities simultaneously, created provincial mayor positions for the largest cities in Egypt as a way of maintaining order among the classes (O'Connor and Cline 1998). During his rule, Tuthmosis I completed three military campaigns, one in Nubia and two in western Asia, all of which were successful; these campaigns took the pharaoh out of Egypt, making the need for a provincial mayor all the more important (Baker 2008). The provincial mayor position was kept in place during subsequent pharaohs' administrations in the 18th Dynasty until the rule of Amenhotep III (O'Connor and Cline 1998).

Despite his move to Memphis, Tuthmosis I commanded that many construction projects be undertaken by the artisan class at Thebes, including the Temple of Amun at Karnak. The building at Karnak included the addition of two new pylons, Pylon Four and Pylon Five, the construction of a columned hall between these pylons, and the building of a sandstone wall to enclose the shrine of Amun and the western portion of the temple grounds (Baker 2008). Furthermore, Tuthmosis I commissioned that the alabaster chapel of the early 18th Dynasty pharaoh, Amenhotep I, be completed during his reign (Baker 2008). The pharaoh would have made annual trips to Thebes for festivals in reverence to Amun; these festivals, which will be further addressed later in this study, allowed members of all classes to celebrate the link between the pharaoh and the god (O'Connor and Cline 1998). With so many building projects underway, Tuthmosis I likely utilized his annual festival trips to visit Theban work sites and ensure the artisans were making progress on his various commissioned projects, as well as his own royal tomb and funerary temple; Tuthmosis I likely also used these visits to ensure that the foreman and scribes at these worksites were adequately performing their administrative duties (O'Connor and Cline 1998). The annual visits Tuthmosis I took to Thebes would presumably have been taken by his successors as well, since all were buried in or near the Valley of the Kings in

Thebes, and would have desired to observe the progress made on their own future resting sites (O'Connor and Cline 1998).

In his many offerings and public works both at Thebes and throughout Egypt, Tuthmosis I was recognized and honored as the son of Osiris, an honor that was inscribed on a stele excavated at Abydos (Baker 2008). Perhaps due to this distinction, or as a result of his efforts to visit worksites, the workers of the Theban necropolis venerated the pharaoh long after his death (Reifstahl 1964). Tuthmosis I was interred at the first royal tomb located in the Valley of the Kings, which was constructed by the architect Ineni (Reifstahl 1964; Baker 2008). The burial style initiated by Amenhotep I, in which the pharaoh was positioned with his arms crossed and hands poised to hold scepters or the crook and flail, was continued by Tuthmosis I and his successors (Baker 2008).

Tuthmosis II, son of Tuthmosis I, was a teenager when he ascended the throne and married Hatshepsut, daughter of Tuthmosis I, to legitimize his right to rule (Baker 2008). The reign of Tuthmosis II involved at least one campaign in Asia and a battle with Kushites who had stolen Egyptian cattle; he and his military were recorded as victorious in their battles (Baker 2008). Like his father, Tuthmosis II began construction projects at Karnak, specifically two large statues of himself and two large obelisks (Baker 2008). The twelve to thirteen year reign of Tuthmosis II ended when the pharaoh became sick and died at the age of thirty; Tuthmosis II's early death left his infant son, Tuthmosis III, to rule Egypt with his wife, Hatshepsut, serving as regent (Baker 2008; Reifstahl 1964).

Due to the infancy of Tuthmosis III at the beginning of his reign, Hatshepsut declared herself first regent and then pharaoh of Egypt in his place. Hatshepsut's legitimacy to reign over Egypt was supported by her courtiers and depicted in various pieces of art throughout Egypt,

which showed her mother having relations with Amun-Re, disguised as her father, Tuthmosis I; other pieces have been found depicting the female pharaoh dressed in the regalia of the male pharaohs before her, specifically with Hatshepsut donning the Nemes headdress and kingly false beard (Riefstahl 1964; Baker 2008). Occupied with running the country, nurturing diplomatic relationships, and carrying out extensive building programs, Hatshepsut left the teenage Tuthmosis III, whom she deemed her coregent, to oversee Egypt's military (Baker 2008). Tuthmosis III led at least six military expeditions in Syria-Palestine and Nubia during the rule of Hatshepsut, and scenes at Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri depict her presence in at least one of the Nubian expeditions (Baker 2008).

While many military expeditions occurred during the reign of Hatshepsut, the pharaoh considered her reign a time of peace and prosperity in Egypt; Hatshepsut likely believed this largely due to her many trade expeditions to Punt, which introduced Egyptians from all social strata to luxury items such as incense, ivory, gold, and exotic animals (Baker 2008). The reign of Hatshepsut also saw an increase in the mining of turquoise at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai, furthering accessibility to luxury items (Baker 2008). Egyptians traded beads and bronze weapons for the luxury goods from Punt brought to them by Hatshepsut; interestingly, because beads and bronze weapons were common items that artisans also may have owned, they likely traded for the luxurious specialty items as well (Baker 2008).

In addition to her many expeditions for trade goods and military conquests, Hatshepsut paid a great deal of attention to a myriad of construction projects in Thebes. The renovations and new building projects undertaken by Hatshepsut at the Temple of Amun at Karnak include a row of sphinxes, the addition of an Eighth Pylon, two new pairs of obelisks, and a temple of red quartzite inscribed with the names and figures of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (Baker 2008).

