

8. **Varia Heliopolitana**

8.1 **Amarna Period in Heliopolis**

8.1.1 Building Activity at Heliopolis During the Amarna Period:
A First Dating Attempt

8.1.2 *Talatât*-block L24-14-5

8.1.3 Relief Showing the King Akhenaten as a Sphinx with Upraised
Arms (Inv. No. U2210-3)

8.2 **A City of Sphinxes**

8.3 **From the Necropolis to the Temple – Epigraphic
Re-Contextualization of New *ex situ* Finds from the
Necropolis of the New Kingdom**

8.4 **Finds from the Temple in the Necropolis**

8.4.1 A Quartzite Royal Head (Reg. No. 2861) of the Late Old Kingdom
or Early Middle Kingdom

8.5 **Graeco-Roman Terracottae**

8.5.1 Terracotta Fragment of a Child God from Area 200
(Suq el-Khamis)

8.6 **Graeco-Roman Import Pottery**

8.6.1 Stamped Amphora Handles from the Temple Precinct of
Heliopolis: Seasons 2012-2018

Amarna Period in Heliopolis


8.1.1 Building Activity at Heliopolis During the Amarna Period: A First Dating Attempt

Klara Dietze

1. Introduction¹

Unlike other temple precincts in Egypt, cultic practices were still performed at Heliopolis during the Amarna Period. This assumption has been long attested by many *ex situ*-finds from the area and beyond,² and several articles on Akhenaten's activities in Heliopolis have been published thus far. The recent excavations of the Egyptian-German mission in Matariya have now provided a large amount of new evidence for building activities from the Amarna Period over the last few years.³

Akhenaten's contribution to the Heliopolitan temenos becomes even more clear in view of this new find corpus. Heliopolis certainly represents an exceptional case: While several

other Egyptian temenoi fell victim to the persecution of representations of Amun and his Theban consorts⁴ around Akhenaten's 11th regnal year⁵, its cultic-economic structures were maintained. Although the temple of Heliopolis was not entirely spared from iconoclastic measures, it was treated less aggressively in general.⁶ Several sources inform us furthermore that Akhenaten invested in the construction of new institutions within the cult precinct: the *Wtꜣ Rꜥ m Jwn.w-Rꜥ* and the *pr-Jtn m Jwn.w-Rꜥ* (RAUE 1999, 89–90 and 309–312). Their construction is usually dated between the 6th–13th regnal year of Akhenaten (Id. 1999, 89). A hitherto unknown toponym, , is transmitted on two recently discovered blocks (AM_013 and AM_019, Fig. 16–17, 23–24). *ꜥ-Jtn*, the “Aten

¹ I am very grateful to W. Raymond Johnson, with whom I had the pleasure to discuss the present chapter and to whom I owe many references and comments on the material examined. Further thanks are due to Charlotte Dietrich, Marsha Hill and Dietrich Raue for additional discussions and suggestions. I am further indebted to Pieter Collet for drawing and Simon Connor, Dietrich Raue and Marion Wenzel for photographing the objects on the site or in the storeroom.

² The material was first collected and published in HABACHI 1971, *passim*: Among other things, the corpus comprises a fragment that mentions an Aten temple at Heliopolis, now stored in the National Museum of Washington (see HABACHI 1971, fig. 15, cat. no. 1421), the so-called Ostrich Farm block, which was seen in Ard el-Naam in 1881 and sketched by Gaston Maspero (see Id. 1971, fig. 16, current location unknown), reused relief blocks from the El-Hakim Mosque (see Id. 1971, fig. 17 a–e) as well as a large free-standing silicified sandstone stele now stored in the Cairo Museum (see Id. 1971, fig. 42, CG 34175). Several *talatats* from the Fatimid city walls of Cairo and relief fragments from sondage excavations in the area of the ancient necropolis at Ain Shams are published in BAKRY 1972, 55–67. In a Late Period tomb a reused relief fragment with a depiction of Akhenaten's hand and wrist, decorated with two cartouches of the Aten, was found, see Id. 1972, 60, fig. 4. On Akhenaten in Heliopolis, cf. furthermore LÖHR 1975; RAUE 1999, 89–90 and 309–312.

³ Cf. the preliminary reports in ABD EL-GELIL et al. 2008, 4–5; ASHMAWY/RAUE 2012a, 3–4; 2012b, 1–2; ASHMAWY ET AL. 2014, 21–23.

⁴ Rolf Krauss observed that outside Thebes only images of Amun and Theban deities connected with him such as Mut, Amunet, Khonsu, Monthu and Waset were persecuted. The representations of other deities seem to have been attacked only in the Theban temples of Amun, possibly to ensure the complete destruction of Amun. Cf. KRAUSS 2000, 97–100.

⁵ I would like to thank W. Raymond Johnson for this information. He furthermore informed me that several other pivotal events are dated around the 11th year: the designation of Nefertiti as co-regent, the appearance of Kiya at Amarna as well as the demolition and reconstruction of the Great Aten temple at Amarna (probably in year 12, see KEMP 2015, 14; Id. 2013, 28; ANONYMOUS 2013, 8–9). In the framework of the long co-regency model, year 11 would also have been the year in which Amenhotep III died unexpectedly. Now increasingly questioned, the iconoclastic measurements were formerly dated to the 6th–9th regnal years, see e.g., HANUS 2012, 34–35.

⁶ Several monuments from Heliopolis attest to the erasure of the name Amun in the cartouches of Amenhotep III. See RAUE 1999, 89–90 and note 1, 307–308, DXVIII.9-2.3, 308–309, DXVIII.9-6.1, 119 and note 6. Further blocks than the ones mentioned in RAUE 1999 were found in the excavations at the Sharia Petrol under supervision of Aiman Ashmawy (Dietrich Raue, pers. com.).

area”, perhaps designated the entire administrative precinct of the Amarna Period.

