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**OCCASIONAL PROCEEDINGS OF  
THE THEBAN WORKSHOP**

**SACRED SPACE AND SACRED FUNCTION  
IN ANCIENT THEBES**

*edited by*

PETER F. DORMAN *and* BETSY M. BRYAN

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### GENERAL

cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
ch.	chapter
cm	centimeter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
esp.	especially
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , and so forth
fig(s).	figure(s)
GN	god's name
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
KN	king's name
KV	Valley of the Kings
m	meter(s)
n(n).	note(s)
n.p.	no publisher
NN	personal/royal/god's name
no(s).	number(s)
op. cit.	<i>opere citato</i> , in the work cited
pBM	papyrus British Museum
p(p).	page(s)
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl(s).	plate(s)
PT	Pyramid Text
TT	Theban Tomb
Vol(s).	Volume(s)

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PM 1 <sup>2</sup>	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , Vol. 1: <i>The Theban Necropolis, Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
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## PREFACE

PETER F. DORMAN, THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, AND  
BETSY M. BRYAN, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

The present volume represents the first of what is expected to be an occasional series of publications deriving from papers presented at meetings of the Theban Workshop, a forum jointly initiated and sponsored by the Johns Hopkins University and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The idea for an annual workshop dedicated to the discussion of current research in the Theban area originated in the spring of 1998 during the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in Los Angeles, when the organizers discussed the particular value of an ongoing seminar convened on a periodic basis for colleagues working with research materials emanating from the Theban region. Modern Luxor remains an area in Egypt where research is conducted intensively in many areas — archaeology, architecture, art, epigraphy, conservation, and ethnography — and an annual workshop, it was hoped, would provide a convenient arena for the presentation of recent results to a group of interested peers.

From the first, the format of the workshops was envisioned as relatively intimate: in general, five or six scholars have been invited to speak on a general theme of mutual concern, with presentation and discussion allotted in equal measure, and with questions passing primarily among the participants themselves. The first two workshops were held immediately following annual meetings of the American Research Center in Egypt (Chicago in 1999 and Baltimore in 2000), when both scholarly and lay members of that organization attended in good numbers, whereas the next two sessions (Chicago in 2001 and Baltimore in 2002) were held as events in their own right, to more limited and academic audiences. The programs for all workshops to date appear at the end of this preface.

Publication of the proceedings was always deemed to be a desirable result of the workshop sessions, but the exigencies of funding and of identifying a committed publishing venue proved insurmountable, at least initially. A number of papers presented as workshop contributions have since been published separately. This predicament was recently resolved when the Oriental Institute made a formal commitment to the timely publication of symposium papers.

Although the Theban Workshop was initially conceived of as an informal, focused, and largely local — that is to say, North American — phenomenon alternating between Baltimore and Chicago, sufficient international interest has been aroused to warrant consideration of a venue overseas. Largely at the encouragement of Nigel Strudwick, the workshop organizers explored the possibility of hosting a session in London, and at the kind invitation of W. Vivian Davies, the 2003 workshop was held in September at the British Museum. The organization of such an event would have been impossible without the on-site logistical assistance of Nigel Strudwick, John Taylor, and Clair Messenger, as well as other staff members of the Department of Ancient Egypt and the Sudan, who provided unfailing assistance and generosity. Moreover, the London venue offered the opportunity to invite a number of colleagues from European, Egyptian, and Australian institutions. Opened by Mohammed el-Bialy with an inaugural paper on the central importance of conservation and restoration to present fieldwork in Thebes, the two-day workshop provided the chance to assemble fourteen speakers on the theme of “Sacred Spaces and Their Function through Time.”

For researchers interested in the utilization of ritual space in preliterate European societies, or who are otherwise unfamiliar with pharaonic Egypt, it should be noted that the Theban area offers a particularly felicitous topography in which to explore the theme of sacred space and function, due to the number of well-preserved monuments, both royal and private, on both banks of the Nile (Nims 1965). The ancient city of Thebes, still virtually unexcavated, evidently clustered around the vast temple precinct of Karnak on the east bank of the river, with Luxor temple 2 km to the south, while to the north lay the nearby temple of Montu at Medamud. Across the Nile, the western edge of the cultivation at Thebes is dominated by the cliffs of the high desert plateau and by the peak of the Gurn, which, according to some scholars, suggested to contemporary Egyptians the pyramidal form of ear-

lier royal tombs. Beginning in the early New Kingdom, the western foothills of the plateau became an intensively used necropolis for the major and minor officials of the city. Royalty and certain favored courtiers were accorded interment in the hither reaches of the desert: in the Valley of the Kings, the Valley of the Queens, and several deserted wadis that lead southward out of the western mountain. At the border of the floodplain, memorial cults of the deceased kings of Egypt were celebrated, and at least one great palace complex was erected at Malkata along the shores of an enormous inland harbor. The major ritual centers of both the east and west banks were linked with each other physically by processional routes, as well as ritually through the periodic observance of festivals that associated various divine cults or which commemorated mortuary observances at seasonal times of the year.

The Theban region seems not to have been a provincial power early in Egyptian history, with just three Old Kingdom tombs attested, and while the royal and private necropoleis of the Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasties are located among the foothills of the Gurn, further utilization of that area remained episodic during the Middle Kingdom. With the rise of the New Kingdom, however, Thebes became the center of the vast cult of Amun and, for five hundred years, the repository of Egypt's royal dead and of their high-ranking Theban courtiers. Even after Thebes had yielded its status as a primary royal residence to other cities in the Nile Valley and its royal necropolis had been systematically looted for the reclamation of its fabled wealth, the city and its environs remained one of the great religious and administrative centers of the country. Over the course of the first millennium B.C., the Theban province would not infrequently serve as an independent point of resistance against both native and foreign dynasts, yet even these latter kings restored and embellished the city's already ancient temples with their own additions, while the private cemeteries on the western bank of the Nile continued to be used, reused, and expanded. Even with its faded glories, the city was celebrated by classical authors as "hundred-gated Thebes."

The richness and proliferation of sacred sites in the Theban area, then, offer enormous scope for investigation on the function and ritual significance of its monuments (or even discrete portions thereof), as well as on the social, economic, and propagandistic uses which they served. In addition, given the long history of architectural development of these monuments, diachronic studies of specific rites, as well as the adaptation of certain sites to different uses, through physical, representational, or textual alteration, present important opportunities for further research.

It is even worth considering, in the case of Egypt or indeed of any culture, precisely what constitutes "sacred" space per se, for as Gabriel Cooney has suggested in regard to Neolithic landscapes, the concepts of sacred and secular should not be viewed as opposites, nor as an ineluctable choice between two stark alternatives. The sacred and the secular are "not separate, but interwoven aspects of life"; further, that "the sacred is a current underlying all aspects of everyday life and there are specific times, places, and events when the sacred comes to the fore" (Cooney 1994, 33). The nature of land use in the Nile Valley over the millennia has determined that, in a general way, pharaonic monuments are to be found either along the edge of the desert, comparatively safe from the encroachment of expanding agrarian demands, or on high ground in the midst of present cities and towns, where the ancient buildings have been incorporated into the everyday routine of the population. Through accidents of preservation, then, the vast majority of Egyptian remains are primarily mortuary in purpose (those situated at the periphery of the valley and of inhabited areas) or related to divine cults (more centrally located along the river). Thus, most Egyptian monuments would normally fall under the category of what may technically be defined as sacred. To be sure, a number of pharaonic town sites have been excavated as well, but for various reasons most of these were planned and built in response to a centralized state initiative driven by the requirements of royal residential or mortuary projects. Yet major studies have usefully explored the purely secular aspects of temple establishments (Gardiner 1941–1948; Haring 1997), and it has long been recognized that even domestic architecture in Egypt answered by various degrees the devotional requirements of town dwellers, as the excavations of Deir el-Medina and Tell el-Amarna have revealed (for example, Bruyère 1939; Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933).

The papers presented in this volume not only attest to the potentially vast reach of the conference topic, but also reflect a rising interest in the field of Egyptology in the interplay between physical ritual spaces and the ceremonial activities for which they were conceived, built, decorated — and even adapted for other purposes. Much of the groundwork for such analysis was laid by Dieter Arnold in his seminal monograph *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion* (1962), whose cogent observations demonstrated the intimate relationship between wall decoration and ritual use in the daily divine cult, and a series of important conferences have been held on related themes, in particular the layout and functioning of the Egyptian temple (Gundlach and Rochholz 1994; Kurth 1995; Quirke 1997; Gundlach and Rochholz 1998; and Beinlich et al. 2002). As in other cultures, sacred monuments built by the Egyptians were usually established in places that had long held special significance, reflecting the truism that holy sites tend to retain their degree of sacredness over extended periods of time. The one startling exception in

Egypt is the city of Akhetaton (modern Tell el-Amarna), founded by Akhenaton on a barren stretch of desert in Middle Egypt, but even this case explicitly confirms the general rule, since the king boasts of his divine inspiration to select the site for the cult of his private deity, the Aton, precisely (and provocatively) because it was not the province of any other deity (Murnane and Meltzer 1995, 7, 73–81). In addition, temples or tombs may be found near natural features of the landscape that might inspire associative sacral significance (Bradley 1993, 44), such as the pyramidal Gurn, the desert settings of Abydos and Tell el-Amarna (Richards 1999), or the uraeus-like outcropping of Gebel Barkal (Kendall 2004).

Moreover, the character of Egyptian religious architecture is clear on both the cultural and individual levels. The assertion that “architectural space articulates the social order” (Tuan 1977, 116) is amply confirmed by the architectonic forms and plan of the Egyptian temple, which represent the emergent creation, as well as by the varying degrees of public, priestly, and royal access to the temple itself (O’Connor 1991; Arnold 1992, 40–58; Schafer 1997, 2–9; Gundlach 2001). Social and cosmic order are here jointly stratified and glorified, and in the observance of religious ritual within such a context, space and time thereby fuse: “the past reaches right into the present, and the two can not be separated” (Bradley 1993, 2; see also Schafer 1997, 2). Sacred space can scarcely be studied apart from sacred time (for example, Assmann 1991; idem 2001, 53–82).

In essence, sacred space may be said to presuppose the actualization of ritual within it and inherently provides a setting that both frames religious ceremony and can even elicit a performative response on the part of the officiant. As Kathleen Ashley has remarked, “the relationship between [ritual and artworks that serve as ceremonial foci] is not unidirectional (art *used in* ritual) but reciprocal; ritual creates its artworks while the art or architecture also enables ritual activity” (Ashley 1992, 10). The ancient visitor, whether involved in ritual or not, must have experienced the spaces and vistas of temples and tombs in a variety of ways (Tilley 1994, 14–17), in encounters that were hardly static, but always dynamic. Nor were such encounters uniform over time. As Richard Bradley has commented (1993, 45), “[monuments] constrain the movements of the people who visit them, and provide a kind of stage setting for the performance of ritual and ceremonial.” For Egypt this observation is simply illustrated by the expansion of the essential temple plan during the course of the New Kingdom for the purpose of framing royal ideology and pietistic devotion to the gods in a colossal, propagandistic setting that utterly outsized the primordial divine cults whose sanctuaries remained modest by comparison and whose daily ritual requirements remained, ostensibly, the *raison d’être* of the temple.

Moreover, “monuments feed off the associations, not only of places, but also of other monuments” (Bradley 1993, 129), an important factor that broadens the study of sacred places to embrace entire topographies; and the nature of such sacred landscapes is similarly determined on both the cultural and individual level. Christopher Tilley (1994, 34) has concisely encapsulated ritual landscape as “a signifying system through which the social is reproduced and transformed, explored, and structured — process organized.” One site in Egypt — the unique case of Tell el-Amarna — has in fact been viewed as an individual’s response to organizing his own innovative sacred “process.” The suggestion has been advanced by David O’Connor (1989) that Akhenaton’s capital city at Tell el-Amarna may be viewed as consisting of two distinct realms, a ceremonial one celebrating the syncretism of the king with his solar deity, and another devoted to the more practical requirements of an earthly ruler governing his terrestrial realm, the entire site having been laid out along a north–south *axis mundi*. And the long history of the intensively reused private necropolis in western Thebes certainly exemplifies Aubrey Cannon’s argument for the importance of living social memory and its power to transform a mortuary landscape (Cannon 2002).

More generally, Robert Layton and Peter J. Ucko (1999) have remarked that, because cognitive systems are not *a priori* determined by their environment, any number of solutions are possible for human activity within it; there is a collective freedom to choose, and indeed a collective imperative to do so. At the same time, cognitive choices imply the adaptive potential of cultural traits and determine the ways in which people respond to the constraints and opportunities of their environment (see also Tilley 1994, 67). Timothy Darvill has aptly observed that individuals have the freedom to refine existing cultural norms, for “landscape is a time-dependent, spatially referenced, socially constituted template or perspective of the world that is held in common by individuals and groups and is applied in a variety of ways to the domain in which they find themselves” (Darvill 1999, 109).

It is especially fortunate that, at least for Egypt, the physical remains and extant iconography of sacred architecture may be combined with textual sources and archaeological finds in ways that elucidate the function of sacred space as initially conceived and which also reveal adaptations to human need or shifts in cultural perception. Such an approach is equally pertinent to architecture, whether on a modest or grandiose scale, to processional axes that link sacral structures, and to larger physical and conceptual landscapes.

The individual contributions in this volume are as varied as their presenters. Martina Ullmann reviews the earliest evidence for cult practices in the Theban landscape, starting with textual references and architectural elements from the Eleventh Dynasty, together with the first in situ remains from the early Middle Kingdom at Karnak, which presumably enlarge on a yet earlier structure. She points out that the first indications of processions linking Karnak to the temples on the west bank also date from this period, and she also traces the north–south axial route between Karnak and an early avatar of Luxor temple, implying that a close relationship between the cult of Amun and the cult of the king was an integral part of Theban religious dogma from an early date.

Two contributors focus on the specific theme of building inscriptions in Theban temples. Largely on the basis of New Kingdom examples, Silke Grallert categorizes this genre of inscription according to internal grammatical features and to the positions they occupy within an architectural context, that is, frequently on non-iconic elements and never within the confines of a ritual scene. She further discusses the spatial organization of such texts within the architecture of Theban temples; they tend to cluster along primary axes and on elements with no independent cultic valence. For Luxor temple, such characteristics permit her to postulate indications of earlier structures now dismantled. Brett McClain, working from the lexicography of Ptolemaic building texts, observes that the sacred landscape of Thebes in the Ptolemaic period is notably different from that found in other locations in Egypt, which were largely rebuilt on a massive scale. The peculiarly Theban reality is reflected in the architectural terminology used to define sacred space and reveals the Ptolemaic veneration of the older monuments of Thebes, through their repair and reuse as well as through innovations such as an enriched variation of architectural terminology.

The intersection of temple architecture and cult is the focus of Dimitri Laboury's article. He presents an examination of the botanical suite of Thutmose III, taking into account its unusually concealed access, the disposition and proportions of the interior rooms, and the placement of statuary and other sacred furniture. Working from textual references of later periods, he suggests the suite was specifically designed for the initiation ritual by which priests were inducted into service of Amun at Karnak.

Peter Brand considers the decorative peripheries of temple walls, those spaces not originally incorporated into formal temple decoration but which served in later times to accommodate later commemorative tableaux and *ex voto* inscriptions, as well as textual marginalia and private graffiti. These marginal areas were employed for a variety of ad hoc purposes, both private and royal: pharaonic ideology, the publicizing of royal piety to various gods, and the adaptation of outer surfaces for popular forms of worship, as indicated by physical evidence for inlays and veilings.

The sacred space of funerary monuments of western Thebes receives equal attention among these workshop contributions. Harold M. Hays and William Schenck analyze the physical location of certain Pyramid Texts in both public and inaccessible portions of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, as well as their relation to funerary practice. Older spells that once consisted of recitation by the beneficiary have been altered to involve a series of participants, indicating their deliberate adaptation as utterances of collective ritual character, in which the beneficiary is no longer the speaker. The use of Pyramid Texts alongside spells from the Book of the Dead also indicate a New Kingdom accommodation of older texts to current mortuary service in Theban tombs.

The confluence of architecture, text, and funerary furniture offers Catharine Roehrig the opportunity to examine one of the subsidiary chambers, designated as "Ja," of the tombs of the Valley of the Kings. In the earliest royal tombs, chamber Ja is to be found off the burial chamber at the location adorned with the 5th hour of Amduat, the nethermost portion of the underworld that contains the cavern of Sokar, a section that also abuts the 12th hour, the moment of solar rebirth. The orientation of the sarcophagus and later Osiride imagery within Ja suggest that this humble room is associated with the transfiguration of the king as Osiris, a connection lost during Ramesside times, with the accompanying shift in tomb axis and the different positioning of the sarcophagus.

Patterns of reuse and adaptation evident in Theban tombs (using two Ramesside tombs as examples) is the theme addressed by Boyo Ockinga, who notes the free employment of reused blocks taken from royal monuments in the construction of private tombs. The quarrying of new tombs in antiquity had an inevitable impact on neighboring older tombs, either in terms of accessibility or even outright destruction. Shifting patterns of use are detectable in the gradual expansion of underground apartments as needed for family members, and again much later in both the Coptic and modern periods.

Heike Behlmer considers the later monastic settlements that were built over and among the monuments of the Theban necropolis, focusing in particular on the archaeological and textual evidence from the tombs of Amenemhab and Nakhtmin. Noting the prominence of Apa Ananias in the documents, she is able to propose that this well-known bishop of Armant was in fact a sometime resident of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.



The concluding contribution of Kees van der Spek offers a reminder that the past is not to be viewed as a moribund moment in time, or even one that has entirely vanished. On the contrary, physical surroundings provide a powerful venue for reinterpreting human requirements and perceptions, even in the modern world. To judge from local religious and social practices at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, it may be seen how space and mind within a landscape are inextricably linked in a vital, ever-changing way, either through adaptation in formal practices or through more direct descent from ancient times.

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## PROGRAMS OF THE THEBAN WORKSHOP, 1999–2003

“THEBES AND THE RISE OF EMPIRE: THE MIDDLE AND NEW KINGDOMS 1”  
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

APRIL 26, 1999

JAMES ALLEN, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*

“The Internal Administration of the Late Eleventh Dynasty”

GAY ROBINS, *Emory University*

“Art and Legitimation in Early Middle Kingdom Thebes”

DANIEL POLZ, *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Cairo*

“The *saff*-Tombs of Thebes: An Attempt to Bridge a Gap”

CHRIS BENNETT, *University of California at San Diego*

“Chronological Issues in the Seventeenth Dynasty”

PETER LAVOCARA, *Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University*

“The Theban Empire Strikes Back: The Strategic Location of Deir el-Ballas during the Second Intermediate Period”

EDNA RUSSMANN, *Brooklyn Museum of Art*

“Theban Art of the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Dynasties”

“THEBES AND THE RISE OF EMPIRE: THE MIDDLE AND NEW KINGDOMS 2”  
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE

SEPTEMBER 15, 2000

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“Rethinking the Early Middle Kingdom at Thebes: The Slain Soldiers”

JOHN COLEMAN DARNELL, *Yale University*

“Theban Western Deserts from Dynasty 13 to 17”

PETER F. DORMAN, *University of Chicago*

“The God’s Wives of Amun in the Early 18th Dynasty”

PETER LACOVARA, *Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University*

“The Theban Region in Dynasty 17”

STEPHEN HARVEY, *Memphis State University*

“In the Shadow of Deir el-Bahri: Evidence for the Origin of the 18th Dynasty at Thebes,”

“TOPICS ON THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS”  
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SEPTEMBER 29, 2001

PETER PICCIONE, *College of Charleston*

“Patterns of Later Use and Reuse of the Tombs of Ahmose (TT 121) and Ray (TT 72)”

MELINDA HARTWIG, *Georgia State University*

“Iconography, Identity and Cult in Theban Tomb Painting”

ROLAND TEFNIN, *Université Libre de Bruxelles*

“Three Campaigns of Archaeological Research and Conservation Work in the Chapels of Sennefer (TT 96) and Amenemope (TT 29)”

BETSY BRYAN, *Johns Hopkins University*

“War and Peace: Iconography and Ideology in Some 18th Dynasty Theban Tombs”

KEM FRONABARGER, *College of Charleston*

“Geology and Its Relation to Theban Tomb Construction”

“THEBES IN THE LATE PERIOD”  
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE

APRIL 29, 2002

W. RAYMOND JOHNSON, *University of Chicago*

“Late Period Sculptural Restorations in Thebes: Three Case Studies”

EMILY TEETER, *University of Chicago*

“Piety in First Millennium B.C. Thebes”

RICHARD FAZZINI, *Brooklyn Museum of Art*

“It’s Not Always Size That Counts: Some Small Structures in the Temple of Mut”

CYNTHIA MAY SHEKHOLESLAMI, *American University of Cairo*

“A Family of Priests of Montu in 25th Dynasty Thebes: The Baraize Find from Deir el-Bahari”

JACK A. JOSEPHSON

“The Transitional Period in Thebes, 663–648 B.C.”

RICHARD JASNOW, *Johns Hopkins University*

“Through Demotic Eyes: Reflections of the Theban Past in Graeco-Roman Texts”

“SACRED SPACES AND THEIR FUNCTION THROUGH TIME”  
BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

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MOHAMMED EL-BIALY, *Supreme Council of Antiquities, Cairo*  
“Egyptology and the Evaluation of the Sites of Western Thebes”

DIMITRI LABOURY, *University of Liège*  
“Archaeological and Textual Evidence for the Function of the ‘Botanical Garden’ of Karnak in the Initiation Ritual”

MARTINA ULLMANN, *University of Munich*  
“Origins of Thebes as a Ritual Landscape”

SILKE GRALLERT, *University of Bonn*  
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PETER BRAND, *University of Memphis*  
“Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: Adaptations of Existing Monuments for Political and Pious Needs in the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods”

SEPTEMBER 16, 2003

NIGEL STRUDWICK, *British Museum*  
“Reuse of New Kingdom Tombs: Was it Convenience or Was the Ground Sacred?”

BOYO OCKINGA, *Macquarie University*  
“Use, Reuse, and Abuse of ‘Sacred Space’: Examples from TT 148 and 233 at Dra Abu al-Naga, Thebes”

HAROLD M. HAYS AND WILLIAM SCHENCK, *University of Chicago*  
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CATHERINE ROEHRIG, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*  
“The Possible Significance of Storage Room Ja off the Burial Chamber in the New Kingdom Royal Tombs”

JOHN TAYLOR, *British Museum*  
“Sacred Space and the Mummy: Interpreting the Iconography of 22nd Dynasty Coffins”

HEIKE BEHLMER, *University of Göttingen*  
“Coptic Use of Pharaonic Space in Western Thebes”

KEES VAN DER SPEK, *The Australian National University*  
“Feasts, Fertility, and Fear: Qurnawi Spirituality in the Ancient Theban Landscape”



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PETER F. DORMAN, *The Oriental Institute*,  
and BETSY M. BRYAN, *Johns Hopkins University*





## 1

# EGYPTOLOGY AND THE EVALUATION OF THE SITES OF WESTERN THEBES

MOHAMMED EL-BIALY, GENERAL DIRECTOR FOR THE ANTIQUITIES OF UPPER EGYPT,  
SUPREME COUNCIL OF ANTIQUITIES

If the era of the search for treasures at archaeological sites has undoubtedly passed, one may still believe in the importance of sponsors and donors. Their support is more necessary than ever, for Egyptology has extended the range of its endeavors. Even though official institutions continue to finance fieldwork, research, and study, they are nevertheless not always the means for resolving other problems that may confront archaeologists in the field. In this regard, the protection of sites is an aspect of Egyptology far too long ignored. To this neglect one may ascribe the loss of a good deal of information useful to our understanding of pharaonic civilization.

Since the nineteenth century, Egyptology has fortunately evolved into a much broader intellectual movement. It has become a truly scientific discipline pursued not solely by Egyptological researchers, but by other specialists as well. The field of research is vast, for it is no longer simply a question of the search for beautiful objects alone. Today, Egyptology takes into consideration the context from which come the testaments and vestiges of a civilization that spreads across several millennia. Today, Egyptology must have recourse to collaborators from a vast array of disciplines: anthropologists, archaeobotanists, archaeozoologists, ceramicists, geologists (geophysicists), computer science experts, and chemists, all of whom, in the application of their specialties, participate in the spread and development of Egyptology.

But if research has progressed in desirable directions, there is a complementary relationship which should not be overlooked by Egyptologists, or, in a more general manner, by archaeologists of our time. I would like to emphasize the importance of the preservation of the sites where they have carried out work, and with which they have a relationship, even a moral responsibility. For too long in the past, efforts at conservation did not accompany excavation. Today things have changed. Since UNESCO has now established an inventory of the archaeological sites perceived to be among the most important, and classified as belonging to the patrimony of humanity, each country must be concerned with the protection and appreciation of this heritage. In Egypt, a number of sites figure on the list of the world's patrimony; among this heritage is the site of Thebes, which, by virtue of its wealth of monuments is one of the most celebrated sites on earth.

In keeping with this international convention, for several years the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Egypt has desired that each archaeological mission, Egyptian or foreign, assume responsibility for the important duty of conservation, to be undertaken alongside research, study, and fieldwork. In Thebes, there is now a proper equilibrium between fieldwork and conservation for archaeological missions, which have been mindful of this balance of responsibility. At sites already explored in Thebes, several interesting projects have resulted from restoration and evaluation. I cite two examples:

- In the Valley of the Kings, the Supreme Council of Antiquities, in close cooperation with foreign missions (Swiss, English, French, Canadian, American), has taken up the task of clearing the royal necropolis of debris caused by torrential desert downpours and reconstructing the entrances of the tombs in order to prevent future damage.
- At Deir el-Bahari, the Polish mission, in collaboration with the Supreme Council of Antiquities, has recently completed an important phase of work, allowing access to the third terrace at Hatshepsut temple.

Clearly, conservation and restoration are together a facet of research. One should not forget that it is often because of such work that exceptional discoveries have been made. Allow me to recall that it was during interventions related to the restoration of Luxor temple in 1989 that the Luxor statue cachette was discovered — an impressive ensemble of sculpture that has enriched both the Luxor Museum and the history of pharaonic art.

Works of cleaning, conservation, and restoration can only further the aims of Egyptology. Useful for the discipline, they allow, alongside excavation, the acquisition of new understanding. Recently, while searching for the ancient configuration of the Valley of the Kings and its history, the Swiss mission directed by Elena Grothe and the international team directed by Nicholas Reeves and Geoffrey Martin made significant discoveries. The preliminary results of the work have been the discovery of hundreds of ostraca and artists' installations in the heart of the royal necropolis.

The management of archaeological sites should also be taken into consideration, for it constitutes the final stage of research, which has sometimes required decades of fieldwork. Publication and preservation are the most tangible results of archaeological work. Also from this perspective, the idea of presenting material discovered during the excavation process in its context, rather than allowing it to disappear into the storage magazines, is receiving more attention. Creating site museums is certainly the only policy that will prevent hundreds of objects and monuments from being ignored, forgotten, or becoming inaccessible.

On the west bank of Thebes, such projects are already coming to fruition. At the temple of Merneptah there exists a small museum, conceived by Horst Jaritz. Not only is the history of work at the site presented in a series of photographic panels, but a number of archaeological finds made at the site are also displayed. In the Valley of the Kings, where work is underway to recapture the ancient appearance of the site, the tomb of Ramesses X (KV 18) is in the process of preparation. There visitors will see the electrical equipment which Howard Carter installed in the first corridor in order to illumine the Valley of the Kings in the early twentieth century, and cases will present the most beautiful of the figured ostraca from the nearby Ramesside installations, excavated and restored by Elena Grothe. In the long term, one may hope for the creation of a true Museum of the Valley of the Kings, in which will be presented the fruits of ongoing excavations. The history of the excavation of the tomb of Tutankhamun will also be celebrated in a specific place: the expedition house of Howard Carter, which is now in the course of complete restoration.

These endeavors, closely linked to the history of the west bank of Thebes, should not cause us to overlook the ethnographic or ethnological aspects of the region since the time of Carter, as the landscape has changed considerably. The necropolis hillsides are populated, and today we are working toward the coexistence of the past and the present. The traditional houses of Upper Egypt also belong to the country's patrimony, and it is not necessary to be prejudiced toward the ancient tombs in their environs. Sensitive to the concept of "cultural landscape," UNESCO and the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Egypt have to join together to seek an appropriate solution to the coexistence of the ancient and modern.

There are also those who feel passionately about the Theban hills, such as Carolyn Simpson, who has already exhibited nineteenth-century drawings — among them those of Robert Hay of Linplum — in one of the houses of Qurna. This sort of temporary exhibit deserves more attention, and thought should be given to how such events could be given assistance and sponsorship.

Finally, our primary desire is to protect this precious heritage and to preserve it for future generations.

## ABBREVIATION

UNESCO

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

## 2

## THEBES: ORIGINS OF A RITUAL LANDSCAPE

MARTINA ULLMANN, UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH

Ancient Thebes, with its dozens of temples and several necropoleis, is undoubtedly one of the most important sacred areas of ancient Egypt. Primarily during the New Kingdom, a ritual landscape developed with a complex architectural and ritual structure. A multitude of cult buildings were linked together theologically in manifold ways. Festival processions regularly underscored the underlying religious ideas and presented them to a broader public.

The term “ritual landscape” — in German, *Kultlandschaft* — was originally coined to describe clusters of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age monuments in southern England, in particular the ceremonial monuments around Stonehenge and Avebury (Bradley 2001).<sup>1</sup> Generally, it designates a landscape, the physiognomy and function of which are determined by religiously motivated activities (Brunotte 2002), a phenomenon that becomes manifest especially in accumulations of cult sites. With regard to ancient Egypt, particular stress may be laid upon the linking up of monuments into a kind of ritual network.

Some reflections on a reconstruction of the origins and early development of the Theban ritual landscape are presented in the following contribution. I concentrate on the analysis and the interpretation of the archaeological remains of the landscape, that is, the anthropogenic aspects, whereas the natural components — for example, the extent to which natural factors contributed to the location of a sacred site — are not dealt with.<sup>2</sup>

The starting point must be the earliest building history of the Karnak temple, which can be traced back to the first half of the Eleventh Dynasty. A statue of Niuserra, which Legrain found in the cachette at Karnak in 1904 (Bothmer 1974),<sup>3</sup> is the only indirect clue to the existence of a temple in the area of Karnak dating from the Old Kingdom. But the original location of the statue cannot be verified, nor does one know to which god the temple in which it was placed was dedicated. Bothmer assumed that the statue had belonged to an unknown temple of Amun from the Old Kingdom (Bothmer 1974, 169–70), but this suggestion has not yet been confirmed.<sup>4</sup> The gods mentioned in texts from the Theban area dating to the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period rather suggest that a temple existed for Montu, the foremost deity of the Theban nome at that time (Werner 1985, chapters 1 and 2; Saleh 1977, 24 [TT 186, Ihy]; Clère and Vandier 1948; and Schenkel 1965). However, no such installation for Montu dating to the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period has yet been found in the area of Karnak (Werner, *op. cit.*).

The oldest reference to a temple of Amun comes from the fragmentary stela of an *jmj-rꜥ ḥm-ntr* named *Rḥwj* (fig. 2.1). Petrie found the object in tomb B 33 in the Antef cemetery in western Thebes (Petrie 1909, 17, pl. X).<sup>5</sup> The relevant passage of the text reads as follows:

*jw wdꜥ.n(=j) pr Jmn rnp.wt ꜥsn.t (n.t) ḥtm rḥs r dj.t ꜥ m wp.t-rꜥ nb n wdḥw =w r mnj m wp-rnp.t nb*

I supplied the house of Amun (in) years of scarcity of shutting off the slaughter, in order to provide the altar tables at each opening of the month and to endow (them) at each opening of the year.

<sup>1</sup> During recent years this term, or variations of it, became widely popular in describing religious phenomena around the world; see, for example, Steinsapir 1998 on ritual space and its relationship to the landscape in Roman Syria; Bauer 1998 on the sacred landscape of the Inca; Smith and Brookes 2001 with contributions by several authors related to landscape and ritual space in different cultures; and Gutschow 2003 with papers dealing with various aspects of the sacredness of Himalayan landscapes. In Egyptological literature the term has played no significant role until now.

<sup>2</sup> As a basic reference to issues of landscape, places, and monuments, see Tilley 1994. I owe this reference to Kees van der Spek, Australian National University.

<sup>3</sup> The upper part of the statue is now kept in New York at the Rochester Museum, no. 42.54; the lower part is in the Cairo Museum, CG 42003.

<sup>4</sup> For the much-disputed question of the existence of a temple of Amun at Karnak as early as the Old Kingdom, see the opposing opinions of Daumas 1967 and Wildung 1969, as well as Barguet 1962, 2–3.

<sup>5</sup> Today it is part of the collection of the Manchester Museum, no. 5052. See also Clère and Vandier 1948, § 7, and Schenkel 1965, no. 18.

There is no date preserved in the text, however the archaeological context, the phraseology, and paleography leave no doubt about its Eleventh Dynasty origin, in all probability before the reign of Mentuhotep II. In particular, the detailed offering formula, *ḥtp dj njswt ḥtp (dj n) Jnpw*, points to an date early in the Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Thus this text proves that a temple of Amun existed in Thebes from the reign of Mentuhotep II, at the latest.

The god Amun is mentioned together with Montu, Ra, and Hathor in a relief fragment which is kept in the Museo Egizio in Turin (Vandier 1964).<sup>7</sup> Its exact origin is not known. It may have belonged to the decoration of a temple in the Theban area, but could also have been part of a tomb.<sup>8</sup> The text emphasizes the legitimation of the ruling king by his actions in favor of the above-mentioned gods. Based on the paleography of the inscription, Schenkel proposes a date in the early Eleventh Dynasty, that is, during the reign of Antef I or Antef II (Schenkel 1978, 46–47 [doc. 14]). Recently, Ludwig Morenz has suggested a slightly later date for the relief fragment, during the time of Antef II or Antef III (Morenz 2003, 113). More evidence for the god Amun dated to the reign of Antef III can be found on a stela from Thebes, on which the man's name *Jmn-m-ḥꜣ.t* appears (Clère and Vandier 1948, § 22; Schenkel 1965, no. 77).<sup>9</sup>

The oldest architectural fragment from the Karnak temple is an eight-sided sandstone column of Antef II (fig. 2.2) (Zimmer 1987). It was found in 1985 in a reused context in the eastern area of the so-called Couloir de la Jeunesse, resting on the lowest course of a mudbrick wall which dates to before the New Kingdom, scarcely 1 m below the contemporary floor level. It is preserved up to a height of 1.48 m, with the lower part broken away. The diameter of the shaft at the top is 0.30 m, gradually increasing toward the bottom. One of the eight facets of the column is decorated with a vertical line of text, inscribed in a long cartouche and crowned with a *šn*-ring:

*Jmn-Rꜥ nb p.t šꜣm tꜣ jwn Wꜣs.t-nḥt ḥsj(ꜣf) mrjꜣf Ḥrw njswt-bjt sꜣ Rꜥ Jnj-jtjꜣf ꜣꜣ nḥt msj Nfrw jrj.nꜣf m mn-wꜣf n ntr pn [...]*

(Monument in favor of)<sup>10</sup> Amun-Ra, lord of heaven, (by) the mighty of the land, pillar of Victorious Thebes,<sup>11</sup> (his) praised one, his beloved one, the (protecting) Horus,<sup>12</sup> king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Ra Antef the great one, the victorious one, born of *Nfrw*, which he made as his monument on behalf of this god [...]

Thus this text informs us that Antef II erected a building for Amun-Ra,<sup>13</sup> which certainly was located not far from the spot where the column was found. Similar to the situation in the Satet temple at Elephantine, where fragments of several almost identical columns of Antef II and Antef III have been found (Kaiser et al. 1993, 145–52, pls. 28–29), the column from Karnak was probably part of a portico in front of a modest temple structure.

No finds from the reign of Antef III are known from Karnak.

Only a few objects from Karnak can be assigned to Nebhepetra Mentuhotep II. In no instance does the provenance provide any information about the original placing:

- A granite offering table (Habachi 1963, 32–33, fig. 12),<sup>14</sup> on which Mentuhotep II is described as “beloved of the lord of Abydos,” an epithet that may refer to Khentiamtiu, who is also mentioned in the decoration of the *kꜣ*-chapel of Mentuhotep II at Abydos. The object was found at Karnak, but the exact findspot is unknown.
- A large offering table of red granite, 4.50 m broad × 1.50 m wide × 0.75 m high (Habachi 1963, 33–35, fig. 13, pl. 9).<sup>15</sup> Habachi found many fragments of this object in the magazine south of the first court at Karnak and proposed a reconstruction that shows four basins with inscriptions situated between them and along the sides of the object itself. On the vertical sides of the table, Nile

<sup>6</sup> Schenkel (1965, 29) categorized this under his “texts without a dynasty reference after Dynasty 6” and noted that it is probably the oldest text from Thebes in this category. A few years later he proposed a date either in the time of Antef III or of Mentuhotep II (Schenkel 1974, 281). Barguet (1962, 2) thought the stela originated before the reign of Antef II.

<sup>7</sup> Turin Suppl. 1310. See also Franke 1990, 126–27, and Morenz 2003, 112–14.

<sup>8</sup> Morenz (2003, 114) proposes an origin from a temple at Karnak, but this remains most doubtful.

<sup>9</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 14.2.6.

<sup>10</sup> For the understanding of the dedication formula as a perfective relative form of the verb *jrj* referring to the object which bears the text, see Grallert 2001, especially pp. 34–42 and 240–41 (inscription of Antef II from Karnak).

<sup>11</sup> See Franke 1990, 124–25, and Darnell 1995, 62 n. 82.

<sup>12</sup> For the reading of the sign “falcon with spread wings and *šn*-ring” as “protecting Horus,” see Ullmann 2005, 166–72.

<sup>13</sup> Morenz (2003, 114–17) proposes to read “(Montu-)Ra, the secret one” instead of “Amun-Ra” in the beginning of the text, but his argumentation is far from convincing; for a detailed rejection, see Ullmann 2005.

<sup>14</sup> Cairo Museum, CG 23007.

<sup>15</sup> The base was reinscribed as a stela in the time of Ramesses II.

gods and representatives of several nomes are depicted. The royal titulary dates this offering table to the third part of the reign of Mentuhotep II; here the king is beloved of “all the gods of Thebes.”

- A lintel of red granite, 2.29 m broad × 1.08 m high × 0.39 m deep (Habachi 1963, 35–26, fig. 14, pl. 10a).<sup>16</sup> It was found built into a wall of reused blocks in the northeastern part of the Amun temple at Karnak, between the east gate of the temenos wall and the eastern temple of Ramesses II (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 209). The lintel shows Mentuhotep II sitting on a throne between Seth and Nekhbet on one side and Horus and Wadjet on the other. In combination with the depiction of the *sm3-t3wj* emblem on the side of the throne, the scene provides a clear reference to the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. The king is identified by his prenomen in its latest form, which was in use in the third part of his reign. The date of the lintel is much disputed. It has been assigned to one of the successors of Mentuhotep II (Bothmer 1979, 22, fig. 14), but other scholars have dated it to Ramesside times (Wildung 1984, 61)<sup>17</sup> or have suggested a reworking after the Amarna period (Gabolde 1998a, 112). In her work about the development of relief sculptural schools of the late Eleventh Dynasty, however, Rita Freed has argued convincingly in favor of an origin near the end of the reign of Mentuhotep II (Freed 1984, 51–55).<sup>18</sup> Especially noteworthy are the similarities to a scene on the north outer wall of the sanctuary in the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari (Arnold 1974b, pl. 10).
- A sandstone fragment with the cartouche of Mentuhotep II, found in the Cour de la cachette among blocks of Amenophis I (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 135).<sup>19</sup>
- An inscribed fragment found inside the third pylon (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 73), which should be dated to the reign of Mentuhotep II by its style of writing (Schenkel 1965, no. 340). The inscription reads as follows: [...] *r nhḥ prj h3* [...].

From Seankhkara Mentuhotep III only the lower part of a kneeling calcite statue is attested. It was found in the northern court of Thutmose III behind the sixth pylon (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 93).<sup>20</sup>

There are no finds of Mentuhotep IV from Karnak.

No architectural objects from Karnak can be assigned to Amenemhat I with certainty. What we do have from his reign consists mainly of:

- A red granite pedestal found in the temple of Ptah, which is surely not its original position, 1.27 m wide × 0.92 m broad × 0.60 m high (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 200 [23]; Legrain 1902, 102; and Mariette-Bey 1875, 41–42, pl. 8e).<sup>21</sup> On its upper surface are grooves for a naos with a two-sided door. It bears a dedication formula of Amenemhet I on behalf of “Amun-Ra, lord of the thrones of the two lands.” To judge from the text, the naos, which once stood on the top of the pedestal, held a statue of the god Amun-Ra, presumably designed originally for the temple of Amun at Karnak.
- A red granite statue group found near the so-called Middle Kingdom court in the second small room south of passage XXIV, 0.75 m high × 0.87 m broad (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 107; and Seidel 1996, 65–67, doc. 31, pl. 22a–b).<sup>22</sup> Only the lower part of the object is preserved. Inscribed with the name of Amenemhet I, the dyad depicts the king seated beside a deity, who is probably to be identified as Amun. The figure of Amun was presumably destroyed during the Amarna period.
- A so-called statue-pillar in red granite found in the northern corridor of the center of the Amun temple can possibly be attributed to Amenemhet I (or, alternatively, to Senwosret I): 1.58 m high (without the base) × 0.82 m broad (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 103 [307]; and Seidel 1996, 67–68, pl. 23a–c). The

<sup>16</sup> Luxor Museum, no. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Vandier (1954, 862 n. 4) has stated that the lintel probably belonged to a chapel dedicated later to the memory of the king. His assumption seems to be based on the provenance of the piece, whereas Wildung argues on iconographical and stylistical grounds.

<sup>18</sup> Habachi (1963, 36) dated the object into the reign of Mentuhotep II, as well.

<sup>19</sup> Cairo Museum, T.R. 25.10.17.11.

<sup>20</sup> Cairo Museum, CG 42006.

<sup>21</sup> Mariette and Porter and Moss, followed by Seidel (1996, 66 n. 106), wrongly describe the object as an offering table. The material is red granite, not black granodiorite as stated by Gabolde 1998a, 113.

<sup>22</sup> The statue group which Hirsch (1994, 139) lists as her number 4 among the objects of Amenemhat I from Karnak is identical with the group dealt with here (her number 2); compare Seidel 1996, 66, n. 106. Berman (1985, 55–56) also assumed that fragments of two statue groups existed.

king, Montu, and Hathor are each depicted twice in very high carved relief standing around a massive pillar. The same type of statue is known from the reign of Thutmose III, who probably erected it in the *Akh-menu*,<sup>23</sup> and in fact the statue-pillar noted here is commonly attributed to Thutmose III. However, based on the similarity to an object of the same type from the temple of Montu at Armant, which is dated by an inscription to Amenemhet I, and on stylistic differences with the example of Thutmose III from Karnak, Matthias Seidel, in his work on royal statue groups, assigns the object from the northern corridor at Karnak to Amenemhet I (or alternatively to Senwosret I). This very exceptional type of statuary could have been erected in the court of a temple, probably close to the so-called Middle Kingdom court. It is possible that the depiction of Montu and Hathor may be understood as a reference to the integration of the cult of these deities into the Karnak temple at the very beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>24</sup>

The archaeological situation in the area of the so-called Middle Kingdom court has been investigated in recent years, in particular by Luc Gabolde (Gabolde 1995; 1998b; Gabolde et al. 1999). Based on the latest work carried out there by the Centre franco-egyptien at the beginning of 1998, our present knowledge can be summarized as follows (Gabolde et al. 1999):<sup>25</sup>

In the western part of the Middle Kingdom court, directly to the east of the Hatshepsut rooms, the remains of a platform approximately 10 × 10 m in size are to be found (fig. 2.3). The platform is made up of two — originally probably three — courses of sandstone blocks and contains some reused sandstone and limestone material. Based on its position beneath the westernmost of the four granite thresholds of Senwosret I in the Middle Kingdom court, this platform must be dated earlier than the temple built there by Senwosret I. The sandstone used in the platform belongs to the same characteristic type used for the column of Antef II. This kind of material was also employed by Mentuhotep II in his temple at Deir el-Bahari, and it was used in the first small temple at Medinet Habu as well. This platform must be part of the foundation of a building built prior to the Amun-Ra temple of Senwosret I at Karnak. The reused material shows clearly that the building erected upon the platform was not the first structure there.

Two sandstone column bases are included in the reused material (Gabolde et al. 1999, 44–45). The traces upon their surface prove that eight-sided columns with a diameter of 0.57 m were erected upon them. For the lower shaft of the column of Antef II, a maximum diameter of 0.40 m can be reconstructed; thus no relation can be established between the reused column bases and the building activity of Antef II at Karnak. The excavators state, however, that these column bases resemble the columns in the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari with regard to material, type, and size. Based upon the alleged higher quality of the workmanship, they propose a date in the very late Eleventh Dynasty.

A decorated limestone block was also found in the same platform (Gabolde et al. 1999, 40–44). It is a fragment of a scene where the king is being suckled by a goddess in the presence of another deity. The middle part of the body of the god standing behind the young king is preserved. The hieroglyphic remains on his belt are probably to be read as Atum. Similar depictions are known from the *k3*-chapel of Mentuhotep II at Dendera (Habachi 1963, 25–26, fig. 8) and from a pillar of Senwosret I found at Karnak (Gabolde et al. 1999, 40, fig. 10). The high quality of the relief and the iconographic detail of the god's name written on the belt have led the excavators to propose a date during the reign of Amenemhet I or Senwosret I. This would mean that the platform on which stood the building predating the Senwosret I temple could only have been erected under Amenemhet I, at the earliest, or in the first years of the reign of Senwosret I, at the latest. The accuracy of this assessment cannot be confirmed until at least one photograph of the relief has been published.

<sup>23</sup> British Museum, EA 363.

<sup>24</sup> Compare, for example, the Chapelle blanche of Senwosret I, where Montu is shown four times in prominent scenes (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, 171–75). Whether two foundation plaques of Amenemhat I, in whose very similar inscriptions the king is “beloved of Montu, Lord of Thebes,” are to be connected with a building activity of this king at the east bank of Thebes remains very doubtful; one plaque is kept in Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, no. 17567 (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1913, 212), the other one is now in New York at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.8.247 (Weinstein 1973, 70). These plaques and their inscriptions are very similar to those found

in the Deir el-Bahari temple of Mentuhotep II (Arnold 1974a, 75) and another plaque of Mentuhotep III, which might also come from western Thebes (Arnold 1991, 16–17, fig. 20). They might derive from a royal funerary monument erected by Amenemhet I in western Thebes early in his reign in the tradition of the Deir el-Bahari temple (Arnold 1991). The Horus name *Wḥm-msw.t* used in the inscriptions does not necessarily point to a date late in the reign of Amenemhat I; compare Berman 1985, 3–10.

<sup>25</sup> In this article some earlier assumptions (Gabolde 1998b) are revised in light of the latest fieldwork carried out in the western part of the so-called Middle Kingdom court.

By adding the information gained from considering other temples of the Eleventh Dynasty — in particular those of Mentuhotep II at Abydos (Habachi 1963, 17–19, figs. 2–3), Dendera (Habachi 1963, 19–28, figs. 4–8, pls. 4–8; and O’Connor 1999), Tod (Habachi 1963, 36–37; Arnold 1975; and Desroches-Noblecourt and Leblanc 1984), and Elephantine (Habachi 1963, 40–43, figs. 18–19, pls. 12–13; and Kaiser et al. 1993: 145–52) — to the Karnak objects dating from the Eleventh to the very early Twelfth Dynasty, together with their archaeological context, the following —  *nolens volens*  — hypothetical conclusions regarding the earliest building phases of the Amun temple at Karnak can be drawn:

- During the reign of Antef II, at the latest, a temple with a two-columned(?) portico for the worship of Amun-Ra was erected at Karnak. In all probability this building was situated on the spot where the platform made of sandstone blocks was later erected, that is to say, in the western part of the so-called Middle Kingdom court; it can be assumed that it was not bigger than 10 × 10 m, and probably rather smaller.
- During the later years of his reign, Mentuhotep II either ordered this temple to be extended or had it built anew. The red granite lintel might originate from one of the doorways in the main axis.<sup>26</sup> In my opinion, the sandstone column bases which were reused in the platform should be assigned to Mentuhotep II as well. Like the other buildings of Mentuhotep II just mentioned, presumably the temple at Karnak was still relatively small in size and did not exceed the 10 × 10 m area of the later platform. At best, the Amun temple of the late Eleventh Dynasty is to be reconstructed as a modest mudbrick building with doorways and columns made of stone and embellished with relief-decorated stone panelling, at least in the rear. The temple probably comprised a courtyard and/or a portico, followed by a small hypostyle hall, a room for the offerings, and the sanctuary. The two offering tables with the name of Mentuhotep II found at Karnak presumably belonged to this temple.
- Considering his building activity at Abydos and Dendera, one can suggest that Mentuhotep II also erected a *k3*-chapel within the area of the Amun temple at Karnak, with the cult focused upon a statue of the king. Thus, in addition to the ritual activity at the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, which was celebrated in its latest form as the joint cult of Amun-Ra and the king (Arnold 1974b, 30–33), a structure assigned to the royal cult could very well have been integrated into the Amun temple on the east bank, similar to the situation in later times.

From the later years of the reign of Mentuhotep II onward, certain conclusions can be drawn concerning the different functional elements of the Amun temple at Karnak, largely based on the decoration of the Mentuhotep II temple at Deir el-Bahari. On the southern outer wall of the sanctuary of this temple (fig. 2.4), which was subsequently incorporated into the hypostyle hall during the third part of the reign of Mentuhotep II (Arnold 1974a, 41–44, 63–67), a journey of the king in a bark is depicted (Arnold 1974b, 33, pls. 22–23). On the basis of the accompanying inscription this must be understood as a ritual journey on behalf of “Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands.” The boat does not display the iconography of the divine bark of Amun as it is known from the New Kingdom, but rather looks like a traditional papyrus boat. Instead of the naos for the cult statue of the god, an empty baldachin is found on the bark. The ithyphallic Amun is depicted several times beneath a similar dais in the decoration of the sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari (Arnold 1974b, pls. 11, 30), while in the *k3*-chapel of Mentuhotep II at Dendera, the king is shown sitting enthroned under it (Habachi 1963, 24, fig. 7). The king in his role as a steersman is depicted grossly oversized, making him the focus of the whole scene. The empty throne behind the king, the *k3*-standard represented above it, the designation of the king as “foremost of the *k3*s of all the living,” and his “appearance upon the throne of Horus” are all elements that commemorate royal renewal rituals celebrated in the context of this ritual journey. Thus the festival procession known in the New Kingdom as the Beautiful Festival of the Valley comes into appearance for the first time in the Deir el-Bahari temple of Mentuhotep II. During this festival, a statue of Amun-Ra was transported from his temple at Karnak to the royal temples on the west bank in order to incorporate the divine rulers into the regular renewal of the god.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The lintel of the first gate of the temple of Mentuhotep II at Tod has almost the same width — 2.28 m compared with 2.29 m — but it is not as tall as the object from Karnak; compare above and Arnold 1975, 176.

<sup>27</sup> Compare Erhart Graefe 1986, cols. 187–88 (“Talfest”); the basic work is still Schott 1953; for the royal cult in the “Houses of Millions of Years” at western Thebes, see Ullmann 2002.

The inscription above the prow of the bark may probably be completed as *[Wts].t-nfr.t*, the designation of the bark of Amun on the stela Louvre C 200 (Vernus 1987), which dates either to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty or to the very late Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>28</sup> In the inscription on this stela the owner says:

*jm rmn.n(=j) nb ntr.w m wjʒ=f Wts-nfrw phr ʒf wʒ.wt mr.t.n ʒf m hʒb.w ʒf tpj.w šmw*

(I) carried up on my shoulders the lord of the gods in his bark *Wts-nfrw*, while he circumambulated the roads he desired during his feasts of summer.

Jean-Marie Kruchten has demonstrated that the epithet *nb ntr.w* explicitly designates the bark statue of Amun (Kruchten 1991), that is, the statue of the god who, during the New Kingdom, resided inside the bark sanctuary of the Karnak temple and who was transported out of the temenos during the great festivals to visit other temples on the east and west banks of Thebes. Hence, at a date which cannot be fixed exactly but which cannot have been later than some decades after Mentuhotep II, we are presented for the first time with evidence of the specific form of Amun in which he resided in his bark.

Among the graffiti that were incised into the rocks at Deir el-Bahari above the temple of Mentuhotep II beginning with the late Eleventh Dynasty and ranging in date down to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, one reads as follows (Winlock 1947, 77–90, pl. 40 [1]):

*wʿb Nfr-ʒbd rdj.t jʒw n Jmn sn tʒ n nb ntr.w m hʒb.w ʒf tpj.w šmw wbn ʒf hrw n hntj r jn.t Nb-hp.t-Rʿ jn wʿb  
Jmn Nfr-ʒbd*

The *wab*-priest *Nfr-ʒbd*: Giving praise to Amun, kissing the earth for the lord of the gods during his feasts of summer when he appears (on) the day of crossing the river to the valley of *Nb-hp.t-Rʿ* by the *wab*-priest of Amun *Nfr-ʒbd*.

The establishment of this procession of the god Amun to the Theban west bank, which can be dated to the third part of the reign of Mentuhotep II on the basis of the building history of his temple at Deir el-Bahari, must have entailed a functional enlargement for the temple of Amun at Karnak: in addition to the daily ritual focused upon a permanently installed cult statue of the god in the rear part of the building, a festival ritual appeared that was concentrated on the divine bark with its portable cult image.<sup>29</sup> Sometime later, the specific designation *nb ntr.w* was introduced for this cult image. At Deir el-Bahari, within the depiction of the ritual journey, the god is still designated as “Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands.” Inside the temple at Karnak, a repository for the divine bark, which was certainly still rather small in size, had to be created. Unfortunately, the archaeological remains of this period at Karnak do not allow conclusions about the possible function of one of the rooms there as a bark sanctuary. The situation in the temple at Deir el-Bahari, however, shows that specific architectural forms for the new ritual demands came into existence only later, because the sanctuary there functioned as a shrine for the statues of both Amun-Ra and the king, as a room for the offerings, and probably as a bark chapel as well (Arnold 1974b, 30–34).

In the temple of Senwosret I at Karnak (fig. 2.5), a ritual journey of the king in the presence of the ithyphallic Amun was depicted in the southern part of the portico (Gabolde 1998a, 49–51, 159–62, pls. 9–10). Only the upper part of the scene remains, but this corresponds well with the lower part of the bark scene at Deir el-Bahari, as Luc Gabolde has shown. This leads to the conclusion that the same ritual journey is depicted in both cases, the precursor of the Theban festival of the valley that Mentuhotep II had newly introduced. The first archaeological evidence of a bark shrine also dates to the reign of Senwosret I. The structures built later in the reign of Mentuhotep II and probably Amenemhet I also date to the early Middle Kingdom.

The newly built temple of Amun, which Senwosret I erected at Karnak from year 10 of his reign onward, has recently been reconstructed by Luc Gabolde (Gabolde 1998a). This temple of Senwosret I was undoubtedly the first monumental structure built for Amun-Ra at Karnak. The new building was situated on the site of the so-called Middle Kingdom court and contained within it the space on which the earlier structures of the Eleventh Dynasty and the very early Twelfth Dynasty had been erected. It covered an area of almost 40 × 40 m,<sup>30</sup> roughly

<sup>28</sup> Vernus (1987, 166) proposes a date at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. After a review of stelae of the late Eleventh Dynasty through the early Twelfth Dynasty, I would also not exclude a date toward the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. For a recent discussion of the problems of the dating of objects from this period based on palaeographic and epigraphic distinctions, see Spanel 1996; compare also Freed 1996.

<sup>29</sup> For the distinction between a permanently installed cult statue of Amun and a processional cult image of the god, see Kruchten 1989, 245–67.

<sup>30</sup> For this and the following, see Gabolde 1998a, in particular pp. 163–65 and the reconstructed plan of the temple on pl. 1; compare also pl. 38.



sixteen times larger than the earlier temple, for which the 10 × 10 m platform of sandstone blocks had served as a foundation. The new temple was more than 6 m high and it was made out of limestone, with four doorways of red granite on the west–east axis (fig. 2.6). In front of the western façade stood a portico about 3 m deep, with a row of twelve so-called Osiride pillars of the king. This westernmost part of the building was dismantled during the reign of Hatshepsut, to be incorporated afterward in her own suite of rooms. Behind the wall of the temple façade there was a large courtyard with a single row of pillars along each side. Three successive rooms continued along the west–east axis, but only the thresholds of red granite have been preserved; the side chambers to the north and south can no longer be reconstructed.

A large pedestal of calcite, which was arranged by Chevrier in 1948 to the east of the last granite threshold after it had been found broken in several pieces some meters to the south (Chevrier 1949, 12–13, pl. 10; Pillet 1923, 155–57; Barguet 1962, 154), carried a shrine measuring 2.10 m × 2.15 m in size (Gabolde 1995, 255, n. 5), to judge from the grooves on its upper surface. The fragmentary inscription indicates that Senwosret I erected this pedestal on behalf of “Amun-Ra, lord of the thrones of the two lands”; thus it can be concluded that the naos on this pedestal housed the cult statue of Amun-Ra in the temple of Senwosret I. The staircase leading to the pedestal, however, has been reconstructed as about 3 m long (Gabolde 1995), so that the installation of the pedestal at the end of the west–east axis of the Senwosret I temple, as it was assumed by Chevrier, is impossible, because the steps would cross over the threshold leading into the room (Gabolde 1995).<sup>31</sup> Luc Gabolde, who discussed this problem some years ago, proposed that the pedestal originally rested in a room directly to the north of the last axial chamber and was oriented north–south, not east–west (Gabolde 1995, 255, fig. 3). Such an arrangement could have found its analogy in the reign of Thutmose III in the *Akh-menu*, where there is a north–south oriented sanctuary at the rear of the building with a pedestal of quartzite of comparable size designated for a shrine of the cult statue of Amun-Ra (Gabolde 1995, 254–55).<sup>32</sup>

This cogent suggestion provides the first — albeit indirectly achieved — archaeological reference to the integration of two different ritual axes within the architectural structure of the Amun temple at Karnak: a west–east axis, which, on the basis of the situation known from the New Kingdom, is to be connected on a functional level to the cult of the divine bark of Amun-Ra as *nb ntr.w*, and a north–south axis with a sanctuary at the rear for a permanently installed cult statue of Amun-Ra. One may ask whether this cult image, hidden in the rear part of the temple, was already connected to the aspect of Amun-Ra as a primeval creator god.<sup>33</sup>

This last consideration brings us to the other side of the Nile, to Medinet Habu. On excavating the temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Medinet Habu, Hölscher discovered the scanty remains of a structure (fig. 2.7) which lay partly under the pillared ambulatory of Hatshepsut and partly to the east in front of it (Hölscher 1939, 4–7, 16–17, 47, pls. 1–2, figs. 1, 2, 5, 16, 41). It was a small building with dimensions of about 8.00 × 7.20 m and oriented with its façade facing east. Hölscher found parts of the three lowest courses of sandstone blocks and a fragment of a cavetto cornice which he ascribed to the same building. The sandstone very much resembles the material used in the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, which itself is the same material as that used for the column of Antef II at Karnak and for the platform in the western part of the Middle Kingdom court there. Setting marks on the upper surface of the platform blocks indicate a ground plan with three small chambers at the rear, situated behind a transverse room. This small temple probably stood in the center of a court enclosed by mudbrick walls. This kind of ground plan with three small chambers at the rear is characteristic of structures built by Seankhkara Mentuhotep III, for example, his temple at Tod (Arnold 1975, 180–84, fig. 3) and the one erected at the top of the Thoth hill in the northern part of the Theban necropolis (Vörös 1997; Vörös and Pudleiner 1997a, 1997b, 1998).

With regard to its architectural structure and building material, therefore, this first temple at Medinet Habu may very well belong to the late Eleventh Dynasty. The present-day structure, erected during the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III on the same site and with the same cult axis, was looked upon as a primeval mound, where Amun-Ra — respectively *Jmn-jp.t*, whose divine image visited the site every ten days — was reborn after the mystical encounter with his own primeval forms and the creator gods of the ogdoad.<sup>34</sup> There is no proof that the

<sup>31</sup> Compare also Lauffray 1980, 25–26, fig. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Room XXXII, within the so-called Botanical Garden in the north-east of the building; for the pedestal there, see Barguet 1962, 200–01; Lauffray 1969, 201–06, fig. 9.

<sup>33</sup> For this aspect of Amun-Ra in connection with the complex of the Botanical Garden in the *Akh-menu*, see Beaux 1990; Ullmann 2002, 82; and Laboury in this volume.

<sup>34</sup> The basic reference for the rites at the sacred mound of Djeme is still Sethe 1929; for a recent account of the decade festival, see Cooney 2000, especially pp. 34–37 and nn. 129–30, where the relevant literature is listed. In fact, the ritual performed during the decade festival is not known before the Twenty-first Dynasty, but there are some references to the decade festival from the New Kingdom; compare Cooney 2000, 35 n. 130. One of the dedication texts of

rites connected with the decade festival had a precursor in the Middle Kingdom, but the possibility that the earlier temple at Medinet Habu already had a comparable ritual function should at least be taken into consideration.

The bark shrine of Senwosret I mentioned above, consisting mainly of two monolithic blocks of limestone, was discovered built into the Ninth Pylon at the south axis of the Karnak temple in 1979 (Traunecker 1982). Two fragments found reused for a chapel attached to the Seventh Pylon may also belong to the same building (Gabolde 1998a, 121). According to its ground plan (fig. 2.8) and decoration, this structure can be regarded as the prototype of the later well-known typical bark shrine in the function of a way station.<sup>35</sup> The external measurements of the building are 4.40 m long  $\times$  3.20 m wide; internally it measures about 4  $\times$  2 m. A window measuring 60  $\times$  80 cm was placed in the middle of each long side. The shorter sides could both be closed off by double-leaved doors. The doorjambs are inscribed with dedication formulae of Senwosret I on behalf of Amun-Ra concerning a *sh-ntr*. The small structure displays a decoration scheme which is to be found in expanded form in all the later bark chapels. In the interior upper register, the bark of Amun is shown with the king censuring or libating in front of it. The bark has been destroyed almost completely, and only its outline can be traced. On the basis of the internal measurements of the chapel, Claude Traunecker proposed a length of 2.5 to 3.0 m and a width of 50 to 60 cm for the actual bark of Amun during the reign of Senwosret I.

At the base of the north wall, an inscription of a high functionary named Ahmose bears witness to the functioning of the building toward the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty or at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. According to the damage typical of the Amarna period, which can be found in the decoration of the shrine, it remained in use until the time of Akhenaton. Afterward, the chapel was not restored but its blocks were incorporated into the Ninth Pylon during the reign of Horemhab.

It is not possible to verify definitely the original location of this first archaeologically attested bark shrine for the divine bark of Amun at Karnak. However, the fact that its two large monolithic walls — damaged in the Amarna period — were found inside the Ninth Pylon provides an important clue for its position along the south axis of the Karnak temple.<sup>36</sup> The dismantling of the shrine took place no earlier than the reign of Horemhab and may have been necessary because the shrine impeded the erection of the Ninth Pylon. In contrast, the placement of the bark chapel along the west–east axis seems to be problematic because the only conceivable location there is in the forecourt of the Senwosret I temple. In such a position, however, it would have been dismantled along with a number of other structures not later than the reign of Amenhotep III and would have in all probability been reused inside the third pylon, such as, for example, the Chapelle blanche of Senwosret I.

Many additional objects belonging to the Amun temple of Senwosret I have been found along the south axis of the Karnak temple, but for the most part there are no references to their original location. One has to be especially careful in regard to the finds buried in the Cour de la cachette (Gabolde 1998a, 72–78); an original location in this area has too often been wrongly assumed.

The bark shrine just mentioned, however, which, on the basis of its architecture and its decoration served as a temporary station for the bark of Amun when the god left his temple in procession, is an important indication for the existence of a north–south processional axis at Karnak from the reign of Senwosret I onward.<sup>37</sup>

One more object dating to Senwosret I found along the south axis of the Karnak temple may very well have been erected there originally. A naos of black granite (fig. 2.9) was excavated in 1922 a little to the south of the western tower of the Seventh Pylon (Pillet 1923; Daressy 1927; Barguet 1962, 267–68).<sup>38</sup> It was embedded in the floor of a building dated to the Coptic period. The external measurements of the naos are 1.75 m in height  $\times$  0.77 m in width  $\times$  0.93 m in depth. Both lateral sides are decorated on the exterior with four scenes in two registers; all the scenes display the king standing in front of Amun-Ra. In only two instances is an offering scene

Thutmose III in the bark chapel at Medinet Habu already describes the temple as being *hr j3.t mt.t n.t jmnt.t* (Urk. IV, 882). Perhaps a connection can also be established between Medinet Habu, the decade festival, and a ritual for royal *k3*-statues in barks, which is known from blocks belonging to Theban temples of Thutmose II and Tutankhamun. This ritual took place every ten days and was related to the solar cycle; see Gabolde 1989. For the temple of Tutankhamun, compare also Ullmann 2002, 185–97.

<sup>35</sup> For a recent discussion of this type of bark shrine, see Eder 2002, 43–53.

<sup>36</sup> Traunecker suggests an original position to the south of the Seventh Pylon (Traunecker 1982, 124).

<sup>37</sup> The latest excavations of Charles van Siclen at Karnak between the Eighth and the Ninth Pylon seem to corroborate this assumption, insofar as mudbrick structures dating into the Middle Kingdom were discovered (pers. comm., Charles van Siclen). Only a few meters to the north of the western tower of the Ninth Pylon Charles van Siclen found a mudbrick platform that, according to him, served as the foundation for the bark shrine of Senwosret I. Betsy Bryan first drew my attention to the current work of Charles van Siclen at Karnak during the conference in London; see *Postscriptum* below.

<sup>38</sup> Today it is kept in the Cairo Museum; compare also Wildung 1984, 62, figs. 55–56.

depicted, while in the six remaining cases Amun bestows life upon the king. Figures and inscriptions of Amun-Ra were damaged in the Amarna period and were later renewed; in one case the god Onuris was inserted instead of Amun. In every scene on this naos Amun is oriented toward the rear wall and the king is the one who looks to the front. Originally, Senwosret I probably bore the epithet *ntr nfr* in every scene. The doorjambs are inscribed exclusively with the titulary of the king, who is “beloved of Amun-Ra, lord of the throne of the two lands.” Since there is no dedication formula, one may conclude that the naos was not intended to house a statue of Amun but one of Senwosret I. Viewed from outside, the king wears the red crown only on the right side of the naos and the white crown exclusively on the left side, an arrangement that points to an orientation of the naos with its front toward the east. A location at the western side of a north–south processional way would therefore be the most probable. This inference corresponds extremely well with the provenance of the naos, namely, to the south of the western tower of the Seventh Pylon.

If one accepts the naos and the bark shrine of Senwosret I as indicators of a north–south processional axis at Karnak, then the question arises as to the goal of the procession of the bark of Amun at this time. To judge from the situation in the New Kingdom, the most likely destination would have been a precursor of the temple at Luxor, but no such building dating back to the early Middle Kingdom has been identified there. Some vague architectural indications of building activity are in evidence in this area in the Thirteenth Dynasty: two architrave blocks of red granite inscribed with the name of Sobekhotep II<sup>39</sup> were found in front of the middle entrance to the southern portico in the solar court of Amenhotep III (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 338).<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, fragments of twenty-sided sandstone columns, which cannot be chronologically fixed, were reused in the building of Amenhotep III (Borchardt 1896, 122). Borchardt described traces of an earlier ground plan in the southern portico, but this remains doubtful (Borchardt 1896, 123). Based on the reference to the Luxor temple in the incense list of Ineni (*Urk.* IV, 71), a temple must have existed there prior to the structure erected by Hatshepsut. As long as the building history of the temple at Luxor remains incompletely investigated, a cult place to the south of Karnak in the early Middle Kingdom may only be taken into consideration hypothetically.

The clearest evidence for the existence of a temple in the area of the later temple at Luxor are the references to a north–south processional axis at Karnak, which occur for the first time during the reign of Senwosret I. Furthermore, one should not forget that at this time a small temple did exist on the west bank at Medinet Habu, lying exactly opposite the site of the later Luxor temple. If the earlier temple at Medinet Habu already functioned as a primeval mound of Amun-Ra, then it could have enhanced the emergence of a cult place directly opposite on the east bank.

There is even the possibility that the specific Amun of the Luxor temple is first attested as early as Senwosret I. In the Cour de la cachette, fragments of a wall of the Amun temple of Senwosret I (fig. 2.10) have been found (Maarouf and Zimmer 1993, 227–37, figs. 3–4), which Luc Gabolde assigned to the northern part of the west wall of the pillared court (Gabolde 1998a, 85–88, pls. 26–27). The scene on these fragments depicts the introduction of the king into the temple, which is designated as the *ḥw.t-ḥ.t* of “Amun, lord of the throne of the two lands.” In this context, this phrase undoubtedly denotes the Amun temple of Senwosret I. The god who introduces the king is Amun-Ra-Kamutef and in the inscription placed on the left jamb of the small niche in the right part of the scene the king is described as “beloved of *Jmn-R ḥntj jp.wt=f*.” Considering the fact that the Luxor temple is called *Jp.t-rsj.t*, or just *jp.t*, and that sometimes the plural *jp.wt* is also used, this may indeed represent the first textual reference to a cult place of Amun south of Karnak.

In the treatment of the monuments of Mentuhotep II above, I mention the possibility that this king integrated a *k3*-chapel destined for the cult of a statue of the divine ruler into the Amun temple at Karnak. In connection with the first large-scale expansion of the Karnak temple in the reign of Senwosret I, several indications suggest that elements of the royal cult were of great importance within the structure of the temple. In the first place, the sculptural decoration of the western façade of the Amun temple is significant in this respect: twelve so-called Osiride pillars of monumental size stood in front of the building, each statue grasping two large *ankh*-signs (Gabolde 1998a, 23–25, 63–70, pls. 19–24). In the inscriptions on the lateral sides of the pillars, the *sed*-festival of the king is mentioned; the same holds true for the pillars in the adjacent eastern court (Gabolde 1998a, 88–110, pls. 25, 28–37). Thus the predominant theme at the entrance of the temple of Amun is the king, imbued with life by the

<sup>39</sup> Who is now labeled Sobekhotep I by Ryholt 1997, 336.