Hatshepsut also saw the addition of inscriptions and dedications to herself and Tuthmosis III at the Temple of Hathor (Baker 2008). During her twenty-two year rule, Hatshepsut also saw that a series of shrines were erected along the processional way from the temples of Karnak to Luxor (Baker 2008). These many building programs not only increased the accessibility of religious outlets to Egyptians of all classes during her reign, but also provided ample work for the artisans of Thebes.

The expeditions to Serabit el-Khadim for turquoise continued after Hatshepsut's death during the second official reign of Tuthmosis III (Baker 2008). As commander of the Egyptian Army, Tuthmosis III led three campaigns to Nubia and seventeen campaigns to Asia in which he captured the city of Gaza, suppressed the revolts of princes in Syria-Palestine, and expanded and solidified Egyptian control in the Near East further than any other pharaoh of Egypt (Baker 2008). Although these frequent expeditions took the pharaoh out of Egypt, they provided the funding for Tuthmosis III to commission the building and renovation of various parts of the Temple of Amun at Karnak and a temple at Deir el-Bahri in Thebes, along with various other architectural projects throughout Egypt and Nubia (Baker 2008). The spoils of his many military campaigns allowed Tuthmosis III to hold victory festivals in honor of the gods and in celebration of the people of Thebes throughout his reign (Riefsthal 1964). During his rule, Tuthmosis III made tours of the land for festivals, to inspect his many building projects and, it is said, to ensure his subordinates, the priests, viziers, and other high ranking officials, were performing their duties without unduly oppressing the artisans and other lower class Egyptians they supervised (Riefsthal 1964).

The reign of Tuthmosis III is significant, as it marks a transition from the necessity of ascribed status to hold a position of high office to that of achieved status; this social movement

provided a way for artisans and other lower class citizens to improve their social rank through hard work and luck, rather than remain stuck in the social strata they were born into (Riefsthal 1964). As this shift allowed Egyptians of any class to achieve upward mobility, it is likely the old concept of ma'at received updates; discrediting the idea that any social advancement made by lower class Egyptians were an upset to order and balance. Additionally, it is under the reign of Tuthmosis III that viziers became important figures in Egyptian society; as the pharaoh was regularly absent from Egypt while on military campaigns, the vizier acted in his place (Riefsthal 1964). Two viziers, one for Upper Egypt and one for Lower Egypt, served to oversee construction, agriculture, the treasury, and the judicial system for their respective areas of Egypt while the pharaoh attended to higher matters, such as military expeditions and foreign relations (Riefsthal 1964). The viziers of Egypt were of the highest rank, as evidenced by the Upper Egypt vizier, Rekhmire, who was allotted his own personal tomb site in Thebes (Riefsthal 1964). Much is known about the viziers' position thanks to the records of duties inscribed on the tomb walls of Rekhmire (Riefsthal 1964; Breasted 1962). Along with their duties of overseeing different sectors of Egyptian politics and economics, the viziers' function was to ensure proper attention was given to the people of Egypt, regardless of social class (Riefsthal 1964). In order to perform this function, the viziers were required to hold impeccable records of conduct, taking no bribes from those they saw in court and maintaining high moral standards as they acted on behalf of the pharaoh (Riefsthal 1964).

Pharaoh Amenhotep II, son of Tuthmosis III, continued his father's legacy of military achievements; boastings of Amenhotep II's prodigious physical strength were found on a stele near the Great Sphinx at Giza, and various reliefs, such as those at Karnak, depict him practicing archery (Baker 2008). As a further testament to his strength, Amenhotep II was known to have

challenged his subjects to archery contests to prove his superiority, although no known acceptances to this invitation are on record (Baker 2008). Despite governing during a relatively stable period, during his reign Amenhotep II led three military expeditions to quash revolts in Asia and instill fear and reverence of the god Amun throughout the Mitanni kingdom as far as Aleppo, after which the pharaoh returned to Egypt with thousands of pounds of gold and copper, prisoners, chariots, and horses (Baker 2008).

Amenhotep II's twenty-six year reign was accented with the many spoils of his military expeditions, which provided him ample opportunities to create attestations for himself in Nubia and throughout Egypt, with the largest number occurring in Thebes (Baker 2008). At Karnak, he commissioned two new obelisks, an alabaster shrine, and a Heb Sed Temple, a ritual temple that will be explained later in this paper (Baker 2008). Additionally, he decorated the preexisting Eighth Pylon with various scenes and texts (Baker 2008). At Karnak North, blocks at the Temple of Montu and the barque chapel for Montu were inscribed with Amenhotep II's name, and his cartouches replaced those of Hatshepsut on the gateway for Tuthmosis I (Baker 2008). Finally, Amenhotep II commanded the artisans to construct his mortuary temple west of the Nile from Thebes in the Land of the Dead and to complete a shrine to Hathor at the Temple of Tuthmosis III (Baker 2008).