With regard to the possible congruence of ideas between the cosmo-theological concepts of Amarna and Heliopolis, Akhenaten’s contribution to its temple should come as no surprise: According to the Amarna concept, the “living sun” had manifested itself in the shape of the sole god Aten. However, in the framework of traditional Egyptian belief, such a monolatrous idea⁷ can only have been conceivable on the basis of a collective conviction of a single primeval entity of creation, from which all else arose (ASSMANN 1996, 241). The link to Heliopolitan mythology can therefore hardly be missed. As already stated by Bonnet, to Akhenaten, Ra, the main deity of Heliopolis, and the Aten formed two constituent parts of one crucial solar deity: the primeval and the living parts (BONNET 1952, 63). Akhenaten thus reset Egyptian religion and led it back to its cosmological beginnings in primeval times (ASSMANN 2000, 167–170), which were thought to have taken place at Heliopolis. Especially in the past, this led many scholars to the assumption that the king might have been born or raised in Heliopolis (ALDRED 1973, 14; BONNET 1952, 60–62), but corresponding evidence is thus far lacking (RAUE 1999, 119).

The worship of Ra – which was at the time of Akhenaten’s accession to the throne almost 14 centuries old – clearly provided the theological breeding ground for the Amarna religion. Beyond this, it has been argued that the *pr-R*^c perhaps even served as the architectonic role model for the construction of the large Aten temple at the new capital, which would explain its location on the East Bank, the unusual elongated east-west orientation, as well as the presence of a Mnevis necropolis (see RAUE 1999, 118; LÖHR 1974, *passim*).⁸ It appears that Akhenaten singled out distinct features of the cult precinct of Heliopolis to model his new residence at Amarna according to the Lower Egyptian prototype.⁹

However, nothing of Akhenaten’s building projects at Heliopolis remained intact or, according to the present state of knowledge, *in situ* at least. This may be due to several factors: While Akhenaten seems to have fallen into disgrace already during the early regnal years of Tutankhamen (see HANUS 2012, 37),¹⁰ the Aten temples were not closed immediately. At least parts of the Aten cult were probably performed further during these years, pointing to a rather soft transition period between Atenism and traditional cult.¹¹

⁷ The earlier assumption that Akhenaten introduced a monotheistic religion is now considered obsolete. Rolf Krauss labelled Akhenaten “a polytheist who took fancy to a particular god” (KRAUSS 2000, 100).

⁸ A relation to the Heliopolitan model might also be the use of the title *wr-ms.w* that was likewise given to the high priests at Amarna.

⁹ See BONNET 1952, 67; LÖHR 1974, 33–34; RAUE 1999, 118. In general, also the consideration of the whole city of Amarna as a sacred precinct finds a pioneer in Heliopolis, see VERGNIÉUX 2012, 86–87. Thebes was taken into account as a role model by KEMP 2012, 79–80. Currently the Amarna Project is working in Amarna under the supervision of Barry J. Kemp. An overview of current excavation and research results is provided by the issues of the Horizon Newsletter and the Amarna Reports, which can be viewed and downloaded from the webpage of the project: https://www.amarnaproject.com/downloadable_resources.shtml (last accessed: 08.11.2022). See also e.g. KEMP 2017; KEMP/ROSE 2016; KEMP 2015; Id. 2014.

¹⁰ Since Tutankhamen was still a child when he accessed the throne, the political decisions from his early regnal years perhaps have to be ascribed to his advisors Ay and Horemhab. In their 3rd (according to HANUS 2012, 37) or 4th (according to DODSON 2014, 146) regnal year, the royal names Tutankhaten and Ankhesenpaaten were officially changed to Tutankhamen and Ankhesenamun, which indicates a turning point.

¹¹ This is indicated by the ongoing employment of the Aten priests; however, no sources have survived for the temple of Heliopolis. See HANUS 2012, 38. In the context of a soft transition period, the – now lost – beaded skullcap from the mummy of Tutankhamen is of particular interest as it showed two cartouches inscribed with a variant of the “didactic name” of the Aten, although the skullcap might have been intended for someone else’s burial. Cf. EATON-KRAUSS 2016, 111–112. On the scull cap recently HAAS DANTES 2022 I, 48 and Id. 2022 II, cat. no. 1.5-256 4T, 33–34.

At the same time, around the 3rd regnal year of Tutankhamen, a fully functioning Amun cult in Thebes is attested again.¹² While parts of the Aten sanctuaries in Karnak were already dismantled during the reign of Tutankhamen (see DODSON 2014, 146–148), other Aten temples in Egypt and Nubia were still in use until the Ramesside Period (cf. JOHNSON 2020, min. 33:41–34:06). W. Raymond Johnson's analysis of the Amarna blocks that Horemhab reused at Hermopolis suggests that Horemhab quarried the stone elements of the palaces at Amarna first but left the cult areas still functioning and even added monuments to the Great Aten temple – it was, however, him, who dismantled the Aten complex at Karnak (cf. JOHNSON 2020, min. 33:41–36:27). The demolition of the other Egyptian Aten temples, as well as most of the ones in Nubia, is eventually documented for the reign of Ramesses II.¹³ This is very like for the Heliopolitan structures as well, since a large number of *talatats* were reused as filling material in buildings of Ramesses II in Area 200.

More than 2000 years later, the Fatimids began to build the city walls of Old Cairo, which are still visible in the medieval city core. For this project, large amounts of building material were required and, once again, the temple of Heliopolis served as a stone quarry.¹⁴ Regarding the large number of decorated blocks from the Amarna Period as well as from the Ramesside dynasties that were used as structural material in the medieval

masonry, it seems likely that the Fatimids exploited Ramesside structures in Heliopolis, which were themselves filled with Amarna fragments, leading to their tertiary position. As a result, the location, visual appearance and chronology of building projects from the Amarna Period at Heliopolis can hardly be determined. The finds of the recent excavations in Matariya eventually allow us to take up the track again.

2. New Evidence from Excavations

2.1. Archaeological Context

In autumn 2005, the Egyptian-German mission began the archaeological investigation of Area 200 within the north-western part of the main temenos: the so-called *Suq el-Khamis* (Fig. 1–2). The excavation revealed an open courtyard with several monumental statues, a basalt pathway, as well as the gate to a temple building from the time of Ramesses II.¹⁵ In the early Medieval Period, the structure was demolished and its stone robbed (cf. ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, pl. 4, fig. a; WEGNER 2017, 141–146). During the examination of several layers of demolition rubble in this area many decorated *talatats* and other stone fragments from structures of the Amarna Period came to light that were later used as filling material in the Ramesside structure (see ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 5 as well as pl. 2, fig. c and pl. 3, fig. a–b).