<sup>40</sup> Grébaut found the two fragments in 1889 (Grébaut 1889/1890, 335–36). A few years later Daressy and Borchardt both gave a very

short description and mentioned the exact provenance (Daressy 1893, 57; Borchardt 1896, 122). Nothing is known about the present whereabouts of the fragments.

gods — especially Amun in this context — and the regular renewal of his sovereignty in the ritual of the *sed*-festival. Also connected to this subject matter is the ritual journey, probably during the feast of the valley, depicted in the southern part of the portico as mentioned above.

The Chapelle blanche was certainly constructed before the western façade of the temple as a kind of festival kiosk (Lacau and Chevrier 1956; Kees 1958; Strauss-Seeber 1994; and Gabolde 1998a, 121). Here the newly crowned king — respectively his statue — appeared together with a statue of Amun-Ra to be presented to the public within the ritual reenactment of coronation ceremonies and the *sed*-festival.

The naos of black granite which was found along the south axis probably housed a statue of Senwosret I, as implied by its decoration; whether only temporarily, for a procession, or permanently cannot be said. The wall niche within the context of the introduction scene described above could also, according to its decoration, have housed a statue of the king, albeit a very small one.

The participation of the king at the offerings for the bark of Amun-Ra is proved by the depiction of the king sitting in front of the offering table in the scenes on the walls of the bark chapel of Senwosret I extracted from the Ninth Pylon.

In the early Eighteenth Dynasty, during the reign of Amenhotep I, the temple of Amun, which dated mainly back to Senwosret I, was greatly expanded to the west. According to the reconstruction of Catherine Graindorge, a very ambitious building program was realized in several phases (Graindorge and Martinez 1989; idem 1999; Graindorge 2002). Its basic elements were a bark chapel flanked by two lateral walls in the middle of a spacious court located to the west of the Senwosret I temple as well as groups of chapels of three different sizes at the north and south sides of the court and also in two rows connecting the lateral walls of the bark chapel with the north and south sides of the court, which, based on their decoration program, had a function within the royal cult. On the lateral walls of these chapels, offerings are displayed in front of the king, in some cases followed by the royal *kꜣ* sitting at the offering table.

Altogether, the architectural and decorative program of the Amenhotep I buildings at Karnak document a very close ritual connection between the cult for Amun-Ra and the royal cult, both within the daily ritual and within the festival rituals. This aspect should not be looked upon as a new development that took place in the reign of Amenhotep I (Graindorge 2002, 88), but rather as an integral part of the Amun temple at Karnak, which came into existence during the reign of Senwosret I at the latest, and which may very well have been there in a rudimentary form from the time of Mentuhotep II onward. The close coexistence of the cult of Amun and the royal cult contributed to the architectural form of the temple and to the rituals performed there.

The parallel celebration of divine and royal cult also explains the fact that, beginning with Sobekhotep IV in the Thirteenth Dynasty, followed by Ahmose, Thutmose III, Tutankhamun, Aye, and Seti I, monuments for the royal cult designated as “Houses of Millions of Years” were integrated into the area of the Amun temple at Karnak (Ullmann 2002). The animating factor for this development lay in the new theological conception that determined the latest building phase of the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, characterized by a close ritual association between Amun-Ra and the king, going so far as a temporary identity of both. The cult of Amun-Ra and the royal cult at Deir el-Bahari were not conceivable without the connection to the temple of Amun at Karnak.<sup>41</sup> Thus, deliberately planned sacred areas emerged, related to each other by means of architecture and ritual, and which displayed their full function only in coexistence.

The origin and the characteristic imprint of the Theban ritual landscape, which is attested primarily for the era of the New Kingdom, goes back to the late Eleventh Dynasty, motivated by the political and legitimizing efforts of the rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty. In the reign of Senwosret I this theological conception was realized and expanded in the architecture and cult of the temple of Amun at Karnak, in the following ways:

- in the integration of two ritual axes in the temple: west–east, assigned to the cult of the divine bark of Amun, and north–south, designated for the permanently installed cult statue of Amun;
- in the close linking of the divine cult and the royal cult;
- in the origin of the north–south processional way at Karnak.

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<sup>41</sup> We know, for example, that in the Twelfth Dynasty the priests acting in the cult of Amun at Deir el-Bahari came from Karnak (Arnold 1974a, 92–94).

## POSTSCRIPTUM

After the completion of this article, three important new contributions to the study of the earliest remains of the Karnak temple complex were published:

Guillaume Charloux, Jean-François Jet, and Emmanuel Lanoe. “Nouveaux vestiges des sanctuaires du moyen empire à Karnak: Les fouilles récentes des cours du VI<sup>e</sup> pylone.” *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie* 160 (2004): 26–46.

Laurence Cotelte-Michel. “Présentation préliminaire des blocs de la chapelle de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup> découverte dans la IX<sup>e</sup> pylone de Karnak.” *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003): 339–54.

Charles C. van Siclen III. “La cour de IX<sup>e</sup> pylone à Karnak.” *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie* 163 (2005): 27–46.



Figure 2.1. Stela Manchester Museum No. 5052 (after Petrie 1909, pl. 10 [B 33])



Figure 2.2. Column of Antef II (photography courtesy Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst München, D. Wildung)



Figure 2.3. So-called Court of the Middle Kingdom. Early Platform in Foreground, Three Eastern Thresholds of Senwosret I and Socle of Calcite in Middle (after Lauffray 1979, fig. 103)

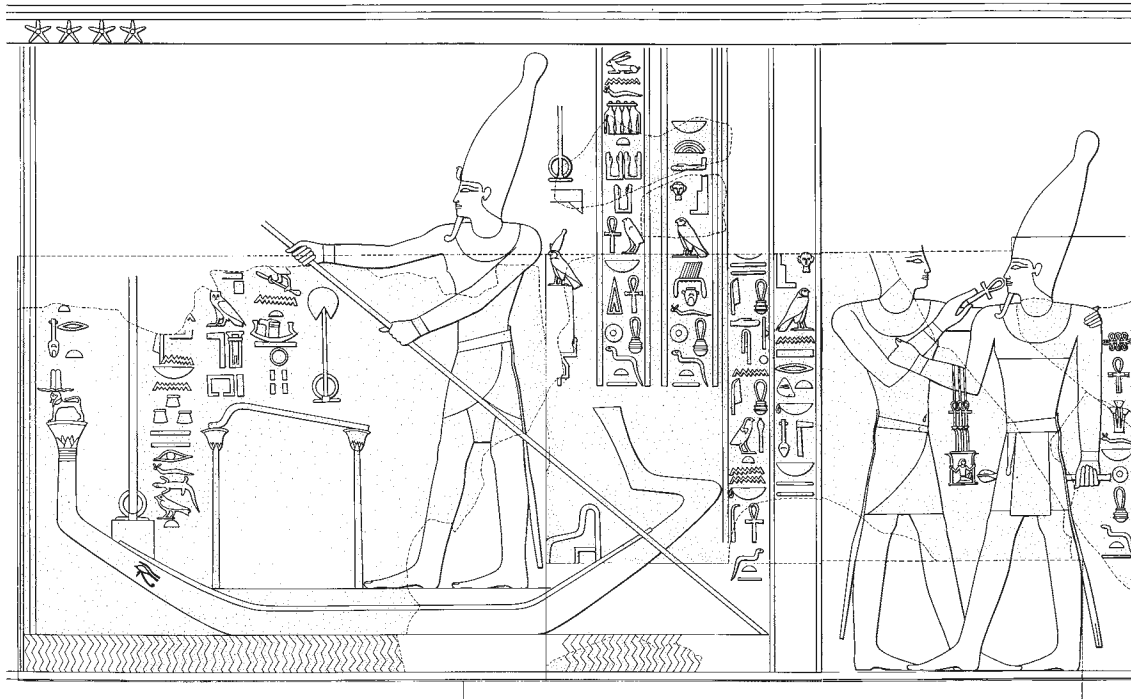


Figure 2.4. Bark Journey of King. Temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, Southern Outer Wall of Sanctuary (after Arnold 1974b, pl. 22)

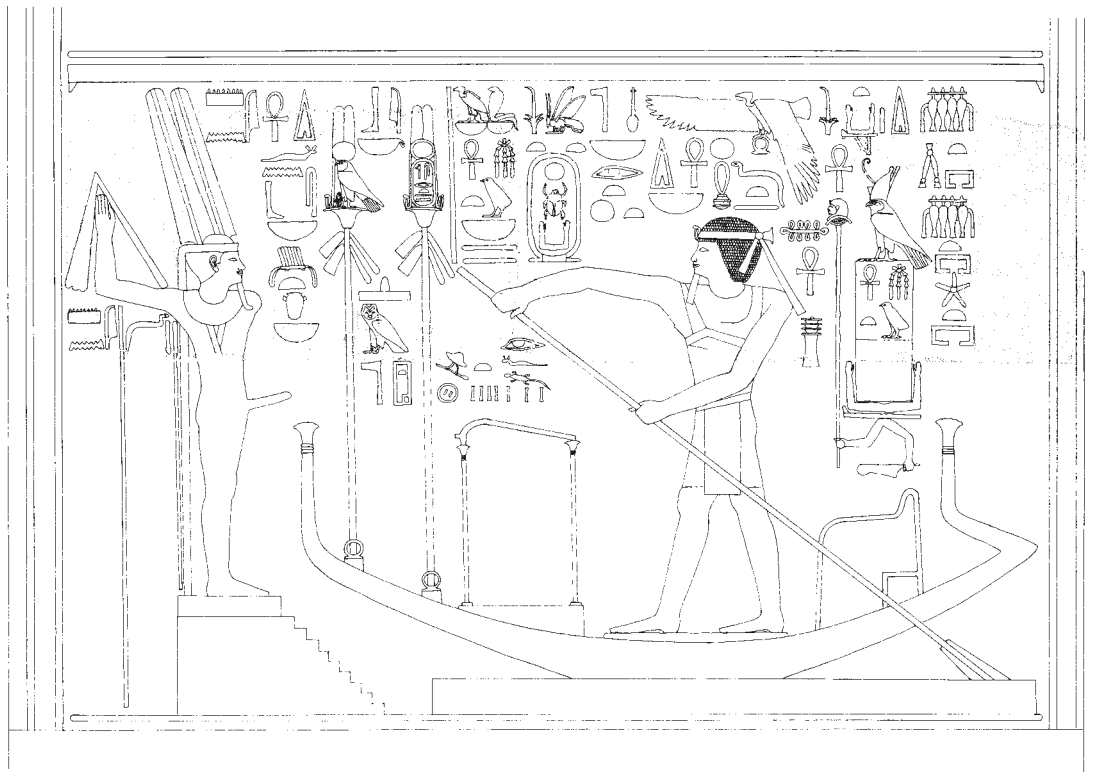


Figure 2.5. Bark Journey of King. Temple of Senwosret I at Karnak, Southern Part of Portico (after Gabolde 1998a, pl. 9)



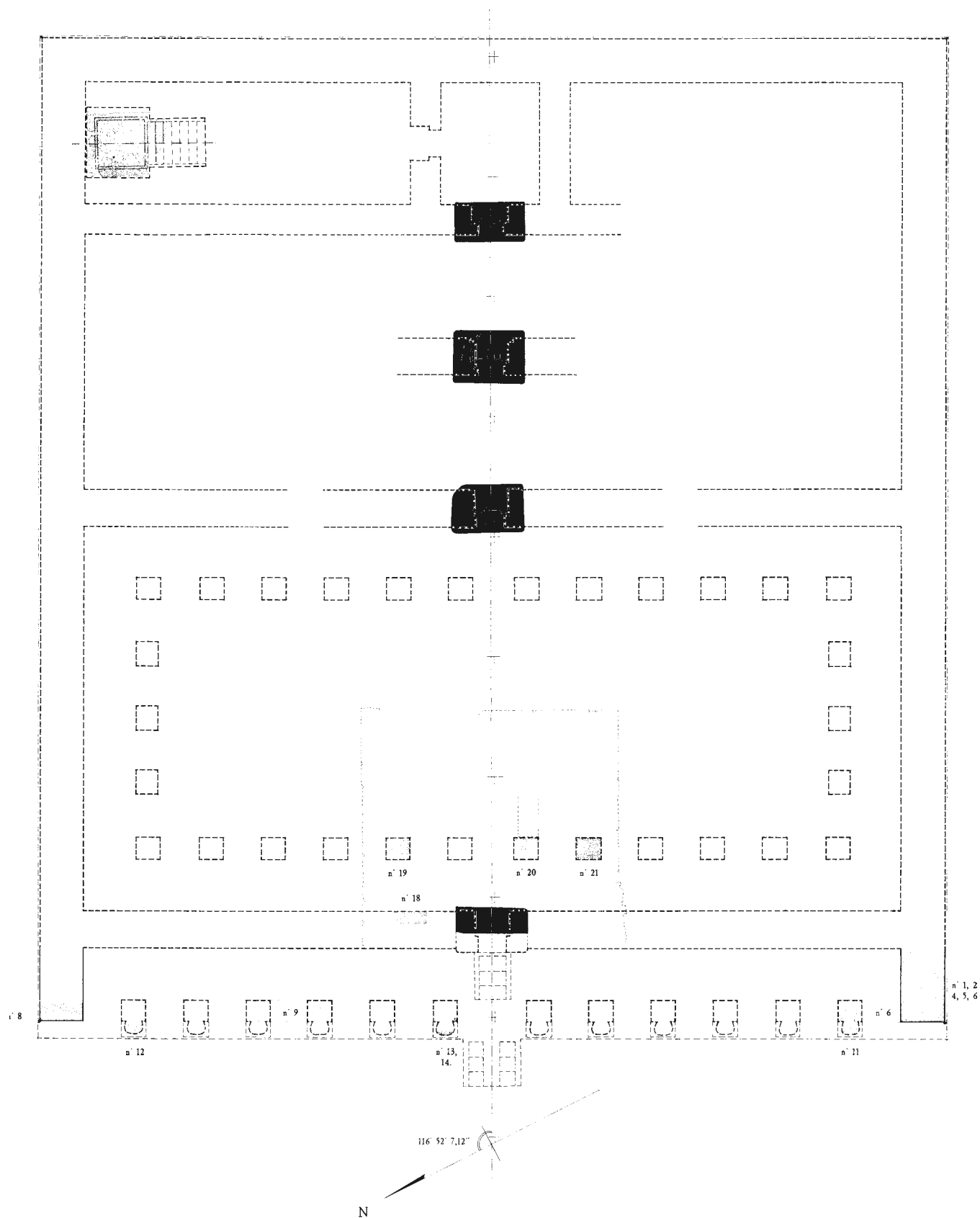


Figure 2.6. Reconstruction of Plan of Senwosret I Temple, Karnak (after Gabolde 1998a, pl. 1)

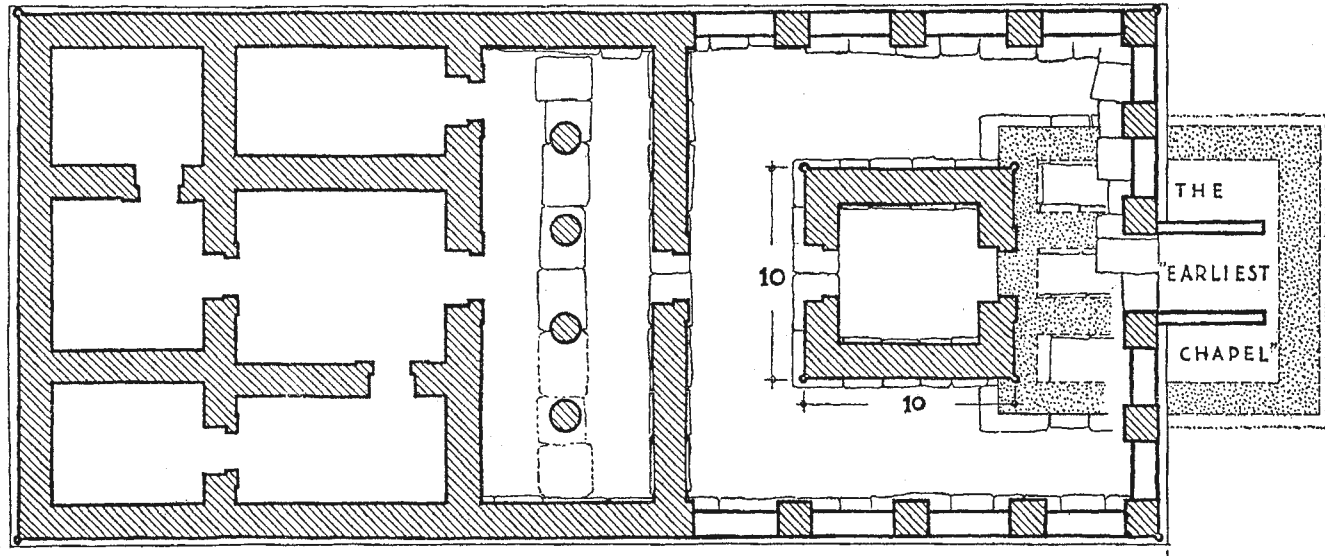


Figure 2.7. Plan of Eighteenth Dynasty Temple at Medinet Habu with Position of the So-called Earliest Chapel from the Late Eleventh Dynasty (after Hölscher 1939, fig. 41)

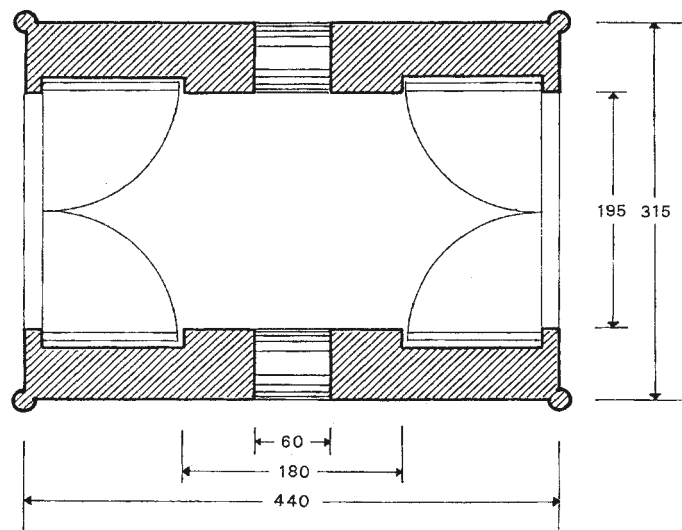


Figure 2.8. Plan of Bark Chapel of Senwosret I (after Traunecker 1982, fig. 1)



Figure 2.9. Naos of Senwosret I (after Wildung 1984, fig. 55)



Figure 2.10. Wall Fragment of the Temple Senwosret I at Karnak (photograph courtesy Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst München, D. Wildung)

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## 3

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND TEXTUAL EVIDENCE FOR THE FUNCTION OF THE “BOTANICAL GARDEN” OF KARNAK IN THE INITIATION RITUAL \*

DIMITRI LABOURY, FNRS, UNIVERSITY OF LIÈGE, BELGIUM

The so-called “Botanical Garden” of Karnak, located at the back of the Middle Kingdom temple of Amun, is the main sanctuary of a large religious complex named (Menkheperra-) *Akh-menu*,<sup>1</sup> which was built by Thutmose III between year 24 and the fourth decade of his reign, that is, after his coregency with Hatshepsut and after the famous Battle of Megiddo (Laboury 1998, 35–37). As has already been noticed by many scholars, this sanctuary is very unusual in many respects: in its architectural design, its dimensions, its decoration — in fact, everything in it seems exceptional. The present article aims to suggest an interpretation of these peculiarities by investigating the specific ritual meaning of this sacred space with the methodological apparatus developed in the context of the study of the “grammaire du temple” (Ph. Derchain), that is, by combining in the same approach the analysis of the architectural, textual, and iconographical features which together comprise the monument.

### ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE “BOTANICAL GARDEN” OF KARNAK<sup>2</sup>

The complex studied here is composed of different sets of rooms (fig. 3.1):

- Three rooms on the axis of the main temple of Amun: two antechambers and a sanctuary (fig. 3.1:1);
- The “Botanical Garden” proper, with its own antechamber (fig. 3.1:3) leading into another secluded and very large sanctuary (fig. 3.1:4);
- And, to the east of the sanctuary, two rooms arranged on a north–south axis, which may have been connected with the corridor in the northern part of the *Akh-menu* (Carlotti 2001, 225, 243).

The double antechamber of the axial sanctuary was decorated with reliefs and statues typical for that kind of room: depictions on the walls of the king making offerings and being introduced into the sanctuary and into the divine world (Barguet 1962, 191–92; PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 118–19), and statues of Thutmose III in the gesture of adoration (Laboury 1998, 167–75).<sup>3</sup> The antechamber is, unusually, doubled because the axial sanctuary is duplicated by another one immediately to the south,<sup>4</sup> the so-called “Alexander Sanctuary” — accessible only through the doubled antechamber and an intermediary vestibule — dedicated apparently to a divine form of the king or to the king as a manifestation of the god (Martinez 1989).<sup>5</sup>

\* The author is deeply grateful to Peter Dorman for his very judicious comments to improve the English of this article.

<sup>1</sup> On this monument, see Barguet 1962, 157–209, 283–99; Pecoil 2000; and Carlotti 2001.

<sup>2</sup> For a very detailed architectural analysis of the complex, see Carlotti 2001, 113–48.

<sup>3</sup> For the function of this type of statue in the architectural and ritual context of a temple sanctuary, see Laboury 2000, 88–91.

<sup>4</sup> This complementarity is expressed by architectural and decorative means (Carlotti 2001, 119). The conception of the *Akh-menu*, partly as a duplicate of the Middle Kingdom temple of Amun, might also have caused or at least influenced this doubling of the antechamber of the axial sanctuary since it is clear that this arrangement was already used in the temple of Sesostris I at Karnak; see Gabolde 1998, pl. 1; Carlotti 2001, 21.

<sup>5</sup> This arrangement, uniting both divine and royal cults inside the axial sanctuary structure, is mirrored in the statue group sculpted in a naos

The function of the axial sanctuary itself is also clearly defined by its wall decoration, which illustrates the daily divine ritual (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 120). Fragments of a diorite statue of Thutmose III, probably originally holding a ritual stand or libation altar in front of him, were found in this room (Laboury 1998, 176–78), as well as pieces from a large square calcite base, provided with a frontal staircase (fig. 3.1:1), almost certainly intended to hold a tabernacle for a divine statue (Beaux 1990, 9–12; Carlotti 2001, 119).<sup>6</sup> As Nathalie Beaux has perfectly stated, beyond this evident and normal use, the calcite base also allowed access to a hidden door, situated two cubits (1.05 m) above the ground at the eastern end of the northern wall of the sanctuary (fig. 3.1:2). This elevated door, which was probably not easily visible with the tabernacle in position, is the only entrance to the “Botanical Garden.” Thus, the axial sanctuary, which looks ostensibly like a normal, traditional sanctuary, appears in fact to have been a place of transition, giving access to an even more secret and sacred space, a sanctuary behind the visible and expected one, a real “holy of holies.”

The antechamber of this hidden and most sacred sanctuary (fig. 3.1:3), which is the first of the two rooms of the “Botanical Garden,” appears also as a place of transition, with a single means of access and two other doors providing entry to other rooms. The main door is, of course, the one that leads to the large sanctuary oriented along the north–south axis. Its importance was emphasized by its central position in the wall, carved into it and occupying more than half of its length, and by its very special and elaborate decoration, for which a few parallels exist, notably the one at the entrance of the Hathor sanctuary of the almost contemporaneous temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Barguet 1962, 199, n. 8; Beaux 1990, 16; Carlotti 2001, 128–29). The inner width of this door (1.82 m) is also quite exceptional and is further magnified by the enlarged space between the two columns in front of it (see the reconstruction in Carlotti 2001, 228–29). The whole decoration of the antechamber converges toward the monumental door leading to the sanctuary. Just opposite this door, on the south wall of the room, there is an interruption of the wall decoration of more than two meters (2.13 m), probably for a piece of now-vanished temple furniture (Beaux 1990, 18; Carlotti 2001, 127–28).

The antechamber itself is also unusual for its remarkable width (14.79/14.83 m), which explains — or was necessitated by — the presence of four large bundled *nḥb.wt*-columns aligned along the east–west axis. Between each outer pair of columns Auguste Mariette found in 1861 a sizeable royal sphinx of Thutmose III, now in front of the Cairo Museum (Laboury 1998, 179–83). These two sphinxes were discovered in situ,<sup>7</sup> facing northward, that is, facing the sanctuary, a rather unusual position for that kind of sculpture.<sup>8</sup> There was also an offering table positioned in front of each statue (now also in the Cairo Museum) and some kind of a dais on which, according to Nathalie Beaux (1990, 22), the priests could stand to be purified before entering the sanctuary.

The sanctuary (fig. 3.1.4) is also unusually large, with its very long side walls carved with eight niches, four on each side; six of these were later enlarged to accommodate not one but two divine statues (Beaux 1993; and more recently Carlotti 2001, 131–33). Including the spacious tabernacle on the axis of the room, there were no less than nine statue niches in this sanctuary. The lower part of a granite statue of Thutmose III holding a ritual stand or libation altar in front of him, probably similar to the one found in fragments in the axial sanctuary, was also discovered there (Laboury 1998, 184–85).

On the preserved lower parts of the walls of these two rooms were depicted extraordinary animals and plants (many of them native but teratological specimens), which explains the modern name given to this part of the *Akh-menu*, “the Botanical Garden of Thutmose III.” Two dedication texts carved in the antechamber disclose the information that the king would have found these unusual zoological and botanical phenomena in *Retjenu* and in the “God’s Land” and ordered them to be represented “in front of” (*m-b;ḥ-ꜣ*) the god in year 25 of his reign (Beaux 1990, 38–46).<sup>9</sup>

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that is the ritual focus of the eastern chapel, erected by Thutmose III in the girdle wall of the temple at the very back of the *Akh-menu*’s axial sanctuary, and which was intended for popular devotion as the sanctuary of the “hearing ear” (Laboury 1998, 199–205). Thus, this eastern chapel of Thutmose III appears as an early testimony of the royal provision for what Egyptologists today call “popular piety of the New Kingdom,” the pharaoh offering himself as an accessible and useful image of the god on earth for the peoples’ need for divine proximity.

<sup>6</sup> This base was so large (2.365 m on each side and at least 1.05 m high) that it was unquestionably in situ, since, due to the narrow width

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of the doors giving access to the sanctuary, it must have been put in position before the roof of the room was added (Carlotti 2001, 119).

<sup>7</sup> Again, as with the calcite base in the axial sanctuary (cf. note 6), the sizes of these sphinxes assure that they were placed in the room before the roof was added; doubtless they were found in their original position (Laboury 1998, 180).

<sup>8</sup> On the traditional positioning of sphinxes in Eighteenth Dynasty temple architecture, see Laboury 1998, 441–42.

<sup>9</sup> From the “grammaire du temple” point of view, it must be noticed that symmetrically about the longest of these two dedication texts,

## INTERPRETATION OF THE COMPLEX AS THE HOLY OF HOLIES

In her Ph.D. thesis, devoted to the study of these representations, Nathalie Beaux carefully analyzed each of these images and convincingly suggested that this architectural zone of Karnak was intended to be the sanctuary of Amun as the generator of life in all of its forms and aspects, a sanctuary that contained the mystery of life and creation (Beaux 1990). It represented the place and the actions of the *creatio perpetua* of the world, a theme deeply imbued with solar theology.

The so-called “Botanical Garden” is indeed a very peculiar sanctuary, physically isolated from the rest of the temple and thus very deeply sacred. It lies behind a first, traditional, axial sanctuary, as a secluded “holy of holies,” a sanctuary behind the visible, normal sanctuary, accessible only via a concealed side door.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the whole *Akh-menu* itself appears as a rather singular structure within the Karnak sacred precinct, added to the back of the venerable Middle Kingdom temple of Amun, partly as a duplicate of its inner structure (Barguet 1962, 283–99; Daumas 1980, 261–72; Carlotti 2001, 256).<sup>11</sup> The obviously elevated level of sacredness of the “Botanical Garden” is presumably a clue to the explanation of the very unusual (and still mostly unexplained) features of this complex, namely, its architectural design, its dimensions, its statuary program, and the rest of its decoration.

## THE AKH-MENU AS THE PLACE FOR THE INITIATION RITUAL OF THE PRIESTS OF AMUN

Jean-Marie Kruchten has already shown in his study, “Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIII<sup>mes</sup> dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l’initiation des prêtres d’Amon” (1989), that the initiation ritual at Karnak certainly took place in the *Akh-menu*. According to him, this ritual was probably performed in the *Heret-ib*, the so-called festival hall of the *Akh-menu*.

What do we know about this initiation ritual? László Kákósy has published a very interesting synthesis on this subject (1994), in which he points out the common features of all attestations of this ritual, from the earliest examples to the Coptic period (since some echoes of this ritual still occur in Coptic texts):

- *Place*: the initiation was always performed in the most sacred place of the temple, the holy of holies.
- *Symbolism*: the initiated symbolically leave this world to travel in the sky and learn its secrets; the symbolism of this revelation is thus always fundamentally solar and these mysteries are intended to explain the secrets concerning the forms and the destiny of the sun-god, as the supreme god and animator of the universe.
- *Culmination*: the culmination of the initiation is the possibility to see the god, or the visual revelation of the god through its statue, which appears to the initiated as the sun in the horizon, emerging from darkness.
- *Material Context*: the layout of the god’s suite and the ordering of the furniture in it are used to explain the mysteries of the Beyond. To be enabled to see the god, the initiated must stand on a step or a small staircase, which is symbolically identified with the horizon (*ꜣh.t*), the celestial gateway between this world and the other one.

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the one that precisely emphasizes these plants and animals as offerings to the god, lies the door that gives access to the set of rooms on the east of the sanctuary, which could have been used as an offering storage place (Carlotti 2001, 243).

<sup>10</sup> This kind of layout is not absolutely unique. For instance, as Marcel Marée kindly pointed out to me, a similar architectural composition was used in the sanctuary structure of the temple of Amenhotep III at Luxor (Brunner 1977). In this second and hidden sanctuary at Luxor temple, the theme of the decoration is also fundamentally solar.

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<sup>11</sup> The text on the southern façade of the *Akh-menu* seems to have emphasized the special status of this temple, added to the main temple of Amun (Gardiner 1952). In this badly damaged decree regarding the *Akh-menu* and its uniqueness, Thutmose III distinguishes, for example, the priests of this particular temple from all other priests of the estate of Amun, even if he stresses at the same time the integration of this new and special structure within the general functioning of the whole domain of Amun at Karnak (col. 63 of the text).

When one takes into account these common features in the different occurrences of the initiation ritual in ancient Egyptian religion, it seems very likely that this ritual took place at Karnak not in the *Heret-ib* of the *Akh-menu*, but in the sanctuary known today as the “Botanical Garden” of Thutmose III.<sup>12</sup>

## A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE “BOTANICAL GARDEN” AS THE PLACE FOR THE INITIATION RITUAL

The architectural context of the “Botanical Garden” is precisely the one alluded to in any textual reference to the initiation ritual: the most sacred place in the sacred precinct, the most remote space of the temple, where it is possible to have visual access to the god (via his cult statue) after having climbed onto a real (and symbolic) stairway, through the door situated two cubits above the ground (fig. 3.1:2) and also onto this unusual dais in the antechamber, on which the priests could stand to be purified before entering the sanctuary.

The solar aspects of the initiation can also be found in the explicitly solar theme of the depiction of biological diversity and in the four bundled *nḥb.wt*-columns, which might represent the four corners of the sky (according to the symbolic meaning of this number in ancient Egyptian religion), aligned here on the east–west axis, that is, the axis of the sun. Moreover, this architectural structure and the representation of extraordinary plants and animals could be used as a means of revelation, in order to explain, respectively, the secret destiny of the sun-god and the mysteries of life and creation.

Besides this very striking convergence, some textual evidence — like the exceptionally detailed reference to the initiation in the biography of the vizier Nespaqashuty on his statue in the Cairo Museum (CG 42 232) — strongly support this interpretation of the “Botanical Garden” as the place for the initiation in Karnak. In the inscription on the back of the statue (Kruchten 1989, 191; CG 42232, backside, col. 2–4), Nespaqashuty says:

*mꜣꜥi ꜣImn m ꜣḥ.tꜣf m wꜣdj.t twt m prꜣf m b(ꜣ)ḥ(w)*  
*siꜣ.nꜣi ms.wꜣf pw ntr.w mꜣꜥi st ḥrꜣf m itr.tj sd.kwi ḥr Mꜣꜥt wn.kwi m imy-r niw.t mi Dḥwtj m šnj.t Rꜥ*

I have seen Amun in his *ꜣḥ.t*-horizon in the hypostyle hall with statues when he was coming out of the *bꜣḥw*-horizon, and then I understood that the gods are his emanations, — as I saw them with him, (arranged) in two rows, being myself tied in my garment with (the symbol of) Maat, since I was, as the chief of the town (i.e., the Vizier), like Thoth at the court of Ra.

This testimony seems to be an accurate description of the “Botanical Garden” of Karnak, with its hypostyle hall with statues (sphinxes) (fig. 3.1:3), where Nespaqashuty stood during his initiation to see Amun, the local divine lord, with the other gods, as the emanations of the supreme one, “with him, (arranged) in two rows,” that is, in the four niches carved in each side wall of the sanctuary (fig. 3.1:4).

The god Amun is said to be coming out of the *bꜣḥw*-horizon, which, during the New Kingdom and later, usually signifies the east. But the sanctuary of the “Botanical Garden” is oriented northward. How can this be explained? First, the word *bꜣḥw* originally signified the western horizon (*Wb.* 1, 422.8) and only later, during the New Kingdom, was employed to refer to the eastern horizon. As is made clear in the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (*Wb.* 1, 422), the term can be defined fundamentally “als Ort wo die Sonne aufgeht”; thus what Nespaqashuty might have meant is that the god Amun was emerging from the *ꜣḥ.t*-horizon (the text says *mꜣꜥi ꜣImn m ꜣḥ.tꜣf*), the gateway between the human and the divine worlds, like the rising sun, that is, out of the oriental horizon.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The identification of the *Heret-ib* in the *Akh-menu* as the place for the initiation ritual suggested by J.-M. Kruchten is fundamentally based on the analogy he draws between this very *Heret-ib* and those of later temples, just in front of the sanctuary (Kruchten 1989, 245–51). But, as we have seen, the actual holy of holies in the *Akh-menu* was not situated in the close vicinity of this so-called festival hall, and, moreover — as Kruchten himself noted (1989, 191–92) — it is only in the “Botanical Garden” that the description given by Nespaqashuty of the gods revealed as emanations of the local divine lord, visible “with him, (arranged) in two rows,” can make sense.

<sup>13</sup> This seems to be a very plausible explanation of the symbolic meaning of the physical arrangement described by (or to) Nespaqashuty, but this architectural structure must also have been influenced by the almost identical one in the inner sanctuary of the Middle Kingdom temple of Amun (cf. Gabolde 1998, pl. 1; Carlotti 2001, 21). When the latter was erected, the northward orientation of its sanctuary might have been linked with the theological connection between Amun and its Heliopolitan model (Gabolde 1998, 143–58).

Furthermore, the references to the initiation ritual state that the candidate was supposed to travel the sky in order to reach the god’s realm via the passage of the *ꜥḥ.t*-horizon. If, as suggested above, the four columns of the antechamber refer to the four cardinal corners of the world, they should have been positioned not on a line but as a square. Since a sizeable sphinx obstructed the passage between each outer pair of columns (fig. 3.1:3), the initiate had to go between the two central columns and, thus, to pass between the hindquarters of the two sphinxes in order to see the god in his sanctuary and to symbolically access the *ꜥḥ.t*-gateway between this world and the other. On the basis of these observations, we might consider the possibility that this deliberate architectural and sculptural composition is an example of the well-known principle of “rabattement” or folding back, very common in ancient Egyptian two-dimensional art but transferred here in three dimensions.<sup>14</sup> If this hypothesis is correct, the initiate had to pass between the hindquarters of the two sphinxes, just as, in order to reach the beyond, it was necessary to clear a path between the two Aker(u)-lions or -sphinxes, positioned back to back, representing the *ꜥḥ.t*-horizon in ancient Egyptian cosmography (Hornung 1975, cols. 114–15).

This interpretation fits perfectly with what we know about the layout of the place of initiation, which was used to elucidate “the secrets of the luminous world of the gods.” It also permits an explanation of why the four columns — if they indeed refer to the four cardinal corners of the world — were aligned on the east–west axis and why the two sphinxes of Thutmose III were arranged in such an atypical position.<sup>15</sup>

We know from numerous other textual references that, according to the Theban theology, Amun was identified with the sun-god as the creator, the supreme god and generator of life in any of its aspects (Assmann 1983; Gabolde 1998, 143–58). This syncretism is precisely what is made manifest in the architectural and decorative structure of the “Botanical Garden.” Therefore we can presume that it was the core of the mysteries revealed to the initiated when led into this highly sacred place of Karnak precinct.

To conclude, I would like to add, on a more methodological and epistemological level, that, as Philippe Derchain and his followers have shown in their studies of the “grammaire du temple,” it is obviously necessary to combine the analysis of the architecture, the images (statues and two-dimensional decoration), and the texts in order to try to understand the meaning of a sacred place (a temple or a tomb<sup>16</sup>) in ancient Egypt. Such studies have also demonstrated that the temple (or the tomb) is not just a petrified ritual space and that there is always a formal structuring which goes further, which is significant and which transforms the structure into a meaningful theater, interactive with the ritual itself, as here, in the “Botanical Garden” of Thutmose III.

<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere I have shown that this principle was also in use in statuary, another three-dimensional art (Laboury 2000).

<sup>15</sup> Another possible interpretation of the atypical position of these two sphinxes — less likely to me — is to suppose that they were understood as being not back-to-back but face-to-face, in another composition which seems also to allude to the rising of the sun, according to a fragmentary monument discovered in room XXXIII – SW1 of the *Akh-menu* and analyzed by P. Bargaet (1962, 202, n. 3).

One can of course wonder why ancient Egyptians positioned things one way if they were supposed to be (at least mentally) seen in another, or, in other words, why they did not position the sphinxes back-to-back in an explicit and unambiguous ordering. The answer appears rather simple. As I have shown with some examples of the

use of this “rabattement,” or folding back, principle in statuary compositions, the point is to produce different levels of meaning with the same physical object (Laboury 2000, 91–92). So, here, the two sphinxes might represent the Aker- or *ꜥḥ.t*-gateway between the two parts of the cosmos, but, at the same time, as effigies of pharaoh, they face the god in his sanctuary and they may have received (or may have been supposed to give) offerings, by virtue of the two offering tables that were found close to them (*supra* and Laboury 1998, 180–81). They may also have protected the rising of the god, as on the monument studied by Bargaet. So the idea seems to be to enrich and increase the meaning of the icon.

<sup>16</sup> For an example of “grammaire du temple” analysis of a tomb, see Laboury 1997.

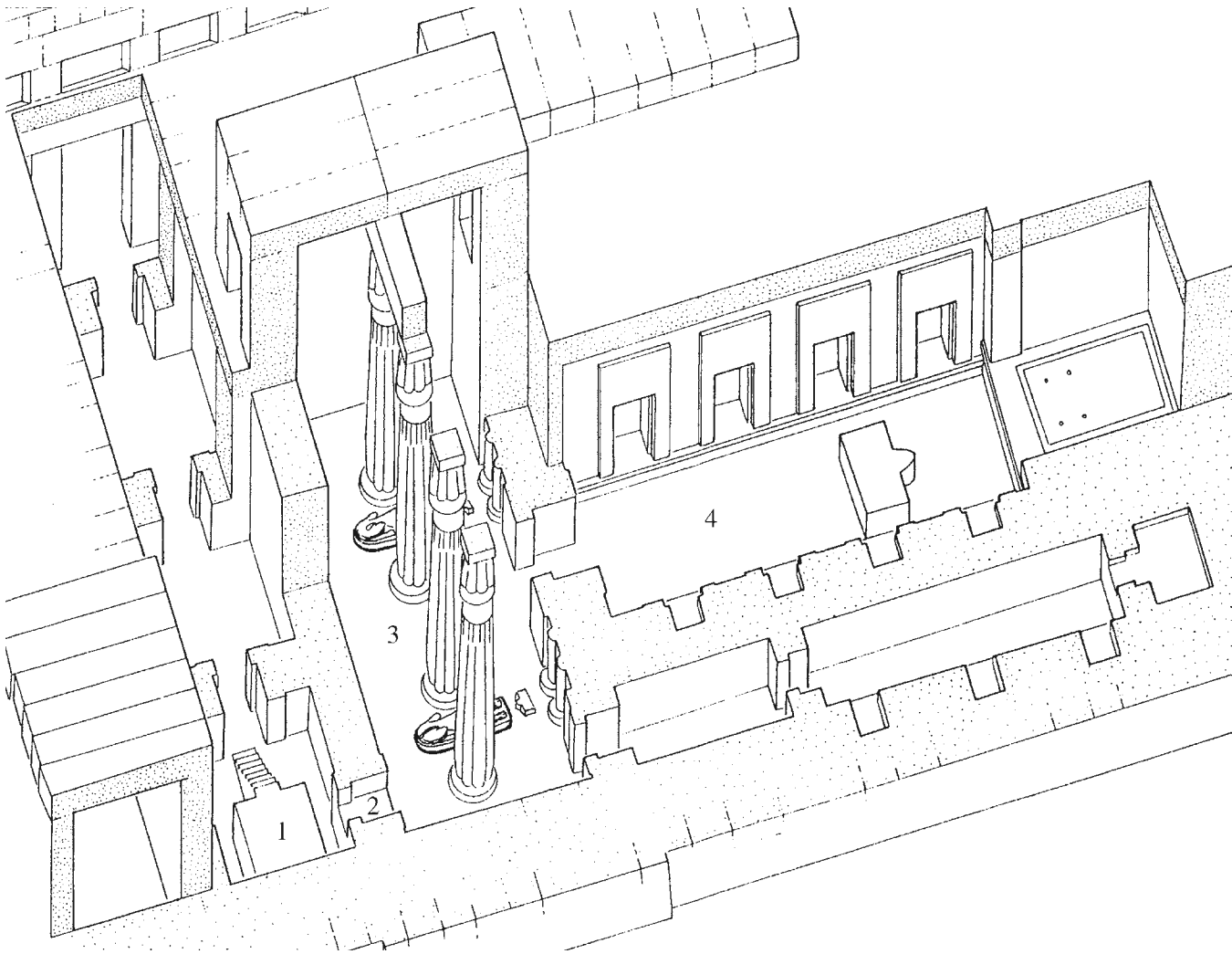


Figure 3.1. Layout of the Hidden Sanctuary of the *Akh-menu* of the So-called “Botanical Garden” of Thutmose III at Karnak (after Arnold 1992, p. 43)



## ABBREVIATION

FNRS                      Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique

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## 4

# PHARAONIC BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS AND TEMPLE DECORATION\*

SILKE GRALLERT, UNIVERSITY OF BONN

“He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amun-Ra” — this is the beginning of most translations of the dedication formula in Egyptological publications. Although its grammatical structures have been much discussed, especially during the last decade, it is still encumbered by standard translations.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, in this paper, I would like to give an introductory definition of building inscriptions as a genre — the dedication formula being a constituent part of it — and to start with an analysis of its syntactical structures by means of a textual-linguistic approach, for this is the only possible way to understanding its role in the concepts and decorative programs of temples. Starting with a discussion of the dedication formula, I briefly review the principles of temple decoration at different levels. Taking the Luxor temple of Amenhotep III as an example, I point out the importance of building inscriptions from the viewpoint of the history of construction of different parts of this temple and to touch briefly upon its restoration inscriptions.

## DEFINITION OF THE BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

Following Rainer Stadelmann (1975), I define building inscriptions as those referring to the foundation of sacral structures (temples and tombs); to the consecration of cult objects to gods, deified kings, or the deceased (royal or private persons); and to donations in general, for example, to those of statues, offering tables, and false doors (mainly by private persons).<sup>2</sup>

The data assembled according to these criteria include more than 2,000 inscriptions that have been systematized and discussed in my doctoral thesis (Grallert 2001). On the face of it, these texts belong to quite different genres, such as:

- Autobiographies and donation inscriptions of private persons
- *Königsnovelle*
- Dedication formulae
- Royal decrees

To justify the inclusion of such a varied group of texts and to make them comparable, I have categorized them according to different textual-linguistic criteria after Jansen-Winkel 1994, such as “function of the text” (*Textfunktion*), “form of the text” (*Textform*), and “producer of the text” (*Textproduzent*).<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions were dedicated either by kings or by officials, but since the latter usually could not place their texts in temples, they are not considered in this paper.

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\* I am sincerely grateful to all those who helped to improve my English: Heide Blödorn, Andrey O. Bolshakov, Andrea Klug, Holger Kockelmann; however, the author bears all the responsibility for the contents. Apart from the footnotes added, the paper is published as it was presented at the British Museum, London.

<sup>1</sup> Compare prior to 2001, Grallert 2001, 34 n. 1; omitted is Depuydt 2001.

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<sup>2</sup> I excluded donations of food offerings of any kind from my study, although the Egyptians sometimes used the same types of inscriptions as they used for building inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Grallert 2001, 4–14.

Building activities of Egyptian kings and their donations to temples could be recorded in at least eleven different types of inscriptions. Five types of inscriptions have a sentence form, while the other six types do not have the structure of a sentence.<sup>4</sup> These latter are categorized as “primary building inscriptions” (Grallert 2001, 9). Usually brief and of standardized formulaic nature, they relate directly to the *Textträger*, that is, the architectural element on which they are written, and thus, emphasize its function. The relationship between the contents of an inscription and its *Textträger* is expressed by *non-verbal* means, and the arrangement of the text usually conforms to definite rules.

Texts consisting of complete sentences belong to the group called “secondary building inscriptions” (Grallert 2001, 9). These are longer inscriptions of more complex structure, including narrations of building activities and donations, as well as other topics. Among them are, for example, the “texte de la jeunesse” (*Königsnovelle*)<sup>5</sup> and the great stela of Amenhotep III devoted to his building activities in the Theban area and placed in his mortuary temple at Kom el-Hettan (royal self-praise/*Königliches Selbstlob*).<sup>6</sup> Their relationship to the *Textträger* is expressed *verbally*,<sup>7</sup> and their disposition is less predictable.

### PRIMARY BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS AS LABELS

In this paper I discuss only primary building inscriptions — formulae that can be seen most often in temples. As I have already said, these formulae refer to their *Textträger* by non-verbal means. This very phenomenon is the crucial point for understanding this kind of inscription.

As a category, these formulaic dedicatory inscriptions function as labels similar to tags we use in daily life. For example, the signboard “New Scotland Yard,” placed by the entrance to a modern office building in London, tells us — people with a Western cultural background — that this building is the headquarters of the London police and, thus, it informs us of the function of the edifice. In the same non-verbal way, Egyptian non-sentence inscriptions are related to the architectural elements on which they appear, and by their contents they specify the person who dedicated those elements, which is the most important information they divulge. They may also name the recipient of the donation and/or define the kind of the structure and its function. The fixed position of these labels on the *Textträger* helps — in the same manner as our modern tags — to interpret the original significance of the structures.

I illustrate this by the following examples. If we encounter the name of a king, with or without epithets, at an entrance to a temple, we must interpret this as: “[This structure (namely the entrance) is a work/donation of] the king NN” — in other words, it is a dedicatory note. If such a label is written on a garment of a royal statue, it must be interpreted as: “[This object (namely the statue) is that of] king NN and he appears in this or that role” — thus, here it is an identifying note, but not a dedicatory label. When a king’s name is present on a private statue, it means that this sculpture is a gift of the king to this person, or that the king allowed the official to place his statue in a temple — here the label is a permit. The last example demonstrates how restricted our knowledge is even when it concerns the affairs of higher officials.

Another example may be cited from the sphere of private monuments. A short inscription *jrj.n NN* occurs very often on private stelae (fig. 4.1). It can often be written in a separate horizontal line in the lowermost part of the stela, which means that the official who is depicted above made and/or donated the stela for the god or for the private person shown in front of him (fig. 4.1a). Here it is clearly a dedicatory label. It may be worth remarking that this *jrj.n NN* is a relative form without an explicit antecedent, as we see it later in the royal dedication formula. Alternatively, the same short inscription can also be placed directly in front of the standing or kneeling figure of the official and be followed by another text (fig. 4.1b, c). In this case, the short formulaic wording is a label to the depicted *action* of the official (most often he is shown in a posture of adoration), meaning, “this is the (act of) adoration that the official NN has made ....” This interpretation is proved by the cases when the action is de-

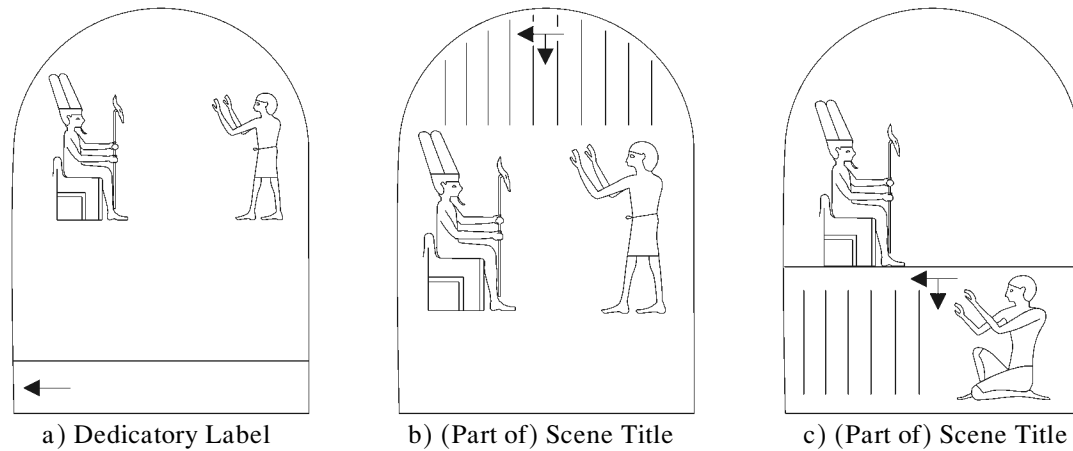
<sup>4</sup> For a definition of the sentence and non-sentence forms, see Jansen-Winkeln 1990 and (following him) Grallert 2001, 10–12.

<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, many *Königsnovelle* refer to building activities as an important royal duty to the gods. Other topics are the military activities of Egyptian kings. For a new definition of the *Königsno-*

*velle* genre, see Jansen-Winkeln 1993, with a discussion of the older literature.

<sup>6</sup> For the “royal self-praise” as a form of building inscription, see Grallert 2001, 114–18; Jansen-Winkeln 1994, 169–70.

<sup>7</sup> Most often by demonstrative pronouns.

Figure 4.1. Possible Positions of *inj.n NN* on Private Stelae

scribed explicitly, for example, *rdj j3w ... jrj.n NN* “this is the giving of praise to ... that NN has made” (Bruyère and Kuentz 1926, 46; Kitchen 1975, 384, 9+12).

My aim here is to demonstrate that these brief, formalized, and standard texts are not as simple as they may seem and that they deserve thorough research. The disposition (context/*Anbringungsort*) of the text must be considered for its interpretation that, in its turn, can be complicated if the *Textträger* itself has an iconic function, as in the case of statues.

#### TYPES OF DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS IN EGYPTIAN TEMPLES

Let us turn to a closer examination of dedicatory labels in temples. We usually find a simple form containing the name, titles, and epithets of the king, which is not, however, related to a representation of the king. As has been demonstrated above, such labels must be interpreted as dedicatory: “[this structure is a work/donation of] the king NN.” They are arranged mainly on architraves, portals, columns, parapets, and ceilings and can form upper or lower horizontal borders of decorated parts of the walls (Grallert 2001, 24); as a rule, they do not occur with or within ritual scenes.

The king’s name can be expanded by participles as well as by the adverbial *sdm=f* or *sdm.n=f* forms into a eulogistic epithet of the king. If these constructs contain more detailed data on royal building activities besides generalized expressions like *jrj mnw*, *mnwy*, *wr mnw*, I call them “eulogizing dedicatory labels” (fig. 4.2) (Grallert 2001, 24–28).

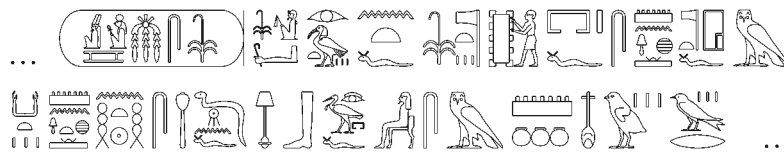


Figure 4.2. Eulogizing Dedicatory Label (after Rondot 1997, pl. 7, no. 7)

Like the basic form of dedicatory labels, such inscriptions mean “[this structure is a work/donation of] the king NN ..., who built his house, ennobled his temple with splendid works of eternity, illuminated for him his noble forecourt with perfect monuments ...” The locations where they are carved are usually comparable with those of the basic form; they also never occur in ritual scenes.

The most important expanded form of the simple dedicatory labels is the “dedication formula” (the *relativer Widmungsvermerk*), which is — with more than 800 examples — the most common type of building inscription in pharaonic Egypt (Grallert 2001, 34–60). A perfective relative form of *jrj* with its own complements

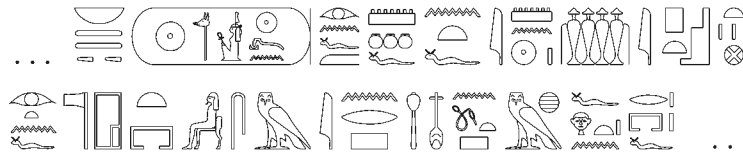


Figure 4.3. Dedication Formula (after Rondot 1997, pl. 38, no. 75)

extends the basic form of dedicatory labels, which is simply the royal name. As in the case of the *jrj.n* NN formula of private persons, the perfective relative form shows no explicit antecedent<sup>8</sup> (fig. 4.3).

The typical basic form reads: KN *jrj.n=f m mnw=f n jtj=f* GN. As a label with the non-sentence form, it can be paraphrased: “[this structure is a work/donation of] the king NN that he has made as his monument for his father, the god GN.” The dedication formula tells us who constructed the building and for whom it was meant, thus providing this data contains important additional information about the structure itself.

The dedication formula may be extended by means of a second section, which is an appositive infinitive with complements, for example, *jr.t n=f hw.t-ntr šps m jnr hd nfr n rwd.t m hft-hr n r3-pr=f ...* (fig 4.3). This expanded dedication formula, consisting of both sections together, must be interpreted as “[this structure is a work/donation of] the king NN that he has made as his monument for his father, the god NN, (namely) building for him an august temple of sandstone in front of his temple ...” The second part defines the object of the king’s activities, the monument or more generally the *Textträger*, and describes it in detail. Here the unstated antecedent of the relative form is specified grammatically by means of an apposition.

Dedication formulae are located in the same places as the simple and the eulogizing dedicatory labels. Like the latter, they do not appear in ritual scenes.<sup>9</sup>

It is obvious that when using the appositive infinitive *jr.t n=f hw.t-ntr*, the Egyptians emphasized the king’s role in the process of construction (Vittmann 1977, 25). This infinitive corresponds to the perfective relative form *jrj.n=f* in the first part of the formula that shows the relative past time character of the action itself. Thus, the architectural element with the inscription on it is a material result of the completed activities of the king in the past.

If the second part of the formula mentions a certain part of a temple, such as a pylon or a sanctuary, the text is placed, as my study has demonstrated, on this very architectural element, that is, the relation of the text and the bearer is even closer. If a more general term as *hw.t-ntr* or *pr* is used, the text can be located anywhere inside the structure mentioned. On the other hand, this feature of the two-part dedicatory formulae can be of importance for reconstructions of destroyed temples, for it tells us that the structure included certain constituents, such as pylons,<sup>10</sup> and that the *Textträger* of these inscriptions belong to the mentioned architectural element. An accurate analysis of the architectural elements mentioned in the dedicatory inscriptions can provide new information on the history of the construction of a temple, as I demonstrate below based on the inscriptions of the Luxor temple.

## THE ROLE OF DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS IN DECORATION OF EGYPTIAN TEMPLES

Egyptian temple decoration consists of inscriptions and representations that quite often form an inseparable unity, the so-called offering or ritual scenes. As minutely demonstrated by Arnold (1962) and Gundlach (1981, 1986), every detail of an Egyptian temple has its own meaning and is situated in its proper place within the system of decoration (*grammaire du temple* or *Dekorationssprache*). Altogether they constitute a complex and unique concept of a certain temple structure. According to Gundlach (1986, 1994, 1995), the texts and representations of an Egyptian temple consist of several semantic levels (*Dekorationsachsen*) that, as a whole, form the system of decoration that transforms a temple into a properly functioning cult entity securing the world’s welfare.

<sup>8</sup> For the very few records showing an explicit antecedent, see Grallert 2001, 39.

<sup>9</sup> For very few exceptions, see Grallert 2001, 51–52.

<sup>10</sup> Grallert 1999; Grallert 2001, 570–72.

## SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TEMPLE DECORATION

In addition to building inscriptions and ritual scenes, both of which belong to the decoration of a temple, the forms of certain architectural elements contain information and can offer clues to the meaning of the edifice. In most Egyptian temples these elements include columns imitating plants and entrance pylons symbolizing the horizon as the place of the sunrise (Graefe 1983). Floors and the lower parts of the walls refer to the earth as a power vitalizing everything on it; thus, the latter may be painted black or bear long processions of fecundity figures.<sup>11</sup> Columns function as the supports of the sky, which is symbolized by ceilings covered with representations of uncountable stars, constellations, or flying birds. Building inscriptions are important elements of this general decorative program of a temple. For example, dedication formulae and simple dedicatory labels that occupy the same place within the temple structure often appear on axially symmetrical parts of the temple and complement each other semantically. It should be stressed again that normally they are not used within ritual scenes.

Dedicatory inscriptions are usually arranged on architectural elements that have no iconic meaning of their own. They are the only texts placed on architraves; on ceilings they appear as borderlines, apart from the figurative decoration; and on walls they serve as the upper or lower bandeau inscriptions (for this term, see Kitchen 1984). They often dominate over the decoration of the portals, where jambs and thickness of the portals can also bear ritual scenes. The same holds true in regard to columns with their own iconic meaning on which longer texts other than dedication formulae and simple dedicatory labels are rare. Thus, the architecture and the figurative decoration create a cosmos *en miniature* organized by dedicatory inscriptions that name the builder and the god as owners of the structure and, therefore, distinguish it from other temples. They individualize the temple, providing special information concerning the architecture itself. As a whole, they function as a network covering the temple and emphasizing its essential architectural elements. They accentuate horizontals when written on architraves and lintels and when forming the bandeau inscriptions, and they emphasize verticals when present on the columns, pillars, jambs, and in or next to the flagpole niches. Architraves running parallel to the main axis of a temple and the sequence of doors leading from a forecourt to a sanctuary introduce a three-dimensionality into that network. The temple decoration, with its various ritual or offering scenes, is included in the network of horizontal and vertical lines of dedicatory inscriptions that encapsulate everything that happens between the earth (the floor) and the sky (the ceiling).

## TEMPORAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TEMPLE DECORATION

Besides helping to organize the spatial structuring of the temple decoration, the dedication formulae have another function that can be identified, thanks to their innate syntactical structure. The use of the perfective relative form in the first part of the formula provides a context for the rest of the temple decoration, which is dominated by the ritual scenes in a closed sphere of the relative past. That is, the architectural achievement of the king is accomplished and the edifice is donated to a god, both actions guaranteeing that the building is ready to function as a sacred space for religious rituals. As for the second part of the dedication formula *jr.t n=f ḥw.t-ntr*, there is a very close relationship between it and the titles of the ritual scenes. Their similarity is especially obvious when we compare the title of the ritual scene *s'ḥ' ḥw.t Nb-Mꜣꜣ.t-R'w* on the gateway of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan (Bickel 1997, 70, 109 [Szene A/L.1]) with the second part of the dedication formula of the same king in the hypostyle hall of the Luxor temple (*wḥm*) *s'ḥ' jp.t (rsj.t)* (Helck 1957, 1699, 4; 14; 1700, 10; 1703, 17; 1705, 8). Similarly, the title of a ritual scene in the Chapelle blanche (*s'ḥ' wṯs.t ḥm.tj Hr.w*) clearly demonstrates that the process of building a temple is a ritual act (Lacau and Chevrier 1969, pl. 40, scène 28'). Thus, building inscriptions form a certain cocoon of relative past time in which the contemporary ritual scenes belonging to another temporal sphere are embedded.

Texts other than dedication formulae or simple dedicatory labels that are part of ritual or offering scenes have different functions. It is important to observe that ritual scenes are inseparable totalities of texts *and* images: the texts often explain and describe representations or parts of them. In ritual scenes the king usually plays an active role, while the god very often appears as a passive receiver of religious actions. Identifying labels regularly occur

<sup>11</sup> As far as I know, no remains of black temple floors are archaeologically documented, but one must consider basalt pavements in the great open courtyards of the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes of the

Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Interestingly, we do not find dedication formulae in the royal temples, which, according to the results of my study, is only natural.

above the images of kings and gods, revealing their names and titles (Jansen-Winkel 1994, 74–76 [*Namensvermerk* as *Beischrift*]). The labels *dd mdw* or *dd mdw jn* accompany gods' figures and introduce the following direct speech by them (Jansen-Winkel 1994, 100–03). This speech often consists of the well-known formula *dj.n(=j) n=k XY* (Jansen-Winkel 1994, 191–94 [*Zuweisungstext*]). Sometimes the gods at first express their satisfaction at the building of the temple where the ritual scene is depicted and then they grant some benefits to the king according to the principle *do ut des*. As Pascal Vernus (1985) has demonstrated, these perfective *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* forms have a special function of performative statements with the meaning: “Herewith I favor you (i.e., the king) with a gift of XY.” They have no relative past time reference and the action is not completed.<sup>12</sup> Another label included in ritual or offering scenes describes the depicted action of the king as well (Jansen-Winkel 1994, 97–99 [*Szenentitel*]). The nucleus of these titles of the scenes is an infinitive plus direct object, for example, *jr.t sntr*, *rd.t jrp*, *rd.t jr.t*, *rd.t t(3) h<sub>d</sub>*. The action of protective hovering birds above or in front of the king's figure in the ritual scenes is also meant as a continuous one. Thus, the *dj=f/dj=s'nh* etc. forms, which so often follow the images or the names of the birds, are adverbial forms as well.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, the ritual or offering scenes as a whole do not contain forms that refer to the past. As a matter of fact, they present an everlasting positive result of all religious actions that take place in the inner spaces of the temple, whereas the dedicatory inscriptions that correspond to the actions in the past function as a necessary prerequisite that allows the ritual or offering scenes to ensure the welfare of the gods and of Egypt.

### HINTS FOR A NEW BUILDING PHASE OF LUXOR TEMPLE?

In the second part of my paper, I point out some observations that are based on the study of building inscriptions in Luxor temple, apart from the textual-linguistic aspects I have already dealt with. I have chosen this Theban temple of Amenhotep III because of its good state of preservation, even though the supports and ceiling constructions, the most common places for building inscriptions, are often missing. Nevertheless, it is not my aim to propose an interpretation of the whole structure of the temple, and I restrict myself mainly to some points concerning its history under Amenhotep III and its restoration after the Amarna age.<sup>14</sup>

The oldest part of the building, the temple house proper, excluding the hypostyle hall (fig. 4.4), stands on a platform with a cornice. Along the western, eastern, and southern sides of the platform, under the torus, are building inscriptions, which are its sole external decoration. It is remarkable that these texts do not extend farther than the entrance to room V (fig. 4.4: no. A3/Wf029-031, A3/KS006).<sup>15</sup> These inscriptions thoroughly describe the splendor and exclusiveness of the carefully chosen materials: the temple is built of sandstone (*jnr n rwd.t*), the doors of conifer wood are covered with gold and inlaid with black copper (*3 m 3' b3k m nbw nbd.w m hmtj km*), the temple bears the great name of Amun made of precious stones and gold (*3.t nb.t šps.t, nbw*), the floors are of silver (*s3't.w m h<sub>d</sub>*), and the sand underneath is incense (*š' hr=s m sntr*). Flagpoles of electrum and black copper (*sn.wt m d'm, hmtj km*) are mentioned as well as the columns in the shape of lotus buds (*w<sub>d</sub>3y m nhbw.t*). In a much-damaged passage, A3/Wf023, it is noted that the structure, which may be the former temple of Luxor, was destroyed, then enlarged, and finally completed. Its architecture (a platform with a cornice) is that of a monumental divine shrine and the inscriptions define it as an *jp.t* — a term that was introduced by Hatshepsut and never used again for another building in the later history of Egypt.

More building inscriptions are located in the inner rooms that are situated sequentially along the main north-south axis. Placed on the doors and architraves of rooms V, VIII, and XI, they lead into the central bark room of Amun-Ra. Here the front part of the temple ends. Surprisingly, we learn from the dedication formula on the both sides of the entrance to room V (fig. 4.4: no. A3/Wf025) that Amenhotep III renewed (*sm3wj*) that august door. This is quite an amazing fact since we know that he built Luxor temple anew and, therefore, dismantled all the

<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to note that the gods never order the king to build a temple, whereas wars can be undertaken only at the behest of Amun-Ra. Thus, the two most important activities of Egyptian rulers dealt with in many texts are treated quite differently in the official royal ideology.

<sup>13</sup> I thank Peter Dorman for turning my attention to these birds and their inscriptions.

<sup>14</sup> The *Habilitationsschrift* of W. Waitkus on “Cult and Function of Luxor Temple,” finished in 2003 as announced in “Informationsblatt der deutschsprachigen Ägyptologie 61, 1 March 2003,” remained inaccessible for the preparation of this article.

<sup>15</sup> For the codes of the building inscriptions, refer to Grallert 2001 and to the plans of Luxor temple where their position is given (figs. 4.4–4.6).



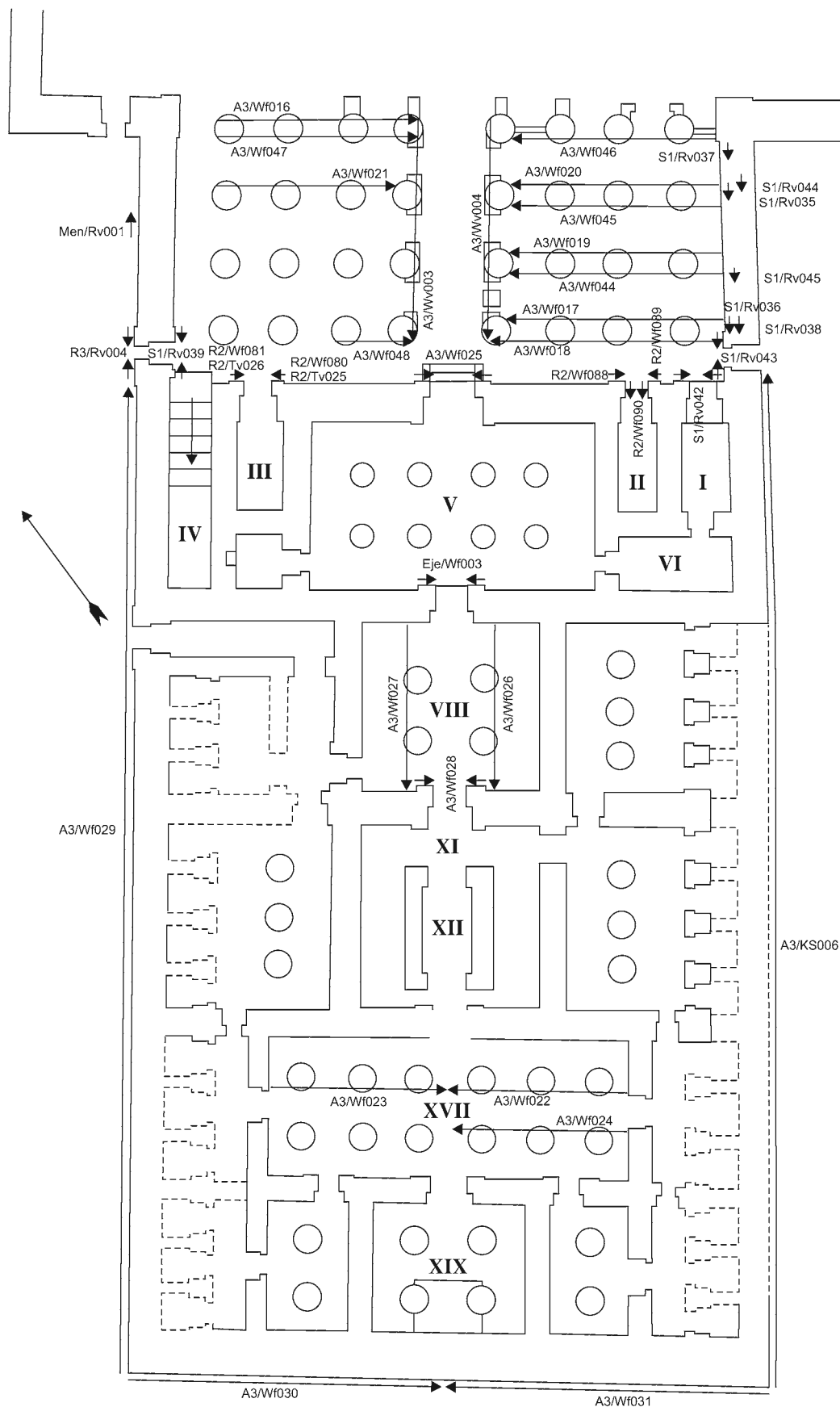


Figure 4.4. Plan of Luxor Temple Proper, with Inscription Locations Indicated (after Nelson 1941, pl. 23, and Grallert 2001, pl. 25)

earlier structures of the Thutmoside age. If we presume that the door was reworked under the Ptolemies, it may be possible that the older texts of Amenhotep III suffered from these actions and that the keyword *smꜣwj* refers to the time of the Ptolemaic reworking.

