

Gods Who Hear Prayers:  
Popular Piety or Kingship in Three Theban Monuments of New Kingdom Egypt.

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Abstract

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For the past 50 years, Thutmose III's and Ramesses II's Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate of Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu have been accepted as monuments that fulfilled the religious needs of the general populace of ancient Thebes based on Charles Nims' assessment of these monuments. Thutmose III's Eastern Temple was believed to have been built as "a perfect place of hearing" and the two Ramesside monuments both had representations of a god bearing the title "God who hears prayers." To date there has been no comprehensive study of the context of these three "places of hearing." In this study, I ask and answer the following three questions. 1) How do the two "god who hears prayer" scenes fit into the iconography of their respective temples? 2) How did the iconography of the "places of hearing," i.e., the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, encourage the Theban populace to use them for their the spiritual needs? 3) If the iconography of the Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High gate at Medinet Habu did not encourage use by the populace, what was their purpose?

In Chapter 2, I review the scholarly literature on personal piety and popular religion. Previous works have catalogued sites believed to be loci for personal piety and have studied the archaeological evidence in the form of personal monuments and graffiti. No iconographic studies of the sites, however, have been carried out. In Chapter 3 I examine sites that have yielded textual, iconographic or archaeological evidence of use by the populace in their attempt to contact deities and deified kings to establish a baseline for comparison with the three monuments.

In Chapter 4 I present an in-depth analysis of the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu. I investigate the relevant textual, iconographic and archaeological evidence for each temple to determine whether any of it relates to personal piety. I discuss the iconographic programs of the Eastern Temples at Karnak, incorporating both their original New Kingdom constructions, as well as later additions. At the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu the god “who hears prayer” is not the principle deity of the mortuary temple, the Theban Amun-Re, but rather the Memphite god Ptah. Therefore I discuss the decorative program of the temple proper in addition to the iconographic program of the High Gate. I conclude by demonstrating that the Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu show little to no evidence of serving the religious need of the Theban populace. Instead, a kingship ritual, namely the Sed festival, plays a major role in the decorative programs of all three monuments.

In Chapter 5 I discuss the evidence for the Sed festival, the various theories regarding its importance to kingship and its possible link to the king’s role as high priest. I also demonstrate the importance of Amun-Re, Ptah and Atum in the Sed festival celebrations of Thutmose III, Ramesses II and Ramesses III. I emphasize that the god who is given preference by the king during his Sed festival(s) is the same deity chosen to be the one “who hears prayer.” Finally, I discuss specific aspects that illustrate the king’s role as high priest and the divine nature of kingship. I conclude the chapter by demonstrating that the function of these monuments was focused on the cultic role of the king.

In my final chapter, Chapter 6, I summarize my evidence and analyses. I reinforce my conclusion that the three monuments I investigated, the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu played no role in popular piety. To the contrary they focused on kingship and the king’s role as divine high priest.

For my mother and teacher Barbara Heater  
And  
For my professor and mentor Cathleen Keller

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### List of Abbreviations

- BAR Breasted, Henry. *Ancient Records of Egypt*. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1962 [1906].
- KI Nelson, Harold H. *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941. (Oriental Institute Publications 56) Plan IX Section I
- KRI Kitchen, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions Historical and Biographical*. Volume II. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1969-1979. Published in 24 Fascicles
- MH Epigraphic Survey. *Medinet Habu*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1934 – 1970.

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## Chapter 1 Introduction

Personal piety<sup>1</sup> is a multifaceted concept important to the study of ancient Egyptian religion, especially in the New Kingdom and later times. The precise extent and form of personal piety in ancient Egypt, as well as the specific physical evidence for its existence, however, have been topics of extended discussion.

Three locations within larger temple complexes are often discussed in a context of “personal piety” as key examples of places provided by the king in order to fulfill the spiritual needs of the common people.<sup>2</sup> The first two locations lie on the east side of the main Amun Temple at Karnak, and are the small temples built by Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Fig. 1.1). Thutmose III’s small temple is believed to be the “beautiful place of hearing” he built for Amun-Re.<sup>3</sup> Ramesses II also built a small temple in front and to the east of Thutmose III’s. On the exterior of the north wall of Ramesses II’s temple there is a representation of Amun-Re with an accompanying epithet “who hears prayer.” Together these two temples are known as the “Eastern Temples.”

The third location is across the river in western Thebes at Medinet Habu in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty. Here, on the north face of the southern tower of the Eastern High Gate (Fig. 1.2) is a depiction of Ptah with the accompanying epithet “who hears prayer”. In addition, this figure of Ptah also bore special inlaid decoration and was placed within a niche.<sup>4</sup>

The identification of the two Ramesside locales as places of and evidence for personal piety originates in a theory Charles Nims first presented in a paper he read in 1954 before the International Congress of Orientalists<sup>5</sup> and published only in abstract form. The special treatment (inlay and niche) of the Ptah figure at Medinet Habu led Nims to theorize that the figure of Ptah “was deliberately planned as an object of popular worship by the builders of the temple, caring for the religious needs of the common people.”<sup>6</sup> Because Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple at Karnak similarly featured a god “who hears prayer,” in this case Amun-Re, and was situated near the ancient city of Thebes, Nims believed this monument also was built as a place of worship for the people.<sup>7</sup> In a subsequent article on the Eastern Temples at Karnak, Nims associated Ramesses II’s temple with the temple described in an inscription on a Nineteenth Dynasty statue of the First Prophet of Amun Bekenkhonsu (*B3k-n-hnsw*).<sup>8</sup> In the inscription, Bekenkhonsu calls a monument he built “the temple of Ramesses ‘who hears prayer’.”<sup>9</sup> Nims

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<sup>1</sup> The term “personal piety” is defined here as the means by which individuals attempted to access the gods or express a relationship with the divine.

<sup>2</sup> Sadek 1987, 46; Brand 2007, 59-60; Blyth 2006, 159; Teeter 1997, 39. The terms “common people”, “the people” and “general populace” used here designate the populace outside of the elite levels of society.

<sup>3</sup> Nims 1969, 69

<sup>4</sup> Hölscher 1951, 5

<sup>5</sup> Nims 1956, 79-80

<sup>6</sup> Nims 1956, 79

<sup>7</sup> Nims 1956, 80

<sup>8</sup> Nims 1971, 108

<sup>9</sup> Plantikow-Münster 1969, 120; Nims 1971, 108

further noted a Ptolemaic inscription on Ramesses II's Eastern Temple that he believes reads "Ptolemy VIII 'who hears prayer'."<sup>10</sup> Thus, Nims makes an association of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple with the king "who hears prayer". In the same article Nims added Thutmose III's Eastern Temple at Karnak to his list of "places where the common people of Thebes might come to make their prayers to the king and to the gods."<sup>11</sup>

Nims' theory has found its way into accepted scholarly "common knowledge" without ever receiving a thorough critical review, even though no archaeological evidence left by the general populace has ever been excavated at these three locations. Egyptologists continue to cite Nims' Congress of Orientalists paper as evidence for popular piety. To date there has been no comprehensive study of the context of these three "places of hearing." In this study, I will ask, how do the two "god who hears prayer" scenes fit into the iconography of their respective temples? How did the iconography of the "places of hearing," i.e., the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, encourage the Theban populace to use them for their the spiritual needs? If the iconography of the Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu did not encourage use by the populace what was their purpose? This study asks and answers these three questions.

### **Scope and Methodology**

I will begin by examining sites that have yielded textual, iconographic or archaeological evidence of use by "common people" in their attempt to contact deities and deified kings. Such sites include Deir el-Bahari, Memphis, Qantir, Karnak and Luxor temples.

I then continue by presenting a more in-depth analysis of the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, investigating their textual, iconographic and archaeological evidence to determine if any of it relates to personal piety. The original goal of this study was to understand how the "god who hears prayer" reliefs and the "places of hearing" contribute to our understanding of New Kingdom personal piety. I will demonstrate, however, that these three monuments are *not* connected to personal piety at all. Instead they are related to an important kingship ritual: the Sed festival. Rather than providing a platform for the spiritual need of the general populace, these three monuments serve to reinforce the king's role as high priest and intermediary between the gods and men, and likely retained this function though the Roman Period and the reign of Domitian.

### **Evidence Cited in Discussions of Personal Piety**

Scholars have interpreted the following four types of evidence as denoting personal piety at a specific location within a temple: 1) textual and iconographic indicators; 2) special treatment of images, which includes inlays of precious metal and stones; 3) evidence of the veiling of images; and 4) *ex voto* graffiti and votive offerings.

### **Textual and Iconographic Indicators**

Several textual phrases that have been interpreted by scholars as denoting places where the populace was intended to congregate are: god "who hears prayer", "place of hearing", "place

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<sup>10</sup> Nims 1971, 108

<sup>11</sup> Nims 1971, 110

of adoring the name of his majesty”, and “place for hearing the petitions of gods and men”. These texts can appear within easy visual range of visitors or can be written high up on the architrave.

As discussed above, the use of the epithet “who hears prayer” was one of the key factors in Nims’ assessment that the two Ramesside monuments at Karnak and Medinet Habu were built to meet the needs of the people. In addition, Nims felt that Thutmose III’s use of the term “a beautiful place of hearing” for a monument the king built for Amun-Re indicated that it too was a place for the populace to use in their worship.

In addition to the Eastern Temples and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu there are other monuments which have texts that Egyptologists believe demonstrate that they were used by the populace. Several authors cite an inscription on an architrave in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak which names it as “a place of adoring the name of his majesty” to demonstrate that the public were allowed in this area of the temple.<sup>12</sup> And the text “a place for hearing the petitions of gods and men” which appears in southeastern quarter of Ramesses II’s Forecourt and on his Triple Bark Shrine at Luxor temple is also cited as an indicator that the people may have been allowed in this area.<sup>13</sup> Thus official texts that are part of a temple’s decorative program can be used to support the notion that the populace was allowed in designated areas.

Scholars studying the iconography of temples have found that the decorative program of a room reflects its function. For example, a room used as the temple slaughterhouse has depictions of animals bound and ready for sacrifice; libraries have listings of books.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, sites of personal piety/popular religion *should be* marked by iconographic symbols easily recognizable by general populace (presumably illiterate) in the vicinity of texts designating them as “places of supplication” or in close proximity to royal or divine figures that have the epithet “king/god who hears prayer.” Two key iconographic symbols that appear in discussions of personal piety in temples are the *rekhyt* hieroglyph and *Ma’at*.

***Rekhyt.*** *Rhyt* (*Rekhyt*) is the Egyptian hieroglyph for the lapwing bird (*Vanellus vanellus*), which iconographically represents the “common people” or subjects of Egypt.<sup>15</sup> The *rekhyt* (Fig. 1.1) is often depicted on top of an *nb* sign (signifying “all”) with their arms raised in adoration over the king’s cartouche with a *dwꜣ* sign (meaning “to worship”) in between.<sup>16</sup> The function of this rebus is to represent that “all the *rekhyt* people adore the king.” The *rekhyt* have several variations in their form. They can be a combination of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic elements, in which case they are depicted as a lapwing bird with human arms and bird feet.<sup>17</sup> They can have human bodies with lapwing heads, such as those in the forecourt of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari,<sup>18</sup> or human bodies with wings and the lapwing crest, as

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<sup>12</sup> Nims 1956, 80; Sadek 1987, 47; Teeter 1993, 31; Griffin 2007, 76

<sup>13</sup> Sadek 1987, 47; Dunand & Zivie-Coche 2004, 112

<sup>14</sup> Arnold, 1962

<sup>15</sup> Griffin 2007, 66

<sup>16</sup> Griffin 2007, 67

<sup>17</sup> Bell 1997, 165

<sup>18</sup> Griffin 2007, 69, fig. 2

depicted at Medinet Habu.<sup>19</sup> Finally, they also can appear as fully anthropomorphic or fully theomorphic, as shown in Luxor Temple.<sup>20</sup>

In temple reliefs, the *rekhyt* are believed to have two separate functions: 1) as a designation of where the common people were allowed to congregate, and 2) as a signifier that the people were metaphysically in the temple.<sup>21</sup> Egyptologists speculate that when the *rekhyt* were inscribed on the walls or columns of the outer court they were meant as a sign to the populace they were allowed in these areas.<sup>22</sup> In this function the birds usually set on either side of a cartouche indicating adoration of the king.<sup>23</sup> The *rekhyt* appearing in the more public areas of the temples sometimes were supplemented with texts that support the theory that the populace had access to the forecourts.<sup>24</sup> *Rekhyt* are also depicted in more sacred areas within the temple beyond the purity warnings.<sup>25</sup> Griffin has demonstrated that the *rekhyt* rebus also occurs within the temple proper where only the priest were allowed; he believes in this area they function as part of the cosmos and had to be represented.<sup>26</sup> In these cases the *rekhyt* are fulfilling a cosmic function and *do not* mean that the populace were allowed in the temple's sanctuary.

**Ma'at.** Ma'at is the goddess of truth and the personification of cosmic balance. Within temples the king is depicted presenting Ma'at to various gods. Teeter's study of the presentation of Ma'at in temple iconography concluded that such depictions occurred more often in the more public areas of the temple.<sup>27</sup> These public areas included "places of popular supplication," such as opposite "Amun Re in the thickness of the door" at Medinet Habu and in the chapels of supplication and hearing petitions at Karnak, Luxor and Medinet Habu."<sup>28</sup> The significance of Teeter's study to the topic of personal piety is her demonstration that the "presentation of Ma'at," a scene recognizable by the populace, often was associated with places believed to locations of supplication for the common people.

### Special Treatment of Images

Within the temples, certain reliefs were singled out for special treatment. This treatment can include insets of metals and semi-precious stones in the eyes, beards, other body parts, caps or baldachins. Brand believes the images with special attention were meant to be objects of a cult.<sup>29</sup> One such example is the Ptah "who hears prayer" depicted on the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu; this figure was augmented with inlays. These images with special treatment can be found in public spaces, such as gates, but also in more exclusive areas of the temple.

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<sup>19</sup> MH VIII, pl 613; Wilkinson 1992, 86, fig. 2

<sup>20</sup> Griffin 2007, 72, fig. 3

<sup>21</sup> Griffin 2007, 80-81

<sup>22</sup> Wilkinson 2000, 62

<sup>23</sup> Wilkinson 1992, 87

<sup>24</sup> Griffin 2007, 80

<sup>25</sup> Purity warnings are posted on the door jambs leading into the more sacred areas of the temples where the chapels and sanctuaries of the gods were located. These consist of a representation of the king accompanied by the admonishment to be "twice pure."

<sup>26</sup> Griffin 2007, 81

<sup>27</sup> Teeter 1997, 40

<sup>28</sup> Teeter 1997, 39

<sup>29</sup> Brand 2007, 59

## Veiling

Some representations of gods depicted in temples are surrounded by drill holes, the exact number, size and placement of which can vary. In the majority of cases the figure has six round holes surrounding it: two at the feet, two at the shoulders and two at the head. Some figures are surrounded by elongated holes and there are some with large square holes. Within these holes archaeologists have found the remains of dowels, nails (both copper and iron), and plaster.<sup>30</sup> The placement of these holes can span several gods, a single god or just part of a god, but are usually confined to deities alone. In addition, the drill holes appear around images that were original to the temple decorative program, as well as around some votive graffiti that were added at a later date. In some instances the holes are drilled into the texts, indicating that they were installed after the scene was completed. The exact purpose of these holes is unclear. Borchardt thought that they were used to secure metal plates, while Brand theorized that they held frames for veils; in either case, they are cited as markers of places of popular religion.<sup>31</sup> Both the Amun-Re “who hears prayer” on Ramesses II Eastern Temple at Karnak and the Ptah “who hears prayer” on the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu have drill holes around the figures; however, other figures and scenes within those buildings also have drill holes. For instance, in the scene to the right of Amun-Re “who hears prayer,” depicted on Ramesses II’s Eastern temple, the goddess Mut is also surrounded by holes. Since, unfortunately, it is currently not possible to date the drill holes, it cannot be proved that the drill holes associated with the gods “who hear prayer” at Karnak and Medinet Habu were executed in the New Kingdom.<sup>32</sup> Therefore I exclude a further discussion of veiling from this study.

### ***Ex-voto* Graffiti and Votive Offerings.**

The most secure evidence for personal piety includes *ex-voto* graffiti and votive offerings; I will survey the material culture from five temples having evidence for personal piety:

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<sup>30</sup> Brand 2007, 61; Borchardt 1933, 4 ff 3

<sup>31</sup> Borchardt 1933, 1-11; Brand 2007, 61-64

<sup>32</sup> Originally I intended to study the placement and execution of these drill holes, as several Egyptologists consider them to be a sign that they denote a cult image for personal piety, especially in the case of images in the door frames. Fischer notes that Nims considered the “Amun-Re who is in the Thickness of the Doorway (MH V, pl. 254) “as evidence of the provision made for personal piety in the temples of the New Kingdom and later.” Fischer then speculated that the holes all could date from the Greco-Roman Period because of the similarity in deposition and appearance of all of the holes (1959, 197).

In the summer of 2008 I made a trip through the major temple sites of Karnak, Luxor, Medinet Habu, Dendera, Edfu, Kom Ombo and Philae, looking at both New Kingdom and Greco Roman temples and found that the drill holes were all executed in a similar manner, either with the six round holes or one of the variations. The location of the representations that were veiled varied considerably, however. Within Medinet Habu, most of representations that have drill holes are in doorways, are visible between the columns in the Second Court or are on the exterior of the back wall of the temple. At Karnak figures with drill holes appear on Ramesses III’s temple, Thutmose III’s Girdle Wall decorated under Ramesses II, the Eastern Temple of Ramesses II and the Ptah temple. At Philae the drill holes are concentrated on the Pylon figures. At Edfu there are a few in the first court, the exterior of the outer enclosure wall, both in the bottom band and some of the figures in the second register, and the rear wall of the sanctuary which is believed to be a contra shrine. At Kom Ombo there are some drill holes on the back of the outer enclosure wall; on the contra shrine, however, which has the ears framing a shrine with the head of Ma’at, there are no holes. Based on the similarity of the drill holes between the temples of periods, I agree with Fischer that these holes were executed in the Greco-Roman period.

Deir el-Bahari, Ptah Temple at Memphis, Qantir<sup>33</sup> and Karnak. Both *ex voto* graffiti and votive offerings are attestations of individuals' attempts to contact the gods on their own behalf. Within the category of graffiti are images of the gods drawn on the walls of temples and bark shrines, and footprints traced in front of contra temples<sup>34</sup> and the roofs of temples, as well as inscriptions left by the devout.<sup>35</sup> Votive offerings include votive stelae, on which offerings of food, drink, flowers or incense<sup>36</sup> are presented to a god by the king or by the individual directly. Other votive offerings include small faience figurines, phalli and amulets that were left at sites such as the Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahari as gifts for a god or goddess.<sup>37</sup>

## Organization of Chapters

This dissertation is organized into six chapters beginning with the introduction in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 presents a literature survey on personal piety in the New Kingdom. Chapter 3 discusses the evidence of personal piety deposited by devotees in major temples. This evidence includes votive stelae from the Ptah temple at Memphis, the Horbeit stelae from Qantir, the votive offerings left by the devout in the temples at Deir el-Bahari, and the personal monuments from Deir el-Medina addressed to a god "who hears prayer". The various votive monuments are analyzed for their general iconographic and textual content. In addition Chapter 3 discusses the statues near the Tenth pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak that served as messengers for the god Amun-Re. Finally, Chapter 3 also presents the iconographic and textual evidence for personal piety from Ramesses II's forecourt at Luxor Temple and the Hypostyle Hall within the Karnak Temple.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu in order to determine if areas within the three monuments were meant to serve the Theban populace. For the Eastern Temples at Karnak, I discuss the temples's iconographic programs, incorporating both their original New Kingdom construction, as well as later additions. The archaeological finds from the two Eastern temples demonstrate that no votive artifacts left by the general populace have been recovered from the site.

The Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu has an additional element that will be addressed in Chapter 4. The god "who hears prayer" is not Amun-Re, the principle deity of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, but rather the Memphite Ptah. The decorative program of the temple therefore is discussed in addition to the iconographic program of the Eastern High Gate. This program suggests that Ptah was given special treatment and that his representations complemented and interacted with those of Amun-Re. In the temple at Medinet Habu Ptah was given preference over all other gods, except for Amun-Re. This discussion concludes by demonstrating that the Eastern High Gate did not yield votive artifacts left by individuals. Thus,

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<sup>33</sup> The Horbeit stelae is a corpus of votive material purchased by W. Pelizaeus for his museum, there were once believed to come from the village of Horbeit, however, based on similarities to two stelae from Qantir all of these personal monuments are accepted as coming from Qantir (Habachi, 1952, 525). The temples at Qantir are not preserved, however, there are texts that suggest there was a temple dedicated to Amun (or Amun-Re) and one dedicated to Ptah and Habachi though there were others as well (Habachi, 1952, 548)

<sup>34</sup> Contra temple is the name given to shrines that were built against the exterior of the main sanctuary of a temple. (Borchardt 1933, 9; Brand 2007, 60)

<sup>35</sup> Brand 2007, 64, Mostafa 1994, 92

<sup>36</sup> Sadek 1987, 215

<sup>37</sup> Pinch 1993, 25

neither the Eastern Temples at Karnak nor the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu yielded evidence of individual worship. Instead, a kingship ritual, namely the Sed festival, played a role in the decorative programs of all three monuments.

In Chapter 5 I discuss the evidence for the Sed festival, the various theories regarding its importance to kingship and its possible link to the king's role as high priest. This chapter also demonstrates the importance of Amun-Re, Ptah and Atum in the New Kingdom celebrations of the Sed festivals of Thutmose III, Ramesses II and Ramesses III. Emphasis is placed on how the god who is given preference by the king during his Sed festival(s) may have affected the king's choice of which deity was chosen to be the one "who hears prayer." Last, I discuss specific aspects that illustrate the kings' role as high priest and the divine nature of kingship that demonstrate the function of these monuments was focused on the cultic role of the king.

In my final chapter, Chapter 6, I summarize my evidence and analyses. I reinforce my conclusion that the three monuments I investigated, the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu played no role in popular piety. To the contrary they focused on kingship and the king's role as divine high priest.

## Chapter 2 Literature Survey

This chapter provides a general discussion of past scholarship on personal piety in ancient Egypt. It begins by reviewing the various scholarly theories as to what constitutes personal piety and next considers works that focus on identifying and discussing places used for personal piety. It continues with a review of literature that presents the primary source evidence for personal piety, and concludes by examining works that discuss special treatment given to reliefs believed to be the focus of worship by the populace.

### General Literature on Personal Piety

Scholars tend to agree on a basic definition of what constitutes personal piety. For most, personal piety may be defined as an attempt by an individual to communicate directly with the sacred, whether a deity, deified king or individual, or deified object. Popular Religion<sup>1</sup> or Popular Piety<sup>2</sup> are terms scholars use when defining the religious beliefs and practices of the Egyptian people outside of the official cult as practiced in the temples.

While scholars tend to agree on the definition on personal piety, there are differing theories as to when it arose and whether or not the populace was worshipping the great state gods or alternate manifestations of them. This section will present a brief overview of the general trends in scholarly thought on the subject and then will discuss the individual scholars' views of how and why personal piety arose in more detail in chronological order by publication date.

Evidence for the religious practices of individuals, or personal piety, is very sparse prior to the New Kingdom. This is believed to be because of the effects of what John Baines defines as “decorum”, “which specifies in hierarchical terms what may be depicted in what context.”<sup>3</sup> In other words, in earlier periods only the king was allowed to be shown with the gods, and to depict deities on his monuments. Even in the New Kingdom, the period for which some scholars claim a rise in personal piety, the evidence is limited. Scholars who believe personal piety increases in the New Kingdom attribute the rise to a growing accessibility of gods, such as Amun-Re, who were brought out in processions more and more often during New Kingdom festivals.<sup>4</sup> Jan Assmann credits Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, who reigned during the Eighteenth Dynasty, with creating “a new form of Amun religion”, in which the god acts for humans according to his will, via “(pilgrimage) festivals and the oracle procession.”<sup>5</sup> According to Boyo Ockinga, pre-Amarna ostraca that bear short prayers to Amun are considered to be the earliest literary evidence for personal piety.<sup>6</sup>

During the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Akhenaten turned away from the great state god Amun and embraced the Aten as the sole supreme deity. According to Assmann, “Briefly, it amounted to the replacement of the entire pantheon of traditional religion by a single

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<sup>1</sup> Sadek 1987, 2

<sup>2</sup> Morenz 1973, 101

<sup>3</sup> Baines 1987, 82

<sup>4</sup> Ockinga 2001, 44

<sup>5</sup> Assmann 2001, 195

<sup>6</sup> Ockinga 2001, 44

and, as such, a new god.”<sup>7</sup> Akhenaton closed the Amun temples and persecuted the “old religion”; thus individuals no longer had access to Amun through festivals.<sup>8</sup> This lack of physical access to Amun resulted in the composition of hymns by individuals who praised Amun and expressed “an internal certainty of belief” in the god.<sup>9</sup> After the death of Akhenaten, his successors restored the state religion, which again featured the worship of Amun. The personal hymns to Amun-Re and other deities that began in the Amarna era, however, continued when the state religion was reinstated. Thus, many scholars view the rise of personal piety either as developing from, or as a reaction to, Akhenaten’s Aten religion.

In 1911 Adolf Erman published an article, “Denksteine aus der Thebanischen Gräberstadt,” in which he examined twelve stelae from the village of Deir el Medina. The Deir el Medina stelae are dedicated to various gods by the workmen who lived in village and differ from votive stelae in that they include accounts (hymns) of misdeeds that were committed by a villager for which he was punished by illness and later forgiven by the god. Thus the texts on the stelae are sometimes referred to as “penitential” hymns.<sup>10</sup> One of the stelae, which Erman examined in-depth was Berlin Stela no. 23077, a private monument dedicated to Amun-Re by the draughtsman Nebre that depicts Nebre in supplication before a seated statue of the god Amun-Re.<sup>11</sup> The Deir el-Medina “penitential hymns, especially Nebre’s are often included in early discussions of personal piety.

James Henry Breasted in *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, wrote that the “thinking classes” of ancient Egypt took the “human and beneficent” attributes of the Aten developed under Akhenaten and transferred them to Amun.<sup>12</sup> He discerned traces of the monotheistic phrasing of the Aten hymns not only in the priestly hymns composed to the gods, but also in the “simpler and less ecclesiastical professions of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries before Christ.”<sup>13</sup> According to Breasted’s theory, the concept of a personal relationship between an individual and his god emerged in the Amarna period and subsequently resulted in a personal piety that was manifested among the masses.<sup>14</sup> Breasted focused on the texts of the hymns to Amun and other gods, including the Nebre stelae published by Erman, and considered little to no archaeological evidence. He used the hymns to demonstrate the forms in which personal relationships with the god were manifested. According to Breasted, pre-New Kingdom hymns concentrated on descriptions of the gods and allusions to myths; during the New Kingdom hymns expressed an individual’s relationship with his god.<sup>15</sup>

Erman produced two works on Egyptian Religion, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* and *Die Religion der Ägypter*, in which he discussed the faith of the lower classes and examined the

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<sup>7</sup> Assmann 2001, 198. There is a question of how comprehensive Akhenaten’s attacks against the other deities were; for example, Thoth was not among the deities anathematized (Hornung, 1999, 87).

<sup>8</sup> Assmann 2001, 222

<sup>9</sup> Assmann 2001, 224

<sup>10</sup> Simpson 2003, 284. In this volume edited by William Kelly Simpson, Edward Wente uses this term to describe these hymns.

<sup>11</sup> Erman 1986 [1911], 1087

<sup>12</sup> Breasted 1972 [1912], 346

<sup>13</sup> Breasted 1972 [1912], 348

<sup>14</sup> Breasted 1972 [1912], 349

<sup>15</sup> Breasted 1972 [1912], 355

topics of piety, popular gods and oracles.<sup>16</sup> He saw the development in the New Kingdom of a personal relationship between an individual and a deity. This relationship was transformed from an attitude of servitude and reverence in pre-New Kingdom eras to one comparable to a person's relationship with his/her father, which is one of trust and love.<sup>17</sup> Erman includes a discussion of the stelae from Deir el Medina which he examined in his 1911 article discussed above.<sup>18</sup>

Although these stelae clearly show that the common people supplicated the great state gods such as Amun-Re and Ptah, Erman, nevertheless, believed that these appeals were made to alternate manifestations of these gods. Erman theorized that because on his stelae (Fig. 3.26) Nebre depicted Amun-Re in front of a temple, it was an alternate manifestation of Amun-Re.<sup>19</sup> Erman saw the beliefs of the common people, despite evidence to the contrary, as offshoots of the "higher religion" of the temples and priests, pursued outside of temples.<sup>20</sup> According to Erman the "common people" addressed alternate gods "who hear prayer" or statues and representations of the gods, not the forms of the gods that were worshiped in the state temples, such as the Karnak.<sup>21</sup> Erman further discussed the development of individual piety outside the temple, in the form of worship of foreign deities (Resheph, Baal, Anat, Astarte etc.), lesser Egyptian deities (Bes, Taweret, etc.), deified kings, sacred animals, and even temple equipment, which he referred to as popular deities.<sup>22</sup>

Erman's discussion of oracles showed that, in the New Kingdom, the Egyptians believed that the gods and deified kings took an interest in human affairs. In support of his position Erman cited cases of common individuals who sought oracular decisions from the deified Amenhotep I.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Erman saw the emergence of a new type of religious poetry, beginning with the hymns of Akhenaten in the latter half of the New Kingdom, that no longer used the traditional formulae and readily allowed the expression of more individual sentiments.<sup>24</sup> Like Breasted, Erman placed a heavy reliance on textual sources; unlike Breasted, however, Erman went further and included evidence for popular religious practices involving lesser deities such as Taweret and Bes who appear as amulets or protective deities on head rests, and foreign gods.<sup>25</sup>

According to Jaroslav Černý in his book, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, the "official" view of relations between humans and the gods was that only the king was entitled to direct access to the deities.<sup>26</sup> Černý noted that while depictions of the gods do not appear on personal monuments of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, divine names do occur in the inscriptions.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Erman's *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* was published in translation in 1907 as a hand book for visitors to the British Museum (Erman 1907, v). His book *Die Religion der Ägypter* had a much more in depth discussion on personal piety and popular religion and will be discussed here.

<sup>17</sup> Erman 1968 [1934], 139

<sup>18</sup> Erman 1986 [1911], 1087

<sup>19</sup> Erman 1968 [1934], 139. Erman maintains this assumption even though Nebre's text clearly invokes "Amun-Re Lord of the thrones of the two lands, Great God, foremost of Karnak."

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.; Erman 1907, 73

<sup>21</sup> Erman 1968 [1934], 142. Erman maintains this assumption even though Nebre's text clearly evokes "Amun-Re, Lord of the thrones of the two lands, Great God, foremost of Karnak."

<sup>22</sup> Erman 1968 [1934], 146-150

<sup>23</sup> Erman 1968 [1934], 155

<sup>24</sup> Erman 1907, 82

<sup>25</sup> Erman 1968 [1934], 146-156

<sup>26</sup> Černý 1979 [1952], 67

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

Černý theorized that the absence of depictions of deities on individuals' monuments resulted from the official view that only the king, himself a deity, could appear with the gods.<sup>28</sup> It was only in the Second Intermediate period that depictions of gods began to appear on private monuments "due to the absolute equality for all in the religion which was achieved by the time of the XIIth Dynasty. . ."<sup>29</sup> Like Erman, Černý saw the reign of Akhenaten as the impetus that allowed freer expression in texts permitting Egyptians to express their emotional feelings and attitudes about the gods.<sup>30</sup> In his discussion of the Deir el Medina stelae, published by Erman, Černý stressed the humility of the worshipper whose appeal for mercy is recorded on the stelae, as well as the confessional nature of the texts, contrasting it with the "self assured tone and the assumption of infallibility pervading all the earlier religious literature."<sup>31</sup> He contended, however, that these Deir el Medina texts are actually only a continuation of similar sentiments towards the gods expressed by the theophorous names of earlier periods that, in the New Kingdom, are openly expressed.<sup>32</sup> Because this change to an open expression of feelings and attitudes towards the gods occurred so soon after the reign of Akhenaten, Černý said "it is difficult not to see in it one of the permanent results of the Amarna period."<sup>33</sup> Černý also theorized that, although most of the great state gods are mentioned on the stelae from Deir el Medina, "these people did not dare – or perhaps were not allowed – to approach the great state gods in their temples."<sup>34</sup> Instead, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina worshipped the great state gods in smaller sanctuaries likened by Černý to branches of the official state temple, as specific local manifestations of state deities such as Amun and Ptah.<sup>35</sup> These manifestations of state gods were identified with special epithets such as Amun "of the happy encounter" who was worshipped in western Thebes.<sup>36</sup> Černý also discussed new "smaller" deities created by the people during the New Kingdom, such as Bes, Shed, and Merseger; however he stressed that the state did not officially sanction these smaller deities and that these gods did not have major cult temples dedicated to them.<sup>37</sup>

Černý also included oracles in his discussion of men's relationships with the gods. He theorized that "oracles also show how the Egyptians almost forced their gods to abandon a passive attitude towards men and to reveal their will, advice or knowledge".<sup>38</sup> Černý stressed that the questions posed to the oracle were not about the future; rather, they solicited the god's help with a difficulty or to resolve a dispute.<sup>39</sup> One of the shortcomings of Černý's treatment is

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<sup>28</sup> Černý 1979 [1952], 67

<sup>29</sup> Černý 1979 [1952], 68

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Černý 1979 [1952], 69

<sup>34</sup> Černý 1979 [1952], 70

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Černý 1979 [1952], 71. Hippopotamus goddesses bear three different names *Ipt* (Opet), *Rrt* and *Ta-wrt*. (El-Kinawy 1998, 19). The earliest reference to *Ipt* occurs in the Pyramid Texts where she is identified the "nurse" for the king, following the phrase "Hail you Hippopotamus". (El-Kinawy 1998, 20). From the Forth to Eleventh Dynasties amulets in the form of a hippopotamus head appear followed by the Hippopotamus standing on its hind legs.(El-Kinawy 1998, 20). In the Middle Kingdom the hippopotamus goddess was worshipped as *Rrt* and was a goddess of war and protection and in New Kingdom she was venerated as *Ta wrt*. (El-Kinawy 1998, 20) In the Ptolemaic period Ptolemy VIII built a temple dedicated to *Ipt*. (Černý 1979 [1952], 71; Blyth 2006, 231)

<sup>38</sup> Černý 1979 [1952], 74

<sup>39</sup> Černý 1979 [1952], 75

that, due to the popular nature of the publication (which he readily admits in his preface) there are no citations.

Siegfried Morenz took a different approach to personal piety than Erman and Černý who thought that the populace did not worship the state gods in their temples. Morenz began with the premise that individuals did go to temples like Karnak to make an appeal to a god. He based this hypothesis on the presence of statues, such as those erected by Amenhotep son of Hapu, that were found at Karnak temple and were inscribed with an invitation to individual worshipers to bring their concerns to the great temple at Karnak.<sup>40</sup> While Morenz did state that Amenhotep son of Hapu's statues were located in front of the X<sup>th</sup> Pylon, he did not stress that this location was in the outer reaches of the temple precinct. Individuals thus would not have permitted to come far into the precinct. Morenz followed up by discussing the same stela as Erman (Berlin Stela 23007),<sup>41</sup> dedicated by the draughtsman Nebre that contains both praise of Amun-Re and thanksgiving for the recovery of his son Nakhtamun.<sup>42</sup> Unlike Erman, however, Morenz believed "the manner in which the god is addressed leaves no doubt that the petitioner regards Amun as the official lord of the great temple at Karnak."<sup>43</sup> Therefore, while other scholars focused on the idea that individuals worshiped a 'branch' or alternate 'manifestation' of the state gods, Morenz believed it was indeed the state god of Karnak to whom Nebre was praying. Morenz also cited a passage from the *Instruction of Ani* that explained the correct way to pray to support of his theory that individuals were worshiping in the temple.<sup>44</sup> Significantly, Morenz considered the god Amun to be the "linchpin between national ritual and popular piety."<sup>45</sup>

In his *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* article entitled "Personliche Frömmigkeit," Helmut Brunner reviewed what he considered to be the historical background of personal piety. Personal piety, Brunner theorized, grew out of men's fear and feeling of isolation, which caused them to seek security through a divinity and to establish a personal relationship with that deity.<sup>46</sup> The cause of the flourishing of personal piety in the Ramesside period, according to Brunner, was a reaction to the policies of Akhenaten, whereby an individual could access the god only through the king.<sup>47</sup> Brunner saw personal piety as a separate manifestation of Egyptian religion apart from temple, mortuary cults and myth.<sup>48</sup> Although personal piety was separate from the temple cult, Brunner believed that the two complemented each other, and saw personal prayer as supplementing the temple rituals and that personal devotion could be expressed in the temple forecourts.<sup>49</sup> In addition, Brunner also discussed in his article the various sources, almost exclusively textual, available to investigate aspects of personal piety such as specific gods worshipped, the social function of personal piety, and its relationship with temple religion.

John Baines, in his article "Practical Religion and Piety," presented a hypothesis about the nature of non-funerary religious practices in pre-New Kingdom Egypt. In an attempt to fill

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<sup>40</sup> Morenz 1973, 102

<sup>41</sup> See above p. 15

<sup>42</sup> Gunn 1916, 83-84

<sup>43</sup> Morenz 1973, 103

<sup>44</sup> Morenz 1973, 104

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Brunner 1982, col. 951

<sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Brunner 1982, col. 959

the void in our knowledge of personal devotion in the periods prior to the New Kingdom, Baines examined possible early evidence for “practical religion” or “religious action in everyday context.”<sup>50</sup> Baines theorized that the evidentiary absence of individual devotion in the Old and Middle Kingdoms may be partly the function of decorum, “which specifies in hierarchical terms what may be depicted in what context, as well as probably affecting the content of many textual sources.”<sup>51</sup> According to Baines decorum excluded the depiction of human non-funerary religious practices prior to the New Kingdom.<sup>52</sup> In an effort to avert the distortions of decorum Baines presented a model of contexts for religious action that he described as being “in continuous form, organized around an individual’s biography, and draws on studies of living religion in small-scale societies.”<sup>53</sup> Baines speculated that personal religious practice may be concerned with major transitions such as birth, puberty, marriage and death (that were handled through rituals), as well as “afflictions” a term Baines used for unexpected events such as illness, sudden or premature death and disasters.<sup>54</sup>

Baines presented a possible range of religious actions individuals might have used to avert afflictions. Baines posited that these actions may have included communication with the deceased, oracles and intermediaries, and seers.<sup>55</sup> Baines used evidence from elite members of society to extrapolate the possible religious actions that may have been taken by lower levels of society. Under the topic of contacting the dead, Baines discussed the use of letters to the dead to show that individuals believed they could turn to dead for assistance. He also referenced Old and Middle Kingdom cults dedicated to the deified Hardjedef, Ptahhotpe, Kagemni, Izi, and Heqaib as avenues through which individuals could have sought divine intervention, although he acknowledged that the evidence of votive materials from these sites is sparse.<sup>56</sup> In discussing the practice of oracles, Baines used tomb biographies, such as Ankhtifi’s at Moalla, dated to First Intermediate Period, to show that individuals from pre-New Kingdom periods also legitimized their actions by references to divine authority.<sup>57</sup> To support his hypothesis about seers Baines uses New Kingdom texts from Deir el Medina which discussed the use of *t3 rht*, the wise woman to show that individual did consult seers.<sup>58</sup>

Baines also included a discussion of piety in his article in which he provides examples of the practice of giving children theophoric names which occurred in all periods.<sup>59</sup> Baines noted that the majority of theophoric names refer to major deities.<sup>60</sup> Baines concludes that our record of practices and beliefs from the Old and Middle Kingdoms must be distorted because of

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<sup>50</sup> Baines 1987, 79

<sup>51</sup> Baines 1987, 82

<sup>52</sup> Baines 1987, 79

<sup>53</sup> Baines 1987, 83

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Baines, 1987 86-94. In his section entitled “Individual biographies and affliction.” Baines included a discussion of magic and asserted that the chief thrust of magic was to forestall or counter affliction (Baines 1987, 84). The Instruction for Merikare, dated to the First Intermediate Period, states that the creator god gave magic to humans to use as weapons. (Lichtheim 1973, 106). Baines cited this passage to demonstrate that magic and religion was integrated. (Baines 1987, 84). “Because elite magic cannot be easily related to the more wide spread practices which probably existed” Baines did not include magic in his list of ways individual avert affliction (Ibid.).

<sup>56</sup> Baines 1987, 87 88

<sup>57</sup> Baines 1987, 89

<sup>58</sup> Baines 1987, 93

<sup>59</sup> Baines 1987, 95

<sup>60</sup> Baines 1987, 96

“decorum” and that the elite, as well as lower class individuals may have been united in religious practices outside of the official cult.<sup>61</sup>

Jan Assmann in *The Mind of Egypt* presented the most complex theory of all regarding the nature of Egyptian personal piety in the New Kingdom. According to Assmann, the blanket term personal piety includes four different phenomena: local forms of Egyptian religion, domestic and individual forms of religiosity, popular religion, and new forms of religiosity peculiar to the New Kingdom.<sup>62</sup> Assmann’s discussion on the topic, however, only covered the forth phenomena namely the “new forms of religiosity” of the New Kingdom. Assmann theorized that the “new religiosity” was indicated by terms such as “to put god into one’s heart,” which occurs as early as the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>63</sup> Assmann created a new term, “theology of will,” for this new religious orientation of which personal piety and a belief in divine intervention are aspects.<sup>64</sup> Assmann stressed temple festivals as a source of personal piety because “they permitted individuals to enter into direct personal relations with god.”<sup>65</sup> He also emphasized that in Egypt an individual’s allegiance was to his city or town as opposed to the state and therefore it would be the local deity whom individuals would celebrate in festivals.<sup>66</sup> Further, Assmann discussed the god as patron to the individual and cited the Nineteenth Dynasty case of Si-Mut called Kiki<sup>67</sup> who willed all of his belonging to the goddess Mut, thereby becoming her client.<sup>68</sup> Assmann has concluded from the evidence of ancient Egyptian texts that the Egyptians of the Old and Middle Kingdoms believed that misfortune was not divine retribution for misdeeds and could strike a blameless individual. Punishment for crimes was in the hands of humans and not the gods. In the New Kingdom, however, Assmann sees a shift in Egyptian belief; now Egyptians saw gods as rewarding good and punishing bad behavior.<sup>69</sup> In the New Kingdom individuals could call upon a deity, and the god would answer, as in the case where a man from Assiut was saved from a crocodile by Wepwawet.<sup>70</sup> Assmann carried this theory of divine retribution further, tying it to concepts of time. In addition to the two usual Egyptian concepts of time, *nḥḥ* (cyclical time) and *ḏt* (unchanging permanence), he sees a third aspect of time emerging in the New Kingdom: “history.”<sup>71</sup> This new aspect of time consisted of events associated with a god’s will.<sup>72</sup> When an individual experienced a god, either through suffering punishment for having offended the god or receiving the god’s intervention in a crisis, he or she was obligated to publicize the event on stela, such as those from Deir el Medina published by Erman. Assmann saw these public recordings not as a literary genre, but rather as

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<sup>61</sup> Baines 1987, 97-98

<sup>62</sup> Assmann 2002, 229

<sup>63</sup> Assmann 2002, 230

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Assmann 2002, 232

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Wilson 1970, 187

<sup>68</sup> Assmann 2002, 237

<sup>69</sup> Assmann 2002, 239-240

<sup>70</sup> Assmann 2002, 243

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. The Egyptians did not have a word for this “history” time. He theorized that there was a third concept of time based on hymns.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

an expression of this new concept of time.<sup>73</sup> Assmann, however, did not give a compelling reason why the Egyptians would have considered this to be a special concept of time.

In a work entitled *Gods and Men in Egypt 3000 BCE to 395 CE*, C. Zivie-Coche provided a comprehensive overview of Egyptian religion during the Pharaonic Period.<sup>74</sup> Zivie-Coche began her chapter entitled “Of Men and Gods” with a general definition of personal piety. Zivie-Coche posited that the evidence for personal piety shows that individuals were invoking the same gods as those of the major cults; thus demonstrating that temple cult and personal piety were not different and separate religions, but simply a different means of communicating with the divine.<sup>75</sup> According to Zivie-Coche personal piety was codified and followed the same norms as the temple cult for contact between humans and the gods.<sup>76</sup> For Zivie-Coche the two facets of religious activity, official cult and personal piety, each had a role that was not interchangeable.<sup>77</sup> She also noted that the evidence for personal piety, such as votive stelae, ostraca, amulets, and *ex-voto* objects, represent just a small fraction of the religious behavior of individuals most of which did not leave any trace in the archaeological record.<sup>78</sup> Further, Zivie-Coche addressed the lack of evidence for the Old and Middle Kingdoms with the exception of the onomastic evidence.<sup>79</sup> Zivie-Coche cited Baines’ and Brunner’s work as indicating there was personal piety prior to the New Kingdom<sup>80</sup> and she also assumed that there was more individual religious practice than appears in textual and archaeological contexts.<sup>81</sup> Zivie-Coche viewed the period following Akhenaten as a turning point in the evolution of personal piety, rather than its beginning.<sup>82</sup> In her section on piety and institutions, Zivie-Coche noted that certain locales within the temples of Karnak and Luxor, as well as within other state temples, had names suggesting they were places for individual supplication. She also included a discussion of personal piety practiced in chapels, oratories, oracles, and the domestic house shrines of the Deir el Medina workmen.<sup>83</sup> Although Zivie-Coche provided a limited bibliography for each chapter, the semi-popular nature of the publication precluded the inclusion more of detailed footnotes.

All of the scholars discussed above more or less agree on what personal piety entails, despite the use of different terminology. All agree that individual Egyptians addressed deities on their own behalf. Sometimes this was achieved through an intermediary, such as Amenhotep son of Hapu; at other times it was accomplished directly through the great state gods, such as Ptah and Amun. Some manifestations of Egyptian deities, deified kings, and lesser deities are addressed more often than others.

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<sup>73</sup> Assmann 2002, 243

<sup>74</sup> Her coauthor Francois Dunand covered the religious beliefs of the Greco-Roman period.

<sup>75</sup> Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 108

<sup>76</sup> Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 109

<sup>77</sup> Ibid

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 110

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 111

<sup>82</sup> Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 110-111

<sup>83</sup> Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 111-121

## Literature on “Places of Supplication” and Pilgrimage Sites

In addition to the works on personal piety in the New Kingdom as discussed above, other references are often cited that identified particular sites as areas of popular religion. These works presented evidence to demonstrate that individuals went into both state and local temples to contact the gods especially during festivals, in addition to the use of personal shrines within their homes.

Charles Nims’ article “Popular Religion in Ancient Egyptian Temples,”<sup>84</sup> is one of the most often cited works on this subject. In this two page abstract from the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress of Orientalists, Nims discussed the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, the Eastern Temples at Karnak, the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Ramesses II’s temple at Abydos, the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, and the colossi of the New Kingdom kings, like Ramesses II, as monuments used for popular worship. While the actual paper he presented may have contained a good deal of information, the data as published are very sparse and essentially amount to a list of sites.

Jean Yoyotte in his article “Les Pèlerinages dans l’Égypte Ancienne”<sup>85</sup> provided an in depth study of pilgrimage in ancient Egypt. Yoyotte covered both funerary pilgrimages (meant to occur in the afterlife) and actual pilgrimages conducted by individuals to state temples, only the latter are important for this study. Yoyotte used graffiti and votive monuments, such as stelae and statues left by individuals within temple complexes, to explicate this difficult topic.

For the New Kingdom Yoyotte listed sites of popular religion at Karnak and Memphis temples including the Eastern Temple of Ramesses II. In his section on the Memphite necropolis, Yoyotte included several temples that began as formal state temples or monuments and later became the focus of popular cults. Yoyotte concluded by theorizing that high ranking individuals may have been allowed to enter the temples and participate in some of the cultic rituals. Despite the lack of illustrations and detailed descriptions, Yoyotte’s work is an important reference for pilgrimage and popular religion sites specifically because he described the sites in the context of the primary source materials deposited at the sites by ancient Egyptians.

Doha Mostafa’s article “Lieux Saints Populaires Dans L’Égypte Ancienne” also discussed places that were the loci for personal worship.<sup>86</sup> This work differs from Yoyotte’s in that Mostafa limited his discussion to New Kingdom sites in Thebes and Memphis. Mostafa included not only the Theban sites mentioned by Yoyotte but also minor sites from western Thebes where evidence of individual worship was found. This article is very terse and provides just basic information for each site, without a lot of evidence or discussion of use; however, it is useful in tracking smaller sites.

Ashraf Iskander Sadek’s book, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, is one of the seminal and most extensive works on personal piety. Sadek defined “popular religion” as the beliefs and practices of the Egyptian people outside of the official temple cult.<sup>87</sup> He began with a brief discussion of the evidence for personal piety from the Old and Middle

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<sup>84</sup> Nims 1956

<sup>85</sup> Yoyotte 1960, 19-74

<sup>86</sup> Mostafa 1994, 87-96

<sup>87</sup> Sadek 1987, 2

Kingdoms, providing specific examples of textual and archaeological evidence for personal devotion from major sites.<sup>88</sup> For the New Kingdom, Sadek discussed specific sites of individual worship, as well as the deities who were the focus of personal devotion. His discussion included a detailed description of each deity, a list of their titles, and the personal monuments on which they appear. Deities included in his study are: Amun, Ra, Harakhty-Ra, Atum, Ptah, Osiris, Thoth, Hathor, Meretseger, Renenet, Taweret, Soped, Shed, Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, and less prominent gods and goddess. Finally Sadek also investigated festivals and pilgrimages, theology, votive “ear stelae,” and concluded with the popular religion of the Late Period.

For the purpose of this study, the key aspect of Sadek’s work is his treatment of the New Kingdom sites where individuals practiced their devotion. For each of these sites, Sadek reviewed the votive offering found, such as the Horbeit stelae from Qantir, and discusses the gods to whom these votive offerings are dedicated.<sup>89</sup> Among the Theban sites discussed by Sadek those relevant to this study are Karnak temple (Pylon X, Eastern Temple of Amun/Ramesses II “who hears prayer,” and the forecourt), Medinet Habu and Deir el-Bahari. Sadek theorized that specific areas at Karnak temple, including the Eastern Temple of Amun/Ramesses II “who hears prayer,” were officially established for the specific purpose of providing a place for people to approach the god. However, Sadek noted that excavators have recovered no votive offerings from these locations.<sup>90</sup> Sadek also discussed the forecourts of Karnak and Luxor, as well as the Monumental gateway at Medinet Habu as Theban sites of individual worship. His discussion of these sites was very short and provides little information supporting the hypothesis of their use as loci for individual devotion. For Deir el-Bahari, Sadek discussed the evidence for the popular cult to Hathor in Thutmose III’s temple and the shrine of the cow near Mentuhotep’s temple.<sup>91</sup> Sadek did not go into detail about the votive offering and merely stated that statues, stelae and other gifts dedicated to Amun and Hathor were found in Mentuhotep’s temple. He did provide a longer discussion on the graffiti that was left by visitors on the walls and pillars of Thutmose III’s temple and gave translations for six of them.<sup>92</sup>

Sadek is thorough in identifying the different sites though out ancient Egypt where personal piety is believed to have taken place; however, he did not discuss the physical layout of these places or their associated iconography. The primary value of Sadek’s work is its inclusive nature and the detailed footnotes concerning the evidence for both primary and secondary sources.

In *The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt*, Ann Bomann studied the private chapels from the workmen’s villages at Amarna and Deir el-Medina. She began with a detailed study of the layouts for the twenty two chapels from the workman’s village at Amarna providing plans and descriptions.<sup>93</sup> Bomann next provided the same inform for the thirty-two chapels at Deir el-Medina comparing their layouts to those at Amarna. Bomann also provided a discussion of the extant reliefs and speculated on the purpose of each chapel based archeological finds. Bomann compared the two sites and discussed the deities worshipped in each. She concluded from the

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<sup>88</sup> Sadek 1987, 5-10

<sup>89</sup> Sadek 1987, 12-13

<sup>90</sup> Sadek 1987, 46

<sup>91</sup> Sadek 1987, 51

<sup>92</sup> Sadek 1987, 53-58

<sup>93</sup> Bomann 1991, 8-37

evidence that at both Amarna and Deir el-Medina the chapels were used for ancestor cults, which predominated, and cults devoted to major and minor deities.<sup>94</sup> Bomann also presented evidence that at Amarna and Deir el-Medina individuals were worshipping Amun and Hathor.<sup>95</sup> Minor deities worshipped at Amarna included Shed and Renenutet.<sup>96</sup> The appearance of traditional deities at Amarna is interesting because one of the factors cited for the rise in personal piety in Egypt is that Akhenaten abandoned all cults except for that of the Aten. The chapels at Deir el-Medina mainly focused on royal and private ancestor cults; however, there were also chapel cults dedicated to Hathor, Ptah, Amun, Osiris, Meretseger, and also some animal cults.<sup>97</sup> Bomann found that in addition to the performance rituals, rituals meals were served in chapels at both locations, although not all of the Deir el-Medina chapels bore evidence of meals.<sup>98</sup> Bomann showed that the villagers of Amarna and Deir el-Media had “a developed and independent religious structure, in which ancestor worship figured prominently.”<sup>99</sup>

### **Literature on Primary Source Evidence for Personal Piety**

The evidence identified as reflecting personal piety is varied, as individual worship in ancient Egypt left traces in homes, minor shrines, cult places and even the great official temples. This evidence is comprised of stelae, ostraca, amulets, graffiti, and other votive objects. The works discussed in this section focus on the primary sources.

A major source cited as evidence for personal piety is a group of stelae from Deir el Medina originally published by Erman in 1911.<sup>100</sup> One example, Stela BM 23077, was dedicated to Amun by the draughtsman Nebre and his son Khay and inscribed with a hymn of gratitude for the recovery of a second son Nakhtamun, from a serious illness. Nebre believed that Amun-Re had punished Nakhtamun because of a transgression but the god relented and allowed the young man’s recovery. Nebre’s stela bears one of the texts most often used by Egyptologists both as evidence for personal piety and for the worship of Amun-Re of Karnak by populace in the New Kingdom.

There are several authors who wrote about the Deir el-Medina “penitential” stelae and their hymns. Erman’s “Denksteine aus der Tebanischen Gräberstadt,” is the first article in which twelve of these stelae were published including Nebre’s (BM 23077).<sup>101</sup> The advantage of Erman’s work is that he included the hieroglyphs, as well as a translation and commentary for each stela. This allows the researcher to verify the translations. In his article “The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt,” B. Gunn provides an English translation of this group of hymns.<sup>102</sup> They are essentially the same stelae presented by Erman in his 1911 article discussed above; however, Gunn’s main purpose was to introduce these texts to English readers. The one thing lacking from the articles of Erman and Gunn was images of these stelae so that their iconography

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<sup>94</sup> Bomann 1991, 74

<sup>95</sup> Bomann 1991, 73

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Bomann 1991, 74

<sup>100</sup> See page 9

<sup>101</sup> Erman 1986 [1911]

<sup>102</sup> Gunn 1916, 82

can be assessed.<sup>103</sup> Mario Tosi and Alessandro Roccati's *Stele e alter epigrafi di Deir el Medina* catalogued the all of the Deir el Medina stelae and stela fragments housed in the Turin Museum. The volume includes eighty-five stelae and seventy-eight fragments, providing details concerning providence, date, materials, a transcription of all texts, and a photo of each stela and fragments and includes six of the stelae published by Gaston, Erman and Gunn. In order to study the Deir el-Medina penitential stelae it is necessary to consult multiple publications to examine how their texts and iconography complement each other.

In *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Geraldine Pinch presented a detailed study of objects offered to the goddess Hathor. She clarified the definition of the term "votive offering," stressing that they are gifts given to a deity and do not necessarily reflect the fulfillment of a vow.<sup>104</sup> Pinch began by discussing the various sites throughout Egypt that have yielded offerings to Hathor. For Deir el-Bahari she discussed how Hatshepsut's mortuary temple *Djeser-Djeseru* and Thutmose III's Amun temple *Djeser-Akhet* became loci for popular religion in the New Kingdom.<sup>105</sup> The remainder of her study is devoted to the specific types of offerings made to Hathor which included stelae, textiles, Hathor masks, cows, cats, fertility figurines, phallic objects, ears and eyes, jewelry, amulets, and vessels. Pinch also discussed the devotees' ritual actions when visiting a temple which consisted of prayer, sacrifice and the dedication of votive offerings. Pinch made it clear that private individuals did believe that they were able to establish a personal relationship with a god.<sup>106</sup>

In her recent book, *Untersuchungen zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine*, E. Morgan analyzed ear stelae from Deir el-Medina. Ear stelae are inscriptional monuments erected by individuals that feature one or more disembodied ears in their decoration. Morgan theorized that these objects were typically given in response to the fulfillment of a vow.<sup>107</sup> Morgan limited her study to nineteen stelae that she identified, either by provenance or attributions, as coming from Deir el Medina.<sup>108</sup>

Unlike other scholars, such as Sadek, Morgan did not consider the ear stelae to be evidence of personal piety. Her theory is that because the stelae do not include the statement "there is no refuge for my heart except Amun" in their texts, they do not constitute evidence for personal piety. She even added that Breasted went too far in classifying them as such.<sup>109</sup> Morgan's view of what constitutes personal piety seems to be very narrow and would exclude many artifacts such as amulets and household shrines from consideration:

"Aus diesen Sachverhalten auf pF zu schließen, ist jedoch nicht angezeigt, da Proskynese – „die Erde küssen“ – im Text der Stelen 08, 10, 15 und 18 erscheint und beinahe all Adoranten in einer abgeschwächten Form der Proskynese, nämlich kniend, dargestellt sind."<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Erman did include a picture of Nebre stelae.

<sup>104</sup> Pinch 1993, Introduction

<sup>105</sup> Pinch 1993, 25

<sup>106</sup> Pinch 1993, 349

<sup>107</sup> Morgan 2004, 2

<sup>108</sup> Morgan 2004, 3

<sup>109</sup> Morgan 2004, 66

<sup>110</sup> Morgan 2004, 65

Peter Brand in his article “A Graffito of Amen-Re in Luxor Temple restored by the high priest Menkheperre,”<sup>111</sup> examined an example of a Third Intermediate and Late Period phenomenon whereby the clergy of Amun-Re had “official” graffiti carved as objects intended for popular devotion.<sup>112</sup> These graffiti are well executed and appear on New Kingdom walls that were not decorated by the pharaohs who built them. For his study he presents a graffito depicting an ithyphallic Amun-Re that was inscribed on the west exterior wall of Amenhotep III’s solar court. The graffito’s exact date and the identity of the carver are unknown; however, based on the position of the graffito on a blank wall, its careful rendering of Amun-Re, in his ithyphallic form, and the absence of a king in the representation, Brand believed the graffito was first carved at a time of priestly power, probably during the late Twentieth or early Twenty-First Dynasty.<sup>113</sup> Later during the Twenty-First Dynasty this image was restored by the High Priest Menkheperre, who added a text to the image explaining his action.<sup>114</sup> Brand’s article is the only one I have found where the author not only examined the icon in question, but also placed it in its iconographic context. Brand also described the position of drill holes around the figure, which, to him, signified that the figure was “veiled” in antiquity.<sup>115</sup> After describing the restored figure, Brand discussed several other similar groups of ex-voto graffiti on the east wall of Luxor Temple and on the Khonsu temple at Karnak.

### **Scholarly Works on Special Treatments Interpreted as Evidence for Personal Piety**

Relatively few works deal with the “special treatments” given to some of the figures on temple walls. Such treatments include the drill holes which surround reliefs or the addition of special material elements to figures.<sup>116</sup> Three articles, however, reviewed below, deal with the issue of covering, or veiling, of images.

Ludwig Borchardt in “Metallbelag an Steinbauten” was the first to try and explain the drill holes that surround some of the figures in temple reliefs. He theorized that these holes were used to attach fittings of precious metals.<sup>117</sup> He suggested that the holes were used to hold sheets of precious metal over the reliefs. In his article, Borchardt covers evidence on obelisks, columns, door thicknesses, and “Gegen” temples. Gegen or contra temples are shrines or chapels that are built on the exterior of the back wall of a temple. The focal point of the Gegen temples is the central relief on the back wall.

Henry George Fischer in his article “Medinet Habu, Volume V: The Temple Proper, Part I,” in addition to reviewing the volume, also discussed the figures at Medinet Habu which have these drill holes.<sup>118</sup> He began with a depiction of Amun-Re which is designated by the text as “Amun-Re Who is in the Thickness of the Doorway”<sup>119</sup> and cited Nims’ determination that this

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<sup>111</sup> Brand 2004

<sup>112</sup> Brand 2004, 257

<sup>113</sup> Brand 2004, 259

<sup>114</sup> Brand 2004, 258

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. The term veiling is used to explain the presence of drilled holes that surround some images of the gods in various temples.