Due to the lengthy and far-reaching military expeditions and establishment of order by his predecessors, Tuthmosis IV reigned over a peaceful and prosperous Egypt (Baker 2008). Work continued to be done at the turquoise mines at Serabit el-Khadim, foreign trade flourished, and the rich tributes provided by Egypt's neighbors allowed Tuthmosis IV to devote much of his attention to art and architecture throughout his reign (Baker 2008). Tuthmosis IV undertook building programs throughout Egypt, and much like his predecessors, the majority of his

building activities occurred at Thebes (Baker 2008). These Theban projects included the addition of a decorated portico to the Fourth Pylon and the building of a barque shrine, both at Karnak, the erection of a single obelisk in the eastern precinct, and the renovation of a new porch and doorways to the Temple of Montu (Baker 2008). According to a stele found at Konosso, Tuthmosis IV reigned over Egypt for eight years; upon his death he was buried in the Valley of the Kings (Baker 2008).

The period of interest in this study ends with the reign of Amenhotep III in 1295 BCE. The rule of Amenhotep III has been well documented, and records show a continuation of the period of peace overseen by Tuthmosis IV, with the exception of two military expeditions led in Nubia to quell uprisings (Baker 2008). Amenhotep III was married in year two of his thirty-eight year reign to a woman named Tiye, whose family were well-connected, but belonged to a lower class and were not of royal blood (Baker 2008). For the first time in Egyptian history, the names of a spouse's parents were included on the special scarabs inscribed to commemorate the marriage (Baker 2008). This new development is interesting, given the low social status Tiye's parents held prior to their daughter's marriage. Tiye's parents were also given tombs in the Valley of the Kings; at death they were buried amongst the great pharaohs, providing common citizens from a non-royal background lasting recognition (Baker 2008). Amenhotep III made other changes to traditional Egyptian practices during his rule, specifically with regard to the rituals associated with mummification, which will be addressed later in this study.

The reign of Amenhotep III has been deemed the 'Golden Age' of Egypt, as trade between Egypt and its neighbors thrived and the economy prospered (Baker 2008). Along with new building programs, such as the Tomb-chapel and Tomb of the Apis bull at Saqqara, Amenhotep III emphasized that Thebes was to be a center of worship for the god Amun-Re and

the location of pharaonic burials, thereby continuing to provide Thebes the greatest attention, especially in terms of building projects (Baker 2008). Amenhotep III built the Third Pylon, began the Tenth Pylon, added a decorative gate to the Fourth Pylon, added reliefs of himself to the Fifth Pylon, and decreed that large statues of himself be built in front of the Tenth Pylon, all at Karnak (Baker 2008). Furthermore, he completed the decoration of the barque sanctuary begun by his father, Tuthmosis IV, replaced the earlier structure of the Temple of Amun with a new sandstone temple, and added a temple to the goddess Ma'at in the Amun Temple Precinct (Baker 2008).

In addition to his construction projects at Karnak, three building campaigns were undertaken to complete Amenhotep III's Luxor Temple, where many statues of the pharaoh have been recovered (O'Conner and Cline 1998). Amenhotep III also constructed a palace for himself in Thebes, relinquishing the need for a mayor to preside over the city by combining the mayor's previous duties with those of the Upper Egyptian vizier (O'Conner and Cline 1998). Perhaps as a tribute to his Golden Age, or as a reflection of the effect of his direct presence in Thebes, Amenhotep III received the largest monument ever constructed in Egypt; his 91 acre mortuary temple rested on the west bank of the Nile, located outside of the Valley of the Dead (Baker 2008). Unlike other pharaohs before him, who were worshipped as demi-gods before being completely deified upon their deaths, Amenhotep III reached a point between his first and third Sed Festivals, occurring during years thirty and thirty-seven of his reign, respectively, where he was elevated to the status of earthly manifestation of the sun god, Ra (Baker 2008). Due to the importance of the gods in all aspects of life, from religion to the justice system, to all members of Egyptian society, this is an interesting development.

Governance and Law Courts

So far, this paper has addressed the reigns of seven of the 18th Dynasty Egyptian pharaohs; it has been noted that each of these rulers conducted at least one military expedition during their reigns, which would have taken them abroad for varying lengths of time. Despite their extended absences, all seven of these New Kingdom pharaohs conducted various building programs throughout the Egyptian realm, with each of them having one or more projects located and completed in Thebes. During this period, the artisan class of Egypt would have diligently worked to complete the labor required of them by the pharaohs. As the pharaoh's responsibilities frequently took him away from Egypt, a central figure was needed locally to maintain order and enforce policies in the artisan villages. As discussed earlier, the vizier played a prominent role in perpetuating order, especially in times when the pharaoh was away on foreign expeditions.

The funerary inscriptions of Rekhmire describe the vizier's inspections of the artisans working at the Temple of Amun at Karnak to ensure the artisans were actively working for the pharaoh and not shirking their responsibilities in their ruler's absence (Breasted 1962). By conducting these inspections, the vizier fulfilled the pharaoh's duty of surveying the progress artisans were making in their work and ensure all Egyptians received fair treatment (Riefsthal 1964). During the reign of Amenhotep III, small units of troops were stationed throughout settlements in Egypt, perhaps as a method of ensuring that political and societal functions ran smoothly during the pharaoh's absence (Baker 2008). During the 18th Dynasty, a police force was established, and throughout all of the aforementioned pharaohs' reigns, it acted in the cities of Egypt to enforce the laws; the force's primary responsibility was to protect the weak, and consequently the less wealthy, from the powerful (David 2003).