In the following hall of the offering table (room VIII), located directly before the central bark room, single-part dedication formulae placed on the architraves contain no detailed information about the building itself (fig. 4.4: no. A3/Wf026–027). On the jambs of the rear door we encounter another dedication formula of Amenhotep III that names the gate<sup>16</sup> leading to the central bark room: “Nebmaatra who lets appear the *nfr.w* of his father Amun” (fig. 4.4: no. A3/Wf028).

Unfortunately, several building inscriptions inside the central bark hall were most probably lost when Alexander the Great set up his sanctuary within it and constructed a new ceiling, and when a real doorway replaced the original false door in the back wall of the room. Eventually, renovation of many of the rear rooms of the so-called “temple fermé” doubtless resulted in similar losses.

Only the architraves of the east–west oriented room XVII preserve dedication formulae today (fig. 4.4: no. A3/Wf022–024). As in all the inscriptions in the inner rooms of the temple house, the latter is simply named *jp.t* and is not described in more detail.<sup>17</sup>

The totality of the building inscriptions offers only very scarce information on the rear temple structure itself. As it is repeated everywhere, this is a new *jp.t* for Amun-Ra, made of valuable building materials.

Turning now to the hypostyle hall, we can see that the dedicatory labels here are more detailed and give some hints of the building phases during the long reign of Amenhotep III (fig. 4.4: no. A3/Wf016–021, A3/Wv003–004, A3/Wf044–048<sup>18</sup>). The structure is usually called a newly built (*m mꜣw.t*) *jp.t*, but once it is named *hw.t-ntr* (A3/Wf021). It is made of sandstone (*jnr n rwd.t*) covered with gold, electrum, and precious stones (*shkr.tj m nbw* or *ḏꜥm, ꜥ.t šps.t*), the latter brought from foreign countries. This new *jp.t* is said to be erected anew or newly (*whm sꜥhꜥ*), enlarged (*sꜥ.tj*), widened (*swsh.tj*), and made higher (*skꜣ.tj*) in comparison with what was done in former times (*m tnt r hpr.w ḏr-bꜣh*). The dedicatory labels also describe it as a resting place of the lord of the gods (*s.t htp n nb ntr.w*) that is similar to the one in the heaven.<sup>19</sup> In summary,

- the building inscriptions cover the platform of the temple house not farther than room V and do not appear, as one might expect, in the hypostyle hall;
- the columns in the hypostyle hall are slightly moved from their originally planned places, marked by depressions in the surface of the floor (Schwaller de Lubicz 1957, pl. 44);
- the height of the roof of the hypostyle hall and the level of the cavetto are not the same as those of the rear temple starting from room V;
- the building inscriptions in the hypostyle hall are remarkable for including royal epithets, which are missing in the rear parts (Bryan 1992, 89); and
- the investigations made by Johnson (1990)<sup>20</sup> and later by Bryan convincingly demonstrate the stylistic differences of the relief decoration between the outer lateral walls of the rooms I/VI and IV/VII, of the inner rooms II, III, V, and of the hypostyle hall (Bryan 1992, 84, fig. 4.8).

If we take the dedicatory inscriptions seriously and if we bear in mind the facts and features outlined above, it may lead us to realize that the hypostyle hall and not the open court of Amenhotep III could be the first extension of the temple house under that king.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> For this kind of building inscription, the so-called “door-labels” (the *Torvermerke*), see Grallert 2001, 15–23; Grothoff 1996.

<sup>17</sup> The original text of Amenhotep III is not very clear because of the Ramesside restorations, and only a new facsimile drawing can help to clarify it.

<sup>18</sup> A3/Wf044–048 are the texts missed in my doctoral thesis. They are cited here for the first time after collating them in situ. The new text numbers are assigned according to the numbering system of Grallert 2001.

<sup>19</sup> We can see here that building inscriptions refer not only to the real architecture, but also to another level of interpretation of the building. The *jp.t* is a copy of the celestial home of the god. Thus, the term *jp.t* belongs more to the sphere of ideological interpretation

than to that of architecture. The paper by J. B. McClain published in this volume demonstrates that Ptolemaic and Roman building inscriptions develop this “mythological” level to a far greater extent.

<sup>20</sup> Compare also the summary of the chronology of the reliefs in Romano 1990, 48 n. 7, where he states that the style of the reliefs of Phase I can be found in the rooms I–XXIII.

<sup>21</sup> Exactly the same terminology (*skꜣj, sꜥꜣ, swsh*) is used by Thutmose IV in Karnak, where he rebuilt the great forecourt of Thutmose II on the east–west axis, by Amenhotep III in Soleb, and by Ramesses XI and the High Priest of Amun Herihor in the temple of Khons at Karnak (Römer 1994, 3–6, 30–34). In all these cases the kings reworked some older (sometimes his own) monuments. Compare Grallert 2001, 153, 222, 297–98, 344–45.

Not being an architect, I can not speculate on the layout of the first building stage of the façade of the temple proper. It is possible that it looked almost as it does today, but it could be different as well. For example, it could be that rooms I to VII, which are the inner ones today, did not exist in their present layout. There may have been fewer chambers, or the temple may have consisted only of one big hall. The mention of flagpoles in the inscriptions on the platform may point to a more closed appearance of the façade after the first stage of the construction. For me, it is difficult to imagine flagpoles in front of an open hypostyle hall, which until now has been included as part of the first building phase. In any case, the flagpoles did not stand in front of a pylon; otherwise this fact would be mentioned in the inscriptions. As is known from the depictions of the shrine of Amun on his river bark (Epigraphic Survey 1994, pl. 68) or from the representations of buildings in the coronation scenes on the back walls of rooms V and XI (Michałowski 1972, pls. 49–50; Abdel-Raziq 1986, 67, 70), flagpoles are associated with shrine-shaped structures and not with open columned halls. It may even be that the curious renewal of the entrance door to room V under Amenhotep III himself could be related to this repeated enlarging of the temple.

Building inscriptions completely cover the architraves of the next building stage, the great festival court built by Amenhotep III (fig. 4.5: nos. A3/Wf011–015, A3/Wv001–002). In these inscriptions Amenhotep III claims that nothing similar was done in former times, that he made unprecedented miracles (*bjꜣj.t tmm.t mꜣꜣ*), and that everything that was done satisfied his father Amun. Luxor temple is described as a favorite place of Amun (*s.t jb pw n nb ntr.w ḥtp jb=f jm=s*), a holy chapel (*ꜥry.t dsr.t*), and a place of Maat where he (Amun) becomes rejuvenated (*s.t=f pw n.t Mꜣꜥ.t ḥwn=f jm=f*). The texts again characterize this part as another extension (*wḥm sꜥḥꜥ, skꜣj, sꜥꜣ, swsh*) without mentioning the court itself, but only the complete temple as an *jp.t* or as an august shrine (*ḥm šps*). But it is obvious, due to the lack of bonding of its masonry with that of the hypostyle hall, that this court is a later stage of the building process.

The dedication formulae at the entrance to the court relate the king to the foreign lands delivering building materials (fig. 4.5: no. A3/Wf009–010). Like the courtyard of Thutmose IV and the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak, this court was used in the course of certain ceremonies for receiving foreign missions and their tributes to the king (Grallert 2001, 297, 314–15).

## BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS OF THE POST-AMARNA AND RAMESSIDE PERIODS AT LUXOR

After a long reign of thirty-eight years, Amenhotep III died, having seen only the third addition to Luxor temple, the colonnade hall, erected with its decoration still unfinished. Tutankhamun continued this task, decorating the northern façade and the inner walls, except for the southern portion, which was completed by Seti I. Dedication formulae on the architraves commissioned by Seti I, following an older redaction of Tutankhamun, refer to the renewals of the *jp.t* in general (Epigraphic Survey 1998, xviii, pls. 196B and 197B).

These activities were followed in the Nineteenth Dynasty by Ramesses II, who extended the temple by means of an open courtyard fronted by a pylon. Building inscriptions of various kinds are located all over this new building, on the walls, gates, obelisks, in the triple shrine, and on the pylon (fig. 4.6). Unlike the building texts of Amenhotep III, the inscriptions of Ramesses II are very precise in describing this new part of Luxor temple (fig. 4.6: R2/Wf070–079, 082–087, 091–096, R2/Tv020–024, R2/Kb003–004). For example, the festival court behind the pylon, with the adjoining columned porticos and the royal statues placed within them, is mentioned, as is the triple shrine and the *wbꜣ*-court equipped with obelisks and statues in front of the pylon. Even the location of this extension in front of the old *jp.t* structure is specified, and the new name of the whole temple consisting of the older parts and the new court is formulated as “Temple of Ramesses-beloved-by-Amun united with eternity in the *pr* of Amen” (*ḥw.t-ntr Rꜥ.w-msj-sw mrj-Jmn ḥnm.t nhḥ m pr Jmn*).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Compare Grallert 2001, 234 with n. 1 (contra Stadelmann).

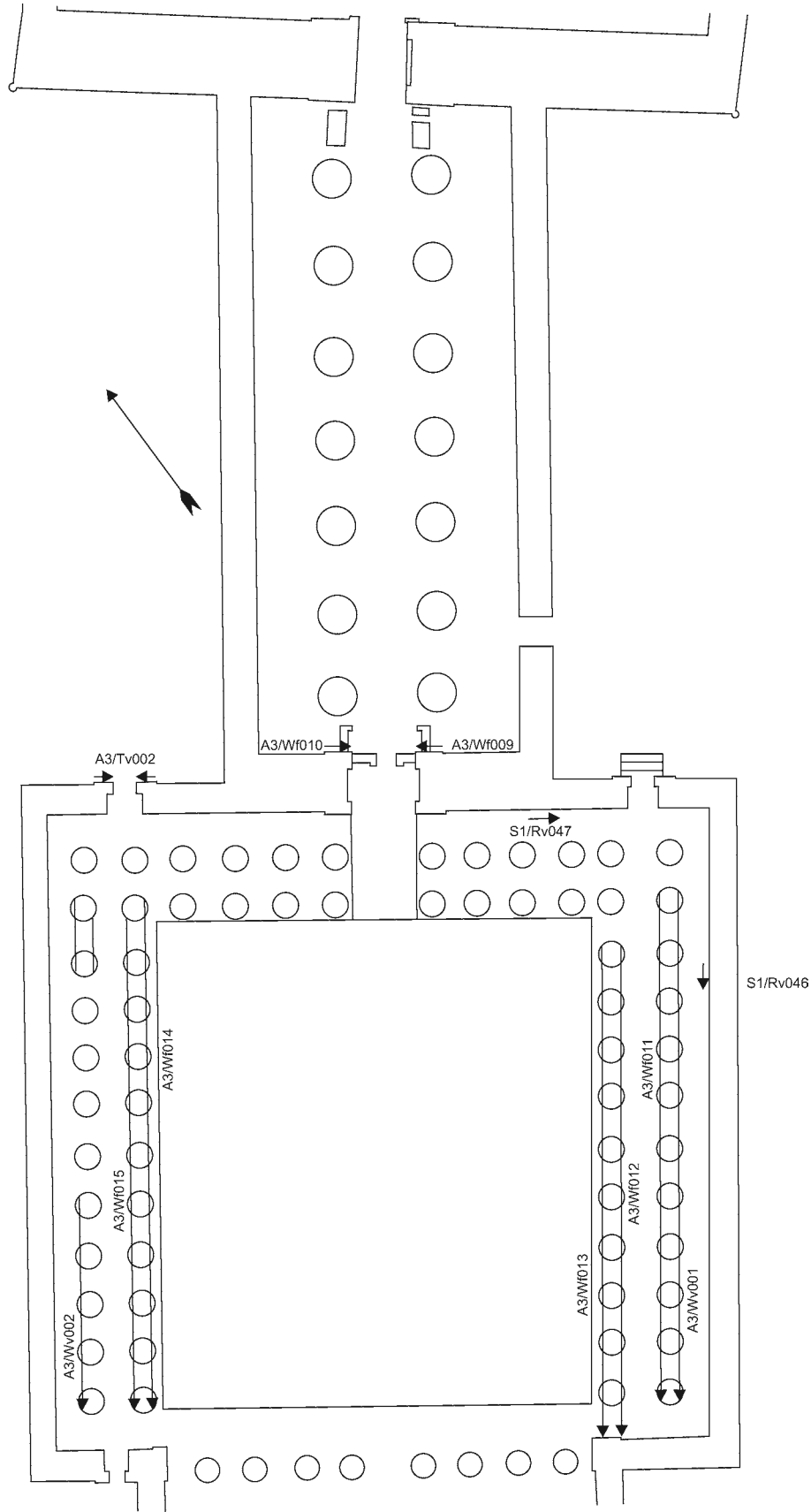


Figure 4.5. Plan of Court of Amenhotep III, Luxor Temple, with Inscription Locations Indicated (after Nelson 1941, pl. 22, and Grallert 2001, pl. 25)

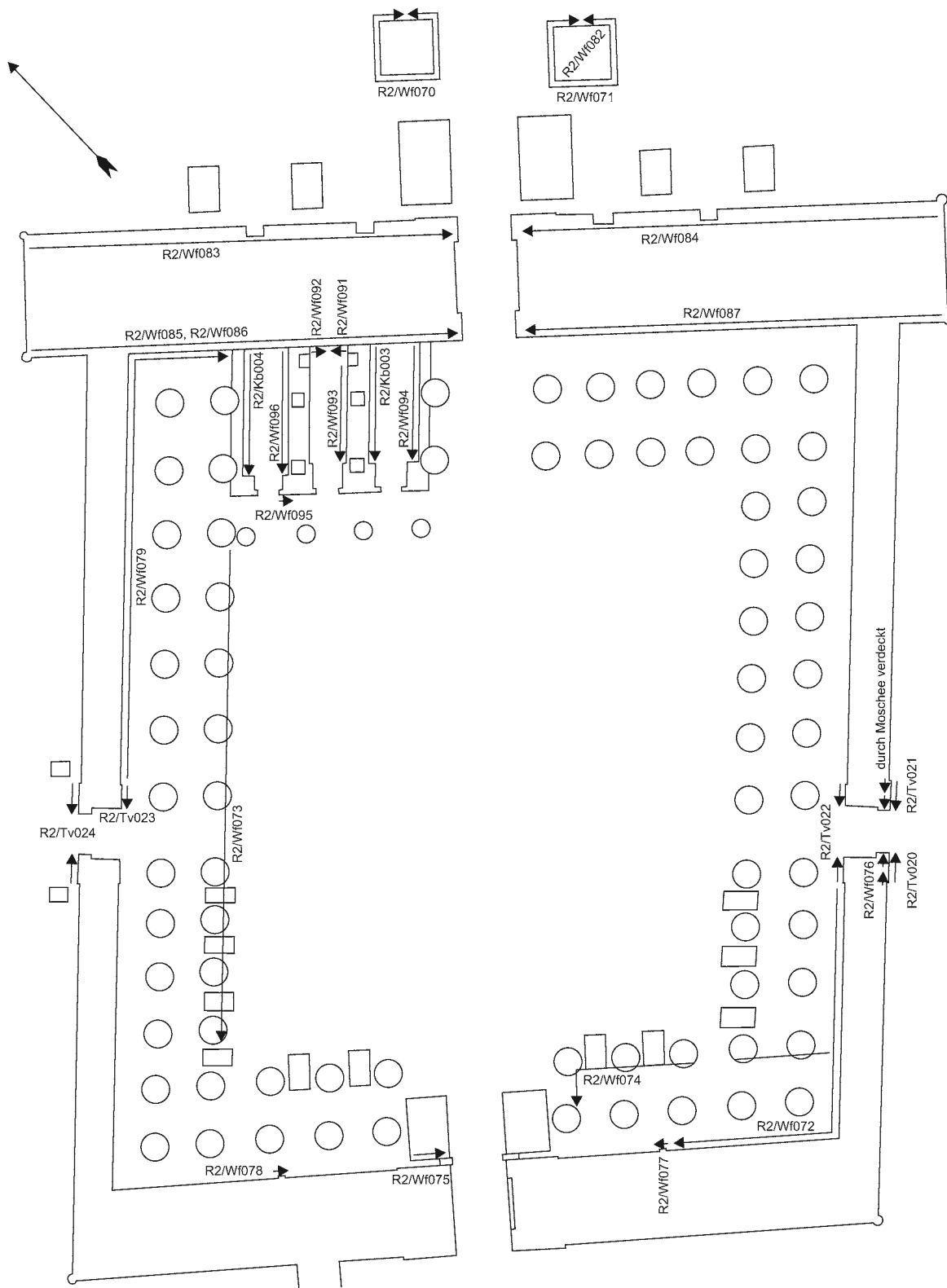


Figure 4.6. Plan of Court of Ramesses II, Luxor Temple, with Inscription Locations Indicated (after Nelson 1941, pl. 21, and Grallert 2001, pl. 27)

## RESTORATION INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD AT LUXOR

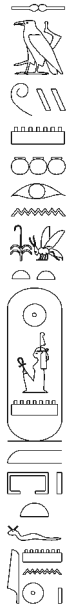


Figure 4.7. Restoration Label  
(after Gayet 1894, pl. 11, fig. 60,  
2nd register)

Apart from his new courtyard, Ramesses II seems to have been involved in the restoration of other texts and representations damaged during the Amarna interlude. Starting with Tutankhamun, kings used a new standardized text for restoration inscriptions (fig. 4.7). These restoration labels (Brand 2000, 45–48; Grallert 2001, 67–73) are of non-sentence form, but their nucleus — an infinitive plus direct object — is followed by a perfective relative form of *jrj* identifying the initiator of the restoration: *smꜣwj mnw jrj.n KN m pr jtjꜣf Jmn-Rꜥ.w*. We may understand this as “(This text stands for) the renewal of the monument that the king NN has made in the temple of his father Amun-Ra.” Not only the new position of the restoration labels — now as an integral part of ritual scenes, mostly besides the divine images — but also the infinitive relate this formula to the timeless captions for ritual or offering scenes like *jr.t snꜣr*. Simultaneously, since the perfective relative form *jrj.n KN* adds a level of completed past action, the ritual scene utterly regains its ability to keep the world functioning after the restoration.

In Luxor, in the court of Amenhotep III and the hypostyle hall, we meet many restoration labels left by Seti I and Ramesses II. As in other Theban temples, the Ramesside restoration labels are concentrated on the outer parts of the temple. In all probability, however, Tutankhamun was the first to restore the damaged reliefs, at the same time that he started decorating the colonnade hall (Epigraphic Survey 1998, xviii). Apparently he did not use restoration labels anywhere in the temple proper.

On the contrary, the dedication formula of Aye commemorates the restoration of the door leading to room VIII (fig. 4.4: Eje/Wf003). If the lower part of the doorjamb was not decorated by Amenhotep III, as the research of Brand suggests (1999, 118–20), then this is indeed the only reliable written evidence of restoration in Luxor temple before the Ramesside age.

The Ramesside kings afterward executed “secondary restorations” here with cosmetic adjustments, as Brand calls them (1999; 2000, 45–48, 93–102). Besides the technical aspect of the restorations, these texts served other purposes. They showed, on the one hand, the devotion of the ruling king to the cult of the gods in the place that, perhaps, was accessible to the audience of high officials; on the other hand, they strengthened the ties with predecessors of the reigning king through their buildings.

## SUMMARY

Building inscriptions, forming one of the largest groups of texts within the written documentation from ancient Egypt, originated at the very beginning of Egyptian civilization and were in use down to the Roman times. Although the non-sentence inscriptions are standardized, the innovations in their use and the development of the new texts demonstrate their adaptability. In this paper I propose an interpretation of the syntax of the building inscriptions with the non-sentence form, of their place and function within the temple decoration, and of the role of the new restoration labels as a reaction to the Amarna period. My intention is to focus primarily on the main importance of these short non-religious texts, as far as they concern sacral architecture and its development. I am well aware that in this short space I can touch only upon some aspects of the building inscriptions, but a better understanding of their non-sentence structure seems to be the crucial point for a further investigation. Finally, I hope that I have managed to demonstrate how manifold is the information that can be gleaned from the building inscriptions.

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## 5

## VEILS, VOTIVES, AND MARGINALIA: THE USE OF SACRED SPACE AT KARNAK AND LUXOR

PETER J. BRAND, UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS

### INTRODUCTION

Visitors to the great Theban temples of Karnak and Luxor are quickly overwhelmed by the profusion of reliefs and hieroglyphic texts that seem to cover every exposed surface of the monuments there. Indeed, the viewer is easily persuaded upon surveying this profusion of carvings that the Egyptians must have abhorred the very notion of a blank wall or undecorated column. The idea is even maintained by some Egyptologists, who insist that Ramesses II and his successors could not abide an undecorated wall.<sup>1</sup> This is not the case, however, as one quickly realizes upon directing one's gaze to the pristine walls and columns in the great First Court of Karnak.

A comprehensive survey of the temples of Luxor and Karnak reveals many bare stretches of wall space. Moreover, if one chronologically filters the reliefs on New Kingdom structures to eliminate inscriptions not coeval with the date of their construction, it is immediately apparent that the exteriors of Eighteenth Dynasty monuments were largely devoid of embellishments. The reliefs we see now were often added to these sanctums decades or even centuries after they were built.<sup>2</sup> The Ramessides in particular are responsible for the profusion of offering scenes which are the lion's share of the subsequent decoration of earlier monuments. In addition, private officials, illiterate pilgrims, High Priests of Amun, and various rulers from the Third Intermediate Period down to Roman times also left their mark through carvings that ranged from formally engraved *ex voto* scenes to pious etchings and graffiti created to suit the needs of popular devotion. The present study is aimed at elucidating the scope of these additions and also their religious and political *raisons d'être* in an effort to better understand this aspect of the use of sacred space in Thebes.

Two distinct epigraphic phenomena associated with the Ramessides were the widespread and seemingly indiscriminate usurpation of statuary and wall reliefs of their predecessors and the addition of bandeaux and marginal texts to existing monuments such as gateways, obelisks, and other monuments. For the most part, such usurpations have been studied when they were thought to have an explicit "political" motivation, particularly in connection with the *damnatio memoriae* of pharaohs such as Hatshepsut and Tutankhamun. By contrast, marginalia apparently lacking such inimical motivations are also common in the Ramesside age, especially under Ramesses II, but since they are not so overtly "political," their inherent purpose is less clear and they have received little study. Most often they are dismissed with the banal explanation that they merely reflect the alleged megalomania of Ramesses II or the retrogression of his inglorious successors. By way of challenging these assumptions, I first observe the successive layers of marginal decoration and usurpation added to one monument — the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. This is followed by a survey of the ambit of supplementary reliefs and bandeau texts accrued by the Ramesside kings to the monuments, especially those at Karnak and Luxor.

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, this assumption, accepted as fact, is among the main supports for Iskander's argument that the war scenes carved on the west wall of the Cour de la cachette at Karnak must date to Ramesses II's reign and not to Merenptah's (Iskander 2002, 325).

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Thutmose III's curtain wall around the main part of Karnak temple was decorated under Ramesses II, while the walls of the Cour de la cachette were not systematically inscribed until Merenptah and the earliest relief there is of post-Amarna date.

With the passing of the Ramessides, Thebes fell under the sway of the high clergy of Amun-Ra and — with the exception of brief interludes such as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty — became something of a backwater during the Third Intermediate Period and later epochs. Compared to the frenzy of building during the New Kingdom, the incidence of new construction in subsequent eras was generally anemic except for a brief renaissance in the Libyan and Kushite dynasties and again under the Ptolemies. Indeed, the pace of new construction had already come to a near halt after the death of Ramesses III.<sup>3</sup> In this environment, existing monuments were adapted to meet the political needs of the kings and high priests as well as the spiritual requirements of the populace.

In the second part of this essay I examine how existing monuments and their reliefs were used and adapted for the votive practices of lay worshipers, especially the veiling and enshrinement of selected divine images as the object of popular cult. The study concludes with an examination of formal and informal<sup>4</sup> *ex votos*, graffiti, and other marks of public piety.

## PART I: MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS AND EXTERIOR WALL DECORATION IN THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD

### MARGINAL DECORATION IN THE KARNAK HYPOSTYLE HALL

As first conceived by Seti I and Ramesses II, the decorative program of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall was not as elaborate or extensive as it ultimately became.<sup>5</sup> This is especially true of the columns. Originally, column decoration was limited to one ritual scene on most of the columns except those on the main east–west axis which had three tableaux circumscribing their diameters. Otherwise, the shafts of the 122 smaller columns were covered with a “bundle pattern” relieved only by a frieze of cartouches at the top of the capitals and a combination of *rekhyet*-bird motifs and triangular papyrus leaf patterns at the base of the shafts. The twelve great columns along the main east–west axis were embellished by Ramesses II from the base of their shafts to the capitals including two rings of vertical cartouches on the upper shafts. On the lower half of these twelve columns, below the scenes, is a horizontal bandeau of titulary in large hieroglyphs that frame a pair of huge vertical cartouches facing the main axis.

The first alterations to the original decorative scheme were made by Ramesses II. The conversion of his own raised relief and that of his father in the southern wing of the hall is well known and need not detain us here.<sup>6</sup> Ramesses later usurped the entire east–west axis of the main temple at Karnak from the façade of the Second Pylon to the eastern end of the Hypostyle Hall, including decoration of Horemhab, Ramesses I, and Seti I.<sup>7</sup> He further arrogated his father’s work on columns facing the north half of the north–south axis and the outer jambs and thickness of the northern gateway.<sup>8</sup> A visitor approaching the façade of the Second Pylon and passing through the Hypostyle Hall along the main processional axes is easily convinced that Ramesses II alone is responsible for its construction and decoration.

Closer examination of the usurpations of Ramesses II reveals an overall pattern. First, a *terminus post quem* for most of them can be established at regnal year 21 based on the orthography of his nomen.<sup>9</sup> The later form of his nomen, *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*, occurs in nearly all of the surcharged cartouches (figs. 5.1 and 5.11).<sup>10</sup> Otherwise, *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-s* occurs only in conversions of bas reliefs into sunk relief in the south wing.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The notable exception being the “gateway” of Ramesses IX, really a dividing wall pierced by a central doorway, that separates the Cour de la cachette from the esplanade between the Third and Fourth Pylons at Karnak (Amer 1999).

<sup>4</sup> “Formal” is the term used by Kemp in describing religious and cultural artifacts stemming from royal patronage and other official sources in contrast to “informal” artifacts produced by average Egyptians (Kemp 1988, ch. 2, esp. pp. 83–91).

<sup>5</sup> Brand 2000, 193–94.

<sup>6</sup> Seele 1940; Murnane 1975.

<sup>7</sup> Seele 1940, 7–22.

<sup>8</sup> Brand 2000, 194.

<sup>9</sup> Until year 21 of his reign, Ramesses II’s nomen at Thebes and most of Upper Egypt and Nubia was *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-s* but was changed to *R<sup>c</sup>-*

*ms-sw* in that year. See Kitchen 1979a. The form *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw* occurred in Lower Egypt throughout the reign from its inception whereas the other form never appeared as implied in Kitchen 1979a; see Brand 2000, 35–36. To the extent this phenomenon is discussed in this essay, it is with reference to monuments from Thebes and other southern locales.

<sup>10</sup> With a few exceptions. Ramesses expropriated the cartouches in tableaux facing the main east–west axis on the first row of smaller columns (Brand 2000, 74–80), to the north of this axis before year 21 along with the west gateway of the hall, all apparently before year 21 since the nomen cartouches are written *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-s* (Nelson and Murnane 1981, pls. 1–4, 133–34). Curiously, two of the scenes on the west gateway (*ibid.*, pls. 131–32) have *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*. See Murnane 1995.

<sup>11</sup> For all this, see Murnane 1975, 179.

Rameses II added new decoration to the large horizontal bands of his titulary that were inserted into the blank space between the stereotyped decoration at the bases of the shafts and the offering scenes above them on the 122 closed-bud papyrus columns (fig. 5.2).<sup>12</sup> As to his purpose in supplementing the relief decoration in the Hypostyle Hall later in his reign, more is said below.

In the later half of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the decorative program of the Hypostyle Hall remained largely untouched. Aside from bandeau texts of Seti II on the north gateway,<sup>13</sup> it was not until the Twentieth Dynasty that any further reliefs were carved there. Rameses III added some marginal inscriptions at the base of the exterior jambs and thicknesses of both the north and south gateways<sup>14</sup> and he placed friezes of vertical cartouches at the base of the interior jambs of these portals.<sup>15</sup> It was left to the ambitious but short-lived pharaoh Rameses IV to radically transform the appearance of the Hypostyle Hall through an extensive program of new decoration on the columns (figs. 5.2 and 5.3). He caused two new cult scenes to be added to most of the columns in the hall, except for those in the southwest quadrant.<sup>16</sup> As a result, three tableaux encompass most of the columns. Rameses IV now appeared in more of the column scenes that Rameses II and Seti I combined. Above these new vignettes, Rameses IV added two large friezes of vertical cartouches framed by three smaller horizontal bandeau texts, fully covering the earlier “bundle pattern” (fig. 5.2). The horizontal and vertical cut lines of this bundle pattern are still visible on all the columns and can best be seen on columns which Rameses IV never adorned. Nineteenth-century watercolors by David Roberts show the color schemes of both types of columns, indicating just how radically the appearance of this forest of columns was transformed by the fourth Rameses (fig. 5.4).

Color only enhanced the prominence of Rameses IV’s titulary on the columns. Beyond the central axis and the southwest quadrant, anywhere a visitor looked it was this Rameses’ name that commanded attention, easily giving the impression that he — and not just his illustrious predecessors — was responsible for the building’s grandeur. Nor was Rameses IV content to remain anonymous in the nave. Although Rameses II had left no blank space on which to carve new decoration, Rameses IV superimposed large vertical cartouches and *serekhs* over the triangular papyrus-leaf patterns at the base of the twelve great columns and cartouches on the 122 closed-bud papyrus columns as well (fig. 5.5). On the great columns, the cartouches crowned with rams’ horns, plumes, sun-disks, and uraei are interspersed with *serekhs* containing his Horus name. Cartouches on the rest of the shafts are topped by sun-disks and double ostrich plumes.

Even a casual glance at any of these large cartouches reveals that they have been altered. Christophe noted that these were originally inscribed by Rameses IV and usurped by Rameses VI,<sup>17</sup> but their history is even more complex. When the cartouches on the great columns were first recorded and collated in the early 1990s by the Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project, it became apparent that there were more hieroglyphs carved in these cartouches than required for the names of these two kings. Yet none of the traces suited any other king. Upon further investigation, it became apparent that Rameses IV had carved his prenomen  $hq\dot{s}-m\dot{s}^c t-R^c stp.n \dot{y}mn$  twice. The first version shows facing images of Ra and Amun at the top of the cartouche, with the other hieroglyphs arranged below. These were later suppressed with plaster — traces of which still persist — so that a new “spelling” of his name could be substituted. The second orthography of his prenomen is dominated by an enormous enthroned figure of Amun (holding a large  $hq\dot{s}$ -scepter) below an equally imposing solar disk (figs. 5.6 and 5.7). These elements were later recycled into Rameses VI’s name when he usurped the cartouches.<sup>18</sup> The nomens were changed in a similar fashion. The primary edition had enthroned figures of the two gods, Amun on the right side, Ra on the left. The later version of the nomen has squatting figures of the gods which have now changed places. Rameses VI reused these larger elements in usurping the nomen cartouches and substituted a large  $hp\dot{s}$ -sword in the fist of the Amun hieroglyph in place of the usual  $w\dot{s}$ -scepter (fig. 5.8). These changes were only made to Rameses IV’s cartouches on the main aisle of the hall, although Rameses VI appears to have usurped similar cartouches at the base of the columns wherever they were. These unorthodox spellings of Rameses IV’s cartouches tended to make the god Amun-Ra and the king’s name itself more visible.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> It is clear that the horizontal bandeaux of titulary below the scenes on the great columns were part of the original design, while those on the 122 smaller columns were secondary based on the occurrence of  $R^c-ms-s$  on the former. The style of carving and paleography of the glyphs also differs.

<sup>13</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 49 (162d–e); Epigraphic Survey 1985, pl. 19 right and left.

<sup>14</sup> North gate: Epigraphic Survey 1985, pl. 19 right and left. South gate: PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 49–50 (164f–g); Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 90.

<sup>15</sup> Nelson and Murnane 1981, pls. 57, 61, 184, 187.

<sup>16</sup> Column nos. 13–16, 22–25, 31–34, 40–43, 49–52. See Christophe 1955, pl. 28; Nelson 1941, pl. 3.

<sup>17</sup> For example, in Christophe 1955, 62, 77.

<sup>18</sup> Rameses VI often usurped the name of his predecessor in bandeau texts and other marginalia throughout Karnak. His ambition did not extend to usurping Rameses IV’s cartouches in the scenes and upper shafts of the columns in the Great Hall.

<sup>19</sup> Murnane 2004, § 4.4.

No further decoration was added to the Great Hall during the later Twentieth Dynasty. Indeed, hardly any blank surfaces remained. Yet the High Priest Herihor added substantial bandeau texts in the dado space at the very base of the walls in some parts of the hall and to the column bases.<sup>20</sup> Severe deterioration at the base of the walls and even restoration work carried out in the Roman period during which new masonry was inserted in the lowermost courses of the walls means that only a fraction of these bandeau texts survive.<sup>21</sup> The column bases were in even worse shape when Roth documented the handful of fragmentary texts that still survived.<sup>22</sup>

The orientation of Herihor's bandeau texts varies; those on the south and southeast walls face toward nearby gateways. The texts on the west wall seem to have extended the whole length of the wall, but here they face away from the great central gateway. The former texts are clearly renewal inscriptions.<sup>23</sup> The best preserved of these fragmentary texts is found in the southeast corner and is oriented toward the small gateway there. Other traces are found adjacent to the east jamb of the south gateway and along the north and south halves of the west wall. It is probable that there was a parallel text along the west half of the south wall, but here the masonry was entirely replaced under the Romans. The lower courses of the east and north walls have fared much worse than the others, but enough of the original masonry survives at the base of the north wall to conclude that no bandeau texts were carved there aside from those of Ramesses III and IV at the bottom of the interior jambs of the north gateway<sup>24</sup> and cartouche friezes of the former at the base of the interior jambs.<sup>25</sup>

### RAMESSIDE BANDEAU TEXTS AND RELATED MARGINALIA

The profusion and utter banality of marginal epigraphs and bandeau texts carved on New Kingdom temples during the Ramesside era have prompted most scholars to ignore them entirely or to declare them largely worthless and meaningless — evidence only of the megalomania of these pharaohs or of the “decadence” of that age. Doubtless, some marked real or important events, such as the successive jubilee “announcements” of Ramesses II,<sup>26</sup> while others might herald genuine royal activities such as the *smꜣwy-mnw* renewal texts of the post-Amarna period and early Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>27</sup> It is equally apparent that even the *smꜣwy-mnw* texts can be merely empty rhetoric<sup>28</sup> and that the vast majority of marginal texts would seem to be meaningless repetition of cartouches, titularies, and rhetorical formulae. In a study of New Kingdom bandeau texts, Kitchen suggests that such inscriptions could, in fact, commemorate actual events such as royal benefactions to the temples or visits.<sup>29</sup> This is undoubtedly true in some instances, as the texts occasionally bear a regnal year date. Much more often, however, it is not clear at all what, if anything, is being “announced” or “commemorated” by marginal inscriptions. One thing seems likely, however: an explanation of the *raison d'être* for such marginalia is to be found in pharaonic ideology. A major study of royal names as autonomous entities by Cathy Spieser has already amply demonstrated that a common genre of inscriptions showing cartouches and other elements of royal titulary in absence of the king's figure — sometimes termed “heraldic” displays — in rock inscriptions, stelae, and private monuments mark the cult of the divine aspect of kingship in the New Kingdom.<sup>30</sup> Her work serves as a caution against dismissing formulaic and stereotyped decoration as meaningless space fillers.

Ramesside bandeau texts occur in a number of varieties. All, of course, give the king's name and many are nothing more than strings of royal titulary.<sup>31</sup> Others are constructed based on two formulae: *smꜣwy-mnw* restoration texts<sup>32</sup> and *ir.nꜣf m mnwꜣf* dedication texts.<sup>33</sup> In the post-Amarna era and under Seti I and Ramesses II, *smꜣwy-mnw* texts are usually inserted into some blank space available in a scene, before the restored divine image.<sup>34</sup> Occasionally, they may be placed at the base of a doorjamb.

<sup>20</sup> Roth 1983.

<sup>21</sup> Brand 2001.

<sup>22</sup> Roth 1983, 49–53.

<sup>23</sup> Part of the phrase [*smꜣwy*]-*mn*[*w*] *ir*.*n*[*n*] *n*[*sw-bity*] remains on the south wall. At the southeast corner, the phrase *m pr itꜣf* after the second cartouche confirms that these are renewal formulae. See Brand 1999.

<sup>24</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1985, pl. 20. Here, as elsewhere at Karnak, Ramesses IV's cartouches have been usurped by Ramesses VI as elsewhere in the hall.

<sup>25</sup> Nelson and Murnane 1981, pls. 184, 187.

<sup>26</sup> So on the pylon of the Montu temple at Armant. *KRI* II, 396–98; *RITA* II, 225–26; *RITANC* II, 253–58.

<sup>27</sup> Brand 1999; Brand 2000, ch. 2.

<sup>28</sup> For example, renewal texts of Amenmesse and the High Priest of Amun Pinodjem (the latter not referenced in Porter and Moss) placed below those of Horemhab and Seti I on the entrance of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu: PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 466 (37). So too at Tod, where Amenmesse, Ramesses III and IV have left renewal texts below those of Seti I (Vercoutter 1951, pls. 4–5; Barguet 1952, pls. 2–5).

<sup>29</sup> Kitchen 1984, 547–53.

<sup>30</sup> Spieser 2000.

<sup>31</sup> Kitchen 1984, 547.

<sup>32</sup> Brand 1999, 114–17; Brand 2000, 47.

<sup>33</sup> Castle 1993.

<sup>34</sup> Brand 2000, ch. 2, *passim*.

Bandeaux with the *ir.n=f m mnw=f* dedication texts are, by their nature, more elaborate. While the restoration formula is quite brief, dedication texts are longer and may be expanded with elaborate descriptions of the king's activities on behalf of the gods. Although more commonly used in dedication texts made by kings who actually built the structures to which they are affixed — especially on architraves and doorjambs — many pharaohs in the Ramesside age had no compunction in adding dedication texts to the monuments of their predecessors.<sup>35</sup> Indeed there is often no indication, in the texts themselves at least, that the authors of such epigrams had done *any* tangible service to the gods unless the very act of inscription was sufficient in itself. These *ir.n=f m mnw=f* dedications are commonly found at the bases of walls and doorjambs below the space occupied by the existing decoration, often superimposed on the ribbon pattern in the dado.

### MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS ON OBELISKS

Among Ramesses II's innovations was the frequent addition of marginal inscriptions to existing obelisks, even his own. Prior to the reign of Ramesses II, the decoration of obelisks was usually limited to a central column of text with the occasional scene added at the base or top of the shaft and on the pyramidion.<sup>36</sup> Ramesses II added marginal inscriptions to the unfinished Flaminian obelisk of Seti I<sup>37</sup> in much the same way as Thutmose IV had to the Lateran obelisk.<sup>38</sup> His other marginalia on obelisks had no such precedent. Twin columns of texts flanking each of the original inscriptions were added to a pair of obelisks of Thutmose III known as Cleopatra's Needles.<sup>39</sup> Even his own obelisks in front of the Luxor pylon completed in the earliest years of his reign later received marginal texts.<sup>40</sup> These new inscriptions employ a variant of Ramesses' titulary used from year 34 onward (fig. 5.9).<sup>41</sup>

### PROGRAMMATIC MARGINALIA AND USURPATIONS OF RAMESSES II

Ramesses II is infamous for the numerous usurpations of his predecessors' monuments executed in his reign. Where the king did not surcharge existing cartouches with his own name, he often appended marginal inscriptions and relief decoration to existing structures. Despite the ubiquitous nature of these phenomena — endlessly repeated by every tour guide to his charges — it has never been properly studied. The huge scope and apparent triviality of all these inscriptions presumably account for this lack of enthusiasm. While a proper examination of the phenomenon is beyond the scope of this paper, some useful observations can be made as to the date and perhaps the *raison d'être* for much of this decoration.

By far the lion's share of Ramesses II's usurpations and marginal decoration on monuments other than his own employ the later form of his nomen, *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*, with year 21 being the resulting *terminus post quem* for all this work (fig. 5.1). Many of the offering scenes and related inscriptions that he added to the Qurna temple of Seti I were carved after year 21, especially in the solar court, exterior walls, and side chambers (figs. 5.10–11).<sup>42</sup> Likewise, statuary of earlier kings from Upper Egypt usurped by Ramesses II all display the later nomen. Therefore, while *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw* was used throughout the reign in Lower Egypt, it is likely that all his statue usurpations occurred after year 21, given the *terminus post quem* for the Upper Egyptian ones.

In theory, this wholesale surcharging and augmentation of standing monuments could have been accomplished at any time between year 21 and the end of Ramesses II's reign. But it is possible to refine the date of some of his marginalia further based on changes to his titulary. These, in turn, are probably linked to significant events in the reign. The *locus classicus* for the adoption of *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw* in Upper Egypt is the Hittite treaty stela.<sup>43</sup> The dating of marginalia on the Luxor obelisk can only be approximated.<sup>44</sup> It clearly came after year 21 but prob-

<sup>35</sup> For example, dedication texts of Merenptah in the Abydos temple of Seti I (*KRI* IV, 60–62). For more examples, see Kitchen 1984, 548–53.

<sup>36</sup> The most notable exceptions are the marginal scenes on the upper shafts of Hatshepsut's obelisks from the *wadjyt*-hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons at Karnak (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 81–83; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 108; Brand 2000, figs. 29–31, 34–35) and the dedicatory texts Thutmose IV added upon his completion of the Lateran obelisk left unfinished by his grandfather Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV, 1549–52).

<sup>37</sup> Brand 1997, 101–02; Brand 2000, 133–34.

<sup>38</sup> This is the only example of marginalia on an obelisk prior to Ramesses II of which I am aware.

<sup>39</sup> PM 4, 4; *KRI* II, 478–81; *RITA* II, 297–301; *RITANC* II, 332–33.

<sup>40</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 302–04 (5–6); *KRI* II, 598–605; *RITA* II, 392–400; *RITANC* II, 405–06. On the date of these obelisks, see Brand 1997.

<sup>41</sup> See footnote 45.

<sup>42</sup> Osing 1977; Brand 2000, 245.

<sup>43</sup> *KRI* II, 225–32; *RITA* II, 79–85; *RITANC* II, 136–45.

<sup>44</sup> *KRI* II, 598–605; *RITA* II, 392–400; *RITANC* II, 405–06.

ably before year 34, when the king's Horus and Nebty names were expanded. The use of the epithet *R<sup>c</sup> ms-ntrw*, "A-Ra-Whom-the-Gods-Created," added to his Horus name on the Luxor pair and soon thereafter incorporated into the permanent titulary changes in year 34,<sup>45</sup> suggests that the shafts were inscribed shortly before that date, most likely for the first *sed*-festival in year 30.

Inscriptions on the two Heliopolitan obelisks known as Cleopatra's Needles<sup>46</sup> include the updated titulary Ramesses used from year 34 onward. As I have discussed elsewhere,<sup>47</sup> it is likely that years 34/35 were signal in Ramesses II's reign, being the occasion for a major change to his titulary and of both the first Hittite marriage<sup>48</sup> and the promulgation of the "Blessing of Ptah."<sup>49</sup> All these events were concurrent with the king's second *sed*-festival, when he seems to have followed the example of Amenhotep III<sup>50</sup> by means of his own deification.<sup>51</sup>

Another major change in the royal titulary occurs between years 42 and 56 when a new variant of the nomen is used, Ramesses-God-Ruler-of-Heliopolis.<sup>52</sup> This temporary change in his nomen in year 42 occurs in the same year as his fifth jubilee, although the new form is not used in the official announcements of that event.<sup>53</sup> During the interval, a set of elaborately carved offering scenes was added to the curtain wall of Thutmose III at Karnak.<sup>54</sup> The deep sunk relief and the intricate iconography of the royal figure in these tableaux recall the "deification style" used by Amenhotep III in the last years of his reign (figs. 5.12–15).<sup>55</sup>

Despite these chronological markers, however, it is still conceivable that Ramesses II effected these changes to the monuments in an ad hoc fashion at any point during lengthy spans of time throughout his later years. A more attractive hypothesis is that they represent a large program of supplementary decoration to standing monuments throughout his realm. It is likely that they represent a handful of discrete campaigns that coincided with one or more signal dates and events in the reign of significant ideological import.

That pharaoh's sculptors were working under a deadline on a "time sensitive" project may be inferred by the often poor quality of these reliefs and inscriptions. Ramesses II is infamous today for his apparent hastiness, but perhaps this was motivated by the need to complete a vast program of supplementary decoration in time for a set date. His unfinished program of crude reliefs at Qurna from later in the reign tends to confirm this theory. The quality of these later sunk reliefs varies from mediocre to downright shoddy, and most of it compares unfavorably even with the king's earliest sunk reliefs here and at Karnak and Luxor (fig. 5.10). Moreover, a number of reliefs within the side rooms in the northwest section of the temple were left half complete, suggesting that the project was abandoned at this point, presumably once the event for which they were commissioned had past.<sup>56</sup>

There may have been two major programs of usurpation and supplementary decoration of standing monuments during the king's middle years. One of these would have been carried out in preparation for the second jubilee and Hittite marriage festivities of year 34, when the expanded forms of the Horus and Nebty names appeared.<sup>57</sup> Another would have probably occurred earlier. The marginalia on the Luxor obelisks might suggest a date contemporary with the first jubilee in year 30. Many of the usurpations and marginalia lack Horus and Nebty names, making it difficult to place them before or after year 34. At the minimum, they must date after year 21 when the final nomen became standard.

The best explanation, then, for Ramesses II's extensive usurpations, marginalia, and other supplementary decoration to existing monuments is probably to be found in preparations for one or more of his own jubilees. Amenhotep III had undertaken a major statuary and building program prior to his first *sed*-festival and changed the iconography of his royal image to reflect his divine status.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Kitchen 1987, 133–34.

<sup>46</sup> *KRI* II, 478–81; *RITA* II, 297–301; *RITANC* II, 332–33.

<sup>47</sup> Brand in press.

<sup>48</sup> *KRI* II, 233–57; *RITA* II, 86–99; *RITANC* II, 146–59.

<sup>49</sup> *KRI* II, 258–81; *RITA* II, 99–110; *RITANC* II, 159–63.

<sup>50</sup> Johnson 1990.

<sup>51</sup> The identification of the king with the sun-god and other deities is a theme that runs through the "Blessing of Ptah" and later texts, like the records of the first and second Hittite marriages; Brand in press.

<sup>52</sup> *RITANC* II, 164, § 258.

<sup>53</sup> *KRI* II, 393–94; *RITA* II, 223; *RITANC* II, 249–50.

<sup>54</sup> Helck 1968.

<sup>55</sup> Johnson 1990, 34–36.

<sup>56</sup> By contrast, the high quality of Ramesses' decoration of Thutmose III's girde wall at Karnak belies the notion that the king's sculptors were incapable of fine craftsmanship later in his reign. Helck 1968, pls., passim.

<sup>57</sup> Changes to his titulary contemporary with his second jubilee in year 34 mark a turning point in Ramesses II's royal ideology, suggesting that it was even more significant than his first (Brand in press). Either of these two occasions provided a reason for adding new inscriptions to existing monuments.

<sup>58</sup> Johnson 1998; Brand in press.



## RELIEF DECORATION ON EXTERIOR WALL SURFACES IN THE LATER NEW KINGDOM

In their present condition, the exterior walls of many of the best-preserved temples in Thebes and elsewhere present the viewer with a bewildering array of relief decoration seeming to cover every available surface. One easily gets the impression that this had always been the “normal” appearance of New Kingdom sanctuaries. Closer examination suggests that substantial decoration of temple exteriors was rare in the Eighteenth Dynasty. In this period, reliefs were largely confined to the jambs and lintels of gateways or the façades of pylons, or were sheltered under porticos, while the outer walls of the buildings were mostly left blank.

A major innovation in temple decoration by the Ramessides was to cover large areas of the exterior walls of Theban fanes with reliefs (fig. 5.16). Aside from the occasional isolated scene,<sup>59</sup> it was not until the reign of Horemhab that extensive reliefs were carved in unorthodox locations, such as the side walls of the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons at Karnak.<sup>60</sup> Under Ramesses II, it became common practice to systematically decorate the outer walls of the monuments. New constructions and standing buildings were embellished this way throughout the Ramesside period. Subsequently, down to the end of pharaonic civilization, the exteriors of new edifices were often crowded with reliefs and inscriptions, as with the temples of Dendera, Edfu, and Philae.

Despite the attentions of the Ramessides and their successors, some Eighteenth Dynasty buildings still have large stretches of blank wall space — apart from the occasional graffito. Much of the east side of Luxor temple from the Colonnade Hall to the inner hypostyle is blank:<sup>61</sup> so too, much of the east exterior side of the southern axis at Karnak. The same is true of large parts of the Mut and Montu complexes at Karnak. Likewise, decoration of the dismantled festival court of Thutmose II found reused in the Third Pylon was limited to bandeau texts and decoration of the façade of the gateways.<sup>62</sup>

Prior to Ramesside times, one finds only the occasional isolated scene on exterior side walls.<sup>63</sup> The same is true under the earliest Ramessides, when Seti I added a few scenes to exterior walls<sup>64</sup> and/or gateways.<sup>65</sup> Seti carved few exterior reliefs on his own constructions, the obvious exception being the panoramic battle reliefs on the north exterior wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. One might easily conclude, however, that since the decorative programs of all his great projects were left incomplete at his death, he simply ran out of time.<sup>66</sup>

Beginning with Ramesses II, much of the empty space on existing and newly built structures was filled with ritual and battle scenes.<sup>67</sup> At Luxor, the sides of Ramesses’ forecourt have battle scenes commemorating his later wars in western Asia. The battle of Kadesh scene covers both towers of the main pylon gateway and the text of the poem occupies the southeast corner of the building.<sup>68</sup> His later wars in western Asia are commemorated on the east and west walls.<sup>69</sup> Only his battle tableaux on the lowermost register of the west exterior face of the Colonnade Hall remain,<sup>70</sup> but in their original condition they must have been as breathtaking as the Kadesh scenes on the pylon façade.

Sometime in the fourth or fifth decade of his reign, Ramesses II had the girdle wall of Thutmose III at Karnak — which encloses the entire rear portions of the sanctuary from the Fourth Pylon to the *ꜥḥ-mnw* Festival Hall — inscribed with two registers of cult scenes and two lines of dedication texts.<sup>71</sup> The reliefs can be securely dated between years 42 and 56 based on the form of the nomen, Ramesses-God-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, which occurs in the two bandeaux of dedication texts. Although they date quite late in the reign and are roughly contemporary with other reliefs that are of poor quality, the exquisite reliefs on the girdle wall prove that not all of Ramesses II’s later reliefs were executed in a crude and hasty manner. They are well proportioned and crisply executed in deep sunk relief, often with intricate detailing. In their overall style and execution, these scenes recall Amenhotep III’s decoration on the east face of the nearby Third Pylon, with their deep, crisp modeling and intricate detailing (figs. 5.12–15).

<sup>59</sup> For example, an isolated ritual scene of Tutankhamun usurped by Horemhab on the east exterior wall of the Cour de la cachette at Karnak (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 132 [489]).

<sup>60</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 183–84 (551–52, 554–59).

<sup>61</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, plans 31 and 32.

<sup>62</sup> L. Gabolde 1993.

<sup>63</sup> See note 59 above.

<sup>64</sup> For example, at the Satet temple at Elephantine (Brand 2000, 112–13).

<sup>65</sup> For example, two smaller gateways at Karnak on the south side of the *wadjyt*-hall and the thickness of the doorway of a magazine north of the Fifth Pylon. Loeben 1987a; see Loeben 1987b.

<sup>66</sup> Brand 2000, 169–70, 365.

<sup>67</sup> Heinz 2001.

<sup>68</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 304–05 (13–14), 335 (216).

<sup>69</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 333–35 (202–04, 215).

<sup>70</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 334 (205).

<sup>71</sup> Helck 1968.

There are iconographic similarities between these two sets of reliefs. Like Amenhotep III on the Third Pylon, Ramesses usually wears a *shebyu*-collar in these tableaux. His costume and regalia are often highly elaborate: the apron of his kilt sometimes has a frieze of uraei at the bottom, and he frequently wears elaborate crowns or baroque versions of regular headgear such as *khepresh*-crowns with extra uraei (fig. 5.14). Still, the royal iconography is not as consistently elaborate and unusual as is the baroque iconography of Amenhotep III's later years, with the exception of the ubiquitous *shebyu*-collars. Ramesses II probably intended these reliefs to recall those of his predecessor and for the same purpose: to express pharaoh's increasingly divine status in the wake of his early jubilees.

Elsewhere, Ramesses added countless offering scenes to existing structures, including the exterior walls and the solar court of his father's memorial temple at Qurna<sup>72</sup> and the passageways of the Eighth and Ninth Pylons at Karnak (figs. 5.12–16).<sup>73</sup> The monuments of his predecessors were occasionally used by Ramesses to post notice of his achievements on grand stelae such as the Hittite treaty stela on the west face of the Cour de la cachette<sup>74</sup> and the "Blessing of Ptah" stela on the west tower of the Ninth Pylon.<sup>75</sup>

Continuing the tradition established by Ramesses II, later Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty kings covered the exterior walls of Theban temples with ritual scenes. As I will demonstrate elsewhere, the offering scenes on the west interior wall of the Cour de la cachette at Karnak are the work of Merenptah.<sup>76</sup> Seti II's name appears in offering scenes at Karnak<sup>77</sup> although many of these have obviously been usurped from an earlier king.<sup>78</sup> Some of the king's reliefs are surely original, such as a pair of tableaux depicting the king's statue on a side doorway in the *wadjyt*-hall at Karnak. Seti also embellished the side and back walls of his bark chapel in the Karnak first court with offering scenes (fig. 5.17).<sup>79</sup> Ramesses III added many ritual vignettes to new and existing structures at Karnak and Luxor including the north face of the Eighth Pylon<sup>80</sup> (fig. 5.18) and an isolated scene on the north wall of a small court adjacent to the Fifth Pylon.<sup>81</sup> As for his own constructions, Ramesses III left none of the exterior walls of his buildings uninscribed.<sup>82</sup> During the Twentieth Dynasty and Third Intermediate Period, successive pharaohs added decoration to existing structures.<sup>83</sup> Despite this activity, however, much wall space at Luxor and Karnak was never systematically decorated, although numerous graffiti and *ex voto* reliefs can be found in many locations. The walls of some Eighteenth Dynasty buildings in particular remained pristine.<sup>84</sup> Even as building activity at both locations declined markedly in the later Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, some pharaohs of that era preferred to supplement the decoration of newer edifices.<sup>85</sup>

## THE MEANING OF RITUAL SCENES ON EXTERIOR WALLS

What, then, is the purpose of all these offering scenes on the outer walls of the temples? They certainly do not convey *Raumfunktion* since it is unlikely that the rituals displayed — mostly from the daily offering cult — were

<sup>72</sup> Osing 1977.

<sup>73</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 175 (520), 181 (540).

<sup>74</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 132 (492); Edel 1997.

<sup>75</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 181 (542); *KRI* II, 258–81; *RITA* II, 99–110; *RITANC* II, 159–63.

<sup>76</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 132–33 (491, 493–95); Yurco 1986; *RITANC* II, 72–78. Traditionally dated to the reign of Ramesses II, the question of just who is responsible for these war scenes remains hotly contested, being inextricably linked to the fierce debate about the Israelites' origins. See, most recently, Iskander 2002, ch. 5. In a future article, I will reappraise the evidence for the date of the Cour de la cachette war scenes and those on the south wall of the adjoining Hypostyle Hall from an epigraphic and art-historical perspective, leaving aside the polemical issues in order to gain a fresh perspective.

<sup>77</sup> For example, the west interior wall of the Cour de la cachette (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 87 [232]; 89 [239]; 90 [245]; 132 [490]); Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pls. 126, 133.

<sup>78</sup> See, for example, Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pls. 126, 133. In some cases, as with the battle and cult scenes on the west side of the Cour de la cachette at Karnak, Seti merely substituted his name for that of his father Merenptah after the latter's cartouches had been erased by Amenmesse. Currently, Roy W. Hopper, a graduate

student at the University of Memphis, is researching a doctoral dissertation on Amenmesse.

<sup>79</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 26–27 (39–41).

<sup>80</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 174–75 (519).

<sup>81</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 86 (226); Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 127.

<sup>82</sup> Compare his temple and eastern high gate at Medinet Habu with his shrines in the First Court at Karnak and within the Mut temple complex.

<sup>83</sup> For example, reliefs of Ramesses IV on the Ninth Pylon at Karnak (PM 2<sup>2</sup> [538–39]); those of the High Priest of Amun Amenhotep on the east exterior wall of the court between the Seventh and Eighth Pylon (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 172 [505–06]), and of his colleagues on the Eighth Pylon itself (PM 2<sup>2</sup> 117 [527]); decoration of the Kushite pharaoh Shabaka in the passageway through the main entrance to Luxor temple (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, [15]).

<sup>84</sup> For example, much of the eastern face of the Eighteenth Dynasty portions of Luxor temple and the east faces of the southern courts at Karnak.

<sup>85</sup> For example, Ramesses IV's reliefs in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 50–51; Christophe 1955) and Herihor in the Khonsu temple (Epigraphic Survey 1979, 1981).

ever conducted in any of these locations. On the other hand, they certainly could have performed the same magical-religious function of cult episodes inside the sanctuaries. One suspects, however, that the exterior ritual scenes also had a propagandistic effect for the Ramessides as a way of “advertising” their piety to a wider audience than just the gods and priests inside the sanctuaries. Such conspicuous piety also motivated the restoration inscriptions of Seti I and others and the numerous other bandeau texts and marginalia of the Ramesside era.

Although these offering scenes were likely not created for cult purposes per se, some of them soon acquired such a function by means of popular piety.

## PART II: THE MARK OF POPULAR RELIGION AT KARNAK AND LUXOR IN THE LATE NEW KINGDOM AND FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.

### ADAPTATION OF DIVINE FIGURES IN TEMPLE RELIEFS FOR CULTIC PURPOSES

It has long been recognized that certain representations of the gods carved in relief on temple walls could become the objects of worship.<sup>86</sup> Such icons were mostly connected with popular devotion from the Ramesside age and down to Roman times. The late New Kingdom also saw the steady rise of “popular piety” and the increased participation of common people in official worship. But admittance to the fanes was strictly controlled and most Egyptians could only gain access to their exterior portions. The eastern shrine of the main temple at Karnak was augmented by Ramesses II’s addition of the Temple of the Hearing Ear, specifically created to allow the public to petition the god Amun-Ra via the king’s mediation.<sup>87</sup>

Before turning to the question of why select divine images became the object of cult, we must first establish how such icons are to be identified and distinguished from most others which were not. This task is difficult because the monuments have long since been stripped of their finery and the reliefs themselves have suffered from the vagaries of time, including vandalism, decay, and reuse of the buildings in more recent periods. Close inspection of the reliefs and of the walls themselves reveals several criteria which indicate that a given icon had become a focus of devotion.

### INLAYS, APPLIQUÉS, AND GILDING

Once selected as the object of special veneration, the image of a god in relief could be embellished to mark it as such. Parts of the figure might be inlaid with costly materials such as faience or precious stones and metals. These inlays were often set into the god’s eye<sup>88</sup> (fig. 5.19) and special attributes such as the beard and skull cap of Ptah-of-the-Great-Gateway at Medinet Habu,<sup>89</sup> or the tall plumes of Amun. Occasionally, the god’s image consisted mostly of inlay, as with twin figures of Amun-Ra on a false door stela of Thutmose III south of the bark shrine of Philip Arrhidæus at Karnak.<sup>90</sup>

These Amun figures on the stela were carved in deep sunk relief to receive inlays for his face, limbs, *ankh*, *wꜣs*-scepter, and ribbon. The text describes the figure as made of electrum and genuine lapis lazuli, although faience may have been used. Van Siclen notes that the image of the god has been vandalized, and there is light hacking on the kilt and plumes of both figures of the god. The portions of the figure not inlaid may have been clad in gold foil or leaf<sup>91</sup> over reliefs carved in stone or plaster.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Nims 1954; Fischer 1959.

<sup>87</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 208–15; Barguet 1962, 223–42.

<sup>88</sup> For example, a figure of Amun-Ra as the source of the inundation in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall (Nelson and Murnane 1981, pl. 36; M. Gabolde 1995); a figure of Osiris carved by Ramesses II at the exterior northeast corner of the curtain wall of Thutmose III later received an inlaid eye (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, [476]; Helck 1968, pl. 67).

<sup>89</sup> Dills 1995, 68.

<sup>90</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 95 (276); Königsberger 1936, 24, fig. 22; Van Siclen 1990, 171–76, figs. 1–6.

<sup>91</sup> Compare a gilded stela, Cairo JE 31179: Curto and Roccati 1984, no. 35. The image of the Buchis bull on a stela of Ptolemy V (Cairo JE 54313) was also gilded: Tiradritti and De Luca 2000, 374–75.

<sup>92</sup> Tiradritti and De Luca 2000; Van Siclen 1990, 174.

## TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Egyptian deities often possessed a series of variant epithets and titularies. Some of these denote singular manifestations of the deity, most commonly one that “resides” (*hry-ib*) in an individual shrine or locale. Epithets may also identify the god in question as open to popular appeal. The inlaid figure of Ptah inside the eastern high gate is entitled “the great god who hears prayer within the mansion of millions of years ‘United with Eternity in the Domain of Amun.’” It is, then, a unique manifestation of Ptah resident at Medinet Habu specially created by Ramesses III to serve popular devotion. Other gods are said to “hear prayer” at Thebes, especially various manifestations of Amun.<sup>93</sup> So we have “Amun-Who-Hears-the-Cry-of-Woe”<sup>94</sup> and “Amun of Opet-Who-Answers-the-Poor.”<sup>95</sup> Numerous *ex votos* to such gods are well known, especially the famous “ear stelae”<sup>96</sup> and intermediary statues like those of Amenhotep son of Hapu.<sup>97</sup>

## GODS “IN THE GATEWAY”

While the general populace’s access to the interior of temples was strictly limited to specific occasions and locations such as outer courts and hypostyle halls during festivals,<sup>98</sup> lay people certainly had access to the exterior walls of the building.<sup>99</sup> A natural focus of their attention would have been the gateways, the closest the average person could get to a god sequestered within his sanctuary.<sup>100</sup> Prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty, most of the visible images of deities would have been on the jambs and thicknesses of gateways. Cults of gods “in the gateway” seem to have arisen in the later New Kingdom, and Ramesses III made special provisions for one such cult, that of Ptah-of-the-Great-Gateway, in the passage of the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu.<sup>101</sup> The location of such images — visible, yet “inside” the temple which was otherwise beyond reach — might have appealed to the average worshiper as a potent object of veneration. At Medinet Habu, for example, most of the venerated relief images of Amun-Ra and Ptah are clustered in or near the eastern high gate and the major and minor doorways of the temple proper between the First Pylon and the western end of the second court.<sup>102</sup> Similar examples occur at Karnak<sup>103</sup> and Luxor.<sup>104</sup> As we shall see, where no existing reliefs were present, the high clergy, state officials, and lesser pilgrims might carve *ex voto* images and graffiti to represent the gods they venerated. These are often clustered at or near gateways.

## CONTRA TEMPLES AND CONTRA SHRINES

One provision for lay cult practices in Egyptian temples of the New Kingdom and later was the erection of contra temples and lean-to shrines against the outer walls of the great fanes (fig. 5.20). Some of these edicules at Karnak were provided with these, including the sanctuaries of Mut,<sup>105</sup> Ptah,<sup>106</sup> and the so-called Montu temple in the northern precinct.<sup>107</sup> The most important of these is the eastern shrine at Karnak consisting of a contra temple abutting the eastern exterior wall of the *Akh-menu*.<sup>108</sup> At Dendera, a huge relief of the Hathor emblem was carved on the rear wall of the main sanctuary and at some point a wooden tabernacle was made to enclose it.<sup>109</sup> Images

<sup>93</sup> Sadek 1987, 16–20, 46–47.

<sup>94</sup> *Imn sdm wš[w]*: Brand 2000, 225, § 3.101.

<sup>95</sup> *Imn ipt pš wšb išd*: Brand 2004, 261, fig. 3. Osiris may also bear this epithet; see Leclant 1955. The same epithet is connected with Amun-Ra-Kamutef in a graffito from the north gate of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor (Epigraphic Survey 1998, 55, pl. 203).

<sup>96</sup> Sadek 1987, ch. 9.

<sup>97</sup> Sadek 1987, 277–80.

<sup>98</sup> Bell 1997, 132 ff.

<sup>99</sup> As indicated, for example, by the frequency of “pilgrim’s gouges” and popular graffiti on the exterior walls of temples in Thebes and elsewhere in Upper Egypt. Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson 1981, 224–28; Frankfurter, 1998, 51, pl. 21.

<sup>100</sup> Helck 1986, 637.

<sup>101</sup> Nims 1954; Fischer 1959; Dills 1995.

<sup>102</sup> Fischer 1959.

<sup>103</sup> For example, an enthroned image of Amun-Ra in the thickness of the Eighth Pylon (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 175 [520d]); Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 385). Here, pious gouging indicates that pilgrims could gain access to the passageway itself. Before this gateway, a votive image of Amun-Ra was carved on the undecorated side of the base of a colossal statue (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 176 [O]; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 387).

<sup>104</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1998, pl. 156.

<sup>105</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 258–59.

<sup>106</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 201 (35); Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 314. On the back wall of the temple, figures of Ptah, Hathor, Amenhotep son of Hapu, and Imhotep are surrounded by square beam holes large enough to support a wooden structure. Their size and arrangement are similar to another contra shrine at Dendera (see footnote 112).

<sup>107</sup> The temple of Maat: PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 11–13.

<sup>108</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 215–18; Varille 1950; Sadek 1987, 46–47.

<sup>109</sup> PM 6, 79 (258–60); Dumas 1969, 70–71; Frankfurter 1998, 51–52, pl. 3.

and shrines on the rear walls of temples permitted the lay public — unable to enter the sanctum itself — close access to the god whose holy of holies was on the other side of the rear wall.<sup>110</sup> Such contra shrines functioned much like a false door by facilitating contact between this world and the realm of the gods.

Contra shrines could possess most or all of the essential elements of other sanctums including a monumental façade, courtyard, pillared hall, and a sanctuary. At Karnak, the bethels of Thutmose III and Ramesses II east of the *Akh-menu* each had royal colossi which could serve as intermediaries between the petitioner and the god or as objects of worship themselves. At some point, however, the lay public turned to other foci for their adoration of the gods — divine images carved on the exterior walls of the monuments.

#### ENSHRINED AND VEILED IMAGES OF THE GODS ON TEMPLE WALLS

It was sometimes considered appropriate for select divine images in offering scenes to be enclosed by an edicule or to be screened by a veil. Although the phenomenon of veiled images has long been known, it has never been studied comprehensively. The best-known cases occur at Medinet Habu, especially the figure of Ptah-of-the-Great-Gateway in the Eastern High Gate discussed earlier.<sup>111</sup> Fischer has discussed the presence of drill holes surrounding many divine images in Ramesses III's temple there.<sup>112</sup> Otherwise, references to the phenomenon have been few and far between.<sup>113</sup>

As I have discussed elsewhere, an examination of the exterior walls at Karnak and Luxor reveals a large number of cult scenes with drill holes surrounding the gods' figures.<sup>114</sup> Typically, these sets of holes enclose only the divine figure or figures in a ritual scene, excluding the royal officiant (fig. 5.21).<sup>115</sup> Occasionally, when there are two or more deities, all lie within the boundary of the holes,<sup>116</sup> more commonly, just one of the gods does. Moreover, on a single wall or cluster of scenes, only some or one of the divine figures might be veiled.<sup>117</sup>

Selected icons might be enclosed in lean-to shrines of wood or other light materials attached directly to the walls. In some cases, larger holes to support beams and vertical grooves to receive side walls were carved into the main temple wall. These were clearly meant to anchor a more substantial construction. Larger holes surround the image of Ptah-of-the-Great-Gateway at Medinet Habu<sup>118</sup> and a representation of the Theban Triad accompanied by Maat on the north exterior wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.<sup>119</sup> In most cases, however, it is likely that the drill holes were cut to affix some type of covering over the figures. Various explanations have been offered to account for these coverings, but their precise nature remains difficult to ascertain. Borchardt thought they secured metal appliqués or plaques of bronze or precious metals.<sup>120</sup> This seems unlikely since the phenomenon is so common that the cost of using even bronze would have been prohibitive. The holes are also too large and widely spaced, as compared to at least one location where metal cladding is known to have been applied to masonry on pillars before the entrance to the Ptolemaic bark chapel at Karnak.<sup>121</sup> Others have suggested that fabric screens<sup>122</sup> or veils mounted on wooden frames were used.<sup>123</sup> The exact form of these appliances may never be known, but the arrangement of the holes might yield further clues.

The number and arrangement of the drill holes accompanying such icons vary. At times, they are rectangles that might have held a linen veil mounted on a wooden frame. More often, however, the shapes indicated by the holes are more irregular. At least four holes and usually more are found with each icon. There is also evidence that the coverings were replaced from time to time, as some examples show separate but parallel sets of holes. Redundant sets might be filled in with plaster, which sometimes survives.

<sup>110</sup> Mumane 1983, 219; Traunecker 1987; Frankfurter 1998, 52. This would seem to be the case at Ptah's shrine at Karnak, where the rear wall was undecorated except for the divine figures enclosed in a contra temple (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 201 [35]; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 314).

<sup>111</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1970, pls. 592, 593, 596, 604, 608, 621, 623.

<sup>112</sup> Fischer 1959, 196–97. He also provides a convenient list of plate numbers which record the occurrence of such drill holes around other divine figures in the Epigraphic Survey's *Medinet Habu* volumes.

<sup>113</sup> Borchardt 1933; Dills 1995; Epigraphic Survey 1985, 129–31, pl. 37.

<sup>114</sup> Brand 2004, 263–64.

<sup>115</sup> For example, Epigraphic Survey 1985, pls. 8, 15, 20E, 36; Epigraphic Survey 1936a, pls. 95–99, 102–109, and passim; Helck 1968, Volume 2, passim.

<sup>116</sup> For example, Epigraphic Survey 1985, pl. 36.