<sup>116</sup> See Chapter 1 page 5

<sup>117</sup> Borchardt 1933, 1

<sup>118</sup> Fischer 1959

<sup>119</sup> MH V, pl. 254

epithet is evidence of the provisions made for popular worship.<sup>120</sup> The figure of Amun-Re “Who is in the Thickness of the Doorway” had a series of holes surrounding it; Fischer theorized such holes could be used as a criterion to recognize other images as focal points of popular religion.<sup>121</sup> Fischer tracked a total of fifteen instances of figures with these holes throughout the temple proper.<sup>122</sup> He agrees with Borchardt that the holes were used to fasten a cover over the reliefs.<sup>123</sup> Fischer contends that the holes were made after the reliefs and believes that they might date as late as the Greco-Roman period.<sup>124</sup>

Peter Brand, in “Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: The Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor,” argues that the holes around images were used to hold veils, the exact nature of which is unknown, over representations that had become cult objects.<sup>125</sup> In addition to the drill holes, he listed two other criteria that presumably indicated an image had become the focus of devotion: special treatment, such as inlay, appliqué or gilding;<sup>126</sup> and textual evidence in the form of special epithets.<sup>127</sup>

## Conclusion

An analysis of the scholarship presenting general overviews of personal piety demonstrates that there is a general agreement about what constitutes personal piety and popular religion; there is, however, variance in the types of materials used as evidence for the phenomenon, in the theories about when it arose, and which manifestations of the deities were worshiped. Early Egyptologists concentrated on textual evidence, while more recent scholarship focused on material culture, such as votive offerings. While earlier scholars tended to see (and Assmann still does) the appearance of personal piety as a reaction to the reforms of Akhenaton, researchers such as Baines and Zivie-Coche now look back to the Old Kingdom as the beginning of individual devotion. On the question of whether individuals worshipped the great state gods such as Amun-Re, Erman and Černý theorized that individuals appealed to an alternate manifestation of the deity, while Morenz and Zivie-Coche presumed that it was the state god.

As this survey of scholarly works that discussed “places of supplication” and pilgrimage sites has demonstrated, several authors listed the location of formal chapels or informal shrines that are believed to have been the loci of individual devotion or popular worship. These locations include representations installed as part of temple decoration, statues of deified kings erected in forecourts, images of gods that have received special treatment in the form of inlays, or images which have been ‘veiled’ or covered with metal sheets.<sup>128</sup> In scholarly works discussing personal piety, the Eastern Temples of Thutmose III and Ramesses II at Karnak and Ramesses III’s Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu usually are included in the lists of sites, with

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<sup>120</sup> Fischer 1959, 196

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> These will be discussed in detail in the section of Ptah of the High Gate.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Fischer 1959, 197

<sup>125</sup> Brand 2007, 61

<sup>126</sup> Brand 2007, 59

<sup>127</sup> Brand 2007, 60

<sup>128</sup> These are images that have holes drilled around them that appeared to have been used to attach something to the image. Borchardt (1933) believed that they secured metal plates or gold shrines over the images; while Brand (2007) believes they were used to affix a veil or wooden covering over them.

little or no discussion of their iconography other than to name the god “who hears prayer.” Some of these works, such as Pinch’s discussion of the Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahari, discussed places that appear to be informal shrines started spontaneously by the populace and monuments reused by minor cults.

What is lacking in all these scholarly works is a detailed discussion of the context of the reliefs (i.e., the surrounding iconography) and whether this evidence supports the interpretation of the reliefs as locations of personal piety. I have found only one study, written by Brand, which discussed an image, believed to have been the focus of worship, in relation to other representations in its vicinity, as an explanation for the placement of the shrine. Following Brand’s examples for Karnak and Luxor ex-voto graffiti, this study will examine the Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu in order to determine whether the contextualization of images on these monuments reveals further aspects of personal piety in ancient Egypt.

### Chapter 3 Evidence of Personal Piety in the New Kingdom

In an effort to evaluate the theory that the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu were places designed to meet the spiritual needs of the populace,<sup>1</sup> this chapter will present an overview of key archaeological, iconographic and textual evidence dated to the New Kingdom that is accepted as being reflective of personal piety from other locations. Specific sites and materials have been chosen for one of two reasons: 1) they are associated with concrete votive evidence that was left behind by devout individuals during the New Kingdom in their efforts to contact the divine, or 2) the temple's decorative program included specific texts and iconography that strongly suggest the populace was allowed into these sacred areas. This overview will establish a baseline of the types of votive offering left by individuals in places used by the populace or, in areas where there have been no votive materials recovered, the kind of texts and iconography that were employed in the temple's decorative program to denote that the populace was given access to the area. This baseline will then be compared against the evidence from the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu to determine if they too were used by the populace.

This overview of the evidence for personal piety will begin with the votive material from Lower Egypt and then move to Thebes, in Upper Egypt.<sup>2</sup> I will discuss the votive offerings from several sites, beginning with the votive stelae from the Ptah Temple at Memphis, proceeding to the Horbeit stelae believed to be from Qantir,<sup>3</sup> followed by votive objects and graffiti dedicated to Hathor and Amun-Re at Deir el-Bahari, and concluding with stelae from the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina. Furthermore, I will provide a discussion of the statues of Amenhotep Son of Hapu from the 10<sup>th</sup> pylon at Karnak, who offered to act as an intermediary between the god Amun-Re and the people. His role as intermediary is demonstrated by the wear-marks on the papyrus scroll, unrolled across his lap, left by the hands of the petitioners. Next I will continue with a brief discussion of the locations of clusters of graffiti that contained personal names and/or petitions to the gods produced during the New Kingdom within the Karnak precinct. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of the textual and iconographic evidence from the southeastern quadrant of Ramesses II's forecourt at Luxor and the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Temple, that indicate they were places for "adoring the king and the gods" or "places of hearing petitions."

#### **The Memphite Stelae**

The most important temple at Memphis was dedicated to the Memphite god Ptah, who was a creator deity and a patron of craftsmen. Although today not much remains of this Ptah Temple, its position and temenos walls were mapped out by W. F. Petrie during his 1908 field season.<sup>4</sup> The temple complex has a long history and the original temple may have been built by

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<sup>1</sup> Nims 1956, 79; Sadek 1987, 46

<sup>2</sup> Ashraf Sadek in his book *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, provides an in depth look at where and which gods individuals of the New Kingdom were worshipping. His discussion of the iconography involved with personal piety focused on the positions of adoration and the inclusion of ears. The discussion of the votive materials in this chapter will provide a brief general overview of these materials.

<sup>3</sup> Habachi 1952, 83

<sup>4</sup> Petrie 1909, 2

Userkaf of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>5</sup> The earliest reference to this temple named “Temple of Ptah who is south of his wall” (*ḥwt-nṯr nt pth rsi inb.f*) occurs in a Fifth Dynasty tomb at Saqqara.<sup>6</sup> The temple was added to by various pharaohs and in the Nineteenth Dynasty Ramesses II added a hall at the western entrance;<sup>7</sup> beneath the foundation bed of sand for this hall, Petrie uncovered a cache of stelae that had been discarded from the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty temple. The cache included approximately forty complete stelae and 150 fragments dated from the reign of Thutmose I to the reign of Thutmose IV.<sup>8</sup> Based upon the number of the fragments that could not be joined together, Petrie felt that the intact stelae represented less than one tenth of the original total.<sup>9</sup> If Petrie is correct, an estimated 400 stelae were dedicated during the Eighteenth Dynasty by the devout in this temple. Collectively these stelae are known as the Memphite Stelae. The majority of the stelae from the cache that feature a god portray Ptah. The gods Min and Amun-Re, however, are also depicted on some of the stelae; either with Ptah or as the sole recipient of adoration.<sup>10</sup> The Memphite Stelae are important because they were excavated from a temple site and demonstrate the epithets, texts and iconography used to appeal to the god Ptah.

Not all of the surviving stelae from Memphis have inscriptions; however, those that do show a wide range in the titles of the dedicators. Among the attested titles are three scribes, a door keeper and deputy, an overseer of people, an inspector of flesh offerings, and two women.<sup>11</sup> There are also stelae which do not have the donor’s name inscribed, leading Petrie to speculate that some of the stelae were produced in advance and sold to the pious.<sup>12</sup> If there were in fact a market for premade stelae, it would indicate that the dedication of stelae within the temple precinct of Ptah was an accepted, and probably lucrative, practice.

Two of the complete stelae show the king performing an action in the upper register, either smiting enemies before Ptah (Fig. 3.1) or making an offering to the god (Fig. 3.2). In the lower register, the devotee kneels or stands in a posture of adoration. Three of the stelae depict a king, probably Thutmose IV,<sup>13</sup> smiting enemies before Ptah. Nine of the stelae show the individual directly in front of a god (Fig. 3.3), a motif that in earlier periods is not seen because of what Baines terms “decorum” or the artist cannon which allowed only the king to be shown with the gods.<sup>14</sup> Three of the stelae feature one or more gods in the upper register with the dedicator in the lower register. The iconographic element favored on the Memphite Stelae was ears, which are believed to have been models of the god’s ears that helped the prayers of the devotee reach the god (Fig. 3.4).<sup>15</sup> Ears appear on twenty five of the stelae.<sup>16</sup> The ears can be

<sup>5</sup> Petrie 1909, 2

<sup>6</sup> Sandman Holmberg 1946, 205; Mariette 1976 [1889], 300

<sup>7</sup> Petrie 1909, 5

<sup>8</sup> Petrie 1909, 7 In addition to the stelae, there were some statuettes; however, most were decayed and Petrie merely mentioned their existence in his report. There also was one hard limestone statue that survived; belonging to Ray, True Royal Scribe and Keeper of the Palace, Keeper of the Granaries. Thus Ray was a very high ranking individual. Petrie dated the statue to the reign of Amenhotep III. Petrie 1909, 8 pl. XIX

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Petrie 1909, pl XVI n. 41 & pl XVI n. 42; pl VII

<sup>11</sup> Petrie 1909, 6-8

<sup>12</sup> Petrie 1909, 7

<sup>13</sup> Petrie 1909, 7 & pl. VIII

<sup>14</sup> Baines 1987, 82; Petrie 1909, pl. X nos. 13 & 14; pl. XI no. 19; pl. XIV nos. 31, 32, 33, 34 & 35; pl. XVI no. 41

<sup>15</sup> Petrie 1909, 7

<sup>16</sup> Petrie 1909, pls. VIII-XIII

the main decorative element and may be accompanied with the name of Ptah, by a request for Ptah to “hear the prayer” (*sdm nht*) of the individual (Fig. 3.5), or appear with the god.

The Memphite Stelae demonstrate that individuals of varying titles were attempting to contact Ptah within the precinct of his temple during the Eighteenth Dynasty and were allowed to leave votive offerings for the god. In addition, the Memphite stelae display direct appeals to the god for their prayers to be heard.

### The Horbeit Stelae

There is another large corpus of personal monuments referred to as the Horbeit Stelae.<sup>17</sup> The majority of these stelae were purchased by Wilhelm Pelizaeus from a dealer who thought they derived from the site of Horbeit, hence their name; based upon the finding of two similar stelae by Labib Habachi at Qantir, however, the Horbeit collection is now accepted as originating at Qantir the modern name of the site of ancient Pi-Ramesses.<sup>18</sup> Habachi identifies a total of seventy-six stelae in the “Horbeit” genre.<sup>19</sup>

The Horbeit stelae are votive stelae, as are those from Memphis. The majority, fifty four, shows the stelae owners making offerings to one of four specifically-named statues of Ramesses II; however, four show the king as the officiant and three depict more than one statue being worshipped. Ten stelae from the corpus feature a deity instead of a statue, and five show a god in combination with a statue of Ramesses II. The statue “Usermaatre-Setepenre-Montu-in-the Two Lands” occurs most often and appears on fifty-six stelae.<sup>20</sup> Three other statues of Ramesses II are represented far less often: “Ramesses-Meriamun-the-God”, occurs three times; “Usermaatre-Setepenre-Beloved-of-Atum” is used only once; and “Ramesses-Meriamun-Re-of-the-Rulers” appears twice.<sup>21</sup>

In his book, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, Habachi demonstrated that Ramesses II was worshipped under two different aspects: as a temple god, as at Abu Simbel, for example; and in the form of statues with specific names.<sup>22</sup> Habachi theorized that when a statue was meant to represent the deified Ramesses II, it was given a name from a specific set of names that represented an aspect of the king’s divine person.<sup>23</sup> Habachi cited existing statues of the deified Ramesses II that were erected at other locations in Egypt that have the same or similar names. One of the four colossi at Abu Simbel, for example bears Ramesses II’s prenomen and nomen and the epithet “Beloved-of-Atum”.<sup>24</sup> In addition two statues named “Ramesses-

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<sup>17</sup> Habachi 1969, 40

<sup>18</sup> Habachi 1952, 525 & 559

<sup>19</sup> The Horbeit stelae include the sixty-four in the collection of the Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, eight stelae in other collections and four from the Cairo Museum (the two Habachi found at Qantir and two that were purchased). (Habachi 1952, 528)

<sup>20</sup> Habachi 1952, 549

<sup>21</sup> Habachi 1952, 550

<sup>22</sup> Habachi 1969, 1

<sup>23</sup> Habachi 1969, 28

<sup>24</sup> Habachi 1969, 8

Meriamun-Re-of-the-Rulers” were erected in Thebes: one in the forecourt at Luxor Temple and the other in the Ramesseum.<sup>25</sup>

Although statues with these four names of Ramesses II have not been recovered from the site of Qantir, Habachi argued for this provenance, using other evidence. For example, a mould with the full name of the statue “Usermaatre-Setepenre-Montu-in-the-Two Lands” was found at Qantir.<sup>26</sup> Further evidence of the statues’ original placement at Pi-Ramesses comes from the Manshiyet es-Sadr Stela.<sup>27</sup> The text relates how Ramesses II commissioned a great statue named “Ramesses-Meriamun-the-god.”<sup>28</sup> Although it does not state where this statue was to be erected, the Manshiyet es-Sadr Stela’s text describes how Ramesses II found *Bia*-stone for additional statues and that he dedicated these statues to the temple of Amun of Ramesses-Meriamun and to the temple of Ptah of Ramesses-Meriamun at Pi-Ramesses.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, a door jamb and a mould with the name of the statue “Ramesses-Meriamun-the-god” were found at Qantir. The fact that no other evidence of a statue with this name has been excavated from other locations suggested to Habachi that the statue also was erected at Pi-Ramesses.<sup>30</sup>

The representations on the Horbeit Stelae indicate that the Pi-Ramesses statues “Usermaatre-Setepenre-Montu-in-the-Two Lands” and “Ramesses-Meriamun-the-God” were standing, while “Usermaatre-Setepenre-Beloved-of-Atum” and “Ramesses-Meriamun-Re of the Rulers” were seated. Habachi theorized that these statues stood in front of or inside a temple at Pi-Ramesses, and, based on the way multiple statues were shown together on some of the stelae, he speculated that the four statues could have stood before the pylon, with the standing statues in the center and the seated statues on the outside (Fig 3.6).<sup>31</sup> This placement would have made the statues accessible to individuals without granting them access to the more sacred areas of the temple.

The Horbeit Stelae are executed in a manner very similar to those from Memphis discussed above. Both the Horbeit and the Memphite stelae fall into two basic groups: those on which the officiant is the king (Fig. 3.2 & 3.7); and those which feature an individual making the offering on his own behalf (Figs. 3.3, 3.8 & 3.9). The Horbeit Stelae corpus differs from the Memphite Stelae in that the former has stelae dedicated to a manifestation of the deified Ramesses II in the form of his statues. Additional elements that appear within the Horbeit Stelae are the epithet “who hears prayers” and the representation of ears. Six of the Horbeit stelae fall into this category. The first stela belonged to the Vizier Rahotep, and combines depictions of ears and a statue of Ramesses II with the epithet “god who hears prayers” (Fig. 3.10).<sup>32</sup> Rahotep

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<sup>25</sup> Habachi 1969, 41. The statue erected in Luxor temple will be discussed below in the section concerning the Ramesses II’s forecourt below pg X. The second is the famous colossus of Ramesses II, erected in the Ramesseum, Ramesses II’s mortuary temple on the west bank.

<sup>26</sup> Habachi 1952, 551

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Habachi 1952, 522; Hamada 1938, 225

<sup>29</sup> Habachi 1952, 552; Hamada 1938, 226

<sup>30</sup> Habachi 1952, 552

<sup>31</sup> Habachi 1969, 32. Based on the gods depicted on the Horbeit stelae, Habachi theorized that there were at least four temples at Pi-Ramesses: a Temple of Re, a Temple of Ma’at, a Temple of Ptah, and a temple to Amun or Amun-Re (1952, 548). Habachi did not state which temple he thought these statues of the deified king would have fronted.

<sup>32</sup> Habachi 1969, 33-34; Fig 21 pl XII b

is known to have been a vizier under Ramesses II.<sup>33</sup> The top register of his stela is occupied by Ramesses II, who is offering incense to and libating his statue “Ramesses-Meriamun-Ruler of Rulers.” Behind the statue of the king are four ears. In the bottom register, Rahotep kneels in a position of adoration, wearing the uniform of his office. The text in front of him addresses the statue as “the great god who hears prayers” (*ntr ʿz sdm nḥwt*).<sup>34</sup> The second stela (Hild. 374), which was dedicated by a military commander named Mose, depicts Ramesses II offering Ma’at to Ptah in the top register. The text associated with Ptah calls him “Lord of Ma’at, King of the two lands, who hears prayers” (*nb mʿt nswt tʿwy sdm nḥwt*);<sup>35</sup> there are, however, no ears depicted on this stela. The third stela (Hild. 1092) features Seti-Nakht, son of Seti, adoring a statue of Ramesses II named Usermaatre-Meriamun-Montu-in-the-Two-Land, “who hears prayers”; again, ears are not featured on this stela.<sup>36</sup> The fourth stela (Hild. 1100) depicts only the god Reshep and a dedication text that reads “The King grants offerings, Reshep, Great God who hears prayers” (*ḥtp-di-nswt Ršpw ntr ʿz sdm nḥwt*). The fifth stela (Hild. 375) depicts Amun-Re facing Ptah and the statue called Usermaatre-Setepenre-Montu-in-the-Two Lands in the upper register, with Setirenheh and his family below.<sup>37</sup> Behind the king’s statues are six ears. The sixth stela is an unfinished stela (Brussels E. 3047) that depicts a standing statue with two modeled ears behind it in the upper register and, in the lower register, a woman and child.<sup>38</sup> These stelae demonstrate that the epithet “who hears prayers” was used not only with the gods, but also with a statue of the deified Ramesses II.

The interpretation of the dedicators of the Horbeit stelae has been the subject of discussion by Günther Roeder and Labib Habachi. When Roeder first analyzed the Horbeit stelae in the Pelizaeus Museum, he described them as belonging predominantly to individuals who were members of the army or military administration, based on their dress and titles.<sup>39</sup> He pointed out that only three stelae were not connected to the military and instead belonged to temple personnel.<sup>40</sup> Habachi, contra Roeder, was of the opinion that not all of the owners of the Horbeit stelae were in the military and ascribed only six as being military, based on titles and dress.<sup>41</sup> The remaining donors, Habachi theorized, “were related to the king and to the Palace, and not to the Army.”<sup>42</sup> Habachi disagreed with Roeder’s designation of the long, wide garment tied at the waist (featured on Hild. 1892 (Fig. 3.9)) as being “military”, as well as Roeder’s theory that people with titles indicating they worked in factories and storehouses were also connected with the army.<sup>43</sup>

The range of the owners of the Horbeit stelae is demonstrated by the thirty-nine stelae that depict the individual in direct adoration of the statue Montu-in-the-Two-Lands.<sup>44</sup> Five of

<sup>33</sup> Habachi 1969, 33

<sup>34</sup> Habachi 1969, pl XII b

<sup>35</sup> Habachi 1952, 535

<sup>36</sup> Habachi 1952, 533. “Who hears prayers” is written with just the *sdm* ear and the Guinea fowl, which is the form used in the writing of prayers/petitions.

<sup>37</sup> Habachi 1952, 536

<sup>38</sup> Habachi 1952, 543

<sup>39</sup> Roeder 1967 [1926], 59

<sup>40</sup> Roeder 1967 [1926], 60

<sup>41</sup> Habachi 1952, 545

<sup>42</sup> Habachi 1952, 546

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Habachi provided a description for each of these stelae. Habachi 1952, 529-535.

these stelae feature women. On two of the stelae the women carry a sistrum.<sup>45</sup> One stela, Hild. 376, gives the woman's title as Lady of the House (*nbt pr*). Eight other stelae belong to men, who are shown wearing military dress. The remaining twenty-six stelae depict men who are in a variety of non-military attire in adoration of the statue Montu-in-the-Two Lands.

Lower ranking individuals also are represented worshipping gods. Among the individuals who are depicted worshipping a god, the owner of Hild. 400 was a scribe of the treasury, and the owner of Hild. 401 was a sailor of the Pharaoh. In addition, three of the stelae were dedicated by individuals with the title *sdm-ꜥš* or servant. From the evidence it appears that a wide range of people left evidence of their adoration of the deified Ramesses II and other deities.

The Horbeit Stelae present iconographic elements of personal piety that include the worship of statues of Ramesses II or of gods, either as the officiant or with the king making the offerings. Devotees were not limited to the elite strata of Egyptian society, as shown by the dedication of stelae by lower ranked servants (*sdm-ꜥš*) and sailors. When added to the evidence of the Memphite Stelae, the Horbeit Stelae demonstrate that in Lower Egypt, individuals desiring to leave a monument of their adoration, either to a god or the deified Pharaoh could do so, and did.

In this next section, I will turn to Upper Egypt and the religious center of Thebes where there is also evidence of personal piety. First I will present the votive evidence left by individuals in the temples at Deir el-Bahari, then move to the evidence left by the occupants of the village of Deir el-Medina, and, finally, address relevant textual and iconographic materials from the temple precincts of Karnak and Luxor.

### **Deir el- Bahari**

On the west bank of the Nile at Thebes there is a natural amphitheater along the cliff line called Deir el-Bahari. Deir el-Bahari was the site of four temples. The earliest temple is that of Mentuhotep II, who built the *Akh-iswt* in the Eleventh Dynasty as his mortuary complex. The other three were built during the course of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Fig 3.11). Amenhotep I constructed one temple along the northern edge of the forecourt of Mentuhotep II's temple; Amenhotep's I temple was destroyed, however, in the final building stages of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple and, thus, is not part of this study.<sup>46</sup> The second Eighteenth Dynasty temple is the *Djeser-Djeseru*, built as the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut. The final temple is the *Djeser-Akhet*, a temple dedicated to Amun-Re that was built by Hatshepsut's coregent Thutmose III in the last decade of his (sole) reign.<sup>47</sup>

The Deir el-Bahari temples were an important component in the Beautiful Feast of the Valley Festival (or Valley Festival) during the New Kingdom, although the festival can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>48</sup> In the Twelfth Dynasty Amun-Re traveled alone to Western Thebes<sup>49</sup> and visited Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II's *Akh-Iswt*.<sup>50</sup> Later, in the New Kingdom,

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<sup>45</sup> Habachi 1952, 529-535 Hild nos. 376, 380, 407, 1080, 1099

<sup>46</sup> Pinch 1993, 6. This temple is not included on the plan.

<sup>47</sup> Pinch 1993, 4

<sup>48</sup> Strudwick 1999, 78

<sup>49</sup> Allam 1963

Amun-Re's consort Mut and their son Khonsu joined Amun-Re in his travel from Karnak temple to Deir el-Bahari.<sup>51</sup> In the New Kingdom the destination of the procession was the Amun-Re Sanctuary in Hatshepsut's *Djeser-Djeseru*<sup>52</sup> and, later, Thutmose III's *Djeser-Akhet*.<sup>53</sup> Amun-Re also visited Hathor as part of the Valley Festival; Allam further speculated that originally Amun-Re may have visited Hathor in her local shrine.<sup>54</sup> The Valley Festival was a major festival in which the entire population of Thebes participated by visiting the tomb chapels of their deceased relatives;<sup>55</sup> as one of Hathor's titles was "Mistress of Drunkenness", drinking was also a part of the festival.<sup>56</sup>

At Deir el-Bahari Hathor had a large cult following, even though she was not the principle goddess of any of the four temples. One of Hathor's epithets was "Lady of the Necropolis" (*Imntt Hft-ḥr-nbs*), indicating her association with the west.<sup>57</sup> Worship of a bovine goddess may have existed here before any of the Middle and New Kingdom temples were built. Eberhard Otto suggested that a popular cow cult flourished at Deir el-Bahari before the Eleventh Dynasty, he theorized this cow goddess of the necropolis first came to be identified with Hathor during the reign of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre, who used the title "Son of Hathor, Mistress of Dendera", and whose daughter was a priestess of Hathor.<sup>58</sup> Naville speculated that Nebhepetre Montuhotep may have included a Hathor shrine in his mortuary complex,<sup>59</sup> which has not survived. Hatshepsut included a chapel to Hathor in the *Djeser-Djeseru*,<sup>60</sup> and Thutmose III added a shrine to this goddess in front of his *Djeser-Akhet*.<sup>61</sup>

Excavators found evidence of personal piety at all three Deir el-Bahari Temples: Mentuhotep II's *Akh-iswt*, Hatshepsut's *Djeser-Djeseru* and Thutmose III's *Djeser-Akhet*; specifically, in association with the two Hathor shrines that are attached to the *Djeser-Djeseru* and the *Djeser-Akhet* as well as from the main Amun sanctuary of the *Djeser-Akhet*. The majority of votive offerings left by individuals at Deir el-Bahari were dedicated to the goddess Hathor; Amun-Re and other deities, however, also received dedications from the devout. The Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahari and the votive evidence excavated from the three temples are important to the current study for two reasons: first, these temples provide evidence that when a temple was no longer used to fulfill the king's cult, the populace used it for their own religious needs; second, because they demonstrate that when the populace used a specific locus to fulfill their religious needs, the devout left behind a vast amount of votive objects.<sup>62</sup> I will begin my analysis of this evidence with a discussion of the decorative programs in the more public areas of

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<sup>50</sup> Pinch 1993, 4

<sup>51</sup> Spalinger 2001, 521

<sup>52</sup> Pinch 1993, 9

<sup>53</sup> Lipińska 1977, 64

<sup>54</sup> Allam 1963, 69

<sup>55</sup> Spalinger 2001, 521

<sup>56</sup> Allam 1963, 69

<sup>57</sup> Otto 1952, 50

<sup>58</sup> Otto 1952, 51

<sup>59</sup> Pinch 1993, 4; Naville 1907, 63. This supposition is supported by Eighteenth Dynasty stelae which address Hathor of the *Akh-iswt* and one which was donated by a priest of Hathor in the *Akh-iswt* also dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty (Pinch 1993, 5).

<sup>60</sup> Pinch 1993, 7

<sup>61</sup> Pinch 1993, 9

<sup>62</sup> Pinch did an in-depth study of the votive offering to Hathor in her 1993 work *Votive Offering to Hathor*.

the Hathor shrine built by Hatshepsut and in Thutmose III's Hathor shrine.<sup>63</sup> My investigation will then turn to the votive materials excavated from various areas around the temples at Deir el-Bahari and from the Amun Sanctuary of the *Djeser-Akhet*.

Hatshepsut's Hathor shrine is located at the southern end of the middle colonnade of her mortuary temple. The shrine was constructed by cutting a portion of it from bedrock and then adding a masonry platform. The shrine consists of two traverse halls (the court and hypostyle hall), a hall with four side chambers, an outer sanctuary with four niches, and an inner sanctuary with two side rooms (Fig 3.12). Since the general public probably would have had access only to the most outer elements of the Hathor shrine, i.e., its façade, court and hypostyle hall, a brief discussion of the decorative program of these three areas is provided here.

The façade of the shrine (i.e., the exterior wall of the court) featured two scenes of the Hathor-cow licking Hatshepsut's hand with Anubis following the goddess: one scene on the north end and another scene on the south end.<sup>64</sup> The reliefs from the south end of the court are no longer *in situ*, and only the reliefs of the north end of the court occupying one long (north) wall and two short (east and west) walls survive. On the north wall of the court Hatshepsut is depicted seated in a shrine with Hathor before her, licking her hand.<sup>65</sup> This scene is followed by a second one showing the Hathor-cow in a naos suckling Hatshepsut (Fig 3.13).<sup>66</sup> The scene on the east wall is damaged and depicts Hatshepsut before an unknown god. Finally, the scene on the west wall shows Hatshepsut before Hathor.

More scenes in the hypostyle hall survived than on the shrine's façade and court, with reliefs depicting a variety of subjects. The depiction of Hathor-cow licking Hatshepsut's hand is repeated twice again on the west wall of the hypostyle hall: once to the south of the door to the outer sanctuary,<sup>67</sup> and once to the north of the door where Hathor is followed by Hapy.<sup>68</sup> In these two licking scenes the Royal Ka is depicted behind the king.<sup>69</sup> The reliefs on the west wall of the hypostyle hall also depict Hatshepsut performing a "run" or "dance", an iconographic element that is associated with kingship.<sup>70</sup> The relief south of the door to the outer sanctuary depicts Hatshepsut running before Hathor with a bird and scepters.<sup>71</sup> While the exact meaning of this specific ritual is not known,<sup>72</sup> it does include scepters, which are elements of kingship. To the north of the door to the outer sanctuary Hatshepsut (name changed to Thutmose II) runs with a mason's square and an oar before Hathor.<sup>73</sup> The running with the oar or rudder is the cultic "dance" that has an association with the Sed festival.<sup>74</sup> Scenes on the north wall of the hypostyle

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<sup>63</sup> There is not enough remaining from Thutmose III's *Djeser-Akhet* Amun sanctuary to include a discussion of its decorative program.

<sup>64</sup> PM<sup>2</sup>, 350 (22) & (23)

<sup>65</sup> Naville 1901, pl. LXXXVII; PM<sup>2</sup>, 350 (25)

<sup>66</sup> PM<sup>2</sup>, 350 (25)

<sup>67</sup> Naville 1901, pl. XCVI; PM<sup>2</sup>, 351 (32)

<sup>68</sup> Naville 1901, pl. XCIV; PM<sup>2</sup>, 351 (33)

<sup>69</sup> The Royal Ka was the divine aspect of the mortal king. (Bell 1997, 140)

<sup>70</sup> Kees 1967 [1914], 61-72. Herman Kees notes that there were three "ritual dances" performed by kings: The bird dance, the vase and oar dance, and the Sed festival dance.

<sup>71</sup> Naville 1901, pl. XCVII; PM<sup>2</sup>, 351 (32). Because the reliefs are damaged, the only identifiable scepter is the *w3s*.

<sup>72</sup> Naville 1901, 3

<sup>73</sup> Naville 1901, pl. XCIII; PM<sup>2</sup>, 351(33)

<sup>74</sup> In Ramesses II Eastern Temple on the lintel discussed on page 55, the king is granted Sed festivals for performing the ritual.

hall depict a festival procession of Hathor in four registers, in which the goddess is installed in the shrine (Fig 3.14).<sup>75</sup> These scenes include a procession of boats with shrines, with a parallel procession of people walking along the shore. This latter procession is headed by men carrying axes and stalks of grain,<sup>76</sup> followed by soldiers and a man leading a panther, and ends with the “Dance of the *Tjemhu*”, who are Libyans.<sup>77</sup> In addition, to the west of the festival scene on the north wall of the hypostyle hall Thutmose III is depicted holding an oar before Hathor.<sup>78</sup> A bark dragged by men is depicted on the south wall.<sup>79</sup> Hathor, in her cow form, suckles a young king in the bark while Thutmose II is depicted in front of the bark in a pose of adoration. To the west of this scene on the south wall of the hypostyle hall a priest offers to the king.<sup>80</sup>

The façade, court and hypostyle hall of Hatshepsut’s Hathor shrine all contain iconography that is linked to the king’s afterlife. The licking and suckling depictions show that the king has the favor of Hathor, and are linked to the life of the king after death, since this is the time when Hathor will provide him sustenance. Finally, Hatshepsut’s kingship is reflected in the cultic “run” or “dance” that she performs.

Thutmose III built his own temple between Montuhotep II’s *Akh-iswt* and Hatshepsut’s *Djeser-Djeseru*, named *Djeser-Akhet* and dedicated to Amun.<sup>81</sup> In this temple Thutmose III built a small shrine to the goddess Hathor attached to the south-east corner, the shrine is also situated at the north-western end of the *Akh-Iswt*’s platform through which access is gained (Fig. 3.15).<sup>82</sup> When excavated, this shrine was thought to be separate from the Thutmose III temple.<sup>83</sup> It was, therefore, removed from Deir el-Bahari and is now in the Cairo Museum.<sup>84</sup>

The iconography of Thutmose III’s Hathor shrine represents offering scenes and depictions related to the king’s afterlife. The west wall of Thutmose III’s Hathor shrine (opposite the door as one enters) features a depiction of Thutmose III burning incense and making a libation before Amun-Re (Fig. 3.16). The north and south walls each have two scenes. The innermost scene of both walls depicts Thutmose standing before Hathor in her human form. The outer scene on the southern wall shows Thutmose III with his wife Meritre making an offering to Hathor in her bovine form. The Hathor cow protects a grown king under her chin and is suckling a child king (Fig 3. 17).<sup>85</sup> The northern wall displays the same scene; however Thutmose III is accompanied by two princesses, two of his daughters, instead of his wife (the queen). The cult statue found within Thutmose III’s shrine depicts Hathor in her bovine form,

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<sup>75</sup> Naville 1901, 1 & pls. LXXXVIII & LXXXIX; PM<sup>2</sup>, 350 (30)

<sup>76</sup> Naville 1901, pl. XCI; PM<sup>2</sup>, 350 (30)

<sup>77</sup> Naville 1901, pl. XC; PM<sup>2</sup>, 350 (30)

<sup>78</sup> PM<sup>2</sup>, 351 (31)

<sup>79</sup> PM<sup>2</sup>, 351 (28)

<sup>80</sup> PM<sup>2</sup>, 351 (29)

<sup>81</sup> Pinch 1993, 9

<sup>82</sup> Lipinska 1977, 38

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> PMII<sup>2</sup>, 380

<sup>85</sup> Neither of the king figures has a name; however, Naville theorized that they both represented Thutmose III the dedicator of the chapel. (Naville, Hall & Ayrton 1907, 64)

with Amenhotep II standing under her chin (Fig. 3.18).<sup>86</sup> On the sides of the statue the king is suckling the goddess.<sup>87</sup>

The iconographic evidence from Hatshepsut's and Thutmose III's Hathor shrines demonstrate that they were focused on the kings' afterlife and their continued sustenance in the afterlife and favor from Hathor. Hatshepsut's decorative program included important kingship rituals demonstrated by the cultic "run" or "dance" performed by the king and the depiction of a Hathor festival. Moreover, the iconography does not demonstrate that they were meant to be used by the populace.

Evidence for worship by the populace is evidenced by the votive offerings left for Hathor, Amun-Re and other deities at the Hathor shrines attached to Hatshepsut's and Thutmose III's temples, Nebhepetre Montuhotep II's *Akh-iswt* and the main sanctuary of Thutmose III's temple. This votive evidence includes small, mass produced offerings and larger votive gifts, such as statues, stelae and textiles and, finally, votive graffiti.<sup>88</sup>

The scale of Hathor worship at Deir el-Bahari is attested by the vast quantities of small votive objects excavated from nine major deposits located around the temples and their precincts (Fig. 3.11).<sup>89</sup> Between 1895 and 1907, Naville and Hall excavated the platform of the *Akh-iswt* (deposits 1 and 2)<sup>90</sup> and the north court of Mentuhotep II's *Akh-iswt* (i.e., the area between the *Akh-iswt* and Hatshepsut's Hathor temple, deposit 3) (Fig. 3.11).<sup>91</sup> Naville and Hall did not publish all of the small votive items; Hall's account of their excavation loci, furthermore, was ambiguous.<sup>92</sup> Although the amount of finds varied each year, records for 1904 show the Egypt Exploration Fund distributed approximately 300 votive objects and a large quantity of beads and scarabs to various museums.<sup>93</sup> Hall provided a good description of the objects found in the rubble of the *Akh-iswt* platform and the north court. From the north court Hall described finding "pockets" of rubbish with broken votive offerings dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>94</sup> In the rubble covering the platform of the *Akh-iswt* Hall found an "enormous number of small objects", which he dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty, and tools and baskets in the strata above, dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>95</sup>

Among the small offerings associated with Montuhotep II's *Akh-iswt* and Thutmose III's *Djeser-Akhet* are votive cows and Hathor heads, both of which typically were strung with beads, scarabs, plaques and *menets* (the emblem of Hathor) to form a necklace that was presented to the

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<sup>86</sup> The name on the statue was original and Amenhotep II did not usurp Thutmose III, statue. Naville theorized that Amenhotep II replace the earlier cow statue with one of his own. (Naville, Hall and Ayrton 1907, 67)

<sup>87</sup> PMII<sup>2</sup>, 380

<sup>88</sup> Geradine Pinch in her book *Votive Offerings to Hathor* has an extensive discussion on the excavations that occurred at Deir el-Bahari and the votive material recovered from the site. This discussion is meant to provide a sense of the vast quantity of votive materials left by the devout at Deir el-Bahari.

<sup>89</sup> These deposits were created by priests who cleared out the shrines when too many votive gifts had accumulated (Naville, Hall & Ayrton 1907, 17; Naville & Hall 1913, 13, Winlock 1922, 32).

<sup>90</sup> Deposit numbers are those assigned by Pinch as shown on Fig. 3.11.

<sup>91</sup> Pinch 1993, 13-16

<sup>92</sup> Pinch 1993, 14

<sup>93</sup> Pinch 1993, 15

<sup>94</sup> Naville, Hall and Ayrton 1907, 17

<sup>95</sup> Naville and Hall 1913, 18

goddess (Fig. 3.19).<sup>96</sup> Figurines of nude females with prominent breasts made from baked clay or faience also were found (Fig 3.20.2). Hall theorized that the nude figurines were not meant to represent the goddess, who appears only in her cow form, but, nonetheless, were connected with Hathor veneration.<sup>97</sup> Naville and Hall recovered votive phalli from the naos of Thutmose III's Hathor shrine.<sup>98</sup> Visitors to this particular shrine also left votive pottery, some of which was decorated with cows on the rim (Fig 3.21).

The majority of the objects from Montuhotep II's *Akh-iswt* and Thutmose III's *Djeser-Akhet* were dated between the reigns of Amenhotep I and Amenhotep II, based on style, color and inscriptions.<sup>99</sup> The most common royal name appearing on the votive objects is that of Hatshepsut.<sup>100</sup> Hall also noted that none of the scarabs were inscribed with a king's name who ruled later than Amenhotep II.<sup>101</sup> Among these votive offerings some appeared to be unfinished, leading Hall to suspect that they were being produced on or near the site to be sold to the devout.<sup>102</sup>

During their field season of 1912, Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon excavated the north and east perimeters of the forecourt of Hatshepsut's *Djeser-Djeseru* (deposits 6 and 7).<sup>103</sup> From these two sites Carter recorded finding bronze, earthenware, and blue glaze Hathor heads, cows and *menats*, faience and metal model clusters of grapes, rings, balls, sistrums, sphinxes, cowroid beads, and amulets such as, scarabs, ears, eyes and ankhs, in addition to pottery dishes and bowls.<sup>104</sup>

Winlock, excavating the southern side of the *Akh-iswt* forecourt in the early 1920's, discovered a large deposit of votive offerings (deposit 4).<sup>105</sup> Winlock did not record the excavated material in detail, saying only that devotees brought "a string of beads or a little pottery cow to offer with their prayers, and others carried a blue faience platter of fruit or flowers."<sup>106</sup> In the 1922-23 season Winlock excavated the area between the causeways and found a dump (deposit 5).<sup>107</sup> He recovered various kinds of artifacts from this area, including statues of Hatshepsut and waste from the construction of the temples.<sup>108</sup> Among the rubbish Winlock found thousands of votive offerings from the *Djeser-Akhet* and the *Djeser-Djeseru*.<sup>109</sup> He excavated between three and four thousand uninscribed blue faience scarabs, in addition to blue faience platters, limestone, copper and faience plaques with cows inscribed on them, and tablets engraved with ears and eyes.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Naville and Hall 1913, 14

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Pinch 1993, 15

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Naville and Hall 1913, 14

<sup>101</sup> Ibid

<sup>102</sup> Naville and Hall 1913, 12

<sup>103</sup> Pinch 1993, 17

<sup>104</sup> Pinch 1993 18

<sup>105</sup> Ibid

<sup>106</sup> Winlock 1922, 32

<sup>107</sup> Winlock 1923, 32-34; Pinch 1993, 20-21

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Winlock 1923, 38

<sup>110</sup> Ibid

In addition to the numerous small finds, Mentuhotep II's and Thutmose III's temples also yielded larger personal monuments dedicated to Hathor, in the form of statues, stelae and votive cloths. During his excavations of the *Akh-iswt* Naville found 17 broken statues preserved in the rubble. From additional recovered fragments, he estimated that originally there had been a "considerable number of votive statues" left by the devout.<sup>111</sup> The statues from the *Akh-iswt* were dedicated to Hathor and Amun-Re, as demonstrated by their inscriptions provided in Naville's 1913 publication.<sup>112</sup> Naville dated the statues to the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, according to the attire, titles and the names of kings.<sup>113</sup> Most of these inscribed statues include the *h̄tp-di-nswt* formula in their texts, an indicator that they were offering as opposed to votive statues. With one exception, all of these statues were left in the temple by very high ranking individuals, such as viziers and royal princes, to receive offerings in the afterlife. Only one statue was deposited by a low ranking priest.<sup>114</sup>

Devout individuals also left votive stelae and votive cloths at the *Akh-iswt*. Naville excavated thirty-five stelae from the *Akh-iswt*.<sup>115</sup> Among these votive stelae is one from the Eleventh Dynasty, donated by one of Mentuhotep II's sons. The remainder of the stelae date to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.<sup>116</sup> There are few photographs or line drawings of the stelae recovered from the *Akh-iswt*; however, the majority of the published examples depict Hathor as a cow coming out of mountain (Fig 3.22).<sup>117</sup> Among the finds excavated from the *Akh-iswt* are votive textiles comprised of thirty decorated linen cloths and five decorated linen shirts<sup>118</sup> ranging in date from the Eighteenth to the early Nineteenth Dynasties (Fig 3. 23).<sup>119</sup> Hall recorded that these types of votives are "peculiar" to Deir el-Bahari; Pinch, subsequently, demonstrated that decorated votive textiles are found only at Deir el-Bahari.<sup>120</sup> These cloths resemble votive stelae in that they depict the dedicator in adoration of Hathor, in addition to images more in common with tomb paintings and decorated furniture.<sup>121</sup> The cloths and shirts show individuals making offerings and adoring Hathor, either as the Hathor-cow or in her human form. The Hathor cloths, according to Pinch, were votive gifts to the goddess.<sup>122</sup> Pinch suggested that some of the cloths may have been hung as banners or used to cover cult objects, and that the shirts may have been symbolic clothing for the goddess.<sup>123</sup>

During their 1962-67 field seasons at Deir el-Bahari, the Polish expedition excavated four relatively intact statues, as well as fragments from approximately thirty-four more from Thutmose III's *Djeser-Akhet*<sup>124</sup> One of these statues is a block statue belonging to a man named

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<sup>111</sup> Naville and Hall 1913, 1

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Naville and Hall 1913, 1-9

<sup>114</sup> Naville and Hall 1913, 7

<sup>115</sup> Pinch 1993, 14

<sup>116</sup> PMII<sup>2</sup> 395-6

<sup>117</sup> Not many of the stelae have been published; however, Pinch included some in her 1993 publication on votive offerings to Hathor.

<sup>118</sup> Pinch 1993, 134

<sup>119</sup> Pinch 1993, 22

<sup>120</sup> Naville and Hall 1913, 15; Pinch 1993, 134

<sup>121</sup> For example, grape vines, ox sacrifice, harpists and convolvulus (Pinch 1993, 124, 134).

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Pinch 1993, 134

<sup>124</sup> Pinch 1993, 21

Amenemonet, who was an overseer of works in the mortuary temple of Ramesses II.<sup>125</sup> This statue is important to the topic of personal piety because Amenemonet promised to act as an intermediary for Hathor (Fig 3.24).<sup>126</sup> A sistrum in the form of a Hathor head is placed between Amenemonet's legs, with the text inscribed on the vertical support naming her as "Hathor, Lady of Djesert, Mistress of the West" (*Hwt-Hr nbt dsrt hnwt imnt*). On top of Hathor's head is a naos containing cartouches with the nomen and prenomen of Ramesses II; above the naos is a striding Hathor-cow, with Ramesses II kneeling beneath.<sup>127</sup> Thus, Amenemonet has incorporated the iconography of Hathor's protection of the king in the execution of his statue. The statue inscriptions indicate that Amenemonet was of very high status in the royal court, stating that he was in the retinue of Ramesses II when the two men were children.<sup>128</sup> In a text on the left side of the statue Amenemonet claimed to be a herald of Hathor, stating "Whoever has petitions in his hand, he should say them to my ear then <I> will repeat them to my Mistress" (*nb sprwt m ˆ.f dd sw msdr.i k3 whm <.i> sn n t3y.i hnwt*).<sup>129</sup> Thus, this statue was intended to act as an intermediary between people coming to the temple and the goddess Hathor. The statue's find-spot is an indication that the *Akh-iswt* was a place where individuals could contact the goddess through Amenemonet's intercession.

Thutmose III's *Djeser-Akhet* bears textual evidence of individuals' devotion in the form of graffiti. Excavators found approximately 500 hieratic inscriptions on the walls of the *Djeser-Akhet*, dated from the Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties.<sup>130</sup> These hieratic inscriptions, written in blue and black pigments, covered the columns of the temple and the fallen temple blocks that originally were part of the wall decoration.<sup>131</sup> The graffiti were inscribed by ancient visitors and pious pilgrims in order to pay homage to a god or goddess; most graffiti mention Hathor, however, twenty-three of the inscriptions address Amun or Amun-Re.<sup>132</sup> Marciniak divided the graffiti into two groups: one group included only the name of the person, and the second group contained one or more prayer formulae, in addition to the name of the person.<sup>133</sup> One of the popular prayer formulas asked Hathor or another god, such as Amun-Re, to "do good, do good" (*ir nfr ir nfr*).<sup>134</sup> The people who visited this temple and left graffiti ranged in status, and even included a vizier; however, most visitors were scribes attached to temple estates within the Theban area.<sup>135</sup>

Thus, from all three of the Deir el-Bahari temples we find evidence that individuals visited the Hathor shrines in the *Djeser-Akhet* and the *Djeser-Djeseru*, and left evidence of their devotion to Hathor and other gods. Larger personal monuments, such as statues, were dedicated by members of the upper class; the small votive offerings found at this site in massive amounts, however, indicate that members of the lower classes also worshipped at Deir el-Bahari.

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<sup>125</sup> Lipińska 1969, 30

<sup>126</sup> Lipińska 1984, 21

<sup>127</sup> Lipińska 1984, 23 fig c

<sup>128</sup> Lipińska 1984, 22

<sup>129</sup> Lipińska 1984, 24

<sup>130</sup> Sadek 1987, 51. Of these 142 were in a state of preservation good enough for Marciniak to include them in his publication. (Marciniak 1974, 15)

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Marciniak 1974, 15 ff 11

<sup>133</sup> Marciniak 1974, 18

<sup>134</sup> Marciniak 1974, 30

<sup>135</sup> Sadek 1987, 52

**Deir el-Medina.** Deir el-Medina is the New Kingdom village belonging to the workmen who decorated the tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens. The village was located on the west bank of the Nile between the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens. The site was known as “the place of truth” (*st mꜣꜥt*).<sup>136</sup> The village was founded in the Eighteenth Dynasty, possibly during the reign of Thutmose I, but may have been established earlier under Amenhotep I, who was venerated by the people of the village as their patron. Most of the remains from Deir el-Medina come from the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>137</sup> The houses, tombs, and chapels have yielded an abundance of evidence concerning the religious practices of their inhabitants. Of particular importance to this inquiry are the stelae and monuments which address a god “who hears prayers” since this is the epithet associated with Amun-Re on the Eastern Temple of Ramesses II at Karnak and Ptah on the Eastern Gate at Medinet Habu.<sup>138</sup>

On a Deir el-Medina fragment in the Turin Museum<sup>139</sup> (Fig. 3.25) there is an interesting text associated with Ptah. The fragment, dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty, depicts four gods: Osiris, Anubis, Ptah, and Mut. The text associated with Ptah reads: Ptah of the ears that listen, Great God, who hears prayer,” (*Pth n msdrwy sdm ntr ꜥꜣ sdm nht*).<sup>140</sup> This epithet helps to explain the ears which were found in various places at Deir el-Medina. A number of stela with ears were found at Deir el-Medina. A stela dedicated by a villager named Usersatet<sup>141</sup> features two sets of ears. The text on Usersatet’s stela which runs vertically between the right and left ears, reads “Nebethetepet who hears prayer, Lady of Heaven”, (*Nbt-htpt sdm nht, nbt pt*). This stela is very similar to the ear stelae from Memphis and shows that individuals also addressed their prayers to goddesses.

The penitential stela dedicated by Nebre<sup>142</sup> is one of the best documented stelae from the Deir el-Medina corpus and has been discussed by Erman,<sup>143</sup> Breasted,<sup>144</sup> and Gunn.<sup>145</sup> This stela is executed in two registers with Nebre featured in the top register kneeling in adoration in front of Amun-Re (Fig 3.26). Amun-Re is shown seated before the pylon of a temple. A small offering table with a libation jar and flowers stands between the god and the painter Nebre. The

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<sup>136</sup> Lesko 1994, 7

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Unlike the Memphite and Horbeit stelae, those produced by the villagers at Deir el-Medina are not collected in one volume or catalogue. There have been several official excavations of the site beginning with Ernesto Schiaparelli’s from 1905 to 1909. The French began working at Deir el-Medina in 1917. Bruyère directed excavations from 1922 thru 1951, examining the village, cemetery, and dump; it was his reports that were used in the discussion of the *Khenu*. In addition, prior to formal excavations many artifacts were collected by Henry Salt and Bernardino Drovetti which are now housed in the Turin Museum, the Louvre and the British Museum, among others (Lesko 1994, 7-8). This brief study used the Turin Museum catalogue *Stele e Altre Epigrafi di Deir el Medina n. 5001 – n. 50262*. by Mario Tosi and Alessandro Roccati; the Louvre Museum catalogue *Les artistes de Pharaoh. Deir el-Mèdineh et la Vallée des Rois.*; Enka E. Morgan’s monograph *Untersuchungen zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine*, and Morris Bierbrier’s *The Tomb-Builders of the Pharaohs*.

<sup>139</sup> Tosi & Roccati 1972, 131 & 305 Fragment no. 50100. The catalogue is unclear about whether this fragment came from a stela or tomb.

<sup>140</sup> M. Sandman Holmberg found this same epithet in the tomb of Khabekht and Khensu and felt that the name the epithet had the same meaning as *sdm-nht*. Sandman 1946, 75

<sup>141</sup> Tosi & Roccati 1972, 59 & 270 no. 50026

<sup>142</sup> British Museum no. 23077

<sup>143</sup> Erman 1986 [1911], 37-47

<sup>144</sup> Breasted 1972 [1912], 350-352

<sup>145</sup> Gunn 1916, 83-85

titles which accompany the god make it clear that this is the Karnak Amun-Re: “Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Great God, Foremost of Karnak, Noble God who hears prayer” (*Imn-Rꜥ nb nswt tꜣwy nꜥr ʿz hnty ipt-swt nꜥr-špsꜥ sdm nḥ*).<sup>146</sup> Nebre addresses Amun-Re as the god “who hears prayer”.<sup>147</sup> Although the stela is addressing Amun-Re of Karnak, nevertheless it is believed to have come from one of the Deir el-Medina Chapels.<sup>148</sup> Here, therefore, we have evidence from Deir el-Medina that the workmen dedicated votive stelae to the great state gods, as well as to other gods, and that they used the epithet “who hears prayers” for both male and female deities.

## Karnak Temple

Within Karnak Temple are two types of evidence are linked with personal piety: The Ramesside graffiti found at a few locations within the precinct, and the statues of Amenhotep Son of Hapu and Paramesses installed by the Xth pylon (Fig. 3.26).

Claude Traunecker and his colleagues under the direction of Serge Sauneron and Jean Yoyotte collected graffiti from within Karnak temple.<sup>149</sup> Traunecker defined graffiti as:

“tout décor, inscription, figure, qui ne rentre pas dans le cadre d’un programme de décoration d’un edifice sacré, quelle que soit son ampleur ou la qualité de son exécution.”

These inscriptions and figures were left by the devout in within Karnak temple. From the hieroglyphic and hieratic writing Traunecker was able to find the names and titles of 186 individuals.<sup>150</sup> These inscriptions date to the Ramesside period and are concentrated on the exterior wall of the Ptah Temple at Karnak and the southern processional avenue of the Karnak temple.<sup>151</sup> Those of the southern avenue appear in clusters, such as the thirty in the Cachet court, the seventy that appear on the exterior facades of the courts,<sup>152</sup> and the nine found inside the stair cases of the pylons.<sup>153</sup> Traunecker recorded fifty-six graffiti near the door southeast of the court for pylon X.<sup>154</sup>

In the majority of cases, the authors of these identifiable graffiti were *wab* priests, only six percent were members of the artisan community.<sup>155</sup> Traunecker concluded:

“De cette enquête, il apparaît clairement que, d’une part, la majorité des auteurs de graffiti étaient illettrés et, d’autre part, ceux qui faisaient usage de l’écriture

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<sup>146</sup> Erman 1986 [1911], 38

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Erman 1986 [1911], 37-38. The Nebre stela was actually purchased; Borchart was able to ascertain its origin as coming from Deir el-Medina (Erman 1986 [1911], 37).

<sup>149</sup> Traunecker 1979, 22

<sup>150</sup> Traunecker 1979, 23; Peden, 2001, 118-119

<sup>151</sup> Traunecker 1979, 24

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid. Traunecker only provides general descriptions of where the graffiti are located.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

appartenaient au corps des scribes, prêtres subalterns ou contremaîtres exerçant leurs fonctions dans l'enceinte des temples."<sup>156</sup>

Traunecker also stressed the tendency of low ranking individuals to focus their adoration to their local god in their local sanctuary.<sup>157</sup> Based on this evidence, it was the temple community that was responsible for the graffiti at Karnak. If individuals from outside the temple community (i. e. the populace of Thebes) were coming to the precinct they did not leave an identifiable written record of their passage.

Colossi statues were placed before both the northern and southern faces of Pylon X. Two private individuals, Amenhotep Son of Hapu and Paramesses, were granted permission by king<sup>158</sup> to erect their statues before the north face of the pylon (Fig. 3.27 & 3.28): two depict Amenhotep Son of Hapu and two depict Paramesses, the future Ramesses I. Both men erected one statue depicting them in their youth and one as an elderly man. It is the statues of Amenhotep Son of Hapu which are of concern in the discussion of personal piety.

Amenhotep Son of Hapu was an architect under Amenhotep III and, among other tasks, organized the king's Sed festivals.<sup>159</sup> Like the statue of Amenemonet found at Deir el-Bahari,<sup>160</sup> the two statues of Amenhotep Son of Hapu at Pylon X bear texts in which he offers to act as an intermediary between the people and a deity, in this case Amun-Re. One statue found at Pylon X depicts Amenhotep Son of Hapu as a scribe, in his prime, with a papyrus roll spread over his lap (Fig 3.29), bears a text on its socle that says:

“O people of the north and south, every eye that sees the sun disk, those who come going up or going down stream to Thebes, to pray to the Lord of the gods come to me. I will report your words to the Amun of Karnak.”<sup>161</sup>

That private individuals actually came to this statue is demonstrated by the text on Amenhotep Son of Hapu's papyrus roll that has been worn down by hands of petitioners.<sup>162</sup> The second statue depicts Amenhotep Son of Hapu as an old man (Fig 3.30). On the socle of this statue Amenhotep says that he will transmit the petitions of the people to Amun-Re because he is “the herald of this god” (*ink whmw ntr pn*).<sup>163</sup> He further states that Amenhotep III had given him an order to report everything spoken in the land.<sup>164</sup> Although Amenhotep Son of Hapu statue's papyrus roll shows wear from the devout that touched it when transmitting their prayers, other than Paramesses' statues there were no other votive objects excavated from this court.

Evidence from the Karnak complex indicates that individuals were writing graffiti on the walls of Ptah Temple and on the southern processional avenue of Karnak Temple. The graffiti which contain names or titles demonstrate the personal devotion of priests and artisans who were

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<sup>156</sup> Traunecker 1979, 24

<sup>157</sup> Traunecker 1979, 23

<sup>158</sup> Amenhotep III in the case of Amenhotep Son of Hapu (Legrain 1914, 18) and Paramesses erected his statue in the reign of Horemheb (Legrain 1914, 30).

<sup>159</sup> Wildung 1977, 84

<sup>160</sup> See page 35.

<sup>161</sup> Legrain 1914, 18

<sup>162</sup> Sadek 1987, 46

<sup>163</sup> Legrain 1914, 19

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

connected with the Karnak Temple precinct in the area of the Xth Pylon. Although no votive objects were recovered from Pylon X other than those of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Paramesses, the evidence demonstrates that individuals were attempting to contact Amun-Re through the intercession of Amenhotep son of Hapu.

### Places of “Supplication” and Places of “Adoring”

Two additional sites have not produced evidence of votive objects left by individuals, but do have texts that indicate they were meant as places for the populace to come; Ramesses II’s forecourt at Luxor Temple and the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.

**Luxor Temple.** Luxor Temple (*Ipt-Rsyf*) was a major New Kingdom cult complex located in Thebes on the east bank of the Nile. The temple was built between the reigns of Amenhotep III (Eighteenth Dynasty) and Ramesses II (Nineteenth Dynasty), although there is evidence that a structure existed at the site during the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.<sup>165</sup> Luxor Temple is constructed on a north-south axis so that it faces the processional avenue leading from Karnak Temple (Fig. 3.31). According to L. Bell, Luxor Temple “was the mythological power base of the living divine king and the foremost national shrine for his cultus.”<sup>166</sup> It was also the site of the Opet Festival, when Amun-Re of Karnak left his temple and journeyed to Luxor Temple. During the Opet Festival the king was identified with the royal ka,<sup>167</sup> which was renewed through ritual, and the renewal reaffirmed the king’s right to rule.

Iconographic elements within the decorative program of Amenhotep III’s forecourt (referred to as the sun court by Lanny Bell<sup>168</sup>) and Ramesses II’s forecourt at Luxor Temple (Fig. 3.31) have led Egyptologists like Bell to speculate that the members of the populace were allowed into these courts during the Opet Festival.<sup>169</sup> Amenhotep III’s sun court contains a reference to *rekhyt*. As previously noted, the *rekhyt* represent the Egyptian populace. On the pilasters at the east and west corners of the core temple portico located to the south of the sun court there are identical texts (Fig. 3.32): “All flat lands and all highlands are at the feet of this good god, whom all the gods love and all the *rekhyt* adore, that they might live” (*t3w nb h3st nb r rdwy ntr-nfr pn mrrw ntrw nbw izi rhyt nb ʕnh sn*).<sup>170</sup> Bell sees this text as an indication that Amenhotep III needed the common people present in front of core of the temple during the Opet festival.<sup>171</sup>

Ramesses II added a vast forecourt to Luxor Temple that employs iconography and texts that Bell believes encouraged the participation of the common people in the Opet Festival.<sup>172</sup> The iconography is limited to the south-eastern side of the court. In the east wall is a doorway believed by Bell to have been built to give the common people access to this side of the court

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<sup>165</sup> Bell 1997, 147

<sup>166</sup> Bell 1997, 157

<sup>167</sup> The royal ka is the divine spirit that was passed down from one king to his successor and was shared by all Egyptian kings. Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Bell 1997, 154

<sup>169</sup> Bell 1997, 164

<sup>170</sup> Bell 1997, 170

<sup>171</sup> Bell 1997, 172

<sup>172</sup> Bell 1997, 164-172

(Fig 3. 33).<sup>173</sup> Kneeling human figures are depicted on both sides of the door; these are meant to represent the general populace, denoted by the small *rekhyt* bird depicted between the figures. Above the *rekhyts* runs an inscription that names the door (Fig 3. 34) “The Great Gateway of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatse Setepenre, whom all the people adore that they might live” (*sbz ʿz nswt biti Usw-mʿt-Rʿ stp-n-Re dwz rhyt nb(wt) ʿnh.sn*).<sup>174</sup> This inscription appears on both sides of both the interior and exterior of the doorway.

