

Religion at Tell el-Dab'a (ancient Avaris) in Ancient Egypt

Data source: own research (MSc/PhD and post) both laboratory and desk

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**Data Source entry, prepared based on data sourced from an external project.*

Entry tags: Canaanite Religions, Egyptian Religions, Levantine Religion, Religious Group

The communities in question inhabited what was first an ancient Egyptian provincial town and, later on, the capital city of the Hyksos kingdom at Tell el-Dab'a (ancient Avaris). Over several centuries the demographics of this town changed considerably from an initial Egyptian planned settlement to a town inhabited mostly by the people of local and foreign Levantine origin. Eventually, the Egyptian government of the late Middle Kingdom lost control of its border provinces and a new state was formed in the Eastern Delta with Tell el-Dab'a (ancient Avaris) as its capital. The new rulers of the region belonged to an elite class known as the Hyksos. These men of foreign origin, judging by the names of most but certainly not all of them, ruled by taking over much of ancient Egyptian kingship ideology, titles and iconography. The location of the town, its close connections to the Middle Bronze Age Levant societies, and its rulers of foreign origin, also influenced its religious practices.



Date Range: 1960 BCE - 1550 BCE

Region: Tell el-Dab'a

Region tags: Africa, Egypt

Tell el-Dab'a and surrounding villages

Status of Participants:

✓ Elite ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Bietak, Manfred. 1996. *Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a*. London: British Museum Press.
- Source 2: Bietak, Manfred. 2009. Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta. *BAAL Hors-Serie VI: 209-226*.
- Source 3: Reali, Chiara. 2017. Egyptian-Levantine cultural contacts. Considerations about iconography of female deities on the sealings from Avaris and cultural diversities. *Clarusculo* 16: 1-51.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. *The Spiritual Roots of the Hyksos Elite: An Analysis of Their Sacred Architecture, Part I*. (Manfred Bietak, Silvia Prell, Ed.), *The Enigma of the Hyksos. Vol. I. Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant* 9. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. *Servant Burials in the Middle Bronze Age Culture of the Eastern Nile Delta*.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. *Les sanctuaires cananéens dans le delta oriental du Nil*. (Paolo Matthiae, Marta D'Andrea undefined, Ed.), *L'archeologia del sacro e l'archeologia del culto*. Sabratha, Ebla, Ardea,

Lanuvio. Ebla e la Siriadall'età del bronzo all'età del ferro. Atti dei Convegni Lincei 304. Rome: Bardi Edizioni.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Two Ancient Near Eastern Temples with Bent Axis in the Eastern Nile Delta.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. The King and the Syrian Weather God on Egyptian Seals of the 13th Dynasty. (Khaled Daoud , Sawsan Abd el-Fatah , Shafia Bedier, Ed.), Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan. SASAE 34/l. Cairo: Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

– Source 1 URL: <http://www.auaris.at/>

– Source 1 Description: The main website of the Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) project of the Austrian Archaeological Institute's Cairo Branch

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: The religious groups in contact with the Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) community can be identified among different populations visiting or living in the city. The archaeological record indicates contacts with Cyprus, Crete, Levant and Nubia. Avaris was a harbour city. It is expected that people from these lands were either occasionally or possibly even permanently present at the site.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a. London: British Museum Press. isbn: 9780714109688.

↳ Is the cultural contact competitive:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:

– Yes

↳ Is the cultural contact neutral:

– No

↳ Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– No

↳ Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– Yes

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religion have official political support

– Yes

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

– Estimated population, numeric: 34602

Notes: The cautious population estimation is between 28835 (5 persons per household) to 34602 (6 persons per household) for the later 15th Dynasty when the city extended on a surface of 260ha (Forstner-Müller 2010: 120).

Reference: Irene Forstner-Müller. Settlement Patterns at Avaris, A Study on two Cases. (Manfredd Bietak , Ernst Czerny , Irene Forstner-Müller, Ed.), Cities and Urbanism in Ancient Egypt. Papers from a workshop in November 2006 at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (AAS). Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 60. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 35. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The percentage depends on the population estimates for all of Egypt during this period, a matter of debate among Egyptologists.

Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also “oral scriptures” (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– No

Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– Yes

Notes: Both Egyptian (mortuary temples and temples devoted to specific deities) and Levantine temple architecture (bent axis and broad room temples) is known from the site. This indicates that religious practices at the site combined Egyptian and Levantine traditions.