The vizier and police forces both placed emphasis on equitable treatment for all Egyptians; this played an important role in court procedures. The courts, known as kenbet, were led by the vizier, who would be joined by a royal court of thirty judges, ten each from the major cities of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, to bear witness during hearings and ensure fairness (Bierbrier 1982; Wilkinson 1878). This central royal court would have tried very serious cases, such as those requiring capital punishment as a verdict (David 2003). For the less high-stakes cases, local courts would be used (David 2003). In the larger Egyptian cities, such as Thebes, courts would have been presided over by the city's mayor; internal disputes in worker's villages, such as small criminal matters and civil action, would be handled by a site's foreman and scribes, who served both as administrators for the tomb workers and as the heads of the local tribunal (Lesko 1994; Bierbrier 1982). In Deir el-Medina, it was possible for village members who were not foreman or scribes, but held high rankings due to seniority or esteem, to also serve on the courts (Bierbrier 1982). Regardless of a court's location, those presiding over trials utilized the laws of Egypt to determine guilt; the laws of Egypt were a method of preserving ma'at, and as it was a pharaoh's responsibility to maintain ma'at, the pharaoh was viewed as the absolute law (Riefsthal 1964). Furthermore, as Egyptians believed the gods themselves decreed all laws and the pharaoh was the earthly representative of the deities, the courts and Egyptian religion were intertwined; the goddess Ma'at, goddess of truth, justice, and balance, represented the courts, further signifying the strong reverence for Egyptian religion that combined with reverence for the law (Wilkinson 1878; David 2003).

With the gods decreeing the laws and the pharaoh serving as the absolute law, the courts were believed to be fair and just places. Egyptian legislation proclaimed that anyone, from a lowly peasant to a high elite, could appeal to the royal court and be heard by the vizier and, in

extreme cases, the pharaoh, although to gain a hearing at this level was rare in most cases (Riefsthal 1964). The intention of Egyptian law was to protect the oppressed and the object of it was to preserve life; this attitude would explain why no recorded attempts on the parts of the Egyptian people to resist or change the laws have been discovered (Wilkinson 1878). The vizier, referred to as the arch-judge during legal proceedings, led the royal court while wearing the emblem of truth, a depiction of the goddess Ma'at, and surrounding himself with the eight volumes containing all the laws of Egypt (Wilkinson 1878). The Ma'at emblem and volumes of recorded laws served to prepare the vizier to fairly hear the cases presented to the court (Wilkinson 1878). Due to their important role in the maintenance of order throughout Egypt, the royal judges were immortalized with statues erected at Thebes; these statues depicted the judges without hands, symbolizing how the judges were to actively avoid bribery (Wilkinson 1878). The vizier can be specifically identified in the row of judges, appearing as arch-judge with his eyes turned down, representing his duty to trust his mind over any visual evidence during court proceedings to ensure a trial free of external influences (Wilkinson 1878). Furthermore, an inscription on the tomb reliefs of Tuthmosis III's vizier, Rekhmire, reads, "it is an abomination of the god to show partiality" (Breasted 1962, pg. 269).

While statuesque depictions and funerary inscriptions provide a lasting testimony of the sanctity of the royal court, there were many instances of court processes, especially those at local tribunals, operating much less virtuously than these grand, immortalized records suggest. During court proceedings, interrogations of the suspects and witnesses could become hostile; some Egyptians were beaten, while others received more severe treatments during a trial, all for the sake of ensuring they provided evidence in favor of the courts' desired case outcome (David 2003). In Deir el-Medina, the powerful foreman and scribes who served as the heads of court

were noted as defenders of the actions of the elite members of the village when hearing cases, even if these elites were the guilty parties (Lesko 1994). This preferential treatment based on social status provides insight into ill treatment of the artisan class in the law courts of Egypt; however, it should be noted that this ill treatment came from sources other than the pharaoh.

Punishments for the guilty party depended on the severity of the law broken (Wilkinson 1878). A common penalty was 100 strokes, otherwise known to the Egyptians as *bastinado* (Riefsthal 1964). The *bastinado* was not only utilized as a punishment for crimes; sometimes foreman would employ this technique while on site to stimulate their workers into laboring more efficiently and diligently (Wilkinson 1878). Additionally, there are recorded instances of foreman, and even scribes, skirting the law for their own gain. For example, in Deir el-Medina the foreman and other powerful men who controlled the judicial process were not only contemptuous and cruel towards their less wealthy artisan neighbors, but would also utilize their power to force artisans to do labor for their own, personal gain (Lesko 1994).

Even in the royal court, the attendants to the vizier were not always pure of heart. The tomb reliefs of Tuthmosis III's vizier Rekhmire depict the vizier's attendants accepting cloth, necklaces, and full jars of unknown contents in exchange for granting the briber a hearing with the vizier (Riefsthal 1964). The bribery and abuse of power practiced by their attendants and local officials affected not only the working lives of the artisans, but their religious practices as well. Many pious inhabitants of Deir el-Medina venerated the god Amun above all others; ostraca, found in the tombs of artisans, address Amun as the "vizier of the poor," and quotes have been found in tombs calling him the "judge who taketh not bribes" (Riefsthal 1964, p. 75). These ostraca inscriptions may have been created with the actions of the vizier's attendants and local foremen and scribes specifically in mind.