*Rekhyt* figures also appear on fourteen of the eighteen columns in the southeast corner of Ramesses II’s forecourt. Unlike the *rekhyt* depicted on the sides of the doorway in the east wall, the *rekhyts* carved on columns appear in their lapwing form (Fig. 1.1). The lapwing bird is seated on the *nb* sign with its arms raised in adoration of Ramesses II’s cartouche reading “all the people adore Ramesses Meriamun.” The *rekhyt* are oriented towards the north-south axis and are placed at face-level.<sup>175</sup>

The southeast corner walls of Ramesses II’s forecourt also depict scenes that may reflect the presence of the general populace during festivals. The east wall was divided into three registers. Unfortunately the first and third registers are destroyed and only the second register remains. The text which runs between the first and second registers names the place as “a place of supplication of hearing petitions of gods and men” (*st snmh sdm sprwt n ntrw rmtt*).<sup>176</sup> This text uses the phrasing “petitions of gods”, which could mean kings who are given the title of “good/perfect god” (*nfr ntr*), “and people.” Although situated above head level, the text still would have been visible to individuals standing in the court (Fig 3.35). The text ends just before the door jamb of the eastern door with the *rekhyt* which is where the people are believed to have entered the court.

Two preserved scenes in the second register on the east wall include iconographic elements that focus on the king’s cultic role. In the first scene the king is depicted burning incense over offerings. This scene also includes a list of cult places belonging to the god Amun. The second scene shows the king making a libation over offerings to Amun.<sup>177</sup>

The scenes on the south wall of the southeast corner of Ramesses II’s forecourt are better preserved than those of the east wall; all three registers are still *in situ*. The bottom register has two scenes. In the first Ramesses II receives Sed festivals (*hb sd*) from Amun in front of the persea tree, while Thoth records the action. In the second scene the king offers a libation to Amun and Khonsu.<sup>178</sup> The second, middle, register contains three scenes. In the first Ramesses II is escorted into the temple by Wepwawet and Montu while Thoth records. The second shows the king burning incense and making a libation to a god. The third has the king and Khonsu offering Ma’at in the form of Ramesses II’s nomen to Amun and Mut (Fig 3.36).<sup>179</sup> The third,

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<sup>173</sup> Bell 1997, 167

<sup>174</sup> KRI II, 404

<sup>175</sup> Bell 1997, 164

<sup>176</sup> KRI II, 607 lines 14-15

<sup>177</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 307 no 26

<sup>178</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 307 no 27

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

uppermost, register has two scenes which feature the Vizier Pinudjem with his brothers.<sup>180</sup> The inclusion of scenes featuring other members of the court besides the king is not common.

In addition to the *rekhyt* there is another indicator that the people were allowed in Ramesses II's forecourt at Luxor Temple, namely a defied Ramesses II statue. Ramesses II included in his forecourt and in front of the pylon statues with names similar to those discussed above on the stelae from Qantir, which were the focus of personal devotion. A pair of colossi seated statues of Ramesses II are placed on the south side of the forecourt on either side of the entrance to Processional Colonnade of Amenhotep III. The statue on the west side was given a specific name (Fig. 3.37).<sup>181</sup> On the left shoulder it is called "Usermaatre-Setepenre Re of Rulers" and on the right shoulder, "Ramesses-Meriamun Re of Rulers." On the front of the statues base, Ramesses II's prenomen and nomen appear in the center; each cartouche is crowned with two feathers and a sun disk (Fig. 3.38). To the left and right of the cartouches are identical representations of a priest wearing the side-lock and clad in the leopard skin with tail, holding one hand up in adoration. The inscription in front of the priest reads "Utterance of Iunmutef 'Mayest thou take for thee, the offering coming forth in front of thy father Amen-Re for the royal living *ka* Re of the Rulers.'" <sup>182</sup> Bell believes that the presence of this statue is further evidence that this court was meant to be used by common people.<sup>183</sup> Since the statue has the same name as one that appears on the Qantir statues on the Horbeit stelae, Bell's assessment seems justified.

In front of the pylon built by Ramesses II, which fronts the Luxor Temple, there were originally seated statues placed on both sides of the exterior doorway, and an additional four standing statues, two on each side of the seated statues.<sup>184</sup> The statue to the east of the entrance has two names: on the right shoulder is the name "Usermaatre-Setepenre Ruler of the Two Lands", on the left should is carved "Ramesses-Meriamun Ruler of the Two Lands." These names are the same as those of the divinized Ramesses II at Abu Simbel and it is possible that it was installed for the populace.<sup>185</sup>

The final pieces of evidence that the populace was allowed in Ramesses II's forecourt at Luxor Temple comes from the triple bark shrine he built in the forecourt against the back wall of the western pylon that has texts which mirror those on the southeast corner of the Luxor Temple forecourt. The triple bark shrine has three chapels, each dedicated to a different member of the Theban Triad. The center shrine was dedicated to Amun-Re, with Mut's shrine located to the west of the center shrine and Khonsu's shrine to the east. As was the case with the southeastern corner of the forecourt, the bark shrine has dedicatory inscriptions on the east walls designating it as "a place of supplication, of hearing petitions of gods and men." In the bark shrine, the inscriptions are located on the east walls of both the Mut<sup>186</sup> and Khonsu shrines.<sup>187</sup> Because of these inscriptions, Bell believed that common people were allowed access to the Amun-Re

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<sup>180</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 307 no 27

<sup>181</sup> Habachi, 1969, 19

<sup>182</sup> Habachi 1969, 19; Bell 1997, 168 Fig. 72

<sup>183</sup> Bell 1997, 167

<sup>184</sup> Habachi 1969, 17

<sup>185</sup> Habachi 1969, 18

<sup>186</sup> KRI II, 407; KRI II, 616 line 1; el-Razik, 1975, 135. For this text Kitchen has restored the key phrase "for hearing the petitions of gods and men." However, in the Khonsu shrine there is enough of the phrase remaining to see that the reconstruction seems valid. El-Razik also reconstructs the passage in the same way.

<sup>187</sup> KRI II, 408; KRI II, 616, 10; el-Razik 1975, 135.

chapel and that the false door on the rear wall (Fig. 3.39) was the focal point of the veneration.<sup>188</sup> The false door features the standards of Amun-Re on each side of the false door are a composite of a ram's head on a Djed pillar.

The statues and stelae found within Luxor Temple belonged to kings and high ranking officials of the court (i.e. none were simple votive offerings).<sup>189</sup> Although the iconography and texts suggest that common people were allowed access to the forecourt of the temple evidence of their presence in the form of votive offerings was not recovered from the Luxor Temple precinct.

Within Luxor Temple, inscriptions that specifically name both Ramesses II's forecourt and his Triple Bark Shrine as places "of supplication and hearing petitions" support the theory that the populace was allowed in the southeastern corner of Ramesses II's forecourt. The seated statue of Ramesses II, "Usermaatre-Setepenre Re of Rulers in Ramesses II's forecourt (bearing the same name of Ramesses II that was venerated by individuals at Qantir) further supports the suggestion that Ramesses II intended the people to be present in the forecourt of Luxor Temple. Despite the lack of archaeological evidence in the form of votive offerings, the inscriptions combined with the seated statue of the deified Ramesses II, suggest that the common people were allowed to visit this location.

**Karnak Hypostyle Hall.** The decoration of the hypostyle hall at Karnak was begun by Seti I and was finished by Ramesses II.<sup>190</sup> The hypostyle hall contains a total of 134 papyrus columns of which 122 include the *rekhyt* rebus as part of their decoration. The inclusion of the *rekhyt* rebus is believed to be an indication that the people were allowed inside the precinct. Architrave sixty-seven, which span columns 17 – 62, bears an inscription which designates the hypostyle hall as "a place of acclamation for the people at the great name of His Majesty" (*st swꜣš n rhyt hr rn wr hm.f*).<sup>191</sup> If this were the only such inscription, one might be able to take as denoting the "peoples" presence metaphysically, since the *rekhyts* are depicted in adoration of Ramesses II's name on the columns; however, there are other inscriptions that lead us to believe that the people were meant to be physically present in this location. In addition, the hypostyle hall was to be a "place of appearance" of Amun and also "a place of acclamation for the people" and a place "in which Amun is manifest to the populace."<sup>192</sup>

The Third Pylon, which forms the rear of the hypostyle hall, has a text on it dated to the reign of Ramesses II that reads "one who has appeared in Thebes, making marvels in the entire land and an eternal seat for "Hidden of Name a fine resting place for the Ennead, when he appears in it to the *rekhyt* people." This text reinforces the concept that the king is appearing

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<sup>188</sup> Bell 1997, 168. Bell felt that the false door was meant to be the focal point because of the two ram headed staffs, the symbol of Amun-Re, which framed the false door which were "probably" patterned after the false door in the bark sanctuary in Luxor temple proper. Secondly, on either side of the false door were niches containing *ka* statues of Ramesses II. Bell theorized that these two features, the Amun-Re standard and the king's *ka* statues, demonstrated the king's union with the god (Bell 1997, 168-9)

<sup>189</sup> There are graffiti associated with the forecourt and the bark shrine that are in Greek and demonstrate that in the Ptolemaic period pilgrims were coming to Luxor temple to make a proskyne to Amun-Re. In *Le Camp Romain de Louqsor* by El-Saghir et al. there is a listing of instances of Greek graffiti within the forecourt. While visiting the site for research I saw that the graffiti were also carved within the chapels of the bark shrine.

<sup>190</sup> Blyth 2006, 157

<sup>191</sup> KRI II 559, 5

<sup>192</sup> Nims 1956, 93; Teeter 1997,4

before the people. Thus the texts associated with the hypostyle hall seem to indicate that this was a place where individuals could come during festivals.

All of the artifacts recovered from the hypostyle hall belonged to kings, the royal court, or high ranking individuals, such as viziers or members of the temple staff.<sup>193</sup> As with Luxor Temple, the common people evidently left no archeological evidence of their presence within the hypostyle hall of Karnak Temple.

## Conclusion

This chapter presented an overview of the archaeological, iconographic and textual evidence dated to the New Kingdom that is accepted as reflecting personal piety. The Memphite and Horbeit votive stelae provide evidence pertaining to the personal piety practices of the literate, and members of society associated with the royal court. The votive stelae from Memphis and Qantir also reflect the methods used by individuals to contact a deity or a deified king.

The evidence excavated by Petrie demonstrates that individuals from various levels of society visited the Ptah Temple at Memphis during the Eighteenth Dynasty as early as the reign of Thutmose I, and that when they did, they left votive stelae. Ptah is the god most often pictured on the Memphite stelae, as is fitting for offerings left at a temple dedicated to Ptah; however, additional stelae from the Ptah Temple are dedicated to other gods. One of the most common iconographic elements on the Memphite votive stelae is ears, which were believed to facilitate the god's hearing. These stelae from the Ptah Temple at Memphis demonstrate that individuals can appear in front of a god in direct adoration, although some chose to show the king performing this cultic act.

The Horbeit stelae provide evidence for the cult of a deified Ramesses II. The majority of these stelae feature individuals adoring a statue of Ramesses II, either making the offerings themselves or appearing below a scene in which Ramesses II offers to his own statue. These statues of the deified Ramesses II appear with four different names, of which the most popular is "Usermaatre-Setepenre-Montu-in-the-Two Lands." On the Horbeit stelae the title "who hears prayers" is used both with the god Ptah and with Ramesses II's statue "Ramesses-Meriamun-Ruler of Rulers." Some of the Horbeit stelae also employ the iconographic element of ears.

The evidence from Deir el-Bahari demonstrates that the Hathor shrines built by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III were locations where individuals paid homage to the goddess Hathor. From Hathor shrines we have evidence from the upper echelons of society, as well as small votive objects that could have been dedicated by all levels of society. These stelae indicate that when individuals came to worship they left copious evidence of their adoration in the form of small figurines, plaques, cows, Hathor heads, and larger votive stelae and cloths. In addition, the large number of graffiti inscribed within Thutmose III's *Djeser-Akhet* shows that during the later New Kingdom individuals had no fear of leaving their inscriptions within a king's temple, especially when its builder was no longer alive. Finally, we have Amenemnet, an overseer in the mortuary temple of Ramesses II, who offers to act as an intermediary for the goddess.

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<sup>193</sup> PMIII<sup>2</sup>, 51-52

Members of the village at Deir el-Medina produced a genre of stelae with texts that are referred to as Penitential hymns. On these stelae the villagers express the belief that the gods impact their daily lives and can bring both punishment and relief. Nebre's stela is addressed to Amun-Re of Karnak, demonstrating that individuals felt that they could approach the state god. The title "who hears prayer" appears on the stelae in connection with both Amun-Re and Nebethetepet a goddess associated with offerings.

At Luxor temple, texts make it clear that particular locations are "places of supplication" or of "hearing petitions." At Luxor Temple such texts appear in the southeastern corner of Ramesses II's forecourt and on the Triple Bark Shrine. The forecourt is also accompanied by one of the divinized Ramesses II statues, to whom the populace could address their prayers. The hypostyle hall at Karnak also bears texts which may be seen as indication of the presence of the people. In addition at Karnak Amenhotep Son of Hapu was given permission to erect a statue according to which he acts as a herald for Amun-Re.

The evidence reviewed in this chapter demonstrates that private individuals did in fact visit temples, and, when they did so, they sometimes left remains of their devotion. In areas where decorum might not have allowed individual to leave votive objects, texts and statues make it plain that common people were permitted there. Thus, by analogy, if a king were erecting a site intended specifically for the use of the people, we would expect to see, if not actual votive objects and statues, at least texts specifically denoting it as "a place of supplication of hearing petitions of the people." In addition, at least under Ramesses II, we also would expect to see one of his deified statues. In an effort to test the theory that the Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu were built to meet the spiritual needs of the populace, Chapter 4 will provide a detailed analysis of these monuments as to whether their textual and iconographic content conforms to those of the locations just reviewed where there is commonly accepted evidence for the presence of the populace.

## Chapter 4 Monuments Associated with “Hearing Prayer”

In the New Kingdom three pharaohs built monuments within the larger temple complexes at Karnak and Medinet Habu. In the Karnak temple complex Thutmose III built a “perfect place of hearing” as a small temple at the eastern end of a wall he constructed to enclose the main Karnak Temple. He was followed by Ramesses II who also built an Eastern Temple in front of Thutmose III’s, with a decorative program that included Amun-Re “who hears prayer.” A third New Kingdom king, Ramesses III, on the Eastern High Gate of his mortuary temple complex at Medinet Habu also included a Ptah “who hears prayer.”<sup>1</sup>

This chapter will analyze the iconographic evidence from these three locations in an effort to determine whether or how the people were intended to interact with the god “who hears prayers” and the “perfect place of hearing”, if at all. The placement of the reliefs of Amun-Re on the Eastern Temple at Karnak and the Ptah on the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu bearing the epithet “who hears prayer” will be tracked in relation to their position within each temple and temple complex. The decorative programs of all three monuments will be analyzed to determine if *rekhyt*, the symbol that represents the common people, appear on the monument and if so are they associated with the god “who hears prayers”. In addition, all of the relevant scenes on the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu and the Eastern Temples at Karnak will be analyzed to determine if they support Nims theory that these were built for the use of the Theban populace or whether they were meant to fulfill the cultic needs of the king. For Medinet Habu because the Ptah “who hears prayer” is not a manifestation of the primary god of the temple, the offering scenes for the entire temple will be analyzed in order to determine how offering scenes to Ptah compare offering scenes to Amun-Re and the other gods. I will also discuss in greater detail the offering of Ma’at for the Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu because, according to Teeter, the “presentation of Ma’at” scene is present in places of “popular supplication”.<sup>2</sup> Finally any relevant graffiti will be tracked, and any related archaeological finds will be analyzed in an effort to see if votive offerings were left by the common people.

The two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, are believed to be “places of hearing” or places that housed a “hearing god.” However, as I will show, these three locations have little of the iconography typically understood as representing the populace. When the *rekhyt* do occur as a part of the decorative programs associated with “key” gods in these monuments, they are connected with the king and not with the god “who hears prayer.” Moreover, I also will demonstrate that all three New Kingdom temples contain iconography associated with various aspects of kingship and contain references to the Sed festival and other kingship rites.

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<sup>1</sup> As noted in the introduction the two gods “who hear prayers” located in Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple and Ramesses III’s Eastern High Gate, and Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple have been designated in the Egyptological literature as having been constructed to meet the spiritual needs of the ancient Egyptian people.

<sup>2</sup> Teeter 1997, 39

## Eastern Temples at Karnak

The earliest surviving examples of “places of hearing” are the two small temples built by Thutmose III and Ramesses II on the eastern side of the Karnak Temple complex. Together these two temples are often referred to in the Egyptological literature as the Eastern Temples (Fig. 4.1).<sup>3</sup> Both temples have deteriorated through the centuries and some of the scenes that were extant when Paul Barguet<sup>4</sup> published his work on the Karnak Temple complex and Alexandre Varille<sup>5</sup> published Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple no longer exist. In addition, both Eastern Temples were added to and rebuilt by following Pharaohs: Taharqa (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), Nectanebo I (Thirtieth Dynasty), Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II (Ptolemaic Period), and Domitian (Roman Period). While the deterioration and subsequent rebuilding make the study of these monuments more difficult, there is still enough extant New Kingdom architecture and reliefs to gain at least an idea of what the original temples looked like. Further, the texts and iconography of the later additions give possible clues to the original purpose of these temples.

### Eastern Temple of Thutmose III (Eighteenth Dynasty)

At the east end of the enclosure wall of the *Akh-Menu* and *Ipet-Swt*, Thutmose III built a small temple dedicated to Amun-Re, the principle deity of Karnak (Fig. 4.1 & 4.2).<sup>6</sup> When Varille began excavations at the temple it was in ruins, buried under hundreds of pieces of granite from Hatshepsut’s northern obelisk, which had fallen and shattered on the monument.<sup>7</sup> After the rubble was cleared, some of the temple’s walls were reassembled and Varille was able to document portions of the original scenes. The reliefs belonging to Thutmose III’s original decorative program included offering scenes and depictions of personified nomes, as discussed below. There are no images among Thutmose III’s reliefs that bear the title of “one who hears prayer”, nor do they include texts stating the temple is a “place of hearing”.

Egyptologists considered the naos of Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple to be a “hearing ear” based a reference in a text found in the vicinity of the Second Pylon at Karnak, also inscribed during the reign of Thutmose III. The text was found on a fragment of granite from a bark shrine the king erected for Amun and consists of a list of benefactions that Thutmose III performed for Amun.<sup>8</sup> These benefactions included the erection of a “perfect place of hearing . . . which mounted to the town quarter, and I erected it from a single stone.”<sup>9</sup> The naos of Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple is carved from a single block of alabaster, which led Nims to speculate that this was the “perfect place of hearing” mentioned in the benefaction inscription.<sup>10</sup> In addition, a Twenty-first Dynasty relief from the temple of Khonsu in the Karnak complex, discussed below, may also refer to Thutmose III’s temple as a “hearing ear”.

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<sup>3</sup> There is variation in terminology used in the literature. Some authors such as Nims, call them temples or shrines, others, such as Blyth, refer to them as chapels. I will refer to them as temples.

<sup>4</sup> Barguet 1962, 219-242

<sup>5</sup> Varille 1950, 137-172

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Varille 1950, 138

<sup>8</sup> Nims 1969, 69

<sup>9</sup> Nims 1969, 70

<sup>10</sup> Nims 1969, 73

The naos of Thutmose III and its two seated statues, now badly damaged, were carved from a single alabaster block. The seated statues hold each other below the shoulder and are situated against the back wall of the naos (Fig. 4.3). The naos, as it stands today, is missing the upper part of the walls as well as its roof. The interior north and south walls were decorated with offering scenes (Fig. 4.4). The scene on the south wall was badly damaged and little remains; however, the one on the north wall is better preserved and still has some of its relief. On this interior north wall is an offering scene that consists of an *Iunmutef* priest, wearing a panther pelt, consecrating a pile of offerings, with an accompanying text reading “for the royal *ka* of Menkheperre, and for their *ka*” (*n k3-nswt Mnhperre n k3.sn*).<sup>11</sup> The text implies that the priest is making offerings to the king’s royal *ka*, the element that provides the king his right of kingship and his divinity.<sup>12</sup> The exterior walls on the north and south of the naos are each decorated with fifteen manifestations of the god “Amun in all of his names,” (*Imn m rn.f nb*).<sup>13</sup> The two front door frames bear the titulary of Thutmose III, naming him as the “beloved of Amun-Re.”<sup>14</sup>

The identity of the occupants of the naos has been in question because of their deteriorated state. The statue on the north side is better preserved and is a depiction of Thutmose III. The king wears a kilt with the bull’s tail showing between his legs. The kilt is cinched at the waist with a belt decorated with a plaque bearing the names of the king, “the beloved of Amun-Re lord of heaven, good god Menkheperre, given life, son of Re Thutmose, for eternity” (*mry-Imn-Rc nb pt nfr nTr Min-hpr-re di ϑnh s3 Rc Dhwty-ms dt*).<sup>15</sup> The seated king is in a traditional pose with the ankh held in his left hand, which is resting on his thigh.

The seated figure on the south side of the naos is very poorly preserved. The legs and thighs were chiseled away and the head and upper torso are missing, making the identification of the statue difficult (Fig. 4.4). It has been identified as Hatshepsut, Nekhbet and Amun by various authors.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of reliefs in the Khonsu Temple at Karnak, Nims theorized that in the Late Period, during the high priesthood of Herihor, the two naos figures were identified as Amun and Amaunet.<sup>17</sup> In the Khonsu Temple, Herihor depicted himself making offering to Amun and Amaunet “living in the “Hearing Ear” in the estate of Amun” (*hr ib msdr sdm pr n pr-Imn*) (Fig. 4.5).<sup>18</sup> In Herihor’s Khonsu Temple relief, Amun and Amaunet are depicted in a temple with an obelisk in the front. Because of the obelisk, Nims believes that this is a depiction of Thutmose

<sup>11</sup> Varille 1950, 146

<sup>12</sup> Bell 1997, 140. The royal *ka* was the manifestation of divine kingship that was passed from king to king. It was as an incarnation of the royal *ka* that the king was worshipped in his own cultus.

<sup>13</sup> Varille 1950, 145

<sup>14</sup> Varille 1950, 144

<sup>15</sup> Varille 1950, 143

<sup>16</sup> The statue does seem to have feminine hips and belly. This led Champollion to equate it with Mut and Steindorf to identify it as Hatshepsut (Varille, 1950, 142-43). Varille himself proposed that it might be Nekhbet, the vulture goddess, since this goddess is depicted on a block of stone that came from another part of the complex and that was reused near the feet of the figure (Varille, 1950, 144). Borchardt, to the contrary, identified the figure as Amun, although he conceded that the text on the interior of the north wall, which reads “for their *k3w*” using the plural form, might indicate the figure was indeed Hatshepsut (Borchardt 1938, 67).

<sup>17</sup> Nims 1956, 110

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* Herihor’s relief in the Khonsu Temple demonstrates that there was an aspect of Amun who lived in a temple named “hearing ear in the estate of Amun” (*msdr sdm m pr Imun*). It is likely that this reference is to one of the two Eastern Chapels, either that of Thutmose III or Ramesses II. The significance of Herihor’s decision to depict himself as king making an offering to Amun-Re “living in the Hearing Ear” will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

III's Eastern Temple, arguing that even though five obelisks were erected in the area of the Eastern Temples by Herihor's time, the one erected by "Thutmose III was the important one, and it is probable that this is the one intended to be shown."<sup>19</sup> While Nims' identification of Thutmose III's Eastern Temple as the *msdr sdm* is logical there are two problems with Nims' his argument that the second figure is Amaunet. The first is the position of the gods. In Herihor's relief Amun is seated while Amunet is standing; in the naos both figures are seated. The second is that the figure of the king in the naos is clearly labeled as Thutmose III. Nims does not seem to have realized that the king's name was provided for the figure by the artist:

"The figures in the naos were identified in the time of Herihor as Amon and Amunet, but it may well be that the male figure was that of Thutmosis III, or since the later rulers were themselves the ones who heard prayer, even Amon-Re in the Guise of Thutmosis III."<sup>20</sup>

The naos of Thutmose III's Eastern Temple is flanked by two rooms on the north side (chambers I and II) and one on the south (chamber III),<sup>21</sup> and by a large court facing east, which was fronted by six Osiride columns with intercolumniation walls (Fig. 4.2).<sup>22</sup> The temple was situated between two obelisks erected by Queen Hatshepsut and later usurped by Thutmose III. In front of Thutmose II's Eastern temple stood a single obelisk (Fig. 4.1).<sup>23</sup> In the Late Period, Nectanebo enlarged the temple, adding chapels to the north and south of Hatshepsut's obelisks.

When Thutmose III's temple was excavated it was lying under the broken pieces of Hatshepsut's fallen obelisks.<sup>24</sup> Little of the decorative program of the inner chambers of the temple has survived the impact of the obelisks, or the subsequent mining for stone. However, Varille provides pictures and a description of the remaining reliefs in his account of the temple.<sup>25</sup> In the three interior chambers (I, II, III), reliefs included typical offering scenes, such as the king making an offering of incense and libations to Amun on the western wall of the chamber II (Fig. 4.6).<sup>26</sup> In the court, the upper half of the walls are missing; Varille noted that from the main offering scenes only the feet remained. On the lower courses of the court there are lines of female and androgynous figures bearing offerings.<sup>27</sup> The lines of figures represent various Nomes and places, including Thebes and the temple of Karnak (*Ipet-Swt*),<sup>28</sup> and were meant to provide the god with the continued offerings of Egypt.

Six Osiride colossi, backed by pillars, form the facade of the court, three on each side of the entrance. The colossi are images of Thutmose III in the guise of Osiris (Fig. 4.7) that were later usurped by Ramesses II. The Osiride pillars on the north and south ends formed part of the exterior wall of the court and had no further decoration. The other four pillars were decorated on the north, south and west faces with scenes in which Amun-Re faces Thutmose III. In these

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<sup>19</sup> Nims 1971, 111

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> The numbers used for the chambers are Varille's.

<sup>22</sup> Nims 1971, 111

<sup>23</sup> Nims 1956, 79. After Thutmose III's death his grandson Thutmose IV erected a single obelisk in the front, which had been quarried by Thutmose III thirty five years earlier. The obelisk is no longer *in situ*.

<sup>24</sup> Varille 1950, 138

<sup>25</sup> Varille 1950

<sup>26</sup> Varille 1950, 148; KI 138

<sup>27</sup> Varille 1950, 151-152

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

scenes the god holds the king's head with his right hand and with his left he grasps the king's left arm; the king's legs are behind the god's legs.<sup>29</sup> There were originally bands of texts that traversed the width of the bottoms of the pillar scenes; however, major portions of these are now missing. On two of the southern pillars inscriptions commemorate the "first occurrence of the Sed festival," (*tp-sp ḥb sd*).<sup>30</sup>

Later kings added chapels and decorations onto Thutmose III's monument that, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, shed interpretive light on the function of the two Eastern Temples. Nectanebo I added two chapels to the complex in Dynasty Thirty. These are located to the north and south of Hatshepsut's obelisks and abut the main temple enclosure wall (Fig. 4.2). The focal point for each of Nectanebo I's chapels was a large image of a seated Amun-Re located on the east wall that was originally part of Ramesses II's decoration of Karnak's main temple's exterior wall. The original scene showed Ramesses II making an offering to Amun; however, only the figure of the god was incorporated into Nectanebo's chapel.<sup>31</sup> Beneath the image of Amun-Re belonging to the northern chapel, is a line of text from Ramesses II, which continues beyond the chapel, reading: "[live] mighty bull beloved of Ma'at Lord of Heb Sed like his father Ptah-Tatenen"<sup>32</sup> (*[ḥ] k3 nḥt mry-M3't nb ḥb sd mi it.f Pth-T3-ṯnn*). Very little of the relief depicting Amun-Re remains in the northern chapel, only the throne socle, the god's feet and the bottom of the scepter.<sup>33</sup> Due to the depth of the engraving of the figure of Amun-Re, which was deeper than that of associated figures, Varille speculated that the image in the northern chapel had been embellished with the addition of metal.<sup>34</sup> It is also important to note that a piece of lime-stone engraved with the head of Ma'at and an inscription reading "beloved of Tatenen" (*mry T3-ṯnn*),<sup>35</sup> was inserted into the back wall. The image of seated Amun-Re in the southern chapel has totally disappeared so it cannot be compared to the one in the northern chapel. The special treatment given the image in the northern chapel may indicate that the Amun-Re images were considered as the cultic focal point of Nectanebo I's chapels.<sup>36</sup>

Each of Nectanebo I's chapels had columns at its entrance and a gate consisting of two screen walls. On the gates' door jambs, Nectanebo I delivers a warning indicating that to enter you must be "twice pure".<sup>37</sup> On the gate leading into Nectanebo I's northern chapel, the relief on the north door jamb is more complete than the others and depicts the feet of Nekhbet (or possibly Wadjet) above the king holding a sign composed of signs indicating millions of Sed festivals (Fig. 4.8).

<sup>29</sup> Varille 1950, 152

<sup>30</sup> Varille 1950, 153

<sup>31</sup> Varille 1950, 158

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> P. Brand theorizes that the additions of metals and precious stones indicate that an image "has become an object of special veneration" (2007, 59)

<sup>37</sup> Locations of reliefs for the Eastern Temples will be cited with Nelson's Key Plan IX section I . KI, in addition to Varille's plates and Porter & Moss. Loc KI. 143-144. Purity warnings are a standard part of temple decoration and appear on doorframes leading from the courts into the temple proper. There are several terms generally used in the Epigraphic survey for door components . The decorations which frame the door on its sides are referred to as the jambs (MH V, pl 258). The area above the door is the lintel (MH V, pl 257) The walls which make up the actual passage way through a gate or pylon are referred to as door reveals (MH V, 254) or thicknesses (MH V, x).

The scenes on Nectanebo I's chapels are damaged; however, some of the scenes are still visible, and among them are scenes depicting the presentation of Ma'at (Fig. 4.2). On both exterior walls of the north chapel Nectanebo I offers Ma'at; on the exterior of the north wall he offers Ma'at to Amun-Re and Khonsu-m-Waset-Neferhotep,<sup>38</sup> and on the exterior of the south wall<sup>39</sup> he makes the same offering to Amun-Re and Mut. Although the southern chapel is not as complete and the northern, enough of the reliefs remain to indicate the king was offering Ma'at to Amun-Re and Khonsu on the north wall of the gate.<sup>40</sup>

Roman period decoration is also found in Thutmose III's Eastern Temple. A relief, attributed to the Roman emperor Domitian,<sup>41</sup> was carved on the encasement of the northern obelisk (Fig. 4.2). This relief depicts Domitian with his arms upraised in adoration of a small Horus.<sup>42</sup> The text of a hymn of praise, translated below, separates the two figures, and speaks of the king as one who is "praising the image of the living *ka* of the King," (*hfz ttt n kz-nswt-ꜥnh*).<sup>43</sup>

The good god, who praises his father, who makes acclamation for the heart of Re, who praises the image of the living royal *ka*, who beseeches he who made [himself into] millions.

Words spoken: That I have come before you, is with my arms in praise, my mind equipped with transfiguration spells, so I might worship your majesty with choice utterances, with beautiful thoughts of [...] [...] to the limits of the sky, making proscynesis to the whole circuit of the earth, so I might praise you with that which aggrandizes your *Bꜣw*-manifestation, as your *Ka* is greatest of the gods, I am correct of speech in [...] lord of utterances.

I hereby provision your *Ka* in [your] sanctuary, and I act as your staff over all foreign lands, directing their tribute to [your] high-gate [...] through your command.

Appearing as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus, foremost of the *Kas* [of the living].<sup>44</sup>

Domitian's text focuses upon the role of the king in administrating the cult. Domitian stresses that he was prepared to carry out his duties, he declared that he is equipped with transformation spells (*sꜣhw*), that he is correct in speech (*iw.i m ꜥkz ddw*), and finally that he is foremost of the *Kas*.<sup>45</sup> As David Klotz noted, the hymn also speaks of provisioning the royal *ka*, as does the text in Thutmose III's naos.<sup>46</sup> While Klotz used Domitian's text to make the argument that Karnak's East Gate was the portal through which for offerings were brought into the Karnak temple complex, the language used in the text also emphasizes the king's cultic role.

<sup>38</sup> KI, 145

<sup>39</sup> KI, 142

<sup>40</sup> Varille 1950, 167 Loc PM II<sup>1</sup>, plan Pp 35

<sup>41</sup> Varille 1950, 164; KI, 141

<sup>42</sup> Varille 1950, 163, pl. XXXI & XXXII; PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 218 (38); KI 141

<sup>43</sup> Varille 1950, 164 & pl. XXXIII;

<sup>44</sup> Klotz 2008, 68

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.; Varille 1950, pl XXXIII

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

Domitian also added a relief to Nectanebo I's southern chapel. On the south wall of the southern chapel Domitian makes an offering to Amun-Re and two goddesses.<sup>47</sup> Lastly, Domitian inscribed a set of texts, hymns to Amun, on the eastern jambs of Thutmose III's entrance (Fig. 4.2).<sup>48</sup> None of Domitian's reliefs or texts contains references to the common people, or evokes their worship; instead they stress Domitian's cultic role in the Amun cult and focus on the royal *ka*.

Within the entire decorative program of Thutmose III's Eastern Temple, either contemporary with Thutmose III or later, there are no texts designating it as either "a place of supplication" or "a place of hearing." As shown above in Chapter 3, temple locations designated as "places of supplication," such as Ramesses II's forecourt at Luxor Temple,<sup>49</sup> include iconography with *rekhyt* that show the people where to stand. The Eastern Temple of Thutmose III has no *rekhyt* anywhere in its decorative program. Thus, in addition to the lack of a specific designation as a place of supplication, there are no indications that *rekhyt* were used in the decorative programs of either the New Kingdom temple or the later additions of Nectanebo or Domitian. The Eastern Temple of Thutmose III thus has nothing in its decorative program to suggest that it was constructed for the "common" people. What the associated texts do stress, however, is kingship. Texts dated to Thutmose III reference the provisioning of the royal *ka* and the Sed festival, Nectanebo presents Ma'at, and Domitian proclaims his cultic efficiency and depicts his offering to the royal *ka*.

### **Eastern Temple of Ramesses II (Nineteenth Dynasty)**

During the reign of Ramesses II a small temple was built at the eastern end of the Karnak Temple complex in front of Thutmose III's temple (Fig. 4.1). The High Priest of Amun Bekenkhonsu constructed this Eastern Temple (Fig. 4.9) between Ramesses II's regnal years 40 and 50.<sup>50</sup> Ramesses II's Eastern Temple, like that of Thutmose III, was added to several times by later kings: a colonnade was erected by Taharqa (Twenty-fifth Dynasty); a monumental gate was constructed under Nectanebo I (Thirtieth Dynasty); and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Ptolemaic Period) installed a new door in the west wall of the peristyle court. The various topics that need to be discussed for Ramesses II's Eastern temple and these monuments are more complex than Thutmose III's temple and will be handled topically as follows: 1) the bandeau and texts associated with Ramesses II's temple; 2) the occurrences of Amun-Re "who hears prayer" in both the Ramesside and the Ptolemaic reliefs of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple and on Nectanebo I's monumental gate; 3) the use of the epithet "who hears prayer" as a title for Ramesses II and Ptolemy VIII; 4) the presentation of Ma'at; 5) Sed festival depictions within Ramesses II's Eastern Temple; 6) cultic scenes featuring Ptah in Ramesses II's Eastern Temple; 7) cultic scenes from Taharqa's Eastern Colonnade.

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<sup>47</sup> Varille 1950, 167-168, pl. XXXVI & XXXVII; PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 218 (34); KI, 100. It is not possible to determine what Domitian was offering to these gods.

<sup>48</sup> Varille 1950, 168 says that these hymns were added by Trajan; however this was corrected by Sauneron 1953, 49-52.

<sup>49</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, the forecourt of Luxor temple is designated as a place of supplication, with the text ending at the eastern doorway. In addition, this door has the *rekhyt* depicted on its side.

<sup>50</sup> Blyth 2006, 160

In its current state Ramesses II's temple consists of a sandstone inner doorway and a peristyle court, which contains eight columns and two Osiride colossi of Ramesses II.<sup>51</sup> The west wall of the peristyle court had a niche in the center flanked by a door on either side (Fig. 4.9). During the Ptolemaic Period, Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II cut out Ramesses II's niche and installed a third door in its place, which he decorated with offering scenes.<sup>52</sup> More of the original reliefs and texts have survived from Ramesses II's temple than from Thutmose III's. I have tracked these by offering and deity (Appendix A). The reliefs were analyzed for their content and for any patterns in placement of scenes in relation to the Amun-Re "who hears prayer". The placement of the presentation of Ma'at scenes was also tracked as well as whether any gods/goddesses other than the Theban Triad receive offerings.

Inscribed bandeaus occur on the interior and exterior walls of the peristyle court, as well as on the bases of the doorways of Ramesses II's temple.<sup>53</sup> Of the bandeau within the peristyle court only the inscriptions on the east wall remain; these were added after the reign of Ramesses II. These inscriptions comprise two lines of text, each radiating from the central door outward, and currently bear the titulary of Seti II, which Barguet believed was carved over those of Amunmose.<sup>54</sup> On the northern side of the same door, Seti II is named as the "beloved of Amun-Re king of the gods," (*mry-ʿImn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt-nṯrw*).<sup>55</sup> On the southern side of the door in the east wall Seti II is called "Son of Amun, son of his body," (*s3-ʿImn n ḥt.f*).<sup>56</sup> Although these texts show the king's association with Amun-Re, they do not explain the use of the temple.

Ramesses II inscribed two bandeaus on the exterior walls of the peristyle court.<sup>57</sup> The first, northern dedication bandeau reads:

"... he made as his monument for his father Amun-Re, making for him a temple as something new, at the upper gate of Karnak, before the face of Thebes [the king of upper and lower Egypt] Usermaatre-Setepenre, son of Re Ramesses-Meriamun, beloved of Amun-Re King of the Gods, given life."

*. . .ir n.f m mnw.f n it.f ʿImn-R<sup>c</sup> irt n.f ḥwt-nṯr m3wt [...] sb3 ḥrw n ʿIpt-swt ḥft hr n W3st [nswt bitī] Wsr m3t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup> s3-R<sup>c</sup> R<sup>c</sup>mssw-mry-ʿImn mry-ʿImn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt-nṯrw di ʿnh*

The second, southern bandeau reads:

"[...]Ramesses-Meriamun, like Re, who has glorified his temple and filled it with monuments, causing his name to endure forever in Karnak, lord of the two lands Usermaatre-Setepenre, lord of the thrones Ramesses-Meriamun given life."

*[...] R<sup>c</sup>mssw-mry-ʿImn mi R<sup>c</sup> sd3r ʿImn mh sw m mnw di wn rn[.f] r nhḥ m ʿIpt-swt nb t3wy [Wser]m3t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-Re nb nswt R<sup>c</sup>mssw-mry-ʿImn di ʿnh*

<sup>51</sup> Barguet 1962, 223-232

<sup>52</sup> Barguet 1962, 232-240

<sup>53</sup> Bandeaus are the bands of text that appear on the temple walls.

<sup>54</sup> Barguet 1962, 229 ff. 2

<sup>55</sup> Barguet 1962, 229

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Barguet 1962, 230-231

When looking at these two texts of Ramesses II's, we see that the king has erected the temple for his father Amun-Re. The inscriptions do not, however, tell us the specific occasion for which the temple was built. As with the texts from Thutmose III's Eastern Temple, Ramesses II's texts do not declare that this is a "place of hearing." Unlike Thutmose III's, however, Ramesses II's Eastern temple does contain references to Amun-Re with the title "who hears prayer."

The title "who hears prayer" applied to Amun-Re appears in two locations within Ramesses II's texts, three times in the Ptolemaic texts, and twice on the monumental gate of Nectanebo (Fig 4.8). The Ramesside and Ptolemaic texts will be discussed first followed by those on Nectanebo I's Gate. The first Ramesside reference is found in the name of the southern door jamb of the eastern entry (the northern jamb has a different name).<sup>58</sup> The bandeau text is at the base of the jamb, beneath an offering scene in which Ramesses is presenting the temple to Amun, reads: "the great gate Usermaatse-Setepenre and Amun who hears prayer" (*sbꜣ ꜥꜣ nswt bitꜣ Wsrmsꜣꜥtrꜥ stp-n-Re ꜣmn sdm nꜣt*).<sup>59</sup> Today the text is much degraded but one can still make out some of the signs (Fig 4.10). The second Ramesside reference to Amun-Re "who hears prayer" is on the northern exterior wall of the peristyle court (Fig 4.11).<sup>60</sup> On this panel, Hathor leads Ramesses II into the presence of Amun-Re and she announces to Amun-Re in the associated text that she is coming at the head (in front) of his son. The text in front of Amun-Re gives his name with the title "Beloved of Amun-Re who hears prayer, " *mry-ꜣmn-Re sdm nꜣt*."<sup>61</sup>

Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II made changes to Ramesses II's Eastern Temple during the Ptolemaic period which continued the motif of Amun-Re "who hears prayer." Ptolemy VIII cut out the Ramesside niche which was in the western wall of the Eastern Temple and inserted his own doorway in its place.<sup>62</sup> The reliefs on the two jambs of the new doorway included offering scenes where the title "who hears prayer" occurs in texts associated with Amun-Re. On the southern jamb, just above Ptolemy VIII's bandeau, is a panel showing the king offering incense to Amun-Re and Mut (Figure 4.12). On this panel it is made clear that it is Amun-Re who hears prayer: "Amun-Re King of the Gods who hears prayer, Lord of Life, capable of creating life," (*ꜣmn-Re nswt-ntꜣw sdm nꜣt nb ꜥnꜣ ꜣni m sꜥnꜣ*). On the northern jamb Ptolemy VIII offers incense to Amun-Re and Khonsu (Fig 4.13). Once again in the accompanying inscription, Amun-Re is "Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands who hears prayer" (*nb nswt tꜣwy sdm nꜣt*). A third reference to Amun-Re who hears prayer appears on the lowest register of the southern door thickness (Figure 4.14). The base of this thickness is decorated with a thicket of lilies. The center lily stalks support the living beings of the earth. Included in the vignette are plants, trees, the "common people" (*rꜣyt*), the "nobles" (*pꜥt*), and the "people of the sun" (*ꜣnmmt*). Each is portrayed in an attitude of adoration. Above these inhabitants of the earth are two lines of text: "adoring the Ram lord of the gods Amun-Re [lord of the thrones of the two lands], who hears

<sup>58</sup> KI, 196b

<sup>59</sup> Barguet 1962, 226

<sup>60</sup> KI, 190

<sup>61</sup> The term *mry* (beloved) is used throughout the texts of both Thutmose III and Ramesses II, who are both said to be "beloved" of Amun-Re, usually within their titles. Here the *mry* acts as the shorthand for Ramesses II who is the "beloved" of Amun-Re.

<sup>62</sup> Barguet 1962, 232; KI, 153, 154; Blyth 2006, 160. E. Blyth believes that a false door occupied the original niche belonging to Ramesses II.

prayer.”<sup>63</sup> With these two lines of texts we see that, over a thousand years after Ramesses II built his Eastern Temple, it was still important and still dedicated to Amun-Re “who hears prayer.”

Nectanebo I, Dynasty Thirty added a monumental gate to Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple. On the thicknesses in the passageway of his gate, Nectanebo offers Ma’at to “Amun-Re who hears prayer, Great God, at the Chief of the Ennead” (*Imn-Rꜥ sꜥm nꜥt nꜥr ʿz ꜥry-tp psꜥt*).<sup>64</sup> This offering is made on either side of the gate on the western end of the entryway.<sup>65</sup> It is evident from the texts of Ramesses II, Nectanebo, and Ptolemy VIII, that it is Amun-Re who hears prayer, in this temple.

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the title “who hears prayers” was used as a title for one of the Ramesses II’s deified statues on one of the Horbeit Stelae. There is also evidence of the term being used for both Ramesses II and Ptolemy VIII at Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple. On a statue, today located in the “Staatlichen Sammlung Ägyptischen Kunst” in Munich,<sup>66</sup> the High Priest Bekenkhonsu claims to have been the chief builder of Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple.<sup>67</sup> Although Bekenkhonsu does not include the occasion for which the temple was built, he does say “I made for him (the king) the temple of “Ramesses-Meriamun-who-hears prayer” at the upper gate in the estate of Amun” (*iry.ꜥ n.f sh-nꜥr Rꜥms Mry-Imn sꜥm nꜥt m pꜥ sbꜥ ꜥry n pr Imn*).<sup>68</sup> Although Bekenkhonsu called the temple “Ramesses Meriamun, who hears prayer,” this title does not appear in any of the Eastern Temple texts dated from the reign of Ramesses II. There is, however, an inscription dated to the Greco-Roman period in which Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II may have been given the title “who hears prayer,” on the bandeau at the base of the door jambs. Unfortunately, however, the text on the northern jamb is no longer *in situ* and the text on the southern jamb is no longer clear.<sup>69</sup> Barguet believed that this text located on the base of the Ptolemaic southern door jamb, which was better preserved at the time he was writing, read “Ptolemy (beloved) of the one who hears prayer.”<sup>70</sup> Nims, to the contrary, reads the text as “Ptolemy VIII who hears prayer”.<sup>71</sup> The text as was badly degraded after the word “prayer” (even when Barguet recorded it) and there enough room for *mry* to be written there (Fig. 4.15). The text appears directly below a panel that depicts the king making an offering to Amun-Re “who hears prayer” (Fig. 4. 16), which makes Barguet’s reading possible. Thus, from the secondary text of Bekenkhonsu, as well as the surviving Ptolemaic text on the door jamb, Egyptologists such as Brand have theorized that, in the Eastern Temple, Amun-Re hears the prayer of the king who hears the people.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Barguet 1962, 238

<sup>64</sup> Barguet 1962, 225

<sup>65</sup> KI, 265 & 268

<sup>66</sup> This statue is listed among the finds associated with Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple (PMII2, 214-215).

<sup>67</sup> Plantikow-Münster 1969, 117. Spiegelberg made the connection between the Beke’s gate mentioned in a temple letter and Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple. (Spiegelberg 1967 [1930], 133). The text on the statues says that Bekenkhonsu built the temple “opposite Thebes” which is believed to reflect the position of Ramesses II’s Eastern temple.

<sup>68</sup> Nims 1971, 108; Plantikow-Münster 1969, Abb. 1b

<sup>69</sup> KI, 154

<sup>70</sup> Barguet 1962, 233

<sup>71</sup> Nims 1971, ff 9

<sup>72</sup> Brand 2007, 59

Within the Eastern Temple of Ramesses II, six reliefs depicting the presentation of Ma'at have survived (Fig. 4.9). On the thickness of the southern gate, Ramesses II presents Ma'at to Amun-Re.<sup>73</sup> Inside the peristyle court on the southern door jam, in the upper register the king presents Ma'at to an ithyphallic Amun-Re.<sup>74</sup> Twice Ma'at is presented in the form of a rebus of the king's name: on the east wall Ramesses II presents his name to Amun-Re on both the northern and southern halves of the wall.<sup>75</sup> The lintel of Ptolemy VIII's door, which is no longer *in situ*, portrays a double scene of Ptolemy offering Ma'at to Amun and Mut on the left half of the lintel and to Amun and Khonsu on the right half.<sup>76</sup>

The decorative program of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple includes a large number of iconographic references to the Sed festival (*ḥb sd*).<sup>77</sup> Barguet believed that Ramesses II's Eastern Temple was built to commemorate the celebration of one of Ramesses II's Sed festivals: "C'est pourquoi nous croyons que nous avons affaire ici au temple jubilaire de Ramsès II à Karnak."<sup>78</sup> Representations involving the Sed festival appear on a broken lintel, found between Nectanebo I's monumental gate and the entry gate of Ramesses II, that depicts Ramesses II's cartouches; behind Amun-Re is the legend "I have given to you the Sed festivals of Re" (*dī.n, i n.k ḥbw sd R*).<sup>79</sup> The lintel of the northern door in the west wall of the peristyle court depicts the king's running dance in iconic back-to-back vignettes separated by a text that reads: "Millions of Heb Seds, forever, on the throne of Atum" (*ḥḥw m ḥb sd dt ḥr st Itm*) (Fig. 4.17).<sup>80</sup> The two Osiride colossi in the peristyle court also reference the Sed festival. On the north and south faces of the Osiride colossi, the king's titulary is framed by the year sign held by the personified *ḥḥ*, the symbol for millions of years (Fig. 4.18). From each of *ḥḥ*'s arms hangs a Sed festival symbol.

Ramesses II's Eastern temple also includes scenes of the king receiving Sed festivals, a motif that originated with Ramesses I in the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>81</sup> Salvador Costa theorized that Ramesses I used this wish for Sed festivals to legitimize his right to rule after a period of crisis.<sup>82</sup> On the east wall of the inner chamber of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple,<sup>83</sup> which is for the most part destroyed, are two depictions of Amun-Re giving Ramesses II Sed festivals (Fig. 4.19). Costa theorized that presentation of Sed festivals scenes was "an expression of the ambition of the sovereign to survive through the generations. His status as a god would be secured by the rituals of the Sed Festival."<sup>84</sup>

<sup>73</sup> KI, 181

<sup>74</sup> KI, 162

<sup>75</sup> Barguet 1962, 229; PM II<sup>1</sup>, 211; KI, 160b, 169 E. Teeter has noted that Ramesses II used a rebus of his name to represent the goddess Ma'at and that at KI 169 the *nb* sign usually featured under the rebus is replaced with the *mr* – sign because when presenting to Amun-Re stands in for *mry*-Amun. Teeter 1997, 31

<sup>76</sup> Barguet 1962, pl XXXII; PM II<sup>1</sup>, 212; KI, 154

<sup>77</sup> Barguet 1962, 300

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Barguet 1962, pl XXXc

<sup>80</sup> KI, 177

<sup>81</sup> Costa 2006, 61

<sup>82</sup> Costa 2006, 70

<sup>83</sup> KI, 151 & 152; PM II<sup>2</sup> p 213 (44) Salvador Costa says that it is the west wall, this might be because the north arrow is incorrect in Porter and Moss and is reversed (PM<sup>2</sup>, plan XVIII).

<sup>84</sup> Costa 2006, 74

Further evidence that Ramesses II built his Eastern Temple in commemoration of a Sed festival is that there are two obelisk bases in front of Nectanebo I's gate. These obelisks originally would have fronted Ramesses II's Eastern Temple. Egyptian kings would raise obelisks for the god in whose temple their Sed festival was celebrated.<sup>85</sup> Unfortunately the obelisks are no longer *in situ* and all that remains of their presence are the bases and some fragments, both of which are inscribed with the name of Ramesses II.<sup>86</sup> As Barguet first noticed,<sup>87</sup> Ramesses II's texts do not specifically state that the Eastern Temple was built in commemoration of one of Ramesses II's Sed festivals, but it is a strong possibility considering the number of references to the festival in the temple.

Another interesting aspect to Ramesses II's Eastern Temple is the presence of Ptah. Most extant scenes within this temple are typical scenes in which Ramesses II makes offerings to the Theban Triad (Amun-Re, Mut and Khonsu), as well as cultic scenes such as the "Driving of the Bulls" and scenes depicting the king's purification; that will be discussed below in Chapter 5. Several additional gods, such as Hathor of Dendera, perform actions for the king. None of these gods receive offerings, however, except for the Theban Triad and Ptah. On the exterior of the south wall of the peristyle court is a depiction of the king offering bread to Ptah (Fig. 4.20).<sup>88</sup> There may also be a second Ptah depicted on the southern door thickness of Ramesses II's entryway (Fig. 4.21).<sup>89</sup> All that remains of this figure are his mummiform feet and the bottom of a *was* scepter.<sup>90</sup> In front of the scepter, one can see a thick line that is positioned in the correct location to be the leading edge of a baldachin. While both Ptah and Khonsu are depicted in mummiform and both carry a scepter, only the Ptah is usually depicted standing in a baldachin. Thus, within Ramesses II's temple built in honor of Amun-Re, we have one definite and one probable depiction of Ptah receiving offerings.

Taharqa constructed his eastern colonnade, or kiosk, so that it abutted Ramesses II's Eastern Temple (Fig. 4.9), in the place believed to have been the location of a building element described by Bekenkhonsu called the *dꜣdꜣ*.<sup>91</sup> Taharqa's colonnade consisted of four rows of five columns arranged in an east-west orientation, with the columns in each row connected by intercolumnar walls (Fig. 4.21).<sup>92</sup> Both columns and walls were decorated; however, over the centuries the colonnade was damaged. The columns were reduced to stumps and some of the relief on the walls eroded.<sup>93</sup> Although the decoration on some of the intercolumnar walls and on parts of the columns is damaged, Jean Leclant nevertheless was able to reconstruct some of the wall scenes and the columns from the blocks remaining *in situ*, fragments found in the complex, and a comparison with the other Taharqa colonnades at Karnak.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 81

<sup>86</sup> Barguet 1962, 223-224

<sup>87</sup> Barguet 1962, 300

<sup>88</sup> KI, 231; PM II<sup>2</sup> p 213 (45)

<sup>89</sup> KI, 184; PM II<sup>2</sup> p 211 (29c)

<sup>90</sup> Barguet thought that it was a possible depiction of the king offering incense to Khonsu. Barguet, 1962, 227

<sup>91</sup> Barguet 1962, 306

<sup>92</sup> Leclant 1953a, 118

<sup>93</sup> Leclant 1953a, 119-20

<sup>94</sup> Leclant 1953a, 123-172. Taharqa built several colonnades, often called kiosks, within the Karnak temple complex: on the north side, between the Amun-Re-Montu temple and the Ptolemaic gate; on the south side, between the Khonsu temple and Euergetes' gate; on the west side, in the forecourt between the first and second

The columns of Taharqa's Eastern Colonnade are decorated with various bands of differing motifs on each column. Chevrier reconstructs the scenes on the columns as relating to motifs connected with the king.<sup>95</sup> In one band on the columns, the king's Horus and Son of Re names appear along with the goddess Wadjet or Nekhbet on one side and a seated god with the formula "beloved of" the god on the other (Fig. 4.23).<sup>96</sup> On column 3 this god is Montu who is shown seated offering life to the king.<sup>97</sup> On each of the columns, the next band features offering scenes, one on each side of the column, which follow the standard iconographic canon of the king facing into the temple with the god looking out.<sup>98</sup>

On column 5, on the eastern side, it says "son of Re, Taharqa (erased), at the head of the *kꜣs* of all the living, appearing on (the throne) all joy. . . all foreign lands are under your sandals."<sup>99</sup> This phrase "at the head of the *kꜣs* of the living" is echoed in the last line of Domitian's text<sup>100</sup> and epitomizes the king's leadership of the people. On the south panel of column 5, the king is depicted making an offering to a god with the *wꜣs* scepter; the associated text reads: "Offering Ma'at to the Lord of Ma'at."<sup>101</sup> The photograph included in Leclant's publication is not clear enough to determine who the god is; however, it is probably Amun-Re, associating the pharaoh with order, and, as we shall see, this same title is used for the Ptah of the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu.<sup>102</sup>

The intercolumnar walls of Taharqa's Colonnade have sustained a great deal of damage and some are completely destroyed; however, a portion of the decoration is still discernable. On the exterior intercolumnar walls of the southern and northern rows of columns, king Taharqa leads the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt towards the interior of the temple.<sup>103</sup> The nomes are depicted in the form of Hapi with a corresponding nome standard on his head. Each Hapi figure carries an offering table with a *wꜣs* scepter and two *ḥs* vases each with an *ankh* sign hanging below. The texts associated with each nome, written in retrograde, address the king as "Lord of the Two Lands" and explain that the nomes are bringing him goods from their cities. For example, the second nome is Edfu and says: "Words spoken, bringing to the Lord of the two lands [Taharqa], he brings to you Wetjes-Hor" (*ḏd mdw ḏi n nb tꜣwy [tꜣhꜣrkꜣ] ḏi.f n.k Wtꜣs-ḥr*). This text shows that the nomes are bringing the offerings to the king, who will then make offerings to the gods. Thus, as with Thutmose III's Eastern temple, Taharqa's gate also included various places in Egypt, in this case with the king shown at the front of the nomes.

Additional surviving intercolumnar walls in the Taharqa Colonnade are decorated with various scenes relating to kingship and offerings. While the Sed festival is not mentioned specifically, there are multiple scenes which have a connection with this kingship ritual.

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pylons; and on the east side, in front of Ramesses II's Eastern temple (Leclant 1953, 115-116). It is this last colonnade that is of concern to this study.

<sup>95</sup> Leclant 1953a, 160-162, Fig. 28. Leclant's numbering system will be used for the columns and intercolumnar walls discussed in this section (see Figure 4.21)

<sup>96</sup> Leclant 1953a, 162

<sup>97</sup> Leclant 1953a, 165, KI, 20

<sup>98</sup> Leclant 1953a, 163

<sup>99</sup> Leclant 1953a, pl XV A; KI, 18 Leclant did not provide the hieroglyphs or a transliteration of this passage.

<sup>100</sup> See page 50

<sup>101</sup> Leclant 1953a, 166

<sup>102</sup> Leclant 1953a, pl XVI A; KI, 18

<sup>103</sup> Leclant 1953a; E1-E5 α' & E1 – E5 δ'; KI, 218-222, 230

Taharqa's coronation appears on four walls where Thoth and Horus the Behedite place the double crown upon his head.<sup>104</sup> In a related scene the king is shown leaving a palace preceded by Wepwawet and royal placenta standards (Fig. 4.24).<sup>105</sup> These standards are traditionally associated with kingship and precede the king in processions from the palace or temple.<sup>106</sup> In depictions of the Sed festival, the Min festival, and the Circuit of the Walls, which was part of the coronation, these two standards traditionally precede the king.<sup>107</sup>

The texts accompanying Taharqa's reliefs on the Eastern Colonnade include the epithet "Lord of ritual," literally "Lord of doing things," (*nb ir ht*) in reference to the king. This epithet appears nine times within the extant reliefs, always in scenes associated with kingship. The epithet stresses the king's role as the provider of offerings. *Nb ir ht* appears in two of the four coronation scenes and in the scene of the offering bread that appears on each of the walls with the coronation scene.<sup>108</sup> It also appears six times when the king makes offerings or performs cultic acts.<sup>109</sup> On wall E γ 3 the king is called "*nb ir ht*" in a scene in which he is driving the four bulls into the temple. The offering of choice cuts of meats appears with this epithet at E γ' 4 and shows the king before four trussed bulls offering them to Amun-Re. An additional kingship icon appears in this scene; behind the king is the royal *ka* topped by the Horus falcon.<sup>110</sup> Finally the epithet "*nb ir ht*" also appears on a relief fragment on which the king holds a vase reminiscent of the vase depicted in the Heb-Sed dance (Figure 4.25).<sup>111</sup> This theme of kingship is further stressed by two scenes in which the king makes the royal offerings, *ir.t di nswt htp* to Amun-Re.<sup>112</sup> Thus the decorative program on Taharqa's colonnade, like that of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple, focuses on kingship and the king's cultic role of provisioning the gods.

### Graffiti associated with Thutmose III's and Ramesses II's Eastern Temples

There is very little graffiti associated with the two Eastern Temples at Karnak. Some is found on the exterior of the northern wall of Thutmose III's peristyle court (Figure 4.2). The most substantial graffiti on this wall represents a seated Horus holding an *ankh* sign.<sup>113</sup> Within Ramesses II's temple, on the north side of the socle of the Southern Osiride colossus, Barguet noted a graffiti representing the bark of Re-Harakhty. And last, Leclant recorded two instances of graffiti within Taharqa's colonnade. The first graffiti is written in hieratic on intercolumnar wall E β' 2 and is the name Phibis (*φibis*).<sup>114</sup> The second is a small fragmented graffiti located on the south side of the bottom of column 5, on a small reused block<sup>115</sup> (Fig. 4.26). The graffiti

<sup>104</sup> Leclant 1953a; E α 3, E β' 3, E γ' 3, E δ 4; KI, 215, 209, 227. The last scene at E δ 4 is not recorded by Nelson in his Key Plans.

<sup>105</sup> Leclant 1953a; E δ 2; KI, 228

<sup>106</sup> Houser-Wegner 2001, 497

<sup>107</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 92

<sup>108</sup> Leclant 1953a, E α 3 and E β' 3; KI, 215 & 209

<sup>109</sup> Leclant 1953a, E α 3, E β' 3, E β 3 (twice on this panel), E γ 3, E γ' 4 and Fragment 3; KI, 214, 208, 201, 202, 233, 226.