<sup>117</sup> Borchardt 1933.

<sup>118</sup> Dills 1995, 70–71.

<sup>119</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1985, pl. 36.

<sup>120</sup> Borchardt 1933.

<sup>121</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 97 (278–79); Barguet 1962, 151–52.

<sup>122</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1985, 130, n. 3.

<sup>123</sup> Dills 1995, 70; W. R. Johnson, pers. comm.

A huge image of Amun-Ra on the north pylon at Medinet Habu has twenty-seven holes.<sup>124</sup> The screens indicated by the holes could be polygons, while others, including the giant Amun-Ra at Medinet Habu, roughly follow the contours of the figure. This may have led Borchardt to conclude that the holes secured metal plating.<sup>125</sup> If they supported covered frameworks, one might expect that the holes would align with the outer edges of the covering, but some occur “inside” these hypothetical “frames,” which does not fit the hypothesis that they were fabric veils. If the coverings were solid, made of wood perhaps, an attractive theory is that they may have been door leaves in a manner similar to Christian altarpiece paintings that could be opened or closed as needed. The eccentric arrangement of many sets of holes would tend to preclude this idea in most cases. Another hypothesis is that in some cases wooden screens rather than fabric veils were used. The covering did not always conceal the entire figure and sometimes the holes follow the contours of a divine image so closely that the cover must have been a virtual silhouette of what lay beneath.

#### LOCATION OF VEILED IMAGES

The vast majority of veiled icons occur on exterior walls and by gateways. Only two examples inside a temple are known to me, both in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. On the west wall of the hall in its southern wing, there is an image of Amun-Ra as the source of the Nile inundation (5.20).<sup>126</sup> The uniqueness of this manifestation is indicated iconographically by his elaborate crown and a *shebyu*-collar around his neck. The holes around this image are much smaller than usual but are deliberate and frame only Amun-Ra’s figure, excluding the attendant ones of his consort Mut and their son Khonsu. The other veiled image is found on the south half of the east wall, where conventional manifestations of Amun-Ra and Mut are shown embracing each other inside a shrine before which the king offers libation (fig. 5.22).<sup>127</sup> This scene represents the so-called “sacred marriage” of the divine couple. The common link between these images, as distinct from other examples, is their location inside the fane and their unusual iconography and ritual significance. The late William J. Murnane had suggested that the sacred marriage scene was covered except during a festival connected with the divine marriage.<sup>128</sup>

#### SELECTION OF IMAGES TO BE VEILED

On what basis were certain icons selected for this treatment when the majority were left exposed? At first, the selections appear random, but patterns emerge upon closer inspection. A high proportion of the once-veiled icons represent deities that are rarely seen in the wall reliefs at Karnak and Luxor, including Bastet, Onuris, Nekhbet, Osiris, Ahmose-Nefertari, and Amenet (fig. 5.23).<sup>129</sup> Alongside these are more prominent gods like Amun-Ra and Ptah — both of whom had sanctuaries at Karnak — and their respective triads. Reliefs showing deified persons, or “saints,” like Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep, might receive similar attention.<sup>130</sup> In many cases, there are no textual labels or iconographic markers to distinguish veiled images of these two gods from others alongside them which were not. But in some cases, rare manifestations of Amun-Ra and Ptah were venerated. Among these are Amun-Who-Resides-in-the-*Akh-menu*, Ptah-of-the-Great-Inundation, and both Amun- and Ptah-of-Ramesses II.<sup>131</sup>

It has been suggested that these veiled icons were selected by the Egyptian populace itself.<sup>132</sup> Perhaps some reliefs were veiled or enshrined to shield them from the popular practice of scraping the walls of the monuments to obtain small quantities of powdered stone. This activity left the countless oval depressions, called pilgrim’s gouges or fertility gouges, that mar the exterior walls of many temples in Upper Egypt (figs. 5.24–25).<sup>133</sup> The foregoing observations on the locations and nature of veiled images in Theban sanctuaries would tend to confirm

<sup>124</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 101.

<sup>125</sup> Borchardt 1933.

<sup>126</sup> Nelson and Murnane 1981, pl. 36; M. Gabolde 1995.

<sup>127</sup> M. Gabolde 1995, pl. 107.

<sup>128</sup> By personal communication.

<sup>129</sup> Helck 1968, pls. 17, 27, 30, 42, 46, 66, 77, 85.

<sup>130</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 201 (35); Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 314.

<sup>131</sup> Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pls. 36, 37, 41, 68, 80.

<sup>132</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1985, 23–24, 131.

<sup>133</sup> Traunecker 1987; Frankfurter 1998, 51. This practice is well attested for the Greco-Roman period, for all the major Upper Egyptian shrines of the era suffered the attentions of the pious. It continued into the modern period and at least one Christian church bears these gouges (Nautin 1967). Demotic graffiti have also been found inside gouges, and it seems likely that the practice began in the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period, if not earlier (Epigraphic Survey 1985, 23 n. 2).

this. Almost all of them occur in areas to which the populace had access, especially at doorways and on exterior walls. Many images of deities provided with veils or lean-to shrines otherwise appear but rarely in Theban temple decoration or are singular manifestations of more ubiquitous gods like Amun-Ra and Ptah. A few of these are clearly meant to appeal to the populace such as Amun of Opet-Who-Answers-the-Poor or Ptah-of-the-Great-Gateway. Finally, even *ex voto* graffiti carved by pilgrims depicting the gods could be veiled once they attracted a cult following.<sup>134</sup>

#### FUNCTION OF THE VEILS AND MEANING OF THE COVERED IMAGES

How do we explain the presence of these coverings? What did they signify? The most obvious answer is that they protect the sacred from the view of the profane. But this is not simply because they were images of the gods subjected to “profane eyes,” since any number of representations of deities in offering scenes on the exterior walls of the temples were left exposed.

The practice of hiding sacred objects and images from public view by covering them has a long history in Egypt and other cultures. In the New Kingdom, cult statues were usually hidden within the cabin shrines of sacred barks in procession, where veils were used to partially cover the cabin shrine.<sup>135</sup>

The half-observed cabins of these barks exemplify the tense dichotomy between the hidden and revealed natures of the gods themselves. The notion that the veil served to underline the hidden aspect of the god Amun in particular is supported by texts. Hymn 200 of the Leiden Amun Hymn says of the god that “he is too secretive for his incarnate form (*hm*) to be revealed.”<sup>136</sup> This hidden nature is obvious in the case of Amun, whose name means “the hidden one,” but is also true of other deities. The cabin shrines of all sacred barks were provided with veils and the term for these barks was *sšm-ḥwi* “protected image.”<sup>137</sup>

Yet, despite the hidden aspect of Amun in particular, he did not always secret himself from the devout. Like other gods, he made *ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w* “appearances” in public during festivals. The same Leiden hymn draws attention to this dichotomy calling him “secret of transformations and sparkling of appearances.”<sup>138</sup> Some processional images, *ḥnty.w*, were highly visible, including the cult statue of Amun-Kamutef, which was fully exposed to view during the procession of the Min Feast or the cult statue of the divine Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina.<sup>139</sup> Another divine figure, of Amun in a carrying chair, does seem to have a veil.<sup>140</sup> Karlshausen concludes that only *sšm-ḥwi* “protected images,” such as the cult statue inside the bark chapel, needed to be screened from view.

Returning to the covered reliefs on temple walls, it is certain that they were the object of worship. As such they may be considered as cult images, a designation that carries with it important characteristics. Not only are they the focus of adoration for the pious, they may have also been the physical medium through which the god became present. Seen from this perspective, the veils might have indicated that the “shadow of the god” rested on the icon. In cases of the king as a sphinx,<sup>141</sup> sacred animals,<sup>142</sup> cult statues of the king,<sup>143</sup> and figureheads on sacred barks and other cult emblems like the *mdw-šps* “august staff,”<sup>144</sup> Bell has shown that fans were commonly used as an iconographic device to represent the *šw.t* “shadow,” that is, the spirit of the deity lying upon the mortal

<sup>134</sup> For example, two graffiti showing Osiris on the north wall of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall (Epigraphic Survey 1985, pl. 50); a small image of Khonsu on the west wall of his temple at Karnak (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 243 [119]); enthroned Mut below the *Texte de la Jeunesse* of Thutmose III (omitted from PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 170 [330]); see Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 170).

<sup>135</sup> Karlshausen 1997, 305–10; Karlshausen 1995.

<sup>136</sup> Translation from Assmann 1997, 196. Assmann translates the word *hm* as “majesty,” but *hm* clearly refers to the physical form of both kings and gods and was commonly used in reference to cult images. See, fundamentally, the long overlooked study of Spiegel (1939), where he proves beyond all doubt the meaning of the word *hm* to be “incarnation/bodily form.” In Middle English, the term *majesty* was used to refer to the physical person of the monarch, as well as to the greatness and splendor of the same. Since the end of the Tudor era, the former connotation of the word has largely been forgotten by English speakers.

<sup>137</sup> Karlshausen 1997, 305–10.

<sup>138</sup> Assmann 1997, 196.

<sup>139</sup> Karlshausen 1997, 333–42, esp. 341.

<sup>140</sup> A graffito from the north wall of the First Court at Karnak. Note the large “cushion” which envelops the upper body of the god, leaving only his head exposed (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 24 [13]; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 27).

<sup>141</sup> See Bell 1985.

<sup>142</sup> Bourriau et al. 1982, catalog no. 410, 300–01. The fan does not represent the *šwyt* or “shade” as an aspect of the individual’s personality in a funerary context as Brovanski opines, but the shade of Amun-Ra-Lord-of-Heaven upon the body of a living Ram (or a statue of the same) as the god’s sacred animal which was in essence a living cult statue. Compare two examples from Cairo, each with the open fans behind them and a table of offerings before, one of which is called *‘nh-’Imn* “Amun lives.” Lacau 1909, 199–200, pl. 61. So contra Brovanski 1977, 178.

<sup>143</sup> Brand 2000, 153–54, §§ 3.42–43, figs. 75, 78.

<sup>144</sup> Bell 1985; Bell 1997.

being or crafted image, thereby indicating that it is inhabited by the god.<sup>145</sup> Although a fan was the normal iconic symbol to express the notion of the god's shade, a linen veil could, perhaps, express the same concept. Unfortunately, this must remain mere speculation because there is no textual evidence to support it.

### SACRED GRAFFITI AND VOTIVE IMAGES ON TEMPLE WALLS

It seems clear that average Egyptians had access to most of the exterior regions of the Theban fanes. This is indicated by the ubiquitous presence of the so-called pilgrims' gouges and also by votive graffiti. The lower reaches of the exterior walls of Karnak and Luxor temples are covered with pharaonic graffiti. Most common are crudely scratched *ex votos* depicting the gods or cult equipment like sacred barks (fig. 5.26) or the ram's head standard of Amun-Ra.<sup>146</sup> Notables of the later New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period often left more formal attestations to their piety.<sup>147</sup> These typically show an official adoring one or more deities. A third category of "graffiti" are certain reliefs obviously carved by trained artists at the behest of the clergy but which are not conventional offering scenes. These may be found alone<sup>148</sup> or in clusters. Two veritable "constellations" of divine images have been carved on the east exterior wall of Luxor temple near a small gateway at the south end of the solar court of Amenhotep III<sup>149</sup> (figs. 5.27–29) and on the west wall of the Khonsu shrine at Karnak (fig. 5.30).<sup>150</sup> Another group of similar images is crowded around the northeast gateway of the Luxor solar court.<sup>151</sup> In the latter two cases, these reliefs are interspersed with *ex voto* graffiti of pilgrims and officials. In each case, these *ex voto* reliefs and pilgrim etchings are located near exterior doorways on walls that never received formal cult tableaux.

The finely crafted icons are the most interesting since they do not have as many parallels as other sorts of graffiti. Characteristically, they lack any officiant and rarely even have an offering table before them.<sup>152</sup> Texts, if present, are limited only to the gods' names and perhaps an epithet or two. Moreover, in the large clusters of such images at Luxor and on the Khonsu temple, icons of differing sizes are randomly grouped without relationship to each other in a hodgepodge effect (fig. 5.29). The gods might be shown standing, enthroned, or even in a squatting pose generally found only in the hieroglyphic script (fig. 5.30).<sup>153</sup> It has been suggested that these were trial reliefs, but this seems doubtful. That they are meant as objects of popular devotion seems clear from the titulary of one figure at Luxor entitled Amun-Opet-Who-Answers-the-Poor (fig. 5.28). This figure and some of the others here and at the Khonsu temple<sup>154</sup> were also provided with veils, although many of the others were not. Nonetheless, as we have seen, both formal reliefs and informal graffiti could be provided with veils.<sup>155</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the decoration of the great Theban temples changed radically during the Ramesside period and later eras. Whereas the exterior walls of Eighteenth Dynasty sacred buildings were largely devoid of wall reliefs — confined largely to gateways and the façades of pylons — the Ramessides filled these spaces with huge tapestries of ritual scenes and battle reliefs. Not only were new constructions embellished this way, but earlier monuments were "retrofitted" as well. Over the course of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, seemingly every available surface was pressed into service as each new pharaoh left his name

<sup>145</sup> Bell 1985, 34.

<sup>146</sup> For example, the bark of Amun-Ra (Epigraphic Survey 1985, pl. 50); an enthroned image of the god in a palanquin (Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 27).

<sup>147</sup> For Karnak, see Traunecker 1979. The best-known examples are those of the High Priests on the east side of the court between the Seventh and Eighth Pylons and the latter's east face (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 172–73, 177 [505–06, 527]). Similar graffiti occur in Luxor temple in the Ramesside forecourt (Epigraphic Survey 1998, 52–55, pls. 200–02). Others occur at the northeast gate of the solar court (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 335 [219]) and on the east wall of the temple proper (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 335 [222]).

<sup>148</sup> Brand 2004, 257–59, figs. 1–2.

<sup>149</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 335 (219–20).

<sup>150</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 243 (120).

<sup>151</sup> PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 335 (221–22).

<sup>152</sup> An exception is an isolated figure of the ithyphallic Amun-Ra on the west exterior of the solar court at Luxor. Brand 2004, 257–59, figs. 1–2.

<sup>153</sup> For example, Amun-Ra (Brand 2004, fig. 6). Deities are exceptionally depicted squatting in a mural from the tomb of Senedjem (TT 1). PM 1<sup>2</sup>, 2 (7). The pose is more common in vignettes from the Book of the Dead.

<sup>154</sup> Brand 2004, 261–62, figs. 3, 5. See footnote 97.

<sup>155</sup> See footnote 137.



on the monuments with bandeau texts and marginalia. In the most prominent locales, such as the Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall, there was hardly a bare surface to be found. Every column was inscribed from the architraves and abaci surmounting them to their bases. Likewise, marginalia of the later Ramessides intruded into the dado at the base of the walls. The explosion of marginalia, usurpations, and exterior wall decoration undertaken by the Ramessides reflects their innovation in the use of sacred space for political and ideological ends. While this profusion of repetitive embellishments strikes the modern viewer as both banal and indiscriminate, they are neither. Ramesses II's ubiquitous marginalia and usurpations were programmatic, executed in discrete campaigns in preparation for his early *sed*-festivals.

For the larger populace, denied access to the inner chambers of the temples, the numerous icons of the gods appearing in exterior wall decoration became foci for their piety. Popular cults devoted to individual reliefs depicting various gods arose. At first, these were probably clustered near gateways where ritual scenes had been accessible — or at least visible — to pilgrims denied admittance to the temples proper. Cults of gods “in-the-gateway,” such as Ptah-of-the-Great-Gateway in the eastern high gate at Medinet Habu, were well established by Ramesside times. Likewise, the eastern contra temple of Thutmose III at Karnak was perhaps the first of many contra temples and lean-to shrines adhered to the rear and side walls of Theban temples. Contra shrines were created where they did not exist before, as at the small Ptah shrine at Karnak, where reliefs of popular deities were carved on the blank rear wall to be enshrined. The practice continued into the Greco-Roman era, when a huge votive image of Hathor's face was carved on the rear wall of the building, directly behind the innermost chapel of the goddess.

A number of images of the gods in the numerous Ramesside offering scenes on the exterior walls of Karnak and Luxor were chosen by the pious themselves to be objects of devotion. In response, the clergy took steps to facilitate this practice, and to shield the images from the practice of gouging at the walls, by enclosing some in lean-to shrines or by covering them with a veil of some kind. The sets of drill holes surrounding many Theban icons attest to the widespread nature of the practice. Even when formal ritual decoration was lacking, figural graffiti scratched by the pious themselves might be sanctified. Elsewhere, on blank walls near side gateways at the Khonsu temple at Karnak and the eastern side of the solar court of Luxor temple, the high clergy of Amun-Ra had a number of godly images carved to receive popular worship. These were not placed in formal ritual scenes, but arranged in constellation-like groups.

The New Kingdom temples of Luxor and Karnak did not remain static mausoleums to the faded glories of the New Kingdom when the last great pharaohs of that age died. Instead, and despite a relative decline in new building activities during late Ramesside times and the Third Intermediate Period, existing structures were continuously adapted. The sacred space evolved to meet the needs of later kings and pious commoners alike.



Figure 5.1. Cartouche of Ramesses II. From Series of Bandeau Texts Added to Columns in Hypostyle Hall, Karnak Temple, after His Year 21. The Later Form of His Nomen *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw* Is Used



Figure 5.2. Successive Layers of Marginal Decoration of Ramesses II and IV Added to Column in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Figure on the Left Is Ramesses IV



Figure 5.3. Column with Marginal Decoration of Ramesses IV, Hypostyle Hall, Karnak Temple, Luxor



Figure 5.4. Watercolor by David Roberts Showing Columns Decorated by Ramesses IV (right). With Pigmentation, Ramesses' Changes Are Strikingly Apparent



Figure 5.5. Cartouche of Ramesses IV Superimposed Over Triangular Leaf Pattern. Decoration at Base of Column in Karnak Hypostyle Hall

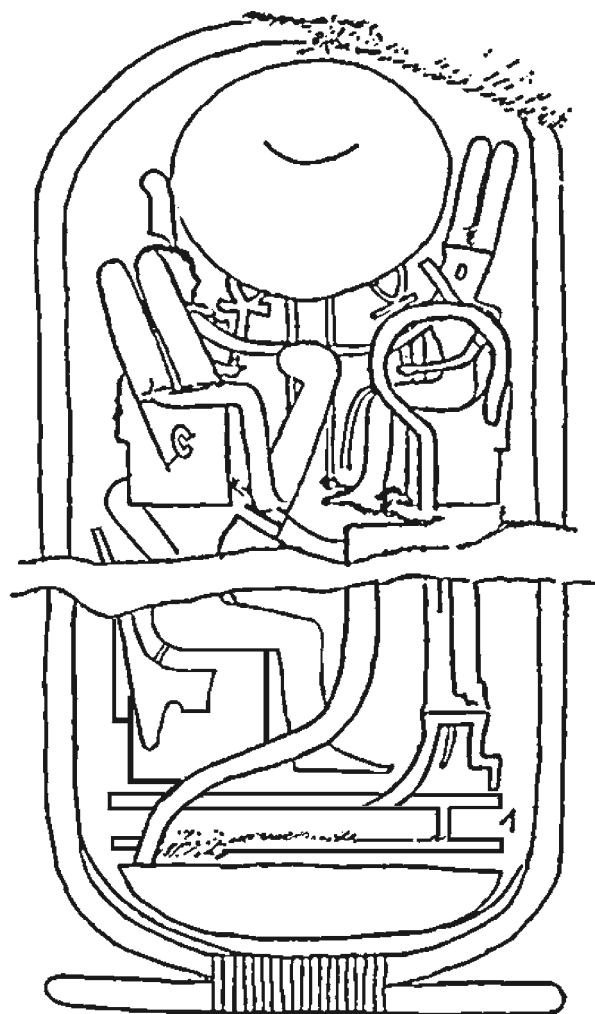


Figure 5.7. Drawing of Usurped Prenomen of Ramesses IV on One of the Great Columns, Karnak Hypostyle Hall



Figure 5.6. Cartouche of Ramesses VI Replaces Two Successive Versions of Ramesses IV's Name on Great Column in Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Note Plaster in Plumes of Suppressed Maat and Amun-Ra Glyphs from Primary Edition of Ramesses IV's Prenomen



Figure 5.8. Upper Half of Usurped Nomen Cartouche of Ramesses IV/VI



Figure 5.9. Dedication Texts on Obelisk of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple. Outer Texts Added Shortly Prior to Year 34, Probably in Connection with His First Jubilee in Year 30

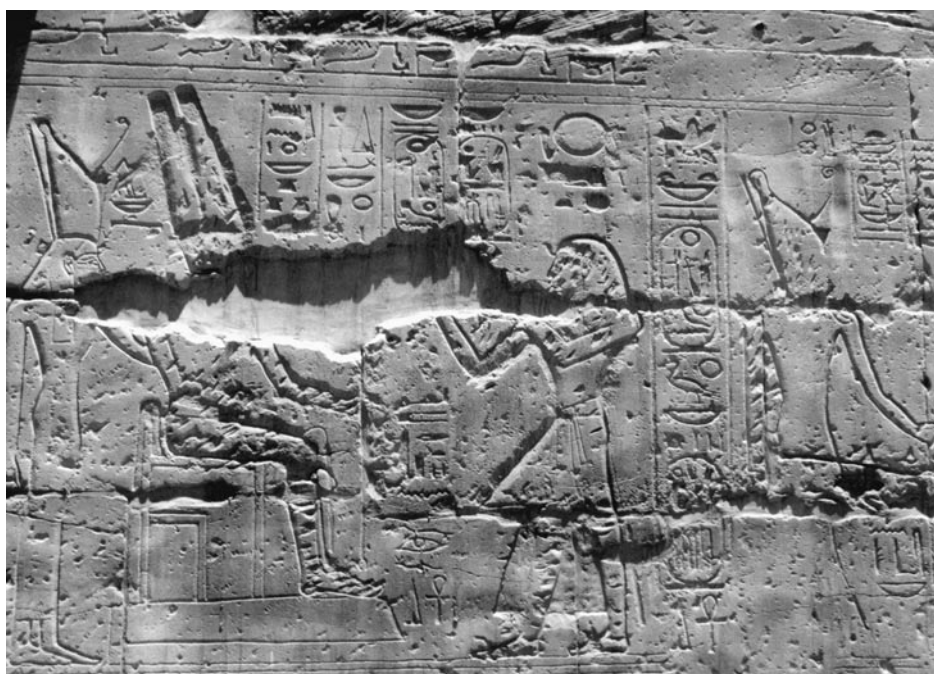


Figure 5.10. Crude, Unfinished Offering Scenes of Ramesses II. From Solar Court, Memorial Temple of Seti I, Qurna



Figure 5.11. Ramesses II Offering Bouquets. From Ritual Scene in Side Chamber of Qurna Temple of Seti I. The Hastily Executed Relief Bears the Later Form of the King's Nomen Current after Year 21

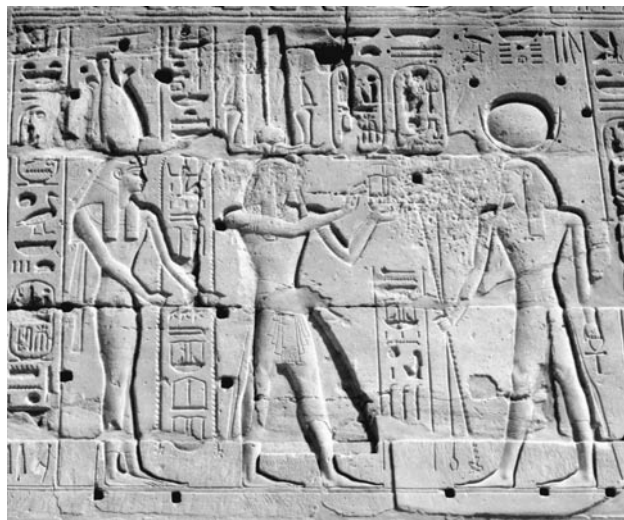


Figure 5.12. Ramesses II before Thoth, Attended by Nekhbet. From Girdle Wall of Thutmose III, Karnak. Note Peg Holes around Deities to Secure Veils



Figure 5.13. Ramesses II Offering to Mekhyt. From Girdle Wall of Thutmose III, Karnak. Drill Holes Indicate that Mekhyt's Figure Was Once Covered



Figure 5.14. Ramesses II with Pair of Sistra. From Girdle Wall of Thutmose III, Karnak. The Elaborate Iconography of His Figure, Including *Shebyu*-collar, Wide Belt, and Armband Recall Later Deification Iconography of Amenhotep III



Figure 5.15. Once-veiled Icon of Ptah-of-Ramesses-II. From Girdle Wall of Thutmose III, Karnak



Figure 5.16. Colossal Image of Amun-Ra. From Scene of Ramesses IX on North Face of Ninth Pylon, Karnak. The Image Was Covered, although Plumes Were Apparently Exposed



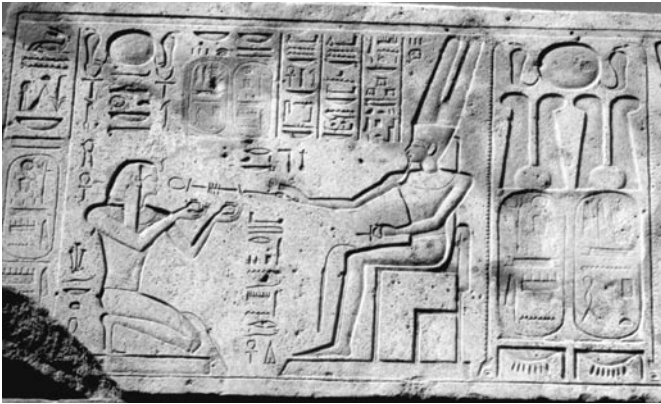


Figure 5.17. Seti II Kneels before Amun-Ra. Relief on Lintel of Gateway near Granite Bark Shrine, Central Karnak

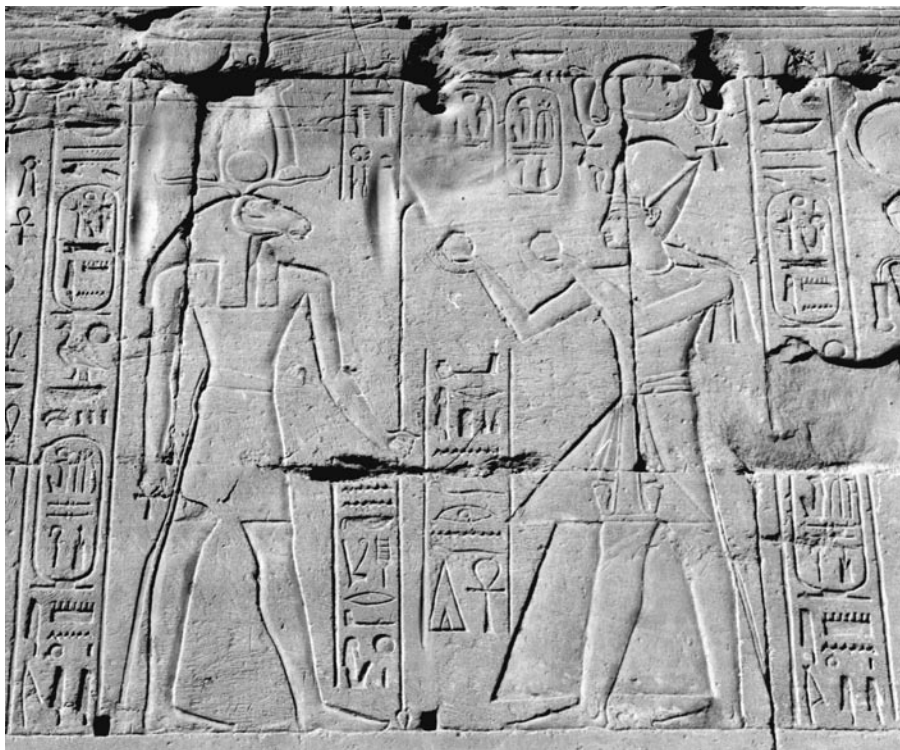


Figure 5.18. Ramesses II Offering *Nw*-jars to Banebdjed. From North Face of Eighth Pylon, Karnak. Four Square Holes Indicate that the God Was Covered by a Veil

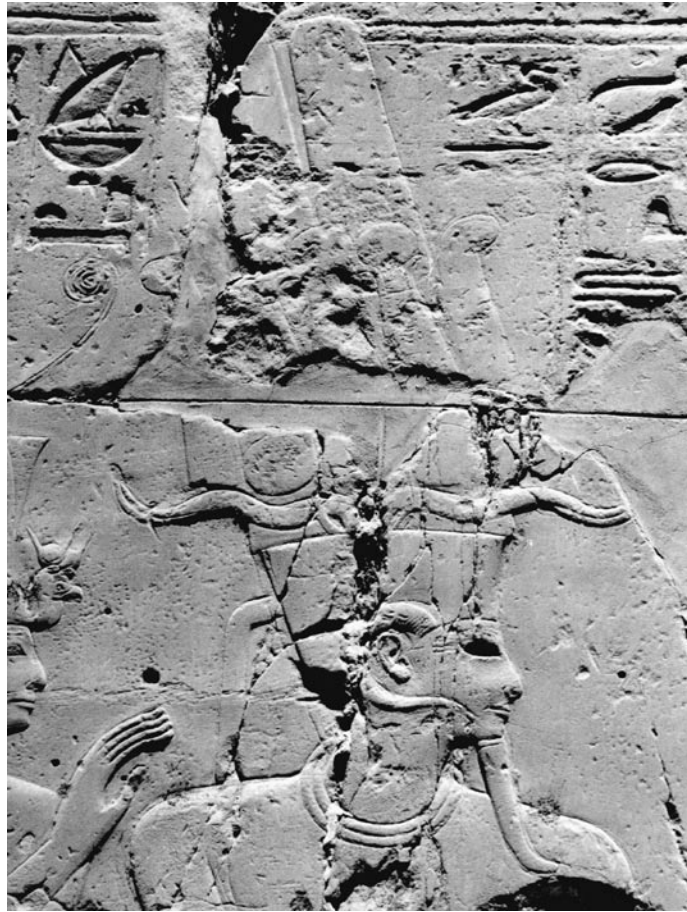


Figure 5.19. Elaborate Avatar of Amun-Ra as Source of Inundation. The God's Eye Was Hollowed Out to Receive an Inlay. Small Holes around Figure Indicate the Former Presence of a Covering

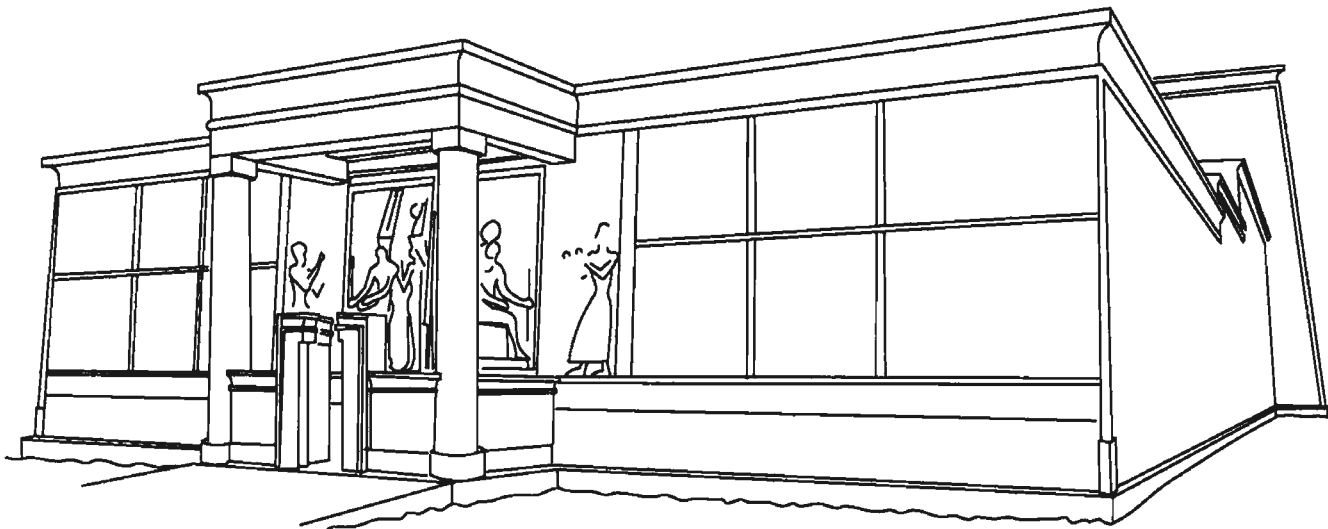


Figure 5.20. Reconstruction of Contra Shrine against Rear Wall of a Temple. Built Directly at Center of Wall, Opposite Innermost Shrine, to Allow Petitioners Close, though Indirect, Access to God



Figure 5.21. Ex Voto Graffito of High Priest of Amun, Ramessenakht. From Inner Face of Girdle Wall of Thutmose III, Karnak. The God's Image Has Been Enshrined (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 127 [464])



Figure 5.22. Amun-Ra and Mut Embrace, possibly Representing the Divine Marriage. Rare Example of Enshrined Image inside a Temple. From Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak



Figure 5.23. Graffito of Osiris on North Exterior Wall of Karnak Hypostyle Hall. Presence of Covering Indicated by Peg Holes (after Epigraphic Survey 1985, pl. 50)



Figure 5.24. Amun-Ra Grants Jubilees to Ramesses II. Relief inside Gateway of Karnak Eighth Pylon. The Scene Became the Object of Popular Piety and Was Enshrined. Pilgrims' Gouges Attest to Its Popularity



Figure 5.25. Unusual Squatting Icon of Ra. East Wall of the Luxor Solar Court. Note Demotic Graffito and Pilgrim's Gouges

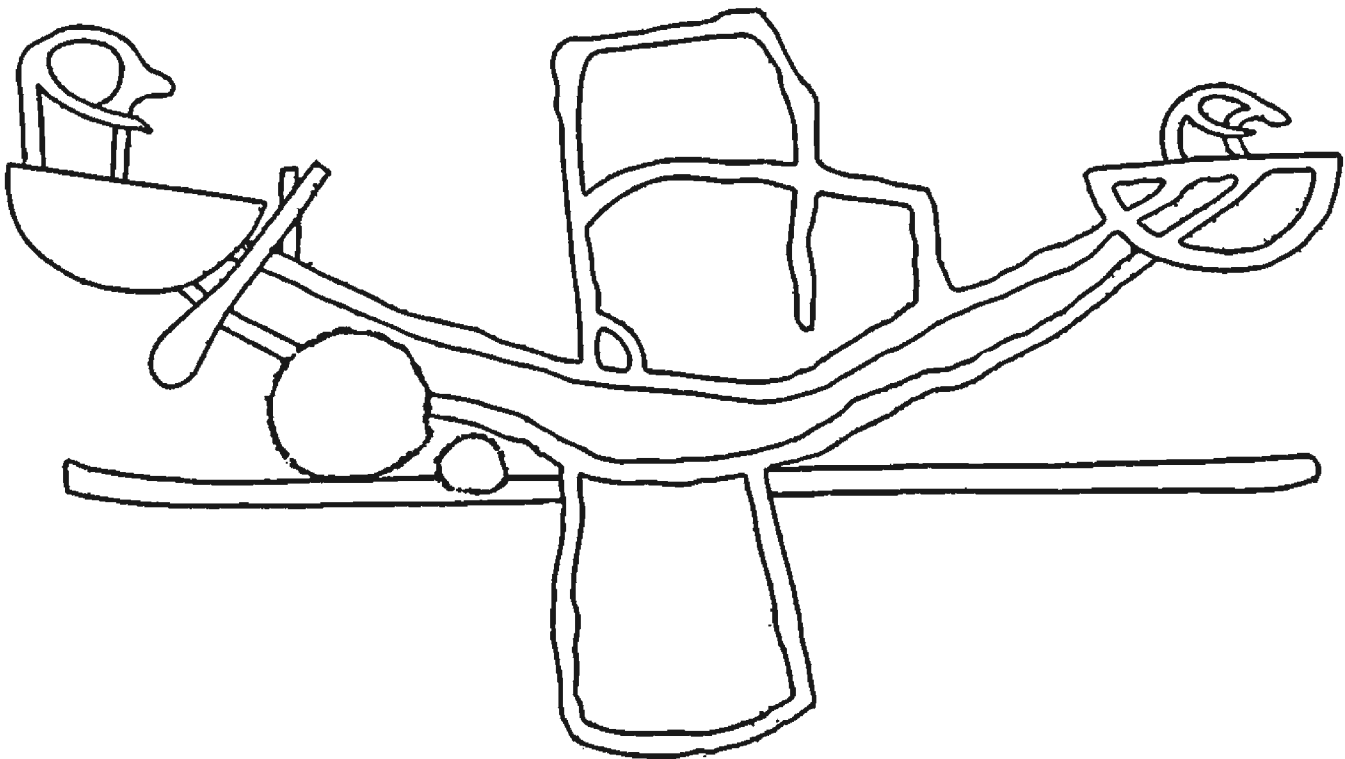


Figure 5.26. Processional Bark of Amun-Ra. Crude Graffito Scratched by Pilgrim on North Wall of Karnak Hypostyle Hall (after Epigraphic Survey 1985, pl. 50)



Figure 5.27. Amun-Opet-Who-Answers-the-Poor. Votive Image Carved by Temple Artisans on Blank East Wall of Solar Court, Luxor Temple



Figure 5.28. Votive Reliefs of Amun-Opet-Who-Answers-the-Poor, Ra-Horakhty, and Others. East Exterior Wall of Luxor Solar Court



Figure 5.29. Cluster of Ex Voto Figures of Gods. East Wall of Solar Court, Karnak. The Figures Are Arranged and Sized without Reference to Each Other



Figure 5.30. Bas Relief Graffito of Khonsu. On West Exterior Wall of Khonsu Temple, Karnak. Four Drill Holes Indicate that It Was Once Veiled

## ABBREVIATIONS

- KRI* II                    Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. 2. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1979.
- KRI* IV                    Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. 4. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1982.
- RITA* II                    Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations*, Vol. 2. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1996.
- RITANC* II                Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*, Vol. 2. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1999.

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## 6

## THE TERMINOLOGY OF SACRED SPACE IN PTOLEMAIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM THEBES

J. BRETT McCLAIN, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

As a contribution to this series of papers on the idea of sacred space in ancient Thebes, it is useful to arrive at a general notion of how sacred spaces are described in Theban temple inscriptions. This paper explores the issue of architectural terminology in a selection of the temple texts of the late Dynastic and Ptolemaic periods. Composed during the terminal period of Thebes' prominence as a religious capital, these texts both incorporate spatial/architectural terms and ideas from the preceding dynastic textual tradition and contain new, more elaborate expressions illuminating the idea of sacred space that was current during the later periods of the city's history.

Given the enriched vocabulary of Ptolemaic temple inscriptions in general, lexicographical analysis is the most useful way to undertake such an investigation. For the dynastic period, Patricia Spencer has made an essential study of terminology for the various parts of the Egyptian temple. Spencer declines to include a systematic examination of Ptolemaic texts in her corpus, explaining that

In the Ptolemaic period the writing of the language underwent such great changes that the application of architectural terminology, which had previously been fairly accurate, became much less exact. Consequently the Ptolemaic texts of temples such as Edfu and Denderah have proved to have been of less use in establishing, or confirming, earlier meanings than was originally expected. The survival of any term into the Graeco-Roman period will be noted although no great reliance can be placed on it having been applied with any degree of accuracy (Spencer 1984, 2).

One might question the validity of this assertion in light of a text that comes readily to mind: the dedicatory bandeau inscription in the western section of the *couloir mystérieux* at Dendera,<sup>1</sup> which includes the following text:

... *dmd šh-ntr fdw n imy-wr.t wr.w ʒh.(w) m kd=sn m-hnt=sn sš.w r tʒ-wr m sn̄=sn sk dr bʒh ky m-kʒb=sn m imn.t(y) iʒb.t(y) sbʒ=sn wbʒ r=sn ti.t fdw m sʒh=sn isk mʒh.t=sn sk̄r r mḥw šsp.t snw hr mshtyw sbʒ.(w)=sn sth r rsy s.t wr.t imytw=sn hr wts-nfrw šmyt pn m-phr=ʒf*

... totaling four chapels (*sh-ntr*) for the west side, great (and) excellent in their interior construction, opening toward the east according to their plans from the beginning; other(s) (being) within them on the right (and) left, their doors opening towards them; four throne-chapels (*ti.t*) in their vicinity, with their doorways (*mʒh.t*) set to the north, (and) two chambers (*šsp.t*) upon the north, their doors (*sbʒ.w*) unbolted towards the south; (with) the great seat (*s.t-wr.t*) in the midst of them bearing the bark “the one that exalts beauty,” around which is this corridor (*šmyt*) (Chassinat 1934, 2).<sup>2</sup>

The description of this complex of rooms is specific, and the architectural designations used for the various chambers were chosen intentionally to indicate their function. Any perceived inaccuracy of application or lack of exactness in the usage of these terms is more likely due to our own incomplete understanding of their meaning in context, rather than to imprecise use on the part of Dendera's ancient scribes. The Roman period texts describing the construction of the hypostyle hall at Esna are another example of how, though often selected according to

<sup>1</sup> For the location, compare PM 6, 52, 65 (169–72).

<sup>2</sup> Following generally the translation of Cauville 1999, 14–15, though one can be somewhat more specific in translating some of the architectural terms. On the use of *sh-ntr* to describe the chapels surround-

ing the sanctuary, see Wilson 1997, 890. For *ti.t* as the “throne-chapel” of Tatenen, see *Urk.* VIII, 115/142; for references to the *šmyt* as the corridor surrounding the *s.t wr.t*, compare Wilson 1997, 1010.

cosmological or compositional principles, the employment of architectural terms in dedicatory inscriptions in the terminal hieroglyphic tradition could be quite exact:

... s<sup>h</sup>.n=f h<sup>w</sup>.t-n<sup>r</sup>.t h<sup>b</sup>s.ti<sup>h</sup> hr snt=f sh<sup>z</sup>s r bw wnn=<s> h<sup>z</sup>.w m t<sup>z</sup>=s ... sbty.w r-sbi h<sup>z</sup>-tp=s m(i)-kd m k<sup>z</sup>.t  
 ‘pr.(w) m s<sup>š</sup>m.(w)=s(n) ‘rk m <sup>z</sup>b.wt=s(n) nb.w(t) ... s<sup>d</sup>sr.n=f sbh.t=s mi <sup>z</sup>h.t sip.n=f i<sup>z</sup>.t=s nd.n=f r.(w)-  
 pr.w=s inb.n=<f> h<sup>w</sup>.wt=s m-m<sup>z</sup>(wy) ...

... he (i.e., the emperor Domitian) having raised up the temple of the goddess, furnished according to its plan, at the place where it had been; with lotus-(columns) (h<sup>z</sup>.w) for its screen-wall (t<sup>z</sup>) ... the walls that ran around it were as a (completed) work, supplied with their images and worked with all their forms ... he having sanctified (s<sup>d</sup>sr) its propylon (sbh.t) like the horizon, organized its sacred precinct, and protected its shrines (r.w-pr.w); he having walled about its mansions anew ... (Sauneron 1963, 278–79).<sup>3</sup>

Does this same detailed approach hold true for the terminology of the sacred spaces of Thebes in Ptolemaic times? In this paper I look at some of the more important spatial/architectural terms and investigate whether they are used in Theban Ptolemaic texts, whether their use is specific in describing the buildings or parts of buildings to which they refer, and whether there are differences between earlier usage and how the terms are employed in the Greco-Roman inscriptions. The corpus of texts in which these terms are found consists mainly of formal dedicatory inscriptions, but the standard ritual scenes occasionally contain interesting examples and there are also a few graffiti which contain specific descriptions of temple components.

Let us for a moment examine the terminology from a broader perspective. Names of sacred spaces in Egyptian texts can be roughly divided into two groups: first, those indicating mythological or cosmological locations, such as p.t, t<sup>z</sup>, dw<sup>z</sup>.t, or archaic geographical references such as Pe and Dep; and second, those terms indicating real physical locations, such as a sacred site or particular structure. The second category includes toponyms, such as ip.t-s.wt “Karnak” and ip.t rsy.t “southern Opet,” that is, Luxor temple, along with hft-hr n nb=s “the one in the presence of her lord,” an epithet for the necropolis of Thebes, and i<sup>z</sup>.t t<sup>z</sup>.w-mw.wt, the mound of Djême at Medinet Habu. Particularly in the Ptolemaic inscriptions, the Egyptians refer to these cosmological and physical locations interchangeably, throwing the mythological and the tangible places together as part of a unified sacred landscape.<sup>4</sup> An inscription from the propylon of Montu at Karnak describes the Ennead ... htp.(w) m dw<sup>z</sup>.t=s n r-gs (i)t=s n m t<sup>z</sup> d<sup>s</sup>r.t m i<sup>z</sup>.t t<sup>z</sup>.(w)-mw.(w)t “... resting in their netherworld beside their father in the necropolis in the mound of Djême” (Urk. VIII, 5/6b). This linking of mythological and actual locations extends to the words themselves, each of which may be used to designate either an otherworldly or a physical place, depending on the context. This flexibility may have given rise to a reluctance to include Ptolemaic texts in a study of temple terminology, but it does not detract from the usefulness of examining how these terms are used to describe sacred locations.

### DSR-S.T

The word for sacred, d<sup>s</sup>r, was widely used in temple inscriptions of the Greco-Roman period. It formed part of the epithets of a legion of deities,<sup>5</sup> but was also a component of the names for sacred locations, buildings, and parts of buildings. In the sacerdotal decrees, bw d<sup>s</sup>r was used to indicate the sanctuary of the temple in which the naos was kept (Daumas 1952, 172). The term s.t d<sup>s</sup>r.t “sacred place” or “sacred seat,” which during the New Kingdom was one of the normal designations of the necropolis (Hoffmeier 1985, 171–79), had a wider application in Ptolemaic texts: it could indicate a particular temple as a whole, as at Philae<sup>6</sup> or Edfu,<sup>7</sup> while at Dendera

<sup>3</sup> Esna text no. 162. Observe also the paronomastic description of the floral columns in no. 183 (pp. 300–01), with discussion in Sauneron 1959, 65–66, 70.

<sup>4</sup> For this phenomenon, see especially Reymond 1969, 316–22.

<sup>5</sup> These are cataloged in Leitz 2002–2003, 652–75.

<sup>6</sup> Osiris is indicated as ... hnty i<sup>z</sup>.t w<sup>z</sup>b.t s.t=f d<sup>s</sup>r.t iw rk “... foremost of the holy mound, whose sacred place (is) Philae” (Sauneron and Stierlin 1975, 169).

<sup>7</sup> Of the guardian deities of Edfu it is said that they are appointed ... m nfr=s n s.t sn d<sup>s</sup>r.t m bh<sup>d</sup>.t rsy.t thn.t m i<sup>z</sup>.t=s n n<sup>r</sup>y.(t) “... in their beauty, their sacred place being southern Behdet, hidden in their divine mound” (Chassinat 1929, 254/2–3). Additionally, at Edfu the central bark sanctuary of Horus was called ‘.t d<sup>s</sup>r.t “the sacred chamber,” and the god is referred to as d<sup>s</sup>r wr m ‘.t d<sup>s</sup>r.t “the great sacred one in the sacred chamber” (Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1897, 15/24).

*s.t* *ḏsr.t* appears to have been a designation for one or more of the crypts.<sup>8</sup> *ḏsr* formed part of the names of several sacred locations in Thebes during the Eighteenth Dynasty, such as *ḏsr-ḏsr.w*, Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, and *ḏsr-mnw*, the name of two different monuments of Thutmose III within the same complex (*Wb.* 5, 612–13).<sup>9</sup> The best known of these, (*ḥnty*) *ḏsr-s.t* “(foremost of) the sacred place,” is the epithet of Amun of Medinet Habu (Otto 1952, 71–72). It is found in the original Thutmoside inscriptions at the small temple,<sup>10</sup> as well as in those added later to the small temple complex. Therefore, when Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II commissioned the restoration of the temple's bark sanctuary, he dedicated the work to *ʾImn-R<sup>c</sup> n(y)-sw.t ntr.w ḏsr-s.t*.<sup>11</sup> The nearby Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina contains over a dozen attestations of the name of Amun of *ḏsr-s.t* (du Bourguet 2002, 273), and a reference at Qasr el-Agouz seems to indicate the nearby small temple using *ḏsr-s.t* as a place name.<sup>12</sup> During the Ptolemaic period, however, the term *ḏsr-s.t* was not limited to the form of Amun residing in Medinet Habu. On the propylon of Montu at North Karnak, Ptolemy III Euergetes I and Berenike are named *ntr.wy mnḥ.wy nb.w Wʒs.t nḥt.(t) ḏsr-s.t m ip.t-s.wt* “the two gods Euergetai, the lords of mighty Thebes, (they of) the sacred place in Karnak” (*Urk.* VIII, 11/13a). On the same gateway, the royal couple is again designated *ntr.wy mnḥ.wy nb.w ip.t-s.wt ḏsr-s.t m Wʒs.t nḥt.(t)* “the two gods Euergetai, the lords of Karnak, (they of) the sacred place in mighty Thebes” (*Urk.* VIII, 23/25a). These examples associate the locus of *ḏsr-s.t*, specifically of royal personages whose “seat” is sacred, with the precinct of Karnak or with the city as a whole.

Other names for sacred locations incorporate the idea of *ḏsr* “sacred.” *Nb ḏsr wr* “great lord of sanctity” appears in the proper name of the propylon of Montu at North Karnak (*Urk.* VIII, 33/39, 40). On the polyhedral columns installed in the Medinet Habu temple during the reign of Achoris, that king's texts (ascribed honorifically to Thutmose III) refer to the temple as *ḏsr.t imnt.t ʒḥ.t* “a shrine of the west of the horizon” and *ḏsr.t Pth-Skr-Wsir* “a shrine of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris” (Traunecker 1981, 113 ff.). The term *ḏsr.t imnt.t ʒḥ.t* may have had its origin in an epithet of Amun, *ḥnty ḏsr.(t) imnt.t* (perhaps best translated as “foremost of the western shrine”) that appears in the original Thutmoside dedicatory texts on the ambulatory architraves.<sup>13</sup> Yet the other terms employed under Thutmose III to indicate the core temple completed during his reign, the words *ḥm* “shrine” and *s.t=f ḏsr.t* “his sacred place,” are not found in the texts of Achoris or the later dedicatory texts of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and so we must accept that in both earlier and later times no one word or phrase more specific than the toponyms *ḏsr-s.t* and *iʒ.t ʒʒ.w-mw.(w)t* was universally used either for the small temple as a whole or for its component parts, the six interior shrines and the ambulatory.

These few examples are illustrative of how the concept of “sacred” (*ḏsr*) could be applied, as an epithet for Amun or the king whose place or “seat” was sacred (*ḏsr-s.t*), as part of a descriptive name, such as the gate *nb ḏsr wr*, or to indicate a specific structure, a *ḏsr.t* “shrine,” of which, in the Twenty-ninth Dynasty, the small Amun temple at Medinet Habu was an example. Most of the examples of *ḏsr* in the Theban Ptolemaic texts, however, occur in the first category, the common epithet *ḏsr-s.t*, and the other two uses were much less common. Stating attributively that a particular structure was sacred does not, therefore, seem to have been a frequent concern in the Ptolemaic inscriptions of Thebes.

<sup>8</sup> In the second southern crypt is found a reference to Hathor: ... *mʒʒ=s tit=s ḏsr m-ḥnt s.t ḏsr.t* “... when she sees her sacred image in front of the sacred place” (Chassinat and Dumas 1965, 5/2–3); in the same crypt she is called *ḥnty.t ʿ.t=s ḏsr.t* “foremost of her sacred chamber” (ibid., 15/5). In the second western crypt she is called *šps.t wsr.t m iwn.t ḏsr.(t)-s.t m-ḥnt s.t ḏsr.t* “the noble and powerful one in Iunet, she of the sacred place in front of the sacred place (ibid., 142/13). The epithet *ḏsr-s.t* “(he of) the sacred place” could be applied to other deities in Greco-Roman temples, such as Khnum of Esna (Sauneron 1968, 333/16; Sauneron 1975, 477/13, 519/8, 14).

<sup>9</sup> On the various uses of *ḏsr* to describe sacred spaces during the New Kingdom, see Hoffmeier 1985, 171–98. For the monuments of Thutmose III named *ḏsr-mnw* at Deir el-Bahari, see Lipińska 1967, 31–33; the fragmentary remains of a related monument, named *ḏsr-*

*ʒḥ.t*, have also been found nearby, ibid., 25–31; compare Otto 1952, 14–15, 53, 61.

<sup>10</sup> Publication forthcoming by the Epigraphic Survey. The epithet *ḏsr-s.t* is found in pls. 17, line 11; 25, line 1; 29, line 9; 41A, line 1; and 57, line 19.

<sup>11</sup> The renewal inscription on the frieze of the bark sanctuary (Nelson no. MH.B 178, 179, 195) will ultimately be published by the Epigraphic Survey. *ḏsr-s.t* also occurs as an epithet of Amun in the text of Euergetes II on the east entrance to the ambulatory, north jamb (Nelson no. MH.B 113).

<sup>12</sup> It is said of Hathor: *wnn šps.t wsr.t ḥnw.t ntr.wt ḥr ḏsr-s.t* ... “the powerful and noble one, mistress of the goddesses, shall be at *Djeser-set* (i.e., Medinet Habu)” (Mallet 1909, 87–88).

<sup>13</sup> Nelson nos. MH.B 150, 151, 152; compare L.D. III, 38c.

*Ḥw.t-Ntr*

*Ḥw.t-ntr* is the general term used for “temple,” in Egyptian inscriptions of all periods (Spencer 1984, 43). It could be used to describe a temple complex in its entirety, such as Karnak, or individual architectural components of such a complex (Spencer 1984, 49–50), and overall it can be said that the use of the term was rather nonspecific. It is employed with this broad sense in texts from outside Thebes during the Ptolemaic period (*Urk.* II, 67, 3), and in examples from the Ptolemaic inscriptions at Thebes it has a similarly inexact use. It could be used in a cosmological sense, as in a scene on the propylon of Montu at North Karnak, where it is said of Maat: ... *nšz s R<sup>c</sup> m Ḥw.t-ntr z s* “... as she sends forth Re from her temple” (*Urk.* VIII, 2/1d). In another scene, Maat is called *šhpt.(t) Mnt(w) ḥnm Ḥw.t-ntr z f* “she who pacifies Montu, who is united (with) his temple” (*Urk.* VIII, 13/14e), the temple in question being the complex of Montu, to which this propylon forms the entrance. In a scene on the propylon of Khonsu at Karnak, Ptolemy III Euergetes declares to Osiris: *šhb.n z i Ḥw.t-ntr z k m bw nb nfr* “...when I made your temple festive in every beautiful place” (*Urk.* VIII, 88/103g). *Ḥwt-ntr* might be further qualified, as in a text carved under Ptolemy X Alexander at the Karnak temple of Ptah: *Ḥw.t-ntr nt Ḥwt-Ḥr ḥr(y.t)-tp W3.s.t* “the temple of Hathor, chief one of Thebes” (Legrain 1902, 52), or as in a priestly restoration graffito at Luxor temple which designates the temple, otherwise usually known as *ip.t-rsy.t* “southern Opet,” as *Ḥw.t-ntr n.t ʾImn-ip.t-[k3-mw].t z f* “the temple of Amenope-[Kamu]tef” (Jansen-Winkel 2005, 36, pls. 15, 16).

The most striking feature of *Ḥw.t-ntr* in the Ptolemaic texts from Thebes is, however, its rarity; from all the texts on the enormous monumental gateways in the Karnak area, few examples of *Ḥw.t-ntr* can be collected. In many places where *Ḥw.t-ntr* could be used, other, more specific terms were preferred. Of these, some are names of particular structures containing *Ḥw.t*. *Ḥw.t Mw.t* is found as the name of Mut’s temple in texts both within the Mut complex (Sauneron and Ménassa 1983, pl. 9/6, 22, and 30) and in other areas of Karnak (*Urk.* VIII, 130/182c). Another frequently occurring designation is *Ḥwt bnb.n.t*, found as part of the titulary of Amun: *ʾImn-R<sup>c</sup> nb ns(w)t t3.wy m Ḥwt bnb.n.(t) ʾItm ʾIwn(y) m sp tp(y)* “Amun-Re, lord of the throne(s) of the two lands in the temple of the *benben*-stone of Atum the Heliopolitan from the first occasion” (*Urk.* VIII, 123/158b; see also 110/137k). Along with the *Ḥw.t wt.t*, the “temple of begetting” of Osiris (*Urk.* VIII, 88/103b and 93/114) the *Ḥw.t bnb.n.t*, in the Theban Ptolemaic texts, may refer to a mythological locale, but *Ḥw.t bnb.n.t* may also indicate an actual structure within Thebes, a shrine with a *benben*-stone, provisionally located on the roof of the temple of Khonsu, where a graffito refers to the *Ḥw.t-ntr n.t bn[b]n.t* (Jacquet-Gordon 2003, 3, 7, and 80 [Gr. 228]). Yet another term, *Ḥw.t ʿ3.t*, is used to describe Karnak in the hymn to that temple found on the propylon of Montu: ... *Ḥw.t ʿ3.t ḥr(y.t)-ib W3.s.t* “the great temple that is resident in Thebes” (*Urk.* VIII, 33/41); but in fact, in order to designate the temple complex of Karnak, its proper name, *ip.t-s.wt*, is by far the most frequent choice, and other temples, where referred to as whole complexes, are also normally called by their specific place names. We must conclude that, with these few exceptions, *Ḥw.t-ntr* had fallen out of fashion in the Ptolemaic period as a designation for specific temple structures.

*S.T WR.T*

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, the term *s.t wr.t*, normally used to indicate the throne of a king or god, came to indicate either the pedestal on which rested the divine bark or the bark shrine that contained the pedestal (Spencer 1984, 109–10); this usage continued throughout the New Kingdom (*ibid.*, 111–13) and was resumed during the Ptolemaic period. *S.t wr.t* could also be used, as at Edfu, in a dual sense, indicating simultaneously a mythological “great seat” and a locus of cult within the temple (Reymond 1969, 233–34). In many examples, *s.t wr.t* designates the central bark shrine or sanctuary within the *couloir mystérieux*,<sup>14</sup> but an ambiguity is deliberately built in to its usage, so that it could simultaneously allude to the temple as a whole, to the king’s throne, or to his palace (Wilson 1997, 948). At Thebes, the bark shrine in Luxor temple was rebuilt under Alexander the Great: ... *ir.n z f*

<sup>14</sup> As such, *s.t wr.t* functions as part of the epithets of various deities, such as *ḥry s.t z f wr.t* or *ḥnty s.t wr.t*, when depicted in ritual

scenes receiving cult service; numerous examples are given in Leitz 2002–2003, 5, 376–77, 851–52, and 6, 62.



*s.t wr.t m-mꜣw(y) m inr ḥd nfr n rwḏ m-ḥt wnn ꜥs ḏr rk ḥm n n(y)-sw.t-bi.ty nb-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ ...* “... it was after it had existed since the time of the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatre... that he made the great seat anew out of good sandstone” (*Urk.* II, 8, 3–4); this text allows the identification of *s.t wr.t* with a particular structure within the temple. At Karnak the central bark shrine, rebuilt under Philip Arrhidaeus, was inscribed with the following text:

*gm.n n(y)-sw.t bi.ty nb tꜣ.wy nb ir ḥt stp-n-Rꜥ mr(y)-ꜣImn sꜣ Rꜥ n ḥt ꜥf mry ꜥf plypws s.t wr.t n.t ꜣImn wꜣ.w r wꜣs m ḥws m rk ḥm n n(y)-sw.t-bi.ty mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ sꜣ Rꜥ n ḥt ꜥf mry ꜥf nb ḥꜥw Dḥwtꜣ-ms ḏd sw ḥm ꜥf m-mꜣw m mꜣt m kꜣ.t mnḥ(t) n.t (n)ḥḥ ...*

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of ritual, Setepenre Meryamun, the son of Re, of his body, his beloved, Philip, having found the great seat (*s.t wr.t*) of Amun fallen into ruin, specifically being the construction from the time of the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, the son of Re, of his body, his beloved, the lord of appearances, Thutmose; as an excellent work of eternity his majesty built it anew out of granite ... (*Urk.* II, 10, 1–11).

The term *s.t wr.t* might also be used to indicate specifically the pedestal of the sacred bark itself, within the actual bark shrine. In the northern gateway of the enclosure of Mut, decorated under Ptolemy VI Philometor, appears a reference to *Mw.t ir.t Rꜥ ḥr(y.t) s.t wr.t m itr.t n.(t) ꜣ nrw* “Mut, the eye of Re, who is upon the great seat in the chapel of ‘Great of Dread’ (the bark of Mut)” (Sauneron and Ménassa 1983, pl. 11/11, 31).<sup>15</sup> These are the most specific Theban attestations of *s.t wr.t*; others are less specific, as in other examples of the epithet *ḥr(y.t) s.t wr.t* in the gateway of Mut (*ibid.*, pl. 8/5, 2) and in the temple of Deir el-Medina (du Bourguet 2002, 20, 10 and 30, 7).<sup>16</sup> *S.t wr.t* is also used as one of the epithets of Karnak in a Ptolemaic hymn to the temple on the propylon of Montu: *ꜣḥ.t (n)ḥḥ n.(t) n(y)-sw.t ntr.w s.t wr.t n ḥkꜣ psḏ.t* “the horizon of eternity of the king of the gods, the great seat of the ruler of the Ennead” (*Urk.* VIII, 33/41). The range of uses found for *s.t wr.t*, from the literal to the figurative, is thus comparable both to the many-faceted meaning of the term in inscriptions from other Ptolemaic temples and to the breadth of applicability for terms containing *ḏsr* and *ḥw.t*.

### WSḤ.T

In the inscriptions of the dynastic period, the word *wsh.t* is frequently encountered and can indicate either an open court or a covered hypostyle hall (Spencer 1984, 77). *Wsh.t* is often employed in Ptolemaic temples in various combinations to indicate specific structures or rooms. At Edfu, the second Hypostyle Hall is expressly called *wsh.t ꜣ.t* “the Great Hall” (Chassinat 1918, 171/8–9), while the Great Court is called both *wsh.t* alone (Chassinat 1931, 10/8–9) and *wsh.t wdn* “the Hall of Offerings” (Chassinat 1932, 5/3).<sup>17</sup> In the Ptolemaic inscriptions of Thebes it is found less frequently, but its context hints at its function. On the gateway of the enclosure of Mut at Karnak, the *wsh.t* is the scene of dances performed in honor of the goddess (Sauneron and Ménassa 1983, pl. 19/29, 1–2); these could of course have been enacted in any of the courts along the axis of Mut’s temple, and the text does not make it possible to be more specific. A better clue to the Ptolemaic use of *wsh.t* is found in the restoration inscription of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II within the bark shrine at Medinet Habu. The shrine, whose interior reliefs and façade were recarved and whose roof was repaired under Euergetes II, is described as a *wsh.t wdḥ.w n ḥtpꜣ.(t) ꜣImn-Rꜥ n(y)-sw.t ntr.w ḏsr-s.t* “an offering-table court for the offerings of Amun-Re, king of the gods, (he of) the sacred place.”<sup>18</sup> Nowhere in this inscription is the shrine described as a *s.t wr.t*. At the temple of Deir el-Medina there occurs a reference to Ptah *sḥ mꜣꜥ.t n psḏ.t ꜣ.t m wsh.t mꜣꜥ.tꜣ* “who inscribes truth for the Great Ennead in the court of the two truths” and another to Maat *ḥnw.t imnt.t ꜣk.(t) r wsh.t mꜣꜥ.tꜣ* “mistress of the

<sup>15</sup> The use of *itr.t* (*Wb.* 1, 147–48) to indicate the bark shrine is not attested in dedicatory inscriptions of the dynastic period, and no other Theban example is known from Ptolemaic times.

<sup>16</sup> Note that in both of the Deir el-Medina examples the god in question is shown standing upon a statue base. It seems from various New Kingdom examples that the epithet *ḥr(y) s.t wr.t* was commonly attached to a god depicted on a pedestal in statue form; two such

scenes are found within the sanctuaries of the small Amun temple at Medinet Habu, Nelson nos. MH.B 27 and MH.B 59, to be published in the Epigraphic Survey’s forthcoming *Medinet Habu IX*.

<sup>17</sup> For various other features at Edfu identified as *wsh.t*, compare Wilson 1997, 262–63.

<sup>18</sup> *L.D. Text III*, 160.

West, who enters into the court of the two truths” (du Bourguet 2002, 56/58, 13 and 21–23). The temple structure includes a forecourt with two columns, and it is possible that *wsh.t mꜣ.ty* is a figurative reference to this court, though it is impossible to be certain; the temple as a whole is called a *hndw* “throne” in the dedicatory inscriptions of Ptolemy IV Philopator (du Bourguet 2002, 107/114,1 and 115,1). There are also more abstract uses of *wsh.t*: in the hymn to Karnak carved on the propylon of Montu, the temple of Amun is called *wsh.t r.(w)-pr.w n shm n nb-dr* “the court of the temples of the image of the Lord of All” (*Urk.* VIII, 33/41) and in the hymn to the city of Thebes, carved near the gateway of Karnak’s Second Pylon under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, the city is called *wsh.t it-tꜣ.wy n.(t) n(y)-sw.t ntr.w* “the court of Itjtawy of the king of the gods” (*Urk.* VIII, 115/142); the unusual reference to Itjtawy may be intended to express the supremacy of Amun, and thus of Thebes, over the two lands. For *wsh.t* there is thus once again a range of applications, from descriptions of specific temple components to more figurative uses, and yet it is notable that there is a moderate number of attestations of *wsh.t* in the Ptolemaic inscriptions of Thebes.

### OTHER ARCHITECTURAL TERMS

Various other words are used at Thebes in the Ptolemaic period for sacred structures or parts of buildings. A priestly graffito at Luxor temple from the reigns of Alexander and Philip Arrhidaeus records the reconstruction of a *pr nbw n ꜣImn-Rꜣ n(y)-sw.t ntr.w* and gives the dimensions of the structure, along with the materials used in its repair (Abdel-Raziq 1983, 211–13). *Pr nbw* in the New Kingdom indicated the temple treasury and might be mentioned in company with the *pr hꜣ* (*Urk.* IV, 942, 9), but in Luxor temple it is difficult to say to which structure the graffito refers; aside from the rebuilding of the bark sanctuary, there are various traces of Ptolemaic repairs observable within the inner sanctuaries of the temple (Brunner 1977, 40). Two stages of work are indicated in the graffito, the first in year 3 of Alexander and the second in year 4 of Philip Arrhidaeus. *Pr nbw* is uncommon elsewhere in Theban Ptolemaic inscriptions. Another word that may indicate an interior section of a temple is *ꜣ.t*, found in the dedicatory texts of Achoris at Medinet Habu: *ꜣ.t iꜣr.t n.(t) it.wꜣf ntr.w nb.w tꜣ dsr* “an excellent chapel for his fathers, all the gods of the necropolis” (Traunecker 1981, 113 ff.). The term *ꜣ.t* could be used either to indicate a room or as an alternative to *pr* “house” (Spencer 1984, 14, 16); but the reference to “all the gods of the necropolis” makes it possible to speculate that the reference here is specifically to the temple ambulatory, on whose pillars appear the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, and within which the columns of Achoris were installed. *ꜣp.t* occurs primarily in proper names, such as *ꜣp.t-s.wt* “Karnak” and *ꜣp.t wr.t* the temple of Opet in the Karnak complex, as well as in epithets, such as *hnty ꜣp.tꜣf* in the title of Amun-Ra-Kamutef. The Ptolemaic inscriptions are of little help in clarifying the meaning of *ꜣp.t* in earlier periods. *Wꜣ.t* appears as a designation for processional ways at the propylon of Mut (Sauneron and Ménassa 1983, pl. 6/8, 2 and 8; also pl. 9/6, 41) and *wꜣh.t* is used for a processional bark station at Luxor temple in the graffito of *ꜣnh-pꜣ-hrd*, who claims to have completed (*grh*) the structure (Abdel-Raziq 1983, 212–13). *Wꜣh.t* is otherwise known in texts of the time of Hatshepsut (Spencer 1984, 103–04).

An inscription carved within the eastern temple complex at Karnak illustrates the way in which the terminology of sacred space was integrated into texts expressing theological features of the temple at Thebes, as in the other major temples, during Ptolemaic times. Dating to the reign of Euergetes II, it is located on the left (south) jamb of the central doorway, facing east. It praises the king of the gods as follows:

[i ꜣImn-Rꜣ ...]... ntr wꜣ iꜣty sn-nwꜣf (ny)-sw.t ntr.w dsr-s.t nb [ns.wt tꜣ.wy hnty] ꜣp.t-s.wt  
 [hw.t nh]m n hꜣy s.tꜣf hw.t shm nfr n hꜣp(r) dsꜣf ms(iw) ntr.w pr sdm h.tꜣsn dfny wtt nꜣsn [s.t] ntry.(t) n.(t) ntr n  
 Rꜣ rꜣ.t n mꜣn.n ꜣIm mw.t niw.wt n ntr ꜣꜣ dr-ꜣ  
 [hw.t] n.(t) šsr nꜣf ntr.w mr.wtꜣsn wn ꜣꜣ.wy p.t m snsw n hrꜣf Hmnyw nꜣf [m sꜣ m] s.t tn nfr.t n sdm tiꜣ hw.t imꜣ  
 n ꜣnhꜣ ꜣnh.w ꜣnhꜣꜣsn n mꜣꜣꜣf wny.w snbꜣsn n p[tr] pr pn nfr n nb (n)hꜣ hw.t iꜣb.(t) nb d.t ...

[O Amun-Re ...] ... the sole god, who is without his equal, king of the gods, (he of) the sacred place, lord of [the thrones of the two lands, foremost] of Karnak, [the temple of rejoic]ing for the one who is upon his seat, the temple of the beautiful scepter of the one who came into being of himself, who formed the gods, the house (where) they hear bodily, the ancestor of those for whom there is an heir, the divine [place] of the god of Re, the sun-city of where Atum set foot, the mother of cities of the great god since the beginning, [temple] where the

gods utter their love to him, at the glory of whose face the doors of heaven open, the Ogdoad being to him [as protection in] this beautiful place of hearing cries, the temple of the tree of the living god, the living ones living through seeing him, those who exist, their health being through behold[ing] this beautiful house of the lord of forever, the eastern temple of the lord of eternity ... (Barguet 1962, 234–35).