The Artisans' Work

The artisans in pharaonic Egypt lived fairly unglamorous lives, especially when compared to the royals for whom they worked. While the pharaohs were immortalized forever with large monuments and inscriptions bearing their names, members of the artisan class generally received a lack of public recognition, as most artists, builders, and furniture makers refrained from signing their works (Brier and Hobbs 1999). There were times when artisans would receive land or funeral endowments in exchange for their labor (Casson 1975). Occasionally, a painter or sculptor would receive eternal recognition by being carved into an elite's tomb relief, such as a banquet scene, where they would be shown sitting with the deceased (Casson 1975). It is unknown whether these artists were included so they could provide for the pharaoh after death. The *ka*, or life force, which was linked to the deceased's mortal body and necessary for the continuation of life for eternity, could be preserved not only through the physical body, but also through statues and carvings of the pharaoh (Meskell 2001; Brier and Hobbs 1999). Given this ability for the *ka* to continue living through artwork, perhaps these artisans were carved, not for recognition, but so they, through their own *kas*, could continue to create art for the pharaohs and elites in the afterlife.

In terms of employment, artisans worked for rich patrons, the government, or, in circumstances where a government employed artisan had extra time and resources, for both (Johnson 1978). The Egyptians believed that the ability to pay proper wages was a religious responsibility; *The Book of the Dead* includes a section where the departed soul must swear, 'I have not compelled workmen to work harder than they are able,' (Johnson 1978, pg. 110). As the main concern of the Egyptian government was to ensure that their workers were nourished and content in their lifestyles, the artisans of Deir el-Medina likely enjoyed less strenuous lives

than their counterparts in other areas of Egypt that were not state-funded (Johnson 1978). In terms of payment, the workers in Deir el-Medina were paid in goods and services; this included clothing, issued once a year, food, issued once a month, ointments, issued every ten days, and government provided servants (Casson 1975; Bierbrier 1982). To earn their wages, artisans were required to work ten day shifts and were provided days off in between these (Casson 1975). These workers were allotted absences from work if they themselves were sick or they were nursing others who were ill (Casson 1975). Although it sounds rather utopian, Deir el-Medina ultimately collapsed due to wage related discrepancies after Ramesses III did not provide the artisans proper payment and the villagers went on strike (Johnson 1978).

Artisan Daily Life

In this village where the men who built the pharaohs' tombs and their families lived, not only did viziers and scribes learn to read and write, but foremen and draftsmen were likely literate as well (Lesko 1994). Evidence of student written texts have been discovered at Deir el-Medina, indicating that the sons of villagers from varying social positions were taught to read and write (Lesko 1994). These student texts show that education was available in the state-run worker's village regardless of social status. Additionally, texts written by the adult male villagers of Deir el-Medina revealed reflections on their daily lives, a find not common to other areas of Egypt (Snape 2014).

The servants, who would have lived in-house with the families they served, would assist the women of the household with tasks such as grinding corn and making bread and beer, the main staples in the Egyptian diet (Bierbrier 1982). The living diet of the artisans was similar to what they provided for themselves after death. In Deir el-Medina the artisans and their families

were buried with bread and nuts; this was much different from the chief workmen in the village, whose tombs were stocked with meat, poultry, and other game (Meskell 2002).

While diet was generally influenced by wages, Egyptian festivals were times when anyone, be they scribe or artisan or elite, could come together to enjoy elaborate feasts. Festivals occurred throughout the year, larger during the Inundation of the Nile, as each Egyptian deity, be it national or local, had at least one annual celebration in its honor (Casson 1975). At these festivals, all food and beverage was paid for by the god being honored, allowing the people to enjoy their fill without worrying about costs (Casson 1975). However, not all festivals were solely for the immortalized deities of Egypt. During the reign of Amenhotep I, the people of the worker's village he established in Thebes began a yearly festival, lasting four days, in his honor; a tradition that could possibly have carried over into other worker's villages in Thebes (Casson 1975). Although the pharaonic class created them, Heb Sed festivals were times when all of Egypt could join together to celebrate the living deity (Casson 1975). Heb Sed festivals were celebrated after a pharaoh had ruled for 30 years; any additional Sed festivals could be held as frequently and after as many years as a pharaoh desired (Casson 1975). These festivals were intended to renew the royal's vitality and reaffirm the pharaoh's right to reign over all of Egypt (Casson 1975). Interestingly, the Heb Sed festival was not the only time a pharaoh would use a public ceremony to assert their right to rule. Festivals could be used to ask the gods who the rightful pharaoh of Egypt should be; thus serving as a method of proving to the Egyptian people that they were ruled by someone the gods approved of (Casson 1975). Such an event occurred during the reign of Hatshepsut, as there were qualms over whether she or Tuthmosis III should serve as pharaoh of Egypt; the 'gods,' who were actually priests and who had come to a consensus prior to the festival, proclaimed Hatshepsut the pharaoh (Casson 1975).

Mummification and Burial Developments

Pharaohs and viziers may have aimed to diminish inequitable treatment of the less wealthy through law enforcement, as they tried to properly provide for their people by ensuring their artisans were paid fairly and provided adequate housing; however, they did not attempt to make all Egyptian aspects of Egyptian life, especially rituals, an even playing field. This is particularly evidenced by the evolution and elaboration of the mummification process.