¹² See DODSON 2014, 146. A short discussion of Akhenaten's succession and the count of the regnal years can be found *ibid.*

¹³ Cf. WEGNER 2017, 131–140; KEMP 2012, 59–60; HANUS 2012, 38–39; DODSON 2014, 95–96 and 148.

¹⁴ Italics from the Amarna Period were e.g. found in the masonry of the El-Hakim Mosque in Cairo, see DODSON 2014, 134. Blocks are either of Heliopolitan or Memphite origin.

¹⁵ Although the building core might be from earlier periods, the layout of the complex underwent major changes during the reign of Ramesses II, see ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 5–10. Several of the monumental statues from the courtyard were dated to Senusret I, see *Id.*, pl. 5, fig. a–b, pl. 7, fig. a; others show Ramesside cartouches, see *Id.*, pl. 6, fig. a–d (Ramesses II), pl. 7, fig. b (Merenptah).

8.1.1

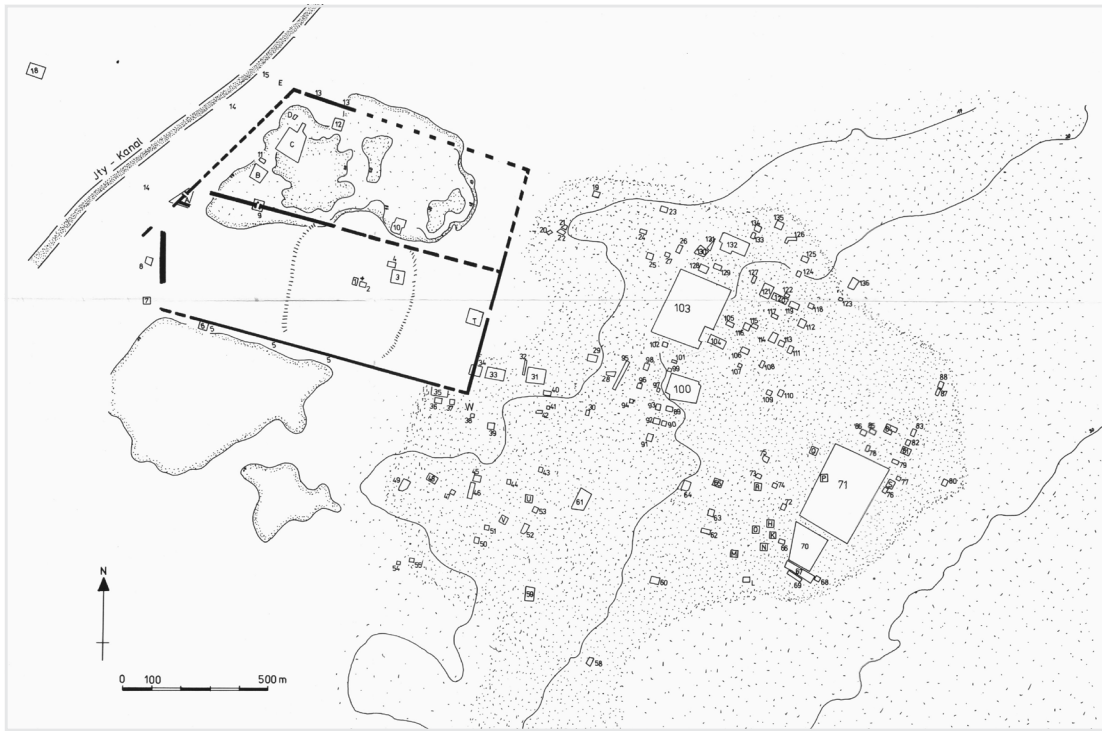


Fig. 1: Heliopolitan find places with the temenos precinct in the northwest and the necropolis eastwards to the temenos (RAUE 1999, pl. 4, key *ibid.*, Appendix 1, 483–485).