Reference: Ernst Czerny. Tell el-Daba`a XXII - Der Mund der beiden Wege Die Siedlung und der Tempelbezirk des Mittleren Reiches von Ezbet Ruschdi. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 77. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 38. Vienna: isbn: 978-3-7001-6994-9.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Les sanctuaires cananéens dans le delta oriental du Nil. (Paolo Matthiae , Marta D'Andrea undefined, Ed.), L'archeologia del sacro e l'archeologia del culto. Sabratha, Ebla, Ardea, Lanuvio. Ebla e la Siriadall'età del bronzo all'età del ferro. Atti dei Convegni Lincei 304. Rome: Bardi Edizioni.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a. London: British Museum Press. isbn: 9780714109688.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Two Ancient Near Eastern Temples with Bent Axis in the Eastern Nile Delta.

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes

↳ Tombs:

– Yes

Reference: Irene Forstner-Müller. Gräber und Grabkult des späten Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit im Ostdelta. Proceedings of the Congress Totenreligion im Niltal und im Vorderen Orient, Berlin, Altorientalische Forschungen 12. Berlin: De Gruyter.

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Reference: Karin Kopetzky undefined. Burial Practices and Mortuary Rituals at Tell el-Dab'a, Egypt. (Peter Pfälzner , Herbert Niehr , Ernst Pernicka , Sarah Lange , Tina Köster undefined, Ed.), Contextualizing Grave Inventories in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of a Workshop at the London 7th ICAANE in April 2010 and an International Symposium in Tübingen in November 2010, both organised by the Tübingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead". Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Reference: Uroš Matić. Hafengebiet von Avaris und Bestattungen der Zweiten Zwischenzeit des Areals R/IV, Tell el-Dab'a. (Susanne Beck , Burkhard Backes , I-Ting Liao , Henrike Simon , Alexandra Verbovsek, Ed.), ebauter Raum: Architektur – Landschaft – Mensch Beiträge des

fünften Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (MAJA 5) 12.12. bis 14.12.2014. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Reference: Robert Schiestl undefined. Tell el-Dab'a XVIII. Die Palastnekropole von Tell el-Dab'a. Die Gräber des Areals F/I der Straten d/2 und d/1. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 30. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 47. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Reference: Manfred Bietak undefined. Tell el-Dab'a V. Ein Friedhofsbezirk der mittleren Bronzezeitkultur mit Totentempel und Siedlungsschichten, Teil 1 und 2. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 8. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 9.. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

↳ Cemeteries:

– Yes

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a. London: British Museum Press. isbn: 9780714109688.

↳ Temples:

– Yes

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Les sanctuaires cananéens dans le delta oriental du Nil. (Paolo Matthiae, Marta D'Andrea undefined, Ed.), L'archeologia del sacro e l'archeologia del culto. Sabratha, Ebla, Ardea, Lanuvio. Ebla e la Siriadall'età del bronzo all'età del ferro. Atti dei Convegna Lincei 304. Rome: Bardi Edizioni.

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Reference: Manfred Bietak. Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Two Ancient Near Eastern Temples with Bent Axis in the Eastern Nile Delta.

↳ Altars:

– Yes

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Les sanctuaires cananéens dans le delta oriental du Nil. (Paolo Matthiae, Marta D'Andrea undefined, Ed.), L'archeologia del sacro e l'archeologia del culto. Sabratha, Ebla, Ardea, Lanuvio. Ebla e la Siriadall'età del bronzo all'età del ferro. Atti dei Convegna Lincei 304. Rome: Bardi Edizioni.

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Reference: Manfred Bietak. Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a. London: British Museum Press. isbn: 9780714109688.

↳ Devotional markers:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:

– Yes

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Two Ancient Near Eastern Temples with Bent Axis in the Eastern Nile Delta.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Les sanctuaires cananéens dans le delta oriental du Nil. (Paolo Matthiae, Marta D'Andrea undefined, Ed.), *L'archeologia del sacro e l'archeologia del culto. Sabratha, Ebla, Ardea, Lanuvio. Ebla e la Siriadall'età del bronzo all'età del ferro. Atti dei Convegna Lincei 304*. Rome: Bardi Edizioni.

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Reference: Manfred Bietak. Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a. London: British Museum Press. isbn: 9780714109688.

↳ Other type of religious monumental architecture:

– Field doesn't know

Is iconography present:

– Yes

↳ Where is iconography present [select all that apply]:

– At home

– Only religious public space

Reference: Anna-Latifa Mourad. On Cultural Interference and the Egyptian Storm God. (Manfred Bietak, Silvia Prell, Ed.), *The Enigma of the Hyksos, vol. 1: ASOR Conference Boston 2017 - ICAANE Conference Munich 2018 - Collected Papers (CAENL 9)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. isbn: 978-3447113328.