Beginning sometime during the 5th Dynasty, mummification was originally a practice afforded only to kings and pharaohs (Casson 1975). This new burial style stemmed from the belief that pharaohs must have their bodies and souls properly preserved so they could safely enter the afterlife to rule and maintain ma'at for eternity (Casson 1975). With the creation of principalities in 2150 BCE, Egyptian nobles gained greater power and believed they too deserved immortality (Casson 1975). The desire for eternal life grew in popularity, and by the rule of Amenhotep III in the 18th Dynasty, members of all social classes desired everlasting life and members of the lower classes developed mummification practices of their own (Casson 1975; Wade and Nelson 2013).

With equal access to the afterlife, given the deceased was able to pass the judgment of Osiris, income and status on Earth no longer impacted an Egyptians' right to immortality; thus living wealth began to be seen as a means of receiving greater comforts in the afterlife, which would stay with the deceased for eternity (Casson 1975). This focus on wanting eternal comfort likely means that a greater quantity and higher quality of grave goods should be found in elite tombs as compare to those of the artisan class; more study and comparisons of foreman and scribal burials versus those of artisans are needed to fully support this theory. It is known that pharaohs were buried with vast amounts of grave goods; during the New Kingdom, pharaohs

also began to undergo more elaborate and costly processes of mummification and preparation rituals for the afterlife (Wade and Nelson 2013). This was likely a method of asserting their status as the highest power in Egypt and affirming that their everlasting life was of greater importance than that of an artisan.

During the New Kingdom Period, the mummification process involved removing the organs and brains from the body and placing important organs, such as the heart, into canopic jars (Grajetzki 2003). This process signified that these organs would be under the protection of the Four Sons of Horus, and so watched over for eternity by the gods (O'Connor and Cline 1998). For those who could afford it, Egyptian alabaster was used to make these four canopic jars; less wealthy Egyptians hoping to include canopic jars in their burials turned to less expensive options, such as limestone and pottery (O'Connor and Cline 1998). In the most intricate mummification ceremonies, the body, free of organs, was then dried in natron, filled with molten resin, and then packed with linen before being placed in a coffin (Grajetzki 2003).

Due to the high price of hiring a professional mortician to execute the mummification process and the inability for artisans to take the necessary seventy days off of work to complete mummification rituals, most members of the artisan class settled for less advanced forms of preserving their dead (Wade and Nelson 2013; Lesko 1994). When a Theban workers' burial chamber was excavated, archaeologists found it filled with over eighty individual bodies whose remains were little more than masses of bones in piles of brown dirt; the majority of the bodies and their wrappings had disintegrated over time (Grajetzki 2003). This finding suggests that these lower status citizens, unlike their wealthier counterparts, were 'mummified' by being simply wrapped in linens, without the application of oils, salts, or resin to preserve the flesh (Grajetzki 2003). Due to their highly deteriorated state, it is indiscernible whether or not these

less wealthy Egyptians' bodies were positioned in the same crossed arm style of the pharaohs, which was made popular by Amenhotep I. Additionally, the poor conditions in this mass burial provide evidence as to why an elaborate mummification process was important to the pharaohs; it was imperative for them to maintain a body in order to rule for eternity. Artisans, on the other hand, did not have to rule for eternity, so could utilize less advanced methods of mummification in order to provide themselves with a smooth bodily transition to the afterlife.

Regardless of their mummification process, it was mandatory that all Egyptians pass the judgment of Osiris to enter into the afterlife. The judgment process was long and arduous, and aimed to show that the deceased had lived a righteous and moral life in the land of the living and was deserving of continuing to live in the land of the dead (Casson 1975). During the Old Kingdom Period, pyramid texts inscribed on a pharaoh's tomb walls provided them an instruction manual detailing how to pass judgment and the tests that accompanied it, such as the weighing of the heart versus a feather to ensure the deceased was pure of heart (Johnson 1978). When Middle Kingdom elites began to adopt mummification, they also copied the pyramid texts into what became known as the coffin texts, where similar inscriptions to those written on the pharaohs' walls would be carved into the elites' coffin lids (Johnson 1978).

During the New Kingdom Period, with mummification and the afterlife accessible to all, the prayers and incantations that would ensure an Egyptian successfully completed Osiris' judgment became even more accessible and cost efficient, as they were written on scrolls of papyri and could be easily purchased by anyone in need of them (Casson 1975). The compilation of these papyri scrolls comprises what is now known as *The Book of the Dead*. Interestingly, one of the trials exemplified in *The Book of the Dead*, known as the 'Commission of Sin,' involves an Egyptian admitting, "I have not done violence to a poor man," and, "I have

not defamed a slave to his superior,” (Casson 1975, pg. 116). As the contents of *The Book of the Dead* were originally written solely for pharaohs, these assertions that lower class Egyptians were not targeted by the deceased suggests that the pharaohs were not intent on harming those in lower social positions than themselves.

While access to *The Book of the Dead* became widespread throughout Egypt and artisan burials have been found to include its incantations on papyri, the qualities and quantities of burial goods found in tombs provide greater insight into the economic status of those who owned them. For example, elite tombs are more likely to include ushabtis (explained shortly), decorated coffins, funeral papyri, food offerings and other items to help the deceased travel to and enjoy eternal comfort in the afterlife (Grajetzki 2003). Artisan and other lower class graves could contain tools, clothes, ushabti figurines, and other ornaments that may assist the deceased in the afterlife; these objects would all be placed directly in the deceased’s coffin along with the body (Casson 1975). With these grave goods placed directly in the coffin, rather than in a spacious tomb as pharaohs’ were, there was likely less room for grave goods, so artisans would have to choose only the most important of objects to take into the afterlife. As costs impacted the size of an artisan’s coffin, cost also affected the number of grave goods an artisan would be buried with.