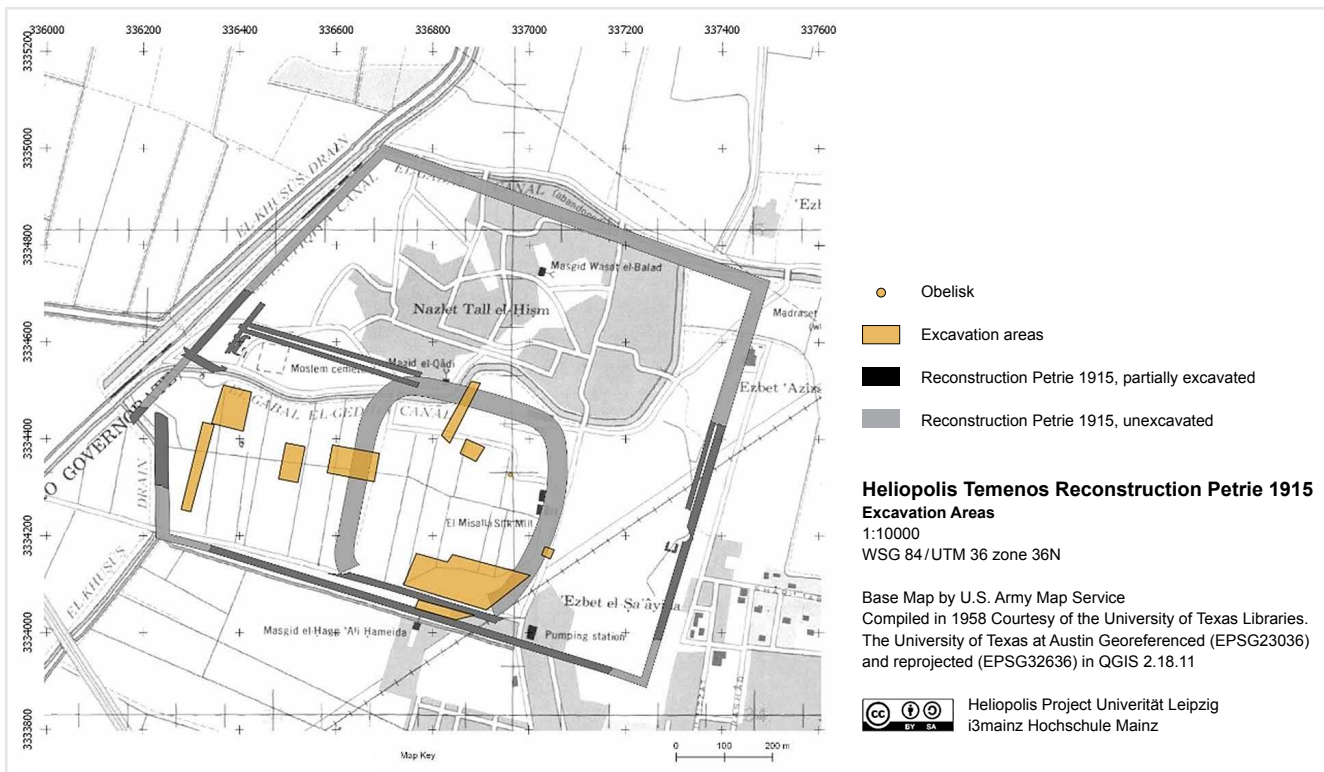


Fig. 2: Areas of excavation of the Heliopolis Project (Courtesy: Heliopolis Project/Universität Leipzig/i3mainz Hochschule Mainz).

In the spring season of 2012, the finds from the Amarna Period multiplied when a medieval destruction layer of grey loam with a high percentage of limestone chips was examined, and many decorated and undecorated *talatat* fragments were found in squares M24 and N24 (see ASHMAWY/RAUE 2012a, 3–5). Several of these fragments were reconstructed as limestone columns with palm leaf capitals, which were constructed using *talatats* and attained diameters of up to 62 cm. Other fragments were either decorated with carefully executed relief depictions of the Aten, members of the royal family, or its entourage (cf. e.g., ASHMAWY/RAUE 2012a, 3, fig. 3b). In other cases, short text passages remained, which sometimes include royal cartouches, or the “didactic name” of the Aten. The find of possible fragments of royal statue bases in silicified sandstone could indicate that members of the royal family were once rendered in statuary as well.¹⁶

When the excavation of the medieval debris layer in squares M24 and N24 was continued in the autumn season of 2012, several more decorated and undecorated *talatat* fragments were revealed. Many of them contribute to the corpus of papyrus bundle stem columns (see ASHMAWY/RAUE 2012b, 1–2).¹⁷ The depiction of a royal seated figure, which is preserved on a *talatat* fragment from this context, was iden-

tified as Akhenaten during the course of a *Sed*-festival by Breninek, adding to the decorative program of an Amarna temple.¹⁸

In spring 2014 the mission was confronted with an alarmingly high groundwater level in the *Suq el-Khamis* area. Thus, only minor examinations, such as the removal of the baulks, were carried out in the field – enlarging once again the corpus of *talatat* fragments from limestone columns with palm leaf capitals (ASHMAWY ET AL. 2014, 21). In the subsequent seasons until autumn 2017, when the field work in Area 200 was officially finished and the construction of a parking garage was begun at the site, no further relics from the Amarna Period were detected in the examined squares.

As a first result, we can conclude that Akhenaten’s temples at Heliopolis must have been monumental buildings, which either consisted of massive limestone masonry of *talatats* or were built with a mudbrick core that was coated with such.¹⁹ The interiors were probably structured in open courtyards, as was common for Amarna temples.²⁰ These premises were decorated with columns in the shape of papyrus bundles or columns with palm leaf capitals. Also, the originally free-standing stele of silicified sandstone from Matariya, now stored in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 34175),

¹⁶ See ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, pl. 3, fig. d; ASHMAWY/RAUE 2012a, 6. For many (other) objects, which in principle could be identified as a fragment of a statue pedestal, but which cannot be clearly addressed as such, an identification as an altar fragment should also be considered. I would like to thank Marsha Hill for her suggestions in this regard.

¹⁷ During this season several other blocks from the Amarna Period were documented in the Matariya Storeroom by members of the mission.

¹⁸ See the contribution of Christopher Breninek in chapter 8.1.2. on the *talatat*-block L24-14-5; ASHMAWY/RAUE 2012b, 11, fig. 3. In the image register on the right side a much smaller person is shown in a praying gesture.

¹⁹ It cannot be determined what has been the case at Heliopolis. On the one hand, stone building was already widespread in the early regnal years of Akhenaten, as his monumental constructions in Karnak show. The first building phase of the great Aten temple was e.g. executed in limestone. On the other hand, the first building phase of the small Aten temple was carried out in mudbricks, see KEMP 2012, 59–60 and 84.

²⁰ In the small and great Aten temple and in depictions of these temples in Amarna tombs papyrus bundle columns are well attested, see KEMP 2012, 56, fig. 2.11, 81, fig. 3.3, 83, fig. 3.4, 86, fig. 3.7, 88, fig. 3.9, 89, fig. 3.11, fig. VI. Small fragments of leaf tips indicate that a column with palm leaf capital originally stood in the Maru-Aten, one of the so-called “garden” or “sunshade” temples, see Id. 2012, fig. XV–XVI.

belonged to the furnishing of an Aten temple. It seems likely that this stele was centrally set up in a sanctuary of one of these temples, allowing its (probably rather few) visitors to move around and adore it entirely.²¹ Until today there is no evidence for rows of hollow mudbrick offering altars, which represent another crucial element of Amarna temple architecture, however, this certainly correlates with the total lack of archaeological *in situ* records and the state of preservation of the site. Since the two Aten temples at Amarna primarily “acted as giant food displays” (KEMP 2012, 110), the existence of such altars can also be expected in Heliopolis.

2.2. Methodology

As a first approach to the corpus, the present study aims to publish selected fragments, to contextualize them by grouping them into case studies and obtain a preliminary dating slot for each fragment in order to gain a general idea of the chronological framework of the building activities in Heliopolis during the Amarna Period. Particular emphasis will be placed on establishing a time frame for the starting point of royal investment in the Heliopolitan temenos that will be determined as closely as possible on the basis of the find corpus at hand. The results of the present study may be used for further investigations of the material in general or individual object studies, which are beyond the scope of the present survey.