Though technically a hymn of praise to Amun-Ra, the inscription focuses on the nature of the monument in question, the complex initially constructed by Ramesses II to the east of the main Karnak massif, where the populace was permitted entry in order to petition the god that their supplication might be heard (*sdm ti*); the text is also one of several within Karnak praising the glories of the city of Thebes. The principal term used for it is *hw.t*, which occurs at least four times, the most important of which is the designation *hw.t i3b.t* “the eastern temple”; *s.t ntry.t* “the divine place” is used as an additional description. Specific spatial terminology is employed here in a cosmological context in order to express both the theological and the “real” nature of the temple vis-à-vis the creator-god Amun-Ra.

### NAMES OF GATES

Often identified specifically in the Ptolemaic texts are monumental gateways, which were normally, as in the earlier periods, given unique names. The monumental gateway of the Second Pylon at Karnak, restored under Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII, was named in the text on its north jamb *sb3 3 wr špss k3 šhd 3h.t m hft-hr n nb=s* “the very great, noble and high gate that illuminates the horizon in Kheftherennebes” (*Urk.* VIII, 114/142); the dedicatory text of Ptolemy VIII on the south jamb describes the gate as *m3h.t 3.(t) wr.t iwt.t mit.t=s m-m niw. wt* “a very great gateway without its equal among the cities” (*Urk.* VIII, 115/143). The word *m3h.t* is also used to describe the inner gateway of the Karnak temple of Ptah, restored under Ptolemy VI, as well as the gate of a small temple of Thoth west of the temple of Montu at North Karnak (*Urk.* VIII, 152/237). The propylon of Montu, as noted above, was named *nb dsr wr*; the same text continues with *sbhw m inr hd nfr n rwd.t ... špss m hft-hr n mht(y)-ntr* ... “... (its) doorframes being of good solid sandstone ... noble in the presence of ‘north of the god’ (i.e., the temple of Montu)” (*Urk.* VIII, 33/39.40). The name of the propylon of Khonsu included the more common phrase *wr šfy.t* “great of prestige” (*Urk.* VIII, 91/109). The general term for all these gates in the dedicatory texts was *sb3 3*, according to the earlier tradition. The north doorway of the first hypostyle hall in the temple of Khonsu, restored under Nectanebo II, was called *sb3 3 špss mki m nbw mi 3h.t R3 im=s* “the great and noble gate, worked with gold like the horizon when Ra is in it” (Epigraphic Survey 1981, pl. 131). Gates constructed in earlier times and merely recarved in the late or Ptolemaic period usually retained their original names, as with the gateway of the Fourth Pylon at Karnak, *sb3 3 špss 3Imn-R3 šhm šfy.t* “the great and noble gate ‘Amun-Re, powerful of prestige’” (Leclant 1951, 107–08), so named in the restoration inscriptions of both Shabaka and Alexander. The great eastern gate of Karnak is not named in the texts carved there under Ptolemy II Philadelphos, and the western entrance to the temple complex, through the First Pylon, was left uninscribed.

### CONCLUSIONS

The long, descriptive dedicatory inscriptions such as those found at Dendera, Edfu, and Esna are lacking in the corpus of Theban Ptolemaic texts, a fact that points to the fundamental difference between the situation in the Theban temples, especially Karnak, and those of the other regional cult centers during the Ptolemaic period. Whereas the temples of these other major towns in Upper Egypt were completely rebuilt under the Macedonians, at Thebes huge complexes of preexisting monuments were essentially intact and were, to a considerable degree, left standing under Greco-Roman rule. The monumental works carried out on these sites under the Ptolemies consisted either of the addition of pylons, gateways, and other peripheral structures, or of the repair or modification of existing buildings; among the temples discussed here, the only exception is the temple of Deir el-Medina, which was constructed entirely anew as part of the Ptolemaic building program. In many other cities, it was evidently necessary to devise new temple complexes, built along traditional models but with the opportunity to cre-

ate vast new bodies of written compositions to describe the temple's mythological origins and functions, as well as its physical dimensions and components. At Thebes this was not possible, so that the number of texts describing monumental works in the sort of detail one might expect from the Ptolemaic scribes is correspondingly small. In this regard, speaking only of the inscriptions of Thebes, it may seem that some hesitation as to the value of the Ptolemaic texts for studying the terminology of sacred space is justified.

Based on the selection of words examined above it is possible, however, to make a few observations about how the terminology of temples and their components was used in Ptolemaic Theban texts. First of all, it is clear that most of the words used for temples and temple structures in the Ptolemaic inscriptions are words that appear also in texts from earlier times. It seems that an effort was made to employ the spatial vocabulary in a way that was consistent with earlier use, especially with proper names such as *ip.t-s.wt* and *dsr-s.t* and the names of the monumental gates, but also with more specific terms such as *wsh.t*, *s.t wr.t*, *sb3*, and *w3h.t*, where these are used for specific parts of temples. This corresponds to an overall effort on the part of the Macedonian kings to venerate the historic past of Thebes by repairing, rather than replacing, existing structures, recarving earlier scenes and texts in Ptolemaic style but with their original content intact, and even carving dedicatory inscriptions in the name of kings from dynasties long past (Legrain 1902, 66). A deliberate policy of respect for the ancient traditions of these sacred spaces is apparent from the way the terminology was applied. Innovation is observed in two areas: first, in the expanded use of almost every one of these terms in figurative ways, in which either Karnak or the city of Thebes could be called a *wsh.t*, a *hw.t*, a *s.t wr.t*, or a *pr h'c'* "house of jubilation" (Aufrère 2000, 109–10); and second, in the composition of lengthy hymns, praising either the temple or the city, in which the architectural terms were thus employed. These hymns, analysis of which merits a separate study, were carved along the bases of the monumental gates, the largest and most important Ptolemaic structures within the Theban temple precincts. They combine traditional names and designations of temples with the more elaborate Ptolemaic compositional style, and are the most original creation of the scribes of Thebes in its last age of magnificence.

It is hoped that the foregoing observations help to stimulate discussion of the hieroglyphic texts of Ptolemaic Thebes, and in particular of how its temples continued to function during the Greco-Roman centuries. Because of the disparate nature of the publication of these texts, they are somewhat less accessible than those of the other great Ptolemaic cult temples, and yet when examined closely they reveal much that illuminates the nature and function of Thebes as a religious capital, the "sacred city" above all cities, at the close of pharaonic times.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- L.D. III Carl Richard Lepsius. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* 1–6. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–59.
- L.D. Text Carl Richard Lepsius. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Text* 1–5, edited by Edouard Naville. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1897–1913.
- Nelson no. MH.B Harold H. Nelson *Key Plans Showing the Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*. Oriental Institute Publications 56. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941.

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## 7

## INTERSECTION OF RITUAL SPACE AND RITUAL REPRESENTATION: PYRAMID TEXTS IN EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY THEBAN TOMBS

HAROLD M. HAYS AND WILLIAM SCHENCK, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

In a rare instance of Pyramid Texts being displayed outside the enclosed areas of an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb,<sup>1</sup> scenes in the courtyard of TT 107 (Helck 1956, 14, fig. A; MMA Photos T 2987–90) show an image of the deceased accompanied by a tabular set of offering ritual texts with an associated offering list, below which are depictions of ritual performances with priests. All together, it is a scene with priests performing rites for the beneficiary,<sup>2</sup> with an integrated libretto. Since such rites involve at least two persons, a priestly officiant and the deceased beneficiary, the context may be described as “collective ritual.” Such texts can be distinguished from “personal recitations,” which are performed by the beneficiary for his own benefit. The most consistent written manifestation of the difference between these text types in respect to the beneficiary’s relationship to the performance of the text is the grammatical form of the person of the beneficiary.<sup>3</sup> In collective ritual texts, the beneficiary appears sometimes in the third person and often in the second, whereas in personal recitations he appears in the first person.

The texts in TT 107 are recitations for a sequence of offering rituals more typically represented in condensed tabular form — a form designated by Barta as type C.<sup>4</sup> As noted by Helck, among the offering rites textually represented in TT 107 are a number of verbatim Pyramid Texts (Helck 1956, 15);<sup>5</sup> for example, the phrase “O Osiris N, join with the water which is in it”<sup>6</sup> — an imperative to the deceased — exactly matches PT 108.<sup>7</sup> Below these words is the specification of the object to be manipulated during the rite and its quantity: two cups of water;<sup>8</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> See also the cryptographic texts in the courtyard of TT 11 (Northampton 1908, pl. 10, and Sethe 1908, 4\*, Spruch 2.10–21, parallel to PT 450 Pyr 850b–c; Sethe 1908, 4\* [see also his n. c], Spruch 2.22–27, parallel to PT 451 Pyr 839a–b; and Sethe 1908, 5\*, Spruch 3.45–80, parallel to PT 593 Pyr 1628c–1630d). The text in question is evidently a hymn to Osiris since it is juxtaposed to a hacked-out image of presumably the tomb owner with his arms raised in the adoration gesture, as observed to us in a personal communication by José Galan of the Spanish expedition working at the tomb. The TT 11 text, moreover, is addressed to that god and not the deceased, in contrast to the Old Kingdom antecedents. For another Pyramid Text later adapted into a hymn to a god, see the Middle Kingdom Parma Stele 178 (see Franke 2003, 108; Assmann 1999, 475–76 no. 212; and Barucq and Daumas, 373–74 no. 107). PT 450–451 are found juxtaposed in that order on M, N, Nt, Ibi, Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5Sq, T1C, Sq6C, and Sq5C, with some of these sources presenting Altenmüller’s Spruchfolge C, in which PT 450–451 appears; see Altenmüller 1972, 47–49. PT 593 is a member of a recurring sequence of texts constituting the first part of Altenmüller’s Spruchfolge D, discussed below in connection with TT 82; see below footnote 68. The Middle Kingdom sources bearing these texts in that order are B9C, B10C, S, and Sq4C. The sequence is incorporated into a later liturgy associated by Assmann with the nocturnal portion of the Hour Vigil; on the concept of “mortuary liturgies (Totenliturgien),” see Assmann 1986; Assmann 1990, 12 and 38; Assmann 2001, 392; and Assmann 2002. (Source sigla for Pyramid Texts are

those of T. Allen 1950, slightly revised by Lesko 1979, and augmented by Willems 1988; for Book of the Dead spells, Naville 1971, augmented by T. Allen 1974.)

<sup>2</sup> A more specific context for these rites is provided by a juxtaposed representation of Scenes 1 and 2 from the Opening of the Mouth (see Otto 1960, ii 179 [\*48] and fig. 10).

<sup>3</sup> The grammatical form of the person of the beneficiary has been repeatedly employed as a criterion for differentiating between kinds of religious texts, as by Sethe 1931, 524–26; Schott 1945, 28–54; Kees 1952, 31–32; Kees 1956, 175; Assmann 1969, 359–60; Assmann 1986, 1001 with n. 48 at 1006; J. Allen 1994, 16–18; and Assmann 2001, 324–25. Eyre (2002, 66ff.) would minimize the importance of grammatical person as a classificatory criterion, but his argument as phrased is specifically against employing it in distinguishing between ritual versus non-ritual texts. To us, that is a straw dog; by virtue of their formalized, performative nature, personal recitations are necessarily ritual texts.

<sup>4</sup> See Barta 1963, 111–14. TT 107 has the recitations for items 1–5, a lacuna, and then items 12, 15–16, 18–19, 17, and 20–22, in that order.

<sup>5</sup> Specifically PT 108, 113, 116, 131, and 142, respectively corresponding to items 1, 2, 3, 16, and 19 of the type C offering list.

<sup>6</sup> Helck 1956, 14, fig. A: *h3 Wsir N. i' b n = k mw imi = s.*

<sup>7</sup> PT 108 Pyr 72a (W): *Wsir W. i' b n = k mw im(i) = s.*

<sup>8</sup> Helck 1956, 14, fig. A: *mw hn(.t) 2 = Pyr 72b (W): mw hn.t 2.*

offering lists, this specification stands alone as an emblematic designation for a whole rite. In sum, the texts of TT 107 are of a collective ritual character, as indicated by the images that accompany them and the grammatical person of the beneficiary. With little in the way of exception, a collective ritual character is the common denominator of the Pyramid Texts as inscribed on Eighteenth Dynasty tombs.

Inside the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs themselves, it was common to put scenes of daily life on walls in the front hall, and it is therefore rare to find Pyramid Texts in this location (Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 161). Nevertheless, in the front hall of TT 112 is a so-called “banquet”<sup>9</sup> scene (Davies 1933, pls. 26–27), which includes a type C offering list, a harpist,<sup>10</sup> a *sem*-priest in the recitation gesture, and the beneficiary. These elements create a performance context for the text recited by the priest, an excerpt from PT 249. Whatever the motive for its position in the front hall,<sup>11</sup> the banquet scene in TT 112 is firmly in the category of collective ritual. As in the texts of TT 107, which are also of a collective ritual character, the beneficiary is cast in the third person, as seen in the phrase, “the gods are purified through seeing him every day.”<sup>12</sup>

Four tombs from Eighteenth Dynasty Thebes have pillars bearing Pyramid Texts: TT 29, 93, 95,<sup>13</sup> and 119 (Gnirs 1995, 252–53; Assmann 1990, 44, fig. 14; Davies 1930, pl. 66); three of these tombs (TT 29, 93, 95) have Pyramid Texts on pillars that are in the front hall and one (TT 119) on a pillar in the rear hall. Only one of these tombs, TT 93, is published.<sup>14</sup> On the relevant pillar of TT 93 only PT 25 is preserved (Davies 1930, pl. 66) and any accompanying image is now lost, but this text is drawn from a textual palette — including PT 25, 32, 222, and 223 — employed consistently on the other pillars. The statue niche in the rear hall of TT 93 bears another exemplar of PT 32, this time with a preserved image (Davies 1930, pl. 56A). Below the text is a depiction of a priest officiating before the deceased; a type C list appears between them. PT 25, 32, and 223 are attested repeatedly in the Old and Middle Kingdoms within and attached to recurring sequences of offering ritual texts;<sup>15</sup> in other words, they are juxtaposed to the recitations for the kinds of rites represented in offering lists. The context of PT 25, 32, and 223, then, is the necessarily collective offering ritual.

In TT 93 and 119, Pyramid Texts are located at the ends of accessible areas, where one expects mortuary service to have been performed. A similar arrangement can be seen in TT 57,<sup>16</sup> where each of three niches with Pyramid Texts was organized in the same fashion; seated statues of the deceased and a wife are flanked on either side by walls that bear a tabular series of offering ritual texts. The best-preserved niche is recreated in figure 7.1.<sup>17</sup> Figure 7.2 shows the offering series on the right-hand wall in tracing without register and column lines.<sup>18</sup> This text contains recitations corresponding to all the elements of the type C list, but in an altered order and with a substantial number of further rites added; a total of twenty-nine offering rites from the Pyramid Texts appear among the sixty-three entries.<sup>19</sup> The statues being a natural cultic focus, the relationship between these texts and mortuary service could not be more obvious.

<sup>9</sup> As it is called in PM 1.1, 230. Manniche (1988, 33) observes that such scenes are often found together with representations of the Valley Festival and ritual actions involving the deceased tomb owner.

<sup>10</sup> For the association of mortuary ritual with the harper’s song, see Assmann 1979, 57–58.

<sup>11</sup> The relatively unusual location of the Pyramid Text here is matched by the scene’s relatively unusual structure noted by Engelmann-von Carnap (1999, 11). Since the deceased is at the far right (i.e., toward the entry to the long passage) rather than at the far left (i.e., toward the end of the front hall), one may see the scene following the typical orientation of scenes in the long passage, and thus, in effect, as a kind of continuation of it.

<sup>12</sup> Davies and Davies 1933, pl. 27: *dd-mdw h<sup>c</sup> it-ntr tp(i) n(i) imm Mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>-snb m Nfr-tm m zššn r šr.t r<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b ntr.w n m<sup>z</sup> nšf r<sup>c</sup> nb, parallel to PT 249 Pyr 266a + b (W): *h<sup>c</sup> W. m Nfr-tm m zššn r šr.t r<sup>c</sup> ... l w<sup>c</sup>b.w ntr.w n m<sup>z</sup> nšf.**

<sup>13</sup> For TT 95, Gnirs (1995, 241) additionally identifies PT 23 and 677, two texts which appear in the Opening of the Mouth (MÖR 69B and 55 III respectively).

<sup>14</sup> Assmann (2002, 19 n. 15) notes that Andrea Gnirs is preparing TT 29 and 95 for publication. Thanks to the kindness of J. J. Shirley, in 2002 we were able to see that whatever images might have accompanied the texts of TT 119 are now lost.

<sup>15</sup> PT 25, 32, and 223 are found with offering ritual texts in the recurring sequences a) PT 72–79, 81, 25, 32, 82–96, 108–71, 223 in the

sources W and TT 33; b) PT 25, 32, 82–96, 108–71, 223 in P and B2Bo; c) PT 223, 199, 244, 32, 23, 25 in P and S.

<sup>16</sup> To be precise, the front hall niche may be more closely associated with the performance of the Opening of the Mouth since scenes from the ritual are adjacent to it; see Hermann 1940, 99–100.

<sup>17</sup> Representing the niche of PM 1<sup>2</sup>, 118 (24).

<sup>18</sup> Our thanks to Dorothea Arnold and the Metropolitan Museum of Art for kind permission to make this tracing from MMA Photo T 1655. The text is located at PM 1<sup>2</sup>, 118 (24), right wall.

<sup>19</sup> Twenty-nine, depending upon how one counts; the following enumeration includes entries which are similar to specific Pyramid Texts, which, if counted, would increase the total: top register, line 2: PT 108; 4: PT 113; 5: PT 116; 6: compare PT 51; 9: PT 119; 11: compare PT 114; 12: PT 117; 14: PT 153; 15: compare PT 48; 16: PT 155; 17: PT 157; 18: PT 156; 19: PT 154; 20: compare PT 149 (except item); 21: PT 55 (except item); 22: PT 108; 23: compare Pyr 281a and 763b; middle register, line 1: compare PT 132; 3: PT 152; 4: PT 160 (extract); 6: compare PT 166; 7: compare PT 167; 8: compare PT 168; 9: PT 161; 10: PT 162; 11: compare PT 70; 13: PT 45 (extract); 14: compare PT 41; 15: PT 142; 17: compare PT 165; 19: PT 120; bottom register, line 2: PT 109; 4: PT 661 (extract); 5: PT 131; 8: compare PT 126; 9: compare PT 127; 10: PT 135; 12: compare PT 132; 13: PT 133; 14: PT 128; 15: PT 130; 16: PT 129; 18: PT 139 (except item); 19: PT 137; 20: PT 136.

On the south wall of the long passage in TT 57 (Myśliwiec 1985, pl. 30) is a combination of scenes from the funeral procession, framed on the top and right by PT 311–12, which may be understood as captions to the figural group (Altenmüller 1972, 56).<sup>20</sup> The funeral procession is of course a collective ritual, but these two texts in their original formats were not. Rather, they were personal recitations, meant to be spoken by the beneficiary himself. The indication of this is in the PT 311 exemplar in the pyramid of Wenis, where an original first person suffix pronoun appears in two passages. One of these first person pronouns was later recarved as the third person in a process of incompletely executed editing.<sup>21</sup> In its original format, then, PT 311 was a personal recitation, but it was altered<sup>22</sup> in TT 57 so that the beneficiary now stands in the grammatical third person to correspond to the collective ritual. *That* is the setting which is encountered *here*, and indeed the exemplars of PT 311–12 in TT 57 are uniformly in the third person.<sup>23</sup>

Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead papyri and shrouds generally differ from collective ritual texts in that they typically cast the beneficiary in the first person<sup>24</sup> or otherwise designate him as speaker of a text.<sup>25</sup> Books of the Dead typically consist of personal recitations,<sup>26</sup> to be said by the deceased himself<sup>27</sup> for his own benefit. TT 57 is the first tomb where Book of the Dead spells are found alongside Pyramid Texts. Adjacent and at a right angle to the funeral procession scenes in the long passage of TT 57 is BD 112 (Saleh 1984, 61; Sethe 1925, 14\*–23\*; Loret 1884a, 124). The text begins, “Utterance of knowing the Bas of Pe by N, who says . . .,”<sup>28</sup> one of the typical introductory formulae for placing all of what follows in the beneficiary’s mouth. Among his words: “I know the Bas of Pe.”<sup>29</sup>

Collective ritual Pyramid Texts and personal recitations from the Book of the Dead occurred also in the now-lost TT C1, where BD 125 and 30B were placed on the jambs leading to the rear of the tomb (Saleh 1984, 64; Loret 1884b, 24). On the adjacent south wall was another tabular series of offering ritual texts corresponding to the type C list, consequently<sup>30</sup> with Pyramid Texts.<sup>31</sup> Alongside it was said to be an image of a *sem*-priest addressing the beneficiary.<sup>32</sup>

TT 39 is another tomb with both Book of the Dead spells and Pyramid Texts, specifically in the north chapel (Louant 2000, 88–93). To the right of the false door are fragments of BD 148 (Saleh 1984, 82; Davies 1923, pl. 48). On the false door itself, the natural focus of worship during the performance of mortuary service, one again

<sup>20</sup> On this scene and its inscriptions, see also Lüddeckens 1943, 13–14.

<sup>21</sup> The recarved passage in the pyramid of Wenis is PT 311 Pyr 495c (W): *n hm(=i) htp di* “I would not forget the offering which is to be given,” changed to *n hm=f htp di* “he (Wenis) would not forget the offering which is to be given”; the corresponding section in TT 57 is lost. The unedited first person in Wenis is PT 311 Pyr 499a (W): *dd(=i) n=k rn=k pw n(i) ḡb wr pr m wr.t* “as I say to you this your name of ‘Great Abundance who went forth from the Great One (Nut).’” In TT 57, Pyr 499a (TT 57) appears as *dd=f n=k rn=k pw n(i) ḡb wr pr m wr.t* “as he says to you this your name of ‘Great Abundance who went forth from the Great One.’” Concerning PT 312 Pyr 501 (W), the translation of Faulkner 1969, 98 (Utterance 312), is incorrect; read *hw.ti* “two houses” rather than *hw.wt=i* “my mansions”; see the variant at CT 712 VI 343b: *p: ḡ t ir hw.ty* “Ah, let the bread fly to the two houses,” where the dual vocalization is orthographically clear. The version of this passage in TT 57 is *p: ḡ t r hw.wt n.t*, with no indication of a first person. The two houses would be those of Neith; on the two houses of Neith, see Schott 1967.

<sup>22</sup> On such alterations, see Sethe 1931, 535.

<sup>23</sup> See footnote 21.

<sup>24</sup> And consequently this form might be seen — anachronistically — as “the typical case of funerary literature,” as in Assmann 1986, 1001 with 1006 n. 48; Assmann 1990, 6; and Assmann 2002, 32.

<sup>25</sup> See Assmann 1990, 3, 18, and 22–23, for his perception that there was an ancient process of differentiation between mortuary liturgies (dominant in the Pyramid Texts) and the mortuary literature of the sort found in the Book of the Dead, a process said to culminate in the New Kingdom; at that time, mortuary liturgies are said to first appear on tomb walls in cultic spaces, while Book of the Dead spells then appear on papyri. As is evident with several of the tombs discussed in this essay, however, personal Book of the Dead spells are

often found alongside collective Pyramid Texts, a fact which completes but complicates the history. When they appear together, any epigraphic distinction between texts from these corpora (a distinction of the sort Assmann 1990, 22, might wish to see) can be better attributed to an ancient desire to group together larger compositional units rather than to a motivation to separate texts by kind; compare the similar view of Jürgens 1995, 85, concerning seeming dispositional differentiations between Coffin Texts and Pyramid Texts. It may be further noted that the practice of displaying collective Pyramid Texts in cultic spaces is attested prior to the New Kingdom; beyond the above-ground Middle Kingdom source S1S later noted by Assmann (Assmann 2002, 469–70, citing Kahl 1994), Meir tomb B2 also contains an excerpt from a Pyramid Text and occurs in a cultic space, as discussed below at page 100.

<sup>26</sup> “Personal spells” by J. Allen (1988, 42).

<sup>27</sup> As observed by Lapp (1997, 34 and 55–56) in the context of noting exceptions to this general rule in Ea. It is not clear whether Assmann (2002, 53) is claiming that all texts of the mortuary literature are not spoken by the deceased, or if it is only mortuary liturgies which he means. Whatever his meaning, any text which is introduced by *dd-mdw in N* or similar undeniably presents itself as a text to be recited by the deceased. It is a textual fact.

<sup>28</sup> More precisely, BD 112 (Tb) 1: *r: n(i) rh b:wp in N dd=f*.

<sup>29</sup> BD 112 (Tb) 14, according to Sethe’s transcription (1925, 22\*): *iw(=i) rh.kw(i) b:wp*.

<sup>30</sup> See above p. 96 for the association between the type C offering list and certain Pyramid Texts.

<sup>31</sup> See Loret 1884b, 30; from right to left, the texts correspond to items 1 through 12 of the type C list, thus including PT 108 (twice), 113, 116, and 153.

<sup>32</sup> According to Loret (1884b, 30), “à gauche un personnage debout, vêtue d’une peau de panthère, étendant le bras en signe d’adoration.”

encounters excerpts from PT 249, this time along with excerpts from several other Pyramid Texts,<sup>33</sup> all of a collective ritual character. A further connection to the Book of the Dead is exhibited by the texts on the south wall of the same chapel, a scene repeated and augmented in the southern hall of offerings at the contemporaneous Deir el-Bahari.<sup>34</sup> In this chapel, Coffin Texts spell 607<sup>35</sup> and a series of Pyramid Texts beginning with PT 204<sup>36</sup> are conjoined with an offering list of the sort designated type A-B by Barta (Barta 1963, 72–79), a list which in full form corresponds to ninety Pyramid Texts in the offering ritual of Wenis.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, the positioning of PT 204 ff. after the A-B list in TT 39 corresponds to its location right after just such a list in the Middle Kingdom source Q1Q, and right after Pyramid Texts from the offering ritual in three other sources from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.<sup>38</sup> In short, this series of texts is traditionally deployed in conjunction with representations of the necessarily collective offering ritual. This deployment is suggestive of a collective ritual character for the texts of this series, too, as is the fact that one text includes the specification of ritual objects to be manipulated, just as in the offering ritual texts.<sup>39</sup> Taken together, these two points permit PT 204 ff., in their New Kingdom context,<sup>40</sup> to be understood as belonging to the collective ritual category — to mortuary service, to be precise.

And yet this very group of Pyramid Texts is drawn into the Book of the Dead to serve as the first half of spell 178. The second half of the spell, in addition to drawing from two Coffin Texts spells<sup>41</sup> and adding completely new material, also incorporates parts of two<sup>42</sup> other Pyramid Texts spells, the beginning of PT 251 and the end of PT 249 (T. Allen 1974, 239). Both of these are also collective ritual texts, inasmuch as the deceased is addressed in them. Because the third person is maintained even when the spells are incorporated into BD 178,<sup>43</sup> at first sight the whole new composition also seems to be a collective ritual text. This is not the case, however, for the entire spell is prefixed with *ḏd-mdw in N ḏd=f* “recitation by N, who says” (BD 178 [Aa] 2), putting everything which follows into his own mouth. BD 178, consisting of a combination of originally collective ritual texts, has been explicitly converted into a personal recitation, thereby creating a situation in which the deceased is speaking of and to himself,<sup>44</sup> filling simultaneously the roles of priest and beneficiary. One observes that the conversion of a collective ritual text to a personal recitation, as with BD 178, is exactly the opposite of what occurs in the Old Kingdom pyramids.

The Book of the Dead is discussed further below, but now we return to Pyramid Texts proper. TT 100 is the last of the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs we discuss with Pyramid Texts in accessible areas. This tomb offers another

<sup>33</sup> Davies 1923, pl. 48: PT 677 Pyr 2023; PT 422 Pyr 752–53b; PT 249 Pyr 266a–b; PT 677 Pyr 2028; and PT 252 Pyr 272a–c. These texts are not elsewhere configured together, suggesting that elements of different rites are represented, part for the whole.

<sup>34</sup> See Naville and Clarke 1901, pls. 110 + 109 (south wall) and 113 + 112 (north wall). Other but later exemplars of the scene are at Abydos (Winlock 1921, pls. 9–10; and Winlock 1937, pl. 5) and Thebes (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983, pls. 51–57, esp. 54–56 for texts). Due to the frequency of its repetition, the scene and its texts have often been commented upon, most intensely in regards to the interpretation of CT 607; see Kees 1922; Altenmüller 1967; Altenmüller 1968; Barta 1973; Schenkel 1977; Goedicke 1992; and Hays 2004, pp. 191–98.

<sup>35</sup> In TT 39, it appears in place of items B11–29 of the type A-B offering list.

<sup>36</sup> PT 204–05, 207, 209–12. Leclant, Berger-El Naggar, and Pierre-Croisau (2001, 195) incorrectly show PT 206 as being present in TT 39, unless it is their intent merely to indicate that TT 39 possesses a variant of PT 206, which it does have in PT 205.

<sup>37</sup> See the table in Junker 1934, 885–96.

<sup>38</sup> See J. Allen 1994, 8, for W and S. Another source with the sequence PT 204–05, 207, 209–12 immediately following offering ritual texts is M1Ba.

<sup>39</sup> As Kees (1922, 120) has observed in connection with PT 209 Pyr 124d (*d:t 4 n(i)t mw* “four handfuls of water”); the same observation may be made for *ḥnḏ m-‘b s:šr.t* “a shank and roast meat” of PT 209 Pyr 124c; compare PT 208 Pyr 124f–g; PT 212 Pyr 133f; and CT 179 III 70b.

<sup>40</sup> Then the deceased is referred to in these texts in the third person, and all first-person pronouns will accordingly refer to the officiating priest. However, it is not perfectly clear that these texts were origi-

nally collective or personal, for the first person may be interpreted as indicating the deceased beneficiary, as J. Allen does (1994, 17 with n. 19).

<sup>41</sup> CT 783 and 785; see T. Allen 1974, 239.

<sup>42</sup> In source Aa. The later source Cg also incorporates a passage from PT 588.

<sup>43</sup> BD 178 (Aa) 35–36: *ḏd-mdw <ḥ> N | m šms n(i) Nfr-tm zšn r šr(.t) R' [pr] =f [m ḥ.t] w' b.w ntr.w m-b:ḥ ntr.w m:(s) =f R' n d.t* “Recitation: <Let> N <appear> in the following of Nefertem, the lotus at the nostrils of Ra, when he [ascends in the horizon], pure and divine in the presence of the gods, with him seeing Ra for ever,” parallel to PT 249 Pyr 266a–b: *ḥ' W. m Nfr-tm m zšn r šr.t R' | pr =f m ḥ.t r' nb w' b.w ntr.w n m:(s) =f* “Let Wenis appear as Nefertem, as the lotus at the nostrils of Ra, as he ascends in the horizon every day, the gods purified through seeing him.” BD 178 (Aa) 34–35: *ḏd-mdw i ḥr(iw) wnw.w[t] tp(i)w- <wi> R' ir.w w:t n N | sw:(s) =f m-ḥnw phr.t n(it) Wsir nb 'nh-t:wi 'nh d.t* “Recitation: O ones who are over the hours, who are be<fore> Ra, make a way for N, that he pass within the circuit of Osiris lord of Ankhatawy, living for ever,” parallel to PT 251 Pyr 269a–b: *i ḥr(i)w wnw.wt tp(i)w- <wi> R' iri w:t n W. | sw:(s) W. m-ḥnw phr.t n(it) ḥ:z.w ḥr* “O masters of the hours, ones before Ra, make a way for Wenis, that Wenis pass within the circuit of those warlike of aspect.”

<sup>44</sup> See the preceding note for citations with the beneficiary in the third person. For the beneficiary in the second person, see BD 178 (Aa) 2: *ḏd-mdw in N ḏd=f m-n=k ir.t-Ḥr dbḥ.t=k dbḥ.t-ḥtp.w* “Recitation by N, who says: Take to yourself the Eye of Horus which you sought, the mortuary offerings.” (Naturally, the exhortation to take the eye of Horus, the *dbḥ.t-ḥtp.w*, is simply an encapsulation of the offering ritual so closely associated with PT 204 ff.)

example of a representation of the funeral procession in association with a pair of Pyramid Texts as seen above in TT 57 (Davies 1943, pl. 89).<sup>45</sup> The representation in TT 100 is from the scene called “the journey to the god’s booth of Anubis” (Settgast 1963, pl. 11). The setting is obviously a collective rite, with officiants shown bearing up the deceased “after the beautiful encoffining.”<sup>46</sup> To the left, a lector stands in the recitation gesture and before him are his words, PT 644 (J. Allen 1976, 23). The text, like the image, is of a collective ritual character, referring to the deceased in the third person, as with “O Children of Horus, set out bearing your father, the Osiris N.”<sup>47</sup> In light of the apparent paucity of Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes,<sup>48</sup> it is significant that the Twelfth Dynasty representation of the funeral procession in TT 60 (Davies, Gardiner, and Davies 1920, pl. 21) also integrates an excerpt from a Pyramid Text into its body.<sup>49</sup> It is well known that the majority of the scenes of Eighteenth Dynasty funeral processions are based on prototypes of the Middle and Old Kingdoms (Settgast 1963, 112); the incorporation of a Pyramid Text in the funeral procession scenes of both tombs underscores the impression of tradition in representation.

Almost directly across the long passage from “the journey to the god’s booth of Anubis” in TT 100 is Rekhmire’s lengthy rendition of the Opening of the Mouth (Davies 1943, pls. 96–107), a ritual whose rites find many parallels with Pyramid Texts (Hays 2002). Scene 73 (Davies 1943, pl. 100) is an appropriate case to mention in regard to PT 644 and “the journey to the god’s booth of Anubis.”<sup>50</sup> The action represented is the bearing up of the deceased by a group; the text is again PT 644. Whatever their redactional relationship to one another, it is clear that, in the New Kingdom, Pyramid Texts appear in both the collective funeral procession and the collective Opening of the Mouth, and that Pyramid Texts were involved in depictions of the funeral procession already in the Middle Kingdom.

At the end of the long passage in TT 100, beyond the representations of the funeral procession and Opening of the Mouth, is a set of texts including some deemed by Assmann to constitute excerpts from a mortuary liturgy (Assmann 1986, 999; Assmann 1990, 23–24; Assmann 2002, 19). The setting for this liturgy is mortuary service.<sup>51</sup> On the walls to the left and right of the long passage in TT 100, images of the deceased and officiating priests are accompanied by blocks of texts (Davies 1943, pls. 78, 86, 96, 104, and 126<sup>52</sup>) which consist of a combination of Coffin Texts,<sup>53</sup> Pyramid Texts,<sup>54</sup> and utterances that are parallel to some texts of the papyrus

<sup>45</sup> Still another is TT 42; see Davies and Davies 1933, 33, with a translation of texts not appearing in the corresponding plate; as observed by Altenmüller (1972, 56 n. 40) the text is PT 249 Pyr 266a–b. Altenmüller (1972, 56) has made further note of several Pyramid Texts in association with scenes from the funeral procession, going on to suppose an association between the texts of Wenis with a sequence of the funeral he infers, in part, from New Kingdom representations.

<sup>46</sup> Davies 1943, pl. 89: *m-ḥt ir.t qrs.t nfr.t*. For the meaning “einsargen,” see *qrs* at *Wb*. 5, 63.11, and see also Lapp 1986a, § 77.

<sup>47</sup> See Davies 1943, pl. 89: *ms.w-ḥr iz(ꜣ) ḥn ḥr it=ḥn Wsir N*.

<sup>48</sup> A dearth noted by Davies (1930, 1) and attributed to their having been appropriated and redecorated in the New Kingdom; compare Dziobek 1992, 121.

<sup>49</sup> PT 213 Pyr 134a–b; the connection was observed by Lüdeckens (1943, 30); see further Barta 1968, 312, on Bitte 77.

<sup>50</sup> The scene’s associations to the funeral procession, including representations of it in TT 60, are noted in Otto 1960, ii 166.

<sup>51</sup> As opposed to the Hour Vigil (Stundenwachen) as setting. See Assmann 2002, 16–17, on the two basic kinds of mortuary liturgies he perceives.

<sup>52</sup> Note that the plates in Davies 1943 misleadingly present these blocks of texts together with the ends of the funeral procession and Opening of the Mouth tableaux; they are not related.

<sup>53</sup> Left, top register, two texts: CT 28 end and CT 29 beginning, these two texts in that order also occur on T9C and Sid1Cam, with the texts being parallel to pBM 10819 verso 126–31 (BM Photo 197549), the parallel observed by Assmann (2002, 167, and Assmann 1990, 44); compare the first text to PT 595 Pyr 1640a–c and the beginning of rite 16 of the daily temple ritual (pBerlin 3055 V 8). Right, top

register, one text: CT 902, concerning which see Silverman 1982 and Assmann 1984, 286. Right, second register, two texts: CT 831, parallel to pBM 10819 verso 87–89 (BM Photo 197553), the parallel noted by Assmann 1990, 44; and CT 530. We are indebted to the kindness of T. G. H. James, Vivian Davies, and Richard Parkinson of the British Museum for photographs of pBM 10819.

<sup>54</sup> Left, middle register, two texts: PT 32 (with extensive additions), parallel to pBM 10819 recto II 20–23 (BM Photo 197545), the parallel noted by Assmann 1990, 44; compare also pBM 10819 recto II 8–11 (BM Photo 197546), which gives PT 32 with only minor differences. PT 25, parallel to pBM 10819 verso 115–19 (BM Photo 197550), the parallel noted by Assmann 1990, 44. Right, second register: PT 25 Pyr 18c. Right, bottom register: PT 224 Pyr 218c–21c (T, 2nd version), modified and augmented, this exemplar noted in Schott 1955, 295 n. 1. The right, second register’s excerpt from PT 25 is especially significant since it follows CT 530 in TT 100, just as excerpts from this same utterance do in Sq10C and T9C; the significance is in that T9C gives a different portion of PT 25 than Sq10C and TT 100 (17c in T9C versus 18c–d in Sq10C and 18c in TT 100), with the differences in selection suggesting that the excerpts stand part-for-whole. This conclusion is reinforced by further sources, BH10x and T1C, where PT 25 immediately precedes CT 530, but this time with PT 25 complete on the latter source, and with yet a different excerpt appearing on the former (Pyr 17a–b). The intimate relationship between PT 25 and CT 530 is clear, with the first text evidently so well known that only a few clauses from it need be inscribed so as to connote the utterance in its entirety. That, we feel, is the principle behind the excerpting of Pyramid Texts elsewhere in TT 100 and other Eighteenth Dynasty tombs: the texts were not given in their entirety because they were so much a part of culture’s fabric that it was unnecessary to do so.

BM 10819;<sup>55</sup> a repetition of PT 25 is located beside the top false door (Davies 1943, pl. 113) (fig. 7.3). As Assmann has pointed out, many of the Pyramid and Coffin Texts in TT 100 have counterparts in papyrus BM 10819,<sup>56</sup> a contemporary document which he describes as the sort of scroll from which priests recited mortuary service.<sup>57</sup> Further parallels to this papyrus are found integrated with the images of the lowest south wall registers of TT 100 (Davies 1943, pl. 108); the text<sup>58</sup> appears above representations of priests performing rites for the beneficiary and immediately next to a type C offering list. The block of text continues with excerpts from PT 223 and 222.<sup>59</sup>

Together with the instances of PT 25 and 32 in this tomb, these are the same texts as those found on pillars,<sup>60</sup> their repeated occurrence together suggestive of a more or less defined decorative palette. More significantly still, there is a representation of mortuary service of similar components from the Middle Kingdom tomb Meir B2; the far right side of the scene shows the deceased seated at an offering table, the far left shows ritualists, and an offering list occupies the space between them; finally, as in TT 100, an excerpt from PT 223<sup>61</sup> is integrated into the composition (Blackman 1915, 16–17, pls. 7–8). Recalling the Pyramid Texts integrated into the funeral procession scene of the Middle Kingdom tomb TT 60, the impression of the continuation or adoption of tradition is enhanced.

In summary, the Pyramid Texts in the accessible areas of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs tend to be associated with images of the performance of various collective rituals, or they bear a direct connection to collective ritual through immediate proximity to a cultic focus. In concert with this, the texts themselves are of a collective ritual format, in that they cast the deceased in the grammatical second or third person. Observing that Pyramid Texts cluster around what are presumably cultic emplacements, one perceives a correlation between place, image, text, and ritual performance, a relationship whose significance is accentuated by the connections Assmann has identified between texts in tombs and texts in the pBM liturgical scroll. We have described how, in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, Pyramid Texts are typically integrated with the funeral procession on the left side of the long passage; the Opening of the Mouth typically on the right side (Manniche 1988, 42); and scenes of mortuary service often depicted at the end. Citing a famous text from TT 110 (Davies 1932), Barthelmeß noted the correlation between textual accounts of the events on the day of burial and their pictorial representations in tombs, pointing specifically to the funeral procession and the Opening of the Mouth (Barthelmeß 1992, 174<sup>62</sup>). The funeral procession in that text:

A beautiful encoffining comes in peace  
when your seventy days in your *wabet* are complete,  
you being placed upon a [b]ier in the house of peace  
and drawn by white bulls, ...  
until you reach the entrance of your tomb.

#### The Opening of the Mouth:

Your children's children are assembled as one;  
with loving hearts do they cry,  
for your mouth has been opened by the lector,  
for you have been purified by the *sem*-priest,

<sup>55</sup> In addition to the parallels noted in the two preceding notes, the left, third register contains a parallel to pBM 10819 recto II 11–III 9 (BM Photos 197546–47), the parallel noted in Assmann 2002, 50 nn. 44 and 46; and Assmann 1990, 44; and the right, third register contains a parallel to pBM 10819 recto VI 2–6 (BM Photo 197536) and verso 39–44 (BM Photo 197541), the parallel noted by Assmann (1990, 44).

<sup>56</sup> See the three preceding notes for their enumeration. pBM 10819 has still other parallels to Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, such as recto VIII 105 (BM Photo 197538) and verso 110–14 (BM Photo 197550), parallel to PT 33; verso 44–47 (BM Photo 197541), based on PT 94–95; verso 48–49 (BM Photo 197541), parallel to PT 196; recto I 8–II 1 (BM Photos 197545–46), parallel to CT 723 beginning; and verso 47–48 (BM Photo 197541), parallel to CT 926.

<sup>57</sup> Concerning this papyrus, see further Quirke 1993, 17, 51, and 80 (no. 149); Dorman 1988, 83 with n. 73; Assmann 1984, 284–85; Assmann 1986, 999; Assmann 1990, 26–27; and Assmann 2002, 19.

<sup>58</sup> The connection noted by Assmann (2002, 44). The text is a variant of CT 831; see pBM 10819 verso 87–89 (BM Photo 197553).

<sup>59</sup> PT 223 Pyr 215a–16c, parallel to pBM 10819 recto VII 3–4 (BM Photos 197536–38) and verso 49–66 (BM Photo 197540), the connection noted by Assmann 2002, 208; PT 222 Pyr 210b–11c + 213a–b.

<sup>60</sup> Their recurrence noted by Assmann (1990, 24 with 44 fig. 14) for TT 29 and 100.

<sup>61</sup> PT 223 Pyr 214b–15b, with modifications to the offerings itemized at Pyr 214b–c.

<sup>62</sup> On this text, see also Assmann 2001, 397–98.

Horus having adjusted your mouth for you,  
and opened for you your eyes and ears ....

On account of what comes next in the TT 110 text, one may add a third correspondence, to mortuary service:

Let the utterances of *sakhu* be recited for you,  
the offering given of the king having been performed for you,  
your heart being yours in reality, your heart of your existence upon earth....<sup>63</sup>

Mortuary service is neatly situated at the end of the TT 110 text sequence, just as Pyramid Texts occur in association with images of ritual action at the end of the long passage in TT 100, after representations of the funeral procession and after the Opening of the Mouth. The sequential correspondence underscores the fact that, in TT 100 and in the other accessible areas of Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, Pyramid Texts are connected to each of the three salient elements of the funeral as a whole.

Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs are in most cases situated in accessible areas; however, there are four tombs with Pyramid Texts in subterranean chambers. In these cases the Pyramid Texts are generally complete,<sup>64</sup> in contrast to what is found in the accessible areas, where excerpts are common. A further difference is that only one of the subterranean examples is associated with an image of a collective ritual character, while above ground such a connection is very common. Despite these differences, there are two prominent points of similarity between Pyramid Texts above and below ground: Book of the Dead spells are found in the same spaces as Pyramid Texts, and, with one fascinating exception, these Pyramid Texts are similarly of a collective ritual kind.

TT 82 contains a burial chamber whose four walls and the back wall of its niche are dominated by spells from the Book of the Dead (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pls. 36–45; Munro 1987, 296 [#88]). In the niche is a depiction of a bull followed by cows, to which direct reference is made in the Book of the Dead spell above it;<sup>65</sup> it should also be mentioned that scenes of mortuary service performed for the deceased appear on the north and south walls of this niche (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 35). The remainder of the texts in the tomb, however, are without pictorial accompaniment to speak of,<sup>66</sup> with the notable exception of the south wall (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pls. 37–38), where the Pyramid Texts occur. This south wall bears representations of Isis and two Children of Horus on the left side, and Nephthys and two Children of Horus on the right side. In between these figures, in the lower register, are Book of the Dead spells 80, 133–34, and 65, none of which makes reference to these figures; the Pyramid Texts in the upper register, however, make a number of statements concerning them.

These texts consist of two series,<sup>67</sup> PT 220–22 — part of one of the most frequently attested recurring sequences of texts in the Old and Middle Kingdoms — followed by a recurring sequence constituting a part of what Altenmüller has labeled Spruchfolge D: PT 593, 356–57, 364, and 677,<sup>68</sup> attested in that order on several sources (Kahl 1996, 16–21). The majority of references to the figures come from this second series.<sup>69</sup> Isis and Nephthys

<sup>63</sup> Text: Hermann 1940, 32\*, 1–9: *qrs.t nfr.t | iy=s m htp 70 hrw=z k m m w' b.t = k di.ti hr. [š]fd.w | m pr htp st'.ti hr. k'.w hd.w ... r ph = k | r r' iz = k ms.w ms.w = k twt m qd w' rmm = sn | m ib mrr wp r' = k in hri-h' b.t w' b = k in sm mh'.n | n = k hr r' = k zn.n = f n = k ir.ti = k(i) 'nh.wi = k(i) ... | ... šd.tw n = k r'.w s'h.w ir n = k htp-di-ni-sw.t | ib = k m- = k n wn-m' h'.ty = k n(i) wnn = k tp t' iy.ti m | qm'.w = k imi-h'.t mi hrw ms.n.tw = k im = f.*

<sup>64</sup> Exceptions include TT 353: PT 677 Pyr 2028a–c; PT 364 Pyr 609b–10b; PT 532 Pyr 1259–61c; PT 424 Pyr 769c–70d + Pyr 771–74; PT 366 Pyr 626–627a; and PT 367 Pyr 634–35c; and TT 82: PT 356 Pyr 575–77c; PT 357 Pyr 589b–92; and PT 677 Pyr 2018–23a. On our interpretation of extracts of Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, see footnote 54.

<sup>65</sup> Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 36, line 9: *k' t' i' i' hm.wt.*

<sup>66</sup> Besides the exception observed below, see Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 46.

<sup>67</sup> Compare the juxtaposition of these two series here to Sq2X, which has the sequence PT 220–22 PT 593.

<sup>68</sup> See footnote 1. For its part, Spruchfolge D proper consists of PT 593, 356–57, 364, 677, 365, 373, and CT 516 (= PT 721); see Altenmüller 1972, 49. The transmission history of this sequence is the subject of Kahl 1996. The sequence is a part of Assmann's later Liturgy III (Assmann 1990, 12, 38 fig. 8). Spruchfolge D is attested as such, without appendix, on B10C (lid), S, and Sq4C, but Spruchfolge D comes to form a portion of a longer sequence attested on B10C (back) and B9C, namely PT 593, 356–57, 364, 677, 365, 373 CT 516 PT 422, 374 CT 517 PT 424, 366–69, 423, 370–72, 332, 722 CT 518 PT 468, 412 CT 519 PT 690, 674, the latter portion consisting of subsequences attested on yet other sources. Compare this sequence to a liturgy Assmann refers to as Liturgy PT.B, consisting of PT 593, 356–57, 363, 677, 365, 373, etc., while PT 220–22 constitutes part of a liturgy Assmann refers to as Liturgy PT.A, consisting of PT 213–19, 220–24 (Assmann 2001, 335, 387–93).

<sup>69</sup> Besides the passages cited below, PT 220 of the first sequence mentions Nephthys and Isis separately at Pyr 203b, 205b, 210a, and 210b. Isis and Nephthys are mentioned together at PT 593, 356, 357, and 364 Pyr 610c: *sd'.n tw 's.t hn' nb.t-hw.t* “Isis and Nephthys have made you well”; see also PT 364 Pyr 616a.

are named in all but one of the texts, as with “Your two sisters come to you, (that is,) Isis and Nephthys, even after having turned back to (any) place where you might be”;<sup>70</sup> the reference to the Children of Horus would have appeared where there is now a chunk of damage: “Horus has given you his children, that they may lift you up.”<sup>71</sup>

The verbalized actions may be understood as corresponding to one or more ritual acts — one may especially recall the bearing up by the Children of Horus in “the journey to the god’s booth of Anubis” and scene 73 of the Opening of the Mouth — no matter: the Children of Horus in TT 82 are depicted without action, and Isis has her own text immediately above her (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 37), an appeal to Geb on behalf of the deceased, with no thematic connection to these Pyramid Texts. Instead of associating these images with the adjacent Pyramid Texts, one may recall the practice of representing Isis, Nephthys, and the Children of Horus on the exteriors of contemporaneous sarcophagi<sup>72</sup> since it is in this chamber that the beneficiary’s sarcophagus would have rested.

Although there is no collective ritual connotation to the texts in subterranean chambers so overt as is seen in those above ground, as by juxtaposition to an image of collective ritual or to a false door or statue, the texts themselves cast the beneficiary in the second and third person, and this format indicates a collective ritual context. This conclusion is supported by the presence here of three texts which have been encountered above ground alongside images of collective ritual and a false door (PT 222, 593, and 677).

In contrast to TT 82, where the images of gods do not seem to depict collective ritual action, TT 96B has a scene like many of those encountered above ground (Eggebrecht 1988, 43; MMA Photo T 2522; Virey 1900, 86–87, figs. 20–21). The left half shows the deceased and his wife, the right half a ritualist simultaneously censuring and libating; above is the text to PT 32,<sup>73</sup> which was repeatedly encountered in the accessible areas. Another detail links TT 96B to tombs both above and below ground: proximity of a Pyramid Text to Book of the Dead spells. The scene with PT 32 appears on one half of the south wall, and situated at a right angle to it is a representation from the Opening of the Mouth (Eggebrecht 1988, 60; Virey 1900, 84, fig. 19),<sup>74</sup> and next to that is BD 151 (Eggebrecht 1988, 49; Myśliwiec 1985, pl. 25; Virey 1899, 146, fig. 18).

TT 353 is yet another tomb with Book of the Dead spells and Pyramid Texts in the same space, and, as with TT 100, the Pyramid Texts are combined with Coffin Texts and still other texts besides (Dorman 1991, 99–113, pls. 60–67, 78–81). The eastern half of the burial chamber is devoted to a combination of two sequences identified by Assmann as mortuary liturgies, these being transmitted in part from the Middle Kingdom (Assmann 2002, 469–70; Kahl 1994). As with TT 100, these liturgies show how larger compositions were constructed through the combination of older and presumably newer material,<sup>75</sup> the new composition then carried forward as a tradition, manifest here. The texts are all of a collective ritual character, principally purely liturgical, but also including two texts drawn from the offering ritual.<sup>76</sup>

In light of the performance setting implied by the relationship of the beneficiary to the recitation of the text, and considering that no visitors would regularly enter TT 353 after burial (Dorman 1991, 99), it is significant to find an appeal to the living just inside the chamber, asking that scribes and lectors “recite the *sakhu* for N.”<sup>77</sup> The appeal makes it clear that the texts are presented on the wall *as if* they were indeed scripts for rites to be performed by someone else for the deceased. That is, the appeal maintains the texts’ identity as collective ritual recitations.

<sup>70</sup> PT 593 Pyr 1630a–b (TT 82, Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 38, 6–7): *i n z k sn.t(i) = ky r-gs = k z s.t hn' nb.t-hw.t | hm.n = sn m bw hr(i) = k im.*

<sup>71</sup> PT 364 Pyr 619b: *rdi.n n z k hr ms.w = f wtz = sn tw.*

<sup>72</sup> And yet again, such pictorial representations may be traced back to the speeches made by these gods on Middle Kingdom coffins, speeches which Assmann relates to the Hour Vigil (Assmann 2002, 161–64; Assmann 1973, 127); meanwhile, the second sequence of Pyramid Texts in TT 82 is also associated by him with the Hour Vigil (Assmann 1990, 12, 38; Assmann 2001, 392).

<sup>73</sup> PT 32 in TT 96B is not from the Opening of the Mouth (contra the implication of Myśliwiec 1985, 24, pl. 40.2); for the identification of the Opening of the Mouth texts in TT 96B, see footnote 74.

<sup>74</sup> Scenes 1 and 2 (Otto 1960, ii 177 [\*34]), with the latter’s purification formula incidentally deriving from or parallel to PT 35; see Otto 1960, ii 48.

<sup>75</sup> See Assmann 1990, 13, for his argument that these liturgies were assembled as such in the Middle Kingdom (“the coffin”) rather than the Old (“the pyramids”), as well as Eyre 2002, 19 n. 42, who sees in them old liturgies “used in apparently original ways.”

<sup>76</sup> Since CT.4 is thought by Assmann 2002, 17 (see also Assmann 1990, 22–23), to have an association with the mortuary ritual setting (as opposed to the Hour Vigil setting of CT.1–3), and thus a relationship with Assmann 2002’s liturgy NR.1, it is noteworthy that the sequence of texts PT 25, 32, 82–96, 108–71, 223, attested on P and B2Bo, includes all but one of the Pyramid Texts from the end of TT 100’s long passage, and includes PT 94–95 from TT 353.

<sup>77</sup> See Dorman 1991, 99, pl. 61, SE1: *šd.w s:h.w n N*; and in fact the first of the liturgies is designated as such; see *ibid.*, pl. 61, SE2: *dd-mdw s:h.w m:z' n N*.



The circumstances of performance are markedly different in the last tomb discussed here, TT 87. Its texts are predominantly Coffin Texts, but most<sup>78</sup> of these have direct parallels in the Book of the Dead, and one of them is so like its Book of the Dead counterpart that a definitive label is difficult.<sup>79</sup> To compound matters is the situation of its Pyramid Texts. While three of them, PT 251–53, are not otherwise attested in Coffin Texts<sup>80</sup> or Book of the Dead variants, two other spells, PT 247 and 248,<sup>81</sup> form the first half of the nearly contemporaneous<sup>82</sup> BD 174.<sup>83</sup>

On the one hand, three things serve to distinguish these exemplars of PT 247–48 from BD 174: the absence of the second half of the later version in TT 87; the fact that PT 247–48 are elsewhere attested in series with PT 251–53,<sup>84</sup> as here; and finally the maintenance of the collective ritual<sup>85</sup> format in TT 87, casting the beneficiary in the second person, as with “raise yourself from upon your side.”<sup>86</sup> In comparison, BD 174 recasts much<sup>87</sup> of the text as a personal recitation through a conversion of pronouns, as with “let me be raised from upon my side.”<sup>88</sup> One observes that this Book of the Dead conversion of person is precisely the reverse of what pertained in the Old Kingdom pyramids and is directly in line with what was seen with BD 178.

On the other hand, this pair of texts in TT 87 is immediately preceded by the title given to the Book of the Dead spell, “utterance of causing an *akh* to ascend in the gate in the sky,”<sup>89</sup> and it prefixes the preposition *in* “by” to the very beginning of PT 248 (Guksch 1995, pl. 16). In this position, the preposition is merely an abbreviation for formulae such as that encountered with *dd-mdw in N dd=ʒ* in BD 178: in context, it signifies “(recitation) by (N),”<sup>90</sup> thereby placing the subsequent words in the mouth of the deceased himself. Even though in what follows in TT 87 the deceased is referred to in the second person, he is in effect filling the role of the officiating priest and thus addresses himself, just as in BD 178. In sum, PT 247 and 248 in TT 87 are as much in association with the Book of the Dead as they are with Pyramid Texts. For this reason, as well as because of the points of contact between the tomb’s Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead, one may see in TT 87 a transitional source, partway between all three stages of mortuary literature. With TT 87, one gets an indication of the continuous character of the mortuary literature tradition,<sup>91</sup> and, consequently, an inkling of how artificial our labels for the ancient texts really are. The reality is far less discrete and more permeable than what is implied by the terms “Pyramid Texts,” “Coffin Texts,” and “Book of the Dead,” as useful as these labels may be.

A further point of interest is that, while a case was seen in TT 353 where collective ritual texts were verbally framed so as to maintain their identity as such, in TT 87 the situation is the opposite; PT 248 is framed as a personal recitation, no matter that the text itself is of a collective character. With that in mind, one may consider the

<sup>78</sup> See Guksch 1995, 75. Because of the numerous parallels, Hornung (1997, 22) is right to describe the tomb’s texts as constituting an early Book of the Dead exemplar.

<sup>79</sup> The text at Guksch 1995, pl. 16, 42–46, being either CT 353 or BD 60. Guksch 1995, 75, identifies the first part of it as CT 353 (of which BD 60 is a variant) and the tail end of it as BD 60.

<sup>80</sup> In the narrow sense (i.e., those Middle Kingdom mortuary texts not falling directly within the corpus of Pyramid Texts, following the definition of Schenkel 1978, 36). However, the Pyramid Texts in question are attested on Middle Kingdom coffins and other sources, with PT 251–53 on Da1X, Siese, and S; PT 252 also on Siese, M57C, and T13C; and PT 253 also on T13C.

<sup>81</sup> Guksch (1995, 75) suggests CT 349 or PT 247 for the first spell, and BD 174, 7–10, or PT 248 for the second. Note that CT 349 is not followed by PT 248 on any source, while PT 247 and 248 are attested together in that order on several sources, for the identification of which see n. 84. (Recurring sequences including CT 349 are CT 349–51 on B1C and B3C, and CT 349–50 on B6Bo.) There is no CT correlate for PT 248.

<sup>82</sup> Pb (pNfr-whn=ʒ), bearing the earliest exemplar, dated to Thutmose IV by Munro 1987, 282 (#31).

<sup>83</sup> The latter half of it consisting of PT 249 and 250, not present in TT 87.

<sup>84</sup> In the sequence PT 247–58, 260–63, 267–301 on W and S, with subsequences of this being PT 247–58, 260–63, 267–73 on Siese; and PT 247–58 on Da1X.

<sup>85</sup> Even without considering the person of the beneficiary, Saint Fare Garnot (1949, 102) identifies PT 247 as a ritual recitation, going so

far as to imagine physical actions concurrent with the recitation’s performance. The notion that it is indeed a collective ritual text is reinforced by its accompanying an image of a priest in the recitation gesture before the beneficiary on the Middle Kingdom stela of Amenemhatseneb; see Boeser 1909, pl. 23.24.

<sup>86</sup> PT 247 Pyr 260a (TT 87, Guksch 1995, pl. 16, 35): *tz tw hr gs=k*.

<sup>87</sup> The first part of the text maintains the second person for the beneficiary, as with BD 174 (Af) 1: *ir.n n=k zʒ=k* “your son has acted for you,” matching PT 247 Pyr 257a: *ir.n n=k zʒ=k hr*.

<sup>88</sup> BD 174 (Pb and Af) 4: *tz.w=i hr-gs=i*.

<sup>89</sup> Guksch 1995, pl. 15, 28–29: *rʒ n(i) rdi(.t) pr ʒh m sbʒ m p.t*, conforming to BD 174 (Af) 1: *rʒ n(i) rdi(.t) pr ʒh m sbʒ ʒ m p.t* in all but the adjective ʒ. On the basis of this caption, Altenmüller 1972, 176, associates PT 247 with *sʒh.w*-texts, figuring it as a “Rezitationstext am Ende des Opfers.”

<sup>90</sup> Compare BD 50 (Aa) 1–2: *rʒ n(i) tm ʒq r nm.t ntr dd-mdw in* (with no name): “Utterance of not entering into the god’s slaughterhouse; said by (N)” and BD 39 (Ca) 1: *rʒ n(i) rrk{=ʒ} m hri.t-ntr in N* “Utterance of warding off [his] *rrk*-serpent in the necropolis; (said) by N.”

<sup>91</sup> The significance of another transitional source (S8X) bearing both “Coffin Texts” and “Book of the Dead spells” is explored at Lapp 1986b, 144–45. For the continuity between the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts and the New Kingdom Book of the Dead, see Lapp 1997, 56. On the transition between these two stages, see further Parkinson and Quirke 1992, 47–48.

fact that Book of the Dead papyri and shrouds are dominated by personal recitations, inasmuch as their spells regularly situate the deceased as the reciter. Within the context of a Book of the Dead source, then, the beneficiary himself is put in charge of his own post-mortem destiny; this is also the situation with PT 248 in TT 87. The reverse is the case with the actual performance of collective ritual, for during it the deceased is the passive benefactor of rites performed by others on his behalf. His attainment of a beatified state is not, in such a setting, the result of his own effort, but rather is the result of the works and statements of priests. The ramification of these two observations concerning the deceased's relationship to the performance of a text is that tombs bearing both kinds of texts — collective ritual and personal recitations — represent both means of attainment: the deceased does it himself, and it is done for him.

To end with a note on tradition. Tombs of the first part of Eighteenth Dynasty were carrying forward a tradition detectable in the Middle Kingdom, not only in displaying Pyramid Texts in the inaccessible areas of a tomb but also in presenting Pyramid Texts in association with images in the accessible spaces. This tradition, however, began disintegrating with the close of Amenhotep III's reign, from which come the last of the tombs discussed here.<sup>92</sup> Later monuments would provide a mere echo of what the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty saw — some Pyramid Texts on the offering table of Sarenenutit,<sup>93</sup> a repetition of the scene from TT 39 in the Abydos temple of Ramesses I,<sup>94</sup> and the texts for the type C offering list in KV 17.<sup>95</sup> This reduction in frequency of text transmission coincides with a reduction in pictorial depictions of mortuary service in general, which, as Gnirs (1995, 238) observes, coincides with the well-known modifications to the decorative program in the Ramesside period.<sup>96</sup> So ended a tradition, but a tradition that would resurface in attenuated form in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Hays 2003).

<sup>92</sup> TT 57, 107, and C1. Outside of Thebes but of the same date is the tomb of Sobekmose, with PT 32; see Hayes 1939, pl. 5.

<sup>93</sup> Dated to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or early Nineteenth Dynasty by Clère 1981, 213 with n. 1; see pl. 27, 1–2, for PT 25, 32, 268–69, 275–76, 307, and 595.

<sup>94</sup> See footnote 34.

<sup>95</sup> Augmented, although not as extensively as TT 57; see Hornung 1999, 107–09, 153, and 165; Lefébure 1886, pls. 6–8, 12–13.

<sup>96</sup> The adjustment in the decorative program was felt even in respect to how the Opening of the Mouth was presented, usually with only two or three rites displayed, with them condensed into a single scene (Barthelme 1992, 93). These changes, moreover, were paralleled by modifications in the architecture of the tomb, as outlined at Assmann 1984, 282, 284; see also Assmann 1990, 17.

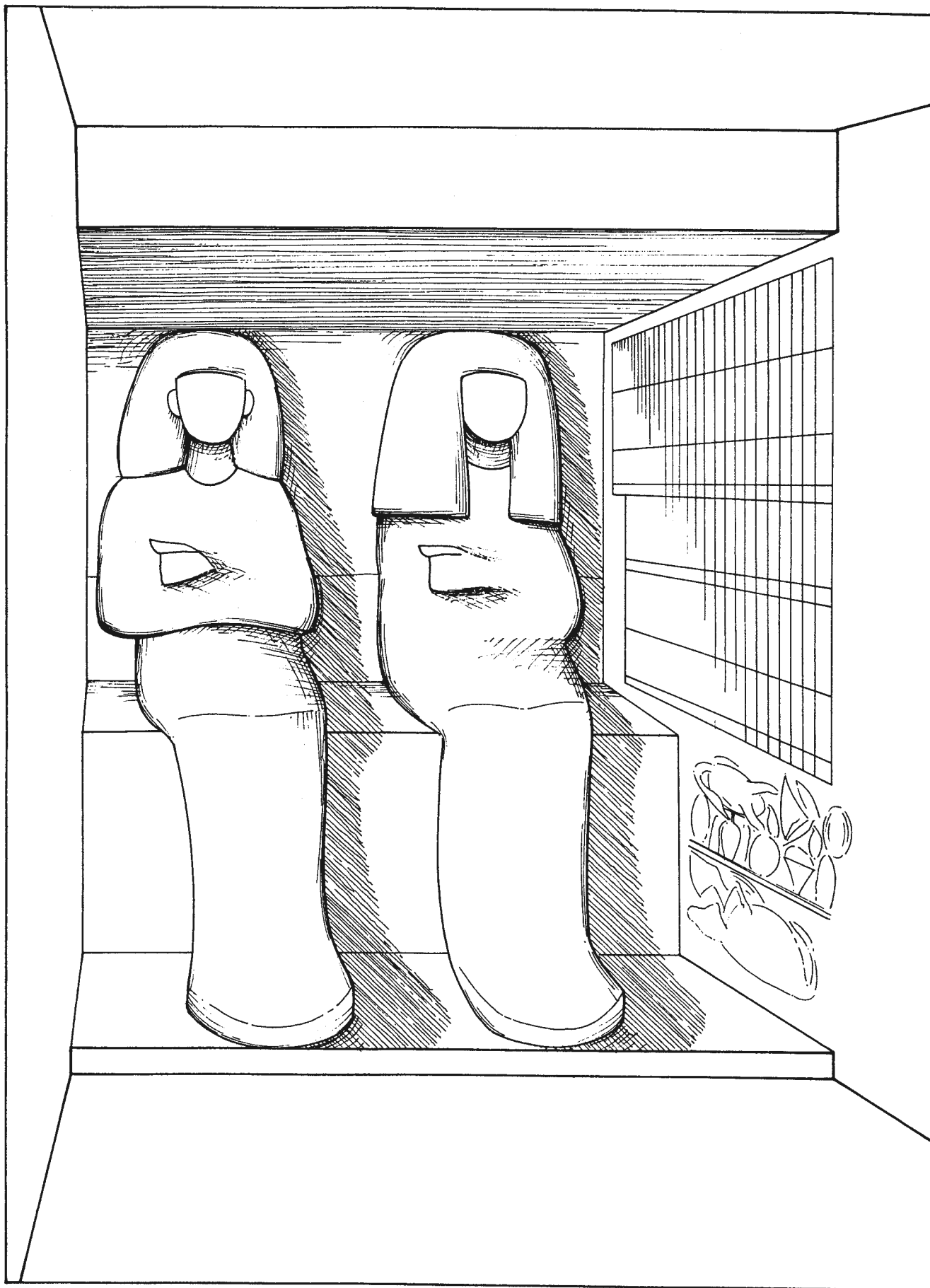


Figure 7.1. Perspective Drawing of Niche in TT 57

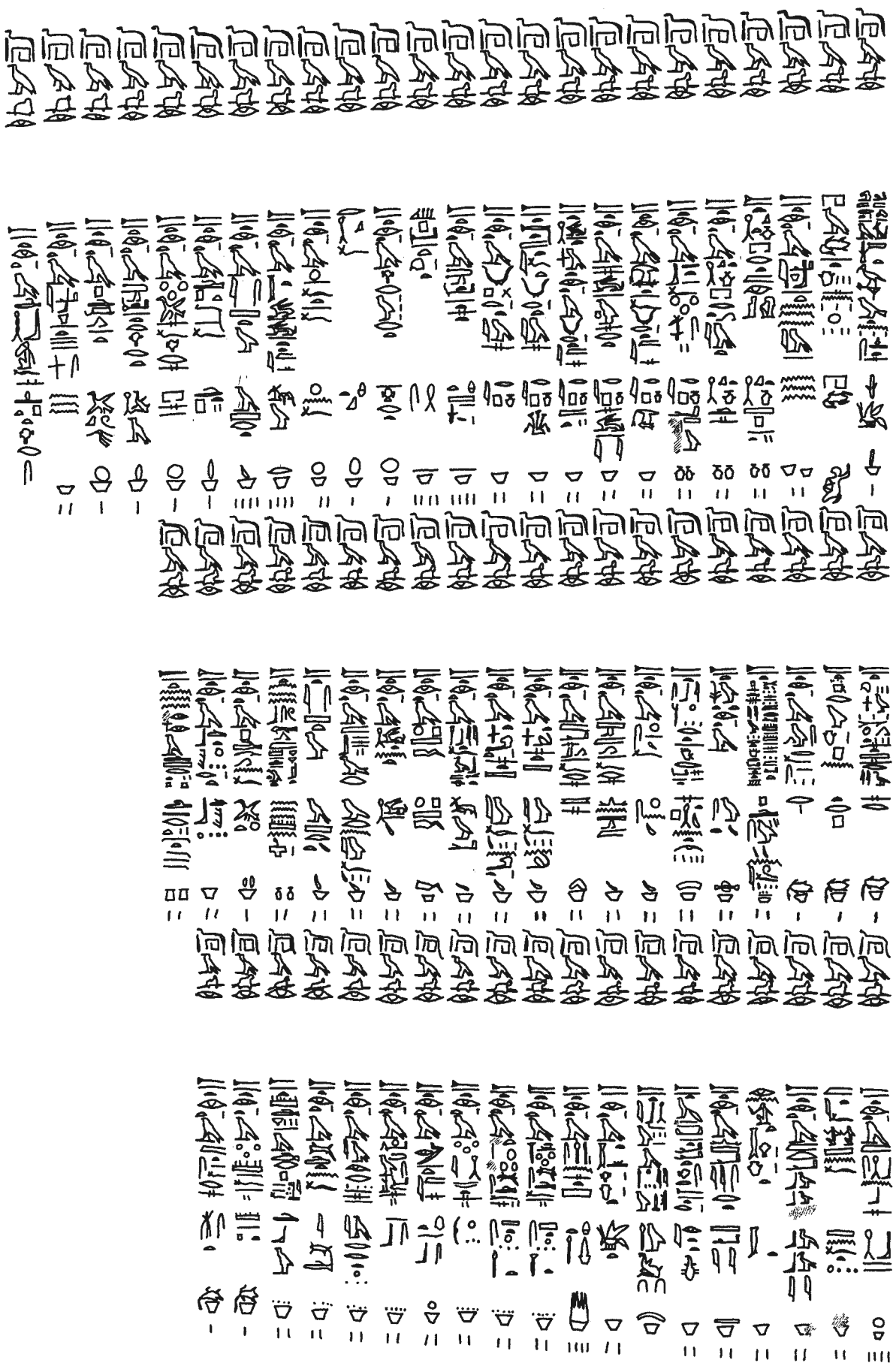


Figure 7.2. Tabular Series of Offering Ritual Texts in TT 57

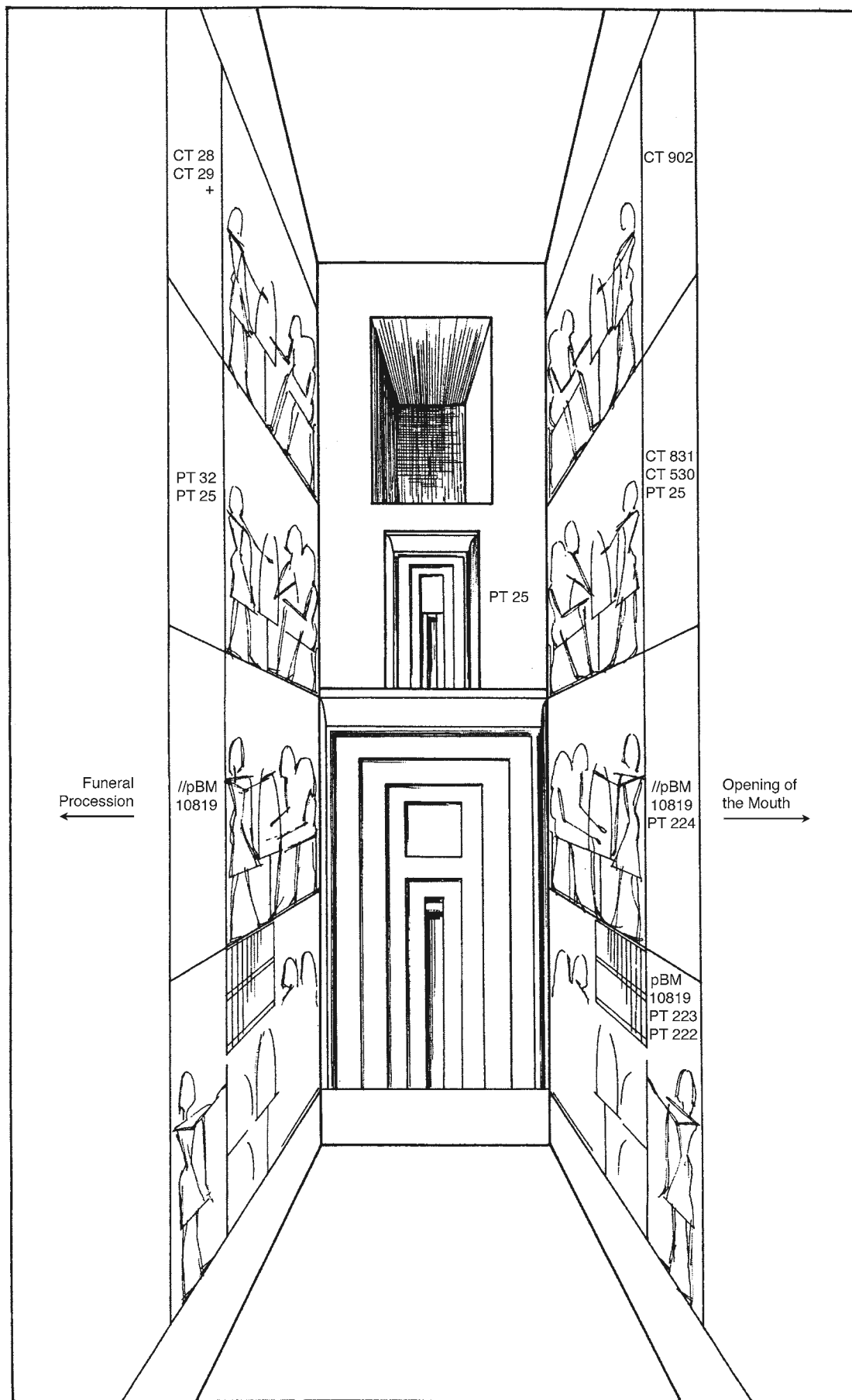


Figure 7.3. Perspective Drawing of End of Long Passage in TT 100

## ABBREVIATIONS

BD	Book of the Dead
BM	British Museum
CT	Coffin Text
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MÖR	Opening of the Mouth scene
pBerlin	papyrus Berlin
Pyr	Pyramid Texts spell number

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## 8

## CHAMBER JA IN ROYAL TOMBS IN THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS

CATHARINE H. ROEHRIG, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Completed royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings usually have one or more subsidiary rooms attached to the burial chamber. In the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty kings' tombs, any sarcophagus found in situ is oriented with its foot end toward the entrance of one of these subsidiary rooms. Howard Carter consistently assigned this room the letter "a," and Elizabeth Thomas followed his lead by identifying the room as Ja, J being her designation for the burial chamber (Thomas 1966, 279–80, p. 98, n. 39). Both scholars believed that chamber Ja served as a storeroom for essential liquid and/or food offerings, at least in the early tombs.<sup>1</sup> In this paper I suggest that, although it may have been used to store food, this was not the principal purpose of chamber Ja.<sup>2</sup> As one of the earliest elements to appear in a royal tomb of this period, Ja was probably understood as an essential component of the tomb's architecture, which was intended to facilitate the king's journey through the underworld and his successful transformation into Osiris.