Reference: Chiara Reali. Egyptian-Levantine cultural contacts. Considerations about iconography of female deities on the sealings from Avaris and cultural diversities.

↳ Are there distinct features in the religious group's iconography:

– Yes

↳ Eyes (stylized or not):

– No

↳ Supernatural beings (zoomorphic):

– Yes

Notes: Griffins are depicted on the Minoan frescoes found in early 18th Dynasty palace in Helmi area. Bietak, Manfred, Marinatos, Nannó and Palivou, Claire. 2007. Taureador Scenes in Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) and Knossos, with a contribution by A. Brysbaert. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 27. Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 43. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

↳ Supernatural beings (geomorphic):

– No

↳ Supernatural beings (anthropomorphic):

– Yes

Notes: Reali, Chiara. 2017. Egyptian-Levantine cultural contacts. Considerations about iconography of female deities on the sealings from Avaris and cultural diversities. *Clarusculo* 16.

↳ Supernatural beings (abstract symbol):

– Field doesn't know

↳ Portrayals of afterlife:

– No

Notes: Portrayals of afterlife not known from Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) but well known from other sites in Egypt.

↳ Aspects of doctrine (e.g. cross, trinity, Mithraic symbols):

– No

↳ Humans:

– No

Notes: Not in a religious context.

↳ Other features of iconography:

– Yes

Notes: Reali, Chiara. 2017. Egyptian-Levantine cultural contacts. Considerations about iconography of female deities on the sealings from Avaris and cultural diversities. *Clarusculo* 16.

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer “no” only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Egyptian religion differentiates between body and the spirit. However, we do not have sources which confirm that the same distinction was made in Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) where an entangled Egyptian-Levantine culture is present.

Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

Reference: Uroš Matić. Hafengebiet von Avaris und Bestattungen der Zweiten Zwischenzeit des Areals R/IV, Tell el-Dab'a. (Susanne Beck, Burkhard Backes, I-Ting Liao, Henrike Simon, Alexandra Verbovsek, Ed.), Gebauter Raum: Architektur – Landschaft – Mensch Beiträge des fünften Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (MAJA 5) 12.12. bis 14.12.2014. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. isbn: 978-3447106320.

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Reference: Irene Forstner-Müller. Tell el-Dab'a XVI. Die Gräber des Areals A/II von Tell el-Dab'a. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 28. Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 44. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. isbn: 978-3700160960.

Reference: Robert Schiestl. Tell el-Dab'a XVIII. Die Palastnekropole von Tell el-Dab'a. Die Gräber des Areals F/I der Straten d/2 und d/1. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 30. Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 47. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. isbn: 978-3700137382.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Tell el-Dab'a V. Ein Friedhofsbezirk der mittleren Bronzezeitkultur mit Totentempel und Siedlungsschichten, Teil 1 und 2. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 8. Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 9. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. isbn: 978-3700118848.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Servant Burials in the Middle Bronze Age Culture of the Eastern Nile Delta.

Reference: Irene Forstner-Müller. Gräber und Grabkult des späten Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit im Ostdelta. Proceedings of the Congress Totenreligion im Niltal und im Vorderen Orient, Berlin, Altorientalische Forschungen 12. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a. London: British Museum Press. isbn: 9780714109688.

Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

Reference: Manfred Bietak. Servant Burials in the Middle Bronze Age Culture of the Eastern Nile Delta.

Reference: Uroš Matić. Hafengebiet von Avaris und Bestattungen der Zweiten Zwischenzeit des Areals R/IV, Tell el-Dab'a. (Susanne Beck , Burkhard Backes , I-Ting Liao , Henrike Simon , Alexandra Verbovsek, Ed.), Gebauter Raum: Architektur – Landschaft – Mensch Beiträge des fünften Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (MAJA 5) 12.12. bis 14.12.2014. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. isbn: 978-3447106320.

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Reference: Manfred Bietak. Avaris. The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a. London: British Museum Press. isbn: 9780714109688.



Cremation:

– No



Mummification:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The taphonomy and soil conditions in the Eastern Delta of Egypt do not allow much of the organic material to survive. There are indications of deceased being buried in textile shrouds and coffins, but whether or not this also implies mummification cannot be argued at the moment. All of the burials at the site have only skeletal remains of the deceased.