In the following study datings will be given in accordance to time slots that mainly arise either from particular historical events within the Amarna Period or turning points and developmental stages of style or iconography, which – to a greater or lesser extent – can be aligned rather securely to particular regnal years of Akhenaten. For the present framework, especially changes to the following four criteria will be used for dating: iconography and “didactic name” of the Aten, royal nomina, style and iconography of relief scenes. In the resulting timeline of regnal years, crucial landmarks are provided with the years 4, 6, 8 and 9 (Fig. a).²²

It is important to note that the exact dates of the discussed events, for instance the shift in the royal nomina around year 6,²³ are still debated, although a *communis opinio* has been established among scholars in many cases. However, all given dates must be considered tentative, as it is not the objective of the present study to precisely pinpoint historical events or certain developmental stages, but rather to use them as *termini ante quem* or *post quem*. Thus, if the dating of a particular event must be modified in the future, the relative dating of fragments provided here remains intact, as it only refers to the event as *terminus ante quem* or *post quem*. Nevertheless, the eventually obtained dating allocations for the discussed objects must be treated cautiously, as they remain preliminary until individual object studies are carried out.

²¹ The depiction of a free-standing stele is e.g. preserved in the tomb decoration of Meryre. In an architectural scene, set in the “House of the Aten”, a statue of Akhenaten is shown in front of a large free-standing stele with rounded top. Kemp assumes that the stele was inscribed with a list of offerings, see KEMP 2012, 83, fig. 3.4. Another depiction of a free-standing stele in an Aten temple is e.g. preserved in the tomb of Ahmose, see VERGNIEUX 2012, 87, fig. 4a.

²² Sources will be discussed in the relevant chapters.

²³ The problematic case of the cartouches of Nefertiti will be discussed in detail below.

8.1.1

As the majority of chronologically relevant events generally contribute to the first half of Akhenaten's reign, a few objects from this period can be dated into rather narrow time slots within this framework. Datings within the second half of his regency are difficult to pin-

point precisely, since the extant objects do not provide valuable criteria that would allow a refined dating, such as the account of royal children. Eventually, considerations on the original architectural contexts of the studied fragments will be discussed.

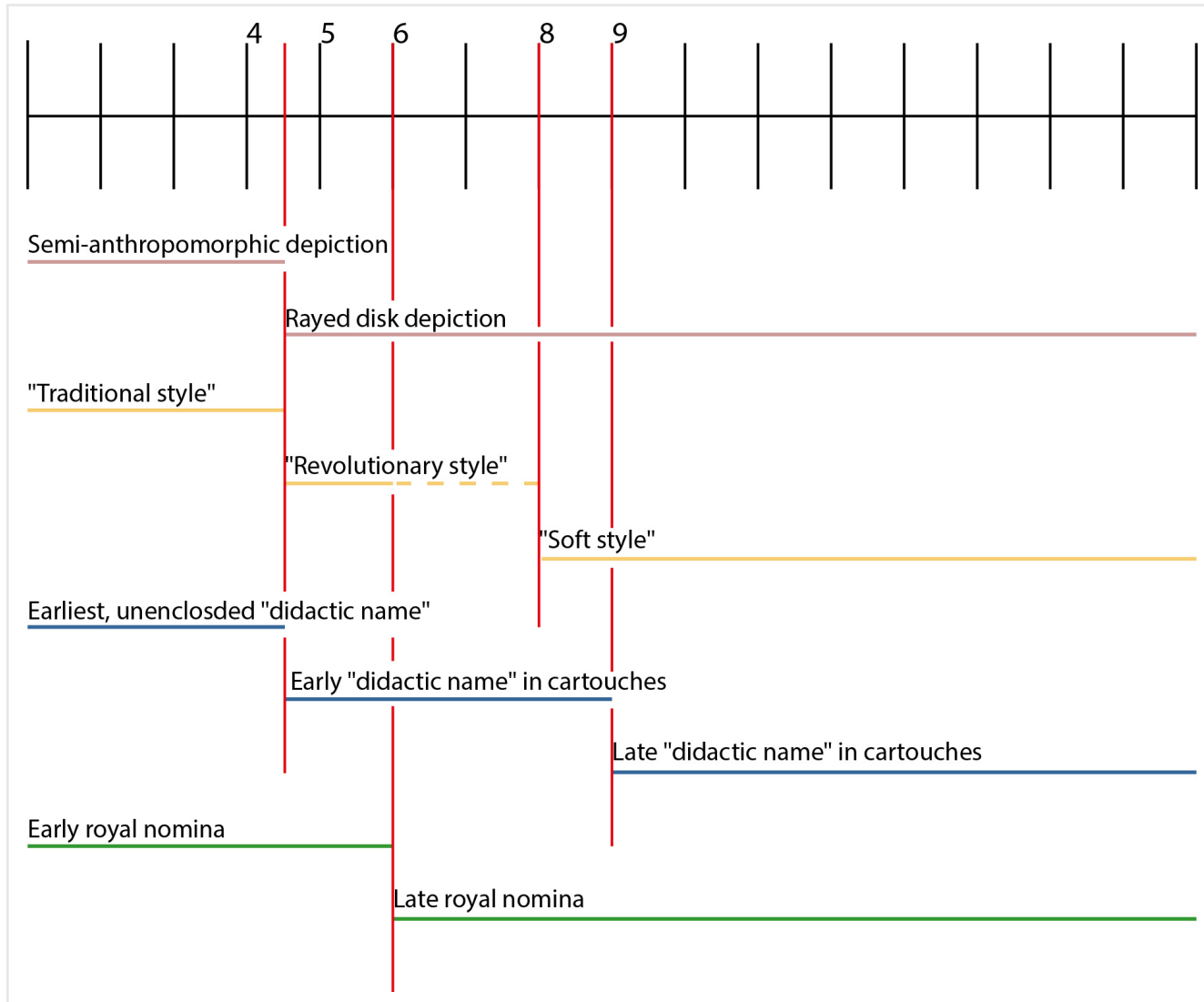


Fig. a:
Timetable of regnal years of Akhenaten with selected landmarks.