### THE EARLIEST TOMBS (KV 38, KV 20, KV 34, KV 42, KV 32)

The earliest tomb in the Valley of the Kings, the one built by Ineni for Thutmose I, is probably KV 38 (Roehrig 2006). Situated directly beneath the pyramidal-shaped end of the Qurn, this small tomb holds the prime location in the valley. KV 38 also has the simplest plan of any royal tomb (fig. 8.1),<sup>3</sup> with an entrance (A), a sloping corridor (B), a rudimentary chamber with a steep stairway down the center (C), and a burial chamber (J) with a single subsidiary room (Ja). When the tomb was discovered by Victor Loret in 1899, a quartzite sarcophagus inscribed for Thutmose I was found with its foot end oriented toward Ja.<sup>4</sup> A canopic box was situated between the entrance to Ja and the sarcophagus. Unfortunately, little of the original burial equipment remained in the tomb, and Ja contained only fragments of pottery storage jars, which may or may not have been in situ (Thomas 1966, 279). Though the burial chamber of KV 38 was once decorated, almost none of this decoration is preserved to give a clue as to the purpose of chamber Ja.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas (1966, 279–80) lists Carter's unpublished summary of the objects found in the subsidiary chambers in the tombs of Thutmose I (KV 38), Thutmose III (KV 34), Merytre Hatshepsut (KV 42), Amenhotep II (KV 35), and Thutmose IV (KV 43).

<sup>2</sup> I am assuming that, although there may have been a prescribed position for some of the funerary furniture and offerings (for example, the sarcophagus and canopic equipment), all but the most important equipment would have been left where it was most convenient for the workmen to leave it. I base this assumption on the fact that, in order to get the stone sarcophagus into the burial chamber, door jambs, lintels, and stairs had to be cut away in every king's tomb from Thutmose III to Merneptah. This indicates a decided lack of coordination among the people who designed, excavated, and decorated the tomb; those who made the funerary furnishings for it; and

those who brought the funerary equipment and provisions into the tomb.

<sup>3</sup> Drawings are by Julia Jarrett based on plans of the Theban Mapping Project (Weeks 2000a), with modifications by C. H. Roehrig. The plans are used with the permission of Kent R. Weeks.

<sup>4</sup> In his study on royal sarcophagi, William C. Hayes argues convincingly that this was a reburial of Thutmose I in a sarcophagus made for him by his grandson, Thutmose III (Hayes 1935, 138–54). However, it seems likely that the orientation of the sarcophagus reflects the custom of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> Only a fragment of *kheker*-frieze and a small section of ceiling are preserved in situ, but loose fragments of Amduat texts have also been found in the tomb (Daressy 1902, 304 [CG 24990c]; see also Mauric-Barberio 2001, 331–32).

The second royal tomb carved in the valley was probably KV 20 (fig. 8.2), usually identified as the tomb of Hatshepsut. However, despite the fact that Hatshepsut's name appears on items from a foundation deposit associated with the tomb, John Romer hypothesized that she simply added what amounts to a second burial chamber onto an already existing tomb (Romer 1974, 124). Since this tomb, in its final form, was certainly intended for the burial of more than one ruler, it is a special case that is discussed in more detail below.

The next datable king's tomb in the valley is KV 34 (fig. 8.3), which was excavated for Thutmose III. This tomb adds several new elements to the developing royal tomb plan, the most significant of which is chamber E, a room with a square plan in which the floor was cut into a deep shaft. KV 34 also has four subsidiary rooms off the burial chamber instead of one. Three of these chambers are located symmetrically around chamber J, each with its entrance roughly centered on a pillar. One of the rooms, however — chamber Ja — is markedly offset, allowing the sarcophagus to be oriented with its foot end toward the entrance. KV 34 is the first royal tomb that has any amount of preserved decoration on the walls.<sup>6</sup> In the oval burial chamber, the twelve hours of the Amduat have been carefully spaced so that they can be written as stipulated in the texts themselves (see Roehrig 2006): hours 1–4 are written on the entrance wall (understood as west), 5–6 on the right wall (understood as south), 7–8 on the left wall (understood as north), and 9–12 on the wall next to the sarcophagus (understood as east).<sup>7</sup> In this arrangement, chamber Ja is incorporated into the fifth hour of the Amduat. Two columns of the introductory text of this hour are written to the left of the door, and above it are nine *ntr*-hieroglyphs identified as the young sun-god Kheperi, Shu and Tefnut, Geb and Nut, Osiris and Isis, Nephthys, and finally Horus, who here replaces Seth in a version of the Heliopolitan Ennead<sup>8</sup> (fig. 8.4). The text above these gods exhorts them to protect the sun-god in his journey.<sup>9</sup>

Like the fourth hour, which brackets the entrance to the burial chamber and can be interpreted as a map of the passageways leading into the tomb (fig. 8.5 and Roehrig 2006), the fifth hour, with its oval cavern of Sokaris surmounted by a pyramidal mound associated with a goddess (fig. 8.6), can be seen as an image of Thutmose's oval burial chamber (the hidden chamber) beneath the pyramidal Qurn (Roehrig 2006). Hornung suggests that this might be a "representation of the entire netherworld, within which the mysterious nightly union of Osiris (here identified with Sokaris) and the sun-god takes place" (Hornung 1999, 37). Because of its seemingly intentional inclusion within the texts of this hour, one can speculate that chamber Ja was also understood as the place where this transformation took place and where the king himself became one with both the sun-god and Osiris. This could explain why the foot of the sarcophagus is oriented toward the entrance to this chamber.<sup>10</sup> Because of the distribution of the texts around the burial chamber, room Ja is also closely associated with, though not included within, the twelfth hour. The curving finale of the hour, with the rebirth of the sun, nearly abuts the left jamb of Ja (fig. 8.6).

In the natural basin just below the cleft in which he carved KV 34, Thutmose III excavated another tomb for his principal queen, Merytra-Hatshepsut. This tomb, KV 42 (fig. 8.7), has an oval burial chamber in which decoration similar to that in KV 34 was begun, but the Amduat texts were never written in the space prepared for them.<sup>11</sup> At the far end of the burial chamber is a rectangular stone sarcophagus which has been placed opposite the single subsidiary chamber Ja. Although the sarcophagus was never inscribed, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the foot of a coffin placed inside this sarcophagus would have been oriented toward Ja. The presence of Ja, and the intention to decorate the tomb with Amduat texts, suggests that the queen, no less than her husband, was believed to undergo the transformation into Osiris in the afterlife.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> KV 38 has almost no preserved decoration (see footnote 5). The limestone blocks inscribed with Amduat texts that were discovered in KV 20 may or may not have been found in their intended ancient positions, and their locations when found are not published.

<sup>7</sup> The axis of the burial chamber is roughly northeast–southwest, but the distribution of the texts indicates that those who laid out the decoration had their own understanding of where the cardinal points were in the burial chamber, and the oval shape of the room allows for a great deal of leeway in this interpretation. It is also possible that, this being the underworld, everything is backward, and the designers have intentionally transposed north/south and east/west.

<sup>8</sup> This replacement also occurs in the Litany of Ra, the images and texts of which decorate the pillars in the burial chamber of KV 34 (Hornung 1999, 139).

<sup>9</sup> See Piankoff 1954, 261–68, for a translation of the text.

<sup>10</sup> If the mummy of the king were to be raised upright, he would be facing the chamber.

<sup>11</sup> The walls in chamber J of KV 42 have a wide dado painted around the lower half, and a *kheker*-frieze around the top, but the central section has been left blank.

<sup>12</sup> The tomb was never used for a royal burial, but foundation deposits discovered by Howard Carter were inscribed with the name of Merytra-Hatshepsut. Thomas (1966, 79) publishes an excerpt from one of Carter's notebooks describing the foundation deposits he found in the area.

For unknown reasons, Merytra-Hatshepsut was never buried in KV 42, but a second tomb in this area, KV 32 was actually used for the burial of a queen.<sup>13</sup> This was Tiaa, mother of Thutmose IV.<sup>14</sup> Like KV 42, the plan of KV 32 (fig. 8.8) is a modified royal tomb which lacks the well chamber E. There is, however, a single subsidiary chamber Ja off the burial chamber, and one can suggest that the foot of the queen's sarcophagus would have been oriented toward this room.

### TOMBS OF THE MID-EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY (KV 35, KV 43, WV 22)

Amenhotep II, though he patterned his tomb on that of his father, Thutmose III, made a few additions and modifications. One of these was a deep depression at one end of the burial chamber, usually called the crypt by Egyptologists. Although Amenhotep decorated the walls of chamber J with Amduat texts, the chamber was rectangular instead of oval in shape, and the texts were written consecutively rather than being distributed on the appropriate walls of the chamber. Despite this change, both the orientation of the sarcophagus and the arrangement of the Amduat texts clearly distinguish chamber Ja from the other three subsidiary rooms (fig. 8.9). In this tomb, the short version of the Amduat is written above and to the right of the doorway to chamber Ja, as though incorporating the room beyond into the netherworld. Moreover, in this tomb, the curved end of the twelfth hour, with its rebirth of the sun, abuts the left jamb of Ja (see Weeks and De Luca 2001, 144 bottom).

An intriguing piece of funerary furniture, a fragmentary Osiris bed, was found in KV 35 (Daressy 1902, 170, 173, pl. 38). Unfortunately, the fragments were spread around the crypt in such a way that they could have come from either Ja or Jb.<sup>15</sup> One can only speculate on the bed's original position in the tomb, but I suggest that the Osiris bed was intended to be placed in chamber Ja.

In the tomb of Thutmose IV (KV 43), the burial chamber was never decorated, but chamber Ja is indicated by the orientation of the sarcophagus (fig. 8.10). Thutmose's son, Amenhotep III, moved his tomb to the West Valley of the Kings (WV 22). The preserved texts in the burial chamber are from the Amduat and, once again, the orientation of the sarcophagus indicates the location of chamber Ja (fig. 8.11). Here, for the first time in the royal cemetery, the king appears to have provided special areas within his tomb for the burials of his principal wife, Tiye, and possibly for his daughter, Sitamun, whom he married late in his reign. Each of these chambers, which I have labeled J2 and J3, has been provided with a single subsidiary chamber, labeled J2a and J3a.

### TOMBS OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY (KV 62, WV 23, KV 57)

The tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62, fig. 8.12) is, of course, an anomaly among the royal tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. KV 62 was originally designed as a non-royal tomb and was then modified for Tutankhamun's burial. The modifications included the creation of a crypt for the sarcophagus and the addition of a chamber Ja. As in earlier tombs, the sarcophagus is oriented with its foot end facing this subsidiary chamber.

In previous king's tombs from the time of Thutmose I, all the decorated burial chambers were given over almost entirely to the Amduat texts. In Tutankhamun's tomb, only a suggestion of the Amduat is made on the west wall of the chamber (at the head end of the sarcophagus), where part of the first hour is painted. On the north wall, to the left of the entrance into Ja, is an Opening of the Mouth scene in which Tutankhamun, depicted as Osiris, is ministered to by his successor, Aye.<sup>16</sup> This is the first appearance of an Opening of the Mouth scene in the Valley of the Kings.

<sup>13</sup> I have suggested (Roehrig 2006) that KV 32 was part of a family cemetery commissioned by Thutmose III, but no inscriptions date KV 32 to his reign, and it was certainly not used until the time of Thutmose IV.

<sup>14</sup> The tomb has been excavated by the University of Basel project "MISR: Mission Siptah — Ramses X." For information on the tomb, go to <http://pages.unibas.ch/talderkoenige/>.

<sup>15</sup> I am using the diagram of the burial chamber suggested in Reeves 1990, 194. If Reeves is incorrect, and Daressy numbered his grid from right to left instead of left to right, the position of the fragments recorded in Daressy 1902 would argue strongly for an original placement of the Osiris bed in Ja.

<sup>16</sup> It is interesting that Tutankhamun/Osiris faces chamber Ja just as the mummy of Tutankhamun would face Ja if raised upright from the sarcophagus.

In Tutankhamun's tomb, chamber Ja is quite large and was used to store funerary furniture, such as the canopic equipment, that would normally have been placed elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> Among the boxes, boats, and shrines in this room, Carter found a modified Osiris bed (fig. 8.13). In this version, the germinating Osiris was placed in a box that was laid on the floor in the southwest corner of Ja (fig. 8.14).<sup>18</sup> It is unfortunate that this is the only royal Osiris bed found in its ancient position. But, despite the fact that KV 62 is not a conventional king's tomb, developments in the decoration of later royal tombs suggest that Ja was the intended location for the royal Osiris bed. These developments begin with the tomb of Horemhab (KV 57), but before discussing this tomb, a brief note should be made of WV 23, the tomb of Tutankhamun's successor Aye, who was buried in a modified royal tomb at the end of the West Valley of the Kings.

The tomb of Aye (fig. 8.15) had only been excavated as far as chamber E when it was modified for the king's burial. A large rectangular room was created as a burial chamber, and a subsidiary room Ja was added to this. As in Tutankhamun's tomb, Ja is quite large, but unlike KV 62 and previous kings' tombs, the entrance of Ja is not directly facing the foot end of the sarcophagus. Instead, it is offset to the right, but even with this change, it is still arguably at the foot end of the sarcophagus, though not directly opposite the foot.

As in KV 62, the opening of the first hour of the Amduat is painted on the wall at the head of the sarcophagus (roughly north). On the opposite wall (south), facing toward the entrance to Ja, are two barks above texts taken from chapters 130 and 144 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>19</sup> On the west wall, above the door into Ja, the four sons of Horus are seated on either side of an offering table. Because of their close association with the viscera, this scene seems to suggest that, as in the tomb of Tutankhamun, chamber Ja contained the canopic equipment, but this does not preclude its association with the king's rebirth. On the west wall to the right of Ja, Aye is greeted by various deities after his own transformation, and I would suggest that this transformation was understood to have taken place in Ja.

In the tomb of Horemhab (KV 57, fig. 8.16), there is a dramatic change in the choice of texts used to decorate the burial chamber. The Amduat is absent, replaced by the Book of Gates, which appears here for the first time. This is also the first tomb in which chamber Ja is decorated, and the decoration makes direct reference to Osiris (fig. 8.17). On the back wall of the chamber is a painting of the god, here called Khentyamentiu, standing within a shrine. The profile of the god, wearing his feathered white crown and holding the crook and flail, is the profile of the fragmentary Osiris bed found in the tomb of Amenhotep II, and the germinating Osiris found in chamber Ja in the tomb of Tutankhamun (fig. 8.13). The broken pieces of a new type of Osiris bed — in this case a box with the same profile as the Osiris on the wall of Ja — were found in KV 57. Unfortunately for my hypothesis that this piece of funerary equipment belongs in chamber Ja, the lower half of the box was discovered in the chamber I have labeled K,<sup>20</sup> though this was certainly not in its intended position.<sup>21</sup>

## TOMBS OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH DYNASTY (KV 16, KV 17, KV 7, KV 8)

The tomb of Ramesses I, KV 16 (fig. 8.18), is another modified king's tomb. Construction of the tomb had only been completed through chamber C when the king died and the burial chamber was added. In KV 16, the element that I identify as Ja is really more of a deep niche than a chamber, but the back of the niche has been

<sup>17</sup> Only two canopic boxes prior to Tutankhamun's were found intact. These were inscribed for Thutmose I (found in KV 38) and for Hatshepsut (found in KV 20). Both were discovered in the burial chamber.

<sup>18</sup> Two similar boxes, each containing a germinating Osiris, were discovered in the tomb of Yuya and Tjuyu (KV 46). These were found leaning against the wall at the foot end of the coffins (Quibell 1908, figure on p. iv, letters γ and ν). Though found in a non-royal tomb, their location at the foot of the coffins suggests that this was the accepted position for such equipment and adds weight to the hypothesis that the Osiris bed would have been associated with chamber Ja in a king's tomb.

<sup>19</sup> For the scenes in this tomb, see Piankoff 1958. The decoration associates Aye with the sun-god in his bark, and he is greeted by vari-

ous divinities after his own transformation. But none of the scenes suggest to me any overt clue as to the purpose of chamber Ja.

<sup>20</sup> This large chamber is reminiscent of those in WV 22, which Amenhotep III is thought to have provided for his female relatives. Perhaps Horemhab was planning something similar, though it seems that his principal queen, Mutnodjmet, was buried in his tomb at Saqqara (Martin 1991, 97–98; see also McCarthy 2005).

<sup>21</sup> The lower part of the Osiris box is visible against the far wall to the right of the pile of rubble in Davis 1912, pl. 62, where it must have been deposited when the tomb was ransacked. There is no record of where the lid was found, and I have not been able to identify it in any of the published photographs.



painted with the image of Khentiamentiu (fig. 8.19). This image of the mummified Osiris, standing on a serpent within the divine booth and facing the royal serpent Nesret, is taken directly from the fourth division of the Book of Gates,<sup>22</sup> but here, a ram-headed version of Anubis “who is before the divine booth” attends to the god.<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that the depth of this niche would have easily accommodated an Osiris bed, though no evidence of this piece of funerary equipment is attested for the tomb.

In the tomb of Seti I, KV 17 (fig. 8.20), Ja is again a large niche rather than a room, and once again, the illustration within it alludes to the fourth division of the Book of Gates, but with some modification (fig. 8.21). Khentiamentiu stands in the divine booth, but here there are no snakes and the god is flanked by Anubis fetishes. On the adjoining right wall of the niche, a jackal-headed Anubis “who is before the divine booth” performs the Opening of the Mouth ceremony for Osiris.

In the tomb of Ramesses II, KV 7 (fig. 8.22), another change takes place in chamber Ja, which once again is a small chamber rather than a niche. Ja is at the foot end of the sarcophagus and is entered by a stairway from the central part of the burial chamber (Weeks and De Luca 2001, 214–15). But here, instead of a painted image of Osiris, the back wall of Ja has a niche in which the image of the god was carved in high relief. Only the lower portion of the image is preserved, but it probably resembled a similar image of Osiris, wearing the feathered white crown and holding the crook and flail, that was found in KV 5, a tomb or cenotaph dedicated to Ramesses’ sons (Weeks 2000b, fig. 29c on p. 37). On either side of the niche in KV 7, the king appears with Isis and Nephthys, and the other walls are inscribed with texts from the eighth hour of the Amduat (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 506).

In the tomb of Ramesses’ son, Merneptah (KV 8), the four subsidiary chambers off the burial chamber are symmetrically distributed near the corners of the right (north) and left (south) walls of the chamber (fig. 8.23). These rooms were almost totally filled with waterborne debris in 1980, when I helped measure this tomb with the Theban Mapping Project, but in one room (Ja in fig. 8.23) we were just able to see and measure the top of a niche. In view of the evidence from the tomb of Ramesses II, I suggest that when this chamber is cleared, a relief image of Osiris similar to the one in KV 7 will be found.

## CONCLUSION

It seems clear from evidence discussed above that chamber Ja had a particular function in the overall plan for New Kingdom royal tombs from the time of Thutmose I through the reign of Merneptah. The linking of Ja with the royal sarcophagus, its early association with underworld texts that allude to the rebirth of Ra and Osiris, and its later decoration with images of the god himself all suggest that chamber Ja was seen to play an essential role in assuring the king’s successful transformation into the afterlife.

After the time of Merneptah, chamber Ja seems to lose this role. In the subsequent reigns, there are only two tombs that may have had a chamber Ja.<sup>24</sup> In the tomb of Tawosret/Setnakht (KV 14), the two completed burial chambers have been patterned on that of Merneptah, with a crypt in the center and four subsidiary rooms symmetrically placed near the corners of the right and left (north and south) walls. The rooms off of the burial chamber of Tawosret (fig. 8.24) were not completed, but those of Setnakht were (fig. 8.25). However, there are no niches in any of these rooms, nor has any decoration been noted. In Tawosret’s burial chamber, there is no sarcophagus, but Setnakht’s sarcophagus is oriented with its foot end to the south, suggesting that a chamber Ja would be at this end of the room (and probably in Tawosret’s burial chamber as well). By extrapolation from Merneptah’s tomb, one would expect Ja to be the first small room to the left of the entrance, so this is the room I have labeled J1a (for Tawosret) and J2a (for Setnakht).

In the tomb of Ramesses III (KV 11), there are four subsidiary chambers off of the burial chamber (fig. 8.26). These are placed symmetrically near the corners of the right and left (west and east) walls of the room. Again, by extrapolation from the tomb of Merneptah, one might expect that Ja would be the first chamber on the left as one enters the burial chamber. In KV 11, none of the small rooms has a niche at the back, and the one most closely as-

<sup>22</sup> Piankoff 1957, 198. In Piankoff’s numbering, this is division 3.

<sup>23</sup> In this scene, Anubis stands on pots that normally hold the Anubis fetish; compare figures 8.19 and 8.21.

<sup>24</sup> The tomb of Siptah (KV 47) was probably intended to have subsidiary chambers, but these were never carved.

sociated with Osiris appears to be in the southeast corner rather than the northeast. I have thus labeled the southeast room Ja, but with a question mark.

In the later Ramesside tombs, there appears to be a fundamental shift in the understanding of the king's tomb and its function within the funerary ritual. Not only is the axis straight (a feature begun by Merneptah), but the sarcophagi are oriented along the axis, not perpendicular to it. The foot end of the sarcophagus is now oriented toward the tomb's entrance, thus doing away with the necessity for a chamber Ja, and the element completely disappears from the royal tombs.

#### ADDENDUM — KV 20, THE TOMB OF THUTMOSE II(?)

I would like to return to KV 20 (fig. 8.2), the so-called tomb of Hatshepsut.<sup>25</sup> With regard to the founding of this tomb, John Romer (believing that KV 38 was carved by Thutmose III for the reburial of his grandfather, Thutmose I) suggested that KV 20 was originally excavated by Thutmose I, and that a second burial chamber (J2) was added later by Hatshepsut.<sup>26</sup> Romer's argument that chamber J2 is a later addition to the tomb has great merit, and there can be no doubt that Hatshepsut was its creator, or that she intended it to house both her burial and that of her father. However, I would like to propose that the king who initiated work on KV 20 was Thutmose II, rather than Thutmose I.<sup>27</sup>

The tomb of Thutmose II has never been identified, though most scholars agree that he must have been buried in the Valley of the Kings.<sup>28</sup> The plan of KV 20 is more elaborate than that of KV 38 (which I believe was the tomb built by Ineni for Thutmose I), but it lacks the well chamber E that is found for the first time in KV 34 and is repeated in all subsequent Eighteenth Dynasty and most Nineteenth Dynasty kings' tombs. The second burial chamber (J2) of KV 20 has three subsidiary rooms, all grouped at one end of the burial chamber. One would expect to find a chamber Ja in a royal tomb of this period. Since Hatshepsut intended to bury her father in this tomb, one would expect a second chamber Ja for Thutmose I. The only reason I can see for having a third subsidiary chamber is that Hatshepsut was also providing for a third royal burial, that of her husband, Thutmose II.

Before Romer's article appeared, when Egyptologists uniformly believed that KV 20 had been excavated by Hatshepsut, it was often suggested that the location of KV 20 was chosen because of its proximity to the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahari. In connection with another project, I have recently read an article by Zigmunt Wysocki (1986) in which he suggests that work on this temple was actually begun by Thutmose II.<sup>29</sup> Our theories that this king initiated work on a temple at Deir el-Bahari and a tomb in the Valley of the Kings that were then completed by Hatshepsut are both based on architectural features<sup>30</sup> and can not be proved at this time. However, taken together they provide the simplest explanation for the lack of such monuments dedicated to Thutmose II.

<sup>25</sup> For more on the two tombs of Hatshepsut, see Roehrig 2005.

<sup>26</sup> Romer's theory that KV 20 should be attributed to Thutmose I and KV 38 to Thutmose III (Romer 1974) has been followed by a number of authors including Reeves (1990, 13–18); Reeves and Wilkinson (1996); most recently, Strudwick and Strudwick (1999, 97–98). Others continue to attribute KV 38 to Thutmose I, including Hornung (1990, *passim*) and Altenmüller (1983, 25–38), who argues strongly against Romer's theory.

<sup>27</sup> I have already proposed this in Roehrig 2006, which was written in 2001. Unfortunately, this book has still not gone to press, and its publication is once again in question.

<sup>28</sup> Over the years, a number of authors have identified KV 42 as the tomb of Thutmose II, including Hayes (1935, 7–10), although he felt

that the king was never actually buried in the tomb (Hayes 1959, 79; Hornung 1990, *passim*; and Altenmüller 1983, 25–38). Reeves (1990, 18–19) has suggested TT 358, a tomb uncovered by the Metropolitan Museum of Art on the hillside next to the middle terrace of Hatshepsut's temple. Gabold (1987, 80) has suggested that Thutmose II was buried in an as yet undiscovered tomb somewhere in the cliffs between KV 20 and Dra Abu en-Naga.

<sup>29</sup> Wysocki 1986.

<sup>30</sup> Wysocki supports his theory by noting that Thutmose III replaced Hatshepsut's images with those of Thutmose II in the areas that seem to have been initiated by that king.

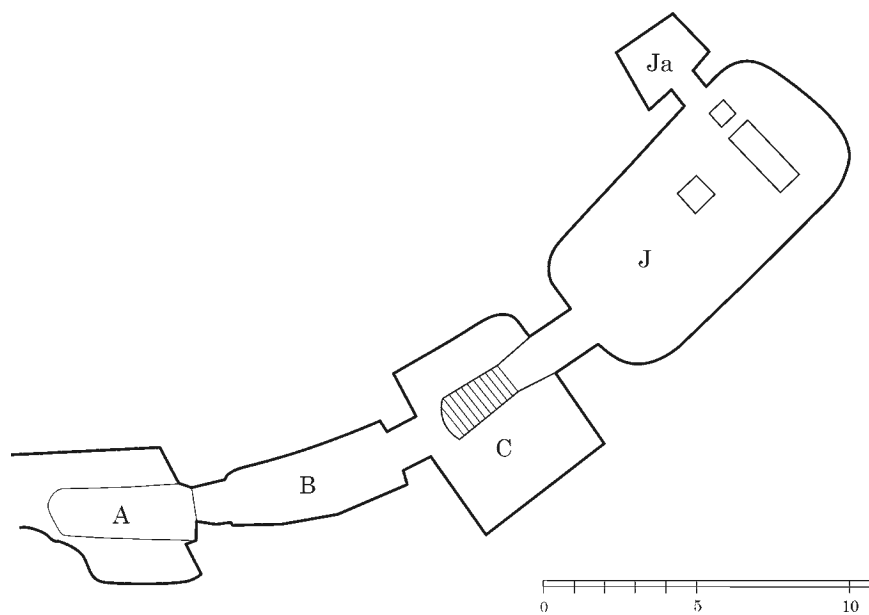


Figure 8.1. Plan of KV 38, Tomb of Thutmose I

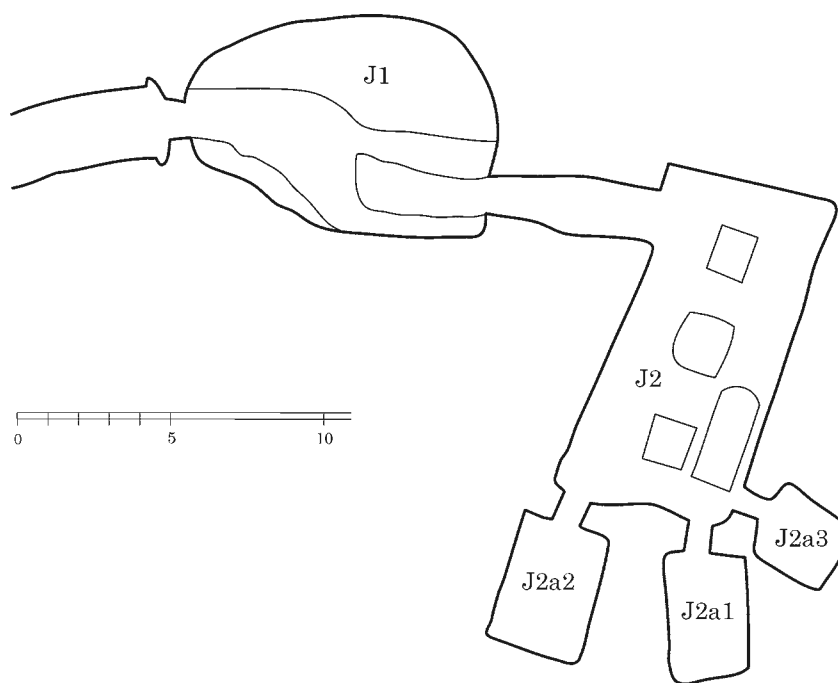


Figure 8.2. Plan of KV 20, Tomb of Hatshepsut and Thutmose II(?), Chambers J1 and J2

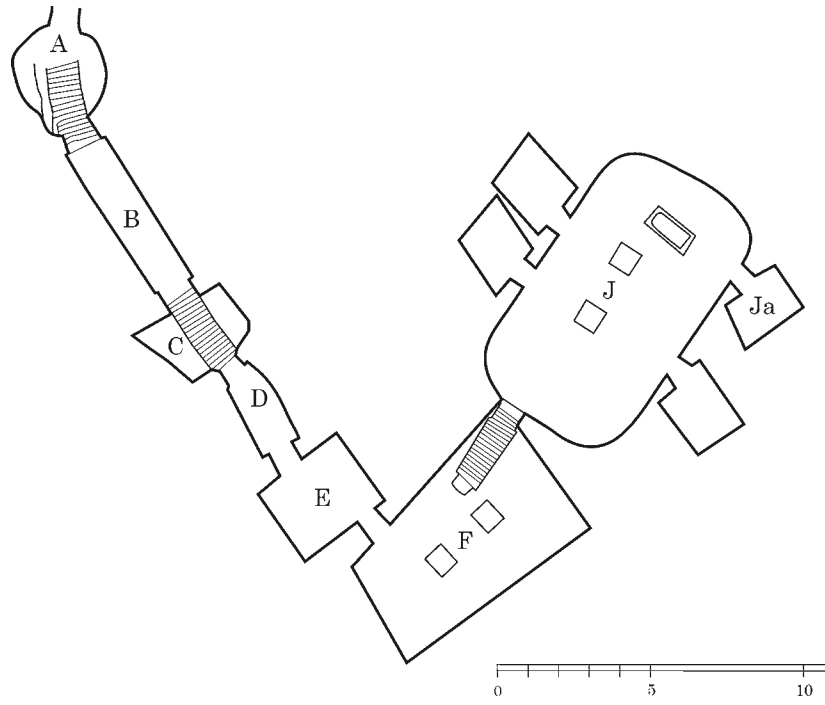


Figure 8.3. Plan of KV 34, Tomb of Thutmose III

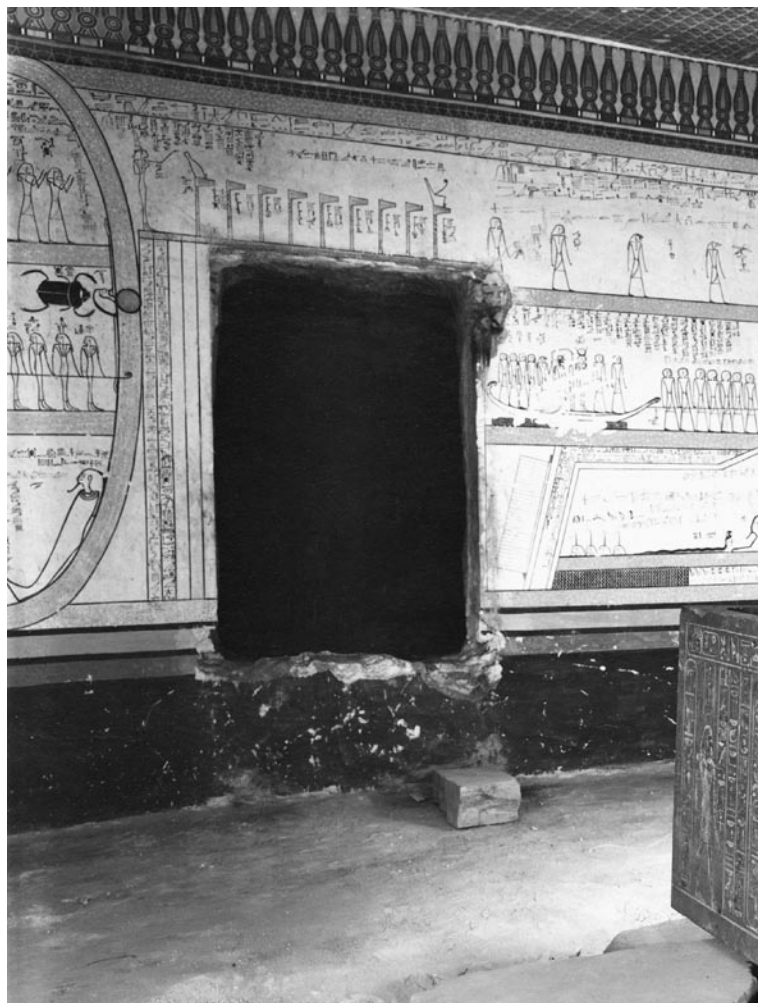


Figure 8.4. Entrance to Chamber Ja in KV 34 (photograph by Harry Burton, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

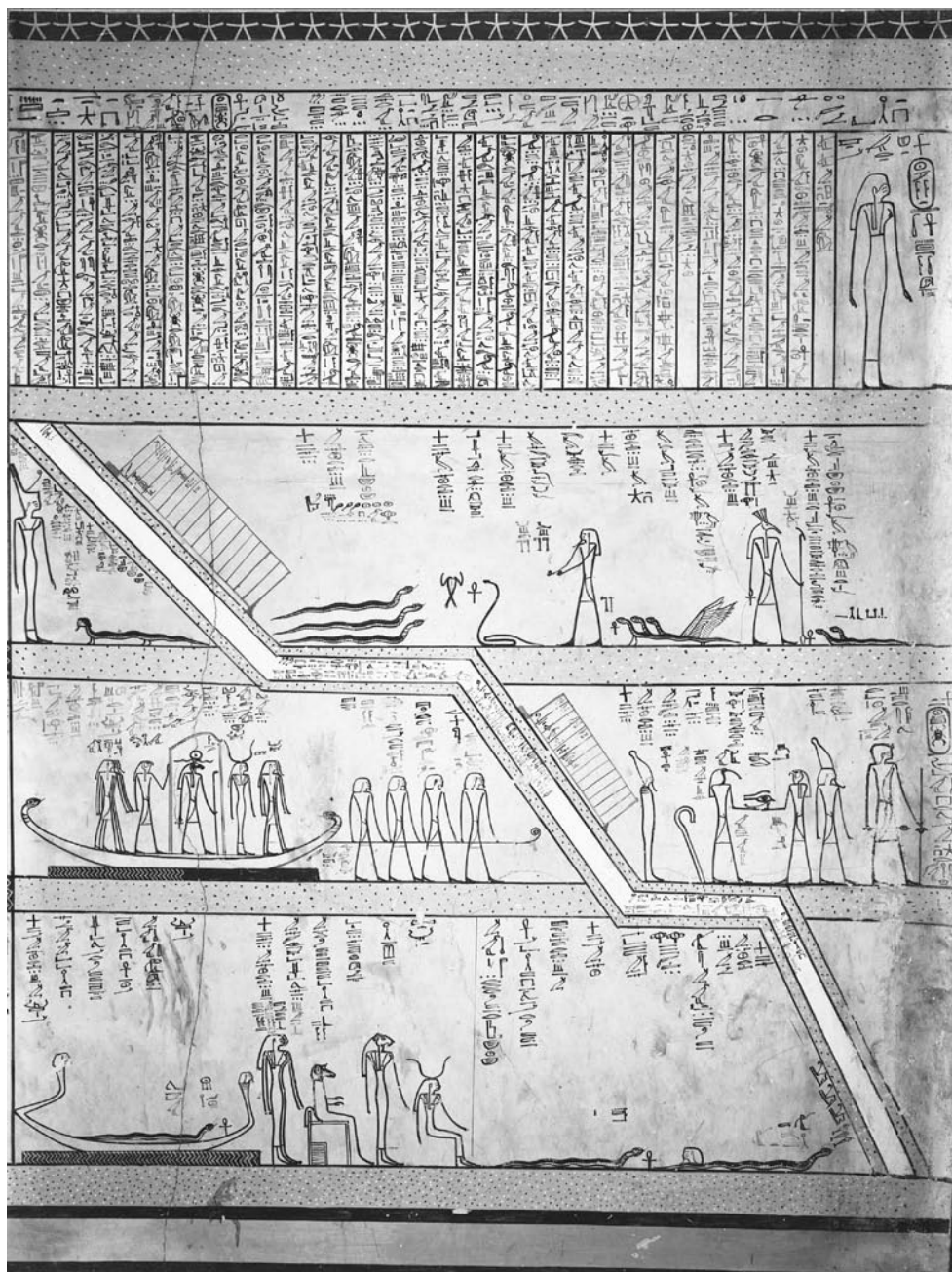


Figure 8.5. Fourth Hour of the Amduat Showing Passage into Netherworld, on West Wall of Chamber J in KV 34. The Pathway, Marked by Three Step Slopes, Echoes the Elevation of KV 34 with its Three Steep Stairways (photograph by Harry Burton, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

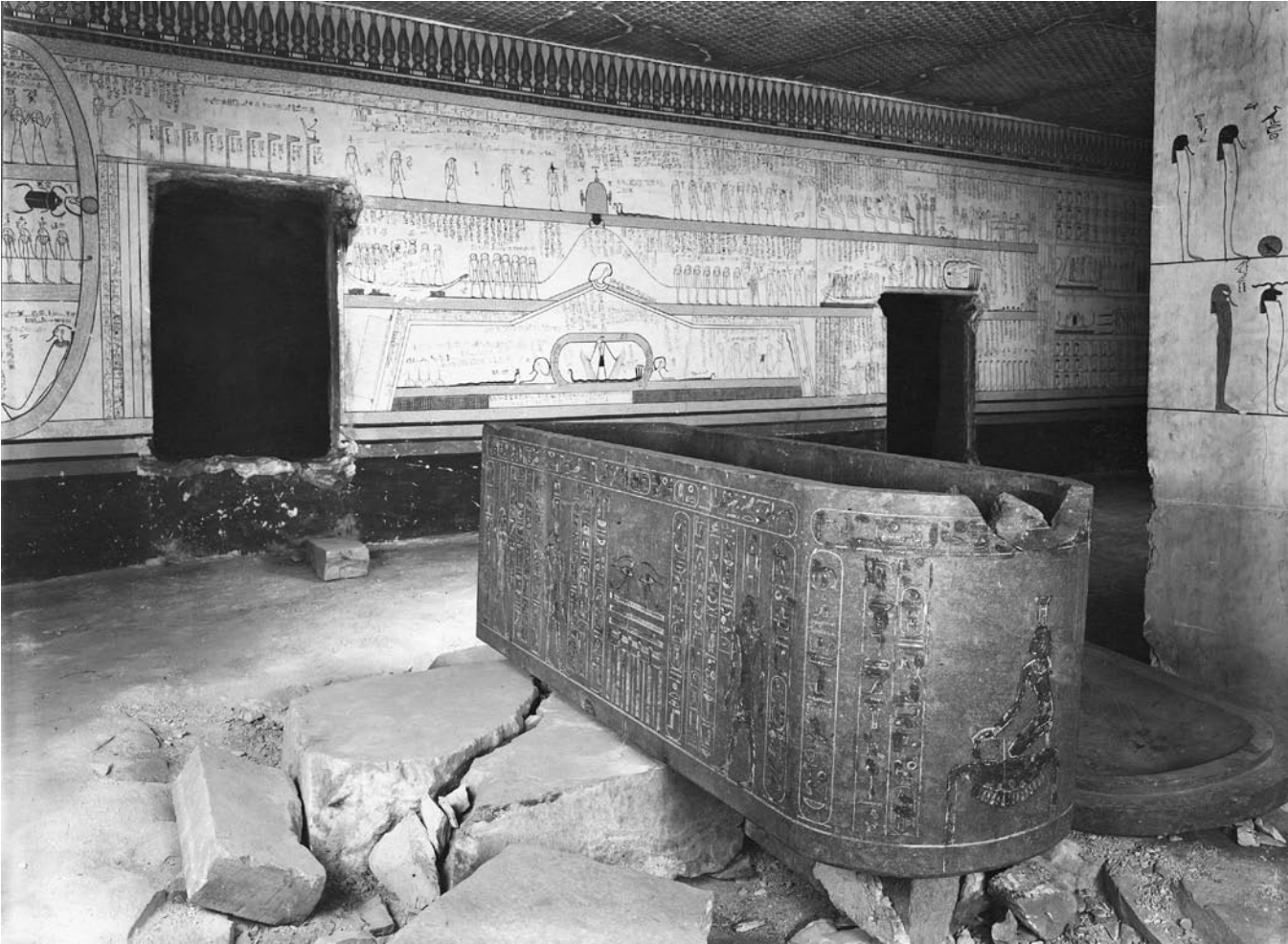


Figure 8.6. Fifth Hour of the Amduat on South Wall of Chamber J in KV 34. Entrance to Ja is at Left (photograph by Harry Burton, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

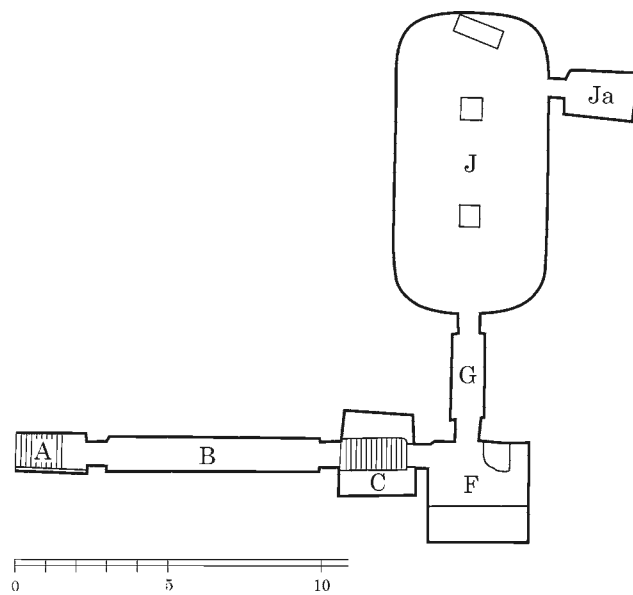


Figure 8.7. Plan of KV 42, Tomb of Merytra-Hatshepsut, Principal Queen of Thutmose III

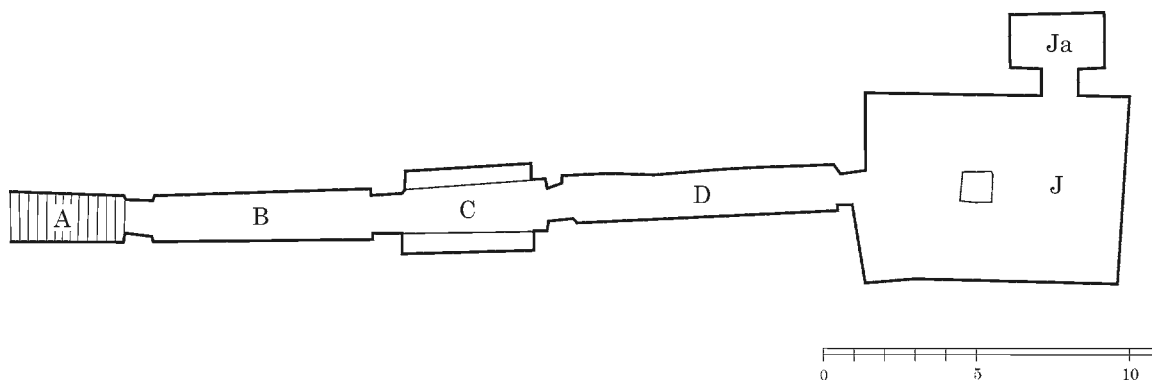


Figure 8.8. Plan of KV 32, Tomb of Tiye, Principal Queen of Thutmose IV

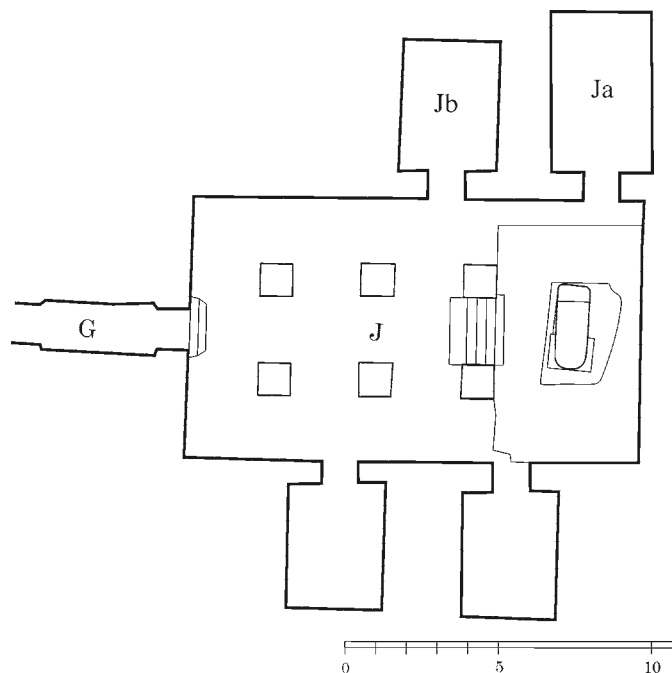


Figure 8.9. Plan of Chamber J and Subsidiaries of KV 35, Tomb of Amenhotep II

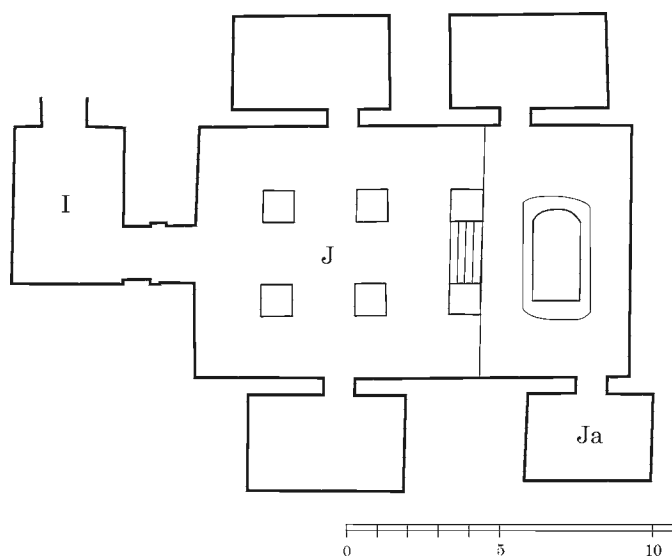


Figure 8.10. Plan of Chamber J and Subsidiaries of KV 43, Tomb of Thutmose IV

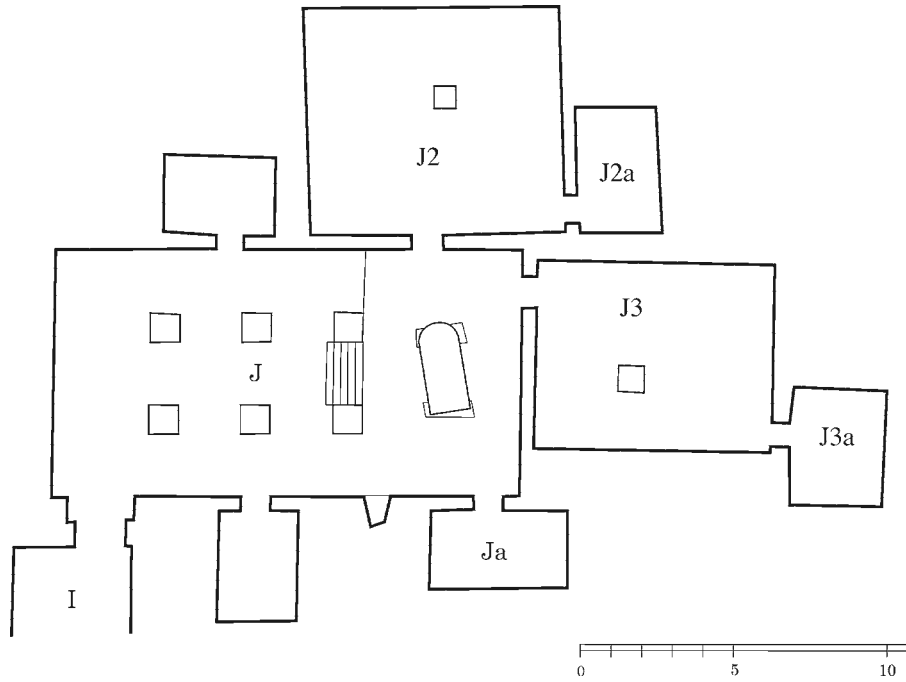


Figure 8.11. Plan of Chamber J and Subsidiaries of WV 22, Tomb of Amenhotep III

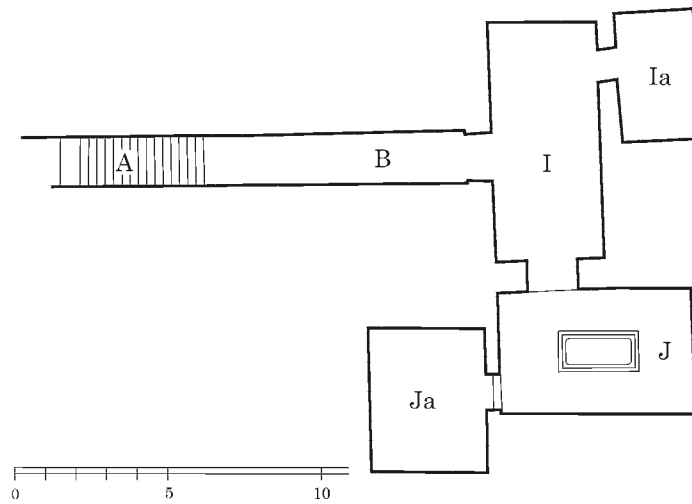


Figure 8.12. Plan of KV 62, Tomb of Tutankhamun





Figure 8.13. Germinating Osiris Found in Chamber Ja of KV 62, Tomb of Tutankhamun (photograph by Harry Burton, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Figure 8.14. The Low Box (number 288 in photograph) in Southwest Corner of Chamber Ja Contained Tutankhamun's Germinating Osiris (photograph by Harry Burton, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

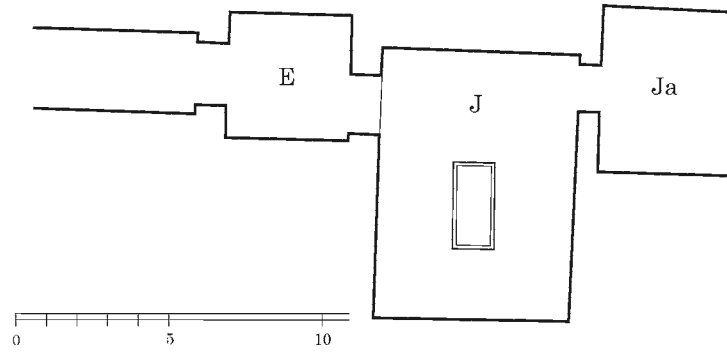


Figure 8.15. Plan of Chambers J and Ja of WV 23, Tomb of Aye

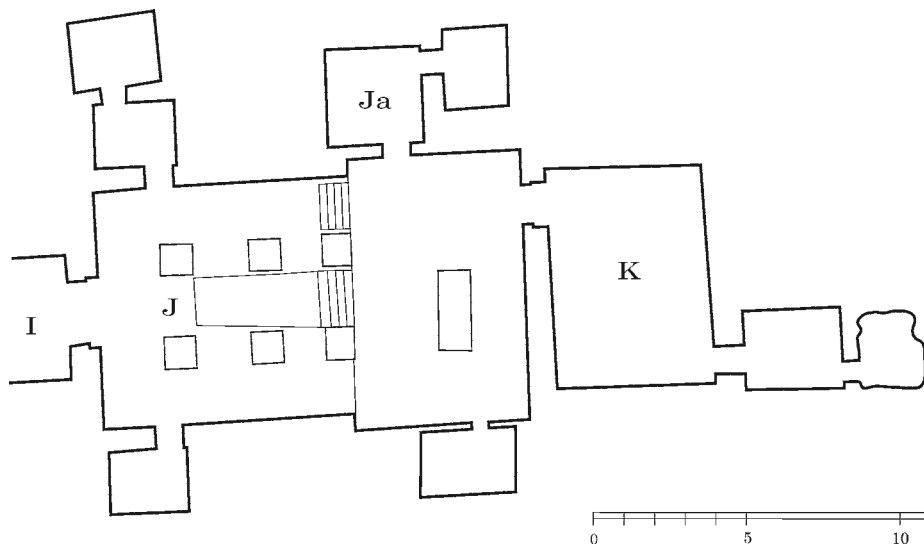


Figure 8.16. Plan of Chamber J and Subsidiaries of KV 57, Tomb of Horemhab

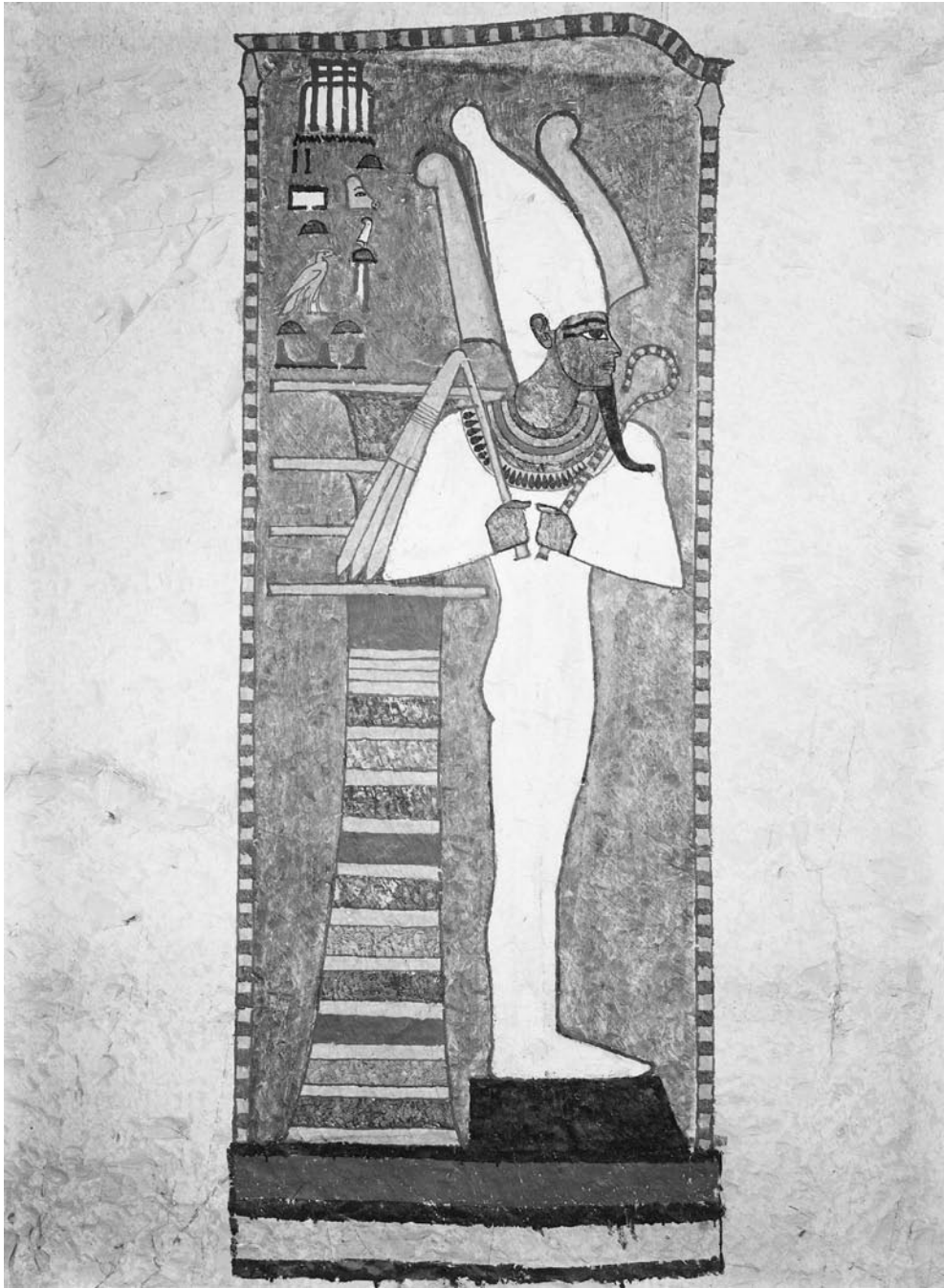


Figure 8.17. Painting of Osiris in Chamber Ja of KV 57, Tomb of Horemhab (photograph by Harry Burton, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

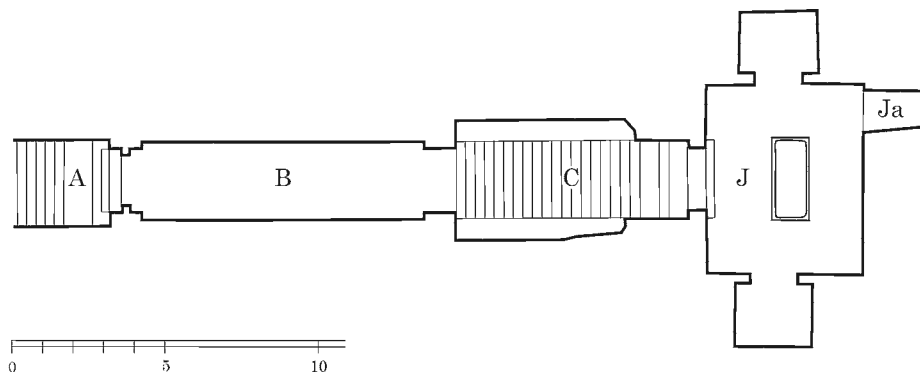


Figure 8.18. Plan of Chamber J and Subsidiaries of KV 16, Tomb of Ramesses I



Figure 8.19. Painting of Osiris Attended by Anubis in Chamber Ja of KV 16, Tomb of Ramesses I (photograph by Harry Burton, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

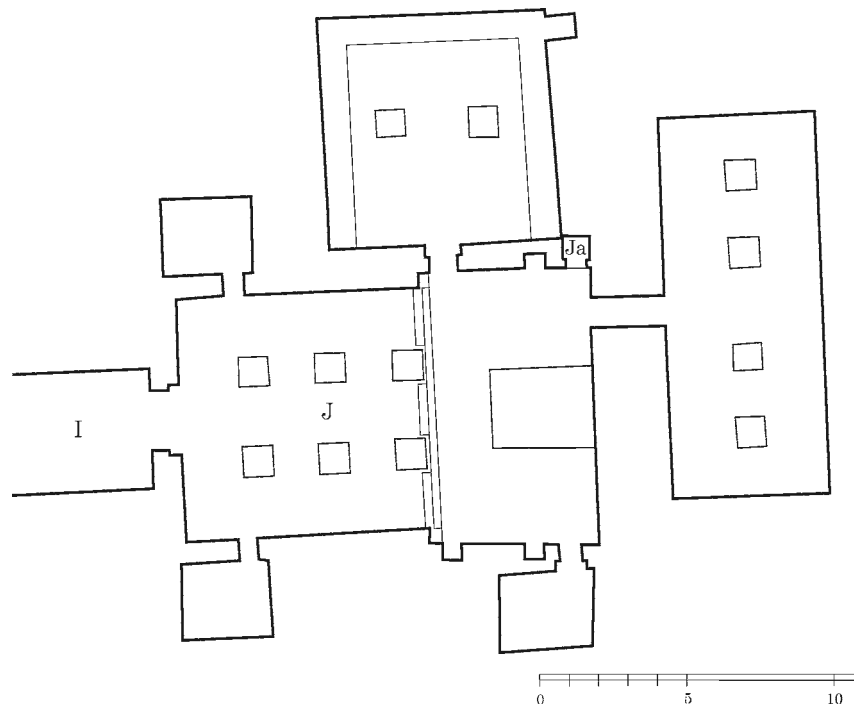


Figure 8.20. Plan of Chamber J and Subsidiaries of KV 17, Tomb of Seti I



Figure 8.21. Painting of Osiris in Chamber Ja of KV 17, Tomb of Seti I. The Adze Held by Anubis, Who Performs the Opening of the Mouth, Visible at Right (photograph by Harry Burton, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

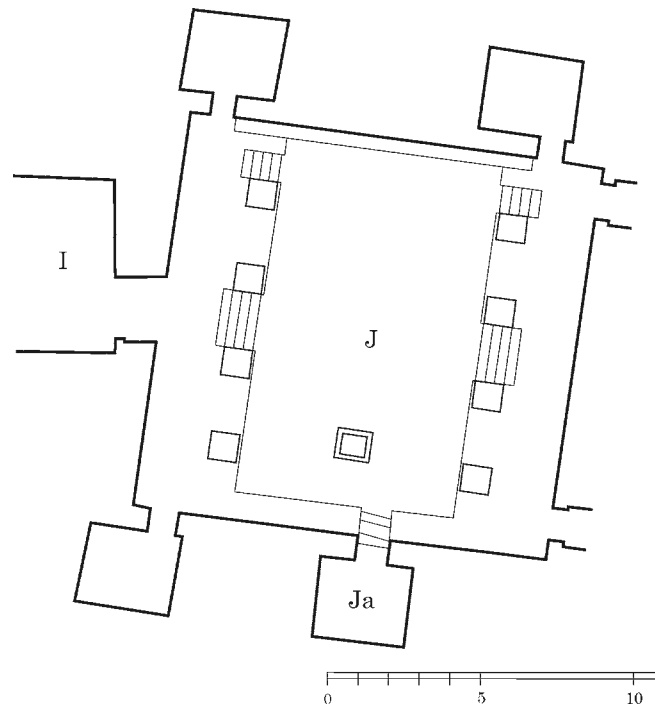


Figure 8.22. Plan of Chamber J and Subsidiaries of KV 7, Tomb of Ramesses II

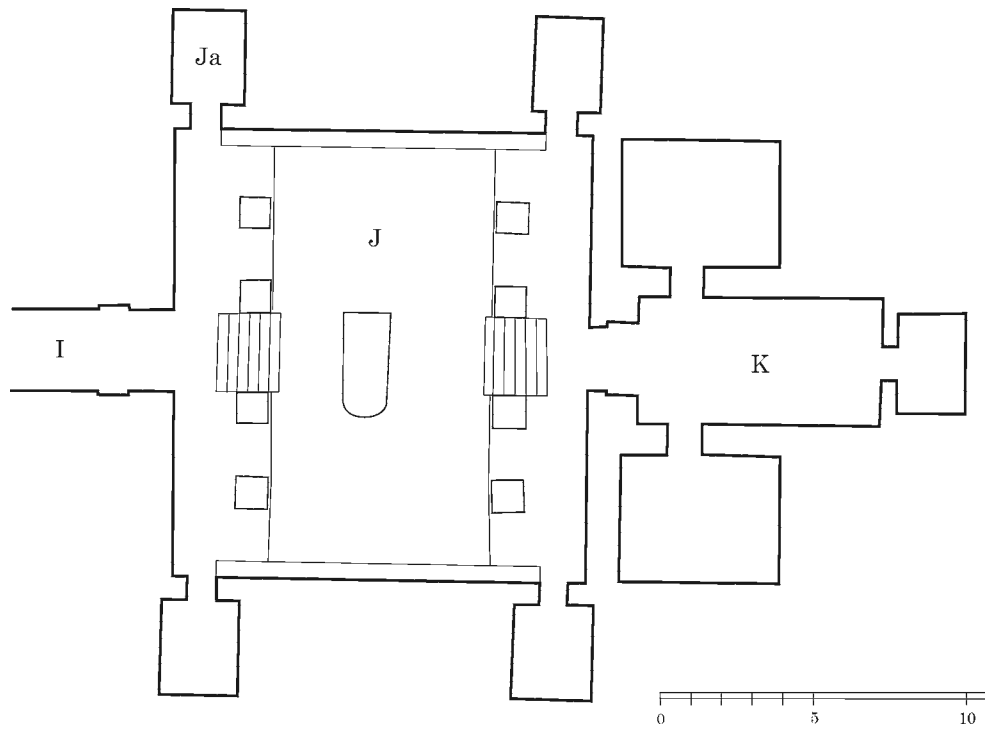


Figure 8.23. Plan of Chamber J1 and Subsidiaries of KV 8, Tomb of Merneptah

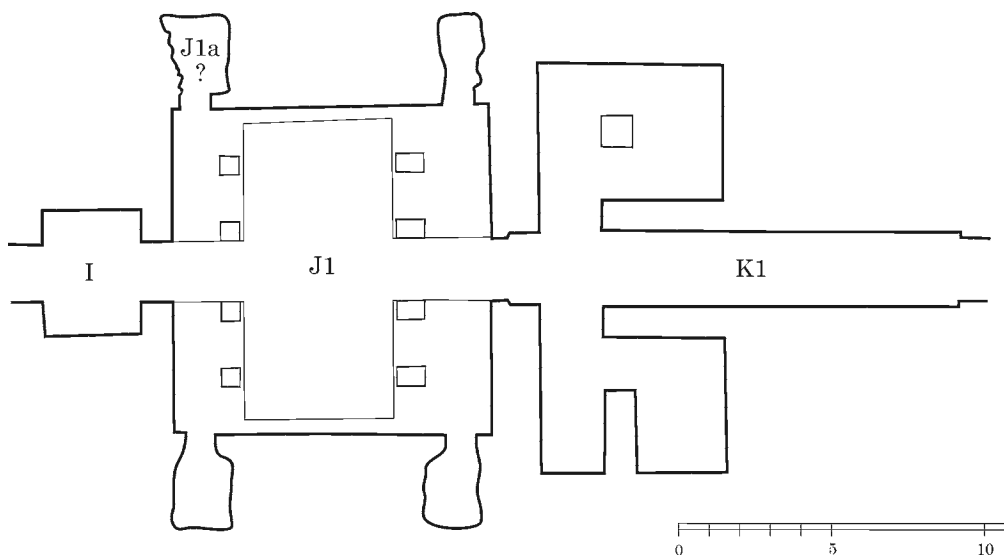


Figure 8.24. Plan of Chamber J1 and Subsidiaries of KV 14, Tomb of Tawosret

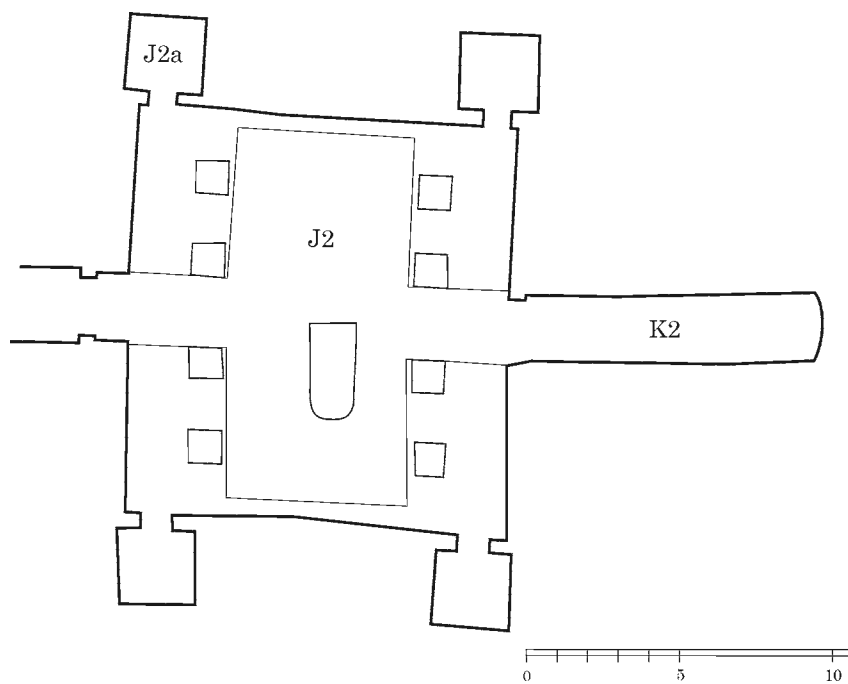


Figure 8.25. Plan of Chamber J2 and Subsidiaries of KV 14, Tomb of Setnakht

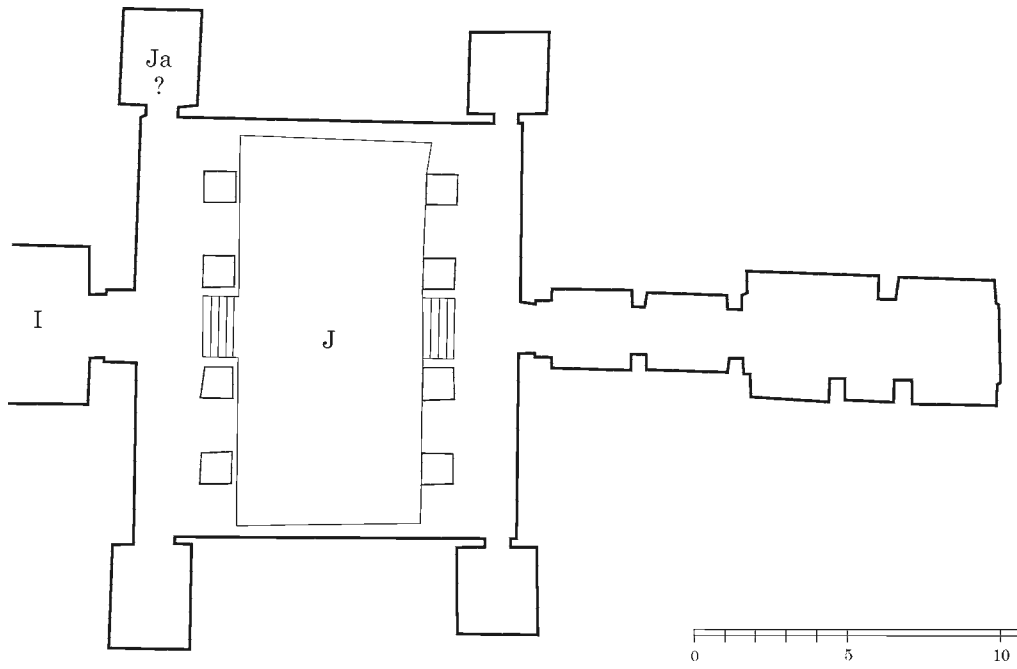


Figure 8.26. Plan of KV 11, Tomb of Ramesses II



## ABBREVIATION

WV West Valley of the Kings

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## 9

## USE, REUSE, AND ABUSE OF “SACRED SPACE”: OBSERVATIONS FROM DRA ABU AL-NAGA

BOYO G. OCKINGA, MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY, SYDNEY

### INTRODUCTION

In its systemic<sup>1</sup> context, the tomb in ancient Egypt has always been considered “sacred space.”<sup>2</sup> In light of the sacralization of the tomb concept that took place in the course of the New Kingdom, which saw the private tomb developing, in effect, into a private temple, a place where the deceased could worship the gods for eternity, this applies even more so to the tombs of this period.<sup>3</sup> In this paper, I consider the archaeological record of the systemic phase of the occupation of Theban Tombs 148, 233, and Kampp -183- at Dra Abu al-Naga, in particular the evidence it provides on how the sites were used, reused, and abused. I also discuss the probability of a link between some of this archaeological evidence and the written evidence provided by the tomb robbery papyri.