The number of people contained in a burial site also suggests the social status of the deceased. In the New Kingdom tomb of Hatshepsut’s official, Senemut, his parents, Ramos and Hatnefer, were placed in the same burial, with their bodies laid in separate, decorated anthropoid coffins (Grajetzki 2003). Two simple, undecorated box coffins were also found in the burial chamber with Ramos and Hatnefer, with one box containing two women and two children and the other containing one woman and one child (Grajetzki 2003). The tomb of Ramos and Hatnefer offers insight into the potential treatment of artisans by the pharaonic class; this is

specifically seen in the layering of bodies in less decorated coffins, which appeared in the same tomb as the more ornate, individually buried and highly decorated coffins of the two elites. It has been noted by many scholars that families were often buried together, which may have been the case here, as family burials were often less elaborate than the singular burials of the pharaohs and other elites (Grajetzki 2003). In a cemetery in Harageh, many bodies were found together, but had been simply placed in holes in the ground (Grajetzki 2003). Likewise, in two excavated shaft tombs, many individuals were found buried together; however, only one was identified through inscriptions on grave goods (Grajetzki 2003). It can be inferred that the identified person was the wealthiest in the tomb. Although wealth may not play a role in how many bodies are in one tomb, it does seem to play a role in the treatment of said bodies after death.

Burial developments during the reign of Amenhotep III during the New Kingdom Period show how the pharaonic class began to further diversify themselves from those of lower status. Although anthropoid coffins had been used by pharaohs in the past, they had been made of wood; under Amenhotep III, these human-shaped coffins began to be made of stone, making them more durable (Grajetzki 2003). In pharaonic tombs, falcon, jackal, baboon, and human heads were added to the depictions of the children of Horus, adding more elaboration and detail to the pharaohs' eternal artwork and inscriptions (Grajetzki 2003). Additionally, the traditional ushabtis of the previous millennia were provided their own small, shrine-shaped boxes (Grajetzki 2003). These ushabti boxes show that, not only could the pharaoh provide himself a coffin, but he could also provide coffins for his many eternal workers.

Ushabti figures were Egyptian Old Kingdom constructs utilized by the pharaohs to ensure they would not have to perform menial labor in the afterlife (Casson 1975). An ushabti would be carved to represent a certain type of worker in Egypt, be it artisan or farmer, and in the afterlife

would perform the tasks that a living worker in those professions would undertake (Casson 1975). The most ornamental ushabti figurines were made of ebony, with inlaid colored glass eyes that would be rimmed with gold for added decoration (O'Connor and Cline 1998). A simpler ushabti variety would be made of faience, and would allow for a pharaoh to have a large assortment of figurines to join him in the afterlife with less use of many illustrious resources (O'Connor and Cline 1998). Amenhotep III's tomb revealed the pharaoh was buried with at least sixty of these model laborers to ensure he could live easily in the afterlife; interestingly, the reign of Amenhotep III saw the largest numbers of ushabtis used in Egyptian history (O'Connor and Cline 1998).

As the tradition of including ushabtis in a burial spread, the laborer figurines began to be made of other, more affordable materials, like precious wood, a variety of hard and soft stones, and pottery (Casson 1975). Believing they would enter the afterlife in the same social position they held when they were living, members of the artisan and farming classes likely adopted the ushabti, as they, like the pharaoh, wanted to enjoy an afterlife with limited responsibilities (Casson 1975). The ushabti figures were usually inscribed with their owner's name and rank; however, some ushabti also had detailed instructions for how the figure should work in the afterlife inscribed upon them (Casson 1975). Depending on which prayers and incantations from *The Book of the Dead* that an Egyptian chose to be buried, directions for the ushabtis might also be included with a deceased's instructions for the afterlife. For example, sheet ten of the Papyrus of Nebseni has an interaction between the scribe Nebseni and his ushabti; Nebseni asks his ushabti to perform agricultural labors for him in the afterlife, and his ushabti answers, "Verily I am here [and will come] whithersoever thou biddest me," (Budge 2008, pg. 54). The increased usage of ushabti figurines throughout social classes and the range of materials used to make them

shows an effort by the artisan class to create a more comfortable life for themselves after death, a luxury that had previously been afforded only to pharaohs.

Background Summary

The various military expeditions of the pharaonic class during the reigns of Tuthmosis I through Amenhotep III led to an expansion, not only to the physical empire of Egypt, but also an expansion of power to other members of Egyptian society, including the appointment of two viziers, one each to Upper and Lower Egypt, mayors to the major cities, and foremen to governmental worksites. The gods, and subsequently the pharaohs, decreed the laws of Egypt to which all Egyptians were to adhere to and respect. While the artisan class is reported as being law abiding and trusting of their superiors, the new ruling agents often took advantage of these workers by subjugating them to violence and demanding free artisan labor for personal gain.