↳ Interment:

– Yes

↳ Corpse is flexed (legs are bent or body is crouched):

– Yes

↳ Corpse is extended (lying flat on front or back):

– Yes

↳ Corpse is upright (where body is interred in standing position):

– No

↳ Corpse is interred some other way:

– Yes [specify]: There are case of deviant burials in which the normative interment is not present. Instead bodies have been thrown into the pits. Whether or not the pits are burial pits is still debated.

↳ Cannibalism:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

– No

↳ Feeding to animals:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Secondary burial:

– Yes

Notes: There are some indications of secondary burials.

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– Yes

Reference: Manfred Bietak. *Servant Burials in the Middle Bronze Age Culture of the Eastern Nile Delta*.

↳ Human sacrifices present:

– Yes

Notes: There is evidence for the so-called servant burials and retainer sacrifices.

↳ Out-group humans are sacrificed:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Two pits from a cemetery of the 18th Dynasty from Helmi area were previously interpreted as execration pits and the human remains inside them as remains of sacrificed Nubians. These interpretations have been refuted. For details and further references see: Matić, Uroš. 2018. Execration of Nubians in Avaris: A case of mistaken ethnic identity and hidden archaeological theory. *Journal of Egyptian History* 11: 87-112. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/18741665-12340044>

↳ In-group humans are sacrificed:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Other humans are sacrificed:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Animal co-sacrifices present:

– Yes

Notes: The site is famous for the burials of men with donkeys. Other animals are buried as offerings too (goats, sheep).

Reference: Robert Schiestl. Tell el-Dab'a XVIII. Die Palastnekropole von Tell el-Dab'a. Die Gräber des Areals F/1 der Straten d/2 und d/1. *Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 30. *Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie* 47. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. isbn: 978-3700137382.

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Are grave goods present:

– Yes

Reference: Irene Forstner-Müller. Gräber und Grabkult des späten Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit im Ostdelta. Proceedings of the Congress Totenreligion im Niltal und im Vorderen Orient, Berlin, Altorientalische Forschungen 12. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Reference: Irene Forstner-Müller. Tell el-Dab'a XVI. Die Gräber des Areals A/II von Tell el-Dab'a. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 28. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 44. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. isbn: 978-3700160960.

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Personal effects:

– Yes



Valuable items:

– Yes



Significant wealth (e.g. gold, jade, intensely worked objects):

– Yes



Some wealth (some valuable or useful objects interred):

– Yes



Other valuable/precious items interred:

– Yes [specify]: Bronze artefacts

↳ Other grave goods:

– Yes

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

↳ As cenotaphs:

– No

↳ In cemetery:

– Yes

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

– Yes

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– Yes

↳ Other formal burial type:

– No

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

Notes: There is evidence for worshiping both Egyptian and Levantine deities at the site, but also for cult practices related to these deities. The community which respected Egyptian religious traditions probably worshiped a variety of Egyptian deities. When Levantine deities are concerned there is evidence for the worship of the Storm God (probably Baal, identified with Egyptian god Seth).

Reference: Manfred Bietak. The King and the Syrian Weather God on Egyptian Seals of the 13th Dynasty. (Khaled Daoud , Sawsan Abd el-Fatah , Shafia Bedier, Ed.), Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan. SASAE 34/l. Cairo: Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities.

Reference: Chiara Reali. Egyptian-Levantine cultural contacts. Considerations about iconography of female deities on the sealings from Avaris and cultural diversities.

Reference: Anna-Latifa Mourad. On Cultural Interference and the Egyptian Storm God. (Manfred Bietak , Silvia Prell, Ed.), The Enigma of the Hyksos, vol. 1: ASOR Conference Boston 2017 - ICAANE Conference Munich 2018 - Collected Papers (CAENL 9). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. isbn: 978-3447113328.

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↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Yes

Notes: According to later Egyptian sources coming from outside of the Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) community, the Hyksos kings, who ruled from Avaris, worshiped Seth. In the text from Speos Artemidos, female king Hatshepsut of the mid 18th Dynasty claims that she raised what was destroyed from the time when 'Asiatics' (pejorative term used for the Hyksos kings) were in the midst of the Delta in Avaris. She adds that they ruled without the Sun and that she is set on the Sun's thrones and that she comes as Horus with her uraeus spitting fire at her enemies. This rule without the Sun could be a reference to the worship of Storm God (Baal) as the principal deity at the site instead of Amun-Re, who was the principal deity of the 17th Dynasty (contemporary with Hyksos 15th Dynasty of the Second Intermediate Period) and the New Kingdom (18-20th Dynasties). Papyrus Sallier I (1, 2-4) from the 19th dynasty (Ramesside period) informs us that the Hyksos king Apophis made Seth as his lord and that he did not serve any other god in the land except Seth. He built him a temple and made daily sacrifice to him at the break of the day. This is probably a reference to the worship of Storm God (Baal) at the site.