The very location of these tombs in the Theban necropolis was doubtless determined by considerations of its proximity to a site of particular sacredness. Dra Abu al-Naga North lies almost directly across the river from the temple complex of Amun at Karnak and on clear days the temple pylons are visible; the procession of Amun at the Beautiful Festival of the Valley would also have crossed the Nile at this end of the necropolis to begin its journey to the various royal funerary temples on the west bank. The topographical relationship of the site to the main temple of Amun explains the presence in this part of the Theban necropolis of so many tombs of post-Amarna officials who, like the owners of the tombs discussed here, were connected with the temple and estates of Amun, a situation exemplified by the choice of this location for the tomb of the first prophet of Amun of the post-Amarna period, Parennefer (Kampp 1994). Dra Abu al-Naga, particularly its northern end, was also the oldest New Kingdom necropolis at Thebes and the location of the royal tombs of the Seventeenth Dynasty,<sup>4</sup> a factor that in later times would also have added to its prestige.

TT 233 was decorated not only for the “scribe of the offering table of the lord of the two lands,” Saroy (PM 1<sup>1</sup>, 329), but also for his son and assistant Amenhotep, called Huy. Saroy can be dated to the reign of Ramesses II (Ockinga 2000). Of particular interest to our theme is the incorporation into the complex of an earlier Eighteenth Dynasty tomb (reassigned the Kampp no. -183- by us), whose burial complex served as the final resting place of Amenhotep/Huy (fig. 9.1).

<sup>1</sup> The term was introduced to Egyptian archaeology by D. Polz (1987, 122).

<sup>2</sup> One of the frequently used Egyptian words for “necropolis,” *hwt-ntr* “that which is under the (charge of) the god,” as well as the emphasis on purity found already in Old Kingdom “addresses to the living” (see, for example, the texts collected in Edel 1944), clearly illustrate that the ancients themselves saw the necropolis and their tombs in this light.

<sup>3</sup> Based primarily on an analysis of tomb decoration and textual material, J. Assmann has shown that in the course of the New Kingdom the private tomb developed into, in effect, a private temple, a place where the deceased could worship the gods for eternity (for most recent works dealing with this issue, see Assmann 1995, 2001, and 2003). F. Kampp has identified the same development in the architecture of the tombs (Kampp 2003).

<sup>4</sup> Polz (1995b) also argues for Dra Abu al-Naga as the site of the tomb of Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmes Nefertari.

TT 148 is a large rock-cut tomb that was built and decorated for the third prophet of Amun, Amenemope, successor to the office of his father Tjanefer, whose tomb TT 158 is located a little farther south. He served in the reigns of Ramesses III–V, but the decoration of the tomb was not completed before the reign of Ramesses V, as indicated by the presence of the cartouche of that king on the west wall of the broad hall, north of the door leading into the long hall (Gaballa and Kitchen 1981; Ockinga 1993, 1994, 1996, 2002).


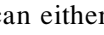

The tombs have provided interesting evidence for various ways in which sacred space was used and abused in the New Kingdom, particularly in the non-royal funerary context, with the evidence they provide for the adaptation and reuse of tomb structures themselves. But they also provide evidence for the treatment of royal structures, illustrating the reuse of temple blocks in the building of private monuments, as well as for the desecration and abuse of tombs at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

## THE REUSE OF TEMPLE BLOCKS

The reuse by kings of the structures of their predecessors is a well-documented phenomenon (Björkman 1971), however, TT 233 and, in particular, TT 148, illustrate this activity by non-royal persons for their private edifices. Temple blocks, both of limestone and sandstone, inscribed for various New Kingdom rulers were found reused in the construction of both tombs.

Because of the poor quality of the rock from which TT 233 was excavated, sandstone blocks were used for the revetment of the tomb façade and the foundations that supported it. The facing blocks have now all but disappeared; however, the foundation blocks are still in situ, and one from the northern part of the façade bears the fragmentary remains of large-scale decoration that indicate it was once part of a temple structure.

The evidence from TT 148 is considerably more extensive. Here, sandstone blocks were widely used, both inside the tomb structure to patch and fill the fissures and other breaks in the walls, as well as to build or face the walls of the courtyard. A considerable number of large limestone blocks were also reused for the foundations of the pylon and courtyard where a more solid material was required that could support a considerable weight (fig. 9.2).

The earliest cartouche attested appears on a sandstone block (TT 148: fragment C 121) that bears a double inscription, one running from the center left, the other from the center right; in the center the *ankh* hieroglyph separates the two texts; the piece may have been part of an architrave. The text that runs from the center right contains a damaged cartouche, , which can either be the throne name of Thutmose I  *ʿ3-hpr-kʿ-R<sup>c</sup>.w* or Thutmose II  *ʿ3-hpr-n-R<sup>c</sup>.w* (figs. 9.3–9.4). The origin and precise date of the block remains an open question, but one can probably safely conclude that it does not come from a structure built for Hatshepsut on the west bank, even though the names of these two rulers often appear in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari since those temples are constructed of limestone whereas our fragment is of sandstone.

The most coherent group of reused blocks found are those that can be attributed to Hatshepsut. They are all of fine white limestone, decorated in very fine raised relief, and some have traces of pigment. The queen's Horus name, *Ntr.ty-kʿ.w*, appears on one (TT 148: fragment C 122; fig. 9.5), which enables us to reconstruct the now incomplete *nsw bi.ty* name as *M<sup>c</sup>ʿ3.t-kʿ-R<sup>c</sup>.w*.

Another block (TT 148: fragment C 133; fig. 9.6) bears an inscription in two columns: *ḏḏ mdw ḏi.n=ḏ n=ḏ n=ḏ ʿnh wʿs nb snb nb* “Speech: I (deity) have given you all life and dominion and all health,” with the feminine pronoun *t* indicating that the text refers to Hatshepsut.

Two further blocks of the same type of limestone and bearing the same fine relief decoration are not as unequivocal. One (TT 148: fragment C 22; fig. 9.7) preserves part of the figure of a cobra, an *ankh*, and *shen*-sign. The other (TT 148: fragment C 45; fig. 9.8) seems to be part of a typical scene found on the dado of a wall, namely a procession of Nile deities, each deity separated from the others by a column of text. The text on the block reads: *ḏḏ mdw inḏ.n=ḏ n=k ih.t nb.t nfr.t w<sup>c</sup>b.t rnp.wt ///* “Speech: I (deity) have brought you everything good and pure, vegetables ///.” Although the material and style of decoration matches the blocks that can definitely be attributed to Hatshepsut, the pronoun here is masculine.

These blocks probably came from Hatshepsut's valley temple at the eastern end of Deir el-Bahari (Carnarvon and Carter 1912, ch. 7; PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 423). Ramesses IV built a colonnaded temple and probably a second temple near that of Hatshepsut's valley temple (PM 2<sup>2</sup>, 424–25; Peden 1994, 48–51) and reused Eighteenth Dynasty material

has been found used in these structures. Although the work on the temple may officially have been under the direction of the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht (Polz 1998, 279), the third prophet of Amun Amenemope was in all likelihood also involved in the construction and would have had opportunity to use material for his own tomb structure.

Sandstone blocks were even more widely used in TT 148 than limestone, for the facing of the courtyard walls and portico as well as to patch up the many poor areas of rock in the interior of the tomb. Much of this sandstone was reused material. The block bearing the cartouches of either Thutmose I or II in raised relief has been mentioned (figs. 9.3–9.4); another Eighteenth Dynasty ruler attested is Tutankhamun, whose name appears on two of the blocks in sunk relief (TT 148: fragments C 109 and 10; figs. 9.9–9.11).

Another group of blocks is decorated on two faces at right angles to one another, indicating that they are from a corner piece (for example, TT 148: fragment 53; fig. 9.10). The decoration is in sunk relief, painted yellow, while the surrounding surface is white (fig. 9.12), a form of decoration that is well attested on external temple surfaces. These fragments can be identified as being parts of pillars decorated with a widely attested scene of the king standing opposite and being greeted by a deity; TT 148: fragment 46 (fig. 9.13) bears part of two facing feet from the lower portion of such a scene and TT 148: fragment C 138 (fig. 9.12) is one example of several that originally bore figures holding *ankh*-signs, which enable us to identify them as deities. The erasure of the deity suggests that we are dealing with pre-Amarna material.

Two sandstone fragments in sunk relief could be material dating to the Amarna period itself (e.g., TT 148: fragment C 98; fig. 9.14); they show what may be rays of the Aton.

The use of Eighteenth Dynasty material in the mid-Twentieth Dynasty is not too surprising; what is less expected is the reuse of stone from the structures of Ramesside kings, including the venerated Ramesses II. A large limestone block carved in sunk relief found in two pieces (TT 148: fragments C 134 and 136; fig. 9.15) bears part of a Ramesside cartouche on the left and what may be a seated deity holding a feather or knife on the right. The name would fit that of Ramesses II, as would the sandstone fragments in sunk relief C 16, C 45, C 47, and C 84 (figs. 9.16–9.19). Another sandstone fragment in sunk relief (TT 148: fragment C 97; fig. 9.20) could have belonged to Merenptah. A larger fragment with the back of the head of Amun and part of an inscription, which shows no sign of erasures or mutilation of the image of Amun, is most likely also of post-Amarna date (fig. 9.21).

## THE IMPACT OF TOMB CONSTRUCTION ON EARLIER TOMB STRUCTURES

The excavation of a tomb in the Ramesside period in an area such as Dra Abu al-Naga, which had been extensively used for tomb construction earlier in the New Kingdom, must frequently have had an effect on these earlier structures. Particularly in the case of large tombs (such as TT 148 with its grand courtyard), if nothing else, the vast amount of spoil generated by their construction could be expected to have cut through and destroyed earlier tombs built on the site. At the very least, the spoil would have buried and blocked access to earlier Eighteenth Dynasty tombs that were situated at a lower level, as happened in the Valley of the Kings with the well-known case of the tomb of Tutankhamun, whose entrance was buried under the spoil from the construction of the tomb of Ramesses VI. This did indeed occur during the ancient excavation of TT 148, with the spoil from its excavation being dumped in front of the tomb and covering the portico and entrance to an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb, situated on a lower level of the hill, whose chapel lies under the courtyard of TT 148. The tomb was discovered in the course of the excavation of a secondary shaft in the courtyard of TT 148 via a robbers' hole in the eastern wall of the shaft that gives access to the shrine of the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb (see fig. 9.22).

In the case of TT 233, an earlier Eighteenth Dynasty tomb (assigned the Kampp no. -183- by us) was incorporated into the complex.<sup>5</sup> TT 233 is oriented east–west, whereas the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb has a north–south orientation, so that the tombs lie at right angles to one another. The southern end of the east wall of the broad hall of TT 233 opens into the western end of the broad hall of -183-. Several factors point to the latter being earlier

<sup>5</sup> On the reuse of earlier tombs, see Polz 1990, where it is argued that this phenomenon can not always be classified as "usurpation" but as legally sanctioned reuse.

than the former and not part of a unified plan, in particular the difference in ceiling height between the two broad halls, that of TT 233 being considerably higher, as well as the difference in orientation. Although the broad hall of TT 233 was decorated for both Saroy and Amenhotep/Huy, it is clear that only the former was buried in the burial apartments of TT 233, while the latter made use of those of -183-.

## THE SYSTEMIC USE AND REUSE OF TT 148

TT 148 provides further evidence for the use and reuse of a tomb over time by its builder and his descendants, a phenomenon that is otherwise attested in the archaeological, epigraphic, and textual record (Polz 1987, 121; Dorman 2003). In the case of TT 148, architectural changes in particular point in this direction.

One of the striking features of TT 148 is the extensiveness of its burial complex (see fig. 9.23). This tomb includes a surprisingly large number of burial chambers or other provisions for a burial; there are six chambers associated with the main, southern, burial passage as well as a large pit where the passage changes direction; the end of the northern burial passage widens to form another substantial space for burials. In addition, the tomb houses two large granite and two sandstone outer sarcophagi that are still in situ, as well as a third granite sarcophagus that has been removed from its original location<sup>6</sup> and now stands in the long hall. Details in the layout and cutting of the burial passages and chambers suggest that the burial complex underwent modifications in design that reflect changes in use over time, which involved making provision for additional burials that were probably not catered for in the original layout.

### MAIN BURIAL CHAMBER

In the main burial chamber (fig. 9.23) the base of the trough of a sandstone sarcophagus was found, probably still in situ, occupying the left side of the chamber. Although it is not inscribed, the sandstone sarcophagus can safely be attributed to Amenemope's chief wife and there is room to the right of it for the granite sarcophagus of Amenemope that now stands in the long hall.

In the southeast<sup>7</sup> corner of the main burial chamber an opening gives access to a smaller and lower subsidiary chamber (indicated in dotted lines in the plan of fig. 9.23), which gives the impression of being a later addition. Its entrance is located right against the entrance end of the east (right) wall of the main burial chamber, which suggests that when this subsidiary chamber was being cut the two large granite and sandstone sarcophagi, for Amenemope and his chief wife respectively, were already in situ. What was the purpose of this smaller chamber and how can its secondary cutting be explained? It could, of course, simply have been intended to house funerary equipment, but one would expect such a chamber to have been included in the original plan of the tomb rather than being an afterthought. A more plausible possibility is that it was built for a second wife.


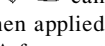
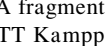
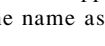
### EXCURSUS: ON THE IDENTITY OF AMENEMOPE'S WIVES

There can be little doubt that at the time of the construction of the tomb, Amenemope's principal wife was the lady Tamerit. Her primacy as wife is clearly demonstrated by the fact that she appears in the form of a colossal engaged statue, seated next to Amenemope, at the southern end of the broad hall (fig. 9.23). As daughter of the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht and his wife Adjedet-aat,<sup>8</sup> she is clearly also of higher status than the other


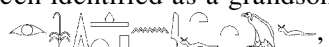
<sup>6</sup> The sarcophagus was found in its present location when we began work in TT 148; although no information has been found regarding how it got there, it is a fair certainty that it originally stood in the main burial chamber, where there is the necessary space for it next to the large sandstone sarcophagus still in situ.

<sup>7</sup> Compass points are given according to the ideal orientation of the tomb, with the main access oriented east-west.

<sup>8</sup> This is the full form of her name, rather than Aadjedet (Gaballa and Kitchen 1981, 166, fig. 4 III = *KRI* III, 93.14; the text in Gaballa and Kitchen 1981 and *KRI* III, 93.14, is not the text inscribed down

the front of the statue of Adjedet-aat, which is in one column, but the text at the top of the south wall of the broad hall between the shoulders of the two statues, which is written in two columns). Bierbrier (1975 *passim*) transcribes the name Adjetau. It is written  in the wall text and  on the statue itself. The  can not be read as the *hrw* of *mꜥ.t-hrw* "justified," since, when applied to women, the epithet is regularly written  in TT 148. A fragment of inscription has in the meantime also been found in TT Kampp -131- = DAN K93.11, which confirms the reading of the name as Adjetet-aat (Polz et al. 2003, 330).

person who has been identified as a wife of Amenemope, Tamit, daughter of the high priest of Onuris in Thinis.<sup>9</sup> The latter appears in a far less prominent position in the tomb, at the southern end of the east wall of the broad hall. Gaballa and Kitchen (1981, 179–80) have a conceptual problem with identifying Tamit as a wife and restoring the now lost seated man in front of her as Amenemope, since this would involve accepting that Amenemope is offering to himself. In fact, this problem does not arise. The break in the wall between sections VI and VIII<sup>10</sup> is large enough not just for a seated male figure (VII), but also for another standing figure as well. Thus the scene can be reconstructed as representing a standing male figure offering to a seated male figure (Amenemope) and Tamit. Presumably a son of the couple was making the offering, a constellation that parallels the adjoining scene to the north, where Amenemope presents offerings to his parents, and the scene to the south of the inner door on the west wall of the broad hall where Amenemope and the now lost Tamerit are shown seated receiving offerings from, as is argued below, their son Usermaarenakht. The more prominent position of this scene again illustrates the primacy of Tamerit over Tamit.

If we accept the proposition that the secondary chamber leading off the main burial chamber was a later addition and was intended for a wife, then the best candidate is the lady Tamit.<sup>11</sup> A common reason for a second marriage was the wish for male offspring and in this context it is of interest that the child who appears between the legs of Amenemope and Tamerit as part of the statue group at the south end of the broad hall (fig. 9.23) is a daughter, Mutemwia. Since her figure appears as part of a statue carved out of the living rock it must have been part of the original plan of the tomb and can not have been a later addition, which indicates that she must have been born very early on in the history of the construction of the tomb and presumably was Amenemope's eldest child. But Amenemope also had a son who is depicted in the inner shrine (figs. 9.24–9.25), where he holds the title *hm-ntr* [///] *n.y Mw.t nb.t* [*Išrw*] "[///] Priest of Mut, Mistress of Isheru." Although one can not be absolutely certain, the sign  (*tp.y*) could well have stood in the damaged area after *hm-ntr*, and he is in fact probably the same high priest of Mut Usermaarenakht III who appears in the broad hall offering to Amenemope<sup>12</sup> and his wife Tamerit (whose figure is now lost).<sup>13</sup> This Usermaarenakht III has previously been identified as a grandson of Amenemope and Tamerit,<sup>14</sup> an identification based on the interpretation of the text , which accompanies the offering scene. It has been read *iri.t htp di nsw n it mw.t=f* "Making a funerary offering for the father of his mother." However, there is a problem with this interpretation: why should the mother of his mother be ignored in the inscription when she was also represented in the offering scene seated with her husband? A simple solution would be to read the text *iri.t htp di nsw n it=f mw.t=f* "Making a funerary offering for his father and his mother." Therefore, since Amenemope actually had a son with Tamerit, if we accept that his second marriage was to Tamit, it can not have been motivated by the wish for a son; perhaps Tamerit died and Tamit was a second wife.

With regard to Amenemope's offspring, there is evidence to suggest that he had another son. In the long hall, in a large offering scene on the eastern end of the north wall, there is a small male figure seated on the ground beside the chair of Amenemope. The scene is worn, but he does seem to be represented as a child, which would rule him out as being Ramessesnakht III. One possible scenario is that he was a younger son of Amenemope and his second wife Tamit.

#### BURIAL CHAMBER 4

Burial chamber 4, on the western side of the passage leading down to the main burial chamber (fig. 9.23), also gives the impression of being an afterthought. It is very low, and its area is only slightly larger than that which a single coffin would occupy. The depression in the floor for a coffin is a feature that supports a date for the chamber later than the Twentieth Dynasty.

#### BURIAL PIT

The emplacement for a large granite sarcophagus at the bend in the axis of the sloping passage (designated burial pit in fig. 9.23) also seems to be an afterthought. At some stage in its history an attempt was made to cut the

<sup>9</sup> Bierbrier 1975, 8.

<sup>10</sup> See Gaballa and Kitchen 1981, fig. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Bierbrier (1975, 8) considers Tamit to have been Amenemope's first wife.

<sup>12</sup> The name is lost but Amenemope can be identified by his titles.

<sup>13</sup> Scene A in Gaballa and Kitchen 1981, fig. 5, p. 168.

<sup>14</sup> Bierbrier 1975, 9; Gaballa and Kitchen 1981, 167.

sarcophagus into pieces and today only parts of the trough survive. The pit is located such that it hinders access to the main burial chamber and it certainly would have made it very difficult to negotiate the large granite outer sarcophagus of Amenemope around the corner. It seems most probable that the pit was cut after the sarcophagi in the main burial chamber had been put in position.

### BURIAL CHAMBER 3

The small chamber containing a sandstone sarcophagus to the left of the pit (burial chamber 3 in fig. 9.23) is probably another later addition. Its floor level is higher than that of the burial pit and its entrance lies about 100 cm above the floor of the latter. At the top right-hand corner there are still the remains of mud and gypsum plaster that originally formed part of the sealing of the chamber. A sandstone sarcophagus and its lid is still in situ; the bottom left corner of the lid has been broken away. Paralleling the situation in the main burial chamber, it is likely that it was intended for the wife of the male buried in the large granite sarcophagus.

### BURIAL CHAMBER 2

A little farther up the passage is another chamber (burial chamber 2 in fig. 9.23); it was found empty and did not contain anything that could give a clue as to the identity of its occupant. Although there is nothing specific in its cutting that might point to it being a later addition, this is still a distinct possibility.

### BURIAL CHAMBER 1

The unusual position, on the left side and very close to the entrance of the sloping passage from the long hall, of yet another burial chamber (burial chamber 1 in fig. 9.23), suggests that it, too, is a later addition and not part of the original plan of the tomb. It contains the remains of a large, uninscribed granite sarcophagus, which was broken up at some stage.

### NORTHERN BURIAL PASSAGE

The northern burial passage is a further puzzling feature of the tomb. It must have been cut after the decoration of the west end of the north wall of the long hall had been completed. This part of the wall was originally decorated with a single scene that covered its full height, as the remains of a large figure to the left of the opening of the passage, partly destroyed by the cutting of the latter, indicate. By contrast, the decoration of the wall opposite was laid out to take account of the opening to the main, southern, burial passage; the height of the register above the entrance to the passage was determined by the height of the wall above the passage entrance.

### INTERPRETATION OF THE EVIDENCE

An examination of the architectural data from the subterranean complex of TT 148 gives the general impression that, over time, provision was made for the burial complex of TT 148 to receive additional high-status burials over and above that of Amenemope and his wives, for whom the tomb was originally conceived.

The conclusions drawn from the modifications observed to the architectural plan of the burial complex are supported by some of the small finds recovered in the course of the excavation of the tomb. A number of *shabtis* were recovered, both worker and overseer types, that are inscribed for Amenemope's father, Tjanefer (figs. 9.26–9.27); in addition, a fragment of wood inlaid with colored paste hieroglyphs (fig. 9.28), which also give his name, was found.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Although this may, of course, have been part of an object inscribed for Amenemope but including his affiliation.



There could well be a link between the evidence discussed above and the textual evidence of the accounts of the tomb robberies that took place in the reign of Ramesses XI. In pBM 10054 (recto I, 3 ff.) there is a description of the plundering of the tomb of Amenemope's father, Tjanefer, in year 13:

We [...] went to the tomb of Tjanefer, who was third prophet of Amun. We opened it and we brought out his inner coffins, and we took his mummy, and left it there in a corner in his tomb. We took his inner coffins to this boat, along with the others, to the island of Amenope. We set fire to them in the night and we took the gold that we found on them.

The fate of Tjanefer's original burial may help explain the extensions made to the burial complex of TT 148 and the presence of so many *shabtis* of Tjanefer in the tomb — it is possible that, after the calamity of the desecration of Tjanefer's tomb, the family decided to concentrate the burials of their ancestors in one location. The outer, granite sarcophagus of Tjanefer is still in the burial chamber of TT 158 and one can see signs of damage to the head end of the basin; perhaps this, and the very fact that it had been desecrated, explains why it was not taken to TT 148.

Choosing TT 148 for a family tomb would have been an obvious choice in view of the large number of family members represented in the reliefs of the broad hall. In addition to all the relatives who appear in the reliefs of the southern half of the broad hall,<sup>16</sup> there are equally as many in the reliefs of the northern half of the broad hall, although the inscriptions that provided details of their identity are now destroyed.<sup>17</sup>

The robberies mentioned in pBM 10054 (recto I, 3 ff.) took place in year 13 of Ramesses IX Neferkare (Peet 1930, vol. 1, p. 58). Amenemope himself was probably no longer living,<sup>18</sup> but other members of his family, including his son and daughter, would have been. Also, at this time the office of first prophet of Amun was still in the family of Ramessesnakht,<sup>19</sup> to whom Amenemope was related — the high priest of Amun Amenhotep was a son of Ramessesnakht and thus a brother-in-law of Amenemope.<sup>20</sup> These people would have had an interest in securing the burials of their family members at a time when general security in the Theban area was threatened (Kitchen 1986, 246–47).

As mentioned above, the importance the family attached to its ancestors is illustrated by the emphasis on this theme in the decoration of TT 148.

The changes and modifications to the burial apartments of TT 148 discussed above, taken in conjunction with the discovery of five fragmentary *shabtis* inscribed for a woman (her only title is *nb.t pr.w* "mistress of the house") named Adjetet-aat (fig. 9.29), throws up a further possible extension to the use of TT 148. The name on the *shabtis* does not seem to be particularly common<sup>21</sup> and, considering the connection she had with the immediate family of TT 148, one is tempted to identify her with Amenemope's mother-in-law. If so, could she and her husband Ramessesnakht also have found their final resting place in TT 148? The question of the burial arrangements of Ramessesnakht is an interesting one. Porter and Moss (PM 1<sup>1</sup>) mistakenly identify his tomb with TT 293,<sup>22</sup> but a more likely location is the northern one of the two large tombs at the top of the hill at Dra Abu al-Naga North, given the number TT -131- by Kampp,<sup>23</sup> where a great number of decorated sandstone fragments inscribed for the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht have been recovered.<sup>24</sup> But although the reliefs include subject matter of a funerary nature,<sup>25</sup> nothing has been found that points to the tomb having been used for Ramessesnakht's burial,<sup>26</sup> and D. Polz and his associate U. Rummel, who are working on the inscribed material of Ramessesnakht from the site, have themselves suggested that Ramessesnakht and his family may have been buried in TT 148.<sup>27</sup> The evi-

<sup>16</sup> Including grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, brothers, brothers- and sisters-in-law, as well as parents-in-law (see Gaballa and Kitchen 1981).

<sup>17</sup> With the exception of the vizier Usermont, an ancestor who served Tutankhamun (Ockinga 1994).

<sup>18</sup> According to Bierbrier (1975, 10) Amenemope probably died during the reign of Ramesses V.

<sup>19</sup> Who was still in office in year 2 of Ramesses IX (Kitchen 1986, 246).

<sup>20</sup> Bierbrier 1977, 1244–47; Kitchen 1986, 246.

<sup>21</sup> Ranke (1935) only lists the masculine version of the name (p. 72.14) and in Ranke 1952 only one example of the feminine form is listed (p. 272.30).

<sup>22</sup> See the discussion on the tomb in Kampp 1996, 562–63, 692, and Polz 1998, 272–73.

<sup>23</sup> Kampp 1996, vol. 2, p. 692; it was given the number DAN K93.11 by Polz 1995a, 211 ff.

<sup>24</sup> See the preliminary reports and discussions of the finds in Polz 1995a, 216; Polz 1998, 263 ff.; Rummel 1999; Polz 1999, 350 ff.; and Polz et al. 2003, 329 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Rummel 1999, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Polz 1998, 272; Rummel's contribution in Polz et al. 2003, 331.

<sup>27</sup> Polz 1998, 272. In Polz et al. 2003, 333, U. Rummel revises the conclusions she published earlier, where she argued that the evidence pointed to DAN K93.11/TT -131- being the tomb of Ramessesnakht (Rummel 1999).

dence from DAN K93.11, as well as that from TT 148, seems to support the interpretation that TT 148 was not where the burial of Ramessesnakht and his wife was relocated but that it was the place of primary interment. The tomb would indeed have been a fitting location for his burial and that of his wife; they both appear in a prominent position in the tomb reliefs, namely in the middle of the west wall of the southern half of the broad hall among all the other members of Amenemope's family, and it would also satisfactorily explain the presence of the third large granite sarcophagus in the burial apartments.

The main evidence for a possible interment of these other family members in TT 148 are the *shabtis* of Tjanefer and Adjetet-aat. But how compelling is this evidence? Although *shabtis* are often found in places other than the tombs of their owners, these are usually individual pieces and do not, as in the case of Tjanefer, appear in large numbers, including overseer *shabtis*. The quantity of Tjanefer *shabtis* found gives the impression that they may have been part of a full set and one wonders whether these would have been placed somewhere other than where their owner was buried.

The extent of the modifications to TT 148 suggests that, in addition to catering for the interment or reinterment of people like Tjanefer and Ramessesnakht, they were also made to provide for other members of Amenemope's family, for example, his son Usermaarenakht (figs. 9.24–9.25) and the unknown son on the north wall of the long hall.

TT 148 provides us, therefore, with a good range of evidence for the systemic use and reuse of a Theban New Kingdom tomb. It also gives further support for the observation of P. Dorman that Theban tombs served to commemorate not just the life of the primary tomb owner, along with the more immediate family members associated with him, but also his extended lineage. Dorman convincingly argues that a tomb's commemorative function for the wider family was fulfilled not solely by their presence in its decoration but also in some cases by their physical presence, that is, their actual interment within the tomb complex, and that one can expect the sudden need for an interment to have had, in some cases, an influence on a tomb's architecture (Dorman 2003, 40–41). Although, as Dorman points out, it is not always possible to distinguish burial arrangements provided for family members through an analysis of a tomb's architecture, the modifications to the architecture of the burial complex of TT 148 can best be explained as being the result of such adaptations made to meet new requirements.

#### TT 233 — EVIDENCE FOR ANCIENT TOMB ROBBERY

Not unexpectedly, like most of the Theban necropolis, TT 233 was reused in the Third Intermediate Period for burials, as the fragmentary funerary equipment (in particular coffins and *shabtis*) recovered indicates. Of more interest is the very clear, stratified evidence it provides for the systemic abuse of sacred space with which we are familiar from the tomb robbery papyri. These texts give us graphic descriptions of what the thieves did with the burial equipment of the tombs they plundered; in the inner doorway of -183- and particularly in the courtyard of TT 233, stratified archaeological evidence of such activity was found (fig. 9.30). The evidence from the north-eastern corner of the courtyard (figs. 9.31–9.32) is particularly clear. Here, above the northern end of the northern pylon, an oven was constructed in the Coptic period, which archaeologically sealed the occupation levels below (fig. 9.33). Underneath the Coptic stratum another could be identified (fig. 9.31) containing pottery of the Third Intermediate Period, which lay immediately over the Ramesside floor level of the courtyard. At this level, behind and right against the west face of the northern end of the north pylon, the traces of a fire were found (to the left of the arrow in fig. 9.32). Among the ashes were the charred remains of burial equipment (fig. 9.34); the larger of the small badly burned *shabtis* are identical to others found which are inscribed for the tomb owner, Saroy, indicating that his burial was robbed and plundered at the end of the Ramesside period and was probably the victim of the same illegal activity recorded in the tomb robbery papyri. Tiny fragments of the gold that the robbers were after were also retrieved; rather than take the stolen objects with them to another place and there remove the gold, as the thieves who plundered the tomb of Tjanefer confessed they had done (see the quotation from pBM 10054 recto I, 3 ff., above), the thieves in this case stripped the gold off the stolen objects at the tomb itself. The activity no doubt took place at night, the fire providing them with the necessary light for their activities. The thieves carefully chose the location of the fire; it was laid right against the western side of the pylon where it would shield them from view and obscure the light of the fire to those in the valley below. In the doorway to the long hall of tomb -183- a similar situation was also revealed; there *shabtis* of Saroy's son and assistant, Amenhotep/Huy, were recovered from the ashes and a tiny speck of gold was found embedded in the eastern door thickness, against which the fire had been laid.

Although the main emphasis in this paper is the systemic use and abuse of the tombs, the courtyard and the chapels of tombs -183- and TT 233 also provide abundant evidence for the occupation of the site during the non-systemic Late Roman (Coptic) period, in particular in the form of pottery and Coptic ostraca and papyrus fragments, as well as for modern (early nineteenth-century) activity,<sup>28</sup> but this falls outside the scope of the present paper.

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<sup>28</sup> Ockinga 2000, 107.

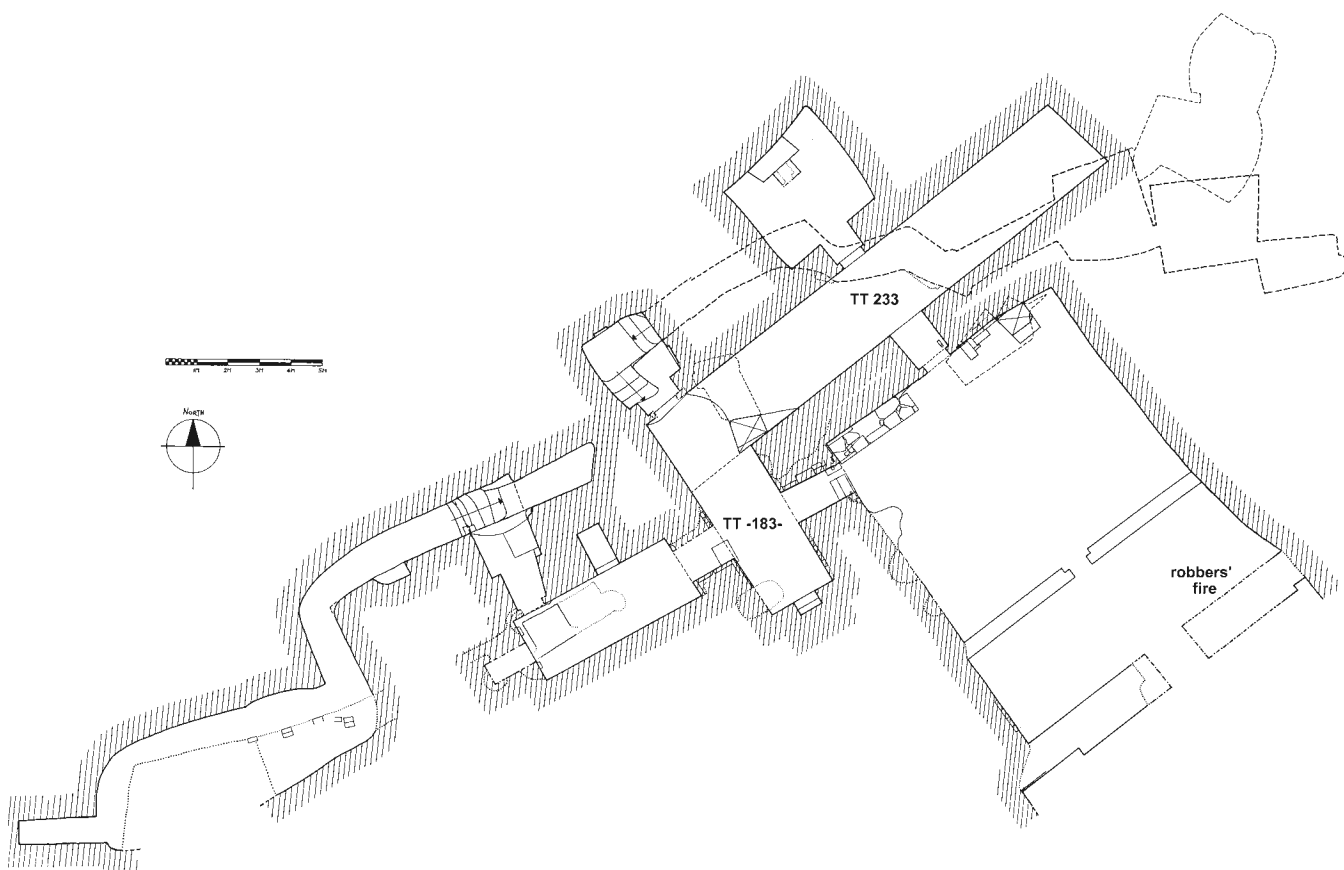


Figure 9.1. Plan of TT 233 and Kampp -183-



Figure 9.2. Limestone Blocks Forming the Foundation of the Pylon of TT 148



Figure 9.3. Sandstone Block with Cartouche of Thutmose I or II (TT 148: Fragment C 121)

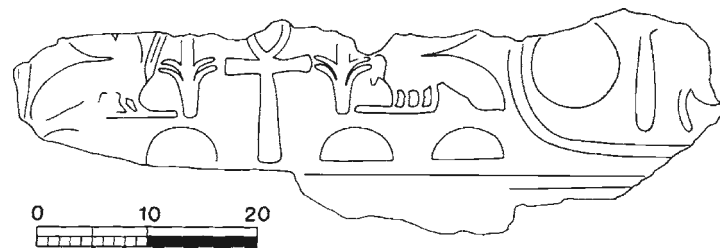


Figure 9.4. TT 148: Fragment C 121



Figure 9.5. TT 148: Fragment C 122. Hatshepsut

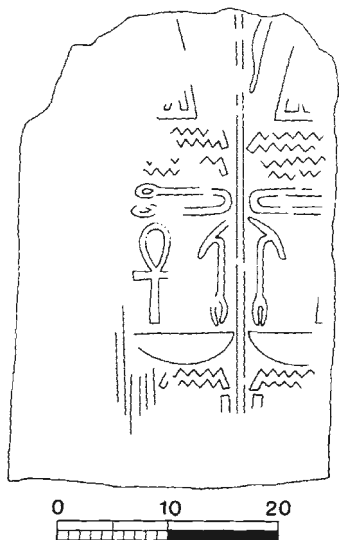


Figure 9.6. TT 148: Fragment C 133

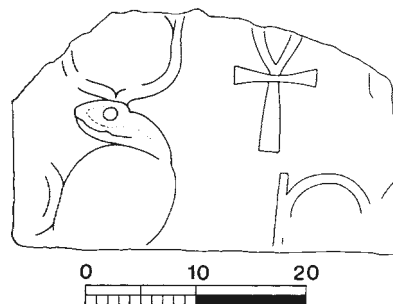


Figure 9.7. TT 148: Fragment C 22

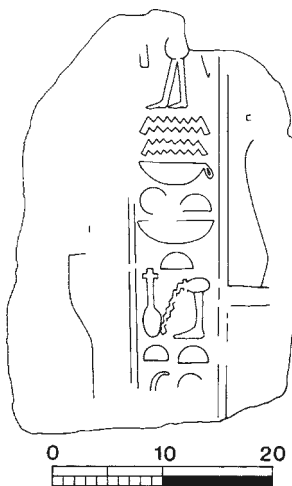


Figure 9.8. TT 148: Fragment C 45

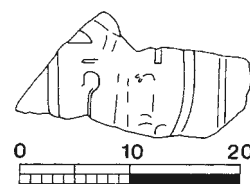


Figure 9.9. TT 148: Fragment C 109

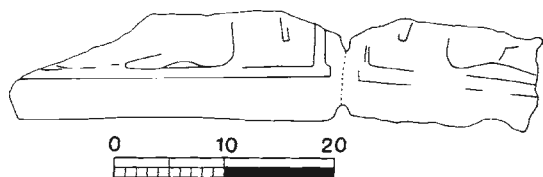


Figure 9.10. TT 148: Fragment 53. Corner Block with Two Decorated Faces

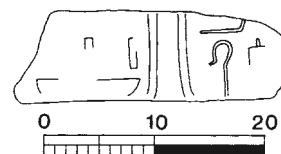


Figure 9.11. TT 148: Fragment C 10



Figure 9.12. TT 148: Fragment C 138. Corner Block, Sandstone, with Erased Figures on Both Faces

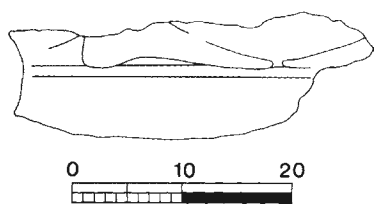


Figure 9.13. TT 148: Fragment 46

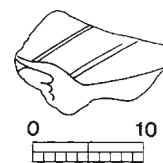


Figure 9.14. TT 148: Fragment C 98

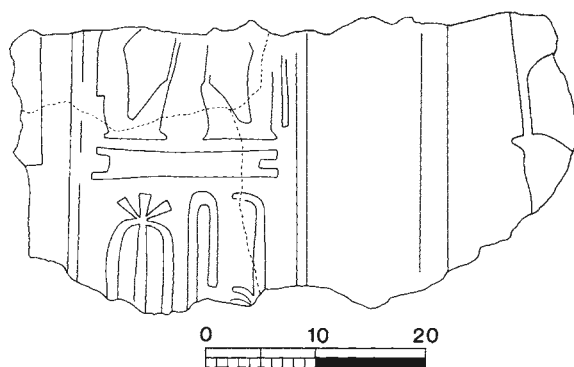


Figure 9.15. TT 148: Fragments C 134 and 136



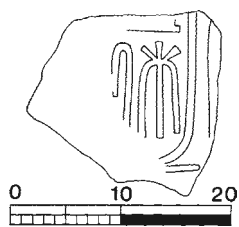


Figure 9.16. TT 148: Fragment C 16

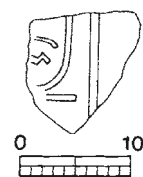


Figure 9.17. TT 148: Fragment C 45

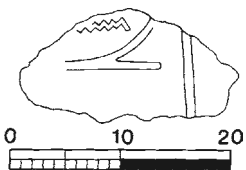


Figure 9.18. TT 148: Fragment C 47

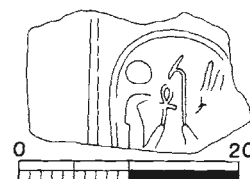


Figure 9.19. TT 148: Fragment C 84

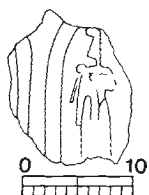


Figure 9.20. TT 148: Fragment C 97

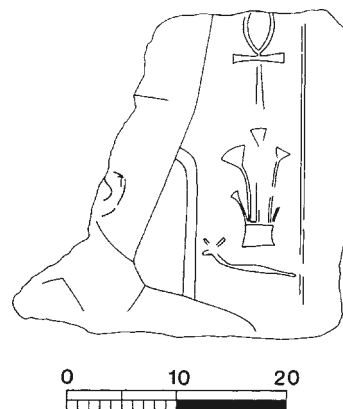


Figure 9.21. TT 148: Fragment 123

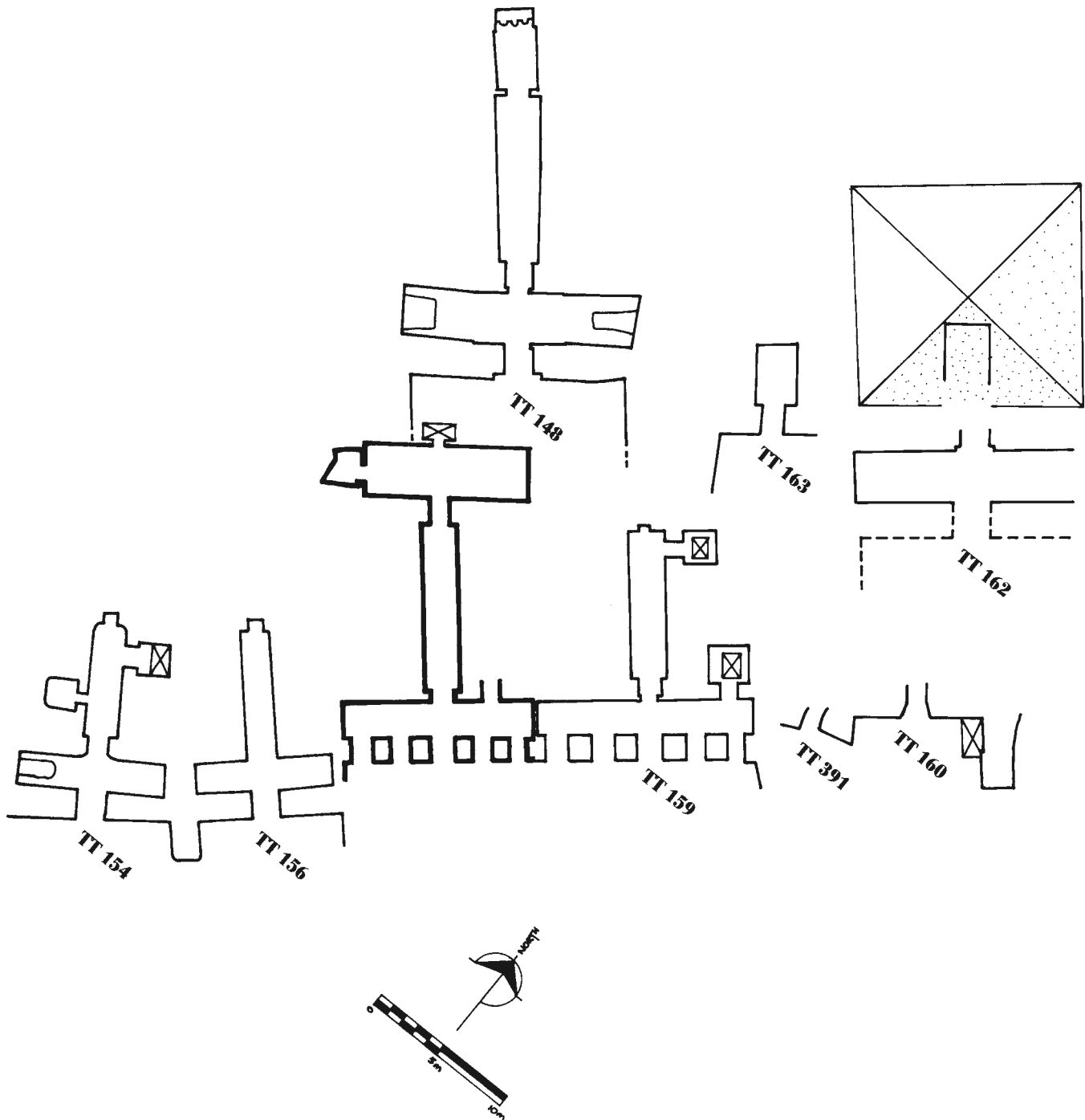


Figure 9.22. Plan of Tombs in Vicinity of TT 148 Showing Location of Saff Tomb Buried under Excavation Fill of TT 148

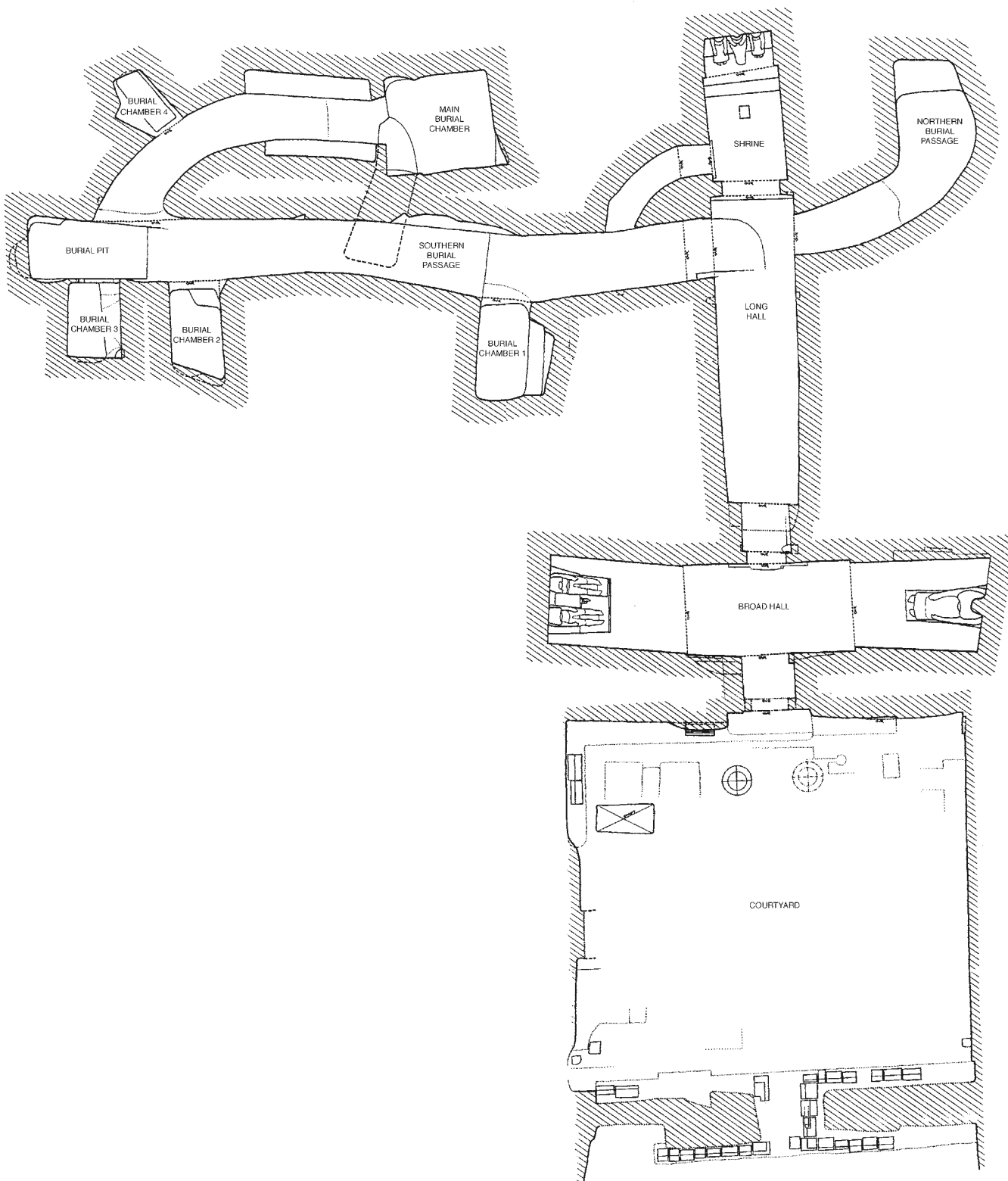


Figure 9.23. Plan of TT 148



Figure 9.24. Artist's Rendering of Relief TT 148: Shrine of Son of Amenemope



Figure 9.25. Relief TT 148: Shrine of Son of Amenemope

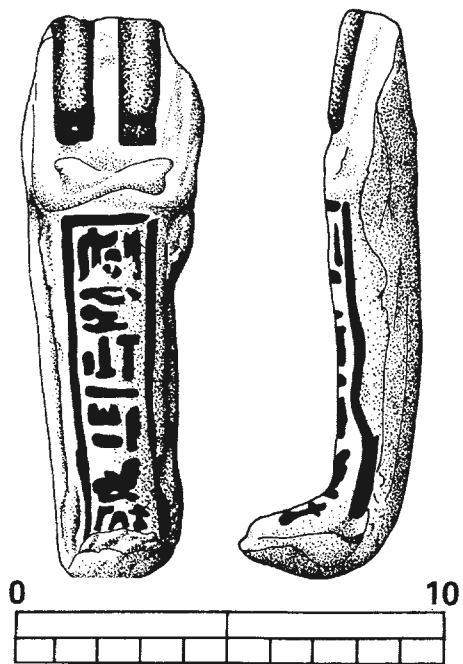


Figure 9.26. TT 148: 17 *Shabtis* of Tjanefer

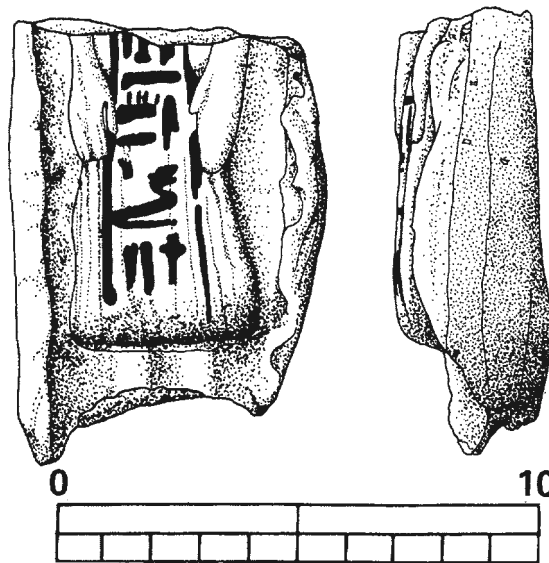


Figure 9.27. TT 148: 31 *Shabtis* of Tjanefer



Figure 9.28. TT 148: 200 Fragments of Wood with Paste Inlay Text Giving Title and Name of Tjanefer



Figure 9.29. TT 148: 324 (Left) and 198 (Right) *Shabtis* of Adjetet-aat



Figure 9.30. Courtyard of TT 233 and Kampp -183- Looking West



Figure 9.31. TT 233: Third Intermediate Period Level under Coptic Oven

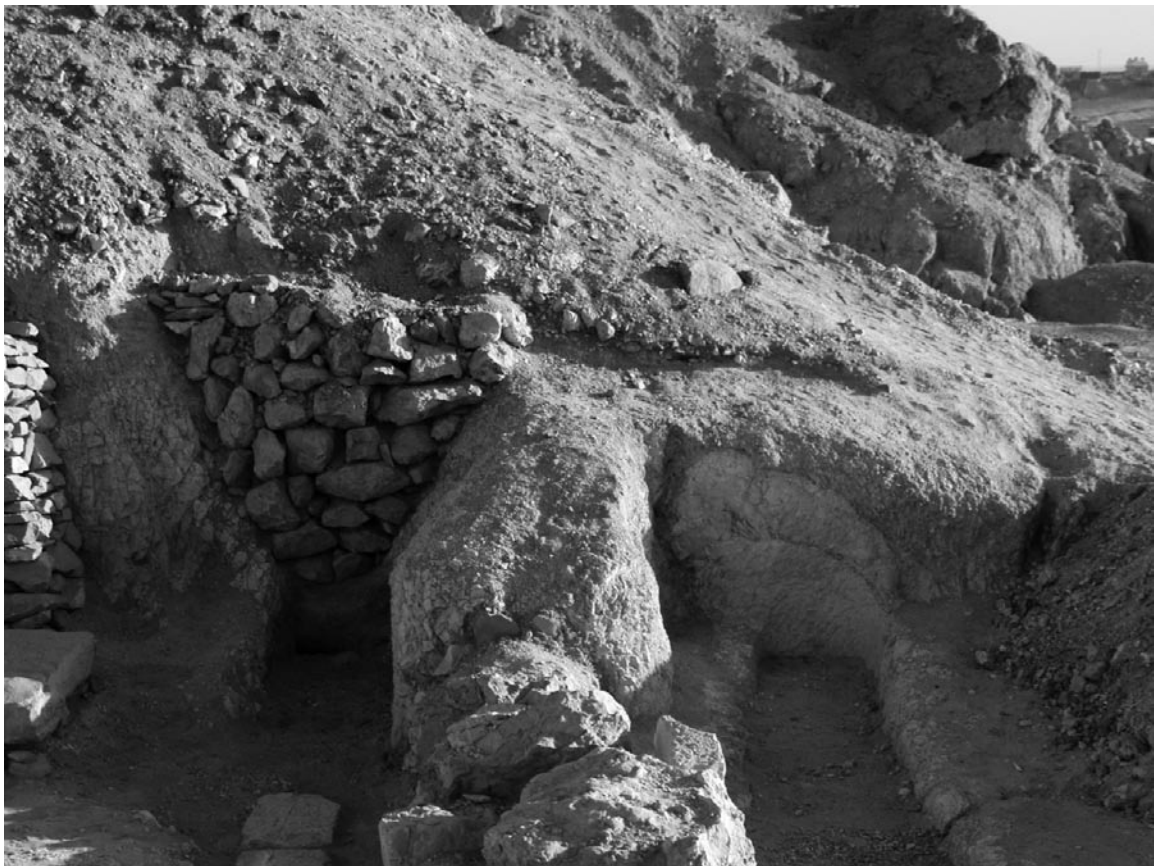


Figure 9.32. TT 233: Evidence of Fire Under Third Intermediate Period Stratum



Figure 9.33. TT 233: Coptic Oven in Northeast Corner of Courtyard

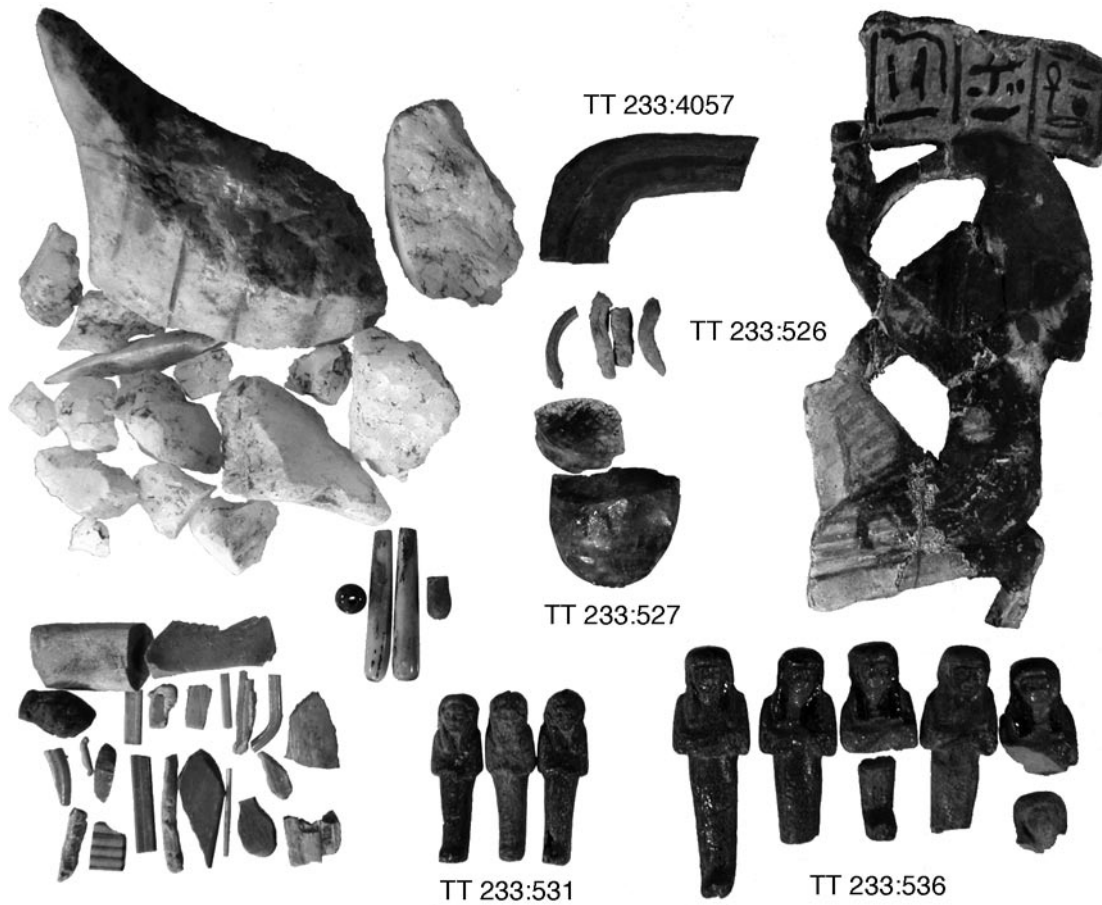


Figure 9.34. TT 233: Remains of Burial Equipment Found in Ashes



## ABBREVIATIONS

C	Courtyard
DAN	Dra Abu al-Naga
KRI III	Kenneth A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical</i> , Vol. 3. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1980.

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## 10

## CHRISTIAN USE OF PHARAONIC SACRED SPACE IN WESTERN THEBES: THE CASE OF TT 85 AND 87\*

HEIKE BEHLMER, MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY, SYDNEY

### INTRODUCTION

Christian use of pharaonic sacred space in the necropoleis of western Thebes has been extensive. It is well known that there is hardly any pharaonic temple or burial area which does not show signs of having been re-settled or reused in Christian times. This reuse manifests itself differently depending on the nature of the area reused and on the nature of the new settlement established in each space (for overviews, see Biedenkopf-Ziehner 2002, vol. 2, 155–237; Krause 1982; Wilfong 1989; and, still unsurpassed, Winlock and Crum 1926). Monasteries or individual anchorites installed themselves in the temples, the tombs, and the quarries (Winlock and Crum 1926, 3–24; Boutros and Décobert 2000), and the large, relatively well-protected enclosure of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu gave home to the town of Djême, which flourished in the sixth to eighth centuries (Hölscher 1954, 45–58; Wilfong 2002, 1–22). Unfortunately, many traces of these settlements have irrecoverably disappeared due to the rapidly growing interest in pharaonic monuments during the later part of the nineteenth century, which led to the destruction of a large part of the post-pharaonic structures. Texts, of more interest to early archaeologists than mudbrick structures, have been taken from their archaeological context and today are floating around in museum catalogs and publications with only a general indication of provenience (as “Thebes,” “Luxor,” or “Karnak”) at best.

New research, though, is currently being undertaken in several of the centers of Christian settlement, with sometimes quite spectacular finds. To give some examples: work has started again on what is probably the largest monastery of the Theban necropolis, the Deir el-Bakhit in Dra Abu al-Naga (Burkard, Mackensen, and Polz 2003). In the court of TT 29, the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Amenemope in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (fig. 10.1), recent excavations have brought to light a workshop containing the base of a loom and organic materials which seem to indicate that bookbinding, leatherwork, and rope-making were carried out in this area (Tefnin 2002). Some 900 ostraca, about seventy of which name an individual called Frange known previously from texts dispersed in several museums, have been discovered so far (Boud’hors and Heurtel 2002; Heurtel 2002; Heurtel 2003). On the other hand, the hagiographical sources are being revalued in order to reconstruct the history of the entire monastic landscape of the western bank of the Nile from Armant in the south to Ballas in the north (Boutros and Décobert 2000).

In the following, I discuss some recent finds from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Without being quite as spectacular as the research mentioned above, these discoveries throw interesting new light on the Christian inhabitants of the area. The finds — mainly ostraca written in Coptic — are centered in the tombs of TT 85 and 87, which have been excavated by a team from the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of Heike Heye (Guksch 1995; Gnirs, Grothe, and Guksch 1997). These tombs are situated quite close to the already mentioned TT 29 and to other tombs in which Christian architectural structures and/or texts have been found.

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Vivian Davies, Peter Grossmann, Chantal Heurtel, Heike Heye, Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, Hubertus Münch, Sebastian Richter, Nigel Strudwick, Franziska Vahle.

I briefly discuss the Christian settlement of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and then link the new finds to texts already known from older publications. My principal aim is to establish a dossier for at least two of the persons mentioned frequently and thus to suggest who exactly might have reused the pharaonic sacred space at least for a certain time. The results are preliminary and, when using them, scholars should be aware that new finds and publications of work in the area, especially the ongoing excavation of TT 29 and the huge number of ostraca found there, may partially or completely reverse the picture presented here.

## TT 85 AND TT 87 — ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND TEXTUAL FINDS

TT 85 and 87, the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Amenemhab and Nakhtmin, are located in an area of intense Christian settlement in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (fig. 10.1). The most well-known monastic establishment in this area is the Monastery of Epiphanius, a community of the semi-anchoretic type which evolved out of the founder's cell in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Daga (TT 103). The archaeological remains of this community were excavated before the First World War with unusual care, and the results of the excavation and the publication of the texts are the basis of much of our knowledge of Christian Thebes in general (Winlock and Crum 1926; Crum and Evelyn-White 1926). At a short distance from the Monastery of Epiphanius is the so-called Monastery of Cyriacus, where work on the Christian remains has recently resumed (Bács 2000). In addition, most of the tombs immediately surrounding TT 85 and 87 show remains of Christian settlement (for an overview, see Kampp 1996; Heurtel 2002, 29–32), and in the courtyard of a nearby tomb, TT 97, the foundations of a church have been discovered (Grossmann 1991). TT 84 contains graffiti mentioned already by Winlock and Crum. One of the graffiti mentions the place of Apa Elias (Stern 1883, 97). Another has the interesting text: “the resting place of Apa Severus. Pray for me, my brothers” (Winlock and Crum 1926, 16). Taking this inscription as a point of departure, Jean Doresse tentatively names the entire agglomeration of Christian settlement “Monastery of Severus” (Doresse 1949, 504; cf. Heurtel 2002, 31). The interesting question is whether this Apa Severus may have been the patriarch of Antioch, the champion of miaphysite orthodoxy who lived in exile in Upper Egypt. Inscriptions and ostraca from western Thebes contain extracts from his writings, and his works appear in local book catalogs and lists (Winlock and Crum 1926, 152, 201; Behlmer 2003, 24). Even if this question can not be resolved, there is at any rate much in favor of a link between the tombs in the area (Heurtel 2002, 41 f.), and the ongoing work will hopefully help to establish this link. In this case, the church in the courtyard of TT 97, a tomb unpublished so far, may have served as a center of worship for the anchorites living here.