<sup>110</sup> Leclant 1953a, E γ' 4; KI 225. The Royal *Ka* was the divine aspect of kingship. According to Lanny Bell, there was only one Royal *Ka* which was passed on to the new king when his predecessor died. (1987, 140)

<sup>111</sup> Leclant 1953a, Figure 19

<sup>112</sup> Leclant 1953a, E β' 2 and E β 2; KI, 211 & 204

<sup>113</sup> Varille 1950, 157

<sup>114</sup> Leclant 1953a, 132 ff 3 & Fig. 5

<sup>115</sup> Leclant 1953a, 167; KI, 18

begins with “he praises” (*dwꜣ.f*), followed by a horizon sign. Thus, the Eastern Temples have almost nothing in the form of graffiti to testify to the worship of the Theban populace.

### **Finds associated with Thutmose III’s and Ramesses II’s Eastern Temples**

A number of statues were excavated from within the Eastern Temples. From the precinct of Thutmose III’s Eastern temple, in addition to the alabaster naos described above, came the following: a seated statue of Thutmose III in granite;<sup>116</sup> a double statue of a woman and Amun (headless);<sup>117</sup> a statuette of a custodian of the temple of Amun; a small headless sphinx of Thutmose III carved from green stone found three meters to the east of the southern door jamb of the peristyle court;<sup>118</sup> and an offering table inscribed with the name of Psamtik.<sup>119</sup> These finds represent royal and elite statuary and do not denote the presence of the general populace.

Finds from Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple include statues of high ranking officials, kings and gods. Three non-royal statues date to Dynasties Eighteen and Nineteen. The first is the statue of Nakht dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Nakht was the *kꜣ* servant of the statues of Thutmose I and Queen Akhmosé and according, to Henri Gauthier, Nakht bore the title “kings first son” (*sꜣ-nswt tp*).<sup>120</sup> Habachi proposed a genealogy for Nakht as the son of Kamose.<sup>121</sup> The second non-royal statue is a basalt statue of Anen brother of Queen Tiy who was the wife of Amenhotep III.<sup>122</sup> Anen is depicted in the costume of a *hry-hbt* (lector priest) with a panther skin draped across one shoulder. According to the statue’s inscription, Anen was an astrologer; his statue included a bag that contained the implements for astrology.<sup>123</sup> The third non-royal statue is a block statue of Bekenkhonsu the High Priest of Amun under Ramesses II.<sup>124</sup> Bekenkhonsu was the architect who built the Eastern Temple for Ramesses II, and, as discussed above, the texts of this statue provide the name and a brief description of the temple.<sup>125</sup>

Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple also yielded royal statues in various forms. There were two limestone sphinxes attributed to Amenhotep III based upon the characteristics of the face.<sup>126</sup> Neither sphinx bears an inscription; however, the better preserved of the two has an engraving of a small standing god holding a scepter.<sup>127</sup> The god is visible only from the waist down; thus identification is difficult. The famous black granite statue of Ramesses II with statuettes of Queen Nefertari on the left and Prince Amenirkhopshef on the right,<sup>128</sup> now in the Turin collection, also came from Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple. Additional statues from Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple include a red granite triad, featuring the king seated between Amun-Re and Mut (Ramesses II has placed himself as Khonsu in the Theban Triad),<sup>129</sup> and a basalt statue of

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<sup>116</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 218; Hornemann 1969[1951], pl 720

<sup>117</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 218

<sup>118</sup> Varille 1950;168-169 & pl XXXVIII

<sup>119</sup> Varille 1950; 1969-170 & pl XXXIX

<sup>120</sup> Gauthier 1912, 225

<sup>121</sup> Habachi 1968, 56

<sup>122</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 214; Scamuzzi, n.d. pl XXXVI

<sup>123</sup> Maspero 1882, 126xi; Scamuzzi, n.d. pl XXXVI

<sup>124</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 215, Fechheimer 1923, pl s. 96-97, CG 42155

<sup>125</sup> Plantikow-Münster 1969, 117-135

<sup>126</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 214, Scamuzzi n.d. pl XXVIII, XXIX, Turin Mus. 1408 & 1409

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 214, Scamuzzi n.d. pl LVIII, LIX, Turin Mus. 1380

<sup>129</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 215, Scamuzzi n.d. pl LX, LXI, Turin Mus. 767

Queen Akhmose Nefertari,<sup>130</sup> with an inscription designating her title as “God’s wife of Amun in Karnak” (*ḥmt-nṯr n ’Imn m ’Ipt-šwt*).<sup>131</sup>

There were also statues of deities found in Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple. A limestone statuette featuring Amun and Mut was unearthed during excavations by Leclant. The dyad was a limestone block fashioned as a bench with a roughly carved Amun and Mut seated side by side.<sup>132</sup> Two statues of the god Ptah dedicated by Amenhotep III also were found within Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple. The first of the two Ptah statues is a larger than life, black granite, standing statue.<sup>133</sup> The accompanying texts, inscribed for Amenhotep III, read “Living Good God Nebmaat, Image of Re, beloved of Ptah lord of Ma’at, Great God, lord of the Sed festival living in the tent of bones, (*ḥnḥ nṯr nṯr Neb mꜣt Re tit Re mry-Pth nb mꜣt nṯr ʿꜣ nb ḥb-sd ḥr-ib šḥ n ksw*).<sup>134</sup> The second is a white limestone seated statue of Ptah,<sup>135</sup> also inscribed by Amenhotep III, that names Ptah as foremost of the Golden House (*ḥnty ḥwt nbw*).<sup>136</sup> The front of base of this seated statue also features two *rekhyts* heraldically placed on either side of an *ḥnḥ* sign. Each *rekhyt* sits on a *nb* sign holding its arms up in adoration (Fig. 4.27). The vignette reads “all the *rekhyt* adore life.” While the appearance of the *rekhyt* on this statue could be used to argue that the statue is intended to invite the populace to worship the statue, it must be pointed out that both of the statues were made for Amenhotep III and their original placement was probably not at this location. The question still remains as to why Ptah statues were placed in a temple dedicated to Amun-Re, especially when one considers that Thutmose III had built, or refurbished, a temple to Ptah in the northern sector of the Karnak complex.<sup>137</sup> I believe the answer lies with the Sed festival as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Taharqa’s colonnade also yielded some artifacts pertinent to this study. The first is a stele inscribed in Year 48 of Menkheperre’s service as High Priest of Amun, (Twenty-First Dynasty). The stele commemorates Menkheperre’s erection of a “very great gate” (*sbꜣ ʿꜣ wr*) to the north of Karnak to keep out the houses encroaching on the precinct.<sup>138</sup> From Dynasty Twenty come two fragments, one from a block with a dedication year of 22, and the second is from a stele bearing the title of First Prophet of Amun.<sup>139</sup> A text on a block dating to the Greco-Roman period, the text mentions a chief lector priest whose name has been lost, but whose parent’s names survived.<sup>140</sup> Of royal statuary in the colonnade, only fragments of two sphinxes of red granite were found; they appear to date to the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 214,

<sup>131</sup> Masperero 1882, 114

<sup>132</sup> Leclant 1953b, 86 & Fig 15-18. On the bottom half of the dyad, the gods were carved out and replaced by a schist statue of a god and goddess. While the top of the dyad was not inscribed the schist piece has the bottom portion of three lines of text on its back side. Unfortunately Leclant did not include a facsimile of the text or a translation. I have not found any other references to it

<sup>133</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 215, Scamuzzi n.d. pl XXXIII, Turin Mus. 86

<sup>134</sup> Maspero 1882, 126

<sup>135</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 215, Turin Mus. 87

<sup>136</sup> Maspero 1882, 126. The term *Hwt-Nbw* can mean the Golden House and can denote a Temple at Abydos, the alabaster quarries in the Hare Nome (Hatnub), or a sculptor’s workshop.

<sup>137</sup> Sandman Holmberg 1946, 224

<sup>138</sup> Barguet 1962, 36-38 & pl XXXII

<sup>139</sup> Barguet 1962, 227 ff1

<sup>140</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup> 210

<sup>141</sup> Barguet 1962, 227 ff1

Two statues with groups of four baboons were also discovered in the central aisle of the Taharqa's Colonnade.<sup>142</sup> The scribe Puhem references various gods of Thebes in the salutation of a letter and includes "the eight baboons of the forecourt" and "the Great Portal of Beki."<sup>143</sup> Barguet was tempted to associate the baboons found in Taharqa's colonnade with those mentioned in Puhem's letter because it also mentions Beki's Gate, which is believed to have been in the area of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple.<sup>144</sup> The reference to the Baboons is separated from Beki's Gate by a reference to "Hathor dwelling in Thebes,"<sup>145</sup> therefore the connection is not solid. There are two more reference to the "Eight Sun worshiping Baboons of the forecourt" found on two statues of the Fan Bearer Amenmose who was attached to the temple of Amun-Re in a local called the "Western River" and who was the director of works for the "Eight Sun worshiping Baboons."<sup>146</sup> Unfortunately we do not know where the Temple of Amun-Re at "Western River" was located so it is difficult to tell if these are the baboons mentioned on the Amenmose's statues or Puhem's letter.

Thus the statuary and stelae found within the Eastern Temples at Karnak belonged to the kings themselves, to members of the royal family, or to high ranking members of the priesthood that served the Amun temple or were statues of the gods. No votive stelae or offerings left by the common people were found within the Eastern Temples. While New Kingdom graffiti within the Karnak temple complex is normally restricted to the priesthood, as shown in chapter 3, the scarcity of it here is remarkable given that the two temples are believed to have been a site created specifically for the Theban populace.

Another important point that must be addressed is that Ramesses II did not include one of his deified statues with his Eastern Temple. In front of Nectanebo I's gate are the remains of the bases of two red granite obelisks and the bases of two sandstone sphinxes all inscribed with Ramesses II's name.<sup>147</sup> There is, however, no evidence that one of Ramesses II's deified statues ever stood here. As we saw with the Horbeit stelae and in the Luxor Temple forecourt, Ramesses II typically seems to have provided statues of himself with specific names within areas where the populace was expected to congregate. If Ramesses II had meant this temple to be a gathering place for the people, we would expect one or more colossal statues at the entrance to the monument.

Nowhere in the decorative programs of the two Eastern Temples at Karnak originally built by Thutmose III and Ramesses II is there iconography specifically aimed at the populace. Instead, the iconography of these two temples at all times focused on the king, kingship rituals, and the offerings the king provides to the gods. Very few examples of graffiti were found in association of the Eastern Temples. Those individuals who did leave a record of their presence were members of the royal family, and high ranking members of the priesthood. There were no finds of votive offerings left by the populace. The evidence thus indicates that the Eastern

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<sup>142</sup> Barguet 1962, 226, PM II<sup>2</sup>, 210

<sup>143</sup> Caminos 1954, 28-29. Pap. Bologne 1094, 11, 2-3

<sup>144</sup> Barguet 1962, 226 & Spiegelberg 1967 [1930], 124. Spiegelberg believed it was replaced by Nectanebo I's gate (1967 [1930], 124).

<sup>145</sup> Caminos 1954, 28. Pap. Bologne 1094, 11, 3

<sup>146</sup> Hamada 1947, 18 & Gardiner 1948, 21.

<sup>147</sup> Barguet 1962, 224, PMII<sup>2</sup>, 208

Temples were constructed for the cult of Amun-Re and, at least in the case of Thutmose III's temple, for the royal *ka* and not to meet the "spiritual needs of the common people".

### **Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu – Ramesses III (Dynasty 20)**

Ramesses III, in Dynasty Twenty, constructed his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. He named it "Mansion of Millions of Years of Usermaatre Meriamun 'United with Eternity' in the Estate of Amun." The temple was dedicated to the cult of Amun-Re and the deceased king, unlike the two Eastern temples at Karnak, which were built as monuments for Amun-Re. However, Ramesses III, like his predecessors, also included a "god who hears prayer" in his mortuary temple complex at Medinet Habu. This "god who hears prayer" differed from the ones in the Eastern Temples in the Karnak complex in two ways. First, instead of residing in a chapel at the rear of the sanctuary, the "god who hears prayer" at Medinet Habu appears as part of the decorative program of the Eastern High Gate (Fig. 4.28). Second, the god who hears prayer at Medinet Habu is Ptah, not Amun-Re.

This discussion will first analyze the iconography of the Eastern High Gate, focusing on the iconographic elements that some scholars believe denote places that were open to the populace namely the presence of a god "who hears prayers, the "presentation of Ma'at" and *rekhyts*. On the north side of the south tower of this gate, an image of Ptah has associated texts that include the epithet "Great God who hears prayer." This epithet has led Egyptologists, such as Nims, to cite this representation as a location of popular cult "deliberately planned as an object of popular worship by the builders of the temple, caring for the religious needs of the common people."<sup>148</sup> Because Ptah is not the temple's primary deity, I will provide an interpretation of how Ptah is reflected within with the decorative program in the rest of the temple, including the relationship between his images and other images within the doorways and walls of the temple. Topics that will be addressed are: 1) the Eastern High Gate and the Ptah "who hears prayer" and associated motifs of Ma'at, Sed Festivals and *Rekhyts*; 2) Ptah's treatment within the temple proper; 3) the "Ptah of the Great Gateway" (*pth sbz ʿz*); and 4) the Graffiti and Finds.

### **The Eastern High Gate and Ptah "who hears prayer"**

The temple complex at Medinet Habu was encircled by two walls: an outer stone wall that abutted the porter's houses; and the Great Girdle Wall, into which two gates were built, one on the east side and one on the west (Fig. 4.28).<sup>149</sup> The Great Girdle Wall and its two gates were built late in Ramesses III's reign, after most of the temple, the associated palace, magazines and inner enclosure wall were already completed. The new girdle wall created additional space where buildings designed for the use of the king and his court could be constructed.<sup>150</sup> Two gates were built into the girdle wall and appear to have served different functions. The Eastern High Gate was the entrance of the temple used for festival processions.<sup>151</sup> The Western High Gate faced the desert and led to the necropolis and a settlement for necropolis workers. Uvo Hölscher believed that the Western High Gate was probably intended for daily use by employees

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<sup>148</sup> Nims 1956, 79

<sup>149</sup> Hölscher 1934, Pl 2

<sup>150</sup> Hölscher 1951, 1

<sup>151</sup> Hölscher 1951, 4

and workers who serviced the temple.<sup>152</sup> Unfortunately the Western High Gate was destroyed during the late Twentieth Dynasty<sup>153</sup> and is no longer standing; therefore its decorative program cannot be studied in depth. Based on the surviving fragments of its remains, however, Hölscher thought the west gate was comparable to the east gate with respect to its decoration.<sup>154</sup>

The Eastern High Gate, as noted above, was the ceremonial gate used during festivals<sup>155</sup> and was accessed via a canal, ending in a quay, that linked the temple with the Nile.<sup>156</sup> The Eastern High Gate is composed of two towers, one on the north and one on the south, connected at the rear by what Hölscher referred to as the central tower. The north and south towers form the front of the Eastern High Gate, enclosing a small court which forms a passageway leading to the actual gateway located to in the central tower (Fig. 4.29 & 4.30). At the front of the gate the two towers are 7.10 m apart; this distance widens to 9.20 m and then narrows again to 5.4 m, forming two niches<sup>157</sup> (Fig. 4.29). Hölscher believed the niches were there to give the illusion of a second set of towers behind the first;<sup>158</sup> this idea is bolstered by the fact that the west faces of both niches have socles mirroring the front walls of the gate. The north and south towers reach a height of four stories, while the central tower rises to three. There are no rooms on the first floor of the towers; however, there are rooms on the second and third floors in the central tower of the gate, and on the third and fourth floors of the north and south towers.<sup>159</sup> The north and south towers have small windows placed high up on the walls, while the central tower has larger windows on the second and third floors occupying the focal point of anyone entering the passage (Fig. 4.30). Based upon the decorative program of the interior rooms which included scenes of the king and various princesses, it was intended for used by the king and his harem during their visits to the temple.<sup>160</sup>

The Eastern High Gate does include bandeaux running along the base of the façade of two towers<sup>161</sup> and along the base of the passage way walls.<sup>162</sup> These texts were added by Ramesses IV and later usurped by Ramesses VI. The texts inscribed in the bandeau of the Eastern High Gate do not contain any dedication inscriptions; instead they contain the titulary of the king along with various epithets. There is nothing in the bandeaux that names the Eastern High Gate as a “place of supplication and hearing petitions.”<sup>163</sup>

The representations on the Eastern High Gate’s exterior walls are executed in high raised relief with incised inscriptions.<sup>164</sup> The decorative program of the High Gate combines military

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<sup>152</sup> Hölscher 1951, 4

<sup>153</sup> Hölscher 1954, 1

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Hölscher 1951, 4

<sup>156</sup> Hölscher 1951, 11

<sup>157</sup> Hölscher 1951, 5

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Hölscher 1951, 11

<sup>161</sup> MH VIII, pl. 601 A & B

<sup>162</sup> MH VIII, pls. 615 & 616

<sup>163</sup> There is a text located on Ramesses III’s mortuary temple at Medinet Habu on the exterior of the back wall of the sanctuary which names it as a “place of supplication and hearing petitions” (MH III, pl. 181A). This text is located high on the wall and ends at the south corner of the wall; in other words, it is not in the vicinity of the Eastern High Gate.

<sup>164</sup> MH VIII, xi

scenes with religious observances and shows Ramesses III smiting enemies before Amun-Re and Amun-Re-Harakhty, as well as offerings to various gods and Ramesses III being introduced to Amun, all scenes typically associated with temples.

An image of Ptah “who hears prayer” appears on the north face of the south tower of the Eastern High Gate in the second scene from the front of the gate (Fig 4.31).<sup>165</sup> The wall on which this image appears is located in the area where the passage widens creating a niche, although, as noted earlier, the purpose of the niche was most likely to create a double tower effect rather than to create a niche specifically for Ptah. In fact, by placing the representation in the southern niche, it is not immediately noticeable to anyone passing through the gate, as the focus of someone entering is drawn to the two center windows. Two scenes occupy the southern niche wall: Iah-Thoth and Nehemet-Awy are depicted on the top panel and Ptah “who hears prayer” and Sekhmet are represented in the lower one (Fig 4.31 & 32). Ptah stands upon the Ma’at plinth inside a baldachin facing out of the temple with Sekhmet standing behind him. The king stands before them offering Ma’at in the form of the goddess squatting on an *nb* sign holding an *ankh* sign; further variations of the depiction of Ma’at used on the High Gate will be discussed below. Ptah’s full epithet reads “Ptah, Great One, South of <his> Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy, Great God who hears prayer(s), living in the Mansion of Millions of years, United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun” (*Pth ꜥꜣ rsy inb < .f> nb ꜥnh tꜣwy nꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ sdm nhꜣ hr ib tꜣ hwt nt hꜥw n rnpwt hnm nhꜣ n pr-Imun*) (Fig. 33).<sup>166</sup> In return for the presentation of Ma’at Sekhmet presents the king with Sed festivals: “Given to you a great many Sed festivals like Re” (*dꜣ n.k hb-sd ꜥꜣꜣ wr mꜣ Rꜥ*).

This depiction of Ptah “who hears prayer”, in the Eastern High Gate received various forms of special treatment, which led Egyptologists such as Nims to proclaim that it was built to fulfill the needs of the people. Ptah had faience inlays on his cap and beard, representing the lapis lazuli of the god’s hair, and the baldachin had inlaid metal strips.<sup>167</sup> Ptah is the only figure with inlaid elements on the Eastern High Gate.<sup>168</sup> That Ptah’s image received inlays, both of

<sup>165</sup> MH VIII, pl 608. There may have been another Ptah depicted on the Western High Gate. Hölscher (1951, 9) found a fragment of relief that depicts a god’s toe with the lower end of a scepter and the king’s foot. He did not provide a line drawing of this fragment and did not specify the type of scepter depicted. In addition, Hölscher did not address whether the god was on the same level of the king or was situated on a platform. This is important because many of the depictions of the gods carry scepters which terminate above the god’s toe, but few gods are shown on a platform. Besides Amun-Re, Khonsu and Ptah appear on platforms. The platform Amun-Re stands on is squared off on the front while the one Ptah and Khonsu stand on have the tapered front like the sign used in spelling Ma’at. Because the fragment with the toe does have a portion of the scepter shown, it could be from a second representation of Ptah. If Ramesses had meant the Ptah to be a god who heard the people’s prayers, the image would have been more accessible if it was on the Western High Gate, because this gate was located between the temple and the workmen’s village at Deir el Medina, while the Eastern High Gate was used only during festivals. The interior of the Western High Gate was not decorated during Ramesses III’s lifetime, and Ramesses IX began to add cultic scenes (Hölscher 1954, 1). Before the destruction of the Western High Gate in the late 20th Dynasty, individuals made inscriptions on the wall, and some were prayers, which were recovered from fragments of the gate. (Hölscher, 1954, 1) From the evidence we can say that late in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty individuals had access to the interior of the Western High Gate and addressed their prayers here; however, due to the lack of evidence, it is impossible to say with any certainty that a second “hearing” Ptah was located there

<sup>166</sup> This representation of Ptah is the only one whose epithet includes the title “who hears prayer,” on the High Gate anywhere in the Medinet Habu decoration as will be discussed below.

<sup>167</sup> Hölscher 1951, 5

<sup>168</sup> Within the temple there are images of the king that appear on the door jambs leading from the second court into the hypostyle hall that were originally filled with colored inlays on the exposed parts of the king’s body as well as

faience and metal, would put it in the category of a cult image, according to Brand's theory.<sup>169</sup> It is not clear, however, when these special materials were applied to the figure, and it could have been accomplished later in the temple's usage when the drill holes, discussed below, were added to the scene.

Larger holes surround the entire scene and a second set of smaller holes surrounds Ptah and Sekhmet.<sup>170</sup> These holes in some cases break the lines on the relief showing that they were added after the depiction was complete. The exact date of the drill holes cannot be determined, however, as they occur on depictions in numerous temples that range in date from the New Kingdom through to the Greco-Roman period.<sup>171</sup> The exact purpose of the holes is unknown and their placement varies between sites.<sup>172</sup> A depiction of Ramesses III presenting captives in front of Amun-Re located in the passage through the central tower of the Eastern High Gate also has drill holes surrounding the god and the king.<sup>173</sup>

The placement of offering scenes with these gods, as well as *rekhyt* depicted on the High Gate has been charted (Fig. 4.34 & 35 and Appendix B) in an effort to see patterns in their placement and relationship to the figure of Ptah who hears prayer. Elements of the Ptah depiction that were included in the analysis are the "presentation of Ma'at," the "presentation of Sed festivals" and the position of *rekhyt*. The patterns for the Eastern High Gate will be discussed in the following order: 1) Ma'at and the Sed festival;<sup>174</sup> and 2) *Rekhyt*.

**Ma'at and the Sed Festival.** On the Eastern High Gate, the presentation of Ma'at takes three different forms: the offering of Ma'at in the form of the goddess, as the prenomen and as the nomen of Ramesses III (Fig. 4.36).<sup>175</sup> In addition, the presentation of Ma'at can result in the promise of either "a great many Sed festivals" or "an eternity as ruler" as a reward for this offering, so these two motifs will be discussed in the same section.

On the Eastern High Gate, the presentation of Ma'at occurs the most number of times on the face of the central tower, which is the most prominent location as one enters the complex, followed by the number depicted on the southern side of the complex, upon which the Ptah "who hears prayer" appears. Scenes of the presentation of Ma'at appear seven times on the Eastern High Gate, two times on the south tower of the gate complex, four times on the center tower and once on the north tower.<sup>176</sup> On the north face of the south tower Ramesses III offers Ma'at in the form of his Prenomen to Amun-Re Harakhty who is accompanied by Ma'at. In return for the

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on his blue crown and red sun disk. (Hölscher, 1951, 39) Even though there are several images within the temple that have drill holes indicating something was attached over or around the figures like Ptah, none of the other images of gods have special materials added to them.

<sup>169</sup> Brand, 2007 59

<sup>170</sup> MH VIII, pl 608

<sup>171</sup> Fischer 1959, 197

<sup>172</sup> See Chapter 1 footnote 32.

<sup>173</sup> MH VIII, pl. 621

<sup>174</sup> Ma'at and the Sed festival will be discussed together because the two motifs are linked on the High Gate.

<sup>175</sup> The text associated with the presentation of the king's name state that he is "giving Ma'at" (*di.n mꜣꜥt*) (MH VIII, pl. 617) In addition, a frieze includes Ramesses III's prenomen as Ma'at. The frieze runs around the top of the Porter Lodges and above the presentation of Ma'at scene on the east face of the back wall of the passageway.

<sup>176</sup> There is an additional presentation of Ma'at on the south Porter Lodge; however, these were decorated under Ramesses IV. (MH VIII, pl. 596)

offering Ma'at grants the king “a great many Sed festivals” (*hb-sd ʿšz wr*).<sup>177</sup> In a second scene Ptah, accompanied by Sekhmet, is offered Ma'at, this time in form of the goddess, for which the king receives Sed festivals from Sekhmet.<sup>178</sup> On the face of the central tower at the end of the passageway between the north and south towers, the presentation of Ma'at is shown four times. On door jambs Ramesses presents Ma'at to Amun-Re as the goddess; on the left he receives “[...] like Re” and on the right jamb he receives “all [val]or like Re.”<sup>179</sup> Above the doorway Ma'at is presented twice to back-to-back figures of Amun-Re (on the southern half the king's prenomen is offered and the king receives a great many Sed festivals in return and on the northern half the king's nomen is presented and he is given eternity as Ruler of the Two Lands).<sup>180</sup> The presentation of Ma'at is shown only once on the north side of the High Gate, in the last panel of the central tower passageway, where Ramesses III presents the goddess to Amun-Re and again the king receives Sed festivals in return.<sup>181</sup> Thus when Ramesses III presents Ma'at to the gods in most cases he receives the promise of a great many Sed festivals. On the two presentations depicted on the door jambs and in the depiction where the nomen is presented as Ma'at, however, Ramesses III receives other gifts that are associated with kingship or attributes of the gods.

Ramesses III included other scenes on the Eastern High Gate that featured Sed festivals and kingship motifs. Ramesses III makes several different offerings to Amun-Re and Shu on the Eastern High Gate for which he receives the promise of a great many Sed festivals. On the north wall of the center passage Ramesses III offers Shu flowers, for which the god causes a repeating of Sed festivals.<sup>182</sup> On the north face of the central passage and the west face of the lintel of the central tower portal, the king is granted Sed festivals in return for the presentation of captives to Amun-Re.<sup>183</sup>

The Sed festival is also associated with two scenes involving kingship rituals. In the first scene, appearing on the north face of the south tower, Ramesses III is being crowned by Amun-Re and Mut.<sup>184</sup> In Amun-Re's hand is the palm rib with Sed festivals hanging from it; the king reaches out to receive the Sed festivals. Behind Mut and the king, Thoth records the Sed festivals for the king. Directly across the complex on the south face of the north tower, Atum and Horus lead the king into Amun-Re's presence, where again the god is holding the palm rib with Sed festivals.<sup>185</sup> Thus, as was the case with the Eastern Temples at Karnak, Ramesses III included the Sed festival and kingship motifs in his Eastern High Gate decorative program.

**Rekhyt.** In Ramesses II's Eastern Temple, the *rekhyt* appear only in the Ptolemaic reliefs. In Medinet Habu, however, Ramesses III did include the *rekhyt* in his decorative program. On the Eastern High Gate the *rekhyt* appear in personified form as humans kneeling with arms raised in adoration. Each *rekhyt* has pinioned wings and a lapwing bird's crest (Fig. 4.37). There are seven *rekhyt* remaining on the walls of the High Gate; however, because the

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<sup>177</sup> MH VIII, pl. 503

<sup>178</sup> MH VIII, pl. 608

<sup>179</sup> MH VIII, pl. 618 A & E and pg 10-11

<sup>180</sup> MH VIII, pl. 617 B

<sup>181</sup> MH VIII, pl. 623 E

<sup>182</sup> MH VIII, pl. 610

<sup>183</sup> MH VIII, pl. 621 & 627

<sup>184</sup> MH VIII, pl. 612

<sup>185</sup> MH VIII, pl. 614

decorative program was symmetrical on both towers, we can assume there were at least five more (Fig. 4.38). On the Eastern High Gate the *rekhyt* are depicted in adoration of the king's cartouches or on either side of the windows. Each *rekhyt* has an associated text that explains, in unambiguous terms, that they are in adoration of the king. On the east face of the gate only one of four *rekhyt* remains and it is located on the north tower to the right of a small window.<sup>186</sup> Its hands are raised in adoration of the king's cartouches and the text reads "adoring the King, Lord of appearances, Ramesses Ruler of Ion, given life" (*d3w nswt nb h'w R'ms hk3 'Iwn di 'nh*).<sup>187</sup> Another pair is still extant on the east face of the central tower. They raise their hands in adoration of the upper story window, which is delineated with the king's cartouches. The text with the one to the south of the window reads, "adoring the King, Lord of the Two Lands, Horus, great of reign" (*d3w nswt nb t3wy Hr 3' nsyt*), and the one on the north reads, "adoring the King Lord of the Two Lands, Horus, great of victory" (*d3w nswt nb t3wy Hr 3' nh'tt*).<sup>188</sup> The rest of the extant *rekhyt* have similar texts. In the niche housing the Ptah "who hears prayer," however, there are no *rekhyt*. In addition, none of the *rekhyt* bears the inscription "adoring Ptah." If, as Nims postulates, the Ptah was inscribed as a place for the common people to worship, one would expect to find *rekhyt* in this location. The decorative program of the Eastern High Gate therefore indicates that the people were to worship Ramesses III, as it is he whom the people adore. It would seem that if this was indeed a place for the common people to worship, it was intended to be through the king's intervention, as is believed to be the case with Ramesses II's Eastern Temple.

### **Medinet Habu Temple Proper.**

One of the most intriguing questions concerning Medinet Habu is why the "hearing god" is not Amun-Re, the chief resident of the temple, and is instead Ptah. One possibility is that Ptah was chosen because he is the patron of craftsmen, making him more approachable by the people. If this is the case, one would not expect to see Ptah receive special treatment within the rest of the temple because he would not have special significance to Ramesses III. If, however, Ramesses III had a different reason for choosing Ptah, it may be reflected by Ptah receiving special treatment within the temple, i.e., more depictions and offerings. In an attempt to answer this question, all of the surviving offering scenes were tracked by god, his or her titles, and the type of offering (Appendix B & C). Then an analysis of the temple offering scenes was conducted to determine if Ptah received preferential treatment, as compared to other gods, and how his offering scenes compared to those of Amun-Re and other deities. In addition to recording the number of times each god was depicted in the temple, two elements of Ptah's High Gate relief were used for the extended analysis: the presentation of Ma'at, and the epithet "living in the Mansion of Millions of Years," which also occurs with other gods on the Eastern High Gate, as discussed below.<sup>189</sup>

An analysis of the decorative program reveals that Ptah has a definite presence within the temple. For example he was provided with his own chapel in room 2, according to an inscription

<sup>186</sup> Hölscher, however, reconstructed the east face of the gate with four *rekhyt* (1933, pl 10).

<sup>187</sup> MH VIII, pl. 599

<sup>188</sup> MH VIII, pl. 617 A

<sup>189</sup> It is important to note that the representations for the core chapels, those of Amun-Re, Mut and Khonsu as well as the columns in the hypostyle halls, have been lost. So the numbers do not represent the entire temple.

in the doorway.<sup>190</sup> In addition, there is the “Blessing of Ptah” which appears on the south tower of the First Pylon and proclaims Ptah-Tatenen as Ramesses III’s progenitor.<sup>191</sup> There are also two curious depictions of Ptah with the epithet “of the Great Gate,” one located on the outer end of the main entrance on the south tower of the First Pylon and one on column 33 in the Second Court.<sup>192</sup>

The discussion will now continue with the analysis of the offering scenes in the temple proper (Fig. 4.39). The discussion will include: 1) the manifestations of Ptah; 2) the relationship between Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen; 3) the types of offering made to Ptah in the temple; 4) comparison of Ptah’s offering to those of other gods; 5) presentation of Ma’at; 6) gods “who live in the Mansion of Eternity”; 7) appearances of *rekhyt* in the temple; 8) Sed festival references.

Ptah does not appear in the First Court except for the door frame leading into the Second Court. In the Second Court Ptah appears on six of the Osiride columns, two of the round columns of the portico, a screen wall, and the west wall of the court. Ptah also appears in the reliefs on the upper terrace as well as the upper registers on the exterior south and north walls. Although figure 4.42 seems to show that Ptah was not present in any of the three Hypostyle Halls or the sanctuaries of Amun-Re, Mut and Khonsu, this is probably due to the fact that the walls and columns in those areas have not survived, rather than an omission of his figures. The tracking of Ptah showed that he has a definite presence within Ramesses III’s temple at Medinet Habu. Is there also a pattern to the types of offering Ptah receives in the temple?

**Manifestations of Ptah.** On the walls of the temple proper, in the extant representations, various manifestations of Ptah appear fifty-one times: thirty-five times as Ptah, five as Ptah-Tatenen, six as Ptah-Sokar Osiris, and five as Ptah-Sokar.<sup>193</sup> It is the representations of Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen that are of importance to this study, as they are generally understood to be manifestations of the Memphite Ptah who is the god “who hears prayers” on the Eastern High Gate.

**Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen.** The work of Maj Sandman Holmberg, demonstrates that “in certain times, e.g. Ramesside times, the name Ptah-Tatenen was popular as a variant-name for the head god at Memphis in all his aspects.”<sup>194</sup> On the Shabaka stone, Tatenen bears the epithet “he who is south of his wall,” one of the epithets of the Memphite Ptah.<sup>195</sup> This combination of Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen is demonstrated in the Papyrus Harris, a document compiled in the name of Ramesses III shortly after his death, which reads “to his father, this august god, Ptah, the great one, south of his wall, lord of Ankhtawy, Tatenen, father of the gods, lofty-plummed, sharp horned, beautiful-faced, upon the great throne” (*hr it.f ntr pn špsi Ptḥ ʿz rsy inb.f ʿnh tɜwy Tɜnn it(i) ntrw kzi šwty ʿb.wy nfr hr hry st wrt*).<sup>196</sup> The notion that Ptah’s and Ptah-Tatenen’s

<sup>190</sup> Hölscher 1941, 13

<sup>191</sup> MH II, pls. 104-106; Goelet 1992, 28-32. Ptah-Tatenen is synchronization of Ptah a creator god of Memphis and Tatenen who represented the primordial earth. According to Sandman Holmberg from the New Kingdom on there the Egyptians seldom made a distinction between Ptah and Tatenen (1946, 31)

<sup>192</sup> MH IV, pl. 245C, MH V, 262B

<sup>193</sup> The manifestations of Ptah that are synchronized with Sokar and Osiris have a mortuary connotation as opposed to the creator aspect (Sandman Holmberg 1946, 138-139).

<sup>194</sup> Sandman Holmberg 1946, 62

<sup>195</sup> Sandman Holmberg 1946, 206

<sup>196</sup> Erichsen 1933, 49 lines 6-7

iconography and epithets are interchangeable is also reflected within the Ptah Chapel, room 2. On the west wall of the chapel Ptah appears with the epithet “Ptah who is under his tree” (*Pth hry bꜣk.f*), wearing the Tatenen crown (Fig. 4.40).<sup>197</sup> On the east wall of Chapel 2 in the main temple at Medinet Habu, the king anoints “Ptah foremost of Tatenen” (*Pth hnty Tꜣ-tnn*), with the iconography of Ptah of Memphis (Fig. 4.41).<sup>198</sup> The thirty-five occurrences of Ptah and the five occurrences of Ptah-Tatenen have been plotted in Figure 4.42.

Images of Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen appear throughout the main Medinet Habu temple, from the First Pylon all the way back to the rooms behind the main sanctuary. A cursory overview shows little patterning placement of Ptah’s and Ptah-Tatenen’s reliefs. However, Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen are usually represented in close proximity to one another. On the lintel leading into Chapel 4, belonging to Ptah-Sokar and his bark,<sup>199</sup> there is a depiction of Ptah-Tatenen and Ptah seated back to back.<sup>200</sup> Ptah-Tatenen faces left toward the king who runs with vases and Ptah faces right while the king runs with the flail. The pair is also depicted on the north wall of Chapel 4 standing back to back.<sup>201</sup> Ptah with his epithet “living in the Mansion Usermaat Meriamun, United with Eternity in the [estate] of Amun in Western Thebes,” is being offered Ma’at by Ramesses III. Ptah-Tatenen, facing right, is being anointed by the king. Unfortunately Ptah-Tatenen’s titles in this relief have not survived. In room 23 the two gods appear on opposite walls. Ptah-Tatenen accompanied by Ma’at is on the east wall and presents Sed festivals to Ramesses III.<sup>202</sup> Ptah, accompanied by Sekhmet, is depicted on the west wall and receives an offering of flowers from the king.<sup>203</sup> Behind the king are Sed festivals between two million year signs, presented by Nefertum and Isis. Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen also share a face on Osiride column 33.<sup>204</sup> Each column face has three registers of images. In the top Ramesses offers Ma’at to Ptah; in the second register he anoints Ptah-Tatenen; and he offers wine to Re Harakhty in the third. The only time Ptah-Tatenen appears without Ptah is on the “Blessing of Ptah” on the southern tower of the First Pylon where Ptah-Tatenen presents the king with the scimitar. Ptah, however, is shown at the bottom of the “Libyan Poems” located on the northern tower. These images of Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen demonstrate the interchangeability of the epithets and titles of these two gods, as well as their close relationship with each other.

**Types of Offerings Made to Ptah.** The majority of offerings to Ptah are of Ma’at, which he receives thirteen times. When the presentation of Ma’at to Ptah is plotted there does seem to be a pattern (Fig. 4.43). Within the temple Ptah receives Ma’at predominately on the south side of the second court; however Ptah receives Ma’at on the north side in the temple proper. Ptah bears the title, “Lord of Ma’at,” fourteen times. In all cases but one, in which Ptah is labeled as “Lord of Ma’at,” he also bears a second title, either “King of the Two Lands” or “King of Upper and Lower Egypt.” One might expect to see a correlation between Ptah title the Lord of Ma’at and his receiving offerings of Ma’at, but the opposite is actually the case. Ptah is

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<sup>197</sup> MH V, pl. 342

<sup>198</sup> MH V, pl. 343A

<sup>199</sup> Hölscher 1941, 31

<sup>200</sup> MH V, pl. 338 D

<sup>201</sup> MH IV, pl. 227 B-C

<sup>202</sup> MH VI, pl 456

<sup>203</sup> MH IV, pl 458

<sup>204</sup> MH V, pl 262 B

offered Ma'at in combination with the title “Lord of Ma'at only three times: in Room 48<sup>205</sup> the western most image of Ptah in the temple, on Osiride column 19<sup>206</sup> and Osiride column 35;<sup>207</sup> both representations appear on the north side of the column. In addition, in these reliefs where Ptah's title Lord of Ma'at is combined with Ma'at as an offering, he also is given the title “King of the two Lands” or “King of Upper and Lower Egypt.”

Ptah also receives: wine, incense and food (four times each), incense and libation (twice), and *nmst* jars and flowers (once each).<sup>208</sup> Ptah is also the focus of different cultic actions and kingship, such as being anointed (three times), and witnessing the king's dance. In addition, he is shown making a presentation of Sed festivals at the bottom of the Libyan Poem on the First Pylon's northern tower. The evidence shows that Ptah does have a presence within the temple and like his representation on the Eastern High Gate; the majority of his offerings are Ma'at.

**Comparison of Ptah's Offering to Those of Other Gods.** For this study 581 offering and cultic scenes within the temple proper were tracked and analyzed for patterns in order to see how Ptah's reliefs compare to those of other gods within the temple. A total of 109 gods appear within these scenes; eighty-four are recipients of offerings or the focus of cultic actions at least once (Appendix C). A list of deities who either received offering or cultic attention ten or more time is charted in Table 4.1.

	Offering/Cultic	Ma'at Offering
Amun-Re	170	18
Ptah	35	13
Amun-Re-Kamutef	34	1
Atum	22	3
Osiris	21	2
Khonsu	17	2
Amun-Re Horakhaty	17	3
Montu	16	1
Re-Horakhaty	16	1
Horus	14	1
Mut	13	0
Horus Son of Isis	12	1
Hathor	11	0
Nefertum	10	1

Table 4.1 Gods & Goddesses Receiving offerings within the temple

As can be seen in the table, Amun-Re receives the greatest number of offerings within the temple and is the focus of offerings or ritual action in 170 representations. This is not surprising since he is the main god of the temple. Of the other gods, Ptah receives more offerings than the other gods, with only Amun-Re-Kamutef, Atum and Osiris coming close to his number. More significant is the comparison of the number of time each god receives an offering of Ma'at which is the offering Ptah “who hears prayer” receives.

<sup>205</sup> MH VII, pl. 534 B

<sup>206</sup> MH V, pl. 271 B

<sup>207</sup> MH VI, pl. 264 B

<sup>208</sup> There is one scene where the offering has not survived

**Presentation of Ma'at.** Analysis of the temple reliefs shows that the presentation of Ma'at occurs sixty-five times throughout the temple complex, eight times on the High Gate and fifty-seven times within the temple (Fig. 4.44). There are no discernable patterns to the placement of this scene, other than the fact that it does not appear in the first court. In the second court, the presentation of Ma'at occurs on both the Osiride and Round columns; only one scene occurs on a wall, where Ma'at is presented to Ptah. On figure 4.42 it appears that scenes of the presentation of Ma'at do not occur in the core of the temple; however, the walls and images have not survived here and thus could not be assessed. Patterns begin to emerge when the deity who receives the offering of Ma'at is tracked.

The presentation of Ma'at is offered to twenty-three different gods or goddesses (Appendix C). Amun-Re is presented with Ma'at eighteen times compared to thirteen times for Ptah. Of the twenty-three different gods or goddesses receiving Ma'at, Amun-Re and Ptah are the only gods to receive more than 10 offerings each. The next closest are Atum and Amun-Re-Harakhty who each are offered Ma'at at three times. Thus within Ramesses III's temple at Medinet Habu, Ptah's most common offering is Ma'at and only Amun-Re receives it more times than Ptah.

Figure 4.45 plots the scenes in which Amun-Re and Ptah receives Ma'at. On the north half of the Second Court, Amun-Re receives Ma'at six times and he receives it five times on the south half. Ptah, in contrast, receives more Ma'at on the southern side, with five representations on the south half and one in the north half. In the western half of the Second Court Ptah's reliefs are all on the southern half while all but one of Amun-Re's representations occur in the northern half. In the second court the scenes of Ptah receiving Ma'at occur predominately in the southern half of the court which is the same side as the Ptah "who hears prayer" on the Eastern High Gate. Unfortunately we cannot carry the discussion into the sanctuaries because many of the representations have been destroyed and a meaningful comparison cannot be made.

In the northern doorway in the Second Court on the door reveal is a representation of Ramesses III presenting Ma'at to Amun-Re.<sup>209</sup> The figure of Amun-Re is surrounded by drill holes (Fig. 4.46), leading authors such as Fischer to theorize this representation and others in the temple became "objects of veneration by the public at large."<sup>210</sup> Fischer noted that the images on the back of column 27 were reversed. Normally the king faces inward and the god faces outward; here the god faces inward and the king faces outward (Fig. 4. 47). Fischer felt that the columns representations were influenced by the door reveal image "which was evidently regarded with particular veneration."<sup>211</sup> This is not the only iconographic indicator that this image was important. Three images of Ptah surround the door (Fig. 4.48), almost as if they are protecting it. The protective impression is furthered by the fact that in all three images Ptah's titles include "Lord of Ma'at." A fourth Ptah occupies a screen wall of the portico directly across the temple from the door.<sup>212</sup> This fourth Ptah has the epithet "Living in the Mansion

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<sup>209</sup> MH V, pl. 305A

<sup>210</sup> Fischer 1977, 45. Fischer referenced his earlier article, a review of MH V, (1959, 196) as well as Nims presentation to the Twenty-Third International Congress of Orientalists saying, that Nims specifically "cited this epithet of Amen-Re and kindred epithets of other gods who are "in the door," as evidence of the provision made for popular worship in the temples of the New Kingdom and later." In the abstract cited by Fischer (Nims 1956, 79-80), Nims cites "Various gateways named, "The adoration of the Common People." (Nims 1956, 80)

<sup>211</sup> Fischer 1977, 45

<sup>212</sup> MH VI, pl. 387A

Usermaatre Meriamun in the estate of Amun,” demonstrating that he is the temple’s manifestation of Ptah. In addition, Ramesses III is presenting Ma’at to Ptah. With these images we have a juxtaposition of images of Amun-Re and Ptah both of whom are presented with Ma’at creating a balance in the temple decoration.

**Gods “who live in the Mansion of Eternity.”** Several variations of the epithet “living in the Mansion of Millions of years, United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun,” (the epithet given to the Ptah “who hears prayer” on the Eastern High Gate) are used for Ptah and various other gods and goddesses. In addition to the one on the Eastern High Gate, these include:

Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun

Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun in Western Thebes

Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun in the Estate of Amun

Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun

Living in the Mansion

Within the temple precinct, Ptah appears with one of these variants thirteen times, once on the Eastern High Gate and twelve times within the temple. “Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun” and “Living in the Mansion” are the two most frequently employed (Table 4.2). When the instances of Ptah with this title, or a variant of it, are plotted along with his offerings, we see a correlation between the title and the receipt of Ma’at (Fig. 4.49). Ptah is given this title 12 times in the temple; he receives Ma’at ten times in combination with the title. In addition, of the thirteen times he receives Ma’at, there only three instances without the title.

	Amun Re	Ptah	Atum	Khonsu	Other
Living in the Mansion of Millions of Years United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun		1			
Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun	1	2	1	2	2
Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun in Western Thebes	5	2	1		2
Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun in the Estate of Amun	5	3	1		3
Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun United with Eternity	1				2
Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun	1	1		1	
Living in the Mansion United with Eternity					1
Living in the Mansion		4	2		4
Totals	13	13	5	3	14

Table 4.2 Occurrences of the Title “Living in the Mansion”

In the surviving reliefs within the Eastern High Gate and the main temple there are fifteen gods depicted who bear the epithet “living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun”, or as one of its variations. Most only bear the epithet once; however, Amun-Re and Ptah each are designated with the title thirteen times, Atum five, and Khonsu three. Ptah usually has this title when he receives Ma’at as an offering; only Amun-Re<sup>213</sup> and Osiris<sup>214</sup> also demonstrate this combination.

The epithet “Living in the Mansion” appears four times on the Eastern High Gate. On the south tower’s north face is Ptah “who hears prayer, Living in the Mansion of Millions of Years United with Eternity in the Estate of Amun” and across and one register above him is Atum “Living in the Mansion.”<sup>215</sup> While the two epithets are not the same, as seen in Table 4.2 and discussed above, the variation that Atum bears is one of Ptah’s most numerous. On the south wall of the north tower Ramesses III is conducted into the presence of Amun-Re by Atum and Montu.<sup>216</sup> In this scene both Amun-Re and Atum are designated as “Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun in the Estate of Amun.” The Amun-Re depicted over the door of the wall of the central tower has the title “United with Eternity.”

Figure 4.50 shows the position of Amen-Re and Ptah with variants of the “lives in the Mansion” epithet. Within the hypostyle halls and cult rooms, this epithet is employed only twice with Ptah, while Amen-Re appears with it five times. In the Second Court, Ptah is shown in seven scenes with the title and Amen-Re only three. The two gods appear in side by side scenes in the door reveal of the First Pylon. The epithet “Living in the Mansion” is not used for either god on the exterior of the north wall; however, on the south exterior wall it is employed three times twice for Ptah and once for Amun-Re. In the second court variants of the title are given to Amun-Re three times in the eastern half of the court, while Ptah is given the title in both halves of the court and bears the title seven times. This title stresses that the god inhabits the god’s residence in Ramesses III’s mortuary temple at Medinet. Ramesses III’s decorative program is emphasizing that the Memphite Ptah is a resident in this Theban temple demonstrating Ptah’s importance to the king.

From the above evidence it is clear that Ptah does receive more attention in Medinet Habu than most of the other gods and goddesses. Except for Amun-Re and his various manifestations, Ptah receives more offerings than any other god. In addition, only Amun-Re is presented Ma’at more times than Ptah and they both hold the title “Living in the Mansion” an equal number of times emphasizing their residence at Medinet Habu.

**Rekhyt.** Within the main temple at Medinet Habu *rekhyt* appear only in the first court, and even then only in a very limited manner. They appear as part of the decoration of the door jambs leading into the Palace, which was located to the south of the first court. Ramesses III employed large faience tiles in the decoration of these door jambs. Working from various fragments Hölscher reconstructed the doors (Fig. 4.51).<sup>217</sup> On the lintel Ramesses III is depicted on either side in the form of a sphinx trampling his enemies. In the center of the lintel the king’s

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<sup>213</sup> MH V, pl 258D

<sup>214</sup> MH VI, pl 480 B

<sup>215</sup> MH VIII, pl 609

<sup>216</sup> MH VIII, pl 614

<sup>217</sup> Hölscher 1951, 41 & pl.5

Prenomen and Nomen are framed on either side by his Horus name and “beloved of Amun-Re lord of the sky, ruler of the gods,” (*mry-ʿImn-Rʿ nswt ntrw*), on the right and “beloved of Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak” (*mry-ʿImn-Rʿ nb nswt ḥnty ipt-sw*) on the left. Then on both sides of the doorway, the king’s titulary is shown, followed by the king as a sphinx trampling his enemies, then by a row of *rekhyt* and a row of prisoners. The *rekhyt* appear in a line with their arms in adoration facing the king’s cartouche (Fig 4.52). *Rekhyt* do not appear on any of the columns or on any of the walls within the main temple.

**Sed Festival References.** Within the temple proper there are numerous references to the Sed festival. In Ramesses III’s temple there are 12 reliefs that depict the king receiving Sed festivals from the god.<sup>218</sup> On the outer face of the first pylon the scene occurs three times with Amun-Re bestowing Sed festivals: on the south tower at the bottom of “The Blessing of Ptah (to Ramesses IV);”<sup>219</sup> on the north tower at the bottom of “The Libyan Poem (to Ramesses IV);”<sup>220</sup> and at the top of the north stelae (to Ramesses III).<sup>221</sup> There is an additional presentation relief on the first pylon passageway; on the right (north) outer jamb in the middle register Atum presents Sed festivals to Ramesses III.<sup>222</sup>

In the interior of the temple Amun-Re presents Sed festivals to Ramesses III six times. In the second court on the south half of the west wall in the lower register.<sup>223</sup> In the hypostyle first hypostyle there are two representations: one on the north half of the east wall<sup>224</sup> and one on the east half of the south wall.<sup>225</sup> There are two representations in the treasury: one on the west wall of room 12<sup>226</sup> and one on the west wall of room 13.<sup>227</sup> Finally on the west wall of room 32 Amun-Re is depicted presenting Sed festival to Ramesses III. Two other gods also present Ramesses III with Sed festivals in the interior wall of the temple at Medinet Habu. In the hypostyle hall on the left jamb of the entrance the presenter is Re-Harakhty<sup>228</sup> and in room 23 Ptah-Tatenen bestows the Sed festivals on Ramesses III.

Ramesses III also receives Sed festivals in reciprocation for offerings made to the gods. This reciprocation occurs on columns (37times) and wall scenes (103 times). For example in the second court on the west wall Ramesses III offers the Theban Triad a Hecatomb for which Khonsu bestows “a great many Sed festivals.”<sup>229</sup> On the east wall of the first hypostyle hall Ramesses III offers wine to Amun-Re for which the king receives “the Sed festivals of Re” from Amun-Re and from Mut “the Sed festivals of Re and the years of Atum.”<sup>230</sup> Thus as with the

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<sup>218</sup> As discussed above on page 55, these scenes represent the king’s wish to survive through the ages, which was accomplished through the rituals of the Sed Festival (Costa 2006, 74). Costa also provides a list of the seventy occurrences of these scenes for Dynasties Nineteen and Twenty (2006, 63-68).

<sup>219</sup> MH II, pl. 104

<sup>220</sup> MH II, pl. 84

<sup>221</sup> MH II, pl. 108

<sup>222</sup> MH IV, pl. 245

<sup>223</sup> MH V, pl. 291

<sup>224</sup> MH V, pl. 309

<sup>225</sup> MH V, pl. 316

<sup>226</sup> MH V, pl. 329

<sup>227</sup> MH V, pl. 332

<sup>228</sup> MH V, pl. 310 C

<sup>229</sup> MH V, pl. 297

<sup>230</sup> MH V, pl. 311 A

Eastern High Gates Ramesses III continued to include the theme of Sed festival within his temple at Medinet Habu.

### **Ptah “of the Great Gate”**

Ptah “of the Great Gate,” (*Pth sbꜣ ʿꜣ*) appears, as noted above, on column 33 and on the outer entrance of the First Pylon south tower (Fig 4.53). Nims believed that these two figures refer to the Ptah located on the Eastern High Gate.<sup>231</sup> There is a slight problem with this designation; the Girdle Wall with its two High Gates was constructed very late in the reign of Ramesses III. This would have meant that the designers had anticipated that the decorative program of the high gate would include Ptah “who hears prayer.”

There are two other candidates for a Ptah who might be the Ptah referred to by this epithet. The first is a Ptah featured on the outer entrance of the First Pylon’s south tower;<sup>232</sup> the second is one of the representations of Ptah featured on Ramesses II’s Eastern temple. The Ptah of the *sbꜣ ʿꜣ* on the first pylon is probably the best explanation for the “of the Great Gate” title and the fact that he appears twice in the temple. The legend on the exterior door frame of the First Pylon, reads “He made monuments for his father Amun-Re, making for him the Great Gate . . .” (*ir.n.f mnw n it.f’Imn Rꜥ irt n.f sbꜣ ʿꜣ. . .*). The other possibility is that the title “of the Great Gate” is referring back to one of the two Ptah images depicted on Ramesses II Eastern Chapel, especially the one that is on the southern thickness of Ramesses II gate, which as discussed earlier, was called “the Great Gate” (*sbꜣ ʿꜣ*). While it is possible that Ramesses III was referring back to an image in his predecessor’s temple, it seems more logical that a Ptah “of the Great Gate” is depicted on a portal named as a Great Gate, the figure is the Ptah of that gate. In addition, due to the fact that the Eastern Gate was not added to the complex until after the rest of the temple was built, it seems unlikely that the Ptah of the Great Gate is the same as the Ptah “who hears prayer” of the Eastern High Gate.

### **Graffiti and Small Finds.**

A number of graffiti were found in the Medinet Habu temple complex and facsimiles of translatable graffiti texts were published by W. F. Edgerton.<sup>233</sup> Edgerton’s publication plans show the placement of each graffito published.<sup>234</sup> Edgerton does not record any graffiti on the passage walls of the Eastern High Gate where the Ptah who hears prayer is located, and there appear to be only three from anywhere on the Eastern High Gate. These three are all located in the south tower upper level room by a doorway.<sup>235</sup> This lack of graffiti on an edifice believed to be built for the needs of the people is significant, especially when one considers the history of Medinet Habu. In the late Ramesside period Medinet Habu became the seat of administration for the Theban Necropolis.<sup>236</sup> After the reign of Ramesses IX individuals began to write inscriptions, including prayers, on the interior walls of the Western High Gate.<sup>237</sup> Yet at the

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<sup>231</sup> MH VIII, xi foot note 9

<sup>232</sup> MH IV, pl 245 C

<sup>233</sup> Edgerton 1937. He had planned to publish the translation of these texts as a “Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations,” however, it appears he never completed the project

<sup>234</sup> Edgerton 1937, 7-8

<sup>235</sup> Edgerton 1937, 7 fig. 4

<sup>236</sup> Hölscher 1954, 1

<sup>237</sup> Ibid

Eastern High Gate, at the location of the Ptah “who hears prayer, the people left no trace of their presence.

Most of the graffiti recorded by Edgerton occurs within the Medinet Habu temple itself. According to his plans, locations where graffiti occurs most often are the Treasury (Rm. 9), the Slaughter House and the room behind it (Rms. 5 & 6), the eastern wall, adjacent columns, and the roof of the Second Court. There are two graffiti on the south face of column 33, on which there is a Ptah of the Great Gate and a Ptah-Tatenen, but this is a very low number. One inscription appears in front of Ptah-Tatenen’s face and above the king’s arm, and the other appears in the same vignette between the king’s legs.<sup>238</sup>

No private or royal statues or stelae were recovered from the Eastern High Gate. If the people were ever here they did not leave their mark.

The finds from the Medinet Habu temple included royal statues. One is a statue of a man holding the god Ptah (H. 1.32 m).<sup>239</sup> The statue is broken above the shoulders; however, the remainder depicts a man holding Ptah who is standing on the Ma’at plinth (Fig. 4.54). In front of Ptah is the inscription “Ptah south of his wall lord of Ankhatawy” (*Ptḥ ʿ3 rsy inb.f nb ʿnh t3wy*), with a *rekhyt* on either side in adoration.<sup>240</sup> Ptah’s back pillar is inscribed with Ramesses III’s prenomen Usermaatre Meriamun on the left and his nomen Ramesses Hekaion on the right. A *htp-di-nsw* formula runs around the bottom of the base.<sup>241</sup> Maspero identified the statue as Ramesses III,<sup>242</sup> which is logical due to the cartouches and the fact that the king is giving offerings to Ptah and Sekhmet. The second statue, the remains of a group statue of Ramesses III being crowned by Horus and Seth, made granite was also recovered from the Temple, of the three figures only the king and Horus survives.<sup>243</sup> Other royal finds include the base of a royal statue that formed an offering table and a royal granite head.<sup>244</sup> A statue of Shepenwept II as Isis suckling Harpocrates was broken; the upper half was found to the north of the temple and the lower half was found north of the small temple.<sup>245</sup>

Daressy during his excavation of the First Court found a life sized headless statue of Ptah that is currently located in Ptah Sokar Chapel.<sup>246</sup> The statue is inscribed with the name of Amenhotep III and was probably taken from his mortuary temple by Ramesses III.<sup>247</sup> Bases for statues of Sekhmet were found in the court in front of the First pylon and by the small temple, dated to Amenhotep III.<sup>248</sup> As was the case with the Eastern Temples at Karnak, Ramesses III’s temple at Medinet Habu yielded only royal and deity statues.

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<sup>238</sup> Edgerton 1937, Pl 52 (201 & 208); MH V, pl 262 B. These inscriptions appear to be hieratic or could be demotic but I have not yet attempted a translation.

<sup>239</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 526. Although Porter and Moss report this statue among the finds from Medinet Habu, Borchardt does not give a provenance, which he does for other statues included in his work (1925, 179).

<sup>240</sup> Borchardt 1925, 179

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

<sup>242</sup> Maspero 1910, 185

<sup>243</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 526. Borchardt 1925, 176-177

<sup>244</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 526.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> Hölscher 1941, 12

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> PM II<sup>1</sup>, 526

## Conclusion

My analysis of the iconography connected with Amun-Re “who hears prayer” on the northern exterior wall of Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple at Karnak and Ptah “who hears prayer” on the southern tower of Ramesses III’s Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu disproves Nims’ conclusion that these figures were made to fulfill the spiritual needs of the common people. Furthermore, Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple, theorized by Nims to be the “beautiful place of hearing” that Thutmose III built for Amun-Re, likewise does not incorporate iconography that would invite the supplication of the people. Instead the iconography of the two Eastern Temples suggests that they were emphasizing the king’s cultic role and his position as the intermediary between the people and the god, in other words, his role as high priest. *Rekhyt* do occur on Ptolemy VIII’s decorations in Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple; however the context of the *rekhyt* is within a cosmic venue beyond the purity markers, where only those who were ritually pure would have been allowed to proceed. The iconography of Amun-Re “who hears prayer” on the exterior of the north wall of Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple and associated texts do not specify whose prayers are being heard. However, this image of Amun-Re appears in a vignette where the king is being escorted into the presence of the “hearing god”, visually indicating that the god hears the king. The argument can be made that the king is hearing the people, because texts name Ramesses II and Ptolemy VIII as hearing prayer. The iconography, however, does not invite the supplication of people. In addition, Ramesses II did not install one of his deified statues, as a focal point of popular worship, at his Eastern Temple as he did at Qantir and in the Luxor forecourt as a focal point of popular worship. The fact that there is no archaeological evidence, even as late as the Greco-Roman period, of the presence of people left by anyone outside of the royal families and the priesthood also casts doubt as to whether people actually came here to pray.

A study of the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu showed that within the ceremonial gate, there are numerous references to *rekhyt*. However, in every instance the *rekhyt* adore the king and not Ptah “who hears prayer.” In addition, the texts do not say that it is the people whom the god hears. That this gate was not the main working gate for the complex seems to make it a poor choice for an edifice built specifically to meet the need of the populace. The Ptah who hears prayer is also tucked into a niche, out of the sight line of anyone entering the gate, whose focus would have been on the central wall. Another telling detail is that no graffiti has been recovered from the Eastern High Gate. In contrast, the Western High Gate, the working entryway, although destroyed, produced all manner of graffiti, including prayers. Medinet Habu became an administrative center at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. If the Ptah “who hears prayer” had been the focal point of veneration, surely the people would have left their mark in the form of graffiti, as they did at Thutmose III’s *Djeser-Akhet* after it was no longer used for the king. A survey of the rest of the Medinet Habu temple showed that Ptah does have a definite presence throughout the complex, indicating that he was important to Ramesses III and his kingship and after life.