2.3. Corpus Studies

2.3.1. Royal Cartouches

Among the recent finds several fragments bearing cartouches of the royal couple are attested (Fig. 3–13). Regarding the chronology of their reign, the changes to the nomina of Akhenaten serve as a decisive point: Around the 5th or 6th year – subsequent to the foundation of the new capital at Amarna in the first third of year 5²⁴ – Amenhotep IV (*Jmn-ḥtp.w*) changed his name to Akhenaten (*ꜥḫ-n-Jtn*).²⁵ In total four of the five names of his royal titles were altered (the *Hr-nb.tj-*, *Hr-nbw-*, *Hr-* and *ꜥꜣ-R^c*-name), but the throne name was kept (*nswt-bj.tj Nfr-ḥpr.w-R^c w^c-n(.j)-R^c*), although showing minor graphic variations.²⁶ As the altered nomina are already attested in the inscriptions of the early set of boundary stelae (X, M, K)²⁷ that were carved out of the rock at the borders of Amarna and inscribed with a proclamation of the king in the 4th month of the *pr.t* season in his 5th year, day 13 (see MURNANE 1995, 73–81),²⁸ his name change must have taken place late in year 5, shortly before his 6th regnal year.²⁹ Although the cartouches from the structures in the Karnak temple³⁰ – from the time period for which Vergniewux coined the term “proto-amarnien”

(VERGNIEWUX 1999, 201–202) – now display the altered birth name of the king, this correlates to emendations that were conducted after the late 5th/6th year (see MURNANE 1995, 32–41).

The cartouche of Nefertiti exists in two different versions – the so-called short and the long form with the introduction of the Aten’s name – with both being based on the same title of the queen. The timing of the alteration to Nefertiti’s cartouche is debated. The short form (*Nfr.t-jy.tj*) is, without the longer epithet, inscribed on stele K.³¹ On stele X, we find the epithet *Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn* added to the short form.³² Several scholars thus assume that her cartouche was probably altered at the same time before regnal year 6 (see WILLIAMSON 2015, 5; DODSON 2014, 102) or shortly after the appearance of Merit-Aton in the royal imagery (VERGNIEWUX 1999, 183). Contrary opinions were postulated regarding *talatats* from Karnak, which belonged to the early building projects of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten from his 3rd to late 5th year: Among 359 *talatats* in total, the short form is given 221 times (61 %) and the long form 139 times (39 %), in all cases framed by cartouches and in eleven cases juxtaposed on the same monument (REDFORD/SMITH 1976, 80). As Redford and

²⁴ Both datings are stated according to LABOURY 2011, 1 and 8–10.

²⁵ See DODSON 2014, 102; HANUS 2012, 35; BECKERATH 1984, 230–231 (suggesting year 6); BECKERATH 1997, 111 (suggesting year 5); ARNOLD 1996, 9, 20, note 17 (suggesting year 5); BONNET 1952, 62.

²⁶ See BECKERATH 1984, 230 and 86.

²⁷ Stele M is in a poor state of preservation and only a few lines are still legible. For the altered nomina, see e.g. cols. I–III of stela K in HELCK 1958, 749. On the earlier proclamation in general, see MURNANE/VAN SICLEN 1993, 11–69.

²⁸ Cf. the information on the webpage of the Amarna Project on: http://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna_the_place/boundary_stelae/index.shtml (last accessed: 06.06.2019).

²⁹ In a letter from the steward of Memphis Apy from year 5, the king is still addressed as Amenhotep, whereas the early set of boundary stela already refer to him as Akhenaten. Cf. MURNANE 1995, 50–51, no. 22, 73–81, no. 37.

³⁰ On Akhenaten in Karnak, see REDFORD 1973. Based on the inscriptions of the *talatat* from Karnak, eight names can be distinguished, which designate separate structures dedicated to the Aten cult.


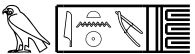






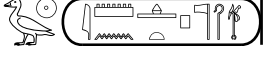

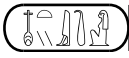
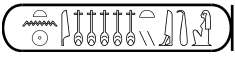
³¹ See HELCK 1958, 1966.9 (line counting according to stele K), 1969.25, 1974.38–39. Her modified name is attested in the inscriptions of the later set of boundary stela from the 6th year, e.g. on stele S, see Id., 1982.4, 1983.11.

³² For the consistent reversal of the name of the Aten in the long cartouche, see FISCHER 1977, 92–93. On the titulary of Nefertiti and its graphic spelling, see also KLOSKA 2016, 152–154.

Smith have stated in 1976, no final conclusions can be drawn from this, although it is tempting to understand this imbalance as chronologically significant (REDFORD/SMITH 1976, 80). Both scholars, as well as Nims, argued that the use of either the short or long form of the cartouche was rather decided upon for reasons of space (REDFORD/SMITH 1976, 80; NIMS 1973, 186). Vergniewux argues convincingly, however, that the long forms of the Queen’s cartouche

are very likely later reinscriptions made in the older scenes.³³ In this context, he pointed out that Nefertiti’s cartouches at Karnak do not serve as a dating criterion. Since building activities at Karnak were conducted until the late 5th year and the alteration of Akhenaten’s name took place between the 5th and 6th year, we cannot determine at which point the long form of the cartouche of the queen was introduced precisely.³⁴

Tab. 1: Cartouche variants of Akhenaten and Nefertiti.

Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten	
Early form	Late form
	
	
	
	
	
Nefertiti	
Short form	Long form
	

Thus, the fragments with cartouches of the king can only be dated before or after the late 5th/6th year. While the resulting division into the periods 1st–late 5th/6th year and late 5th/6th–17th year does not provide a precise date, it still allows

us to categorize them into two crucial phases of the king’s reign. The years 5 and 6 can be considered turning points in many respects, as they separate the early period, including the 4th year, the year of the metamorphosis when the “didactic

³³ For the full discussion, see VERGNIEWUX 1999, 179–183.

³⁴ It was also suggested that the cartouches of Nefertiti might have been modified earlier than Akhenaten’s, see ARNOLD 1996, 9, 20, note 17. She assumes that the cartouches of the king were changed in year 5 as a letter from the Steward of Memphis Apy from this year addresses the king as Amenhotep, whereas the early set of boundary stelae refer to him as Akhenaten. Cf. MURNANE 1995, 50–51, no. 22, 73–81, no. 37.

name” of the Aten was changed for the first time (cf. Chapter 2.3.2), the god received his new iconography as a rayed disk (cf. Chapter 2.3.3) and the “revolutionary style” was launched in Karnak (cf. Chapter 2.3.4), from the later period³⁵, in which the first reductions of the “revolutionary style” on depictions of Nefertiti are traceable³⁶ and the artistic conventions introduced in year 4 were eventually replaced by the “soft style” around year 8.