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity:

– Yes

Notes: Seth (Baal) often associated with storms and thunder in Egypt and the Levant. See the papers of Reali (2017) and Mourad (2019).

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

– No

Notes: In Egyptian religion one of the supreme high gods, Osiris, is chthonic. Evidence for Osirian worship is known from the rest of Egypt and it should be assumed that aspects of Osirian beliefs were present also at Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris) despite the lack of evidence for the worship of Osiris on the site.

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

– No

Notes: No. However, the king in ancient Egypt associates himself with supreme gods such as Horus and Seth. On the battlefield the king associates himself with other deities, male (Montu) and female (Mut, Sekhmet, Bastet, Neith). However, there is no evidence for this at Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris) except the standard association with Egyptian gods through royal titles.

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

– Yes

Notes: Yes in ancient Egypt. Since the Hyksos rulers at Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris) adopted aspects of Egyptian royal ideology, this should not be excluded at the site. However, no

direct evidence from the site itself.

- ↳ The supreme high god is a kin relation to elites:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god has another type of loyalty-connection to elites:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good:
 - No
- ↳ Other feature(s) of supreme high god:
 - No
- ↳ The supreme high god has knowledge of this world:
 - Yes
 - ↳ The supreme god's knowledge is restricted to particular domain of human affairs:
 - No
 - ↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:
 - No
 - ↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted within the sample region:
 - Yes
 - ↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted outside of sample region:
 - Yes
 - ↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):
 - Yes
 - ↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god knows your basic character (personal essence):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god knows what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

– Field doesn't know

↳ The supreme high god has other knowledge of this world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god can reward:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god can punish:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god has indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ The supreme high god exhibits positive emotion:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god exhibits negative emotion:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god possesses hunger:

– No

↳ Is it permissible to worship supernatural beings other than the high god:
– Yes

↳ The supreme high god possesses/exhibits some other feature:
– Field doesn't know

↳ The supreme high god communicates with the living:
– Yes

↳ In waking, everyday life:
– Field doesn't know

↳ In dreams:
– Yes

↳ In trance possession:
– Field doesn't know

↳ Through divination practices:
– Yes

↳ Only through religious specialists:
– No

↳ Only through monarch
– No

↳ Other form of communication with living:
– Field doesn't know

↳ Previously human spirits are present:
– Yes

↳ Human spirits can be seen:
– Field doesn't know

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Human spirits can reward:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Human spirits can punish:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Human spirits have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Human spirits have memory of life:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a

(Avaris).

↳ Human spirits possess hunger:
– Yes

↳ Human spirits possess/exhibit some other feature:
– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits communicate with the living:
– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ In waking, everyday life:
– Field doesn't know

↳ In dreams:
– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ In trance possession:
– Field doesn't know

↳ Through divination processes:
– Field doesn't know

↳ Only through specialists:
– No

↳ Only through monarch:
– No

↳ Communicate with living through other means:
– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ These supernatural beings can be physically felt:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings knows your basic character (personal essence):

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have other knowledge of this world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ These supernatural beings can reward:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings can punish:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:

– No

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Organized hierarchically:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Other organization for pantheon:

– No

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt yes, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ There is supernatural monitoring of prosocial norm adherence in particular:
Prosocial norms are norms that enhance cooperation among members of the group, including obviously “moral” or “ethical” norms, but also extending to norms concerning honouring contracts and oaths, providing hospitality, coming to mutual aid in emergencies, etc.
 - Field doesn't know

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about taboos:
 - Field doesn't know

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of coreligionists:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other religions:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other polities:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about sex:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about lying:
 - Yes
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about honouring oaths:
 - Yes
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about laziness:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about sorcery:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about non-lethal fighting:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about shirking risk:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about disrespecting elders:
 - Yes
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about gossiping:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about property crimes:
 - Yes
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about proper ritual observance:
 - Yes
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about performance of rituals:
 - Yes
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about conversion of non-religionists:
 - No
 - Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about economic fairness:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Supernatural beings care about personal hygiene:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Supernatural beings care about other:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Done only by high god:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Done by other entities or through other means [specify]

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Done to enforce group norms:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Done to inhibit selfishness:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Done randomly:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Other [specify]

– No

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Supernatural punishments in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as an inferior life form:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in an inferior realm:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Other [specify]

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Supernatural punishments in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Punishment in this life consists of political failure:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a

(Avaris).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of defeat in battle:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of crop failure or bad weather:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of disaster on journeys.