If these gods “who hear prayer” were not installed for the populace and were instead related to the king, as the iconography shows, then what is their importance to the king? The associated references to the Sed festival and the presentation of Ma’at may hold the clue. The following chapter will discuss the nature of the Sed festival and its importance to kingship.

## Chapter 5 The Sed Festival and Kingship

In Chapter 4, I analyzed the iconography of the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, concluding that the archaeological, iconographic and inscriptional evidence does *not* support the premise that these monuments were built in order to facilitate the prayers of the Theban populace. What the iconographic and inscriptional evidence of the Eastern Temples and the Eastern High Gate *does* show is the cultic function of the king and the Sed festival.

In this chapter I will discuss the Sed festival, the various theories regarding its importance to the king and the possible link between the Sed festival and the king's role as high priest. This chapter will also demonstrate the importance of Amun-Re, Ptah and Atum in the New Kingdom celebrations of the Sed festival. I will discuss how the god who was given preference by the king during the festival may have affected the king's choice of which deity was his god "who hears prayer." As part of my analysis, I will briefly examine the evidence for the Sed festivals of Thutmose III, Ramesses II and Ramesses III.

Next, I will discuss the following themes that appear in the decorative program of the Eastern Temples and the High Gate at Medinet Habu that illustrate the king's role as high priest and the divine nature of kingship: 1) royal *ka*, 2) purification, 3) presentation of Ma'at, 4) offering to gods, 5) driving the bulls, and 6) coronation. For each aspect of kingship, I will arrange the examples in chronological order beginning with the Eighteenth Dynasty and progressing to the Roman Period, as applicable. As part of this discussion, I will revisit the Herihor relief from the Khonsu Temple at Karnak and theorize about why he depicted himself standing before Thutmose III's Eastern Temple. Finally, I will investigate the importance of the Eastern Temples at Karnak to post-New Kingdom kings who continued to add chapels, colonnades and reliefs to the existing building program. I will show that additions made by post-New Kingdom rulers to the Eastern Temples at Karnak reinforce the theory that these monuments were meant to stress kingship and the king's relationship to the gods.<sup>1</sup>

### The Sed Festival (*hb sd*)

The Sed festival was an ancient kingship ritual that appears in the iconographic record very early in Egyptian history. One of the most iconic of the Sed festival motifs, the king's cultic "dance," or "run", occurs in the First Dynasty on an ebony label of King Den (Fig. 5.1).<sup>2</sup> The representational evidence depicting the ceremonies from Sed festivals that are known to have occurred, however, has survived from the monuments of only three kings and one private person: Neuserre (Fifth Dynasty Sun Temple at Abu Gurab), Amenhotep III (Eighteenth Dynasty, Soleb Temple), Osorkon (Twenty-second Dynasty Festival Hall at Bubastis) and the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes (Eighteenth Dynasty depicted Amenhotep III's festival).<sup>3</sup> The reliefs on all these monuments are either very fragmented or, as in the case of Kheruef's tomb, only

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<sup>1</sup> Medinet Habu becomes an administrative center late in the Twentieth Dynasty and no further relevant material occurs at the Eastern High Gate.

<sup>2</sup> Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 14

<sup>3</sup> Bleeker 1967, 99

included a limited number of scenes from the Sed festival. Iconographic elements of the Sed festival and textual references, however, are abundant in reliefs on temples, obelisks, and small finds (including statues and plaques) dating from the Archaic through the Roman periods from locations throughout Egypt.<sup>4</sup> According to Eric Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, these Sed festival scenes usually represented the wish or promise for millions of Sed festivals and did not record actual events.<sup>5</sup>

No surviving text accurately describes the course of the entire Sed festival, making it difficult to understand the precise meaning of the various ceremonies that are recorded.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the exact nature of the Sed festival is still being debated in the scholarly literature. Hornung and Staehelin published a book on the Sed Festival in 2006. While trying to explain various aspects of the Sed festival, this work presents the literature on the subject, both ancient and modern, along with the various interpretive theories put forth by other scholars.<sup>7</sup> In the epilogue of their book Hornung and Staehelin present their theory that the “wish” for Sed festivals acted as a cipher for world regeneration and as a unit of royal time.

“Im Sedfest hat die Idee einer fortgesetzten, niemals unterbrochenen  
Regeneration Gestalt gewonnen, ist zur Chiffre der Welterneuerung und zum  
koniglichen Mass der Zeit geworden.”<sup>8</sup>

Despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence for Sed festivals, enough remained for Egyptologists Henri Frankfort, C. J. Bleeker, and Eva Lange to reconstruct some of the major events of the festival and to hypothesize about the importance of this festival to the king.<sup>9</sup> For Frankfort, there are three key events in the Sed festival: 1) the pledges of loyalty that the king receives from the people of Egypt; 2) the homage the king pays to the gods;<sup>10</sup> and 3) the characteristic dance or “dedication of the field”.<sup>11</sup> Using the depictions from Neuserre’s Fifth Dynasty Sun Temple, Frankfort reconstructs the Sed festival as “a series of moves and countermoves” between the inhabitants of Egypt and the king, and between the king and the gods.<sup>12</sup> In one scene the “Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt” (*Šmꜣw Mḥw wrw*)<sup>13</sup> are prostrated before the king, showing the adoration of the Egyptian elite for the king. The king, by visiting the gods’ shrines and presenting gifts to the gods, “casts the spell of prosperity over the future and demonstrates the effectiveness of his royalty.”<sup>14</sup> Frankfort calls the ceremony where the king is depicted in the characteristic dance, or run, “the dedication of the field.”<sup>15</sup> According to Frankfort, during this ceremony, the king travels twice to the four cardinal points, once

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<sup>4</sup> Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 13-32

<sup>5</sup> Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 10

<sup>6</sup> Bleeker 1967, 97

<sup>7</sup> Hornung and Staehelin 2006

<sup>8</sup> Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 97 (epilogue).

<sup>9</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948] 79-88; Bleeker 1967, 91-123. The purpose of this chapter is not to repeat all of the information contained within the work of these two authors; rather it will show how their theories help to explain the nature of the Sed festival and how this helps to explain Ramesses II and Ramesses III’s “gods who hear prayers.” Therefore, just the major points of their arguments will be presented here.

<sup>10</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 83

<sup>11</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 85

<sup>12</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 84-85

<sup>13</sup> Von Bissing & Kees 1923, bl 9

<sup>14</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 82

<sup>15</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 85

wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and once wearing the crown of Lower Egypt.<sup>16</sup> During his dance, the king carries in his hand the “will” or document (*imy.t pr*) which demonstrates his right to dispose of the land and all that it holds.<sup>17</sup>

“- it is likely that the “will” concerns the land as a whole and kingship over it, not merely as a basis for some transaction such as the transfer of a field to some god or temple, but as the basic order of society which the rich and comprehensive apparatus of the Sed festival is designed to renew.”<sup>18</sup>

A Ptolemaic text from Edfu adds further information concerning the “will,” as it states that the king has received the “will” of his father before Geb, an allusion to the Memphite Theology.<sup>19</sup>

Theoretically, the Sed Festival took place after the king’s thirtieth year of rule; in actuality, however, it sometimes was celebrated earlier in the reign.<sup>20</sup> After the first celebration, a king could commemorate a Sed festival every three years.<sup>21</sup> Frankfort also theorized that the building or modification of temples and the erection of obelisks were part of the Sed festival preparations.<sup>22</sup> He further argued that a king would celebrate his Sed festival in the temple of a god who would most benefit him (i.e., the king).<sup>23</sup> Thus, according to Frankfort, the Sed festival is both a renewal of the ties between the king and his subjects, and between the king and the gods. Further, the festival reestablishes the king’s legitimate and divine right to rule Egypt. Frankfort viewed the Sed festival as a “true renewal of kingly potency, a rejuvenation of rulership *ex opere operato*.”<sup>24</sup>

Bleeker, however, believes that the Sed festival was a rejuvenation, not of kingship in general, but of a specific *aspect* of kingship.<sup>25</sup> For his analysis of the Sed festival Bleeker used the reliefs depicting the festivals of three kings: Neuserre, Amenhotep III, and Osorkon II.<sup>26</sup> Bleeker, like Frankfort, felt that the Sed festival was intended to renew the king’s office; Bleeker, however, sought to establish the exact nature of that office.<sup>27</sup> Bleeker translates the word *sd* as meaning cloth, and explains the Sed festival as a “festival of the cloth, of the clothing, the re-investiture.”<sup>28</sup> Although Bleeker’s analysis showed that the ceremonies portrayed in each of the three kings’ reliefs differed, the Sed festival robe played a central role in all three.<sup>29</sup> The Sed robe was a simple short mantle worn by the king in Sed festival depictions from the Archaic Period onward (Fig. 5.1).<sup>30</sup> According to Bleeker’s theory, with the donning of the Sed robe, the

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<sup>16</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 85

<sup>17</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 86

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> For example, Osorkon celebrated his in his twenty-second regnal year (Bleeker 1967, 114)

<sup>21</sup> For example, Amenhotep III celebrated three Sed festivals (Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 33) and Ramesses II celebrated fourteen Sed festivals (Habachi 1971, 67)

<sup>22</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 79

<sup>23</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 80

<sup>24</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 79

<sup>25</sup> Bleeker 1967, 96-123

<sup>26</sup> Bleeker 1967

<sup>27</sup> Bleeker 1967, 115

<sup>28</sup> Bleeker 1967, 120

<sup>29</sup> Bleeker 1967, 107

<sup>30</sup> Bleeker 1967, 121

king “renewed his office, specifically as high priest, as the intermediary between the gods and the mortals.”<sup>31</sup>

In a recent article, Lange published partial findings of her dissertation on Osorkon II’s Sed festival representations.<sup>32</sup> Lange theorizes that during the Sed festival the king repeats “the ceremonies belonging to the granting of legitimacy for Osorkon’s kingship by the gods Amun and Atum and the acknowledgement of the so chosen king by the gods of Egypt as first essential of any successful rule.”<sup>33</sup> One of the most interesting conclusions that Lange presents is that the king enters the “shrine of the Heliopolitan Ennead, which includes the royal *ka*, and the king is incorporated into the ranks of the gods, becoming their equal. She sees the Sed festival as “reconfirmation” of the king’s legitimacy to rule. Thus the Sed festival, according to Frankfort, Bleeker, and Lange is a renewal of the king’s legitimacy and his position as intermediary between the gods and men. Bleeker, however, is even more specific and argues that it is the king’s position as high priest that is renewed.

Of the three monuments from Karnak and Medinet Habu discussed in this dissertation, only Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple contains inscriptions referencing his first Sed festival, suggesting that it was built to commemorate a Sed festival. In contrast, Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple at Karnak and Ramesses III’s Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu do not have references to a specific Sed festival and their reliefs depicting the gods “who hear prayer” are *not* actually Sed festival scenes. However, the large number of occurrences of Sed festival icons and the timing of the construction of Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple and Ramesses III’s Eastern High Gate suggest, in fact, that these two monuments were also built in commemoration of Sed festivals. In the next section, I will discuss the relationship of the god “who hears prayer” and the Sed festival.

### **Gods Associated with the Sed Festival**

Reliefs from the temples of Neuserre, Amenhotep III and Osorkon II show a large number of gods participating in the Sed festival. Because Osorkon II’s scenes are the most complete, however, I will focus on his temple in this discussion.<sup>34</sup> Among Osorkon II’s Sed festival relief fragments from Bubastis, Bleeker counted seventy-nine gods and goddesses in the preserved Sed festival depictions and speculated that there may have been many more.<sup>35</sup> In his recent translation of all the extant texts, Robert Ritner lists more than thirty-two shrines representing Lower Egypt<sup>36</sup> and more than thirty-one shrines representing Upper Egypt<sup>37</sup> on the inner and back walls of the festival hall, as well as an additional fifteen shrines in a lower register that are addressed as “The Great God, Foremost of the Jubilee.”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Bleeker 1967, 121

<sup>32</sup> Lange 2009, 203-218

<sup>33</sup> Lange 2009, 215

<sup>34</sup> Naville noted that Amenhotep III’s Sed festival texts were almost identical to those of Osorkon II at Bubastis. Ritner, in his recent translation of Osorkon II’s Sed festival texts, also notes the similarity between the Sed festival texts of Amenhotep III and those of Osorkon II. Unlike the Sed festival texts of Osorkon II, Amenhotep III’s texts from Soleb have never fully published. (Naville 1892, 4; Ritner 2009, 325)

<sup>35</sup> Bleeker 1967, 104

<sup>36</sup> Ritner 2009, 312-313

<sup>37</sup> Ritner 2009, 314-316

<sup>38</sup> Ritner 2009, 317

A discussion of the roles played by Amun-Re, Ptah, and Atum, specifically, in the Sed festival is necessary to understand the political and cultic importance of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple at Karnak and Ramesses III's Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu. At least as early as the New Kingdom, Amun-Re and Ptah-Tatenen became the chief gods associated with the Sed festival. These two gods are manifestations of the gods Amun and Ptah, which Ramesses II and Ramesses III selected, respectively, as their "gods who hear prayer." During Sed festivals, beginning in the New Kingdom, Amun-Re, the chief god of Thebes, served as the patron god of Upper Egypt while Ptah-Tatenen, the chief god of Memphis, was the same for Lower Egypt.<sup>39</sup> When a New Kingdom king celebrated a Sed festival, therefore, he usually dedicated the festival to either Amun-Re or to Ptah-Tatenen.<sup>40</sup> Amenhotep III dedicated his Sed festival to Amun-Re. In his Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Soleb Amenhotep III recorded the celebration of one of his Sed festivals, in which he describes the "great deed" (*sp* ʿḏ) he did for his father Amun-Re, because the god had announced a Sed festival for his son.<sup>41</sup>

Ptah-Tatenen, in addition to participating in the king's Sed festival, also celebrated his own Sed festivals. In Osorkon II's texts (and presumably Amenhotep III's),<sup>42</sup> reference is made twice to the occurrence of a Sed festival of Ptah-Tatenen: "Recitation, hail Sed festival, hail occurrence of the Sed festival of Ptah-Tatenen" (*ḏd mdw ihy ḥb-sd ihy ḥpr ḥb-sd Pth-Tẓtnn*).<sup>43</sup> Several kings added a reference to Ptah-Tatenen's Sed festival to their names. Ramesses II, after his first or second Sed festival, took as his Horus name "Lord of Sed festivals like his father Ptah-Tatenen" (*nb ḥbw-sd mi it.f Pth-Tẓtnn*).<sup>44</sup> Ramesses III used a reference to the Sed festival of Tatenen in his Nebty name: "Great in Sed Festivals like Tatenen" (*wr ḥbw-sd mi Tẓtnn*).<sup>45</sup> Several of the Ramesside kings reigning after Ramesses III also referred to a Sed festival of Tatenen in their titularies. After Dynasty Twenty there are no further known references to Ptah-Tatenen's Sed festival until the Ptolemaic Period, when several of the Ptolemies use the phrase, "Lord of Sed festivals Ptah-Tatenen," in their titularies.<sup>46</sup>

Atum, like Ptah-Tatenen, also celebrates Sed festivals. At Medinet Habu, in one of the rooms located within the living quarters of the Eastern High Gate, Ramesses III is given the epithet "Repeating of Sed festivals like Atum" (*wḥm ḥbw-sd mi Itm*).<sup>47</sup> On the west wall of room 6 (the Slaughter House) in the temple at Medinet Habu, the text in front of Khonsu reads, "given to you millions of Sed festivals like Atum" (*dī n.k ḥḥ n ḥbw-sd mi Itm*).<sup>48</sup> Ptah and Atum also are shown together in scenes related to Sed festivals. In a scene from Hall XIV in Luxor Temple, Amenhotep III is making an offering to Atum and Ptah who are at the front of a long line of gods each holding Sed festivals for the king.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Bleeker 1967, 105

<sup>40</sup> Frankfort 1948 [1978]

<sup>41</sup> Naville 1892, pl. VI 9; Ritner 2009, 326. According to Bleeker (1967, 101) the reliefs at Soleb were never published fully, so which Sed festival Amenhotep III celebrated in this scene is unknown (Lepsius II, 83-87).

<sup>42</sup> See Chapter 5 footnote 34

<sup>43</sup> Naville 1892, pl. XIV 1 & pl. XXV vi

<sup>44</sup> Hornung & Staehelin 2006, 34

<sup>45</sup> Hornung & Staehelin 2006, 35; Beckerath 1984, 245 N1a & N1b

<sup>46</sup> Hornung & Staehelin 2006, 35

<sup>47</sup> MH VIII, pl. 636

<sup>48</sup> MH III, pl. 179

<sup>49</sup> Schwaller De Lubicz 1977, pl. XCIX.

On the north face of the southern tower of Ramesses III's Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, Ptah "who hears prayer" is presented Ma'at by Ramesses III, who in return receives a "great many" (ꜥꜥꜣ *wr*) Sed festivals.<sup>50</sup> In the niche across from the one occupied by Ptah "who hears prayer," the king offers wine to Atum while the god reciprocates by giving the king "the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum" (*hꜣw n Rꜥ rnpwt n 'Itn*).<sup>51</sup> Thus, on the Eastern High Gate Ptah and Atum are shown with their titles, bestowing their traditional gifts on Ramesses III. A further clue to the linking of these two gods is that Atum, like Ptah, is given the title, "living in the Mansion," denoting that he also is considered to be a resident of Ramesses III's temple at Medinet Habu.

### **New Kingdom Kings and the Sed Festival**

The iconography of the Sed festival is used by kings throughout Egyptian history, from the Early Dynastic Period through the Roman Period. The number of kings whom we know for sure actually celebrated a Sed Festival, however, is small;<sup>52</sup> Hornung and Staehelin recently identified those kings. Among the New Kingdom kings, four have the strongest textual evidence for the celebration of a Sed festival: Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III.<sup>53</sup> Of these four kings, three also have extant monuments relating to places of hearing that may be correlated with the Sed festival.

There is evidence to suggest that the Eastern Temples of Thutmose III and Ramesses II and the Eastern High Gate of Ramesses III demonstrate a correlation between the god that each king favored during his Sed festival and the god chosen to hear the king's prayers. Thutmose III built a "perfect place of hearing," believed to be his Eastern Temple at Karnak dedicated to Amun-Re. Ramesses II included an Amun-Re "who hears prayer" on the exterior of his Eastern Temple. Finally, Ramesses III depicted Ptah "who hears prayer" on his Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu.

Under the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, Amun-Re begins to deliver oracles showing his favor towards the king. In his inscriptions on the south wall of the chambers south of the sanctuary at Karnak, Thutmose III records how Amun-Re sought him out in the temple and made him king.<sup>54</sup> Thus, the most important god for Thutmose III's kingship was Amun-Re. Thutmose III is believed to have celebrated three Sed festivals.<sup>55</sup> On the columns of Thutmose III's festival hall at Karnak (the *Akh-menu*), which was dedicated to Amun-Re, as well as on Thutmose III's Eastern Temple at Karnak, there are textual references to the first occasion of the king's Sed festival. Within the *Akh-menu* there are remnants of a Sed festival scene, in which

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<sup>50</sup> MH VIII, 608

<sup>51</sup> MH VIII, 609

<sup>52</sup> Hornung & Staehelin believe that, according to the evidence, one can only be sure of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II's celebrations of Sed festivals, however, they concede there is a strong possibility that Pepi I, Pepi II, Amenemhat III, Thutmose III and Ramesses III also celebrated Sed festivals (2006, 36)

<sup>53</sup> Although Hatshepsut produced monuments, her mortuary temple at Medinet Habu and her Red Chapel at Karnak, that mention her celebration of a festival Hornung does not count her among the kings who celebrated a real Sed festival.

<sup>54</sup> BAR II, § 142

<sup>55</sup> Redford questioned whether Thutmose actually celebrated his first Sed festival because he was out on his 6<sup>th</sup> Asiatic campaign (Redford, 1986, 185). Regardless, this king claimed three festivals.

Thutmose III is being presented to the Ennead by an Iunmutef priest.<sup>56</sup> A piece of evidence that Thutmose III honored Amun-Re during a Sed Festival appears on a revetment wall near Pylon V. In this scene the king, followed by his royal *ka*, commemorates his second Sed festival by making an offering to Amun.<sup>57</sup> Finally, an obelisk from Heliopolis referred to as Cleopatra's needle has a textual reference to Thutmose III's third Sed festival on the side, and the wish or promise for more on two other sides.<sup>58</sup>

On the occasion of Ramesses II's first Sed festival, his son, Prince Khaemwaset, proclaimed the celebration from Memphis and recorded the announcement in a niche south of the door of the shrine of King Horemheb (Eighteenth Dynasty) at West Silsila.<sup>59</sup> There also are two ostraca that announce the flood that occurred during the year of Ramesses II's first Sed festival. On Ostrakon Gardiner 28, praise is given for the Nile flood for this first Sed festival.<sup>60</sup> The Ostrakon speaks of the gathering of the conclave of the gods of the South and specifically names "<Your> father Amun [who] has made your good things in his heart" (*ir n.k it <.k> 'Imn nzy.k nfr m ib.f*).<sup>61</sup> In addition, Ostrakon Cairo CGC 25204 speaks of how Ramesses II became king: "it is [Father] Amun-Re, King of the gods, Lord of Eternity and Ruler [of Everlastingness] who has established you as king" (*in 'Imn-Re nswt ntrw nb r nhḥ ḥkz <dt> smn tw m nswt*).<sup>62</sup> From these two ostraca we see that in the year of his first Sed festival, Ramesses II gives Amun-Re precedence over the other gods of the Upper Egypt, and feels that this god is the one who established him on the throne. As discussed in Chapter 4, Ramesses II depicts Amun-Re as the god "who hears prayer" in his Eastern Temple at Karnak, as befitting for a monument made for "his father, Amun-Re." Chapter 4 also demonstrated that this same temple had several references to the Sed festival in the form of depictions of the "king's dance" before Amun-Re.

In regnal year 34 or 35, Ramesses II shifted his favor towards Ptah-Tatenen.<sup>63</sup> This shift in favor is illustrated by two pieces of evidence. First, after his first or second celebration of the Sed festival, Ramesses II changed his throne name to "The Lord of Sed Festivals like his father Ptah-Tatenen" (*t3 nb hbw-sd mi it.f Pth-T3tinn*).<sup>64</sup> Second, the "Blessing of Ptah" erected at Abu Simbel,<sup>65</sup> is dated to year 35 of Ramesses II's reign. In this inscription the divine progenitor of Ramesses II is the god Ptah-Tatenen. Previous New Kingdom kings, such as Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III, were fathered by Amun-Re.<sup>66</sup> The "Blessing of Ptah" is believed to have been inscribed and disseminated after an earthquake that occurred in regnal year 31 of Ramesses II

<sup>56</sup> Cline & O'Connor, 2006, 149; PM II<sup>2</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Barguet 1962, 110.

<sup>58</sup> Hornung & Staehelin, 2006, 24; Urk. IV, 590-591

<sup>59</sup> KRI II, 377, 14-15

<sup>60</sup> KRI II, 378

<sup>61</sup> KRI II, 378, 9

<sup>62</sup> KRI II, 380, 5-6

<sup>63</sup> Ramesses II celebrated at least two of his fourteen Sed festivals in the Ramesside capital at Qantir (Pi-Ramesses). Evidence for these festivals comes from two terracotta molds that were used in making the kings cartouche, excavated at Qantir. One mold mentions Ramesses' third Sed Festival and the second mentions his sixth. (Hamada 1930, 59 & fig 15; Habachi 1971, 67). Kitchen believes that Ramesses II celebrated his Sed festivals at Pi-Ramesses in a festival hall under the joint patronage of Ptah-Tatenen and Re-Atum, although he does not provide an explanation for this supposition (Kitchen 1982, 178)

<sup>64</sup> Hornung & Staehelin 2006, 34

<sup>65</sup> Goelet 1992, 28.

<sup>66</sup> Goelet 1992, 30-31

reign.<sup>67</sup> According to Ogdon Goelet the Blessing marked a sharp change of religious emphasis, which occurred around the time of Ramesses II's first Sed festival, because of the important role Ptah played in his form of Ptah-Tatenen.<sup>68</sup> Although a shift may have occurred in Ramesses II's religious emphasis, the evidence from the ostraca discussed above demonstrates that Ramesses II linked the beneficence of Amun-Re during his first Sed festival.

The importance of Ptah to Ramesses II, furthermore, is reflected in several places in Ramesses II's Eastern Temple, believed to be built between regnal years forty and fifty.<sup>69</sup> A scene on the southern exterior wall of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple depicts the king making an offering of bread to Ptah.<sup>70</sup> In addition, there is a second possible depiction of Ptah on the southern gate, as discussed in Chapter 4 on page 56 (Figure 4.21).<sup>71</sup> As noted in Chapter 4, Ptah is the only god outside of the Theban triad who receives offerings in this temple.

Two statues of Ptah also were found within Ramesses II's Eastern Temple. These two Ptah statues were not made for Ramesses II; rather, they were recycled from an earlier king's temple. Both Ptah statues originally were dedicated by Amenhotep III and brought to the Karnak temple from another (unknown) location. One of these statues may have been chosen because of its inscription, in which Ptah is called "Lord of the Sed festival."<sup>72</sup> It is possible that once Ramesses II began to give Ptah-Tatenen a greater role in his kingship mythos, he felt the need to include statues of Ptah in his Eastern Temple. While there are no records of when these two statues were installed in Ramesses II's temple, their presence does support the premise that this temple has more to do with the king's spiritual needs than with those of the Theban populace.

Ramesses III's choice of Ptah as the "god who hears prayer" at Medinet Habu reflects the god whom he favored during his Sed festival. In addition to the Ptah "who hears prayer" depicted on the Eastern High Gate, Ramesses III's mortuary temple contains numerous other depictions of Ptah, as well as the god in his synchronized form of Ptah-Tatenen. There are references to Ptah in related texts as well. Papyrus Harris I was written in the name of Ramesses III after his death.<sup>73</sup> In this text Ramesses III tells of all of the deeds he did for the gods of Egypt and includes sections for the Amun-Re temple at Karnak, the Ptah temple at Memphis, and the Re temple at Heliopolis.<sup>74</sup> In the Memphite section of Papyrus Harris I, Ramesses III dedicates his first Sed-festival to Ptah-Tatenen: "I made for you, the first festival of my reign, the very great festival of Tatenen" (*iry. i n. k ḥbw-sd tpy n nsty. i m ḥbw ʿzy wr n T3tnn*).<sup>75</sup> In addition, in Papyrus Harris I Ramesses III details how he rebuilt the Sed festival shrines (*hwwt ḥbw sd*) in Ptah's temple and how he adorned the gods of the Ennead for the occasion of his first Sed festival.<sup>76</sup> This text suggests that Ramesses III actually celebrated his Sed festival in Ptah's

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<sup>67</sup> Goelet 1992, 36. Copies of the Blessing were erected at: Abu Simbel (between the Western most pillars in main hall), Karnak (Pylon IX), Amarah West (outer court before temple, south wall, niche on east side), and Aksha, Façade of south wing of pylon), and Ramesses III copied it at Medinet Habu (first pylon south tower) (KRI II, 258).

<sup>68</sup> Goelet 1992, 29

<sup>69</sup> Blyth 2006, 160

<sup>70</sup> KI, 231; PM II<sup>2</sup> p 213 (45)

<sup>71</sup> KI 184; PM II<sup>2</sup> p 211 (29c)

<sup>72</sup> Maspero 1882, 126

<sup>73</sup> Grandet 1994, 23

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Erichsen papyrus Harris I, P. 56, lines 1-2

<sup>76</sup> Erichsen papyrus Harris I, 56 lines 6-10

temple at Memphis. In addition, Ramesses III takes as his Nebty name “Rich in Sed festivals like (Ptah) Tatenen,”<sup>77</sup> demonstrating his affiliation with Ptah. Ramesses III’s choice of Ptah as his “hearing god”, therefore, clearly reflects the god to whom he dedicated his Sed festival.

## **Kingship**

The Eastern Temples and the Eastern High gate have other New Kingdom iconography related to kingship rather than to the religious needs of the Theban populace. For example, Thutmose III’s Eighteenth Dynasty Eastern Temple, in addition to Sed festival references, has a second element of kingship: the naos of Thutmose III states that it is providing offerings to the royal *ka*.<sup>78</sup> According to Lanny Bell, the royal *ka* “was the immortal creative spirit of divine kingship, a form of the Creator’s collective *ka*.” The king was divine by nature because of his royal *ka*, which was the element of kingship that enabled the king to communicate with the divine realm.<sup>79</sup> There was only one royal *ka* which was passed on to the next king upon each new reign.<sup>80</sup> By providing for the royal *ka*, Thutmose III focused on his divine status and the aspect of his person that allowed him to serve as the divine intermediary between humans and the gods and communicate with Amun-Re. Another example referencing the royal *ka* was discussed above, in Osorkon II’s celebration of the Sed festival in the Bubastis reliefs. In one of these scenes, the royal *ka* appears in the shrine of the Ennead, which is part of the Sed festival.<sup>81</sup>

Other examples of kingship iconography include several different scenes on the walls in the Eastern Temple of Karnak where Ramesses II is prepared for interaction with the gods. These scenes include purification rituals on the interior, east wall of the outer hall on the south side of the door. Here, Ramesses II is purified by Thoth and Horus, making him “four times pure” (*wꜥb sp 4*).<sup>82</sup> In another scene to the north of the same door, Mut and Khonsu lead Ramesses II into the presence of Amun-Re.<sup>83</sup> In an additional presentation scene on the exterior of the north wall of the outer court, the king is conducted by Tefnut and Shu into the presence of Amun-Re.<sup>84</sup>

The rite of driving the calves occurs on Ramesses II’s temple in the upper register on the north wall of the peristyle court.<sup>85</sup> Arno Egberts in his study of the rite of driving the calves theorized that there are four themes associated with this rite. The first three themes have to do with earthly concerns: the cardinal points of Egypt represented by the four calves; the king’s role as a herdsman, and his role in agriculture, specifically threshing the grain to rid it of worms which threaten the crop.<sup>86</sup> The fourth theme is derived from the Osiris myth and is connected with the idea of concealing Osiris’ tomb.<sup>87</sup> According to Egberts, Amun is the preponderant

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<sup>77</sup> Hornung & Staehelin 2006, 35

<sup>78</sup> Varille 1950, 146

<sup>79</sup> Bell 1997, 140

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Naville 1892, Pl.10, 3

<sup>82</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 211; KI 161b

<sup>83</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 211; KI 168

<sup>84</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 213; KI 187

<sup>85</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 211; KI 172

<sup>86</sup> Egberts 1995, 438

<sup>87</sup> Ibid

recipient, but, it can also be performed for other gods.<sup>88</sup> Thus, with this rite Ramesses II is fulfilling his roles of protecting the lands and honoring Amun-Re.

The presentations of Ma'at that are portrayed on Ramesses II's Eastern Temple at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu also reflect kingship concerns, in the role of high priest. According to Teeter:

“the offering of Ma'at very specifically commemorates the willingness of the king to uphold the fundamental principles of world order (*mꜣꜥt*) that were established at the beginning of time. The ritual also functions as a symbol of the king's legitimacy.”<sup>89</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 4, Ramesses II employs the presentation of Ma'at four times in his extant reliefs at his Eastern Temple at Karnak. These scenes appear in four locations: on the thickness of the southern gate; inside the forecourt on the southern door jamb (in the upper register); and twice in the form of a rebus of the king's name on the east wall, on both the northern and southern halves of the wall. On Ramesses III's Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu the king is shown presenting Ma'at eight times, for which he receives either “a great many Sed festivals” or “Eternity as the ruler of the Two Lands.”<sup>90</sup> The presentation of Ma'at has also been viewed as a political statement, demonstrating the king's divine and political legitimacy.<sup>91</sup> This second explanation of the offering best explains why the presentation of Ma'at is part of the decorative program at these “places of hearing”.

The theory that the Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu were tied to divine kingship is supported further by one of Herihor's reliefs from the Karnak Khonsu temple, as well as by the additions made by post-New Kingdom kings to the Eastern Temples at Karnak. Herihor was the high priest of Amun, who, after the death of Ramesses XI, assumed royal titles.<sup>92</sup> Although Herihor was not Pharaoh, he had supreme civil, military, and religious authority at Thebes. In his decorative program within the Khonsu temple, Herihor presided as pharaoh in several of the festivals linked to kingship, including the Opet festival<sup>93</sup> and the Min festival.<sup>94</sup> Herihor also depicted himself making an offering to Amun-Re and Amaunet “Living in the ‘Hearing Ear’ in the estate of Amun.” As discussed in Chapter 4, Nims theorized that in the “Hearing Ear” relief, Herihor was addressing Amun-Re, who was seated within Thutmose III's Eastern Temple.<sup>95</sup>

The real significance of Herihor's “Hearing Ear” depiction can be seen in the remainder of his Khonsu decorative program, which portrays Herihor functioning as Pharaoh and receiving typical kingship blessings. The relief in the Khonsu Temple that shows Herihor before Amun in the “Hearing Ear” is located between depictions of Herihor presiding over the Opet and Min

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<sup>88</sup> Egberts 1995, 437

<sup>89</sup> Teeter 1997, 1

<sup>90</sup> In addition, as tracked in my figure 4.39, there are numerous depictions of the presentation of Ma'at within Ramesses III's mortuary temple.

<sup>91</sup> Moftah 1985, 225-26; Myśliwiec 1985, 9

<sup>92</sup> Van Dijk 2000, 309

<sup>93</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1979, pls. 20-23

<sup>94</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1979, pl. 55

<sup>95</sup> Nims 1971, 111

festivals. As discussed above, the Opet festival was important to kingship in that it was the vehicle through which the king's royal *ka* was renewed.<sup>96</sup> Herihor also depicted himself receiving Sed festivals from Amun-Re,<sup>97</sup> as well as having Sed festivals inscribed for him by various gods, including Khonsu.<sup>98</sup> The bestowing of Sed festivals was a blessing only given to kings. Because Herihor is portraying himself as the king, it would likely be beneath his aspirations to worship at a shrine designed to accommodate the common people. However, as their decorative programs indicate, the Eastern Temples at Karnak were connected to the Sed festival and demonstrate the king's role as the intermediary between the people and the gods. The presence of Amun-Re "who hears prayer" reinforces the fact that the king is heard by the god. By depicting himself in front of the Eastern Temple of Thutmose III, Herihor is situating himself into the position of the divine, royal high priest, who makes an offering to the god "who hears prayer".

Post-New Kingdom kings added further decoration or elements related to the divine nature of kingship to the Eastern Temples at Karnak. Taharqa, Nectanebo and Domitian all included texts and motifs designed to commemorate the king's position as high priest. As discussed in Chapter 4, in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Taharqa added a colonnade to the front of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple. On a column relief in this colonnade Taharqa speaks about being "at the head of all the *kas* of the living,"<sup>99</sup> demonstrating his position as intermediary between men and gods. On his intercolumnar walls Taharqa depicts all of the nomes bringing the produce of their lands for Amun-Re, in addition to rituals associated with kingship. Furthering this theme Taharqa is depicted performing the "driving of the calves" rite, which is linked to pastoral and agricultural themes, as discussed above.<sup>100</sup> Taharqa included his coronation four times within his decorative program.<sup>101</sup> Taharqa also uses the epithet, "Lord of doing things," which stresses his performance of "all things" needed to keep the world in balance, another kingly role.<sup>102</sup>

Nectanebo I is shown offering Ma'at to Amun-Re four times on the monuments that he added to area of the Eastern Temples. On the monumental gate he erected in front of Taharqa's colonnade, Nectanebo I presents Ma'at to Amun-Re "who hears prayer" on each wall of the interior passage in his gate. Nectanebo I also presents Ma'at on the exterior walls of the associated gates of his small chapels that he built to the north and south of Thutmose III's Eastern Temple. Ptolemy II is also depicted on Nectanebo I's gate. On the exterior lintel of the gate Ptolemy II makes an offering of Ma'at in a double-scene.<sup>103</sup> On the right, Ptolemy makes the offering to Amun-Re, Mut and Arsinoë II and on the left to Amun-Re, Khonsu and Arsinoë II. Ptolemy VIII also decorated the lintel of the door he cut in the west wall of Ramesses II's peristyle court. The lintel of Ptolemy VIII's door, which is no longer *in situ*, portrays a double

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<sup>96</sup> See page 39

<sup>97</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1979, pls. 50 & 58

<sup>98</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1979, pls. 43, 65, & 69

<sup>99</sup> Leclant 1953a, 166

<sup>100</sup> Leclant 1953a, Fig. 9 E γ 3 ; KI 225

<sup>101</sup> Leclant 1953a; E α 3, E β' 3, E γ' 3, E δ 4; KI, 215, 209, 227

<sup>102</sup> Carolyn has shown that this title can be used for all royal acts that produce ma'at and include cultic acts, military activity, building and the conduct of proper behavior. (Routledge 2007, 220)

<sup>103</sup> KI 271; PM II<sup>(2)</sup>, 208

scene of Ptolemy offering Ma'at to Amun and Mut on the left and to Amun and Khonsu on the right.<sup>104</sup>

In the Roman Period, Domitian added a decorative panel to Thutmose III's Eastern Temple, alluding to the king's cultic performance by praising "the image of the royal *ka*". On this decorative panel Domitian stresses that he comes with "transfiguration spells," and emphasized his position as foremost of the *kas*,<sup>105</sup> again highlighting the king's role as the representative of the living. Thus, as demonstrated by the evidence discussed in this section, the later kings' additions to the Eastern Temples, both iconographic and textual, also emphasized the divine roles of kingship and the royal *ka*.

## Conclusion

This chapter began with a discussion of the Sed festival and the different theories about its relevance to kingship. The Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu have textual and iconographic evidence relating to the Sed festival, during which the king's position as intermediary between the gods and humankind was renewed. All three monuments also contain one or more of the following aspects of kingship within their decorative program: 1) the royal *ka*, 2) the purification, 3) the presentation of Ma'at, 4) offering to gods, 5) driving the bulls, and 6) coronation.

That the Eastern Temples were meant as monuments commemorating the king's position as divine high priest is a notion furthered by later kings (Taharqa, Nectanebo I, Ptolemy VIII, and Domitian). Herihor, while not truly king, usurped the rights of kingship in his decorative program within the Khonsu temple at Karnak. Herihor's inclusion of an offering to Amun-Re of the "hearing ear" is a means by which he legitimized himself as the divine high priest. In addition, Domitian's hymn to the royal *ka* includes very specific cultic language demonstrating the king's possession of the qualities necessary to perform cult.

The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates that the Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu were not built to facilitate the spiritual needs of the "common people"; rather, they were related to kingship and the Sed festival. The gods "who hear prayer" reflect the deity with whom the king felt a close relationship and to whom he felt he owed his kingship. These three monuments further served to reinforce the king's role as high priest and intermediary between gods and men; at Karnak the two temples retained this function through the Roman Period and the reign of Domitian.

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<sup>104</sup> Barguet 1962, pl XXXII; PM II<sup>1</sup>, 212; KI 154

<sup>105</sup> Klotz 2008, 68

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

This dissertation presented an in-depth study of three monuments that scholars have identified as loci for personal piety: the two Eastern Temples within the Karnak temple complex and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu. Thutmose III built his Eastern Temple against the New Kingdom enclosure wall of the temple of Amun. As discussed previously, this Eastern Temple is believed to be the “perfect place of hearing” that Thutmose III erected for Amun-Re at Karnak. Because Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple was separated from the main Amun precinct by the enclosure wall, and because it was situated between the ancient town and the main temple, scholars theorized that the populace of the Theban area had access to Thutmose III’s temple and were able to pray to Amun-Re here. Later, Ramesses II added a second temple at the eastern end of the Karnak temple complex, to the east of Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple. Ramesses II’s temple also was interpreted by scholars as a place where the spiritual needs of the people were met because Amun-Re “who hears prayer” is depicted on the exterior of its north wall. Scholars speculated that the people of Thebes addressed their prayers here to Ramesses II, who would in turn pass on those prayers to Amun-Re. Various scholars have also cited the Ptah “who hears prayer” depicted on the southern tower of Ramesses III’s Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu as being a locus for the worship of the common people.

To establish what a site for personal piety might look like I examined several other New Kingdom sites in an effort to determine how personal piety manifests itself in the archaeological record. I analyzed evidence for the presence of worshippers, including graffiti and material objects, for its iconographic content and placement context. Evidence from four sites was reviewed: the Ptah temple at Memphis, Qantir, Deir el-Bahari, and Deir el-Medina. The results of this investigation indicated that in locations used by the populace for personal worship in major and local temples, individuals left abundant evidence of their devotion in the form of inscriptions and objects. In addition, common iconographic scenes appear on votive material (individuals are shown in adoration of a god, goddess or deified king), and some votive stelae preserve the title of “god who hears prayer.”

In contrast, no such archaeological evidence was recovered from the two Eastern Temples or the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu that might reflect individual worship of Amun-Re or the king (at Karnak) or of Ptah (at Medinet Habu). Archaeological finds from the Eastern Temples of Thutmose III and Ramesses II and from Ramesses III’s mortuary temple and Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu include only items representing or dedicated by the gods, kings, and high ranking members of the temple staff.

An analysis of textual material inscribed on the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu was conducted. The texts from Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple at Karnak do not contain anything designating it as a “place of hearing”; this designation is derived from a secondary text that was found near the Second Pylon at Karnak. Ramesses II’s texts inscribed in his Eastern temple, unlike the inscriptions at his Luxor Temple forecourt, do not designate it as “a place of hearing petitions of gods and men.” Additionally, the iconography of Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple contains no iconography associated with places where the

people were allowed to congregate.<sup>106</sup> The depiction of Amun-Re “who hears prayer,” receiving his son Ramesses II on exterior of the north wall of the peristyle court of Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple, is the only evidence that this temple may have been a place for the Theban populace to pray. Ramesses III’s texts on the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu also do not designate it as a “place of supplication and hearing petitions.”

At Medinet Habu the Eastern High Gate built by Ramesses III has a relief of Ptah “who hears prayer” that received embellishment. The placement of this relief at the eastern end of the temple complex and its special treatment led to its designation by scholars as a cult image designed to meet the needs of the people. The other textual and iconographic evidence from the Eastern High Gate, as well as the placement of the Ptah “who hears prayer” relief inside the niche on the southern tower, however, do not support the theory that this image was executed as a focus of worship for the local populace. *Rekhvts* do not appear in the niche depicting Ptah “who hears prayer”; rather they are depicted adoring the king’s name and are placed around the windows where the king might have appeared, indicating that their purpose was to adore the king. In addition, the Ptah “who hears prayer” is out of the direct line of view when one enters the Eastern High Gate.

There is no evidence for the worship of Ptah by the general populace found anywhere at the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu. The lack of graffiti is particularly surprising because Ramesses III’s mortuary temple became an administrative center by the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, which would have given individuals more access to the Eastern High Gate. Graffiti dated to the Late New Kingdom does appear in various places at Medinet Habu on mortuary temple proper and on the interior of the Western High Gate. This graffiti included prayers. Yet there is no graffiti in the vicinity of the Ptah “who hears prayer” depicted in the niche of the Eastern High Gate; if he were worshiped by the people they would have written their prayers here, particularly since the king’s cult was no longer practiced in the temple.

The iconographic, textual and archaeological finds associated with the two Eastern Temples of Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, therefore, do not support the theory that these buildings were built to facilitate the spiritual needs of the common people. My analysis of the decorative programs of these structures, including decorative and textual evidence added by post New Kingdom rulers, demonstrated that the focus of these monuments was kingship, not personal piety. The two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet were all originally constructed by kings who are known to have celebrated at least one Sed festival. All three monuments were built late in the relevant kings’ reigns. The texts of Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple specifically indicate that it was built on the occasion of his *first* Sed festival. And both Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple and Ramesses III’s Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, while not providing a reference to a specific Sed festival, include the wish for Sed festivals for the relevant king.

Frankfort and Bleeker<sup>107</sup> stressed that during the Sed festival the king’s position as intermediary between the gods and mankind was renewed. Although there is surprisingly little

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<sup>106</sup> While it must be acknowledged that the front of the temple, where people one may have congregated, was replaced by Taharqa’s colonnade; Bekenkhonsu’s description of the temple he built for Ramesses “who hears prayer” does not designate it as a place for the people.

<sup>107</sup> Frankfort 1978 [1948], 79-88; Bleeker 1967, 91-123

extant information available for reconstructing the details of the Sed festival ceremonies, we do know that two major gods of the New Kingdom Sed festivals were Amun-Re, who acted as the patron of Upper Egypt, and Ptah, who was the patron of Lower Egypt. At Medinet Habu Ptah is given more offerings than any other god except for the Theban Triad.

The close relationship of the relevant king with the god “who hears prayer” in each of the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu is a further indication that these three monuments are focused on kingship. Each of the three kings who built these structures had a special affinity to the god he chose to “hear” his prayers. Thutmose III was chosen to rule by Amun-Re during one of the god’s processions. On an ostrakon commemorating his first Sed festival, Ramesses II likewise credits Amun-Re with installing him as king. The choice of Ptah as the “god who hears prayer” by Ramesses III initially seems odd, especially in a temple dedicated to the deified king and Amun-Re; however, Papyrus Harris I tells us that Ramesses III dedicated his first Sed festival to Ptah in his form of Ptah-Tatenen. Thus for Thutmose III, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III the god of hearing had specific meaning and reinforced the king’s legitimacy.

Another aspect of these three monuments at Karnak and Medinet Habu is that they emphasize the divine nature of kingship and the king’s position as high priest in their decorative programs. At Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple the royal *ka*, the vehicle through which the king gained his divinity and thus the ability to communicate with the gods, was provided with offerings. The decorative program at Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple include scenes of the king during his coronation and his presentation to Amun-Re, in which the king was addressed as the son of the god. Ramesses II’s temple includes depictions of his purification ritual, making him four times pure. Ramesses III’s Eastern High Gate also includes scenes of the king during his coronation and his presentation to Amun-Re, in which the king was addressed as the son of the god. In the decorative programs of Ramesses II’s Eastern Temple and Ramesses III’s Eastern High Gate there is a high concentration of scenes showing the kings making offerings of Ma’at. This scene symbolizes the king’s legitimacy and his maintenance of the cosmic world order. In the Eastern High Gate of Ramesses III, the presentation of Ma’at is linked with the Sed festival; as a reward for presenting Ma’at, the king is granted “a great many Sed festivals.”

When Ramesses III’s mortuary temple at Medinet Habu became an administrative center at the end of the New Kingdom, his cult did not continue and his mortuary temple fell out of use. In both Eastern Temples at Karnak, however, post New Kingdom rulers either continued to add to the decorative programs of the New Kingdom kings or to erect their own structures demonstrating the monuments’ continued importance. That the two Eastern Temples were meant to commemorate the king’s position as divine high priest is a notion furthered by subsequent rulers. Herihor legitimized his claim to kingship by including in the Khonsu Temple at Karnak an offering to Amun-Re of the “hearing ear”. This Amun-Re is believed to be a depiction of Thutmose III’s Eastern temple. Taharqa, a king of Nubian origin, added a colonnade in front of Ramesses II’s Eastern temple, upon which he recorded his coronation, the bringing of offerings by the nomes of Egypt, and the his journey from the palace, preceded by the royal standards, all themes associated with kingship. A Thirtieth Dynasty king, Nectanebo I, included images of the presentation of Ma’at in both the eastern gate he added to the front of Ramesses II Eastern Temple and the two chapels he added to Thutmose III’s Eastern Temple. Lastly, Domitian, a Roman Emperor who ruled Egypt, in a decorative panel in Thutmose III’s

Eastern Temple, included a hymn to the royal *ka* that incorporated very specific cultic language demonstrating the king's possession of the qualities necessary to perform cultic rituals.

In conclusion, a detailed review of evidence from the two Eastern Temples at Karnak and the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu finds no textual, iconographic or archaeological evidence to support the contention that any of these structures were meant to be places for the common people to worship. What the evidence does show, instead, is that all three monuments commemorate kingship. They were constructed late in the kings' reigns shortly before or after the associated king's Sed festival. They were dedicated as monuments to the gods, and they depicted the king in his role as divine high priest, who acted as the intermediary between the world of the living and the divine realm. The "beautiful place of hearing" built by Thutmose III is focused on the royal *ka* and no elements of the iconography are aimed at the populace. The Amun-Re "who hears prayer" on Ramesses II's Eastern temple is a part of the iconography that establishes Ramesses II as the son of Amun-Re. No elements are present which would have served the spiritual need of the populace. The Ptah "who hears prayer" at Medinet Habu, likewise, is not associated with iconography relating to the populace; rather, the iconography surrounding the Ptah dealt with the king's position as high priest, and is textually connected to the Sed festival. As immortalized in the monuments at Karnak and Medinet Habu, it is the king's prayers that the god hears and not those of mere mortals.

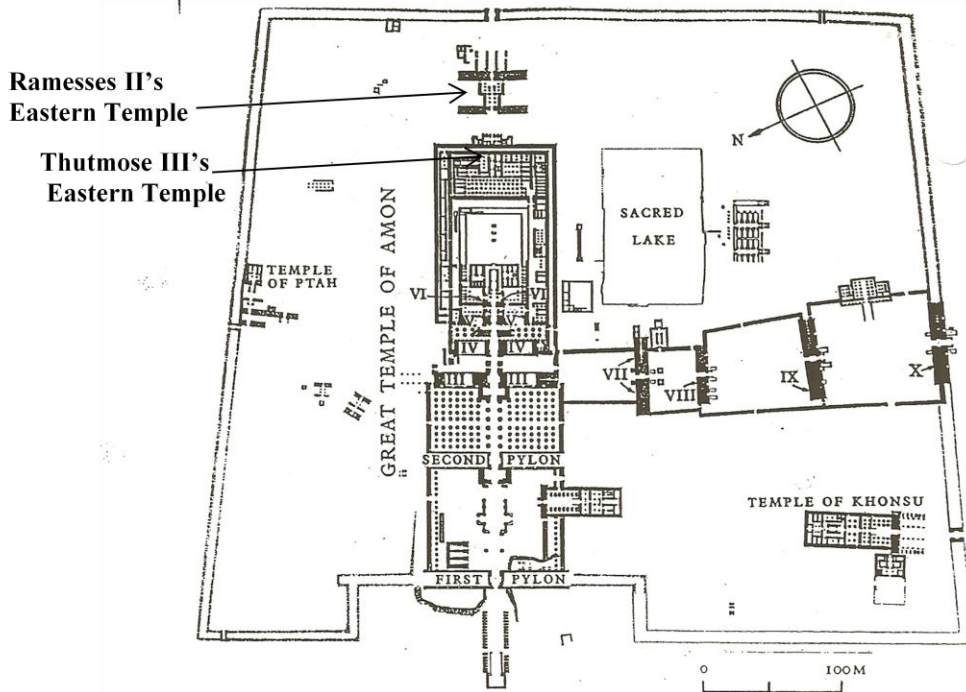


Figure 1.1 Plan of Karnak Temple Complex  
From Smith, W. Stevenson: Fig. 223

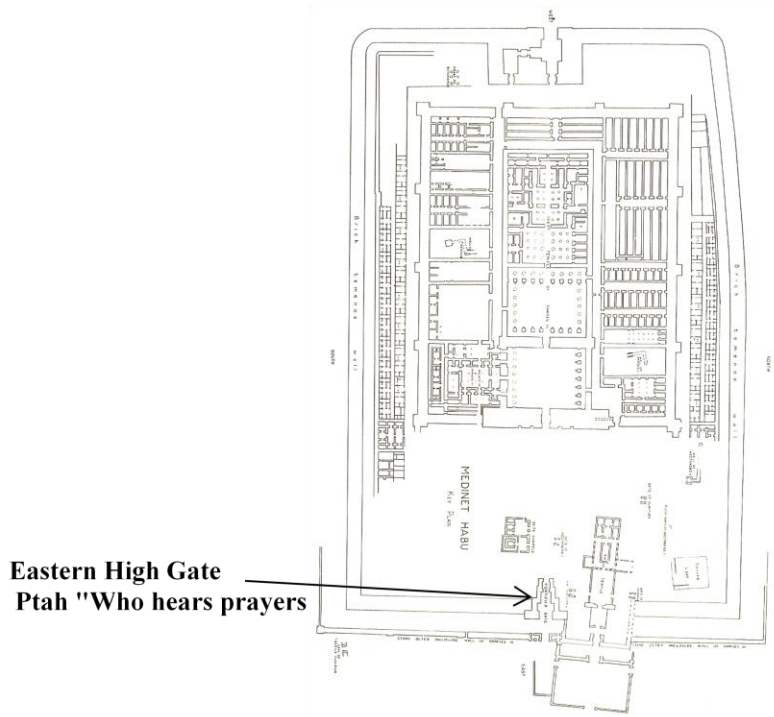


Figure 1.2 Plan of Medinet Habu  
From Hölscher, 1951: Fig 1



Figure 1.3 Rekhyt from Luxor Temple  
Photo C. Ausec

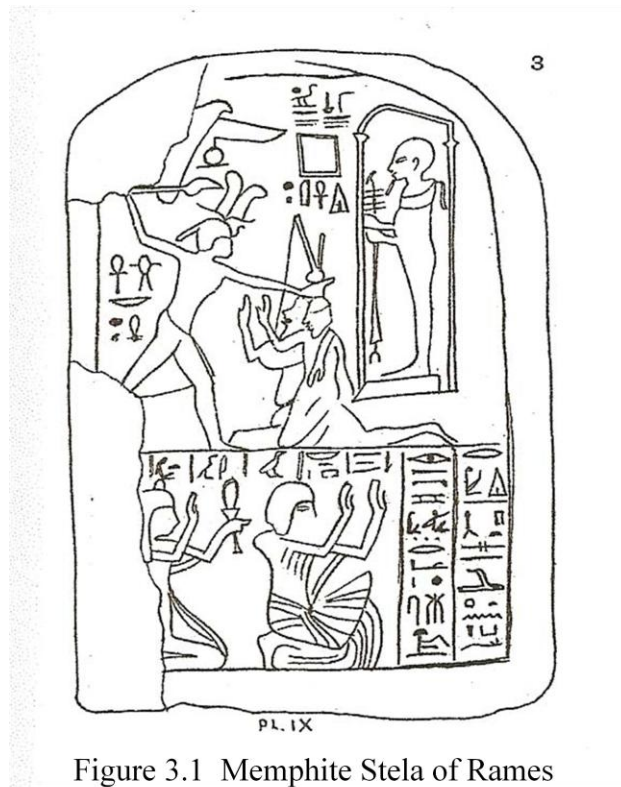


Figure 3.1 Memphite Stela of Rames  
 Petrie, 1909:pl VIII n. 3

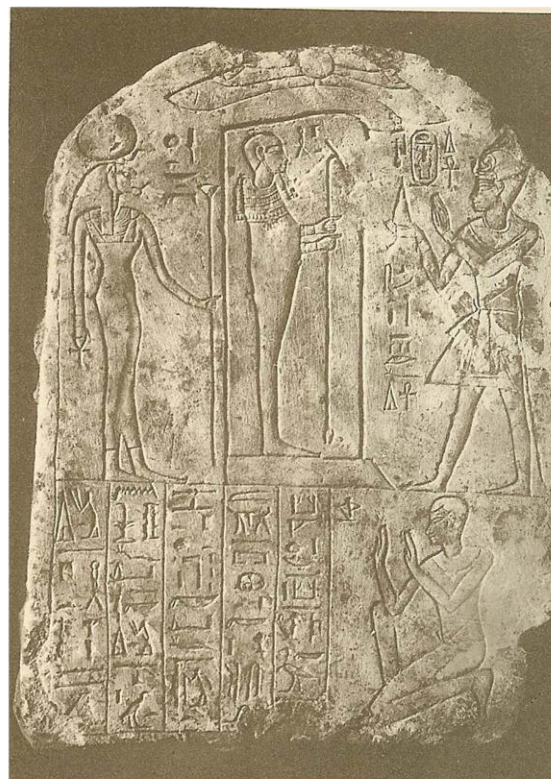


Figure 3.2 Memphite Stela of Bekenre  
 Petrie, 1909:pl VII n. 46



Figure 3.3 Memphite Stela with Ptah Framed by Ears  
Petrie, 1909:pl X n. 10

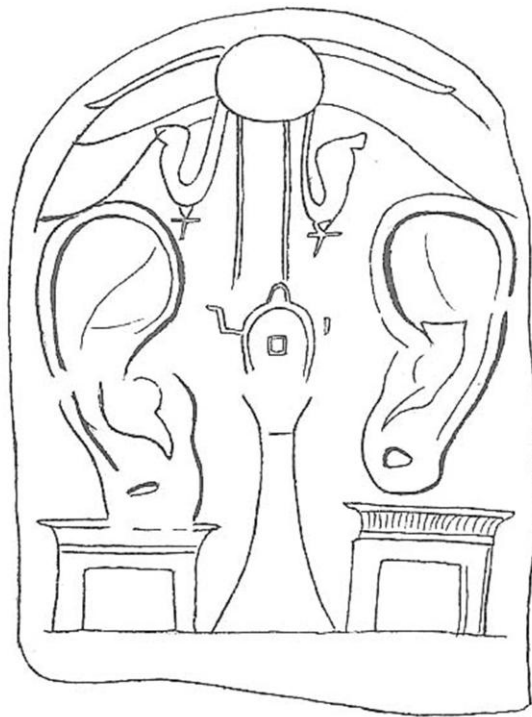
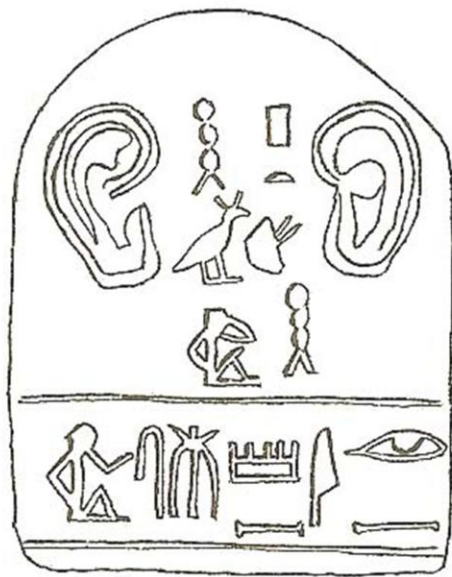


Figure 3.4 Memphite Stela with Ears on Shrines  
Petrie, 1909:pl X n. 11



PL. IX

Figure 3.5 Memphite Stela with Ears and Ptah *sdm nht* Request  
Petrie, 1909:pl X n. 10

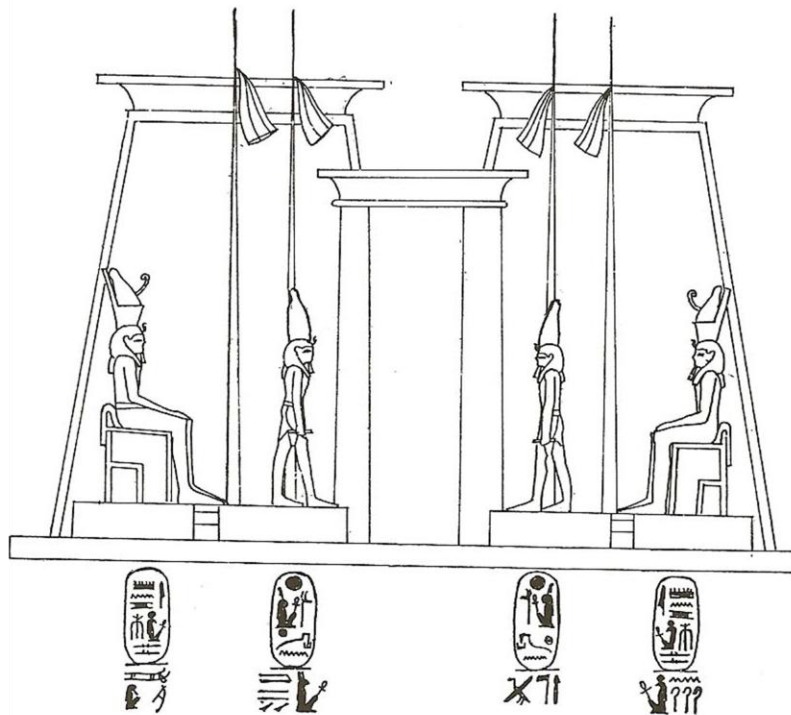


Figure 3.6 Habachi's Proposed Placement of Ramesses II Statues at  
Pi-Ramesses  
Habachi, 1969:Fig 20.