Both TT 85 and 87 show traces of Christian settlement, evident in the graffiti on the interior walls and various archaeological traces outside the tombs. In the courtyard of TT 85, two phases of settlement were discovered, the former of which is documented by the presence of several loom pits, while the latter shows remains of animal stables with thick layers of dung. The remains of the living quarters of this settlement — mudbrick walls of a house with white plaster and traces of polychrome decoration in the entrance area — are located in the northwestern corner of the courtyard (Gnirs, Grothe, and Guksch 1997, 83). The court of TT 87 revealed remains of a brick pavement as well as two refuse heaps where ostraca were found (Guksch 1995, 116). More than 175 objects carrying texts have been excavated in TT 85 and 87 combined. Most of these objects were ostraca made of pottery sherds, while a smaller number (seventeen from TT 85, two from TT 87) were limestone ostraca. There is one piece of inscribed wood from each of the tombs, and in TT 87 six fragments of papyrus have been brought to light, originally belonging to three different objects. Unfortunately, the writing on the ostraca was destroyed not long after their excavation during the flash floods of the winter of 1994/1995, when they were submerged in water in their storeroom in the temple of Seti I. Publications, including this paper, are therefore based on photographs and some drawings, the only information that remains.

Letters, with more than one hundred items classified so far (two from female senders), form the vast majority of the identifiable texts, followed by writing exercises (sixteen), lists and accounts (ten), and contracts (four). That there is only one tax receipt (dated to the year 719) among the ostraca conforms to the overall picture: while the monastic settlement of the Monastery of Epiphanius and its surroundings seem to have been abandoned by the middle of the seventh century (Winlock and Crum 1926, 103), tax receipts from western Thebes, which belong to the urban context of the town of Djême, date to the first quarter of the eighth century. May we imagine an inhabitant of Djême taking a walk on the nearby hill and losing his precious tax receipt or is there another explanation

for this phenomenon? This question must remain open for the present. Atypical is only the relative scarcity of religious texts identified so far in TT 85 and 87 since the area, especially the Monastery of Epiphanius, has yielded a considerable number of biblical and other religious writings (Crum and Evelyn-White 1926; for TT 99, see Behlmer 2003).

### THE INHABITANTS OF TT 85 AND 87 — APA ANANIAS AND FRIENDS?

The textual finds from TT 85 and 87 contain at least two names well known from other sources: Frange, the inhabitant of TT 29, and Cyriacus, after whom the “Monastery of Cyriacus” is named. The personal name appearing most frequently, however, is Ananias (twenty-one occurrences). In fifteen instances, an Ananias (or Apa Ananias) is the recipient of a letter; in three, he is the sender. In the rest of the cases the capacity in which a person by this name appears can not be determined. In the following I establish a link between at least some of the occurrences of this name and attribute them to the same person. I then discuss the status of this person and his place in the wider community. Finally, I suggest that he may be identical with a person of some importance in the Theban area long known from other sources. The list below tabulates the occurrences of the name (Apa) Ananias on ostraca from TT 85 and 87. The list follows the numbering system established by the excavation team.

- (1) Ostrakon 85/2: very fragmentary, senders may be NN, son of Ananias, or NN and Ananias. It is also possible that Ananias is the recipient.
- (2) Ostrakon 85/15: “The most humble Ananias,” i.e., a monk or cleric, to his “beloved father Apa Ananias.” The beginning is missing, but the sender seems to ask for intercession with secular authorities.
- (3) Ostrakon 85/22: Peter to Ananias.
- (4) Ostrakon 85/27: NN to Ananias, who is addressed as “the servant of God, who is honored in all respects.”
- (5) Ostrakon 85/36: Letter concerning taxes, Apa Ananias is mentioned.
- (6) Ostrakon 85/43: Hello, the most humble (i.e., a monk or cleric), to Apa Ananias.
- (7) Ostrakon 85/52: Peter, the most humble, to “my lords Apa Ananias and Pisrael.”
- (8) Ostrakon 85/56: Pesunte, the most humble, to “my holy father Apa Ananias.” The sender seems to be in a difficult situation and asks for several favors.
- (9) Ostrakon 85/65: Elizabeth to her “holy father Apa Ananias.”
- (10) Ostrakon 85/69: John to “my father Ananias.”
- (11) Ostrakon 85/77: Lazarus to the fathers Apa Ananias, NN, and David, the anchorites.
- (12) Ostrakon 85/90: The fathers Apa(?) Ananias and Apa Enoch are mentioned.
- (13) Ostrakon 85/92: Ananias and Pisrael to Andrew (for details, see below).
- (14) Ostrakon 85/93: NN to Apa Ananias, addressed as “your holiness,” “holy father,” and “holy servant (of God) and father.”
- (15) Ostrakon 85/94: NN to “his beloved father Apa Ananias.”
- (16) Ostrakon 85/100: NN to Ananias and Pisrael, “who truly bear Christ.” The sender is away from home, seems to be in a difficult situation, and asks for a moratorium (on a payment?).
- (17) Ostrakon 85/117: Pesunte to Apa Ananias (for details, see below).
- (18) Ostrakon 85/129: Ananias to Ananias the anchorite.
- (19) Ostrakon 87/37: NN to “my beloved father Ana(nias?).”

There are thus two ostraca with an Ananias as sole sender, both addressed to another Ananias, in the first case to an *Apa* Ananias (for this honorific title, see Derda and Wipszycka 1994), in the second to Ananias the

anchorite. In a third letter Ananias and Pisrael are joint senders. Apa Ananias is the addressee of a total of nine letters, twice together with Pisrael. Ananias without the title of “Apa” receives a total of six letters. It is possible, but unlikely, that about twenty different persons by name of Ananias should have lived in the area of TT 85 and 87. I therefore suggest attributing to the same influential person all those ostraca in which the addressee is a person of high rank (referred to as “your holiness,” “holy” or “beloved” father, or “servant of God, who is honored in all respects” and who in the majority of cases bears the title of “Apa”), a person who receives reports or is asked for guidance and orders. In this case, not more than seven persons by name of Ananias remain: this important religious figure, the two senders of 85/15 and 85/129, whose handwriting is not identical, (Apa) Ananias the anchorite, and three occurrences of the name in an uncertain context.

#### OSTRACON TT 85/117

The large majority of instances of the name Ananias on the ostraca from TT 85 and 87 can be attributed to an important person of ecclesiastical rank, addressed with reverence and asked for help and counsel. A characteristic example of this role is a letter, in which a Pesunte begs Apa Ananias to help one George, a priest whose children are in danger of imprisonment (85/117; fig. 10.2–3):

ΝΩΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΤΑΜΝΤΕΛΛΑΧ(ΙΣΤΟΣ) [ΕΙ]ΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΑΡΙΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤΙΩΤ ΝΓΣΥΝΛΘΕ  
 ΜΝΠΠΡΕΣΒΥ(ΤΕΡΟΣ) ΓΕΩΡΓ[Ι]ΟΣ ΑΡΗΥ ΚΝΑΨΔΙΟΥΛΑΔΥΕ ΝΑΨ ΧΕΔΥΝΟΒ ΝΘΑΨΤΣ ΕΙ ΕΧΩΨ  
 ΜΝΤΟΥΨΙΝΕΨΨΗΡΕ ΝΔΙΧΜΔΛΩΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΜΕ ΠΕΤΕΨΨΕ ΠΕ ΕΝΔ' ΝΤΕΪΜΙΝΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ  
 ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕΨΕΨΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΙ ΕΧΩΚ ΟΥΧΑΙ ΑΡΙΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΨΝΝΕΤΝΨΛΗΛ ΤΑΔΣ ΜΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ  
 ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΔΑΝΙΑΔΣ ΨΤΨΠΕΤΨΨΗΡΕ ΝΕΛΛΑΧ(ΙΣΤΟΣ) ΠΕΣΝΤΕ.

Before my most humble business I greet you. Be so kind, I beg of you, father, as to help the priest George. Maybe you can take him something, because a severe hardship has come upon him, so that his children will not be imprisoned. For truly one needs to be particularly merciful to this kind of people, so that the blessing of the fathers come upon you. Farewell. Remember me in your prayers. To my beloved father Apa Ananias from your most humble son Pesunte.

ΔΙΧΜΔΛΩΤΟΣ “prisoner” does not seem to refer here to prisoners of war (van Minnen 2000), but to imprisonment for some other reason, possibly debt (for a discussion and examples, see Winlock and Crum 1926, 175f.).

#### OSTRACON TT 85/92

Almost exclusively, Apa Ananias is the recipient, not the sender, of the letters from TT 85 and 87. One exception is TT 85/92 (fig. 10.4), in which Ananias and Pisrael write to Andrew and ask him to forgive one Papnoute for the love of God and to reconcile with him. The senders act from a position of spiritual authority and seem to expect their exhortations to be acted upon. The text relevant to our discussion is in line x+10 following. Starting with the middle of line x+10, it reads:

ΑΡΙΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΓΚΟ ΝΑΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΠΕΝΨΗΡΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΨΩΤΠ ΕΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ ΕΤΒΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ. ΤΑΔΣ  
 ΜΠΕΝΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΣΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΔΣ ΨΙΤΝ ΔΑΝΙΑΔΣ ΜΝΠΙΣΡΑΗΛ ΝΙΕΛΛΑΧ(ΙΣΤΟΣ) [ΟΥΧ]ΑΪ ΨΜΠΧΟΨΙ[Σ]

Be so good as to forgive him (that is, Papnoute), for he is our son, and reconcile for the sake of the Lord. To our beloved brother Andrew from Ananias and Pisrael, the most humble. Farewell in the Lord.

#### OSTRACON EA 14223

An interesting parallel to this letter has long been known from a museum publication (British Museum EA 14223; see Hall 1905, 85f.). In a similarly fatherly tone, the pair Ananias/Pisrael writes to one John asking him to help a poor man after having reminded John of the mercies shown to him by God. Here again, the senders write in a tone of authority and expect their request to be obeyed. We can now establish on paleographical grounds that both ostraca were written by the same hand, either one of the senders or an amanuensis (figs. 10.4, 10.5). I am not aware of any other ostraca with Ananias/Pisrael as senders, but three other ostraca are addressed to the pair:

- (1) Pekosch to Ananias and Pisrael with a postscriptum containing a greeting by Theophanios. Pekosch seems to have sinned and asks Ananias and Pisrael for their prayer. He wishes to be worthy of them (Hall 1905, 27 no. 21233).

(2) Moses to “my holy fathers Apa Ananias and Apa  $\overline{\text{MH}}\overline{\text{A}}$ ,” an abbreviation explained by the editor, H. R. Hall, as “M(icha)el” (Hall 1905, 70 no. 21228). According to the drawing given by Hall (Hall 1905, pl. 53), this would be the only four-stroke  $\overline{\text{M}}$ , all other letters  $\overline{\text{M}}$  are three-stroke. Therefore I would suggest to read  $\overline{\text{MH}}\overline{\text{A}}$ . The photograph (provided by Nigel Strudwick) does not exclude this possibility. Moses apologizes for having forgotten when he was supposed to have visited them. He has sent Daniel, who was supposed to bring with him three books and a garment.

(3) David to “his holy father Apa Ananias, the man who truly bears Christ, and my brother Pisrael.” David asks for a prayer and the information how much he is owing (Crum 1921, no. 321).

In summary, many of the ostraca from TT 85 and 87 mentioning the name “Ananias” can be attributed to one and the same person, (Apa) Ananias, an important religious figure. If he appears together with Pisrael — both in the ostraca and in published sources from museums (such as EA 14233) — he only appears in this quality. The fact that in the majority of ostraca found in TT 85 and 87 this Ananias is the recipient, not the sender, seems to indicate that he may have been a resident or sometime resident of the area.

### APA ANANIAS = ANANIAS THE BISHOP?

The role of “our” Ananias as spiritual advisor, important religious figure, and sometime associate of Pisrael fits in very well with an old hypothesis established by Crum. Crum (Winlock and Crum 1926, 135) suspected that the pair Ananias/Pisrael might be identical with the bishops of Ermont (Ananias) and Kus (Pisrael), who appear individually in other texts. As contemporaries of Epiphanius (Ananias) and bishop Pesynthius of Keft (Pisrael: see Winlock and Crum 1926, 134f.) these two bishops have been dated to the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries. Crum has collected the sources for the bishop Ananias (Winlock and Crum 1926, 133f.; see now Worp 1994, 289f., 294, 299, 309), which consist mainly of texts which give witness to his veneration after his death. A first group refers to the person of the bishop Ananias, a second group seems to concern a church or sanctuary of Apa Ananias. The documents bearing witness to the memory of Apa Ananias or relating to his sanctuary refer to the time after his death and before the abandonment of Djême in the late eighth century (Wilfong 2002, 151–55). The sources in the first group are:

(1) The canons of Apa Ananias (Crum 1902, no. 85): “These are the canons of our holy father Apa Ananias, bishop of Erment, who truly bears [Christ and] the Spirit, son of the apostles and man worth to be beloved like(?) Daniel, those which he has imposed on the (or his?) churches so that they may preserve them ....”

(2) A bishop Ananias appears in a letter “to the beloved sons” (Hall 1905, 63 no. 21174).

While both of these sources seem to refer to Ananias still living, the following instances give witness to his memory in the area:

(3) The so-called Bryce-Moir-Diptych (Catalog Hamm 1996, 259 no. 287). This is a list of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and the bishops of Erment/Hermonthis. Here one Ananias appears as one of the predecessors of the famous bishop Abraham (Krause 1991, with bibliography).

(4) A bishop Ananias is mentioned in a graffito in KV 2, the tomb of Ramesses IV (the graffito can be viewed on the Web site of the Theban Mapping Project: [www.thebanmappingproject.com](http://www.thebanmappingproject.com) by searching for image 10517).

The second group, texts in which mention is made of a church or sanctuary of Apa Ananias, includes the following:

- (5) the affairs of Apa Ananias (Crum 1902, no. 118),
- (6) the steward of Apa Ananias (Crum 1902, no. 212),

- (7) the church of Apa Ananias (in Djême; Crum and Steindorff 1912, 24.68),
- (8) the sacks(?) of Apa Ananias (Crum 1902, no. 215), and
- (9) theft from Apa Ananias (Crum 1922, 276–77; cf. Tiradritti 1999, 166 no. 77).

The meaning of some of these could be ambiguous: “Apa Ananias” can be used to designate either the living person or his topos. While the “affairs of Apa Ananias” or the “sacks of Apa Ananias” might refer to a living person, in the other cases the meaning seems clear. The “steward of Apa Ananias” most probably refers to the steward of the church of Apa Ananias, and in the case of “theft from Apa Ananias” other possibilities are excluded by the nature of things stolen: a silver altar, six other (silver) implements, bronzes (donated) by the village scribe, or a cup (donated) by the fuller(?) David must have been church property (Crum 1922, 276–77).

For our discussion the most interesting by far of these sources is 2), the letter by a bishop Ananias. The content is of an everyday nature: the bishop writes “to the beloved sons” apologizing that he will not be able to come to them since Easter is drawing near. The sender is given in the final address as “Ananias, the most humble bishop” (reading probably ...  $\Delta\text{Ν}\Delta\text{Ν}\text{Ι}\Delta\text{Σ}\ \text{Π}\text{Ε}\text{Π}\text{Ι}\text{Σ}\text{Κ}\ \bar{\text{Ν}}[\text{Ε}\Lambda]\bar{\Delta}\text{Χ}\ \text{Π}\Delta\Theta\text{Ε}$  [Hall 1905, 63]). A careful comparison of the handwriting, however, shows that the ostracon (fig. 10.6) was written by the same hand as both TT 85/92 and EA 14223 (figs. 10.4, 10.5), with the superficial differences due to the use of a different pen and writing surface (limestone) in the case of EA 21174. The paleographical comparison thus provides additional support for Crum’s idea and confirms the suspicion that the bishop Ananias is also the sender of these two ostraca. If my conclusions on the Ananias of TT 85 (and 87) laid out above are valid, this bishop would then be identical with the sender of a considerable number of ostraca and may very well have been a sometime resident of the area.

## CONCLUSION

The finds from TT 85 and 87 present interesting new aspects of the reuse of pharaonic sacred space in the monastic communities of western Thebes, in particular of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, and are another step toward the reconstruction of the Christian settlement of the area. The settlement of TT 85 and 87 may originally have constituted one monastic settlement, centered possibly around the church occupying TT 97. This settlement may have included among its residents one (Apa) Ananias, who may have been identical with the bishop of Erment mentioned in a number of other sources. He may have been joined, permanently or temporarily, by his brother in office, Pisrael. If this should be the case, the inhabitants of TT 85 and 87 were much less humble than the sad remains of Christian settlement in these tombs lead us to assume.

In fact, although many of the letters are fragmentary and their sense remains obscure in many cases, I hope to have illustrated the important role Ananias plays in the sources presented here. Ananias (and Pisrael) seem to fit the label of “holy man” in more than one respect: they act as patrons to the poor and their correspondents rely on their intercession and prayers in the same manner as another well-known inhabitant of the area, Epiphanius, the founder of the homonymous monastery (Rapp 1999). Even after his death, Apa Ananias’ name lives on in the area.

That a bishop would settle in a monastery should not surprise us. For this particular area we may point to the better-known case of Apa Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis, who did not live in the city of his see, but in a Theban monastery (Krause 1956, 1991). If “our” Ananias was in fact one of Abraham’s predecessors, we may even be looking at a continuing pattern. Further archaeological investigation of the area and the publication of the materials found so far may well have some surprises waiting.



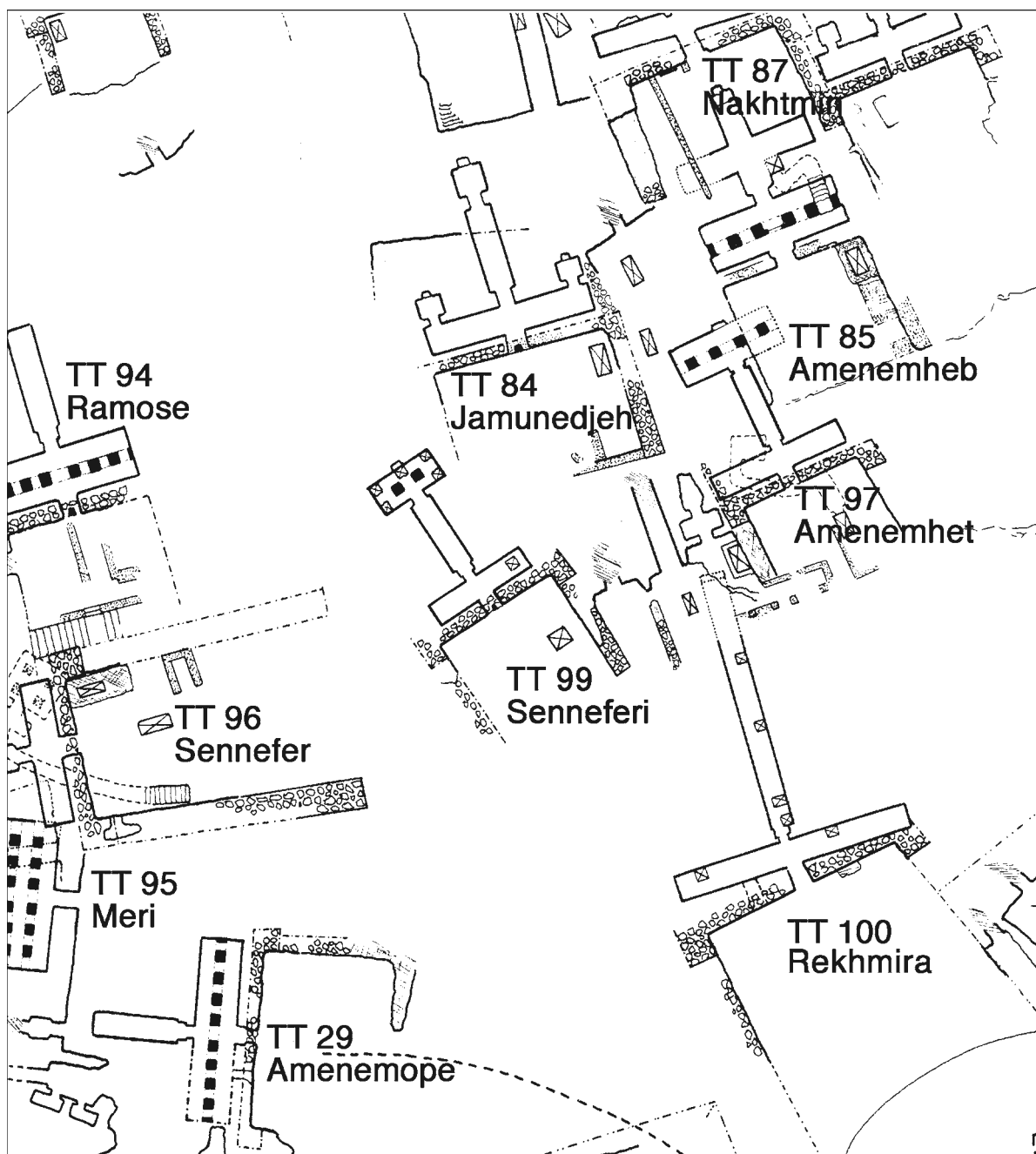


Figure 10.1. TT 85, 87, and the Surrounding Area (plan based on Kampp 1996, map 3, used by permission)



Figure 10.2. Ostrakon TT 85/117 Obverse (photograph provided by Heike Heye)

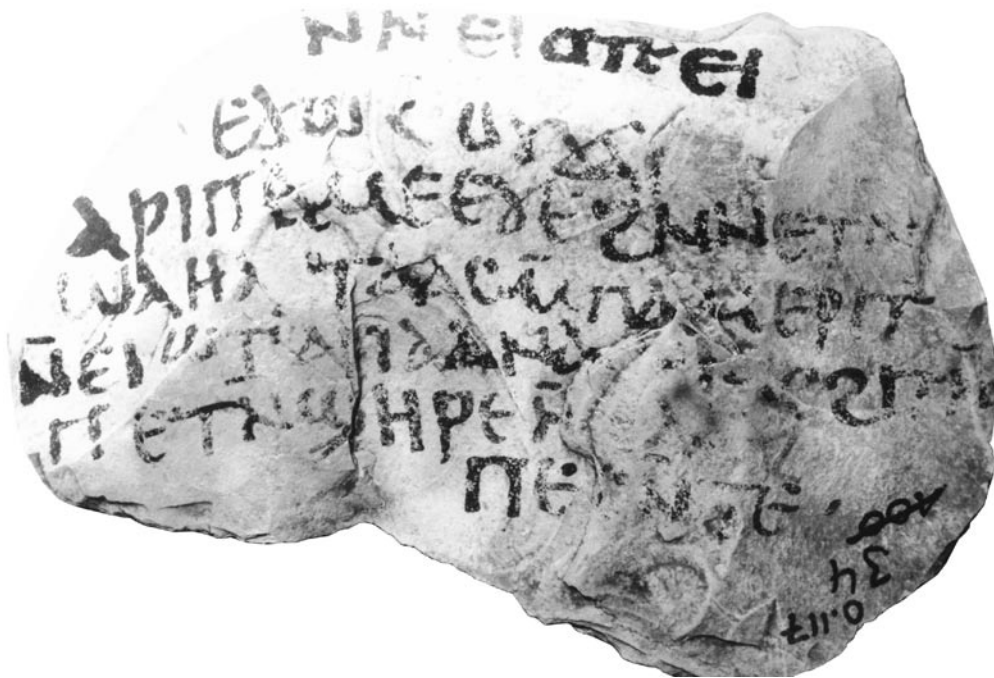


Figure 10.3. Ostrakon TT 85/117 Reverse (photograph provided by Heike Heye)

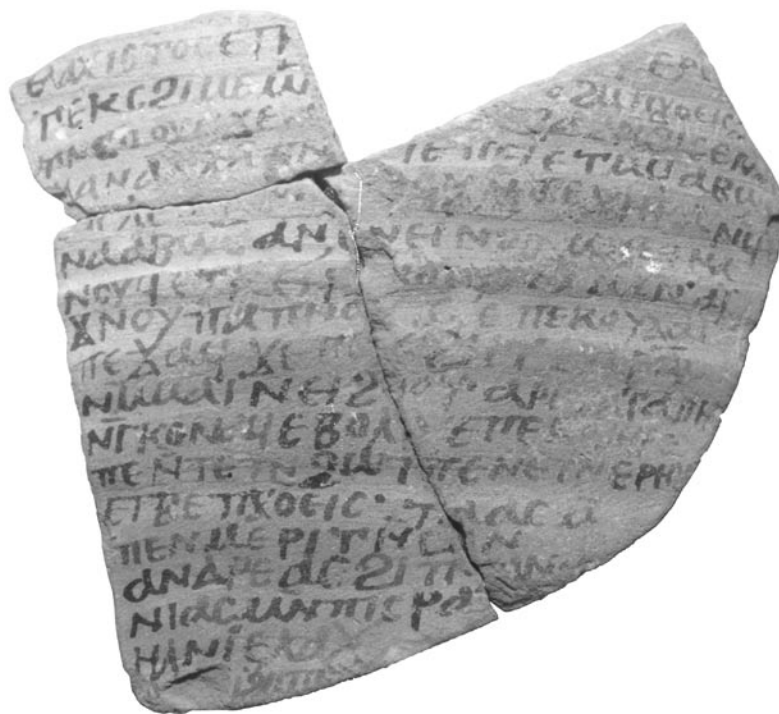


Figure 10.4. Ostracon TT 85/92 (photograph provided by Heike Heye)

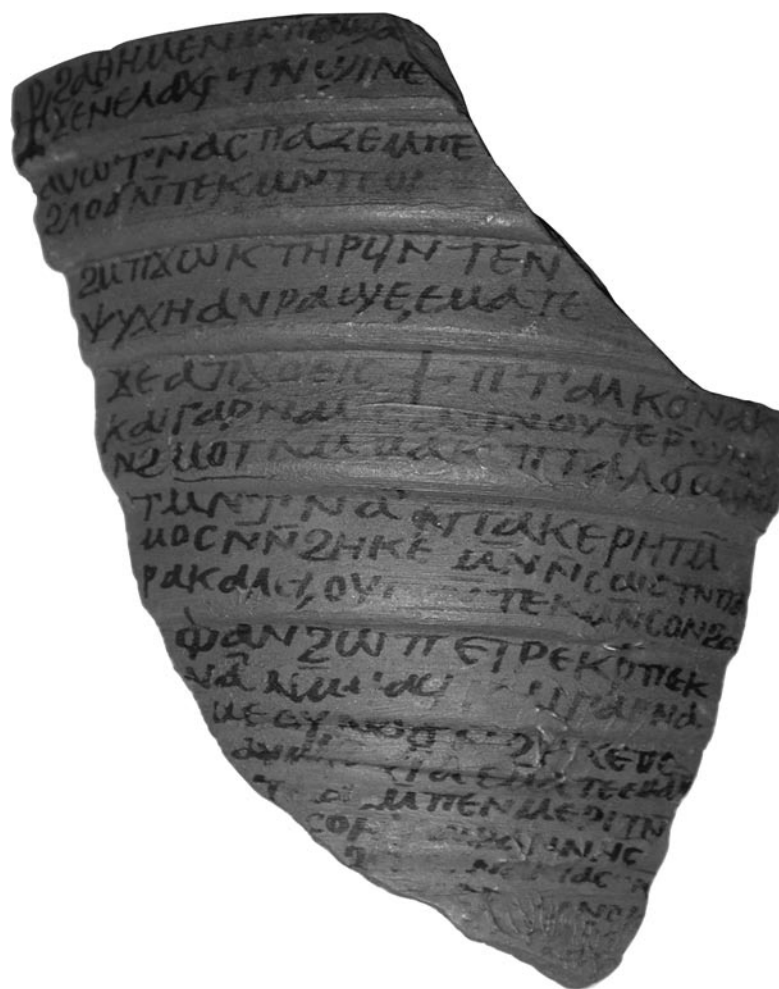


Figure 10.5. Ostracon EA 14223 (photograph by Nigel Strudwick, reproduced by permission of the British Museum, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan)

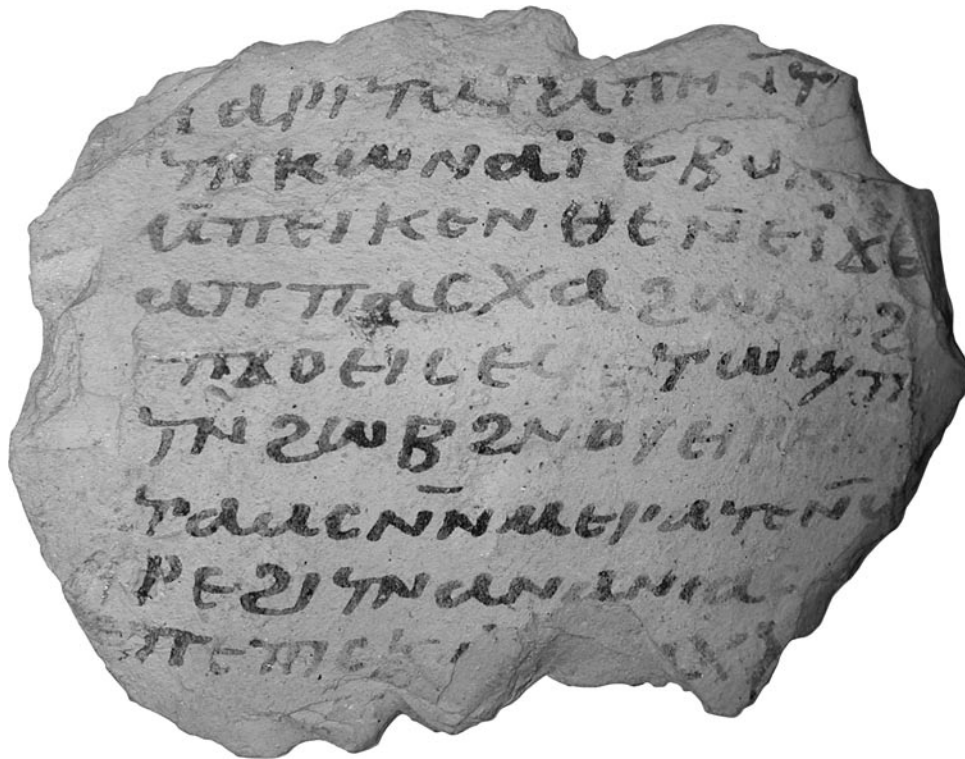


Figure 10.6. Ostrakon EA 21174 Reverse (photograph by Nigel Strudwick, reproduced by permission of the British Museum, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan)

## ABBREVIATION

- Catalog Hamm           Gustav-Lübcke-Museum der Stadt Hamm und dem Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz. *Ägypten, Schätze aus dem Wüstensand: Kunst und Kultur der Christen am Nil, Katalog zur Ausstellung*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1996.

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## 11

# FEASTS, FERTILITY, AND FEAR: QURNAWI SPIRITUALITY IN THE ANCIENT THEBAN LANDSCAPE\*

KEES VAN DER SPEK, THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

## INTRODUCTION

This paper adopts an anthropological perspective of landscape, where ongoing human understanding and engagement with the physical surroundings produce outcomes that are never final: landscapes are continually being shaped and reshaped. Conversely, landscapes define and constrain, but also create and maintain expressions of human agency and action. The lived experience that results is both pragmatic in its quest for and construction of space and shelter, and phenomenological, where the embodied experience of place is made socially explicit and invested with memories of the past and the spiritual conceptions which give meaning to the present and the future alike.

As a cultural landscape, I argue, the Theban necropolis is a social reality as much as it is an archaeological site, not because of postulated continuities that link ancient and modern socio-cultural practices and beliefs, but because of the social connections and continuities embodied in the very landscape itself. In this sense, the approach taken here differs from that adopted by Winifred Blackman (1927), whose ethnographic record at least in part sought to correlate contemporary practices with those of the past. Adopting the centrality of landscape, the veracity of observed expressions of lived sociality does not require the documentary evidence which Blackman's approach requires. Instead, the facilitating presence and agency of the surrounding landscape itself is the mediating factor against which past and contemporary practices can be viewed.

The archaeological quality of the Theban necropolis is a dominant structural feature facilitating the production and maintenance of contemporary Qurnawi spiritual beliefs and practices. It is this distinctive landscape that allows the adaptive reuse of ancient funerary architecture, both in spatial terms and in the ongoing reinterpretation of the physical environment to serve ideational purposes. Thus, contemporary practices are not very different from ancient Egyptian use of the necropolis, where a spiritual interpretation of the environment gave rise to its funerary purpose, and where a process of secondary burial through adaptive reuse of spiritually sacred space and the physical and ideational remodeling of architectural place was ongoing until the end of late Antiquity.

Viewed this way, the contemporary presence of Qurnawi spiritual expression in the Theban necropolis exemplifies the continuing quest of the human psyche to shape and reshape the surrounding geographical landscape and its physical spaces, not just to create and maintain temples of stone, but also p(a)laces of the mind. In this paper I situate several of the spiritually conceived cultural expressions of Qurnawi society and establish their connections with the surrounding archaeological landscape.

But as a social anthropologist, I am acutely aware that I myself may be entering a certain sacred space here. I do not mean our surroundings, although the British Museum as an institution is certainly representative of the rather more metaphoric notion of sacred space I am alluding to. The mixture of archaeological fieldwork practice, philology, art history, the particular place of Egyptian archaeology within the broader context of academic archae-

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\* The material presented in this paper is discussed in greater detail in "Making a Living in the City of the Dead — History, Life and Work at al-Hurubāt in the Necropolis of Thebes, al-Qurna, Luxor," a

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ology, the connections with ancient Egypt in the culture history of Western civilization, and the specific romance associated both with the discovery of beautiful things and the history of archaeology in Egypt itself, all combine to make the professional practice of Egyptology something upon which surely a whole pantheon of divine beings must be smiling. By consequence, Egyptologists may view their occupation as something of a sacred space, the exclusivity of their fraternity safeguarded from overwhelming popular interest by years of academic training, the granting of ongoing concessions by the Supreme Council of Antiquities to conduct operations in the field, and an established track record of academic publications.

Despite a near life-long interest in things Egyptian, I cannot make such claims, but I am not without company. For the people of Qurna who live in the hamlets scattered throughout the Theban necropolis, their lives are likewise closely intertwined with the legacy of the past, intruding in the very landscape Egyptologists may view as central to their sacred preserve. It is partly this tension between the two interest spheres — call them sacred and profane if you will — which attracted me and which caused my gaze to become directed at Qurnawi more specifically.

Following some introductory comments about the Luxor West Bank Ethnographic Research Project, I briefly delve into the theoretical domain, to give some further context to a location like the Luxor west bank, where there is the potential for different types of analyses by different disciplines, but where the shared commonality lies in the nature of the landscape itself, which over time allows for specific forms of usage and equally specific forms of adaptive reuse. I then discuss contemporary Qurnawi spiritual expression in the necropolis by reference to the three categories mentioned in the title of this paper: feasts, fertility, and fear. In my discussion, I draw on the writings of two early excavators in the necropolis and contrast their observations with that of a modern Egyptologist, demonstrating their diverging levels of recognition and understanding of what is essentially the uppermost layer of the necropolis' archaeological stratigraphy.

#### EGYPTOLOGY VERSUS ANTHROPOLOGY: THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD SITE

It must be understood that the observations contained in this paper come not from an archaeological anthropologist in the American sense of that term, but from a cultural anthropologist, or to use the British/European designation, a social anthropologist. Yet, having also been trained in archaeology, it must be said that in many respects the choice of Qurna as an anthropological field site is grounded in concerns which stem from archaeological fieldwork practice in the Theban necropolis. Two perspectives inform my work. First, by asking "*How do Qurnawi make a living?*" I seek to problematize the stereotypical portrayal of Qurnawi as tomb robbers and illicit antiquities dealers, a view which has come to represent their principal economic specialization to the point where it disguises most other economic activity, mystifying and thereby obscuring what really goes on in this environment.

Secondly, the predominantly scientific and popular interest in the archaeological rather than the social landscape has contributed to a denial of all other activity in the necropolis. This may fit well with the desert surroundings in which Egyptological fieldwork is traditionally assumed to take place, but in literary terms it has meant the "desertification" of an essentially social landscape. Beyond cursory acknowledgments in archaeological reports of the employment of local workmen and beyond persistent allegations of illicit antiquities dealings in popular and fictional archaeological writings, little published information exists which focuses on Qurnawi rather than the surrounding archaeological landscape. This disregard for the social context in which Egyptological fieldwork practice takes place has further reinforced long-standing assumptions about what people should, or rather should not, be doing amidst the ancient monuments.

Of course, there are clear professional demarcations at work here which prevent Egyptological discourse concerning itself much with a contemporary social formation, and the existence of village clusters within the Theban necropolis therefore cannot attract overt Egyptological interest or attention. The issue is nevertheless one of academic interest, with the social specificity of a surrounding community rendered effectively invisible through the dominance of a Western academic discipline imposing its own practice and legitimacy. Despite these professional demarcations, specific social science perspectives can be identified which establish the connections and entangled relations between the two fields of inquiry, and which go beyond the mutually exclusive differences otherwise inherent in the objectives to which both Egyptology and social anthropology subscribe. Let me briefly state these.

First, the community of Qurna represents a case study of the influence of a specific form of, in origin, Western presence on an indigenous community. West bank communities were much affected by the emergence of European antiquarian interests, and the crystallization of the community of Qurnawi was in many respects a direct outcome of this historical process. For virtually all Qurnawi, this interrelationship continues to exist, whether it be through direct involvement with archaeologists and tourists in the context of certain economic practices, through local spending power which benefits agricultural producers and other service providers without direct access to or contact with foreigners, or through those whose lifestyle is still closely defined by a personal aversion toward anything that has to do with *khawāja*, the foreigners.

Second, and said another way, local interactions with academic archaeological practice and its accompanying visitor interest are important factors in the lives of Qurnawi, and one focus of my research is the political economy of Egyptology-induced Qurnawi labor relations which underpins much of this interaction. However, these labor relations cannot be separated from the mix of formal and informal economic activities which also enable people to make a living in this environment. Offering an ethnographic account of the variety of economic practices and strategies should provide something of a corrective to the rather more stereotypical representations popularized in archaeological and fictional literary genres.

Conversely, there is no doubt that Qurnawi presence is of great importance for the archaeological history of the site, which in turn embodies much of the history of Egyptology as an academic discipline. The Luxor West Bank Ethnographic Research Project seeks to document aspects of the social environment against the background of which archaeological research here is conducted, thus offering perspectives on Egyptological history and practice and constituting a social-archaeological approach which reflects on both the Egyptological and the anthropological aspects of the surrounding landscape.

From a macro perspective, this study of Qurnawi society may be said to represent a case study of a population group residing inside a protected World Heritage-listed area, the various, historically situated ways in which this impacts on the community concerned, and the broader economic, political, and international relations-oriented perspectives associated with it. Most of us who work or have worked inside the Theban necropolis will have formed an opinion at one time or other about the professionally and politically contentious presence of a local community inside a unique but fragile archaeological area. Issues of conservation, heritage management, national politics, and economics are closely interwoven with the presence of Qurnawi inside the necropolis, as are the future of both the archaeological and art historical record, and that of the local community itself. The dominance of the Egyptological project, its appropriation to serve nationalist and economic purposes, and the consequent further marginalization of Qurnawi communities under the auspices of the World Heritage Convention, these are sensitive issues which fall outside the scope of the present discussion (Van der Spek 1998; 2003). However, the inherent tension in all this can be traced back to the very nature of the landscape itself, the presence of the Theban foothills and the ancient use and subsequent adaptive reuse which has been made of its sacred spaces through time.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL PAST AND ETHNOGRAPHIC PRESENT: PHENOMENOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Theoretical perspectives on adaptive reuse have in recent years been articulated by such archaeologists as Christopher Tilley and Barbara Bender, who have used the work of Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Raymond Williams, Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, among others, to arrive at a phenomenological understanding of landscape. In this view, physical space “does not and cannot exist apart from the events and activities within which it is implicated” (Tilley 1994, 10) but is socially produced through human agency and action and is therefore capable of change:

Landscapes are created out of people’s understanding and engagement with the world around them. They are always in process of being shaped and reshaped. Being of the moment they are always temporal. They are not a record but a recording, and this recording is much more than a reflection of human agency and action; it is creative of them (Bender 2002, S103).

In this view, physical spaces constitute rather a *palimpsest*, with close linkages between the natural environment, and the embodied world with its superimposed layers of meaning: landscapes as much as “mindscapes.”

Barbara Bender calls these socially produced spaces “untidy spatial temporalities” (*ibid.*), because of the contestation and power-filled social relations they comprise. Christopher Tilley elaborates:

Spatial experience is not innocent and neutral, but invested with power relating to age, gender, social position and relationships with others. Because space is differentially understood and experienced it forms a contradictory and conflict-ridden medium through which individuals act and are acted upon. The experience of space is always shot through with temporalities, as spaces are always created, reproduced and transformed in relation to previously constructed spaces provided and established from the past (Tilley 1994, 11).

This phenomenological perspective offers a suitable and relevant framework for understanding some of the issues which affect the Luxor west bank with its specific heritage-management concerns, its academic and visitor interests, and the position of the local community of Qurnawi who live in close association with these “spaces provided and established from the past” and whose “embodiment” of this ancient landscape has made it the locus of power-filled social relations. There are indeed close parallels between Barbara Bender’s 1998 discussion of Stonehenge and the issues affecting western Thebes, where both World Heritage-listed sites can be said to involve contestation, claims, and appropriations surrounding their heritage management, and the marginalization of disempowered minorities whose interpretations and use run counter to dominant establishment notions of a common heritage and who largely fail to make their voices heard (Van der Spek 1999). The result is both a physical confrontation as much as a cultural clash, a demonstration of the reality of what Tunbridge and Ashworth have termed “dissonant heritage” (1996) and a call for a different, more holistically situated approach to heritage management.<sup>1</sup>

The phenomenological framework with its plurality of voices claiming legitimacy also serves to remind us as archaeologists that while we may view the ancient landscape as an unquestioned and almost natural geographical phenomenon, which is there to be “mined” for our knowledge needs, archaeological fieldwork locations often also constitute a socially produced space where the ancient monuments in totally non-academic ways serve to play a creative role in the ongoing shaping and reshaping of contemporary social formations.

## WEST BANK SPIRITUALITY: THE ARCHAEOLOGIST AS ETHNOGRAPHER

Let me now turn to the issue of west bank spirituality, which is one of these domains where the ancient past still exercises influence over the maintenance of ritual practice and the adaptive reuse of ancient spaces, and consider the representation of this spirituality by archaeologists both early and modern. It would be true to say that among the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century Europeans who visited or worked on the west bank, several have sought to question the moral fortitude of the west bank villagers, and we may rightfully ask what is the basis for their views.

The anti-social attributes commonly ascribed to Qurnawi as found in the travel accounts of The Anonymous Venetian (1589; Burri 1971, 81), James Bruce (1790, 125), Sonnini (1790, in Manniche 1988, 97), and Vivant Denon (1803, vol. 2, 87) may on some level have resulted from a sense of perceived European superiority. As such, these accounts came to constitute a body of received collective wisdom, gradually evolving from individual travelers’ recounted observations and experiences. However, travelers were also much influenced by such informants as boat owners or local officials, and their narratives thus generally reflected some personal local bias, and/or the hegemonic perspective of the governing elite. Nevertheless, travelers themselves were invariably capable of arriving at amicable working relations with the west bank villagers. Even Vivant Denon, whose regiment was attacked on several occasions, albeit probably not without reason, speaks of “my friends from Kurnu [who] had come to me privately when I was at a distance from our camp, and attended me with great fidelity” (Denon 1803, vol. 2, 56, 81). Travelers’ accounts indeed suggest that local informants continually and consistently portrayed the villagers of the Luxor west bank in a negative light, influencing both the mindset of European travelers and the records they kept. A consideration of one early Qurnawi economic practice holds clues as to why this was so.

<sup>1</sup> In recent years, Lynne Meskell (2000) and Timothy Mitchell (2001) have addressed some of the political aspects of this “dissonance.”

The Theban necropolis played a significant role in the medieval *mūmiyā* trade and Qurnawi involvement in the procurement of dead human bodies was a practice of long standing which was at least contemporaneous with the eleventh-century Arab geographer Al-Bakri (Garcin 1976, 12). Edward Lane observed that Qurnawi religious negligence was due to their particular occupational specialization, that their rifling of mummies in search for antiquities was something “which a strict Moos’lim would regard with the utmost abhorrence, as subjecting the person to constant defilement, and altogether impious and sacrilegious” (Lane 2000, 328). It can be expected that the great time-depth established by Al-Bakri and the consequent lengthy period of “constant defilement” will have had both regional and local implications for Qurnawi.

The differential adherence to religious beliefs and practices constitutes one area where accusations of violent and anti-social behavior may serve to impose conditions of spatial segregation. Such segregation may be imposed through widely circulating anecdotal accounts perpetuating derogatory and discriminatory attitudes as expressed by boat owners and officials, and it can be seen to operate through negative social relations between neighboring communities. Relations of rivalry and enmity indeed existed between the inhabitants of the necropolis and those who belong to the area of al-Ba‘īrāt, just south of the ancient cemeteries. Since al-Ba‘īrāt was exclusively agricultural and not involved with antiquities, the essential difference between legitimate agricultural pursuits and involvement in the *mūmiyā* trade, or the collecting of antiquities, would have been the “impious, sacrilegious and spiritually defiling” aspect of these latter activities. It thus seems plausible that both the wider regional reputation of Qurnawi and their neighborly relations with al-Ba‘īrāt were located in notions of spiritual purity, or the lack thereof, and were a consequence of the differential acceptance of “mainstream” agricultural pursuits and the Qurnawi cemetery-dependent economic specialization.

The denial of a legitimate — that is, agricultural — occupation found in the writings of several travelers bears this out, as do allusions to the lack of religious observance. The characterization offered by Giovanni Belzoni has been influential and, as Caroline Simpson has pointed out (2001, 6), is still being repeated by modern writers (Thompson 1992, 106): “They have no mosque, nor do they care for one; for though they have at their disposal a great quantity of all sorts of bricks, which abound in every part of Gournou, from the surrounding tombs, they have never built a single house” (Belzoni 1971, 159).

It is difficult to assess to what extent Belzoni’s observations will have been influential, but some forty years later Henry Rhind echoed similar sentiments: “The ordinary outward observance they seem to completely neglect, never, so far as I could perceive, visiting the mosk in the neighbouring town of Luxor; and I have no recollection of ever seeing one of them engaged in the prescribed formality of daily prayer, which in many parts of the country is so commonly attended to” (Rhind 2002, 279).

Rhind attributes this situation to Qurnawi being “Arabs of the desert, who are often not very strict in their devotions” (ibid.). Yet, and despite their negligence, Rhind ambivalently observes that they nevertheless do take pride in being Muslim, that there are several who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and that they frequent religious festivals as far away as Cairo (ibid., 279–80). Although Rhind did not observe public worship, Lane in his 1825–1828 map of Thebes clearly indicates a mosque at Dra‘ Abu al-Naga, just a little to the north of where today the al-Hasāsna mosque of Shaykh Tayyeb is located.

I want to argue here that, apart from informants’ bias which colored travelers’ opinions concerning the lack of religious observance, the reason for this claim in travelers’ accounts is also grounded in a severe misunderstanding of the nature of Egyptian spiritual expression generally.

In the modern cemetery Edward Lane identified four Shaykh tombs, domed buildings erected over the tomb of a holy man (Lane 2000, pl. 74, 325), the same tombs as are also drawn in the panoramas of Robert Hay (Hay MSS). The presence of these structures confirms Qurnawi identification with respected figures who are associated with spiritual gifts and a capacity to bestow blessings, *baraka*. Although part of the Sufi tradition rather than orthodox Islam, these Shaykh tombs especially are witness to a level of spiritual depth and practice that is centered around the veneration of holy men. The existence of these tombs, the presence of the mosque on Lane’s map, and such ethnographic snippets as the circumcision ceremony described by Robert Hay (Hay MSS, diary entry July 17, 1826, 141) indicate that local spiritual expression at the time evidently manifested the same mixture of popular, formal, and traditional religious practices which also characterizes the west bank communities today.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Caroline Simpson for sharing her transcripts with me.

## EXPRESSIONS OF CONTEMPORARY SPIRITUALITY IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

Before proceeding to offer something of a glimpse of what goes on in western Thebes today, it is necessary to make a number of contextual comments. First, this is not the time or the place to present a technical analysis of Upper Egyptian religious experience as manifested in the lives of Upper Egyptian Sufi adherents. Such may be found in the work of Rachida Chih (1997; idem 2000), who worked closely with Shaykh Muhammad Tayyeb of Qurna, and Dr. Ahmed Tayyeb, his brother, who is the recent former Grand Mufti of Egypt and the current President of al-Azhar University in Cairo. Instead, in the discussion below I offer as reference points some of the observations made by another Egyptologist, Dr. William Adams, who in his monumental study of Nubia gave a comprehensive overview of the levels of spirituality he encountered there (Adams 1977, 574–77). In most respects his observations also hold true for Upper Egypt and much of what he says resonates with what we may observe in Qurna. The observations made by Adams contrast with those of early Egyptologists like Belzoni and Rhind and represent a pertinent illustration of how practicing field archaeologists can also fruitfully engage themselves in activities which are rather more ethnographic in nature, demonstrating in the process why Belzoni never saw his mosque.

Second, in the account which follows it is necessary at times to make reference to place names which may be unfamiliar to Egyptologists who use such names as Qurnat Maraʿī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qurna, al-Khūkha, al-ʿAsasīf, and Draʿ Abu al-Naga to identify the foothills' localities of the Theban necropolis. These names derive from locally-remembered legendary holy men (Qurnat Maraʿī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qurna), once-named geographically distinguishing features (al-Khūkha “the Peach,” al-ʿAsasīf “the Labyrinth”), or a mixture of the two (Draʿ Abu al-Naga “the Arm of Abu al-Naga,” another local saint). While they have stuck in the Egyptological literature through their elevation in archaeological naming conventions to the status of virtual type sites, whatever topographic, social, or religious associations may have given rise to such names now may or may no longer be remembered, and without exception they are recognized as geographical locations only. Thus, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qurna may still be a revered legendary Shaykh, and his simple commemorative shrine on the ridge above the village continues to play an important function both in the life of the community and that of its individuals, but the pronounced hillock which carries his name is signified by it as a geographical feature only.

The people who inhabit these localities know the surrounding physical and social community by reference to a kinship-based naming system rather than a geographically or geomorphologically inspired toponymy. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qurna is thus known as (al-)Hurubāt, that is, the descendants of Harb, a legendary founding father. This community also includes the northern part of Qurnat Maraʿī, al-Khūkha, and al-ʿAsasīf. Likewise, Qurnawi will not refer in the main to Draʿ Abu al-Naga but identify the communities inhabiting that part of the foothills as those of (al-)Hasāsna, (al-)ʿAṭyāt, and (al-)Ghabāt.

Third, it must be noted that when considering spiritual practices in the necropolis there are different layers of sacredness we can recognize. It has already been mentioned how a social anthropologist may be seen to be intruding in the sacred preserve of Egyptology, and similarly the presence generally of Qurnawi in this Egyptological field site may be considered by some practitioners as quite irreconcilable with the importance they attach to this archaeological area. The point here is that the entire west bank archaeological zone may be conceived as a sacred space, where certain things are, can, should, or should not be done. In this sense, certain spiritual expressions may not be focused on a specific monument or locality of archaeological significance, and indeed quite a few are not, but because in their totality these expressions take place within the archaeological precinct of western Thebes, their practice must still be viewed as having a bearing on the notion of sacred space here discussed. I identify these further as we progress.

Finally, I must state that I am neither a religious scholar nor one who is acquainted with the issue of the paranormal. Especially when referring to the certain fears that are held and experienced by Qurnawi, we can only suspend our disbelief and adopt a relativistic mentality in acknowledging that which is true and meaningful for Qurnawi. These are simply the concerns that people have expressed and they must be reported as such. Independent of whatever merit they may hold for a Western mindset, these accounts do reflect the preoccupations experienced by people in this landscape.

Let me start, then, with that level of religious practice and spiritual expression that is most visible and to which many of us will have had some exposure. The feasts of the Luxor west bank comprise both the celebrations associated with orthodox Islam, such as the Feast of the Sacrifice following the *hajj*; the *ʿEid* following Ramadan; the month-long celebrations commemorating the birth of the Prophet, the *mulid an-Nabi*; and the religious

festivals, the *mulid*, linked with the birthday or death day of revered holy men. These latter celebrations fall more specifically within the ambit of Sufism, the folk religion of Egypt which, as elsewhere in the country, exists alongside formal Islam: “The folk religion of Islam as it [...] continues to exist [is] dominated by the unorthodox and sometimes anti-orthodox elements of Sufism. [...] Side by side with the rich and diversified folk religion there exists, as in all parts of the Islamic world, the orthodox religious order whose symbol is the mosque rather than the Shaykh’s tomb” (Adams 1977, 574, 577).

The presence of the mosque at al-Hasāsna and the family of Shaykh Tayyeb represents a mixture which demonstrates the fluidity that can exist between formal Islam and the Sufi schools. The family traces its roots back to Morocco and claims noble descent. Family records suggest that they settled in Qurna around 1865, which confirms Qurnawi claims that the al-Hasāsna clan is of more recent date than the surrounding communities. The present generation is the third in a line of al-Azhar educated religious scholars. This formal aspect is intertwined with adherence to the Sufi order known as Khalwattiyya to which an earlier generation was introduced while studying in Cairo. The Khalwattiyya order in fact requires that its Shaykhs must have studied at al-Azhar in order to exercise spiritual leadership, as a result of which it is much more closely aligned with formal Islam. Emphasizing a degree of orthodox austerity, the musical aspects which form an integral part of Sufi devotion are largely absent here. Much of the esteem which surrounds the position of the present Shaykh Muhammad Tayyeb derives both from the powerful *baraka* associated with his late father, and his function as the dominant player in a traditional dispute settlement mechanism which sees people come from afar to have their cases adjudicated by him rather than through formal legal and law enforcement means. Thus, the placement of the al-Hasāsna mosque, at the intersection of the main foothills’ road and the road that leads to Hatshepsut’s temple, has been a landmark both in the social and the vernacular sense. The new mosque built several kilometers to the north at as-Suyūl will have brought about visible changes, but cannot affect the spiritual or legal influence of the Tayyeb family.

Centrally located in the necropolis, the old mosque stands as the visible symbol of a continuing spirituality, but its relationship with the ancient monuments is not without controversy. During January 1999, the adjoining road caved in and had to be closed for several days, with popular opinion attributing the collapse of hidden tombs to water seeping from the nearby mosque. The connection is not so much spiritual as it is political and reflects the privileged position of religious establishments and foreign archaeological missions which have been given the use of water mains as a resource that is otherwise unavailable to Qurnawi. People are acutely aware of the potential consequences and are quick to point out the damage done to tombs in the proximity of Polish House, formerly Metropolitan House, while the trees surrounding German House are recognized as equally anomalous.

On the level of ritual, the dominant presence of al-Azhar and Khalwattiyya as represented by the Tayyeb family of al-Hasāsna is manifested in the large *zikr*, the trance-inducing communal swaying and chanting which focuses on a range of names attributed to Allah as specific to each individual Sufi school, and which is the most visible devotional act of Sufi mystical expression. During the August celebrations of *mulid an-Nabi*, such collective worship takes place in a carnival-like atmosphere, where processions between the nearby Tayyeb saints’ tomb and the mosque have to negotiate with stalls of merchandise and throngs of people who range from devotees and pilgrims to locals out to have a good time.

Of similar character but smaller in scale is the *mulid* of Abu Qumsan, held in the area locally known as as-Sūālim, where the foothills’ road intersects with the road that leads to the Valley of the Kings. Abu Qumsan is a recent local saint who has his domed tomb just inside the wall of the modern cemetery opposite the Seti I temple, and who is revered for his infertility-treating *baraka*. More so than during the *mulid an-Nabi* celebrations, it is the veneration of such local Shaykhs as Abu Qumsan which contains the essence of the folk religion of which Adams writes:

[Sufism’s] most important cognitive features are still the belief in saints and miracles; its main organizational structure remains that of the innumerable Sheikhs and their schools. The belief in saints — especially endowed individuals who can move back and forth between the human and divine worlds, and mediate between the two — may be regarded as the central tenet of Sufism. All Sheikhs and founders of schools are regarded as saints. They are endowed with *baraka*, a quality of divine blessedness some part of which can be transmitted to others by word or a touch, and which is usually also passed on to their successors. [...] The *baraka* of a saint lives after him in places where he lived and taught, and most particularly in places where he is buried. It is not surprising therefore that all of these places become holy shrines, and pilgrimages to them are perhaps the most important feature of folk religion [...]. The most elaborate shrines are the domed structures which cover the burial places of historically known Sheikhs. Worship at the shrines of saints usu-

ally takes the form of individual visits, which may be performed at any time [...]. In addition to these private devotions there are regular public ceremonies [...] celebrating the birthday or day of death of the saint. These are great village or even regional festivals, comparable to the celebration of the patron saint's day in medieval European cities (Adams 1977, 574–76).

Thus, it is especially during the time of the saint's feast, the *mulid*, that people journey to the tomb of their revered Shaykh where, drawn by the physical, vicarious presence of the shrine or mosque, these pilgrims are inspired and renewed by the spiritual essence which the life and person of their holy man holds for them. The entire spiritual experience is surrounded by a fair-like ambience, complete with giant swings, tents for target shooting with crooked air rifles, and merry-go-rounds installed and operated by entertainment professionals who follow the annual *mulid* circuit, in addition to sweet stalls, demonstrations of horsemanship, and displays of quarterstaff fighting. The *mulid* thus provides a yearly opportunity to relax and have fun, as much as it signifies new beginnings and the anticipation of a forthcoming fulfillment of long-held expectations.

The *mulid* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qurna by comparison is a relatively small-scale affair but is nevertheless significant in that it takes place in the midst of the nobles' tombs at Shaykh 'Abd al-Qurna. There are no entertainment professionals here with their circus-style equipment, and sweet tables with sugar dolls are likewise missing. The highlight for the children is the announcement parade, where a leading vehicle, fitted with loudspeakers and followed by several tractor-pulled flatbed trailers normally used for sugar cane but now loaded with children, travel around the dispersed west bank communities to announce that the *mulid* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qurna will commence that afternoon.

Celebrations commence with a procession to the saint's shrine high up on the hill, with the objective to fit the wooden frame inside the walled structure with a new green cloth cover. Formalities over, the level plain below from Ramose's tomb becomes the location for displays of horsemanship. Later in the afternoon the men exhibit their skills with the *khazarāna*, the cane stick used in quarterstaff fighting, which in the context of these festivities should be a ritualized, almost danced, performance, but where aging men still keen to show their prowess do at times hand out heavy blows, demonstrating both the skills required and the lethal qualities of this traditional weapon.

Late in the evening the bull is slaughtered for the next evening's communal meal, an event which in itself is neither a great spectacle nor a festive occasion, but which does encapsulate some of the organizational measures that allow the *mulid* to take place. Purchased young the year before, the animal was raised by a local antiquities' guard, who is also the caretaker of the saint's shrine and the principal organizer of the *mulid*. Money previously collected from the people of al-Hurubāt during the coming weeks will likewise be used to purchase the animal for next year.

The *mulid* concludes on the evening of the second day with the *zīkr*, the Sufi devotion, which takes place in the area of a particular kinship group's *zāwiya* and in close proximity to Menna's tomb. The *zāwiya* structures form an integral part of life in the necropolis, both to provide a space for such events as the communal gatherings upon the death of a family member, and as the place where acts of Sufi devotion can be carried out. William Adams' description is pertinent here, also because it demonstrates Belzoni and Rhind's ignorance of this Sufi level of Qurnawi spirituality, the absence of formal religious architecture causing them to deny the presence of all other forms of religious expression:

Apart from the annual celebrations at certain Shaykhs' tombs, most public worship takes place in "mosques" belonging to the various orders, which are called *zāwiya* mosques. They are very seldom distinguished by minarets or other features of liturgical architecture; often they are simple enclosures of mud or straw, with or without a roof. In them are performed not only the orthodox Friday prayers but traditional devotions (*dhikr*) prescribed for the orders to which they belong (Adams 1977, 574–76).

Distinct from the austerity of the Shaykh Tayyeb *zīkr* which took place during the *mulid an-Nabi*, the people of al-Hurubāt may hire any Sufi Shaykh, the identity of the particular order he represents considered less important than the musical qualities of his performance. The haunting sounds of the *nye*, the flute, do have the power to invoke an atmosphere in the Theban hills which connects with the ceremonial and processional events of ancient times.



## FERTILITY: BELIEFS, LOCI, AND PRACTICE

If the sacred space of the larger necropolis serves as background to contemporary ceremonial and ritual events embodied in the festivities of the *mulid*, I turn now to the specific use of the necropolis and its monuments.

Architectural theory which advocates a defining relationship between the built environment and local sociality by implication suggests that the adaptive reuse of ancient funerary spaces will not simply be limited to tangible edifices but also influence constructions of the mind.<sup>3</sup> Such is indeed the case at Qurna, where fertility desires and personally held fears may draw on and/or be influenced by real or postulated features in the archaeological landscape. Thus, contemporary cyclical ritual and ceremonial practices offer a continuation of local landscape use which belongs to the same world of ideational constructs also emphasized in surrounding ancient Egyptian funerary architecture.

The transferal of meaning from archaeological artifact to magical relic is commonplace in Egyptian folklore where, especially in Upper Egypt, the perceived life-giving power of ancient monuments is still widely appropriated to affect some personally held concern. While such concerns generally operate in the realm of the social or the medical, they demonstrate that the linking of archaeological artifacts with some external and socially constructed focus is a recurring feature of a traditional worldview to which many Egyptians, overtly and covertly, subscribe. In the 1920s Winifred Blackman discussed these issues in some detail (Blackman 1927, 99, 106), but despite the advances in medical science and the saturation presence of pharmaceutical products in Egypt since that time, these practices persist.<sup>4</sup> Women may turn to these practices as a last resort, or they may choose to have a “bet” both ways, or they use the option under the influence of an older female family member; whichever the case, women today may still be seen wandering around specific sites inside the necropolis to seek their mediating power and thus improve their chances at conception. What, indeed, is there to lose ...

In discussing these practices in relation to archaeological and sacred space, it must be understood that fertility rites are not dependent on the ancient monuments alone and may equally draw on the perceived power associated with the modern Muslim cemetery, or make use of small charms which derive from geological rather than archaeological contexts. As such, these practices are not “Qurna specific” but represent a local repertoire of available options that resonate with traditional fertility practices across much of Egypt.

Let me briefly identify some of the sites or practices and indicate why their meaning is relevant to the women who visit or engage in them. Traditional means may involve the overnight soaking of some efficacious object in a bowl of water on the last day of a woman’s cycle, with the water to be taken the next morning or used for bathing. Materials thus used may include ancient and/or modern beads, archaeological or geological objects serving as charms, stones from the modern Muslim cemetery, or even powder scraped from temple walls and columns or painted tomb surfaces. When asked, women now vehemently deny the latter practices, although it cannot necessarily be ruled out that occasional occurrences do not persist. Other practices may include perambulating seven times around the fetus in the Queens Valley Tomb of Amonherkhopeshef, while also Tutankhamun’s sarcophagus has reportedly been used in similar fashion.

One popular variant of this type, albeit without any recognizable archaeological context, concerns what women call *Ka’bela*, a level area in al-‘Asasīf, which also functions as the village soccer field. Here, behind the posts which constitute the eastern goal, women roll themselves seven times through the dust, with the accompanying woman sprinkling henna on the surrounding rocks and leaving some Shaykh’s written spell known as *kitāb* among the crevices. Soccer-playing boys are persuaded to leave the area by means of chocolate bribes, as during the process the woman’s ankles may become visible.

Finally, the stepped well at Medinet Habu is one place said to be efficacious. The effective ingredient here, again, is less the archaeological context, but rather the fact that a complicit guard can toss a pebble from above, thereby giving the unsuspecting woman a fright. This notion of fright is also featured in one of the ‘Asasīf tombs, where the *ghaffīr* on duty confronts the woman with a mummified torso. According to Winifred Blackman, the el-

<sup>3</sup> [It is] “fallacious to conceptualize society, culture, social organization or process without reference to the physical and spatial material reality of the built environment. [...] the built environment, building and urban form in all their conceptualizations, do not just represent, or reflect social order, they actually constitute much of social or-

der and existence” (King 1990, 404; also quoted in Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, 24).

<sup>4</sup> The definitive study on this subject is Inhorn 1994. I am grateful to Nicole Hansen for alerting me to Inhorn’s work.

ement of fear is said “to cause the blood to circulate quickly through the body, making the womb expand, with the result that she will conceive more easily” (1927, 102).

If the outcome of such anxiety may ultimately benefit the individual concerned, then a different form of psychological distress afflicting Qurnawi is rather more sinister in nature. Again, Adams’ observations are relevant:

A variety of pagan and pre-Islamic beliefs, although not formally sanctioned either by the orthodox or by the Sufi orders, also form part of the folk religion [...]. Among these are the belief in black magic, the evil eye, and an assortment of jinns and other spirits. There are numerous formulae [...] for averting or exorcising these evil influences (Adams 1977, 574–77).

Many of the households and individuals interviewed attested to being visited on a recurring basis during their sleep by what they call “*qabūṣ*.” Interpretations of what this was varied from simply a nightmare, albeit one out of which people found it difficult to wake up, to a confrontation with a monstrous creature which at least a number of respondents felt had to do with the fact that their village was located inside a place of the dead. While many committed Muslims denied the phenomenon, for others such subconscious apparitions were neither ‘*afrits* nor *jinns*, the spirit-beings that enjoy a degree of formal recognition within orthodox Islam, and for those so afflicted they formed a reality which could neither be totally explained nor escaped from.

Different accounts involving otherworldly creatures concern the alleged presence in several households of protective *jinns* which prevented occupants from searching for antiquities within their homes. In Muslim cosmology, *jinns* are fiery beings who complement both humans and angels. Accounts do circulate in al-Hurubāt how those who became rich on the sale of illicit antiquities suffered at the hands of such *jinns* who, upon discovering that antiquities had gone missing, caused episodes of spontaneous combustion inside the house which eventually forced the owners to move.

Other manifestations of connections between antiquities and a perceived spirit world include the physical possession by a *shaiṭān*, a devil who, upon discovering that the ancient treasure it was guarding had been stolen, enters the body of a young girl. Paralysis and other physical ailments will result, necessitating a Shaykh or *zar* ritual<sup>5</sup> to exorcise her. We may view such incidents whichever way we like, and Qurnawi Muslims of rather more orthodox persuasion will deny them, but for many people in the necropolis there are strong associations between the spirit world and the physical, archaeological environment in which they live, and for them the cosmological world which also inhabits the Theban cemeteries is very real indeed.

In summary, and concluding on a happier note, we return to the *mulid an-Nabi* at the mosque of Shaykh Tayyeb and invoke a raw-fieldnotes-derived word-picture which situates both the time-transcending spiritual character of the Theban mountain and the religious, ritual, and at times cacophonous reality of contemporary west bank existence:

Stalls with sweets, sugar dolls and basbusa [sweet cakes], festive hats, peanuts, and cheap plastic toys. Boys swirling firework in pirouetting trails of sparks and exploding fire crackers all around. The procession walking the distance between the tomb of Muhammad Tayyeb in al-Ginīna and the mosque in al-Hasāsna, spearheaded by a group of boys and men with a second tier of people on their shoulders, waving and pointing sticks upwards, chanting, surging into the compound of the mosque; one old man being knocked into, angrily raising his stick to some boys; another man dashing back outside clutching his face and followed by friends, maybe accidentally hit by one of the sticks. The noise and the movement of the throng of celebrants upsetting the hundreds of small birds living in the trees there, flying free or eventually settling back on their branches or on the guide wires of the tarpaulins which are strung across the mosque’s inner courtyard.

Some 700 men partaking in the subsequent *zīkr*, in an area prepared on the other side of the street, no doubt tombs underneath. Rows of men on either side, facing towards a mat in the middle, where several bearded Shaykhs with microphones are leading the chant. Many people with radio cassette recorders on their shoulder to make a private recording. 700 men sitting, swaying gently sideways, turning the head alternately right and left, or standing whilst rocking the body forward, bending at the knees as it comes upward, the continuous movement exercised with greater or lesser degrees of ferocity, some simply nodding the head slightly forward, yet each movement embodying a personal experience rather than a dogmatically prescribed ritual.

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<sup>5</sup> A non-Islamic and covertly organized black-magic gathering where those possessed seek to appease the offended *shaiṭān* through the medium of dance.

There is no great beauty in the sound-quality of the performance for an uninitiated and spiritually detached onlooker, and the moments of greatest power are those when the PA system dies and the distorted, over-amplified sound of the leading Shaykh can no longer be heard, only the accompanying intonations of the moving crowd, giving rhythm to their gyrations when joining in the public responses. The Mountain and black night sky as back-drop, the lights of al-Gezīra and Luxor in the distance, strings of festive colored light bulbs flashing overhead, children playing in the street firing their newly-bought toy guns, cars coming and going, yet in the midst of this activity always the sea of turbaned and moving jallabiyyas. All the peripherals aside, this has always been a spiritually charged landscape ...



Figure 11.1. The Theban Necropolis: Enduring Spirituality in a Sacred Landscape



Figure 11.2. 'Asasif Prayer Station Used by the Guards of the Theban Necropolis



Figure 11.3. Wedding Party at the Shrine of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qurna. Young Qurnawi Women Visit the Shrine on the Day of Their Wedding, Ensuring Both Marital Happiness and Fertility



Figure 11.4. *Mulid* of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qurna. Procession to the Shrine of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qurna



Figure 11.5. Ka'belā Fertility Site: Henna-sprinkled Rocks Lining the 'Asasīf Soccer-pitch, Intercessory *Kitāb* Inserted among the Crevices

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