Cartouches: Akhenaten

Among the collected material, five fragments bear cartouches of Akhenaten or parts of these (Fig. 3–8). The king’s *nswt-bj.tj* name is attested twice among the finds. The cartouche on the architrave (AM_002, Fig. 4–5) that has later been reused and hacked by Ramesses II is erased for the most part, which is why only two sun disks can be identified with certainty: A central large disk on the cartouche’s beginning and a minor one in the top of the rear part.³⁷ Although several rulers employed cartouches with two sun disks, their graphic position on the architrave only fits with Akhenaten. Nevertheless, no datable information is provided by the *nswt-bj.tj* name that remained unaltered during his regency.³⁸ However, an interesting detail, the observation of which we owe to W. Raymond Johnson, may indicate that the architrave is a part of an architectural element from the early reign of Akhenaten: the inscription, which reproduces the king’s titles

and must have been continued on the following blocks, ends on the present block with the epithet “One who lives on truth”. A close examination of the square in which the epithet is written shows that the surface of the stone in this area – and only in this area – has been carefully smoothed down without being hacked or recarved (see Fig. 4–5). According to W. Raymond Johnson, this may be an indicator that the originally adjacent area on the next block, where the cartouche with the *Z3-Rc* title must have been placed, was recarved – presumably from the name of Amenhotep to Akhenaten. The deepening in the area of the cartouche would most likely have necessitated deepening the areas of the stone surface to the left and right in order to conceal the intervention and to even things out. If this is indeed the case (which of course cannot ultimately be proven), it would be an exciting indication of early building activity by Akhenaten (or rather Amenhotep IV) at Heliopolis.

The altered *z3-Rc* name, *ꜥꜥ-n(.j)-Jtn*, is attested on three objects: an altar fragment/a statue base (AM_003, Fig. 6), a limestone door post (AM_004, Fig. 7) and a fragment of a limestone column, beside a cartouche of Nefertiti (AM_005, Fig. 8). None of these display traces of emendations. The original carvings thus indeed correlate to Akhenaten’s altered *z3-Rc* name, which is attested from the late 5th/6th to the 17th year. The fragments can therefore be dated to this period.

³⁵ After the move to Amarna was commanded in the first third of the 5th year (the final move lasted until year 8 approximately, see LABOURY 2011, 8–10; HANUS 2012, 35).

³⁶ (At latest from year 6) see LABOURY 2011, 7–10, fig. 11.

³⁷ We are indebted to W. Raymond Johnson for pointing out that the present finding of the cartouche of Akhenaten, which was carefully erased under Ramesses II, while the name of Aton remained intact, has parallels on architraves in the Small Temple of Aton at Amarna: on these the names of Akhenaten were plastered over, but the names and titles of Aton remained untouched (possibly until the reign of Ramesses II). At Heliopolis, too, this finding may indicate that the cult of Aton continued to be practised for several years after the persecution of the Amarna royal family (apparently until the reign of Ramesses II).

³⁸ Akhenaten’s *nswt-bj.tj* name is attested as well on the so-called Ostrich Farm block from Matariya, see HABACHI 1971, 37, fig. 16. Since Nefertiti’s altered nomen *Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn* is inscribed beside it, a dating to the regnal years 6–17 seems most plausible for the block.

Tab. 2: Fragments with cartouches or cartouche remains of Akhenaten.

object	transcribed cartouche	reconstructed cartouche	dating in regnal years
nswt-bj.tj name			
	<i>Nfr</i> ^c -[...] - <i>R</i> ^c	<i>Nfr-hpr.w-R</i> ^c <i>w</i> ^c - <i>n(.j)-R</i> ^c 	1–17
AM_001: Fragment of altar/statue base, limestone (Photo: D. Raue)			
	<i>R</i> ^c -[...] - <i>R</i> ^c -[...]	<i>Nfr-hpr.w-R</i> ^c <i>w</i> ^c - <i>n(.j)-R</i> ^c 	1–17
AM_002 (detail): Architrave, silicified sandstone			
z3-R^c name			
	<i>z3</i> ^c - <i>n(.j)</i> -[...]	<i>z3-n(.j)-Jtn</i> 	late 5/6–17
AM_003: Fragment of altar/statue base, granodiorite (Photo: D. Raue)			
	[...] <i>z3</i> ^c -[...]-[...] <i>tn</i>	<i>z3-n(.j)-Jtn</i> 	late 5/6–17
AM_004: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: M. Wenzel)			

Tab. 2 (continued)



AM_005: Fragment of column, limestone (Photo: D. Raue)

*šh-n(.j)-[...]**šh-n(.j)-Jtm*

late 5/6–17




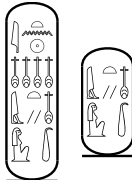




**Cartouches: Nefertiti**

Cartouches of the queen are attested on six fragments (Fig. 8–13). The preserved sign traces of two relief fragments (AM_006, Fig. 9; AM_007, Fig. 10) do not allow dating, as they could be reconstructed either as the short or long cartouche. However, the remaining four fragments (AM_008, Fig. 11; AM_009, Fig. 12; AM_010, Fig. 13; AM_005, Fig. 8) clearly render parts of the extended cartouche *Nfr-nfr.w-Jtm* that is also attested on the already mentioned Ostrich Farm block (see

HABACHI 1971, 37, fig. 16) as well as on the stele from the *Wtz m R^c m Jwn.w-R^c*.³⁹ No fragment provides certain evidence of the short form. While we cannot pinpoint the exact point at which the short form of her cartouche was perhaps rejected – if this has ever been the case (see the discussion above) –, the considerable fragments at least indicate a date after the 6th year (perhaps even the 5th year), correlating to the result of the corpus study of distinct cartouches of the king.

³⁹ The cartouche of the queen is mainly erased at this point but – according to Habachi – traces of significant signs can still be observed, see HABACHI 1971, 44, note 24, 42 with fig. 20.

Tab. 3: Fragments with cartouches or cartouche remains of Nefertiti.