Figure 3.7 Hildesheim 377 – Horbeit Stela of Thutmose  
Roeder, 1967:pl IV nr. 3

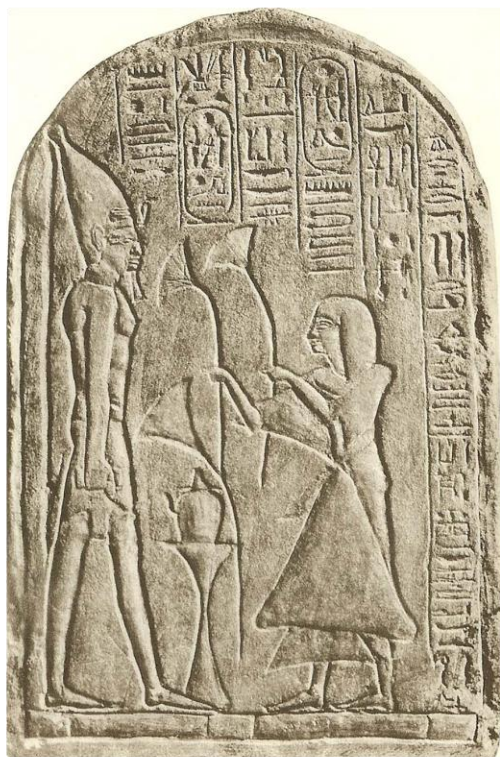


Figure 3.8 Horbeit Stela of Mahouhi  
Clère, 1950:pl III B

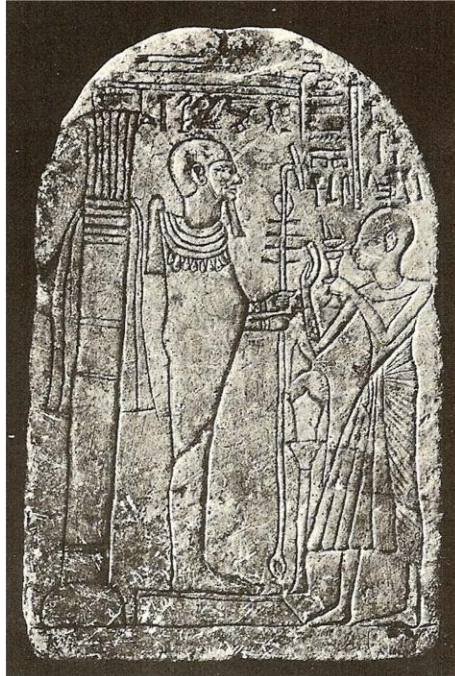


Figure 3.9 Hildesheim 1892 – Horbeit Stela of Neferrenpet  
Roeder, 1967:pl IV nr. 2



Figure 3.10 Horbeit Stela of Vizier Rahotep  
Habachi, 1969:34 Fig 21

### Hathor Shrines

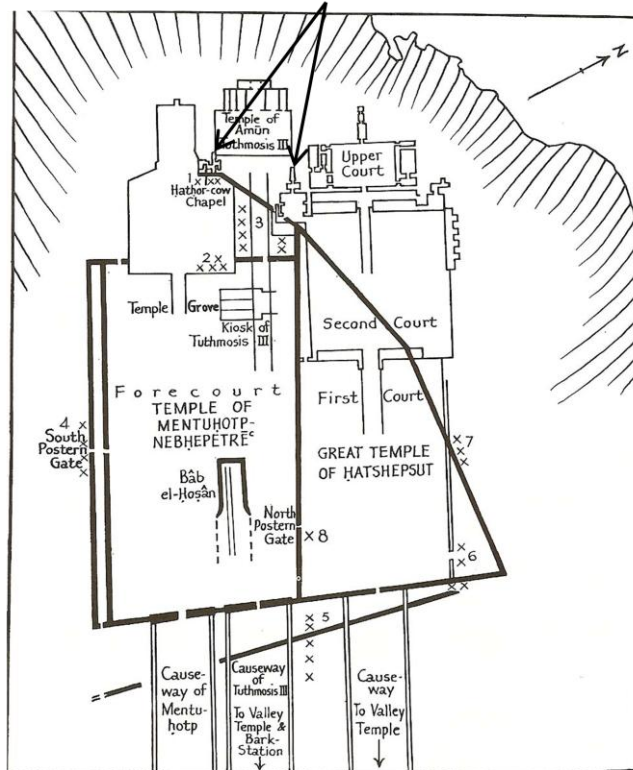


Figure 3.11 Plan of the Preserved Temples at Deir el-Bahari Showing the Major Votive Deposits. Denoted by X's From Pinch, 1993: Plan 1

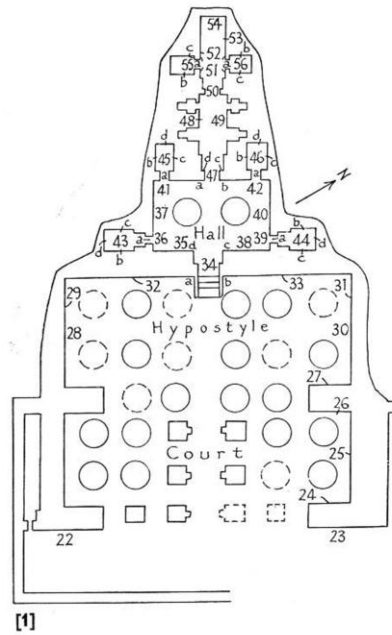


Figure 3.12 Plan of Hatshepsut's *Djeser-Djeseru* Hathor Shrine PM 2:pl XXXV I (1)



Figure 3.13 Hathor Suckling Hatshepsut  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 3.14 Procession of Hathor  
Photo C. Ausec

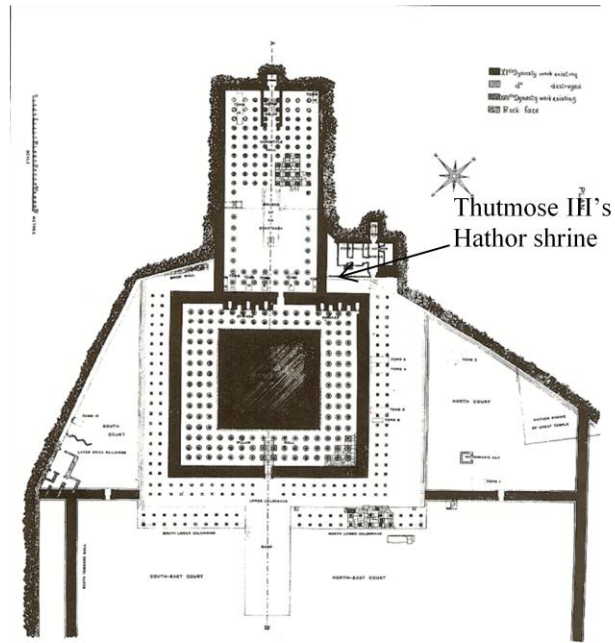


Figure 3.15 *Akh-iswt* Plan with Thutmose III's Hathor Shrine  
From Pinch 1993, Plan 2

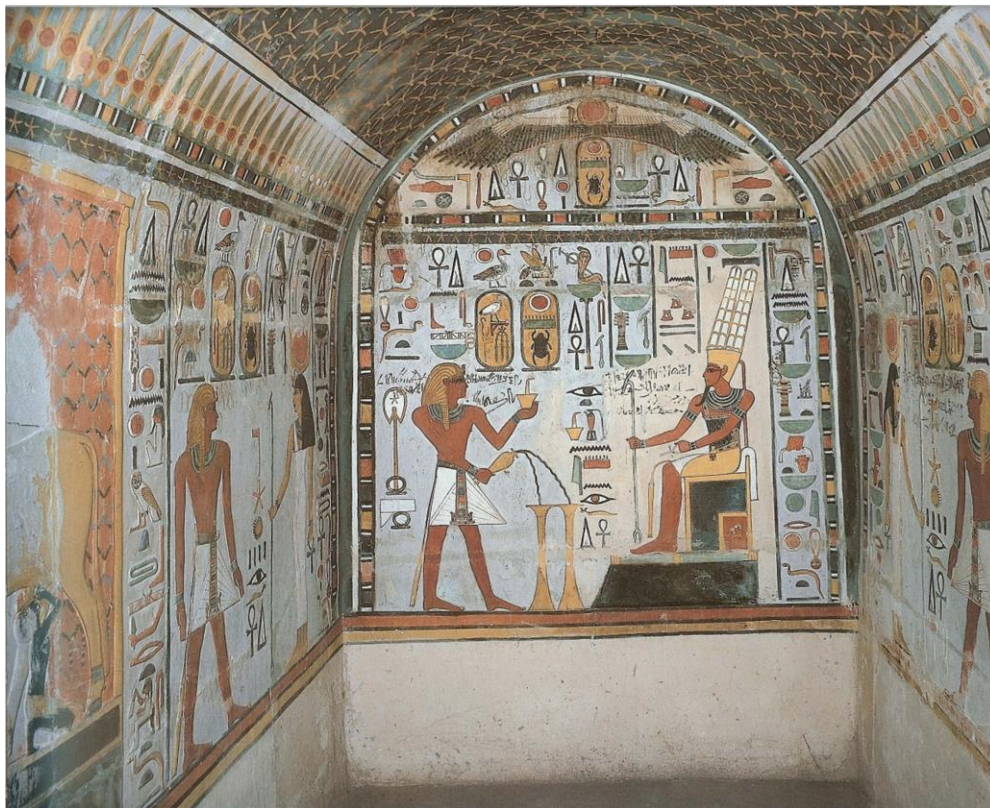


Figure 3.16 Hathor Shrine of Thutmose III from Deir el-Bahari  
El-Shahawy & Atiya pg 179

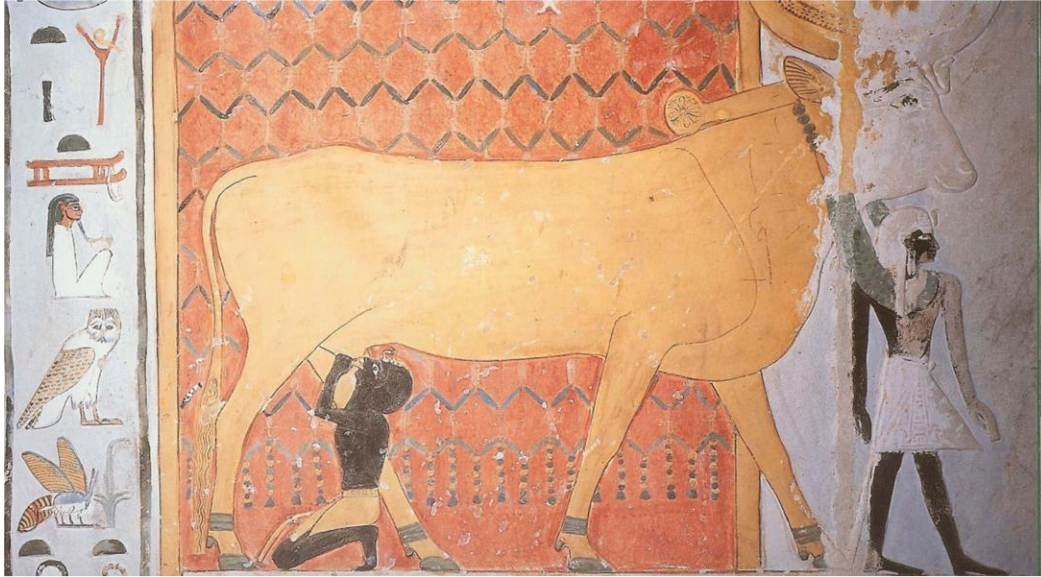


Figure 3.17 Hathor Shrine of Thutmose III Detail  
El-Shahawy & Atiya pg 181

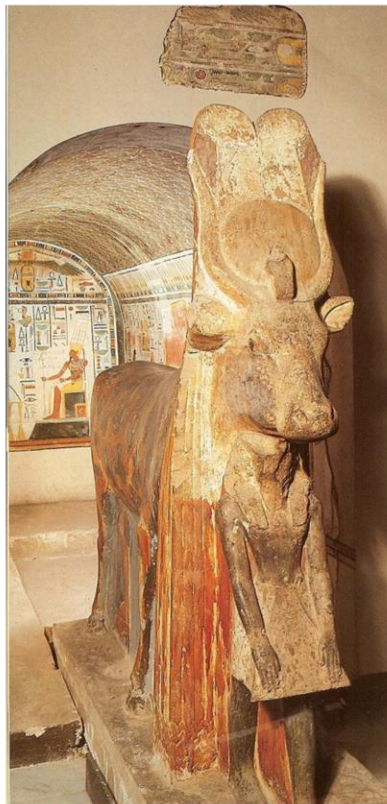
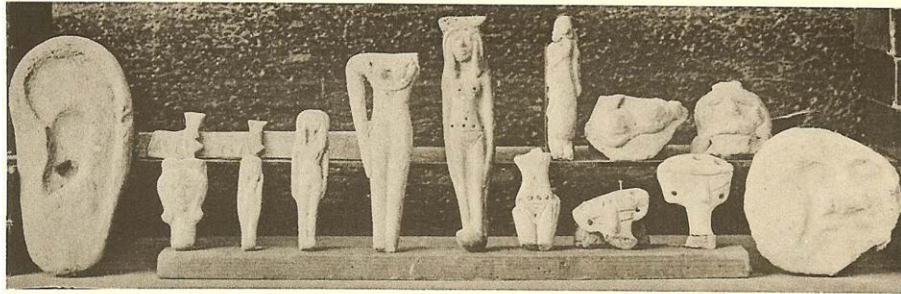


Figure 3.18 Hathor Statue with Amenhotep II from Deir el-Bahari  
Saleh and Sourouzian, 1986: no. 138





1



2



3



4



6



5



Figure 3.20 Additional Eighteenth Dynasty Votive Offerings from *Akh-iswt*  
Neville & Hall, 1913:pl XXIV



Figure 3.21 Eighteenth Dynasty Votive Pottery from *Akh-iswt*  
Neville & Hall, 1913:pl XXIII



Figure 3.22 Hathor Votive Stelae  
Pinch, 1993:pl 9

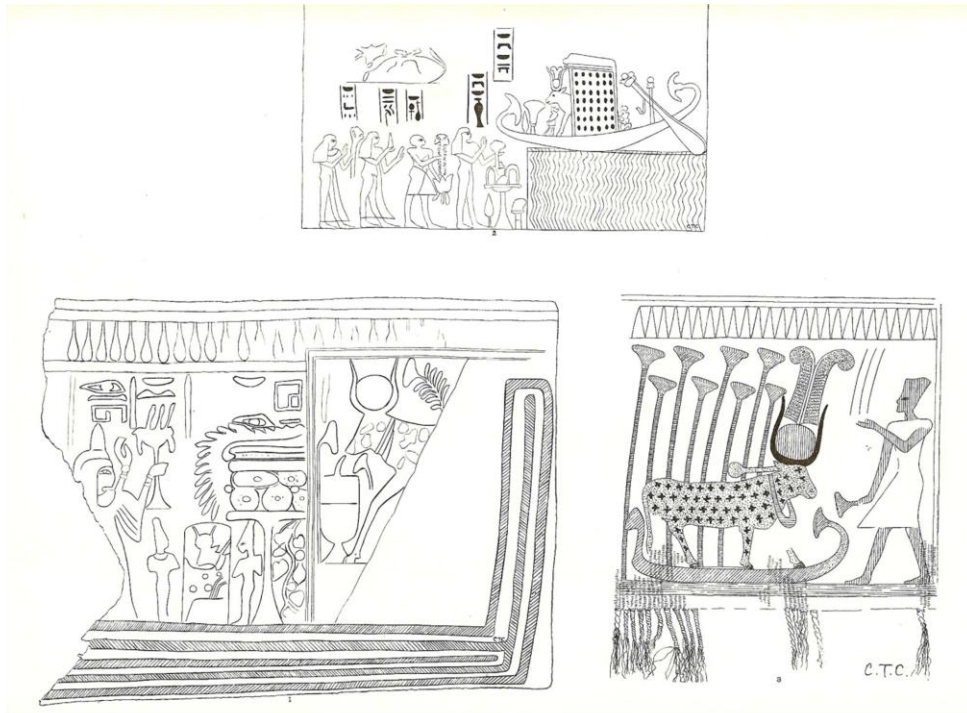


Figure 3.23 Votive Cloths from the Eleventh Dynasty *Akh-iswt*  
 Naville and Hall, 1913:pl XXX & XXXI

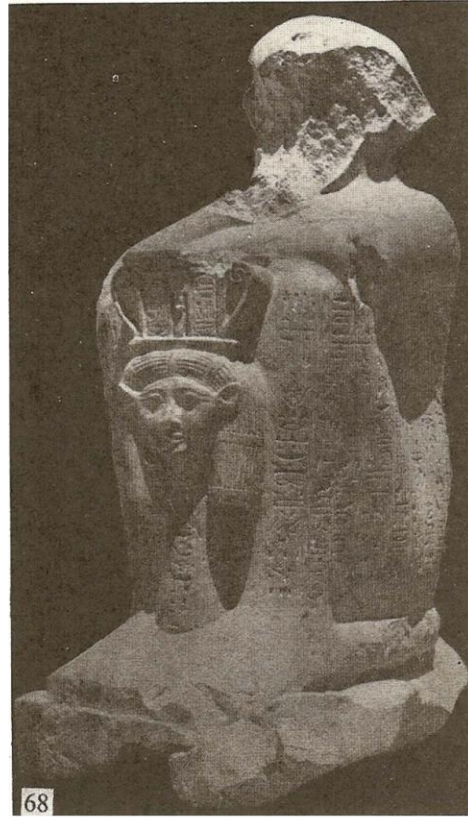
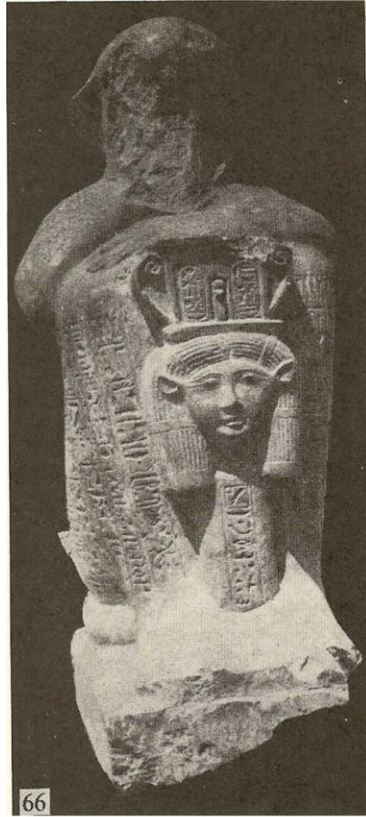


Figure 3.24 Block Statue of Amenemhet  
Lipińska, 1984:91 fig 66 & 68



Figure 3.25 Turin Fragment with Ptah of the Ears that Listen  
Tosi & Roccati: 272 no 500029



Figure 3.26 Penitential Stela of Nebre  
Erman, 1986 Taf. XVI

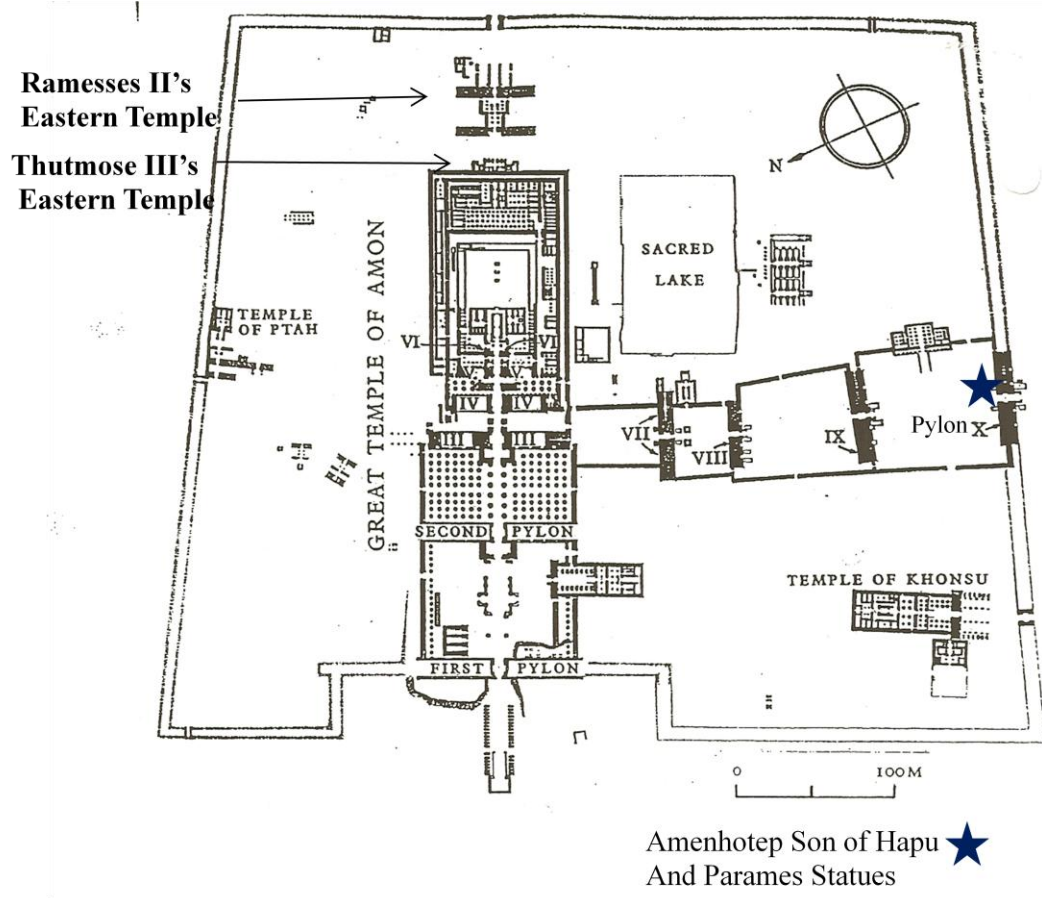


Figure .3.27 Plan of Karnak Temple Complex  
From Smith, 1981: Fig. 223

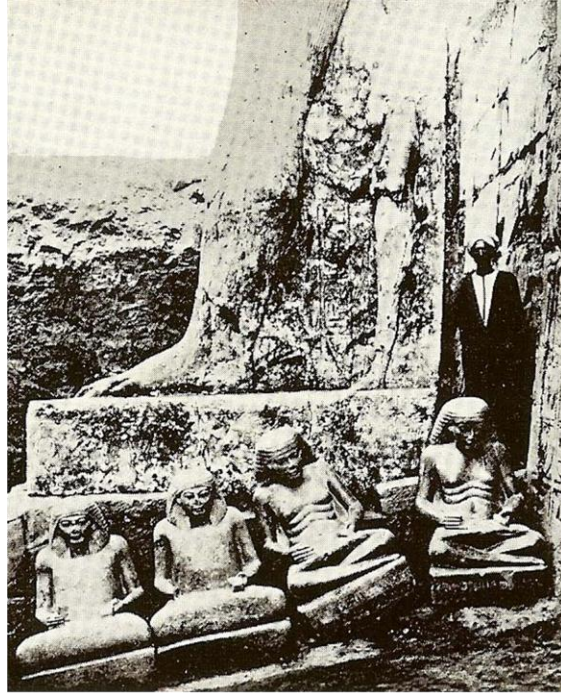


Figure 3.28 Pylon X with Scribe Statues  
Barguet, 1962:pl XXXV A

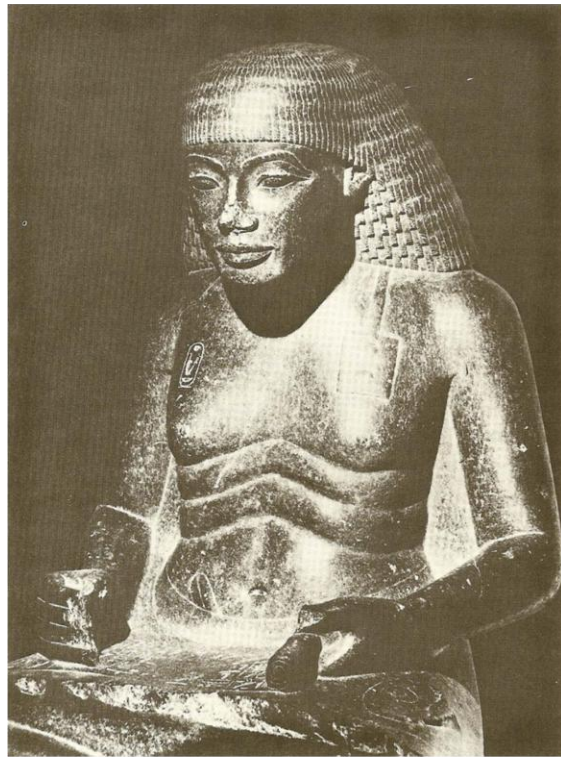


Figure 3.29 Amenhotep Son of Hapu as Scribe  
Wildung, 1977: Fig. 51



Figure 3.30 Amenhotep Son of Hapu as an Old Man  
Wildung, 1977: Fig. 52

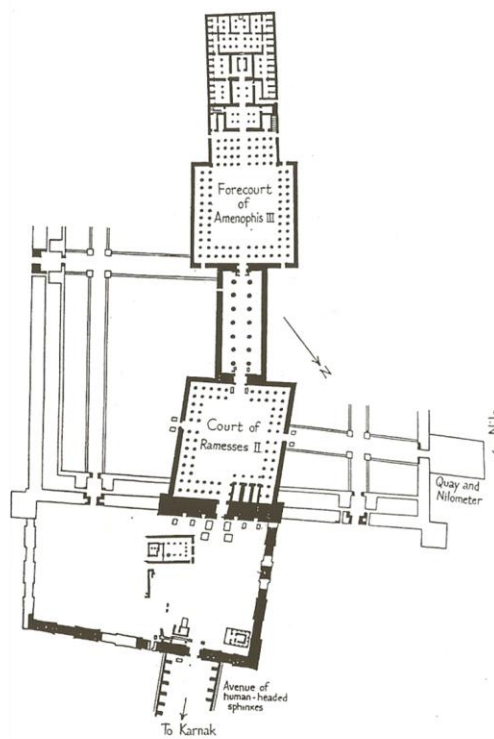


Figure 3.31 Luxor Temple  
PM II<sup>2</sup>:P1 XXIX

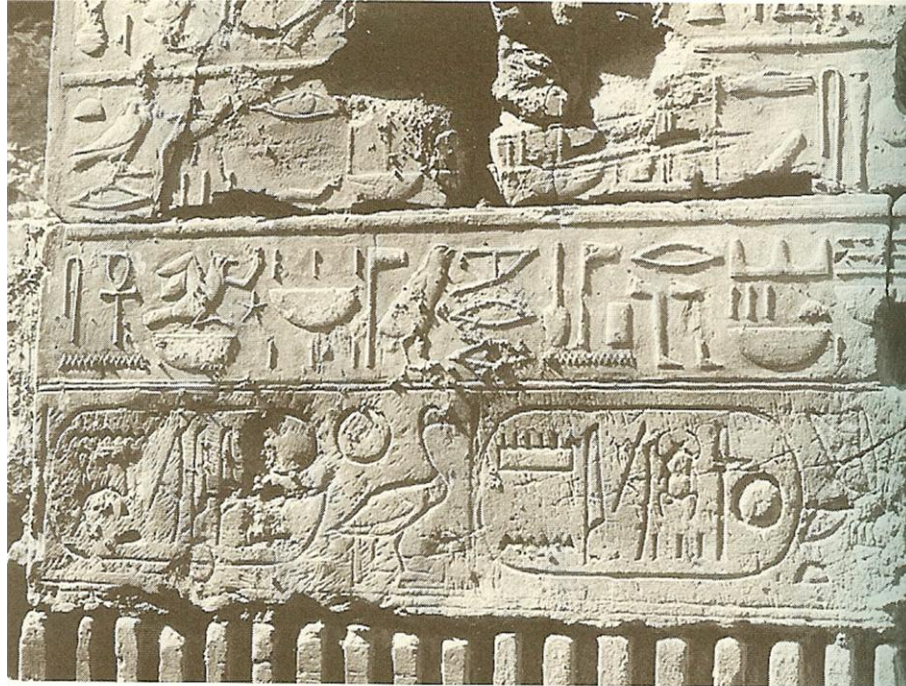


Figure 3.32 Eastern Pilaster Amenhotep III's Court  
Bell, 1997:172 Fig. 75

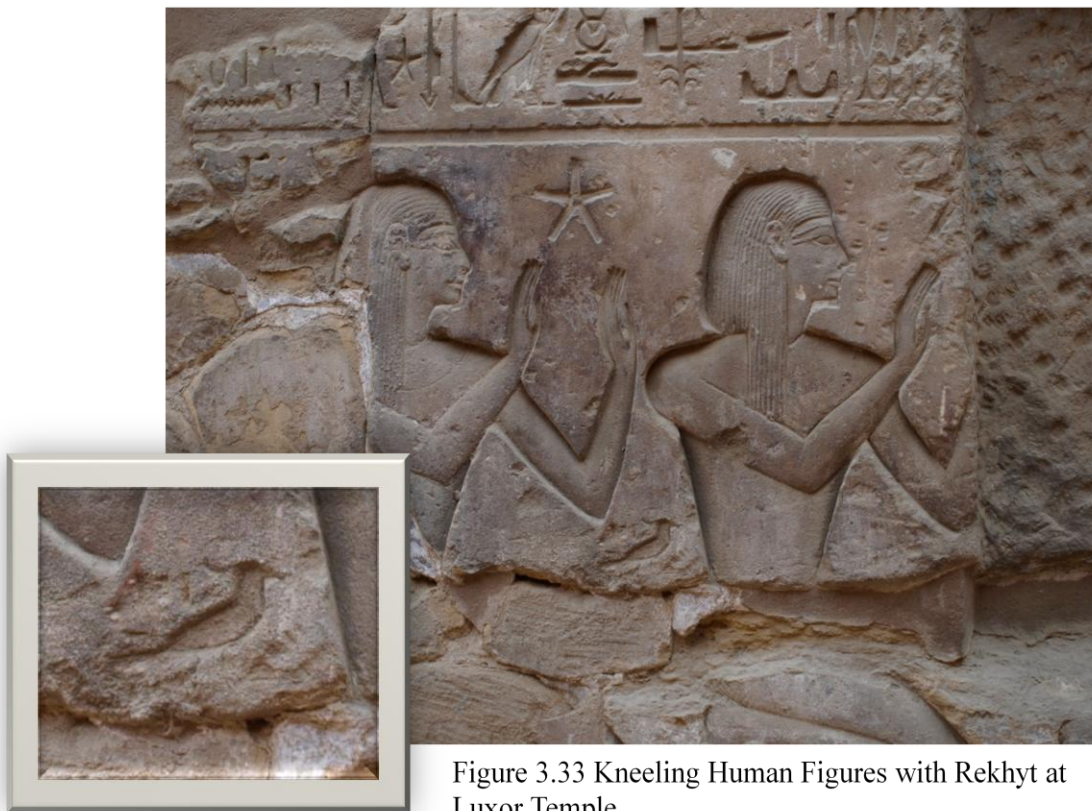


Figure 3.33 Kneeling Human Figures with Rekhyt at  
Luxor Temple  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 3.34 Eastern Door Name  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 3.35 Ramesses II's Forecourt Inscription  
Photo by C. Ausec



Figure 3.36 Ramesses II Offers Nomen (Ma'at) to Amun and Mut  
Photo by C. Ausec



Figure 3.37 Ramesses II's Statues in the Forecourt  
Photo by C. Ausec



Figure 3.38 Base of Ramesses II's Deified Statue  
Bell, 1997:Fig. 72



Figure 3.39 False Door in Amun-Re's Shrine  
Photo by C. Ausec

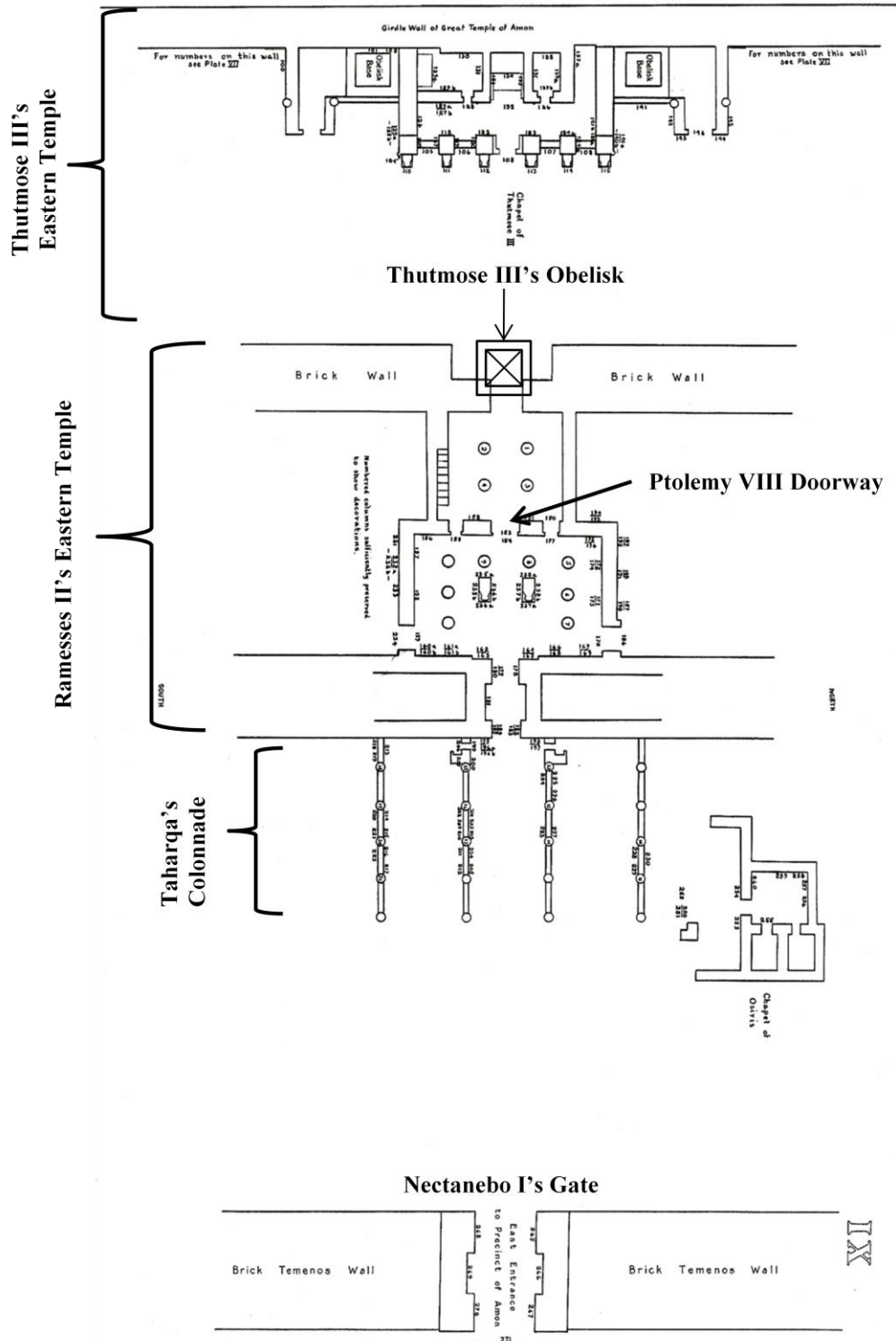


Figure 4.1 Eastern Temples at Karnak  
From Nelson, 1941:pl IX

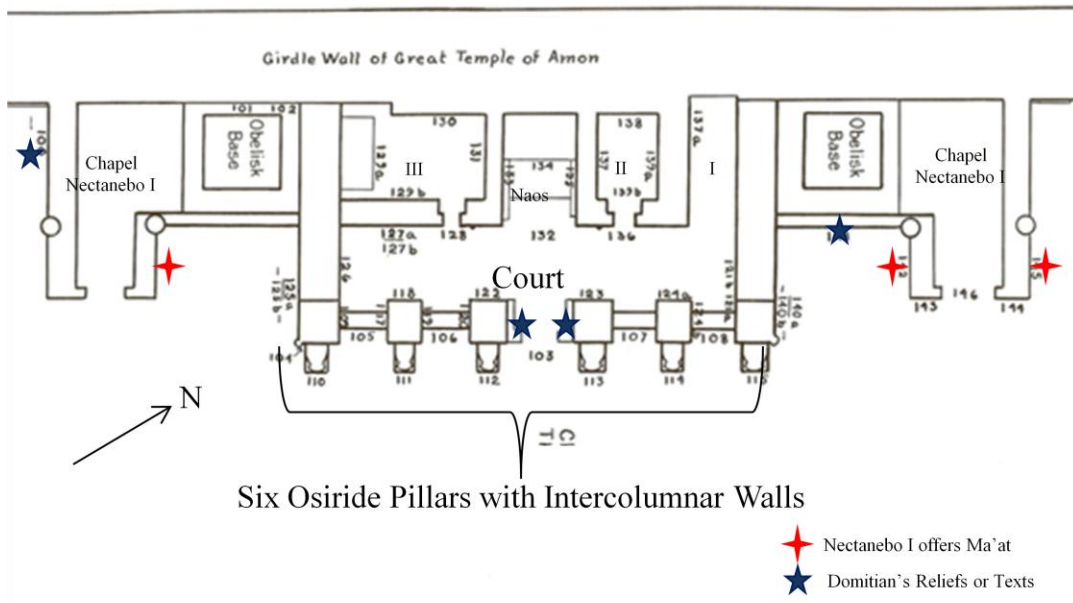


Figure 4.2 Plan of Thutmose III's Eastern Temple at Karnak  
 From Nelson, 1941:pl IX



Figure 4.3 Alabaster Naos in Thutmose III's Eastern Temple at Karnak  
 Photo by C. Ausec

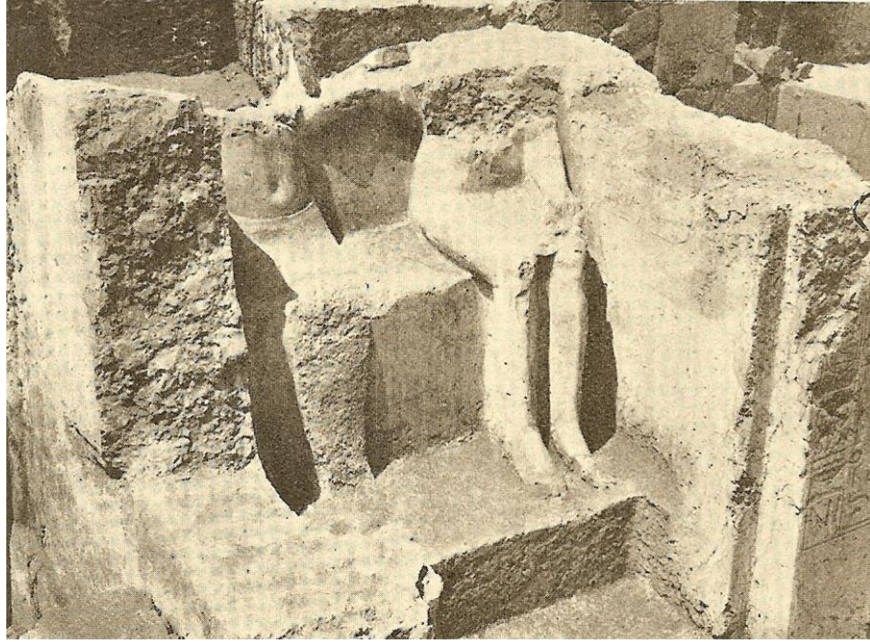


Figure 4.4 Naos of Thutmose III's Eastern Temple  
Varille pl. VIII 2

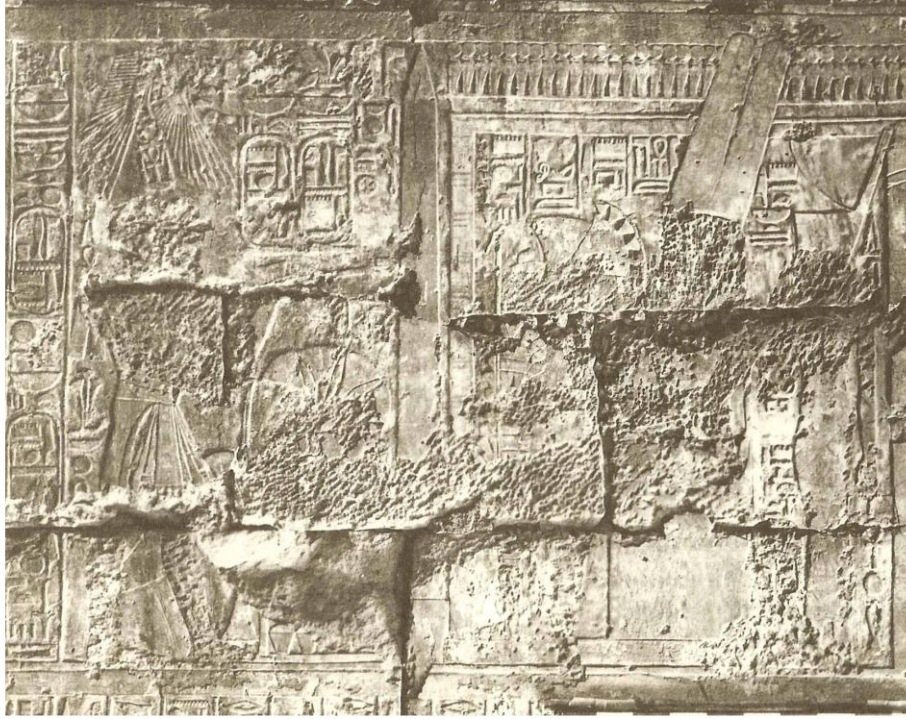


Figure 4.5 Relief Showing Herihor Before Amun-Re of the “Hearing Ear”  
Khonsu Temple, Karnak Temple Complex.  
Nims, 1971:pl 16

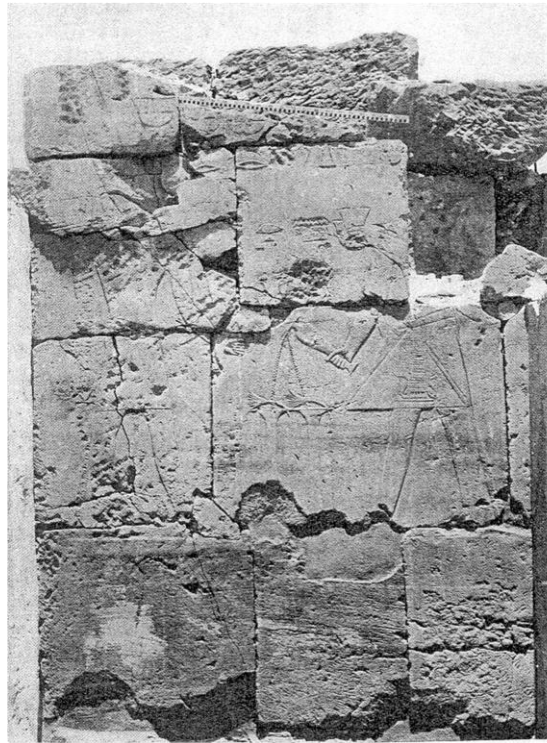


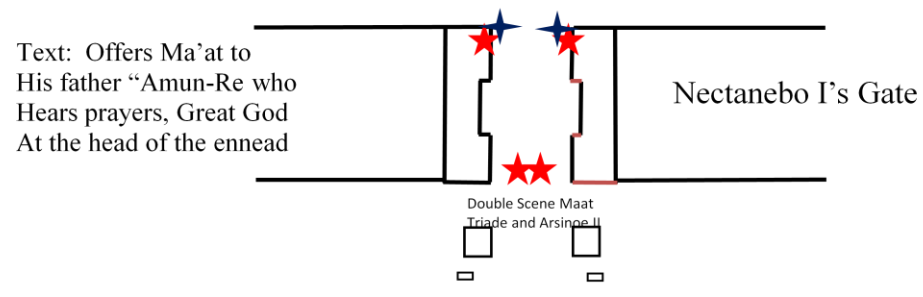
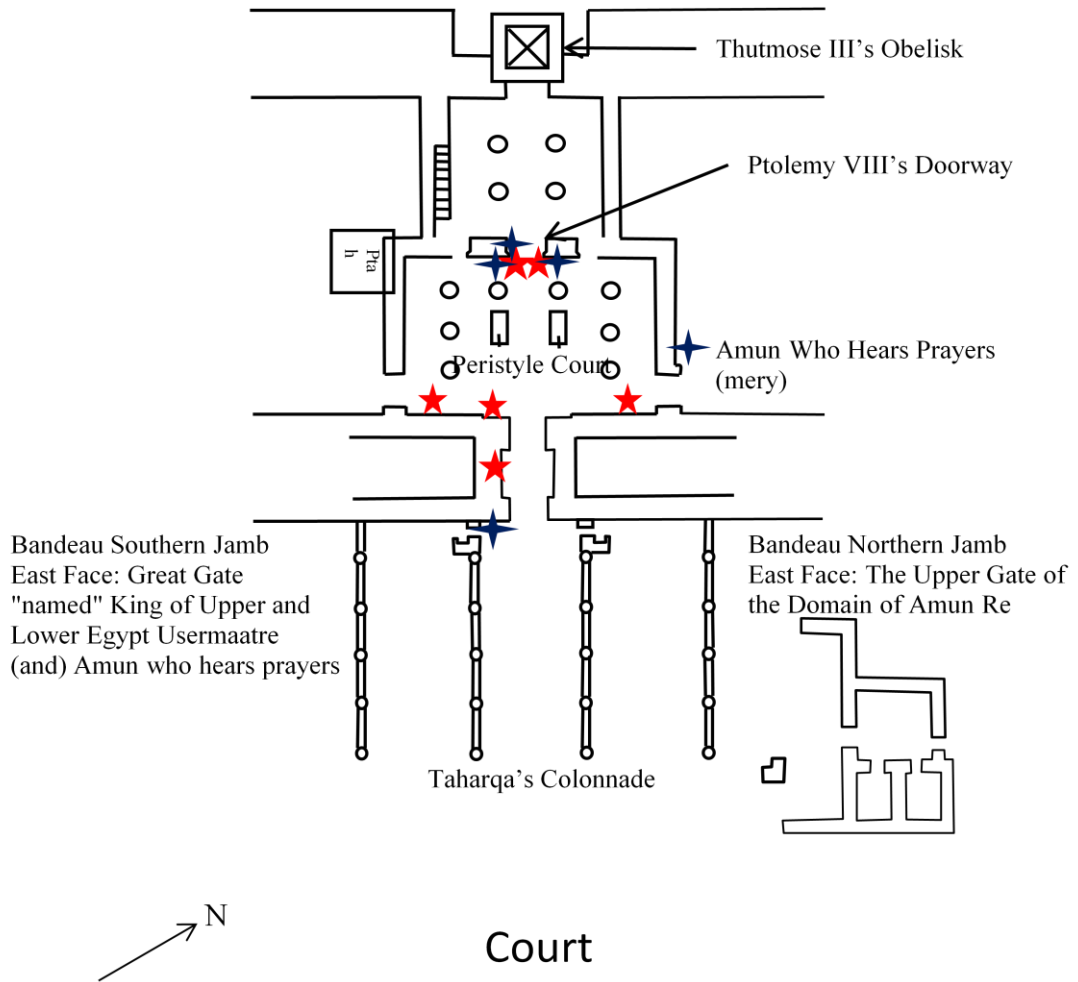
Figure 4.6 Thutmose III Offers Incense and Libation to Amun-Re  
Varille, 1950PIXIV



Figure 4.7 Façade of Thutmose III's Eastern Temple at Karnak Temple Complex  
Photo by C. Ausec



Figure 4.8 Nectanebo I Purity Warning with *hb sd* Sign  
North Side of Door Jamb to Northern Chapel  
Photo by C. Ausec



- ★ = Presentation of Ma'at
- ♣ = Amun-Re who hears prayers

Figure 4.9 Plan of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple  
After: Porter & Moss: XVIII

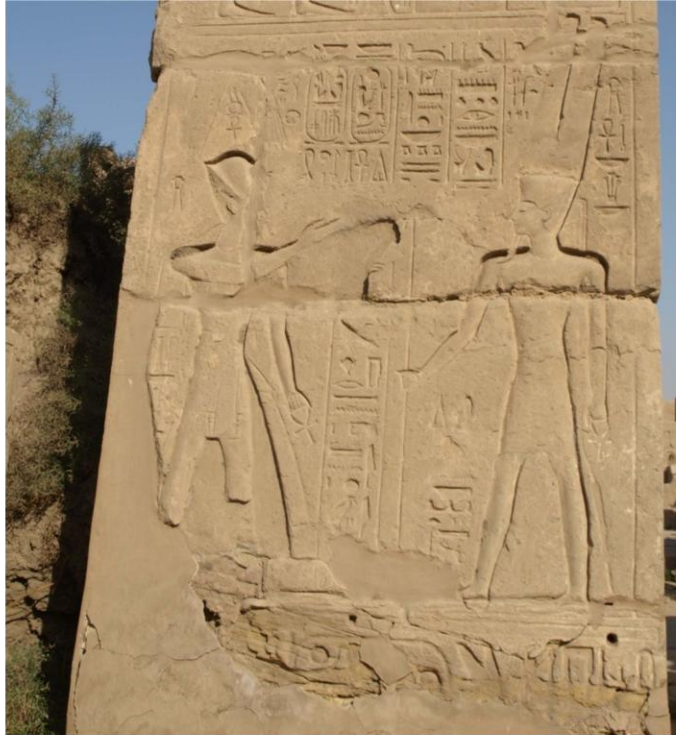


Figure 4.10 Southern Door Jamb of Ramesses II's Eastern Temple  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 4.11 Ramesses II Escorted to Amun-Re "Who Hears Prayer."  
Photo: C. Ausec

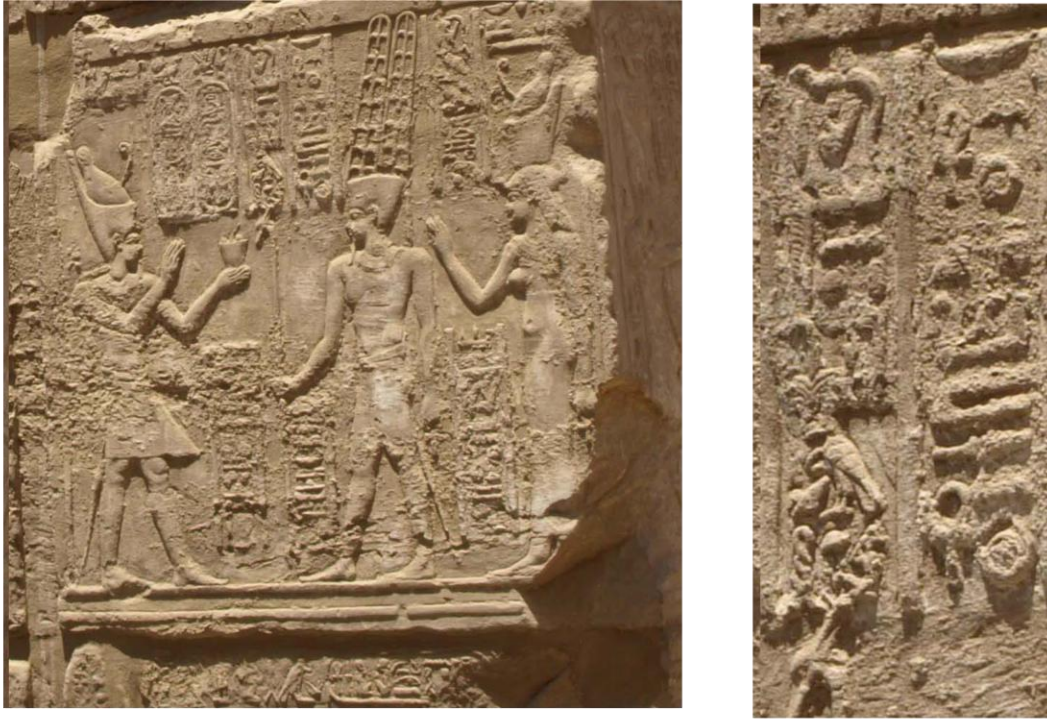


Figure 4.12 Ptolemy VIII Offers to Amun-Re “Who Hears Prayer” and Mut with Close-up of Associated Text. Photo: C. Ausec



Figure 4.13 Ptolemy VIII Offers to Amun-Re “Who Hears Prayer” and Khonsu with Close-up of Associated Text  
Photo: C. Ausec

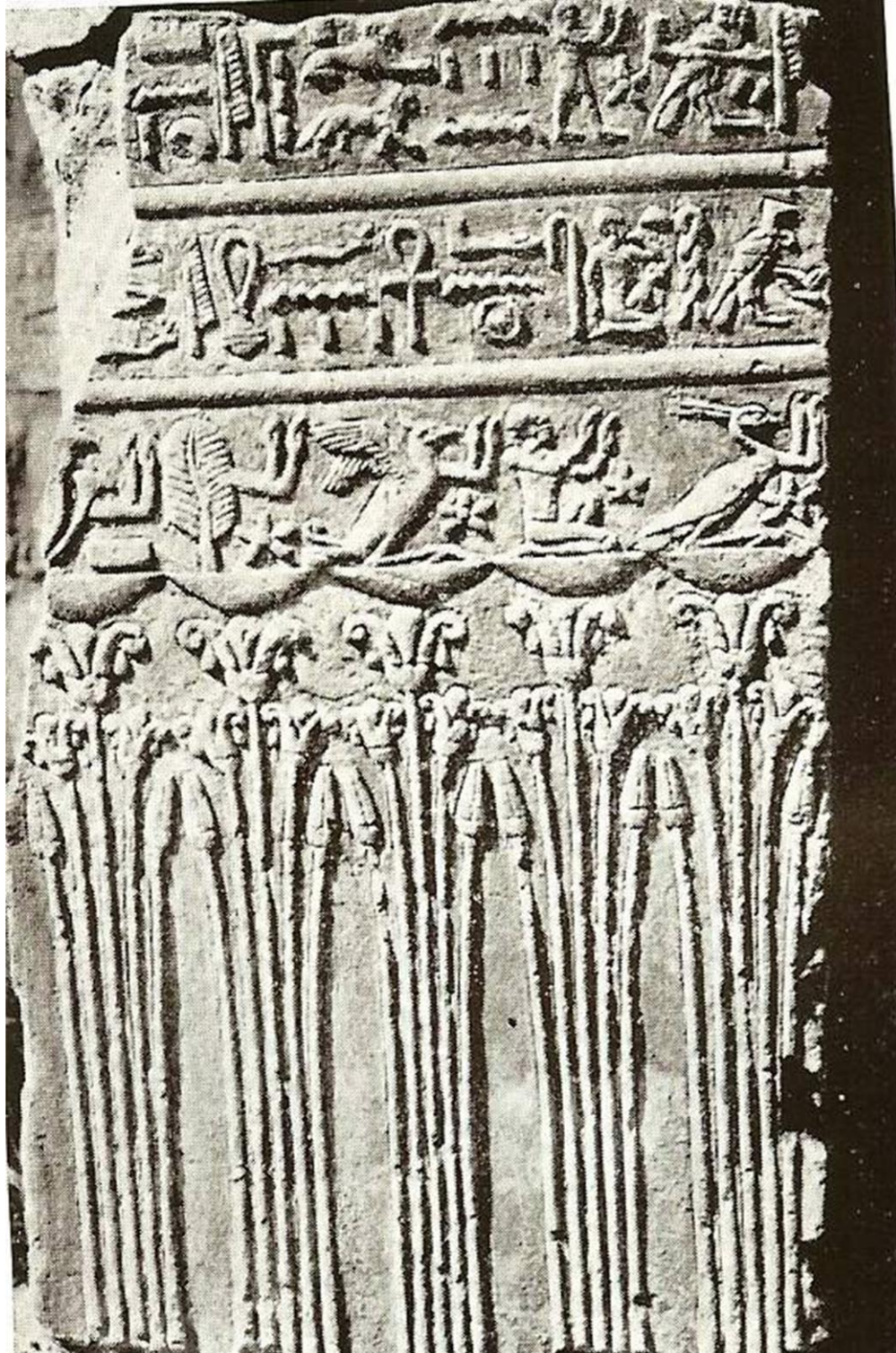


Figure 4.14 Lower Register of Southern Door Thickness  
Barguet, 1962:pl XXXIb

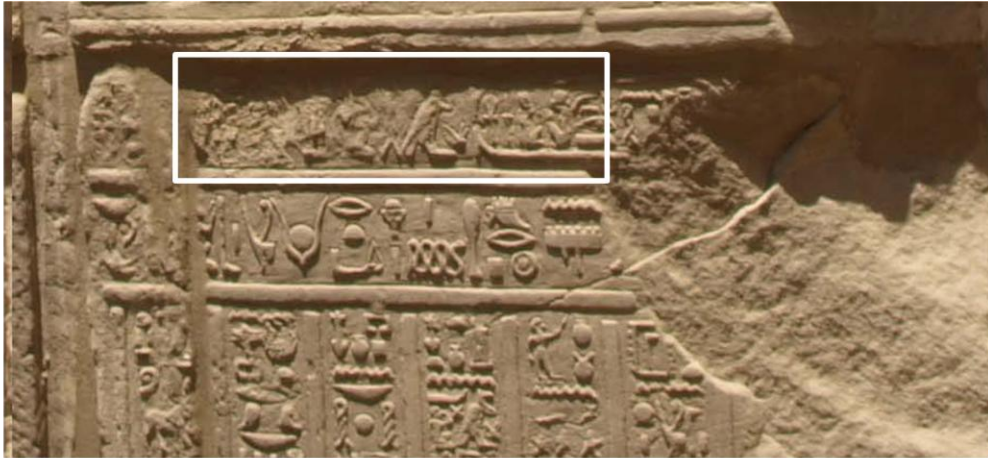


Figure 4.15 Southern Door Jamb Bearing Text “Ptolemy VIII “Who Hears Prayer.” or “Beloved of the One Who Hears Prayer.”  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 4.16 Ptolemaic Southern Door Jamb Ramesses II's Eastern Temple Showing Ptolemy VIII Offering to Amun-Re “Who Hears Prayer”  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 4.17 Ramesses II's Sed Festival Dance for Amun-Re.  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 4.18 Personified Millions of Years Holding Sed Festivals  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 4.19 Amun-Re Presents Sed Festivals to Ramesses II  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 4.20 Ramesses II Offers Bread to Ptah  
Photo C. Ausec



Figure 4.21 Possible Ptah on the Thickness on the Southern Wall Of Ramesses II's Gate.  
Photo C. Ausec

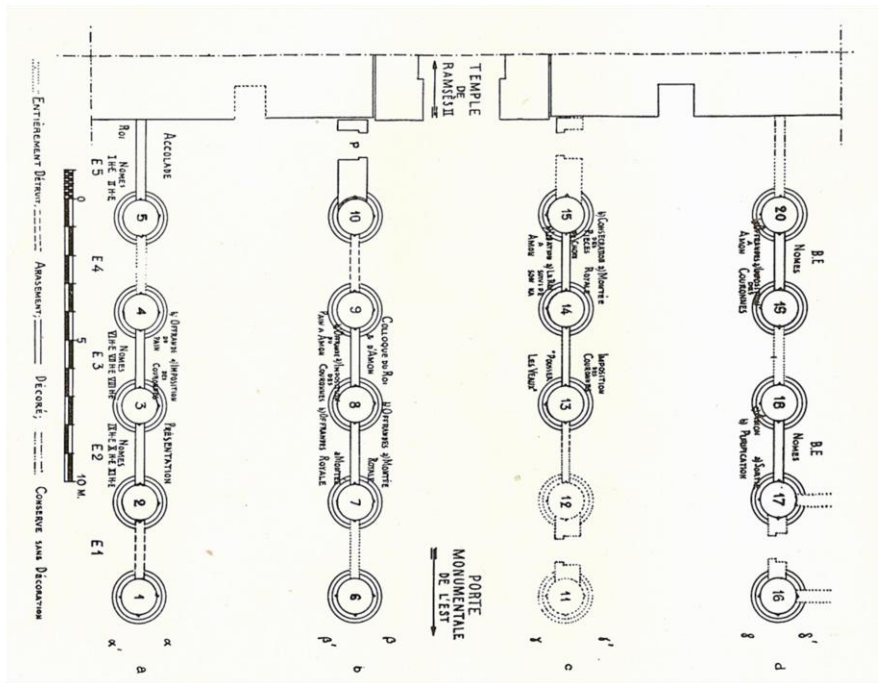


Figure 4.22 Taharqa's Colonnade with Leclant's Designations  
Leclant, 1953a:pl 1

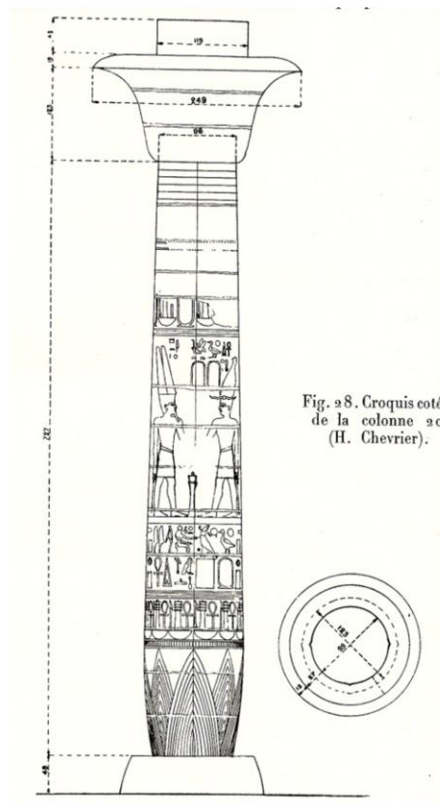


Fig. 28. Croquis coté de la colonne 20 (H. Chevrier).