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of sickness or illness:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of impaired reproduction:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck visited on descendants:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Other [specify]
 - Field doesn't know

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Is the cause/purpose of supernatural rewards known:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Done only by high god:
 - Yes

- ↳ Done by many supernatural beings:
 - Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

- ↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:
 - Field doesn't know

- ↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:
 - Field doesn't know

- ↳ Done to enforce group norms:
 - Field doesn't know

- ↳ Done to inhibit selfishness:
 - Field doesn't know

- ↳ Done randomly:
 - Field doesn't know

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in the afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Supernatural rewards in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of mild sensory pleasure:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of eternal happiness:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as a superior life form:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in a superior realm:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Other [specify]

– Field doesn't know

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in this lifetime:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Supernatural rewards in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of good luck:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of political success or power:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of success in battle:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of peace or social stability:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of healthy crops or good weather:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of success on journeys:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of mild sensory pleasure:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced health:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced reproductive success:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Reward in this life consists of fortune visited on descendants:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

↳ Other [specify]

– Field doesn't know

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

Is an eschatology present:

– No

Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Are there centrally important virtues advocated by the religious group:

– Yes

↳ Honesty / trustworthiness / integrity:

– Yes

↳ Courage (in battle):

– No

↳ Courage (generic):

– No

↳ Compassion / empathy / kindness / benevolence:

– Yes

↳ Mercy / forgiveness / tolerance:

– Yes

↳ Generosity / charity:

– Yes

↳ Selflessness / selfless giving:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Righteousness / moral rectitude:

– Yes

↳ Ritual purity / ritual adherence / abstention from sources of impurity:

– Yes

- ↳ Respectfulness / courtesy:
 - Yes
- ↳ Familial obedience / filial piety:
 - Yes
- ↳ Fidelity / loyalty:
 - Yes
- ↳ Cooperation:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Independence / creativity / freedom:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Moderation / frugality:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Forbearance / fortitude / patience:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Diligence / self-discipline / excellence:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Assertiveness / decisiveness / confidence / initiative:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Strength (physical):
 - No
- ↳ Power / status / nobility:
 - No
- ↳ Humility / modesty:
 - Field doesn't know

- ↳ Contentment / serenity / equanimity:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Joyfulness / enthusiasm / cheerfulness:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Optimism / hope:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Gratitude / thankfulness:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Reverence / awe / wonder:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Faith / belief / trust / devotion:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Wisdom / understanding:
 - No
- ↳ Discernment / intelligence:
 - No
- ↳ Beauty / attractiveness:
 - No
- ↳ Cleanliness (physical) / orderliness:
 - Yes
- ↳ Other important virtues advocated by the religious group:
 - No

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

– No

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

– Yes

Notes: In Ancient Egypt, but direct evidence for this is missing from Tell el-Dab' a (Avaris).

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– Yes



What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to small-scale rituals.

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

– Yes



↳ On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:
– Field doesn't know

↳ What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):
Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.
– Field doesn't know

↳ Are there orthodoxy checks:
Orthodoxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are interpreted in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper interpretation, etc.
– Yes

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:
Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.
– Yes

↳ Does participation entail synchronic practices:
– Field doesn't know

↳ Is there use of intoxicants:
– Yes

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– Field doesn't know

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:

– Field doesn't know

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

– A state

Reference: Irene Forstner-Müller , Wolfgang Müller. Die Entstehung des Hyksosstaates. Versuch einer sozioarch ologischen Modellbildung anhand der materiellen Kultur Tell el-Dab'as. (Ernst Czerny, Ed.), Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak. Volume I. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 149.. Leuven: Peeters. isbn: 978-9042917309.

Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:

– Field doesn't know

Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

– Field doesn't know

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

– Field doesn't know

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– Field doesn't know

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

– Yes

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

– Yes

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– Field doesn't know

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

– Yes

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

– Field doesn't know

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

– Yes

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– Yes

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– Field doesn't know

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

– Field doesn't know

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

– No

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by

institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

– Yes



Is use of this distinct written language confined to religious professionals:

– No

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

– Yes

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– Yes



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

- Gathering
- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing
- Pastoralism
- Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

- No

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