During the years 1570 to 1295 BCE, the pharaonic class was not a constant presence in Egypt, due to their travels to foreign lands to enlarge the extent of their empires. It was during this time that the Theban artisan class engaged in many building projects to preserve the memories of the pharaohs after death. While the artisans work only revolved around the building of the pharaohs' final resting places, seeing the results of the royals' mummification process likely played a role in the artisans desire to preserve their own souls and bodies for the afterlife. However, due to their lesser wealth, lack of time, and limited access to the process, artisans had to settle for cheaper, less elaborate, and less enduring methods of mummification. As seen from case studies of burial and law practices, members of the artisan class were not treated equally with elite members of society by the ruling class, but it is clear that they made conscious efforts to adopt and adapt practices of the higher ranks.

Discussion/Significance

The results of this study provide a greater understanding of the relationship between the pharaonic and artisan classes of New Kingdom Ancient Egypt during the rules of Tuthmosis I through Amenhotep III. As literacy was a privilege held mainly by the ruling class, much of the textual material from Ancient Egypt is written from an elite perspective and does not provide a wealth of information about the lifestyles and practices of commoners. The analysis of belongings of the pharaonic and artisan classes provides evidence for the borrowing of ideas in various aspects of Egyptian daily life, specifically in their burial customs. While similarities can be ascertained from their practices, the materials used provide a look into economic disparities and access to materials. Ultimately, the artisan class' desire to live similarly to the pharaohs, but the inability for them to go beyond their own means to afford a similar quality of materials or level of housing to do so can be seen. This provides an interesting view of how the Egyptian pharaohs influenced the artisan class, illustrating how the artisans were unable to overcome their economic differences to fully live the lives of relative luxury similar to their rulers.

Conclusion

Throughout pharaonic Egypt everything from economic and social classes to burial practices, revolved around the maintenance of ma'at. Acting as the living embodiment of the gods, pharaohs were required to perpetuate ma'at; this meant establishing a social pyramid where the poor remained at the bottom and the wealthy stayed at the top. This social pyramid does not seem to have a malevolent attitude behind it, especially given that Tuthmosis III's rule made it possible for Egyptians to achieve a higher status, rather than being ascribed one, unchanging status at birth. Additionally, New Kingdom pharaohs aimed to ensure their artisans were paid

fairly, had reasonable laws and courts to protect them, and were provided with regular festivals as means of relaxation; this indicates general feelings of good will from the royals towards their workers and subordinates.

As a result of the regular absences of the pharaohs due to their many militaristic expeditions, viziers and other elite individuals, such as scribes and foremen, acted as the ruling authorities over the artisan and other classes. Perhaps due to a distaste of their relative proximity in living quarters, particularly in Deir el-Medina, it appears the scribes and foremen were more intent on exacting punishments on artisans than were the pharaohs. These elites, who oversaw the local courts, regularly determined rulings based on class status rather than true guilt and were also noted to have taken bribes from artisans during hearings if artisans wanted to sway decisions. Foremen used harsh beating techniques, such as the bastinado, on artisans while they labored on the pharaohs' commissioned works, and there are reported instances of the foremen and scribes forcing artisans to perform labor for these higher ranking Egyptians' personal gain. The apparent need felt by scribes and foreman to assert their dominance over artisans was perhaps in response to a disruption in the status quo due to the ability of New Kingdom artisans to achieve a higher social status based on good work and good standing, rather than on lineage.

With the development of a society based on achieved, rather than ascribed status, artisans began to mimic the practices and lifestyles of the pharaonic class in an effort to appear above their own means. This may also have served as a way for artisans to dissuade scribes and foremen from abusing them. Imitation of pharaonic practices by artisans can be specifically observed in burial practices, as artisans adopted and adapted aspects of mummification and burial rituals utilizing their lesser means. Artisans began to practice mummification, but, lacking time and wealth, utilized less enduring methods of preserving the body. The artisans also

adopted the pharaohs' prayers and incantations to help them pass the Judgment of Osiris, but, as they did not have the money for mortuary temples for these texts to be inscribed upon the walls, they had them written on papyrus as found in *The Book of the Dead*. Finally, the artisans took up the practice of including ushabti figures in their tombs; as these figures would do work for the deceased in the afterlife, the artisans use of them shows their desire to enjoy a comfortable and effortless afterlife like the pharaoh would have been allotted.

The material evidence in burials, it can be inferred that artisans desired to achieve the same levels of comfort as the pharaohs, and so mimicked their practices, utilizing less expensive materials due to their lesser means. This study brought to light the unexpected finding that the foremen and scribes of Egypt, rather than the pharaohs, treated artisans poorly due to their subordinate social status. It seems clear that the pharaohs did not aim to treat artisans poorly, and the artisans in an effort to enjoy a more comfortable afterlife, did adopt pharaonic burial practices. Further investigation into the relationships between Egyptian artisans who did not live in state-funded societies and their governments should be conducted to determine whether the conditions in Deir el-Medina were abnormal compared to the rest of Egypt. Additionally, a greater study of the relationships between the artisans and scribes of New Kingdom Egypt could provide interesting material for class relations in Egypt. Although there is little textual evidence regarding women, an analysis of material items and burial goods may provide an insight into Egyptian women's relationship with their government. Furthermore, a study of changing conditions for and treatment of men and women in the artisan class during the reign of Hatshepsut versus the reigns of her male counterparts could provide a greater understanding of Egyptian class and gender relations.

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