Figure 4.23 Chevrier's Reconstruction of Taharqa's Columns  
Leclant 1953a, Fig 28

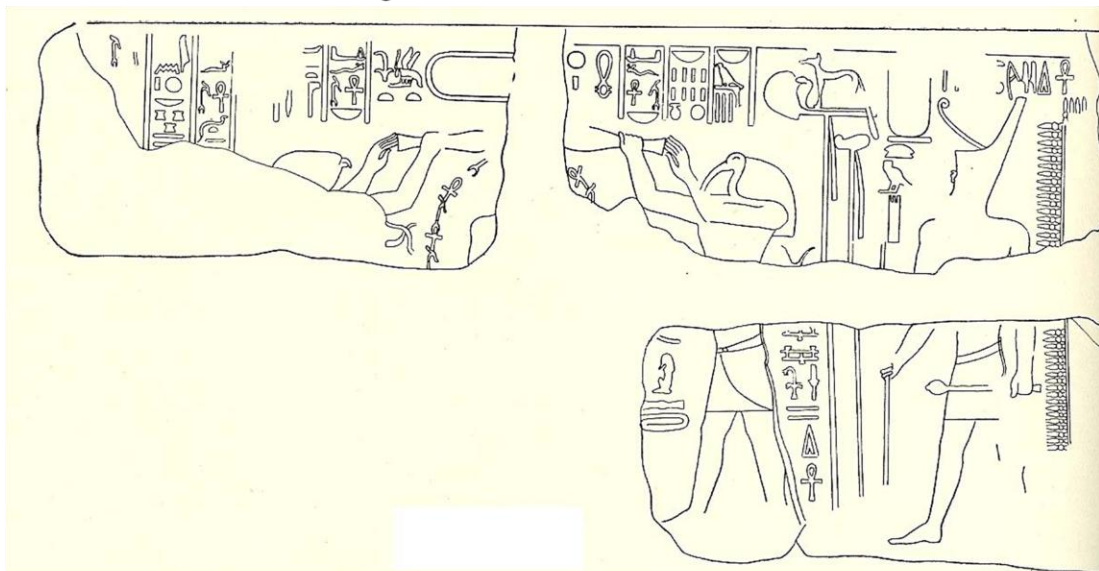


Figure 4.24 Taharqa Preceded by the Royal Standards  
Leclant, 1953a:pg 144 Fig. 13.

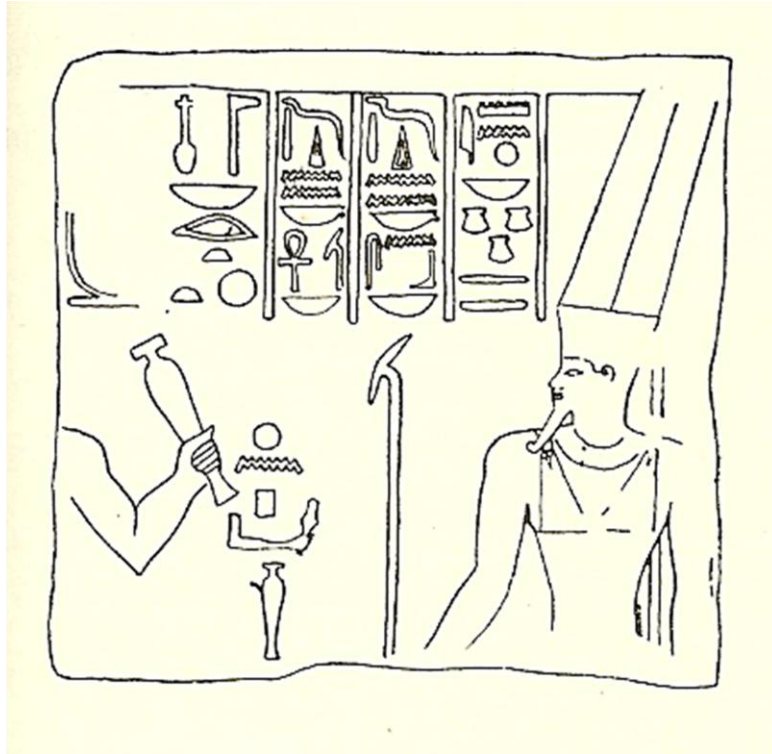


Figure 4.25 Taharqa Offers a Vase or Performs Vase Dance  
Leclant, 1953a, Fig 19



Figure 4.26 Small Graffito  
Leclant, 1953a, 167

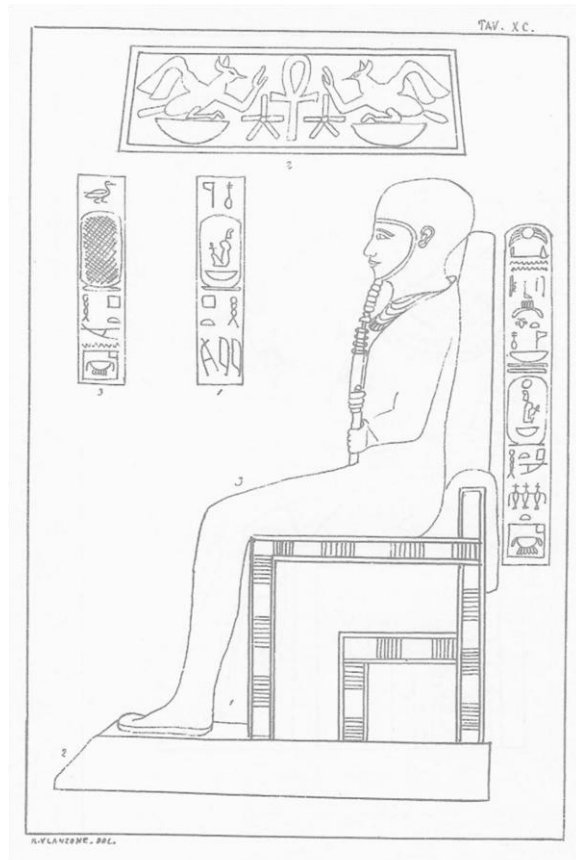


Figure 4.27 Seated Ptah Statue from Ramesses II's Eastern Temple  
Lanzone, 1881:pl. XC

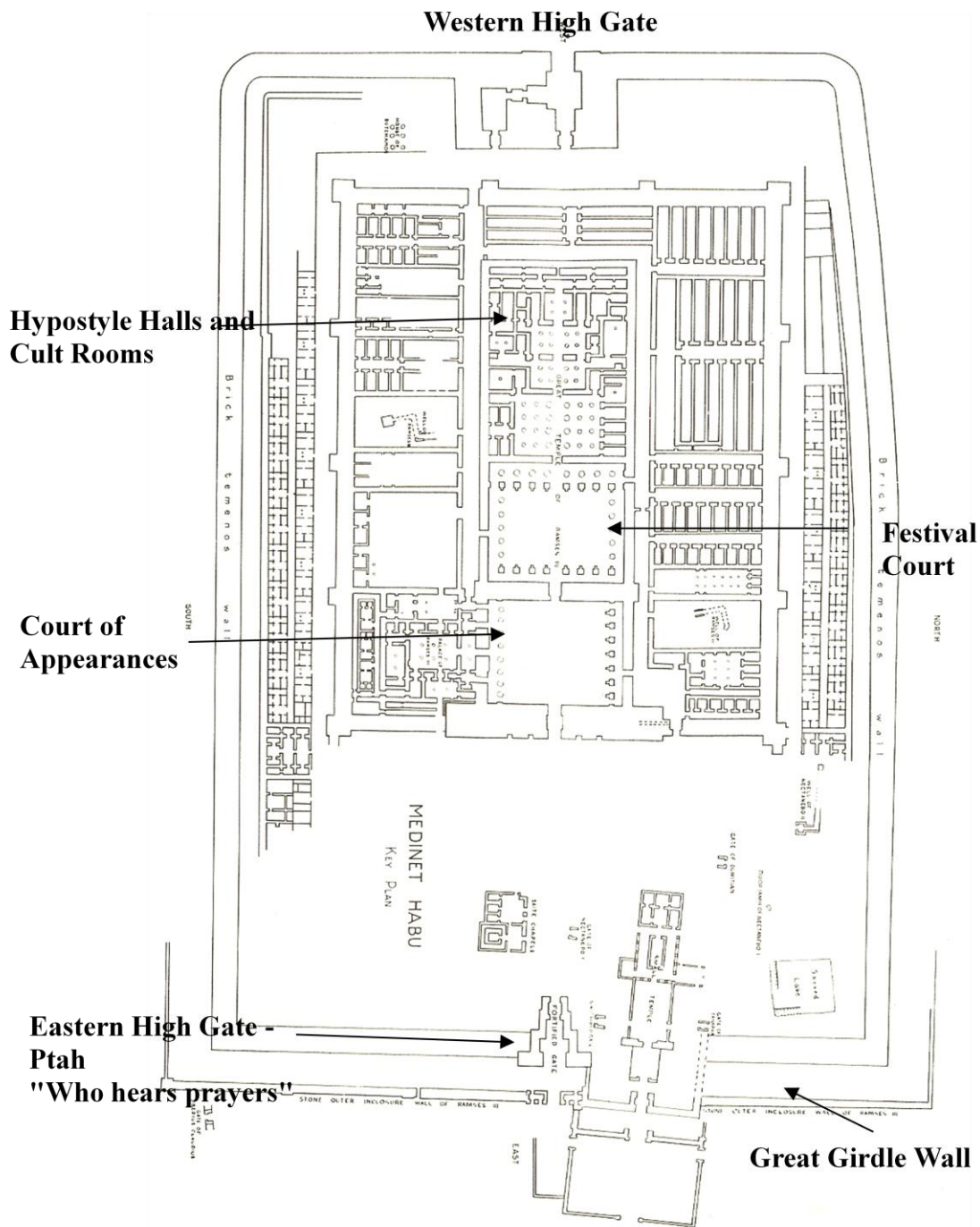
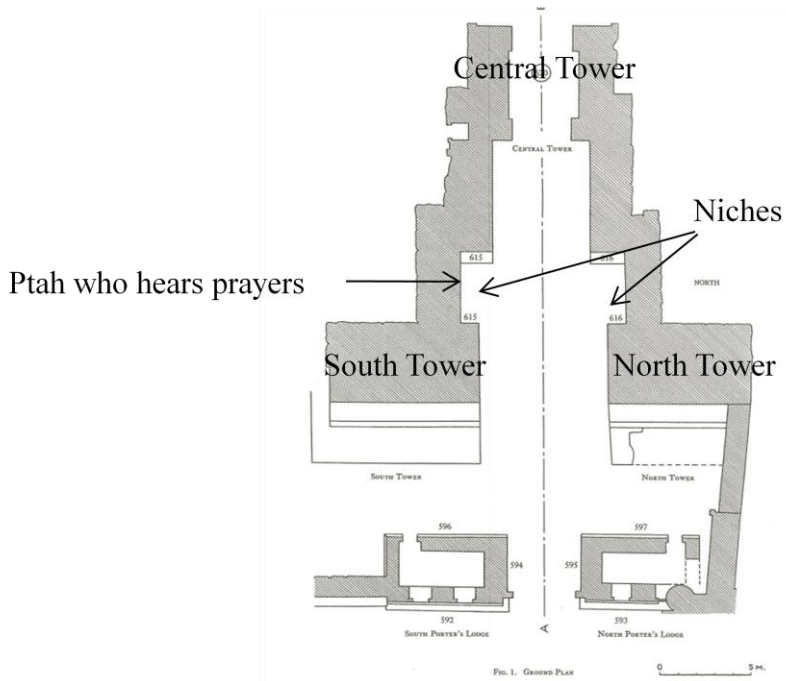


Figure 4.28 Plan of Medinet Habu  
After Hölscher, 1951: Fig 1



Ptah who hears prayers



Niches



Figure 4.29 Plan of Eastern High Gate After MH VIII Figure 1



Figure 4.30 Eastern High Gate Photo C. Ausec

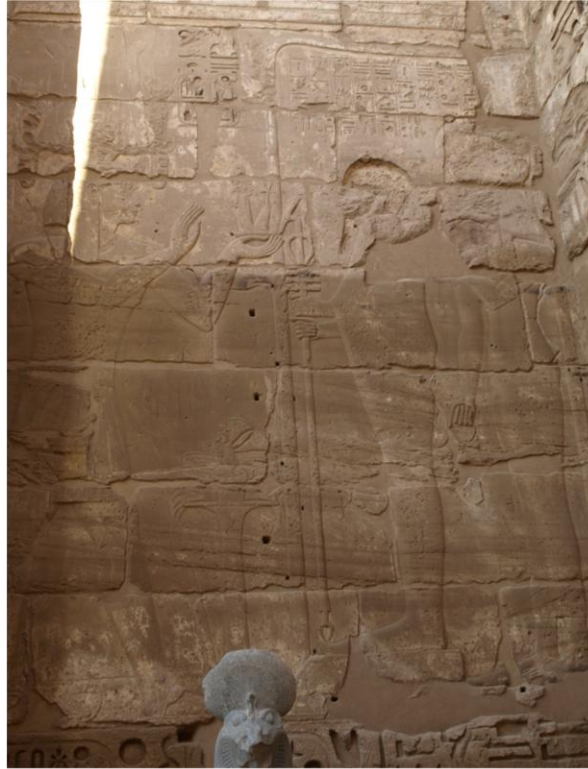
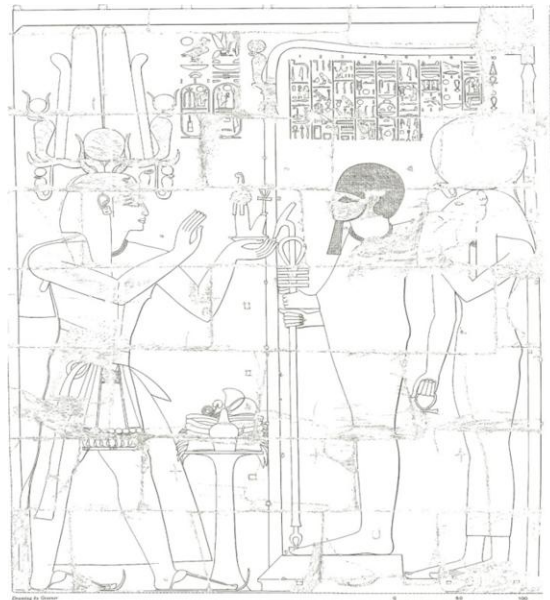


Figure 4.31 Ptah “Who Hears Prayer” on the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu. Photo: C. Ausec



RAMESSES III OFFERING MA'AT TO PTAH OF MEDINET HABU AND SEKHMET  
FARAB, SOUTH WALL, CENTER SECTION, LOWER REGISTER

Figure 4.32 Line Drawing of Ptah “Who Hears Prayer”  
From: MH VIII: Pl 609

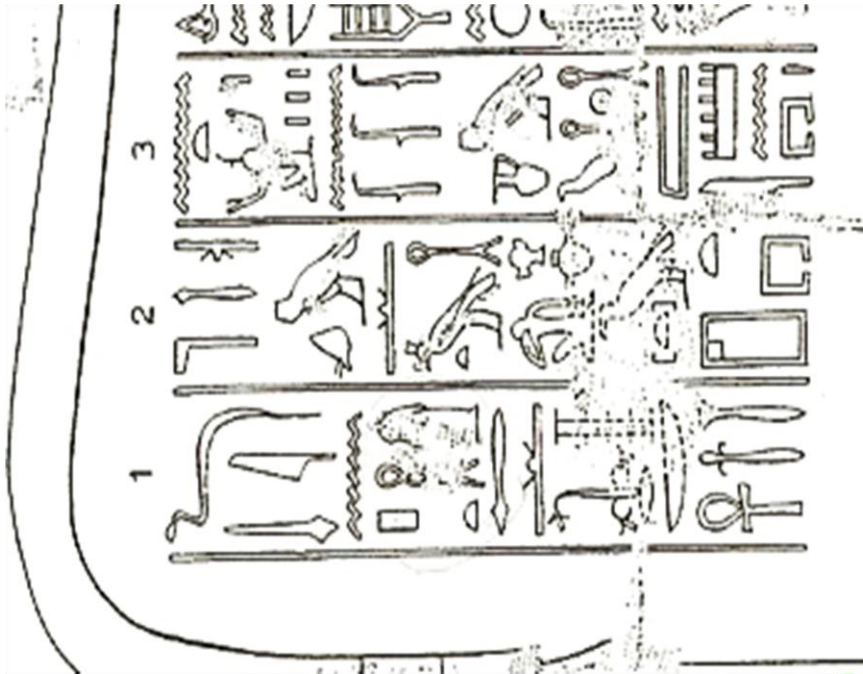
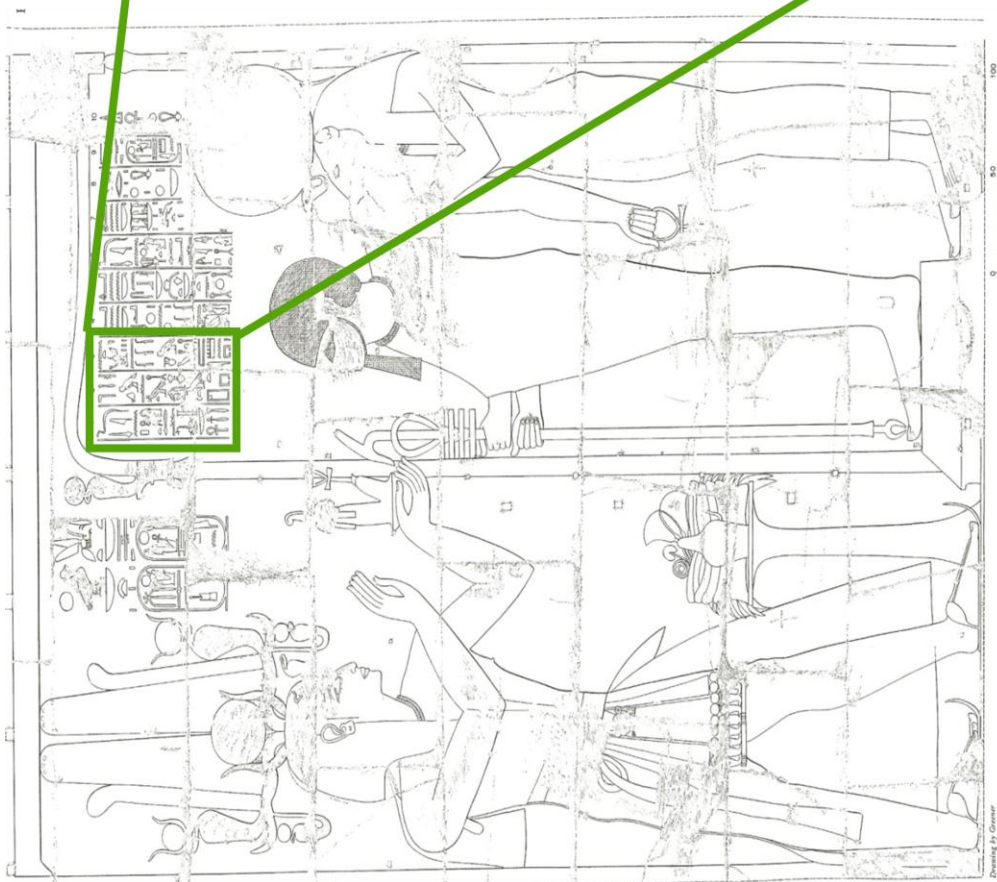
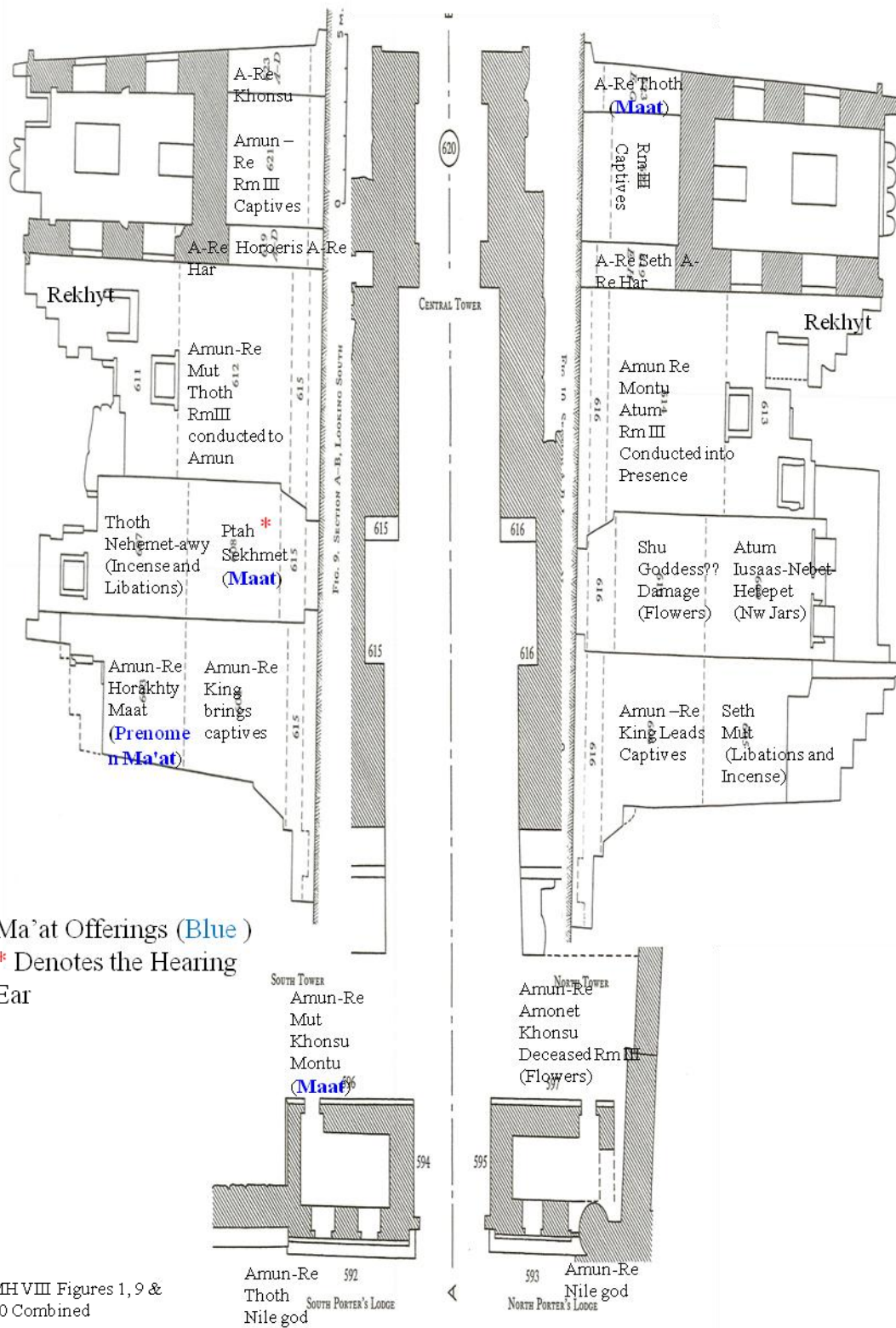


Figure 4.33 Detail of the Epithets of Ptah  
 From: MH VIII: Pl 609



Ma'at Offerings (Blue)  
 \* Denotes the Hearing Ear

MH VIII Figures 1, 9 & 10 Combined

Figure 4.34 Eastern High Gate Passage Way Walls with Relief Topics After MH VIII Figures 1, 9 & 10 Combined

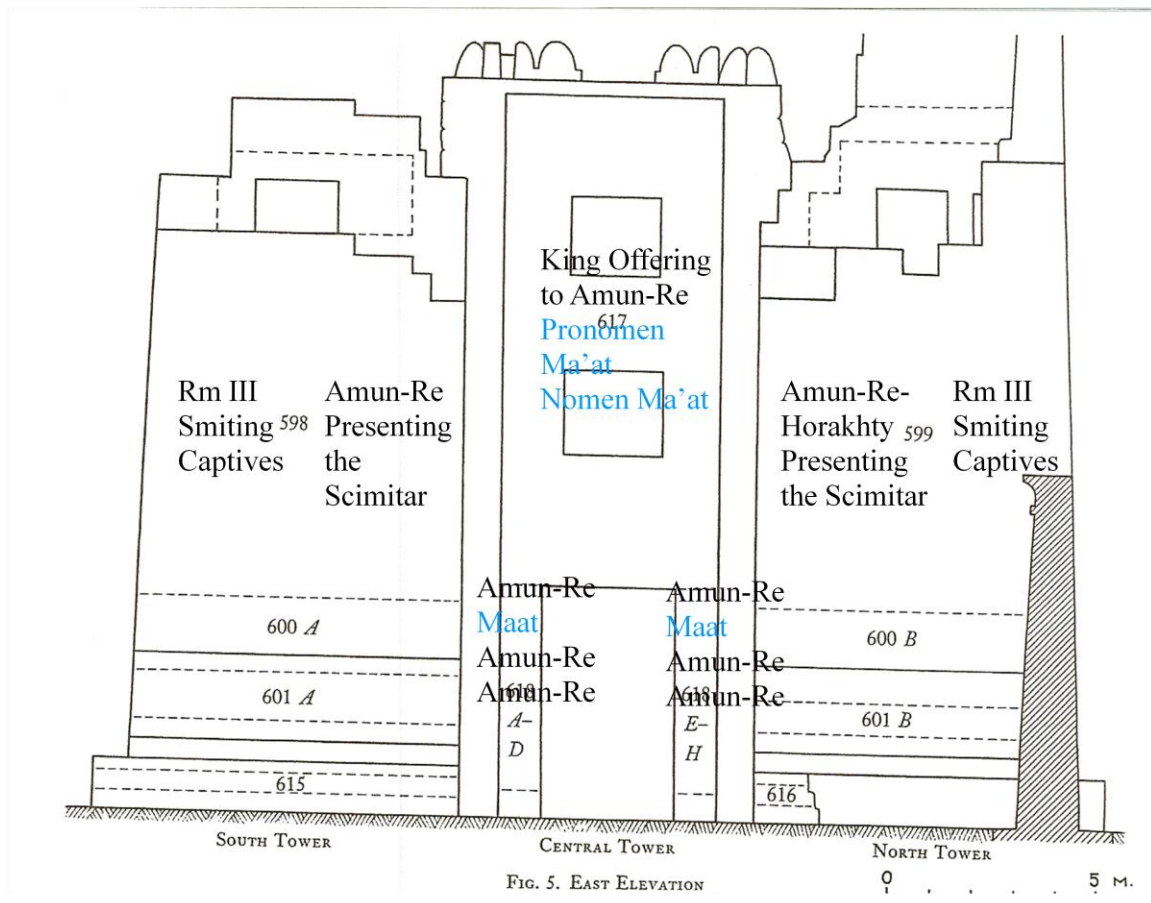
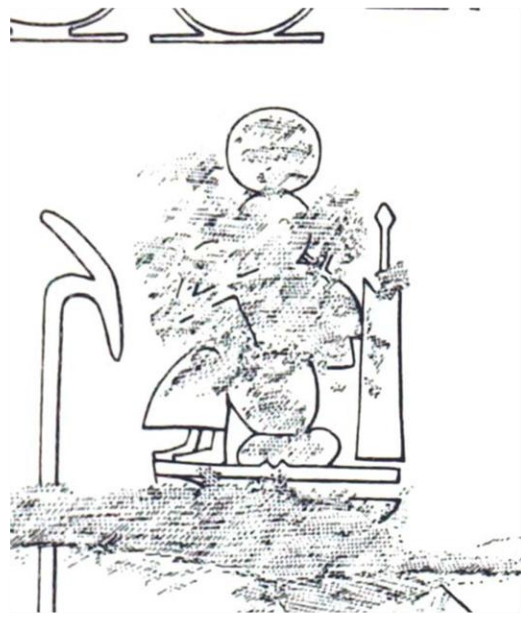


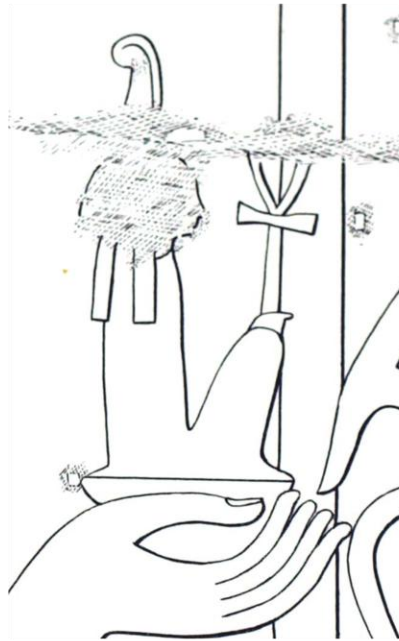
Figure 4.35 East Elevation Of Eastern High Gate with Relief Topics  
 After: MH VIII fig 5



Prenomen as Ma'at



Nomen as Ma'at



Ma'at

Figure 4.36 Ma'at Iconography  
From MH VII: pls 603, 608 & 617



Figure 4.37 Rekhyt Iconography  
Photo C. Ausec

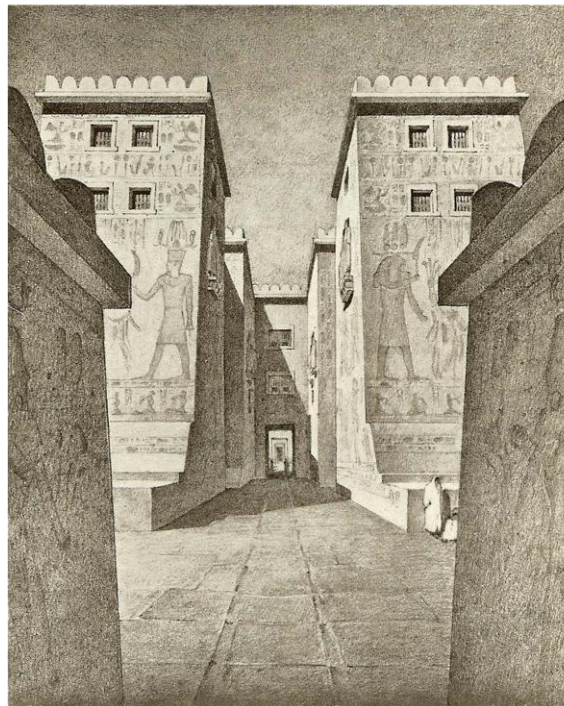


Figure 4.38 Reconstruction of the Eastern High Gate  
Hölscher, 1933:pl 10

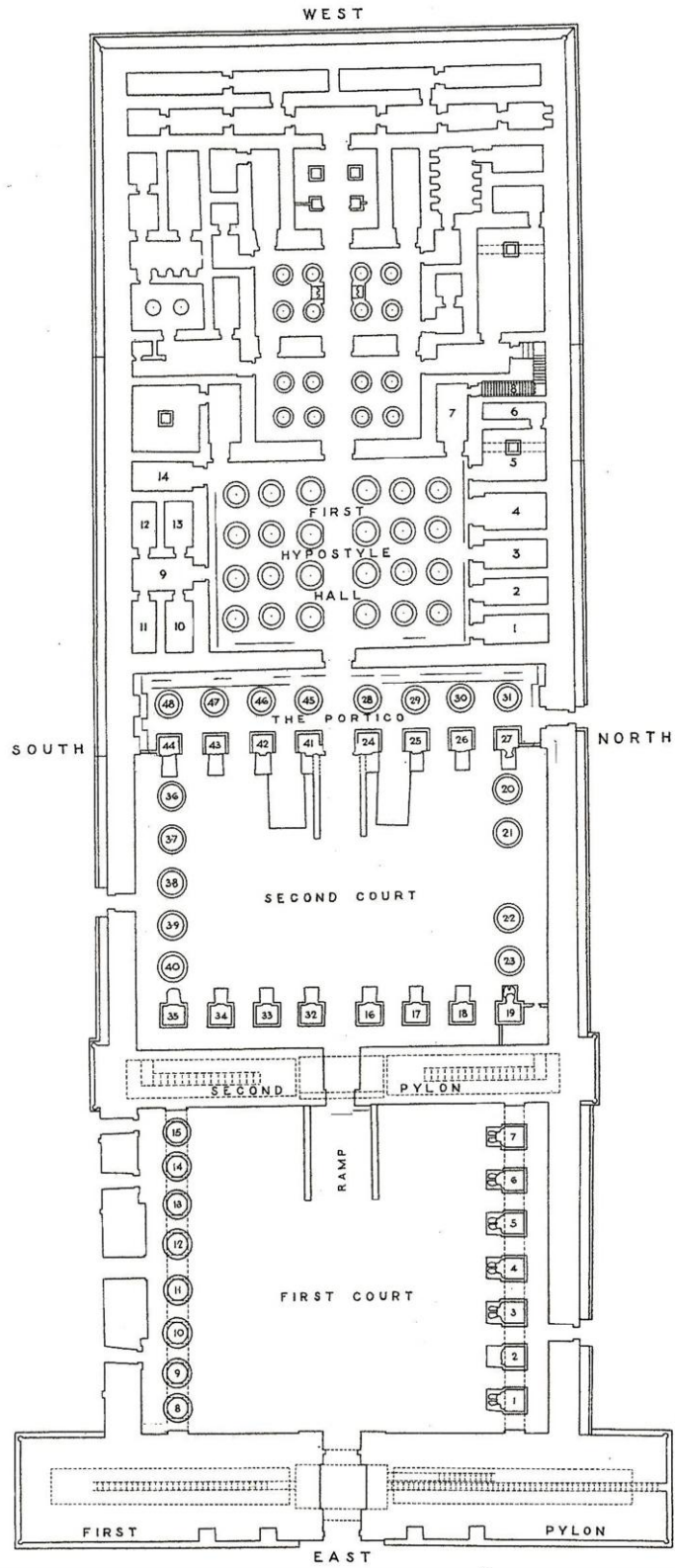


Figure 4.39 Medinet Habu Temple Proper  
MH V Plan

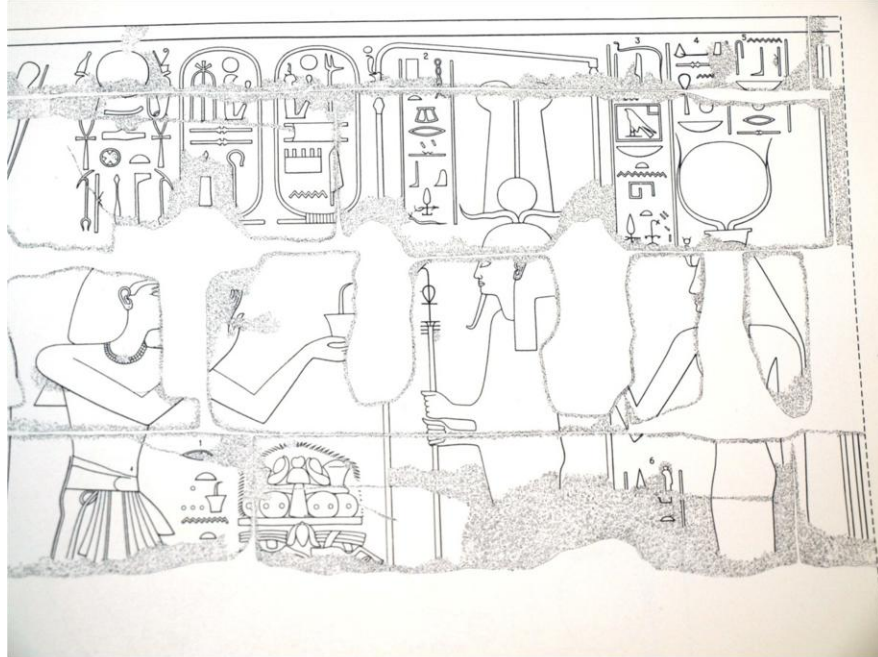


Figure 4.40 Ptah Under His Tree  
MH V, pl. 342 B

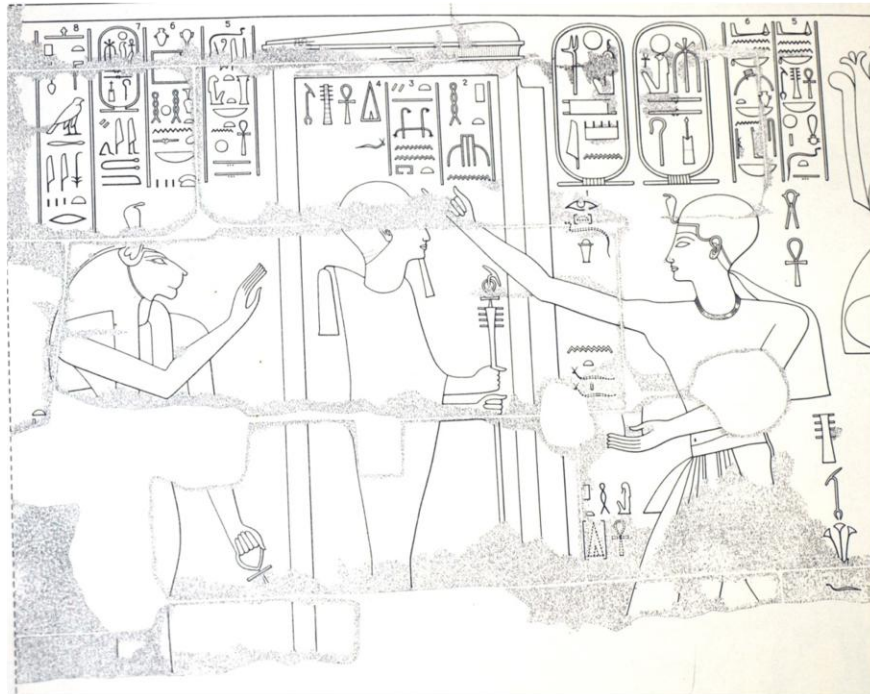


Figure 4.41 Ptah Foremost of Tatenen  
MH V, pl. 343 A

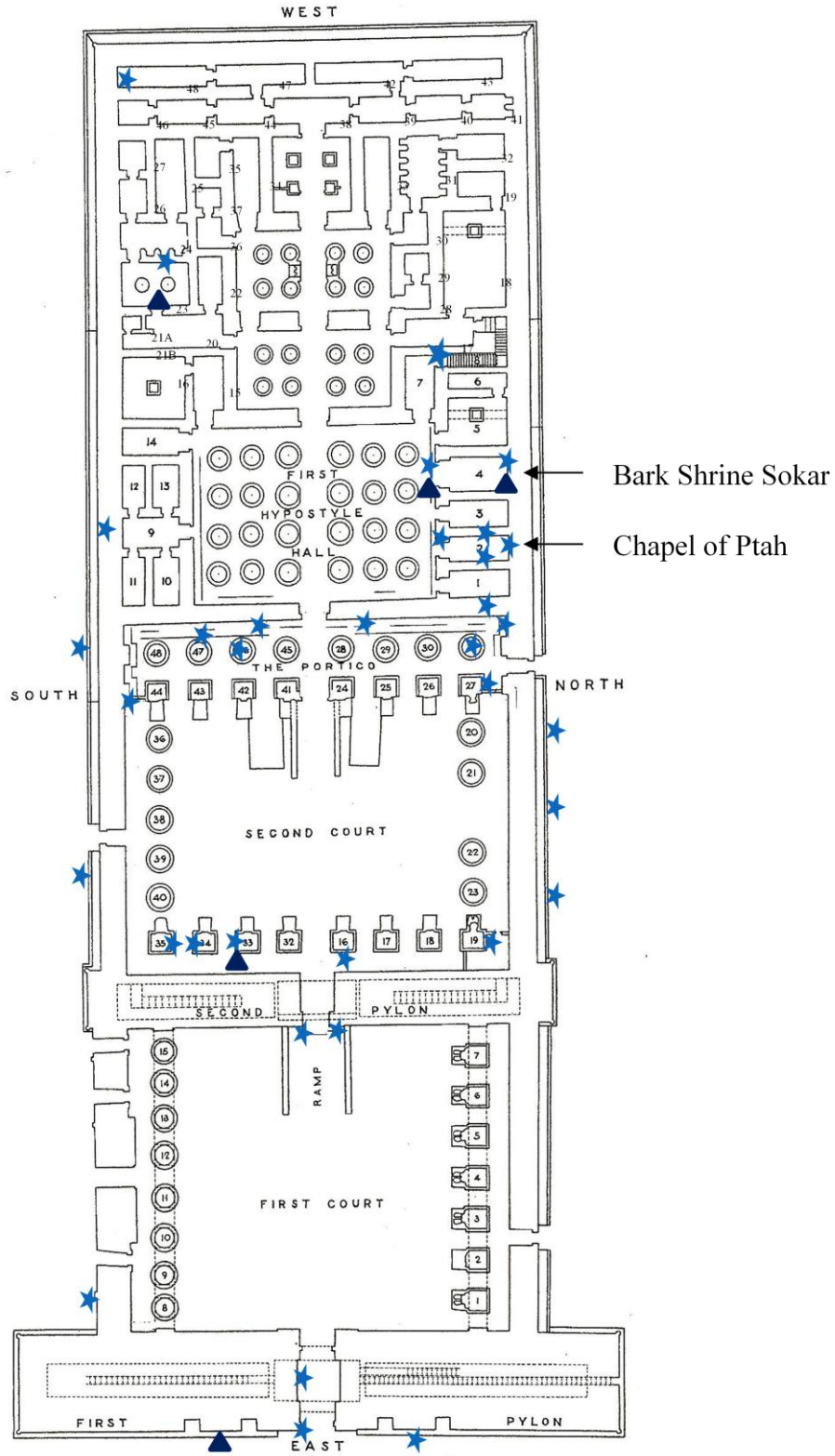


Figure 4.42 Occurrences Of Ptah (★) And Occurrences of Ptah Tatenen (▲) After MH V, plan

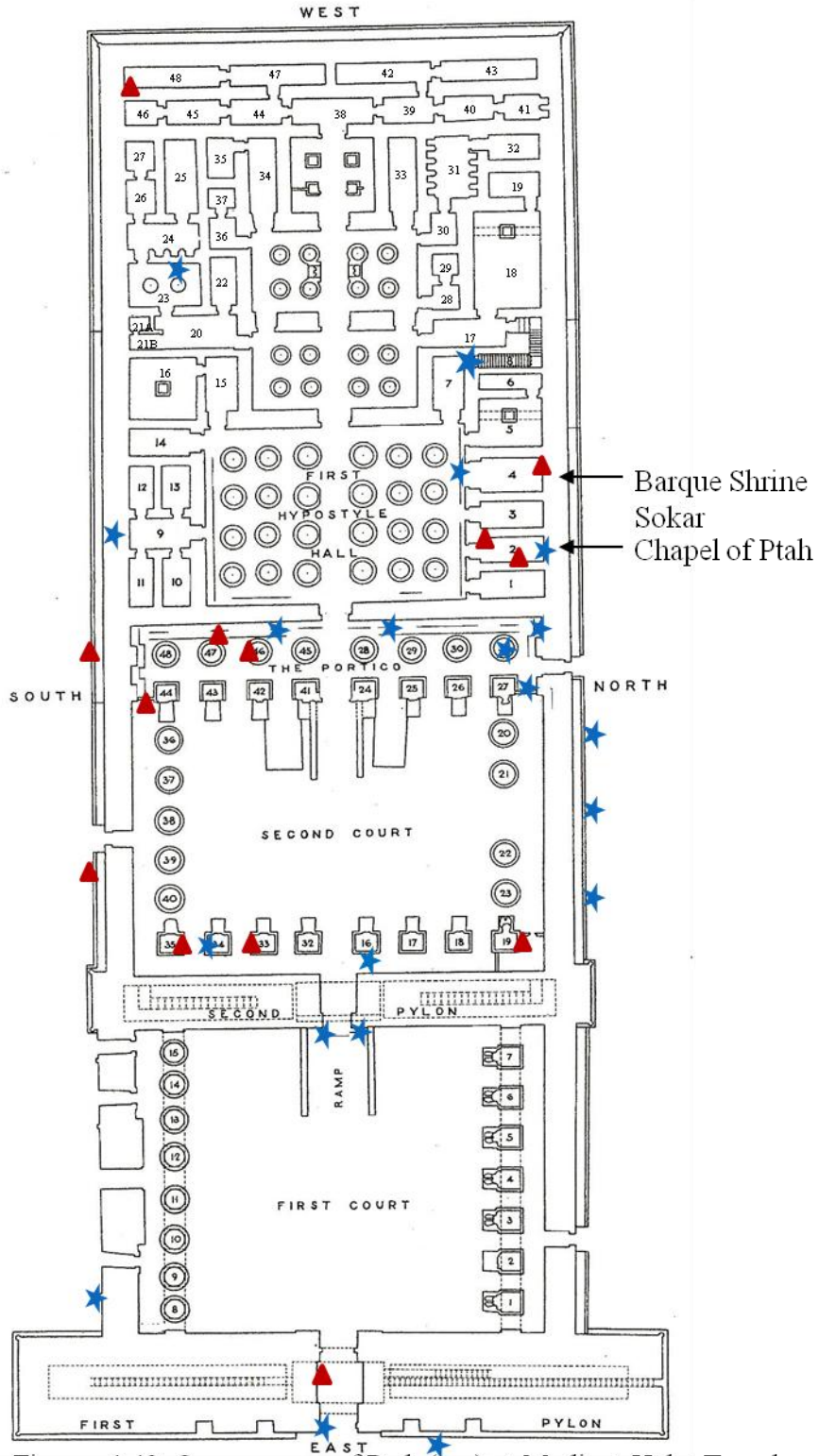


Figure 4.43 Occurrences of Ptah (★) at Medinet Habu Temple; Occurrences of The Presentation of Ma'at To Ptah (▲) . . . After MH V, plan

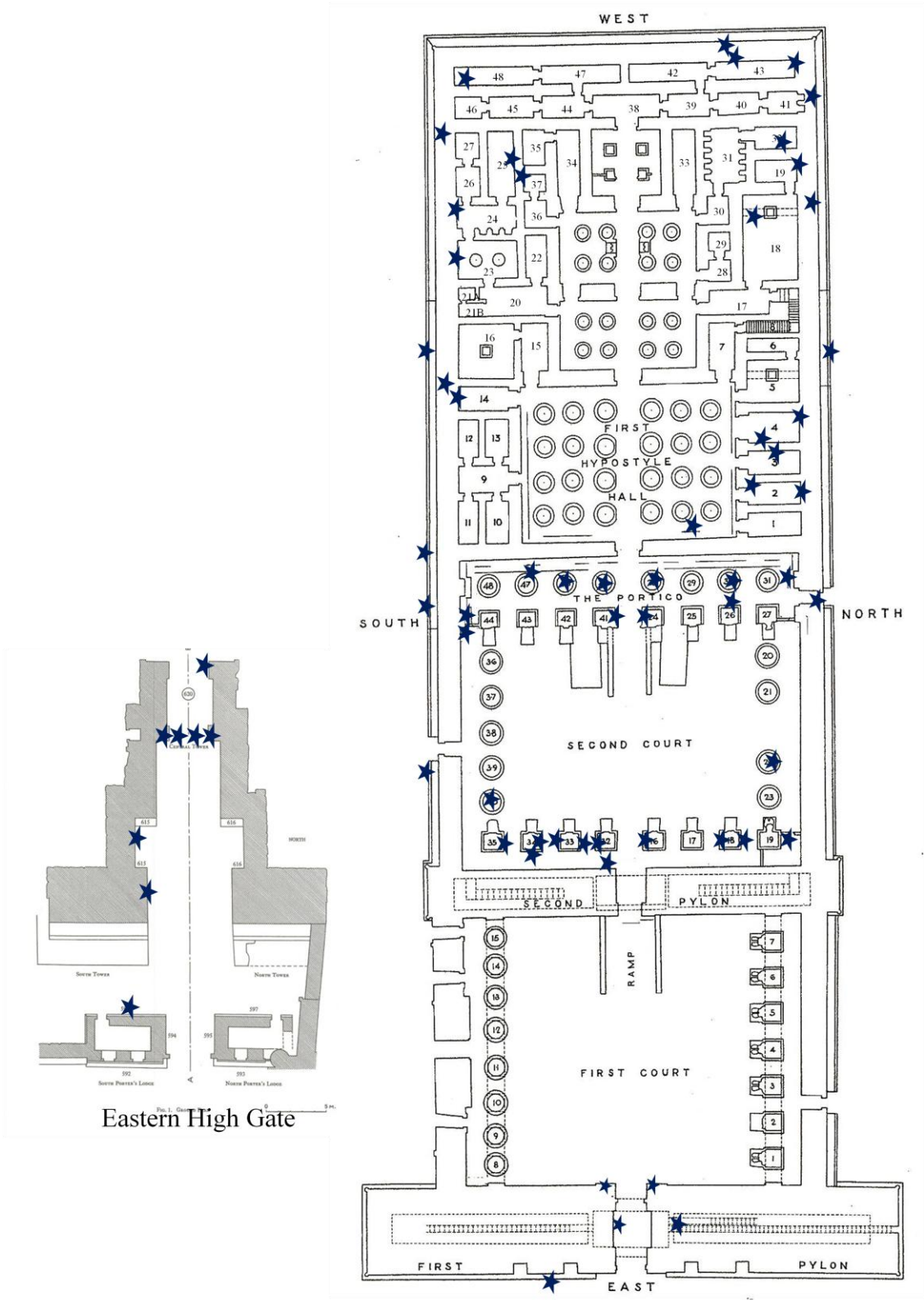


Figure 4.44 Occurrences of the Presentation of Ma'at (★)  
After MH V, plan

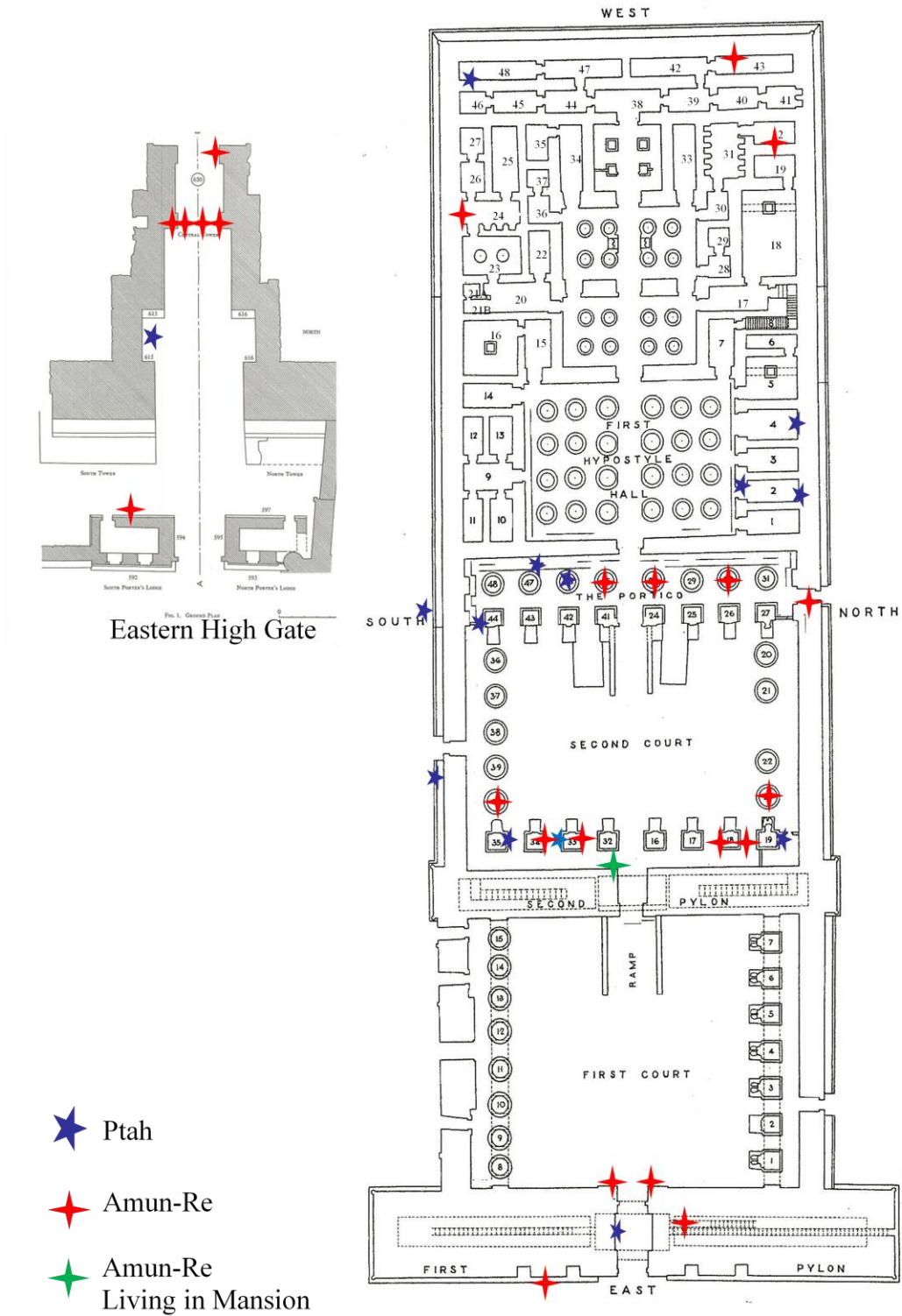


Figure 4.45 Occurrences of Ma'at As An Offering  
Amun-Re vs. Ptah  
After MH V, plan



Figure 4.46 Amun-Re In The Door Reveal Second Court  
Photo C. Ausec

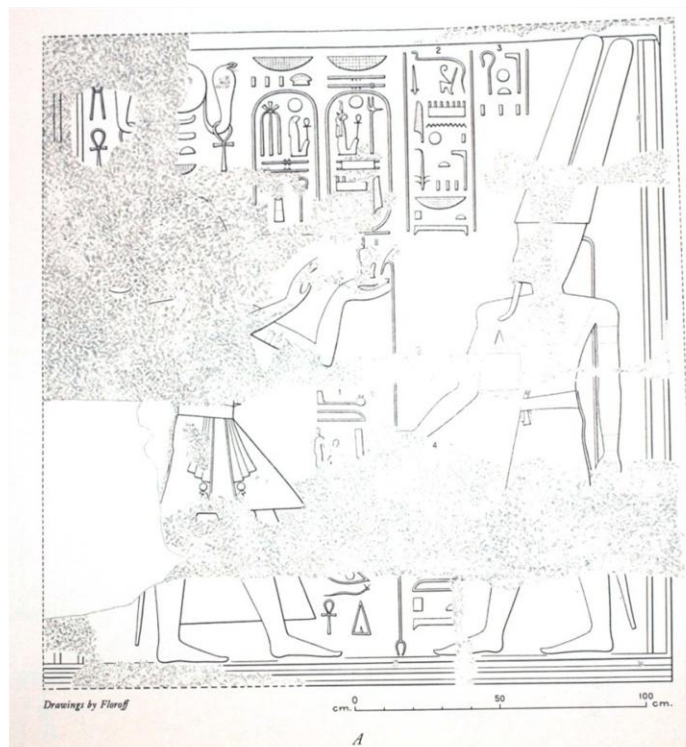


Figure 4.47 Back Of Column 27, Second Court  
MH V:282

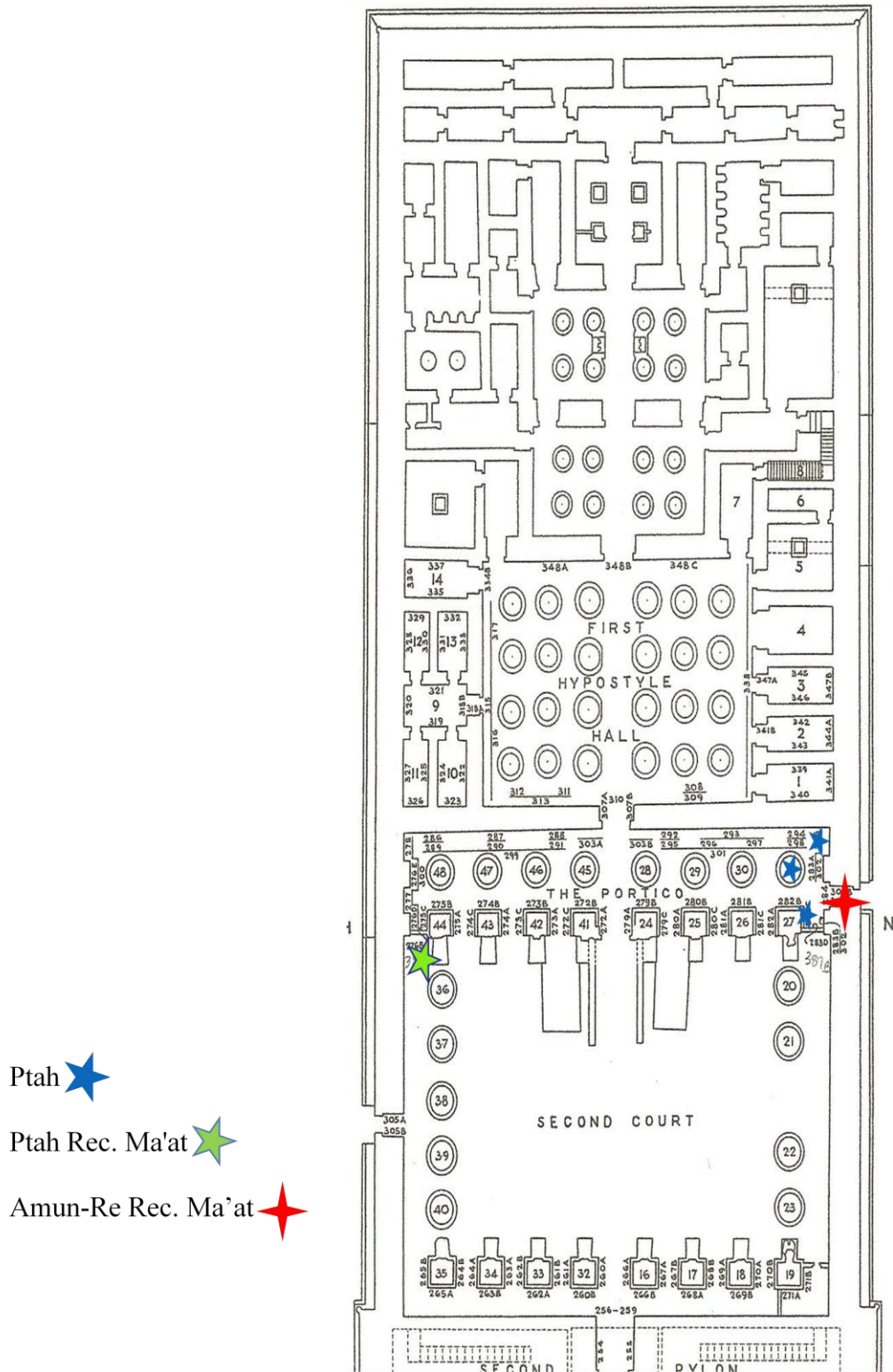


Figure 4.48 Possible Personal Piety Veneration Focused On Amun-Re After MH V, plan

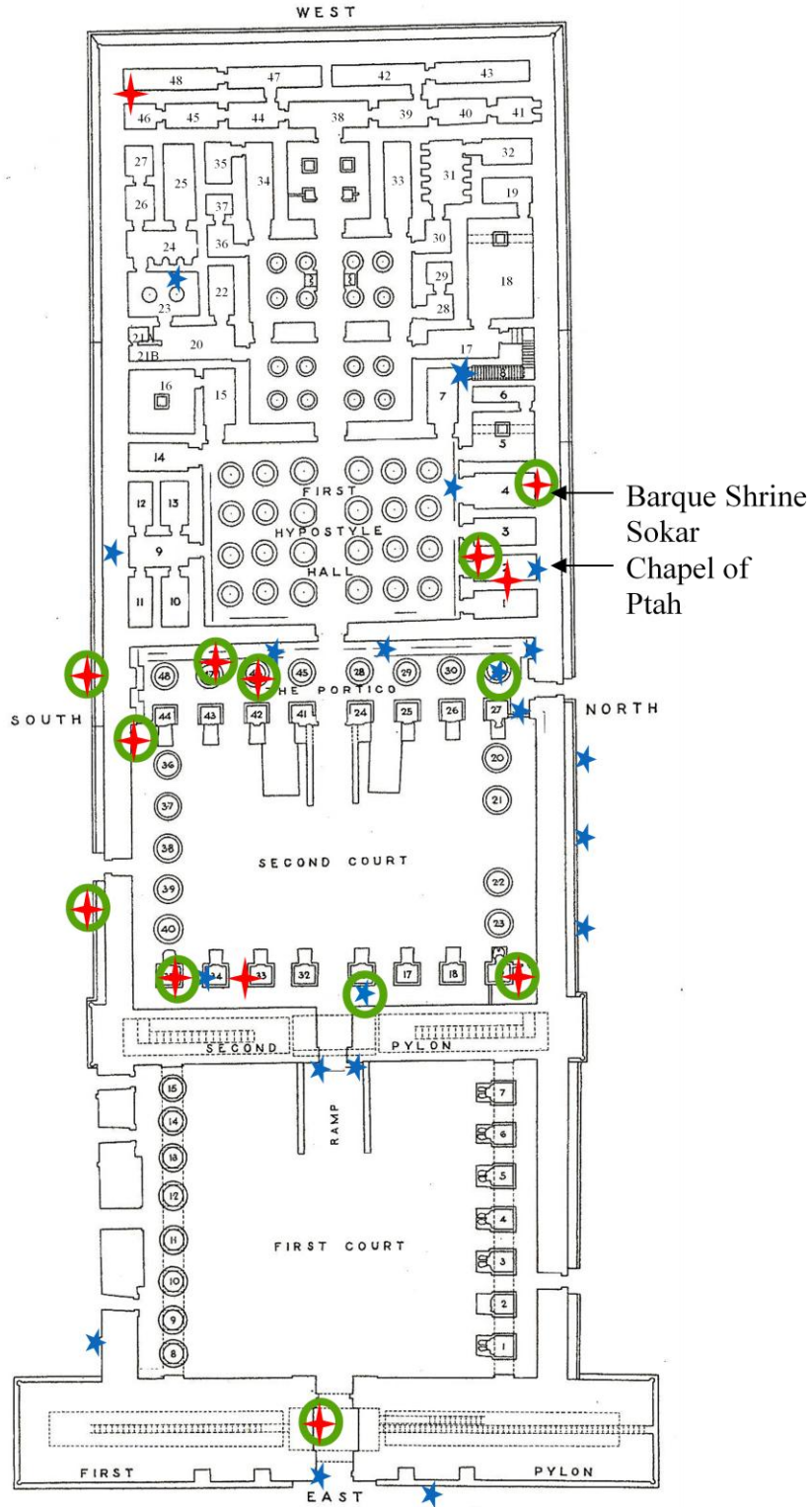


Figure 4.49 Occurrences of Ptah (★) At Medinet Habu Temple Denoting Presentation of Ma'at (★) and "Living In The Mansion. . ." (●) After MH V, plan





Figure 4.51 Door Leading To Palace  
Hölscher 1951, pl. 5



Figure 4.52 Rekhyt  
From Hölscher 1951, pl. 5

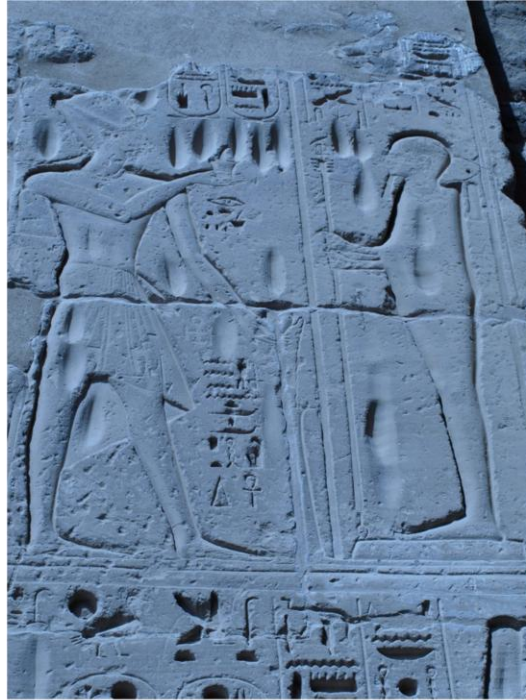


Figure 4.53 Ptah Of The “Great Gate”  
Photo C. Ausec

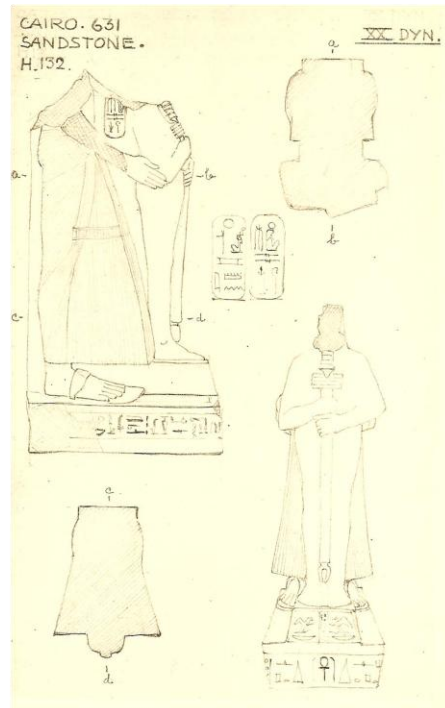


Figure 4.54 Statue of Man Holding Ptah  
Horenemann, Types I:pl. 274.



Figure 5.1 Ebony Label King Den  
Spencer, 1993:66, Fig 4.5

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## Appendix A Eastern Temple of Ramesses II and Later Additions

### Eastern Temple of Ramesses II

	Text at bottom of Northern Jamb East Face	The uppgate of the domaine of Amun-Re
196a	Amun-Re	Welcoming Amun
195	Amun-Re	<i>mdt</i> oil
184	? Khons/Ptah	can see scepter and wall of a shrine or Baldaquin
185	Amun-Re	Damaged
181	Amun-Re	Ninist Jar
179	Amun-Re	Damaged
178	Amun-Re	Ma'at
179	Khonsu	Damage
180	Mut	Lady of the Sky
197	Amun-Re	Ruler of the Ennead
198	Amun-Re	Damage
182	??	Damage
183	Amun-Re	...[foremost] of Karnak
178	Amen-Re	Kamutef with Min Booth behind him
197	Amun-Re	Welcoming Amun
198	Amun-Re	<i>mdt</i> oil
182	??	Damage
183	Amun-Re	Spnix Jar <i>mdt</i> Ointment

### Peristyle Court - East Wall South Side

Band Text  
Seti II recarved over earlier texts  
Possible Amenmesse?

162	Amun-Re	...ipt.f	Ma'at	164	Amen-Re	Damaged	Bread
163	Amun-Re	King of all the gods	The temple to its Lord	165	Amun-Re	Lord of the thrones of the two lands	The temple to its Lord
161a/b	Thoth Horus	Purifying the King	None	166	Khonsu Mut	Leading the King	
160a/b	Amun-Re	Lord of the [thrones of] the two lands	Presenting Birthname	167	Amun-Re	No Photo	Presenting Name

### Peristyle Court - South Wall

158	Amun-Re	Destroyed	Offering King Life	173	Amun-Re	Destroyed	Offering King Life
	Amun-Re	Destroyed	Incense & Libation		Amun-Re	.nb	Incense & Libation
	Mut	None	Lettuce	174	Amun-Re	[Ka]mutef	Incense & Libation
157	Amun-Re	Destroyed (UCLA) Photo	bouquet	176	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the two lands	Bouquet
156	Mut				Khonsu	In Thebes Neferhotep	

Top Register Missing

171	Amun-Re	King before the God
172	Khonsu	4 calves
175	Amun-Re	<i>mdt</i> ointment
	God	Holding a branch sprouting Millions of Years

### Peristyle Court - East Wall South Side

164	Amen-Re	Damaged	Bread
165	Amun-Re	Lord of the thrones of the two lands	The temple to its Lord
166	Khonsu Mut	Leading the King	
167	Amun-Re	No Photo	Presenting Name

### Peristyle Court - South Wall

173	Amun-Re	Destroyed	Offering King Life
	Amun-Re	.nb	Incense & Libation
174	Amun-Re	[Ka]mutef	Incense & Libation
176	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the two lands	Bouquet
	Khonsu	In Thebes Neferhotep	

## Appendix A Eastern Temple of Ramesses II and Later Additions

### Eastern Temple of Ramesses II - Exterior Walls

	South Wall	Partially hidden by tree today	North Wall		
233	Amun-re	King holding bow	Amen-Re	Who hears prayers	King conducted
232	Mut	Water and offerings	Hathor	Lady of Dendera	Vases
231	Ptah	Bread	Mut	Lady of Heaven, destroyed	Bread w dedication text on base
	Top Register Missing	seated god/goddess	Khonsu	Destroyed	King conducted
			Amen-Re	damage	
			Tefnut		
			Ornitius Shu		
			Mut		Shbt
			Khonsu		2 bouquets
155	Destroyed		155	Text The Great Gate (named) Ramesses- Meriamun Mut sees the perfections	Purity Warning
177	Text Great Gate User	Rameses II	177	Text Great Gate Userma'atre-Setpeture great of love like Khonsu	Purity Warning
177	Lintel Khonsu	Damage	177	Khonsu	King Dance
152	Sokar (??)	Damage	152	Amun-Re	King Receiving Heb Sed
154	Lintel Amun-Re Mut	No Longer in situ	154	Amun-Re Khonsu	Ma'at
153a/1	Amun-Re	King of the Gods, who hears prayers, lord of life, supreme creator of life	153b/1	Amun-Re	lord of the thrones of the two lands, who hears prayers
153a/2	Mut Amun-Re		153b/2	Khonsu Divinities nothing remains	incense
153a/3	Isis Amun-Re Mut		153b/3	Amun Re Mut	Pectoral
153a/4	Amun-Re	King of the Gods, Great God since the ancient times, living Onuris incharge of waters, who makes that which is.	153b/4	Amun Re	Myrrh
	Ma'at				Mut

## Appendix A Eastern Temple of Ramesses II and Later Additions

### Eastern Temple of Ramesses II - Additions of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II

Ptolemaic Door Thickness		Missing			
153c/1	Base of the Door Thickness' A thicket of Papyrus (Lilies) holding up baskets with: People of the Sun, (Hammî beuu bird), the nobles (pat), the subjects (xyr), the trees, and the plants				
153c/2					
153c/3	Rich in Jubiles	Incense Goddess Holds Sistrum	153d/3	Raattaiu	Great Mistress, Lady of the West
153c/4	Names: Keb, In, Neb Ankh-nw	Adoring Amun-Re	153d/4	3 Ibis Headed Spirits	Spirits of Hiermopolis Named Dhby, KmAw and Am
153c/5	Spirits of the East	Adoring	153d/5	4 Baboons	Spirits of the West. First name IsT and the Last TA
					Adoring the name of a god: Noble image of Osiris, Great in Dendera, Great in Thebes, king of the two lands at the head of the world, who repeats life. . . Re

## Appendix A Eastern Temple of Ramesses II and Later Additions

### Eastern Temple of Ramesses II - Gate of Nectanebo I

Object ID	Material	Description	Location	Notes
271	Lintel Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak, Lord of Heaven King of the gods. Great one Lady of Ishrw, Eye of Ra Lady of Heaven Mistress of all the Gods	Maat	Primeval one of the two lands, with upraised arm holding the sky, qma wmt Who created being? In Thebes Nefer-hotep the lord of Joy in Karnak
	Mwt			
	Arsinoe II	Daughter of the king, sister of the king, great wife, Mistress of Eternity of the sun etc.		Daughter of the King, sister of the King of Upper Egypt, Great wife, Lady of the two lands, Mistress of all Eternity of the sun etc
270	Amun-Re	Destroyed	Ointment Jar Spinx	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak
269	Khonsu	King's Cartouches		King's Cartouches
268	Damaged/ Amun-Re	Amun-Re who hears Prayers	Maat	Lord of the two lands, foremost of Karnak, Amen Re Who hears the prayers, great god at the head of the Ennead
	Mut			

## Appendix A Eastern Temple of Ramesses II and Later Additions

### Eastern Temple of Ramesses II - Taharka Colonnade

Intercolumnar Walls - South Side		Intercolumnar Walls - North Side					
218-222	Upper Egyptian Nomes	Names of Nomes	Bringing offerings	230	Nomes of Lower Egypt	Names of Nomes	Bringing Offerings
213	Amun-Re Emnead		King Presented				
214	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	Bread				
215	Toth Horus (Behedite)		Crowning the King				
216-217	Nekhibet Nekhen Souls of Pe and Souls of Nekhen	White One Mistress of the Talon without stretched arms	Presenting the King	228	Thoth Horus		Purification of King
208	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	Bread	229	None		King Preceding from Palace
209	Thoth Horus (Behedite)		Crowning the King	225	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	Offering Choice Pieces
210				226	Thoth Horus (Behedite)		Presenting the King
211	Amun Re	Damaged	Making a Royal Offering	227	Damage		Coronation
212	Damage	Damage	King being led given Breath of life	224	Amun-Re	King of the Gods	Libabation
201	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	Damage	225	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	Offering Choice Pieces
202	Amun-Re	King of the Gods	Damaged	226	Thoth Horus (Behedite)		Presenting the King
203	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	Damaged	223			Driving the Calves
204	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	Maiming a Royal Offering				
205	Damaged		Presenting the King				



Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Northern Side of South Tower		Eastern High Gate		Southern Side of North Tower	
603	Amun-Re-Horakhty Maat Amun-Re	Rm III offering Maat to Amun-Re-Horakhty Prenomen Rebus as Maat	605 Seth [Damaged] Nut Amun-Re	Damaged The Great who gave birth to the Gods Lord of the heavens Ruler of Thebes	Rm III offers libations and incense to Set and Mut Rm III leading Captives Rm III compared to Seth who slays the Apophis
604	Moon God Thoht Nefemut-Awy	Rm III leading captives	606	Lord of the Two Lands Who resides in the Mansion in the estate	Rm III offering Nw Jars
607	Mistress of the two lands	Rm III offering incense and libations	609 Atum Iusaaa-Nebet-Hetepet	Lord of the Two Lands Who resides in the Mansion in the estate	Rm III offers Flowers
608	Great One, South of his Wall Lord of Ankhawy Great God who hears prayers Who resides in the Mansion of Millions of Years "United with Eternity in the estate of Amun Beloved of Ptah	Rm III offering Maat to Ptah and Sakhmet	610 Shu Goddess - image too damaged	Son of Re-Onurus	
611	Sakhmet No gods shown	Thoht and Mut conduct Rm III into the presence of Amun-Re	613 No gods shown	King of the gods Lord of Heaven	Rm III condicied into the presence of Amun-Re Montu holds the ankh sign before the king
612	Amun-Re Mut Thoht	King Beloved of Amun-Re-Horakhty King beloved of Mut, Lady of Heaven King of the Gods Lady of Heaven Lord of Hermopolis	614 Amun-Re Montu Atum	Ruler of Thebes Who resides in the Mansion of Rm III in the estate of Amun Lord of Thebes Who resides in Hermorthis Lord of the Two Lands, the one of Helopolis Who resides in the Mansion of Rm III in the estate of Amun	
615	Inscriptions	Rm IV version names his faith Ptah-	616 Inscription	Rm IV version names his father Ptah-	

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

		Central Tower Passage way South Face		Eastern High Gate		Central Tower Passage way North Face	
619 A	Amun-Re Horus	Damaged Lord of Upper Egypt	Offering incense Offering wine	619 E	Amun-Re Seth	Damage	Offering incense and libation
B		Re-Harakhty		F		One of Nebet (Ombo) Lord of Lower Egypt, Mighty Bull Living in Damaged	Offering incense and libation
C	Amun Re Harakhte	Great of Jubilees like Tatenen	Offering incense and libation	G	Amun-Re	King of the Gods	Offering Flowers
D	Inscription of Rm III	Lord of Jubilees like his father Ptah- Tatenen		H	Inscription of Rm III	Great of Jubilees like Tatenen	
D	Inscription of Rm IV			H	Inscription of Rm IV	Lord of Jubilees like his father Ptah- Tatenen	
D	Inscription of RM VI	No mention of either Tatenen or Ptah Tatenen		H	Inscription of RM VI	No mention of either Tatenen or Ptah Tatenen	
620	Vultures	King of the Gods	Captives	622	No Gods		
624	Amun-Re Photo of Gate						
<b>East Face of Central Tower Eastern High Gate - Southern Side of Door</b>							
623 A	Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of his Sanctuary	Flowers	623 E	Amun-Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven	Meat
B	Khonsu	Nefertihotep	Ornament	F	Thoht	Damage	Wine & Bread
<b>West Elevation</b>							
625	No God image	Amun-Re, King of the Gods	King Smiting Captive Either side of Window				
		Amun-Re, Lord of the thrones of the two lands					
		Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven					
		Amun-Re, who resides in "United with Eternity"					
		Amun-Re, Foremost of Kamak					
626	No God image	Amun-Re Kamutef	King Leading Captives on Either Side of Window				
		Amun-RE King of the Gods Lord of Heaven					
		Ruler of the Enead					
627 A	Amun-Re	King of the Gods Lord of Heaven Ruler of the Enead		627 B	Amun-Re	King of the Gods Lord of Heaven Ruler of the Enead	
628	No God image		King leading captives				
629	No God Image		King, leading captives				

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### First Court

Plate #	Gods	Epithets	Offering Made
241 A	Sekhmet	Great of Magic, Mistress of all the Gos	Incense
B	Amun Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven	Breaking Seal of Door
C			Drawing the Bolt of the door
D	Damage		
E	Amun Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak, Great God Lord of Heaven	Incense and Libation
F	Amun Re Kamutef	Of his Great Place	NMST Jar Libation
242			
B	Re Harakhty Amun Re	Great God Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak King of the Gods	Libation New Moon Feast
C	Amun Re		Rm III Summoning Amun Re
D	Amun Re Kamutef		Rm III Officiating before the God
E	Amun Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods	Libation

### First Court Northern Wall

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Second Court West Wall Southern Side		Second Court		Second Court West Wall	
235	Amun-Re Mut Khonsu Nebhet Wedjet	King of the Gods Great One, Lady of Heaven In Thebes Nefert Hotep	292A	Phah	Lord of Truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Beautiful of Face, High of his Great Place
286A	Hathor	Lady of the Sacred Land	B	Sekmet Amun-Re Mut	Beloved of Phah King of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods
B	Amun-Re Kamutef Isis	None Great One, Mother of the God	293A B	Osiris Amun-re Kamutef	Food Rm III performing Ritual Dance
287A	Amun Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes	294A B	Isis Horus	Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with eternity in the estate of Amun
B	Mut Sekmet	Great One, Lady of Heaven Great One, Beloved of Phah	295	Atum	Great One Mother of the God Son of Isis
288 A	Phah	Lord of Truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt			Lord of the two lands, One of Heliopolis
B	Amun Kamutef	None			Lady of Heaven
	Isis	Great One, Mother of the God			Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods
289	Hathor	Mistress of the estate of the Southern Sycamore	296	Behdety Thoth	Great One, Mistress of the Library (House of papyrus)
	Sokar-Osiris	Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with eternity in the estate of Amun			None None
	Nefertem		297	Amun-Re Mut Khonsu Nefertem	Purifying Rm III
290 A	Phah Atum	Living in "the Mansion" Not full Name			King of Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead
B	Montu	Lord of the Two Lands, One of Heliopolis, Great God	298	Shespy	Lady of Heaven, In Thebes Nefertem
291	Thoth Amun-Re Mut	Lord of Heliopolis King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods	385/6 B	Nile Gods	One of Heliopolis, Great god, Lord of Heaven
	Khonsu	In Thebes Nefertem	387B	Atum Isaas	Incense and Libation
385/6 A	Nile Gods	Bearing Offerings	389	Amun-Re	Bearing Offerings Libation

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Second Court Continued

387 A	Ptah	Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre-Re Meriamun, in the estate of Amun	Maat
389	Sekhmet Amun-Re	Beloved of Ptah King of the Gods	Giving Falcon Breath of Life

#### Second Court Southern Wall

Plate # 218-226	Gods Feast of Sokar	Offerings Made	Epithets
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276 D	Horus Atum	Maat Incense	Great God, Lord of Heaven Living in Heliopolis
276 E	Amun-Re Mut	Incense Anointing	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods
277	Osiris Amun-Re	Incense & Libation Rm III Addressing	Lord of Eternity King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven
278	Horus Horus	White Bread Incense and Libation	Uniter of the two Lands pt wad.w

#### Second Court Northern Wall

Plate # 197-217	Gods Feast of Min (Peret)	Offerings Made	Epithets
229/230	Barks of Theban Triad	Oblation	
231/232	Bark of Amun	King Meeting the Bark	
234	Bhedt Set (one of Ombos)	Purifying Rm III	Lord of Heaven Lord of Upper Egypt
283 A	Re-Harakhte Mornu	Maat Conducted into the Shrine	Great God Lord of Thebes
283 E	Amun-Re Mut	Wine (New Jars)	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead Mistress of all the Gods
284A	Amun-Re Kamwrtf Annauret	Lettuce	Living in Karnak
284B	Rehdtwy Thebt	Unifine the two lands for Rm III	Lord of Hermopolis
285A	Ptah Sekhmet	Food Offering	Lord of Truth, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Great One, Beloved of Ptah
285 B	Amun-Re		Ruler of the Ennead

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

First Hypostyle Hall

First Hypostyle Hall Eastern Wall - Southern Side		First Hypostyle Hall Eastern Wall - Northern Side	
311A	Amun-Re King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes Great One, Lady of Heaven None	308A	Re-Harakhte Atum Lord of Karnak, Great God, Lord of Heaven
B	Mut Amun-Re Kamutef None		
	Isis Great One, Mother of the God		
312	Prah-Sokar Sekhmet Nefertum Living in Shet Mistress of the Gods Lord of the Sacred Lands		
B		B	Amun-Re Kamutef None
		C	Amun-Re Foremost of Kamak Great One Mistress of Heaven Nefertotep
313A	Horus-Khentekhtay Beloved of Re	309A	Thoth None
	Thoth Amun-Re Lord of the Great Gods King of the Gods	B	Horus Atum Lord of the two lands, in Heliopolis, Re-Harakhty, Great God who came into being in the Beginning
B	Mut Khnum Baset-Mehit-Nebet-ww The Great One, Lady of Ishru (Precinct of Karnak) Lord of the Foreign Lands, twice, Living in Iwmyt (Esna)	C	Amun-Re King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead In Thebes, Nefertotep
314	Photo of Treasury Façade Compares to 315-17, 334		
315	Various Gods Top Half is Missing		
316	Amun-Re Mut Khonsu Thoth King of the Gods, Lady of Heaven Nefertotep Lord of Hermopolis	B Façade Chapel 2 C Façade Chapel 3 D Façade Chapel 4	Amun-Re Kamutef Osiris-Wennefer Top portion only feet visible Could be another Osiris Top portion only feet visible could be Seated Osiris
317	Amun-Re Mut Khonsu Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods In Thebes Nefertotep	E Façade to Slaughterhou se	King Dressing King Dressing Living in the mansion of Usermaatre, in the Estate of Amun in Western Thebes Temple Name Lintel Figures Prath Prath Prath Tatenen Onuris-Shu Amaunet
334	Photo of Detail of Treasury Façade		Lord of Truth, King of the two lands King Dance King Dance Son of Re Food Offerings

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Cult Rooms

Treasury Room 9			Chapel 1 Chapel of Living King	
Plate #	Epithets	Offering	Plate #	Epithets
319 E. Wall Rm 9	Gods Amun-Re (Min Form)	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes	339 W. Wall Rm 1	Living King and Queen
320 S. Wall Rm 9	Amun-Re (Ram Head)	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of The Ennead	340 E. Wall Rm 1	Living King and Queen
321 W. Wall Rm 9	Amun-Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of The Ennead		
322 N. Wall Rm 10	Amun-Re Mut	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes Great One Lady of Heaven	341 B. Reveal of Door Rm 2	Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun
323 E. Wall Rm 10	Amun-Re (Ram Head)	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes	342 A W. Wall Rm 2	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, (in King's Speech) Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun United with Eternity Damaged Foremost? Of Hwt Ptah-Ka
324 S. Wall Rm 10	Amun-Re Kamutef Amaunet	None Living in Karnak	342 B W. Wall Rm 2	Who is under his oil tree. Lady of the sycamore
325 N. Wall Rm 11	Amun-Re Khonsu	King of the Gods Nefertotep	343 A E. Wall Rm 2	Foremost of Tanent Lady of Ankhwy, living in mansion united with Eternity
326 E. Wall Rm 11	Amun-Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes	B E. Wall Rm 2	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Hwt Ptah-Ka Lady of the Palace
327 S. Wall	Amun-Re Amaunet	King of the Gods Living in Karnak	344 A N. Wall Rm 2	Destroyed Missing
328 S. Wall Rm 12	Amun-Re (Ram Head) Thoth	King of the Gods Hoard of Treasure		

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Cult Rooms Continued

Room No.	Room Name	Description	Offering	Notes
329 W. Wall Rm 12	Amun Re Thoth	King of the gods, Lord of Heaven	King Receiving Jubilees	
330 N. Wall Rm 12	Amun Re	Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with Eternity in the estate of Amun in Western Thebes	Standard	
	Mut	Great One, Mistress of <i>Ishrw</i> (Precinct of Mut at Karnak)	Standard	
	Khonsu	In Thebes Well Contented	Standard	
331 S. Wall Rm 13	Amun Re	<b>Treasury Room 9 (Continued)</b> King of the gods, Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with Eternity in the estate of Amun in Western Thebes	Cult Objects	
332 W. Wall Rm 12	Amun Re	Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands	King Receiving Jubilees	
333 N. Wall Rm 13	Amun Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead	Precious stones, silver and Gold	

### Chapel of Ramses II of "United with Thebes" Room 14

Room No.	Room Name	Description	Offering	Notes
335 E. Wall Rm 14	Cult Image of Ramses	Amun Re living in United with Thebes (Ramesseum)	Incense and Libation	
336 S. Wall Rm 14	Amun-Re Kamutef	Upon the great heavenly place,	Maat	
337 W. Wall Rm 14	Amun Re	King of the gods	Incense and Libation	
	Mut	Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods		
	Khonsu	In Thebes Nefertopet		
	Ramses II	Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Appearance, Lord of Overseers, Usermaatre		
	Thoth	Great God	Supporting the King	

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

### Cult Room 3 Osiris Chapel

Lord of Hermopolis	Maat
Destroyed	Incense and Libation
Living in the Mansion iimh, Great God Wapwawet	

### Cult Room 3 Osiris Chapel (Continued)

???? Destroyed, Living in Elephantine, Who guards the Sacred Land in his festival Lord in the Sky	food Offering
Lord of Neheh, Ruler of Djed	Anointing
Destroyed	food Offering
	Good Giving Life and Dominion

### Cult Room 4 Sokar Shrine

Prah-Sokar Osiris	Incense and Libation
Living in The Mansion, Usermaatre Meriamun, United in the Estate of Amun in Western Thebes	Maat
Damage	Anointing
Damage	Maat
Damage	Nw Jars Wine

### Cult Room 5-6 Slaughter House

Lord of Neheh	Flowers
Son of Isis, Great God	Meat

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Cult Rooms Continued

	C	Re Harakhty	
	173	No Gods	Preparation of Meat
	174	Amun Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead
		God Shown Twice, Damaged on the second half	
	175	Amun Re	King of the Gods, Lord of the Sky, Ruler of the Ennead
		Amun Re Kamutef	Meat offering
		Ptah Sokar	Nw Jars Wine
		Nefertum	
		Hathor	Lady of the West
	176 A	Amun Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak
		Mut	Great One, Lady of Itshr (Mut Precinct), Eye of Ra, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt
		Khonsu	In Thebes Nefertotep, Thoith living in Heliopolis, One of Upper Egypt
		Cartle of Re	Pure Offering
	177A S	Montu	Lord of Thebes
	B E	Amun Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead
	C N	Khonsu	In Thebes Nefertotep
	D W	Amun	Lord of the two Lands in Heliopolis
	178	Amun Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead
		Mut	Great One, Lady of Itshr, Eye of Re above the two lands
		Khonsu	In Thebes Nefertotep
	179	Amun Re Harakhty	Lord of Heaven
		Mut	Great One, Lady of Itshr, Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods
		Khonsu	In Thebes Nefertotep, Horus, Lord of Joy?
	180 A	Amun-Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, ???
	B	Amun-Re Kamutef	Of his Great Heavily place
			Damaged Incense and Libation

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

### Cult Room 5-6 Slaughter House Continued

Great God, Lord of Heaven, Bull, Living in Heliopolis

Nw Jars and Food

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

		Cult Rooms Continued				
442A	Amun Re	Cult Room 16-15 King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven	Nw Jars Wine (Maat replaced)	Amun-Re	Cult Room 7 Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Living in the Mansion Usemaatre Meriamun, United with Eternity Great one Mistress of <i>Ishrw</i> ( <i>Mut</i> <i>Présfint</i> ) Nefertotep Living in Mansion of Usemaatre Re, Meriamun	Ramses being conducted in for the King
B	Mut	Great One, Lady of Ishr (Karnak Mut C)		Mut		
B	Amun Re Khonsu Amun Re	Lord of the Thrones of the two lands, Great God Lord of Thebes Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	Nw Jars Wine (Maat replaced) Food Offering	Khonsu		
C	Amun Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak	Flowers			Cool Water and Green Plants for the King
444A	Montu	Lord of Thebes Living in Iwnwt???	Cloth			
West W B C	Amun Re Kamutef Amun Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead	Lettuce Necklace	Plah	Damage	Cool Water and Green Plants for the King
D	Feet Only					Anointing
447	RMIII Thoth Personified Medinet Habu	Cult Room 20 & 21 Mortuary Complex Damage	Iwn-mutef Priest Funerary Rites	Re-Harakhty		King Led in By two gods Damaged
448	Amun Re	King of the Gods	Inscribing Kings name on Ished Tree	Gods of the Earth and Sky		King Purified by Priests, and Titulary Established
449	Thoth King		Iwn-mutef Priest Purifying	Amun Re Harakhty		Flowers
450 Lintel	Plah-Sokar-Osiris ???Damage	Living in Sityt	Nw Jars Wine	Nile Gods on Staircase leading up		Bringing Riches
451	Rm III		Text <sup>1</sup> That his name may endure			
452	Shet Nile Gods/Nomes		Offering Riches	Kas of Re		Food offering
453	Nile Gods/Nomes		Offering Riches	Kas of Re		Food Offering
454	Nefertum Nefertum ???God	Sacred Lands Sacred Lands	Incense and Libation Food Offering Rm III Embraced and Given Breath of Life	Kas of Re		Food Offering
455				Barque of Re (Ennead)		Ramses and Baboons Adoring

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers





Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Cult Rooms Continued

Room Number	Room Name	Deity	Offering	Room Number	Deity	Offering
476	<b>Cult Room 25 Mortuary Complex</b> Astronomical Ceiling in Sanctuary of Osiris			499	Amun Re Hathor/Isis Maat	<b>Cult Room 30 - 32 Continued</b> Damage, Lord of Heaven Damage
479 A	Anubis	Imy-ut, Foremost of Damage		500	Seshat	Records Sed Festivals
479 B	Anubis	Foremost of the Foreign Lands, Lord of the Necropolis	Rm III Adoring Rm III Adoring		Osiris	Damage
480	Sekhet Abwy Thoth	Lord of the Ogdoad	Inscribing Jubilees Inscribing Jubilees	501 A	Top Half Missing Probably Khonsu	<b>Cult Room 33 Khonsu Bark Shrine</b> Damage Can see front wall of Baldachin in the Drawing
481	Bark of Sokar, Osirus	Lord of Shtyt (Sanctuary of Sokar)	Sacrificing Onyx	C		
B	Osiris Isis	Great One, Living in the Mansion Great One, Mother of the God	Maat			<b>Cult Room 40</b>
C	Amun Re Kamutef	Foremost of Karnak	Incensing and Libation	512 A	Amun Re	Primeval One of the Two Lands Thurifying a Food Offering
481	Amun Re	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead	Food Offering	B	Amun Re	Great of Dignity Incense and Libation
B	Osiris Wennefefer Isis	Great On, Mother of the God, Mistress of all the Gods	Flowers	513 A	Amunet Amun Re Kamutef	[Living in] Karnak Food and Libation
C	Osiris	Lord of Nhh	Incense	B	Amun or Min	Great Place Incense
582	Osiris Osiris Wenefer	Lord of Nhh	Rm III Adoring Rm III Adoring	514	Door Way	No Gods
						<b>Cult Room 41</b>
				515	Amun Re Herakhty Bastet	Great God, Lord of Heaven Incense and Libation
				516	Amun Re ?? Mur??	Lady of Bubastis, Lady of Ankhhtawy Damage Incense and Libation
504 A	<b>Room 35</b> Mut	Lady of Megeb in Aphroditopolite Nome	Incense	517	Nitches	No Gods
B	Mut	Great of Magic, Lady of the Palace	Flowers			
505	Mut ?? Room 34	Damage				

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Cult Rooms Continued

Room Number	Room Name	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	
502	Room 36 Goddesses	Only Feet Left	Doorways Inscriptions						
503	Room 37 Horus	Son of Isis	Maat	Amun Re Mut Khonsu	Plah Sokar Osiris Maat	Amun Re Mut Khonsu	Nefertum Hathor	Osiris ???	
<b>Cult Room 36-37</b>									
<b>Cult Room 42</b>									
<b>Cult Room 43</b>									
506	Amun Re	High of Double Plumes, Great God, Lord of Heaven, Living in the Mansion Usermaatre Meriamun, in the estate of Amun	Rm Being Crowned	Damage Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the two Damaged	Living in Shitt, Lord of R?sw Daughter of Re, Living in The Mansion	Damage Great One, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods Damage		Incense, Libation Food	Nw Jars Wine
527	Ba's of On and Pe Amun Re Harakhty Amaunet? No title Ennead? Seated figures	Great God, Lord of Heaven	Maat						
<b>Cult Room 45</b>									
<b>Cult Room 46</b>									
<b>Cult Room 47</b>									
529	Amun Re	Primeval One of the Two Lands	Libation and Thuringing a Food Offering						
530	Min Amun	One of the Great Place of the Sky	Incense and Libation						
531	Only Feet Left								
532	Doorway 47/48 Inscriptions								

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Cult Rooms Continued

Cult Room 48

533 B	Unknown - Damage Atum	Damage Lord of the Two Lands in Heliopolis	Damage Flowers
534 A B	Anun Re Ptah	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak Lord of Truth, King of the two Lands	Nw Jars Wine Maat
535	Anun Re Kamutef		Anointing
536 A B	Hathor Anun Re	Lady of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes	Two Bags With gold Nw Jars Wine
537 A B	Montu Anen Re	Lord of Thebes King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead	Four Cult Utensils Incense and Libation

Numbers reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Roof Terraces

East Wall South of First Hypostyle Hall		East Wall North of First Hypostyle Hall	
556	Amun Re Khonsu Horus Thoth	538	Amun Re Mut
	Great One, Respected, Mighty Lord, Incense, Libation and Food Ruler of Dit		King of the Gods Great One, Lady of Ishru, Mistress of the Gods
557	Amun Re		In Thebes Neferhotep Living in the Mansion, Ussermaatre Meriamun, United with Eternity, In the Estate of Amun
	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes		Flowers
	Great one, Lady of Isher, Lady of Heaven	539	Amun Re Harakhty Iusaas Hathor
	Flowers		Lady of Htp
		B	Memphite Triad
		West Wall 553 A	Gone, but Epigraphic Surveyists think they were here
			Incense and Libation
			living in Pr Djodj living in Pr Djodj, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods
		B	Great god
		554	Mistress of Hw-Skhem
		555	Neshenu
		B	Lord of Unu
		C	Damage
			Flowers
			Incense and Libation
			Nw Jars Wine
			Ma'at
			Wine

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers  
Rest of Wall Damaged

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Roof Terraces

	South Wall	Thurifying a Food Offering	North Wall
558	Amun Re Mut Bastet Khonsu Amunet Montu Raet-Tawy	Lord of the Thrones of the two Lands, Foremost of Karnak, Great One, Mistress of all the Gods In Thebes Neferhotep, Horus, Lord of the Joyful Living in Karnak Lord of Thebes Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods	Damaged only Feet
559	Maat Ptah Hathor Amun Min Isis Iah Thoht Hathor Khonsu Amun Re Hathor Amun Re	Daughter of Ra, Lady of Heaven Lord of Maat, King of the two Lands Living in Thebes Of the Mound? In the Midst of Crio Sphinxes Great one, Mother of the God	540 A Damaged only Feet B Damaged only Feet C Khnum Buyet 541 A Thoht Shepsy Nhemetawy
560 A		Incense and Libation	of HuWor Nw Jars Wine
561 A		Aointing	Lord of Hermopolis Lord of Heaven Lady of the Ogdoad
562 A		Nw Jars Wine	One of Suit Incense and Libation
563 A		Flowers	Damage Nw Jars Wine
564		Dance w/Jars	Lord of Heaven, Great God, Lord of Taankh Lord of Re-Kreret Mistress of Pa-Shena, Lady of Heaven
565 A		Maat	543 Hathor
566 A		Libation	544 A Anky Matyet
567 A		Incense and Libation	Damaged Nw Jars Wine
568 A		Flowers	Most lost Damage
569 A		Clothing	Lord of PrAnkh Living in KaKaet Damage Matat
570 A		Nw Jars Wine	One of She-Res???
571 A		Incense and Libation	One of Hemu ???
572 A		Flowers	
573 A		Food	

Numbers reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Roof Terraces

		549 A	Horus	imy Shenwet (of Shenwet)	Incense and Libation
B	Rest of the Picture is Lost				
568 A	Lost	B	Horus	Iwen - Muft ef	Nw Jars Wine
B	Nekhbet	550	Min Horus	Lord of Ipu Son of Isis, Great God, Lord Heaven	Flowers
			Isis	Great One, Mother of the God, Mistress of the two Lands	
569 A	Horus	551	Qurnos Shu Mehyet	Living in Tinw (This) Damage	Maat
B	Harnofer				
570 A	Hardotes	552 A	Osiris Isis Horus	Lord of Abydos Great One of Abydos Son of Isis, Living in Abydos	Incense and Libation
B	Anukis				
C	Khunm	B	Amun	Who loves a seat in Shenet	Food Offering

Remainder of the Wall is Lost

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Columns & Pilasters  
First Court

First Court North Half

Columns First Court Southern Half

120 A	Amun-Re-Harakhty Amun Re	Great God, Lord of Heaven Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak	King Smiting
B	Montu Amun-Re	Lord of Heliopolis, Great God, Lord of Heaven King of the Gods	King Smiting
C	Amun-Re-Harakhty Amun Re	Great God, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ereah Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak	King Smiting
121 A	Amun-Re Amun-Re-Harakhty	King of the Gods Great God Lord of Heaven	King Smiting
B	Amun-Re Amun Re	Primeval One of the Two Lands Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	King Smiting
C	Amun-Re Montu	King of the Gods Great God, Lord of Heaven, Living in Thebes	King Smiting
122 A	Amun-Re Amun-Re-Harakhty	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands Great God, Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods	King Smiting White
B	Amun-Re Montu	King of the Gods Lord of Thebes	King Smiting

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Columns & Pilasters  
Second Court

Plate #	Gods	Epithets	Offerings Made	266A(16)	Amun-Re Harakhte	Columns Second Court Eastern Half South Half of court	Columns Second Court Eastern Half North Side of Court
260-A(32)	Atum Amun-Re Kamutef	Lord of the two land, One of Heliopolis Lord of the Thrones of the two lands Foremost of Karnak, Great God, Lord of Heaven	Flowers Ointment House to his lord	Min	Amun-Re		Kamutef, On the Great Place Maat Flowers
B	Thoth Mut Khonsu	Lord of ??? Damage Lady of Heaven In Thebes Neferhotep, Horus, Lord of Joy, Living the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun united with eternity in the estate of Amun	Wine (Nw Jars) Clepsydra(?) Milk	B (16)	Atum Ptah		King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler Performing the <i>Hip-di-Nsw</i> of Thebes Incense and Libation White Bread
261A(32)	Khonsu Mut-Bastet Amun-Re	??? Damage Great One, Great of Magic Lord of the thrones of the two lands, Foremost of Karnak, Great God, Lord of Heaven	Maat Clothing Wine (Nw Jars)	267A(16)	Montu Mut		Beloved of Ptah, living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with eternity in the estate of Amun Lord of Thebes, living in Heliopolis Great One, Lady of Heaven Wine (Nw Jars) Saluting with <i>Nmsr-Jr</i>
B (33)	Khnum Min Amun-Re	Lord of two lands, One of Esna Kamutef King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven (damage)	Food Flowers Maat	B (17)	Osiris Isias		Damage Lord of Eternity (damage) Great Goddess, Mistress of Heliopolis Lord of the thrones of the two lands, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes Wine (Nw Jars) Flowers Incense Wine (Nw Jars)
262A(33)	Montu Osiris Atum	Lord of Thebes living in Heliopolis Lord of Eternity, Ruler of Eternity Great one, Heliopolis Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun united with eternity in the estate of Amun	Food Food Flowers	268A(17)	Be-Djedet Nebetseptet		The Ram of Mendes Mistress of all the Gods, Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with eternity King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes Ointment Four Cups
B (33)	Ptah	Of the Great Door Way Living in Western Thebes	Maat	Amun-Re			King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven Damaged Libation
	Ptah-Tatenen Amun-Re Harakhte	Lord of the Sky, Ruler of Thebes	Anointing Wine (Nw Jars)	B(17)	Osiris Isis		Lord of Abydos The Great One, Mother of the God, Mistress of the two lands King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes Food Offering Milk
263A(34)	Sekhmet Anubis Amun-Re	Beloved of Ptah Damaged King of the gods, Lord of Heaven	Animals - Wensheb (Clepsydra) Incense Maat	269A (18)	Re-Harakhte Min Amun-Re		Titles Damaged Kamutef Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak Ointment Flowers Maat
B(34)	Khonsu Neferhotep Neith	Great One, Mother of the Gods	Maat Wine (Nw Jars)		Thoth		Lord of the Ogdoad Wine (Nw Jars)

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Columns & Pilasters

#### Second Court (Continued)

Columns Second Court Eastern Half South Half of court		Columns Second Court Eastern Half North Side of Court	
264A(34)	Amun-Re Ptah Nekhbet Omoris-Shu	Lord of the Thrones of the two lands Lord of Eternity Son of Re	Performing the Htp-di-nsw Wine (Nw Jars) Flowers Flowers
B (35)	Thoth Re-Harakhte Ptah	Lord of the Ogdoad Great God, Lord of Heaven Lord Maat, King of the two Lands, living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with eternity in the estate of Amun	Titles Damaged Lord of Heaven Neferhotep King of the Gods, Great God, ?? Cant' see
265A(35)	Osiris Amun-Re Kamutef Amun-Re	Lord of Eternity On the Great Place King of the Gods Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun united with eternity in the Estate of Amun, on Western Thebes	Lord of the Two Lands, One of Heliopolis Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Living? in Karnak Lord of the Ogdoad, living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with eternity in the estate of Amun Horus, Lord Happy of Heart
B (35)	Nefertem Sokar Mut	Lord of (city name) Damaged cant see	Incense and Libation Amun-Re damaged but might be living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with eternity in the estate of Amun Ptah Lord of Maat, King of the two lands, living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with eternity in the estate of Amun Beloved of Ptah King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Damage

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Columns & Pilasters Second Court (Continued)

Osiride Pilasters Western Half of Court		Osiride Pilasters Western Half of Court		North Side of Court		Osiride Pilasters Western Half of Court	
272A (41)	Amun-Re-Harakhte	Great God Lord of Heaven	Máat	279A (24)	Atum	Lord of the Two Lands, One of Heliopolis	Máat
B	Amun-Re Mut	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven Great One, Lady of Ishr Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, united with eternity in the estate of Amun	Incense Green and Black Eye Paint	B	Amun-Re Khonsu	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven in Thebes Nefert-hotep Horus, Lord Happy of Heart	Wine (Nw-Jars) White Bread and Food
C	Khepri Hathor	Living in his sacred boat Mistress of Dendera	Flowers Adorning and receiving Menat-collar and Sistrum	C	Min Geb	Kamwtef Father of the Gods, Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, in the Estate of Amun	Lettuce Incense
273A (42)	Anubis Nekhbet	Look up Later	Ointment Silver and Gold	280A (25)	Isis Nut	Great One, Mother of the God Bearer of Gods	Nmst-Jar Wine (Nw-Jars)
B	Amun-Re Horus	Lord of Heaven Son of Isis	Libation Nwst Jar Milk	B	Amun-Re Maat	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands Praised by Re	Milk Thurifying an Offering
C	Sobek-Re Hathor	Lord of (sw-me-nw) Mistress of Pithyris	Incense Libation	C	Horus Nephthys	Son of Isis Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands	Milk Wine (Nw-Jars)
274A (43)	Amaunet Osiris	Living in Karnak Lord of Abydos	Ointment Food Offering	281A (26)	Hathor Wepwawet	In the Sanctuary of Re (Mistress of the Sanctuary of Re - damaged of Upper Egypt, Lord of Heaven)	Flowers Ointment
B	Amun-Re Hathor	Lord of the Thrones of the two Lands Living in Thebes	Wine (Nw Jars) Ointment	B	Amun-Re Sht	Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes Son of Re	Incense Maat
C	Nefertum Amun-Re	Sacred one of the two lands Lord of the Thrones of the two Lands	White Bread Wine (Nw Jars)	C	Mwt Khonsu	Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands Nefert-hotep	Four Cups White Bread
275A (44)	Sokar-Osiris Amun-Re	Lord of the Thrones of the two lands	Food Wine (Nw Jars)	282 A (27)	Amun-Re Khonsu	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands	Nmst Jar Receiving Life and Dominion
B	Amun-Re Amun-Re Kamwtef	King of Gods, Lord of Heaven	Flowers Lettuce	B	Amun-Re Tefnut	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands Mistress of all the Gods	Flowers Incense and Libation
C	Khnem Mnhyt-Sakhmet-Bastet-Uto	Lord of the Great Mansion Mistress of The South Land	Wine (Nw Jars) Htp-di-nsw Ceremony	C	Prah Seth	Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands The Ombite	Nmst Jar Wine (Nw Jars)

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Columns & Pilasters  
Second Court (Continued)

Columns Western Half of Court South Side of Court		Columns Western Half of Court North Side of Court	
373A (48)	Osisis Isis Nephtys	Libation	375 A (28) Amun-Re Mut
B	Horus Khentekhay Hathor	Nw Jars Wine	Amun-Re Kamutef Isis
C (47)	Re Horakhty Isasas Mâat	Incense	C (29) Montu Tjehenet
D	Nefertem Sekhmet	Nw Jars Wine	D Horus Isis Hathor
374A (46)	Amun-Re	Libation	376A (30) Atum Werer-Kekau
	Mut Amunet	Great one, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods Living in Karnak	
B	Ptah Sekhmet	Maat	B Amun-Re Mut Thoth
C (45)	Amun-Re- Kamwref Isis	Nw Jars Wine	C (31) Khonsu
D	Amun-Re	Great One, Mother of the God, Mistress of the Gods King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes	D Ptah
	Mut	Great One, Lady of Ishru (Mut Precinct Karnak)	Sekhmet Seshat
			Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Columns & Pilasters Second Court (Continued)

Columns South Side of Court		Columns North Side of Court	
364 (40)	Amun Re Khonsu Mut	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands in Thebes Nefertitep Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods	Maat Amun Re Mut Khonsu
365 (39)	Nefertum Sesiat Hathor	Incese Living in the West	Amun Re Ma'at Thoth
366 (38)	Amun-Re Kamutef Thoth Amaunet	Lettuce Lord of the Great Gods Living in Karnak	Amun Re Ma'at Thoth
367 (37)	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Thoth Sekhmet	Lord of Hermopolis Great One ??? Damaged	370 (22) Ma'at Thoth
368 (36)	Amun Re Mut Khonsu Weret-Hekau	King of the Gods ??? Damaged ??? Damaged	371 (21) Sokar-Osiris Isis Thoth
		Nw jars wine	372 (20) God Missing Mut Khonsu Weret-Hekau
			Damage, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead Daughter of Ra, Mistress of the Two Lands Lord of the Great Gods
			Great One, Mother of the God Lord of the Great Gods
			Missing Great one, Mistress of the Gods in Thebes Nefertitep
			Incense and Libation
			Incense & Libation

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Pylons and Door Frames

East Face of 1st Pylon - Southern Tower		East Face of 1st Pylon - Northern Tower	
101	Amun-Re Ptah-Tanen	102	Re-Harakhe
105	Amun-Re	108	Amun-Re
107	Mut	Mt	
	Khonsu	Khonsu	Atem
	Thoth		
119 C	Amun-Re	119 B	Amun-Re
	Mut		Ptah
	Khonsu		Thoth
	Atum		Seshet
244 A	Mut	244 C	Amun Re
B	Amun Re	D	Khonsu
E	Amun Re	J	Amun Re
	Mut		Amunet
F	Sokar Osiris	K	Ptah Sokar Osiris
	Nefertum		Nefertum
G	Amun Re Kamutef	L	Amun Re Kamutef
H	Amun Re	M	Amun Re
	Mut		Khonsu
Outer Edge of Passageway		Outer Edge of Passageway	
245 A	Amun Re	245 E	Amun Re
B	Montu	F	Atum
			Maat
C	Ptah	G	Sakmet
D	Amun Re	H	Amun Re

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

## Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

### Pylons and Door Frames Continued

Entrance Passage	Plate #	Gods	Epithets	Gods Give	Inner Edge of Passageway	Inner Edge of Passageway	Epithets	Gods Give
Ptah Sokar Osiris B	246	Ptah	Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun, United with Eternity, in the Estate of Amun in Western Thebes	Flowers Maat		F	Amun Re	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak In Thebes Nefertotep Living in Karnak
	C	Amun Re	Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meriamun in the Estate of Amun Montu Atum	RmIII conducted into his presence		G	Khonsu Amaunet	Incense and Libation
	B	Horus Isis	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, ruler of the Ennead Son of Isis Great One, ???, Mistress of all the Gods	Flowers Incense				

### West Face of 1st Pylon - Southern Side of Door

Plate #	Gods	Epithets	Gods Give
251	Amun Re Atum	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes	King Dances
251	Montu Nebti Shu Tjment Sobek Wep??? Khnum Seshet	Lord of Thebes, Great God, Lord of Heaven Foremost of the South Son of Re, Great God, Lord of Heaven Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods Living in the Great Mansion, Great God ???? Great God, Lord of Heaven Great God Seven horned mistress	Life and Power

Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

### West Face of 1st Pylon - Northern Side of Door

Plate #	Gods	Epithets	Gods Give
251	Amun Re Atum	Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak	King Dances
251	Amun-Re Atum	King of Gods Lord of the Two Lands, One of Heliopolis Great God Lady of Dendera	Life and Power
		Great God Lord of the Ogdoad, Foremost of the Necropolis	



Appendix B Medinet Habu Offering Scenes

Pylons and Door Frames  
Continued

<b>Southern Reveal</b> 254 Amun-Re	King of the Gods, Contemned of Heart	Incense	Northern Reveal 255 No Gods Rm III Name	
<b>South Tower</b> 439 Bark of Setting Sun Re-Harakhty	Great God Lord of Heaven	Four Baboons Adoration Incense Offering Onyx ??? Wine (Nw Jars)	<b>North Tower</b> 439 D Amun-Re Horakhte	New Jars Wine
C Atum	Lord of Heaven			
D Amun-Re-Harakhty				
<b>Lintel</b> 257 C	Lady of Offerings	Conduct the King into the temple		
257 D	In Thebes Nefertitetep King of the gods, Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meryamun, United with Eternity, in the estate of Amun living in western Thebes Multiple figures bearing offerings	King Performs the Ritual Dance with Osir and Ptah		Conduct the King into the Presence of Amun-Re King Performs ritual Dance with Jars
<b>Inner Face of the Portal of the Second Pylon</b> 258 C Amun-Re Kamutef 258 D Amun-Re	King of the Gods, Living in the Mansion of Usermaatre Meryamun, United with Eternity, in the estate of Amun living in western Thebes Multiple figures bearing offerings	Nwest-Jar Maat		Great God, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven Ointments Incense
Hapi				Multiple figures bearing offerings
305	Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak	Wine (Nw Jars)	304	Missing Food
First Court South Wall Amun-Re				
Second Court South Wall			306	King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven, Ruler Ma at of the Ennead
<b>Hypostyle Hall</b> <b>East Wall Frame of Door</b> 310 A Amun-Re Khonsu		Rm. III Ritual Dance w/Osir	310B	Ritual Dance with two Jars
310 D	Of his Great Place Great One, Mother of the God, Mistress of all the Gods	Lertus	310 C	Great God, Lord of Heaven Living in Thebes
310 E			310 E	No Gods
<b>Room 9 East Reveal</b> 318 Amun-Re	Living in ???	Ointment		
<b>18/19 South Reveal</b> 426 Re-Harakhty	Damaged	Wine (Nw Jars)		
				Numbers Reflect the Epigraphic Survey plate numbers

Appendix C Medinet Habu Number of Offerings - Ma'at and Living in the Mansion

	Living in Mansion other	Living in Mansion/Maet	Living in Mansion/Wine	Ma'at Goddess	Ma'at Prenomen	Nw Jars Wine	Total Times Appearing	Total of Times Receiving Offerings of Ma'at	Total of Times Living in Mansion	
Amun Re	11	1	1	20	3	23	59	24	13	2 Prenomen 1 Nomen
Amun Re Kamutef	2			1		5	8	1	2	
Amun Re Harakhty				2	1	3	6	3	0	
Re Harakhty				1		3	4	1	0	
Re Harakhty Atum				1		1	1	1	0	
Khonsu	3			2		3	8	2	3	
Mut	1					2	3	0	1	
Ptah	2	11		3		3	19	14	13	
Ptah Tatenen							0	0	0	
Ptah Sokar				1		2	3	0	1	
Ptah-Sokar-Osiris				1			1	1	0	
Sokar Osiris	1						1	0	1	
Sekhmet	1					1	2	0	1	
Atum	4		1	3		5	13	3	5	
Antywy						1	1	0	0	
Bastet	1						1	0	1	
Hathor						2	2	0	0	
Isis						2	2	0	0	
Ma'at	1						1	0	1	
Nebet-hetep	1						1	0	1	
Neith						1	1	0	0	
Nephthys						1	1	0	0	
Nut						1	1	0	0	
Sia						1	1	0	0	
Shu				1				1	0	
Tefnut						1	1	0	0	
Thoth	1			1		3	5	1	1	
Thoth Standard				1			1	1	0	
Baba						1	1	0	0	
Geb	1					1	2	0	1	
Hapy						2	2	0	0	
Horus				1		5	6	1	0	
Horus Son of Isis				1		2	3	1	0	
Harnefer				1			1	1	0	
Hardotes						1	1	0	0	
Horus Khentekhtay						1	1	0	0	
Khnum						4	4	0	0	
Montu				1		5	6	1	0	
Nefertum	2			1		3	6	1	2	
Onuris						1	1	0	0	
Osiris		1		1		2	4	2	1	
Osiris Shu				1		1	2	1	0	
Osiris Wennefer	1						1	0	1	
Sobek				1		1	2	1	0	
Iah Thoth				1			1	1	0	
Seth				1		3	4	1	0	
Wepwawet						1	1	0	0	
Damaged God				1		4	5	1	0	
	33	13	3	48	4	101	202	65	49	



Appendix C Medinet Habu Number of Offerings by God - Alphabetical

God	Lying in Mansion other	Accompanying Another Major God	Lying in Mansion/Wine	Maat Cooks	Lying in Mansion/Water	Maat Feasts on Nomen	Miner Wine	Miner Wine	Libation	Incense and Libation	Milk	Ornament	Food	Lettuce	Flowers	Gold and Precious Metals	Crafting	Animals	Hecanubo	Hip di Hekt	Temples Dedication	Capives	Foreign Treasures	Four Glasses	Missing/Damage	Ritual Actions - Dance, Purifying Statue	King in Audience	Appearing to the King	Escaping the King	Pretending Action for King	Total Times Appearing	Total Times Receiving Offerings of Cattle/Animals									
Nebri	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2																			1	0									
Nefertum	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2																			16	10									
Nehmet-Awy	4																														4	0									
Neith	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	1										
Nekhbet	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		5	3										
Nephtys	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		5	2										
Nile Gods																														9	0										
Nile Nomes																														0	0										
Nun	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	1										
Nut	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		5	2										
One of Ombite	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	1										
Onuris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	1										
Onuris-Shu	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		4	4										
Osiris	1	1	2	1	4	1	6	3	3	1	1	1																		21	21										
Osiris Wennefer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		3	3										
Ptah	2	11	3	4	1	4	2	4	1	1	1	1																		36	35										
Ptah Sokar	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		5	5										
Ptah Sokar Osiris	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		6	6										
Ptah Sokar Osiris (Bark)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		0	0										
Ptah Tatenen	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		5	3										
Ptah Tatenen	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		7	0										
Re	1	1	3	3	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1																		1	1										
Re-Harakhty	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		19	16										
Re-Harakhty-Amun	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	1										
Remenut	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		2	0										
RM II Cult Image	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	1										
RM III & Q	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		2	2										
Satis	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	0										
Sefkhet Abwy	1	15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	0										
Sekhmet	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		22	6										
Seshet	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		6	0										
Seth	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		8	7										
Shentait	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	0										
Shespy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		3	2										
Shu	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		5	4										
Sia	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	1										
Sobek	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		5	4										
Sobek-Re	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		2	2										
Sokar	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		2	1										
Sokar Osiris	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		4	4										
Standards	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		3	3										
Tawet-Tawy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	0										
Tefnut	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		3	3										
Thoth	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		36	9										
Thoth (Standard)	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		1	1										
Tjemet	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		5	0										
Wadjet	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		2	0										
Wepwawet	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		5	5										
Wepwawet (Standard)	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		7	2										
Weret-Hekau	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																		7	0										
Unnaged God	32	255	13	3	48	4	102	7	31	17	78	10	24	1	58	9	3	55	9	2	10	5	2	5	2	2	12	1	1	24	29	10	14	74	9	28	25	21	0	1010	598



Appendix C Medinet Habu Number of Offering by God - According to Number of Appearances

	Living in Mastaba other	Accompanying Another Major God	Living in Mastaba/Male	Male Phenomenon	Nw-Less Wife	Minor Wife	Incense	Libation	License and Libation	Omnium	Food	Libate	Milk	Meat	Flowers	Gold and Precious Metals	Corn, Oxyris, Standard, Cup	Amulet	Hieroglyph	Temples, Deities	Foreign Treasures	Gold, Cloths	Meat, Dainties	Ritual Actions - Dance, Purifying Statue	King in Adoration	Anointing	Presenting to the King	Escorting the King	Performing Action for King	Total Times Appearing	Total of Times Receiving Offerings										
Ba'wet	2																													0											
Hekawet	2																													2											
Mehyet	2																													0											
Reueut	2																													0											
Wedjet	1																													0											
Auty																														1											
Autwy																														1											
Amikis																														1											
Bas of On and Pt																														1											
Bata																														1											
Barque of Re																														1											
Barque of Rising Sun																														1											
Barque of Sokar																														1											
Barque of Sokar Osiris																														1											
Barque of Theban Triad																														1											
Bnu																														1											
Djed Pillars																														1											
Harmefer																														1											
Hu																														1											
Khnum-Re																														1											
Miu-Amun																														1											
Mahy-Sekamet-Bastet																														1											
Nefthi																															1										
Nun																															1										
One of Omblite																															1										
Onuris																															1										
Re																															1										
Re-Harabdy-Amun																															1										
RM II Cult Image																															1										
Sia																															1										
Thoth (Standard)																															1										
Barque of Amun																															1										
Basice-Mehit-Beherw																															0										
Gods of Earth and Sky																															0										
Iwenet																															0										
Khentymenitla																															0										
Khonsu-Horus-Thoth																															0										
Matyet																															0										
Nebit																															0										
Safit																															0										
Safhotet Ahwy																															0										
Shenut																															0										
Thuyet-Hawy																															0										
Nic Nomes																															0										
Phth Sokar Osiris (Baris)																															0										
	32	255	13	3	48	5	102	7	31	17	78	10	24	1	58	9	3	53	9	2	10	5	9	2	5	1	12	1	1	24	29	10	14	74	9	28	25	21	0	1008	596