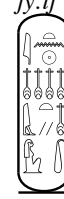
object	transcribed cartouche	reconstructed	dating in regnal years
 <p>AM_006: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	[...].tj	Indistinct 	1–17
 <p>AM_007: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	[...]	Indistinct 	1–17
 <p>AM_008: Fragment of altar/statue base, silicified sandstone (Photo: D. Raue)</p>	[...] mrj.t=f [[Nfr-nfr.w]] [...]	Nfr-nfr. w-Jtn nfr.t-jy.tj (?)  (?)	6–17
 <p>AM_010: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	Nfr-nfr. w- ^h Jtn` [...]	Nfr-nfr. w-Jtn nfr.t-jy.tj 	6–17

Tab. 3 (continued)



*Nfr-nfr.w-[...] nfr.t-
jy.tj*

*Nfr-nfr.w-Jtn nfr.t-
jy.tj* 6-17



AM_005: Fragment of column, limestone (Photo: D. Raue)

2.3.2. The “didactic Name” of the Aten

During the early and middle 18th Dynasty, characteristic features of the traditional sun god Ra were increasingly adopted by several other Egyptian deities (see BONNET 1952, 60). While in apposition to this, the actual being of Ra became more and more diffuse. Perhaps alarmed by this syncretic development, the precise designation of Aten became one of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten’s main concerns

during his reign.⁴⁰ However, the final determination of the deity’s nature ended up being an ongoing theological process, which is why the now so-called “didactic name” of the Aten underwent several modifications during the Amarna Period.⁴¹

The first mention of the earliest variant appears in the inscription of the Gebel el-Silsila stele from the beginning of his reign – still from year 1 according to Laboury –:⁴² The text informs us

⁴⁰ Aten is attested from the reign of Thutmose IV. The deity gained increasing value within the Egyptian pantheon during the reign of Amenhotep III and was declared the main god under Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. See ALDRED 1974, 17.



⁴¹ Concerning the (dating) sequence of the “didactic names” of the Aton, a considerable increase in knowledge will be provided by the dissertation of Charlotte Dietrich currently in progress within the ERC-funded project “Challenging Time(s): A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology, Subproject 4: New Kingdom” (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften). For a short summary on the development of the “didactic name”, see WILLIAMSON 2015. Cf. furthermore WEGNER 2017, 33–39. Cf. GABOLDE 1998, 105–106, who, on the basis of the findings of the royal tomb at Amarna (TA 26), distinguishes a total of three forms of cartouches with complete titulation of Aton. His first variant (“protocole I”) corresponds to the first variant listed here and his third variant (“protocole III”) to the second variant listed. The second variant that Gabolde states (“protocole II”), he distinguishes into two sub-variants, which should be briefly mentioned here for the sake of completeness: His variant IIa corresponds to his variant III, with the sole graphic difference that in this form the *h*-sign is used instead of the *hk3*-sign (there is no reliable evidence for this spelling in the present corpus). With regard to the cartouches, Gabolde’s variant IIb corresponds completely to the third variant. In this variant, however, the cartouches are supplemented by the older form of the titulation, which followed the earlier variant, i.e. also with the epithet *im.j-h3b(.w)-sd* instead of the later *nb-h3b(.w)-sd* (due to the fragmentary state of the inscription fragments, this variant cannot be traced with certainty in the object corpus here either). The intermediate form is already discussed in SETHE 1921, 113–114. Cf. also WEGNER 2017, 33–40, and LABOURY 2010, 313–327, especially fig. 5–25. Since the application of this fine distinction does not appear to be expedient or at all applicable in view of the highly fragmentary condition of the inscription fragments examined, as already mentioned, only the two fundamentally different cartouche types (Gabolde’s versions I and III) were distinguished here. I thank Charlotte Dietrich for the references.

⁴² The inscription is published in SANDMAN 1938, 143–144; MURNANE 1995, 29–30; HELCK 1958, 1962, no. 746. For its dating, see LABOURY 2011, 4.

about the intention of Amenhotep IV to erect a new temple in the Karnak precinct, a *bnbn* 𓆎, dedicated to a deity called “Ra-Horakhty who rejoices in the horizon in his name of Shu who is the solar disk (=Aten)”, however, a depiction of Amun is engraved at the top of the stele.⁴³ Then, probably during the 4th year (see LABOURY 2011, 1), the cult of this particular deity was launched in Karnak and the same name was engraved in relief scenes belonging to the gateway towards Pylon X, but not yet written in cartouches.⁴⁴ In the course of the 1st half of year 4 the writing of the “didactic name” in double cartouches was introduced, which referred to the Aten as a heavenly king and was commonly followed by royal epithets.⁴⁵ At the same time, the prefix was altered to “(the) living Ra-Horakhty”. This variant of the name was for example carved on the Amarna colossi at Karnak,⁴⁶ the early boundary stelae from year 5⁴⁷, as well as the later boundary stelae from years 6/7/8.⁴⁸

At a certain point afterwards, the reference to other deities in the “didactic name” – in particular probably Horakhty – seems to have forced another alteration (except for Ra).⁴⁹ Thus, a new name was introduced with a clear reference to

the primeval origin of the Aten as Ra: “(the) living Ra, ruler of the two horizons, rejoicing in the horizon in his name of Ra, the father who returns as the solar disk (=Aten)”. The earliest evidence for this altered name is preserved in the tomb of Panehsy that is commonly dated to the same time as the birth of Neferneferuaten the younger around year 8/9.⁵⁰ Among many scholars the shift in the name is therefore commonly dated to this time. A different dating was suggested by Marc Gabolde. Based on various observations on the decoration of the Royal Tomb in Amarna and the tomb of Meryra II – especially with regard to the depictions of the princesses –, he dates the change of name to the regnal year 12 or later (see GABOLDE 1998, 110–118). Only recently, however, Josef Wegner has pointed out some inconsistencies that this late dating would imply (see WEGNER 2017, 39). The present study is therefore based on the earlier dating of the name change to years 8/9.

Furthermore, the epithets of the Aten were also subjected to changes: The early variant of the “didactic name” is commonly accompanied by the epithet *jm.j ḥsb(.w)-sd* in the spellings  or ; the late variant is usually

⁴³ Cf. HELCK 1958, 1962, no. 746, line 10 as well as the full formulation of the dedication in line 15.

⁴⁴ See DODSON 2014, 89–90; cf. ID., 90, fig. 74: the relief fragment Berlin ÄM 2072 – decorated in the traditional style of the last decades of Amenhotep III – originally belonged to the gateway, but was found in the fill of pylon X. Aldred suggested a shrine as the origin of the fragment (ALDRED 1973, 50). According to Dodson, the decoration of the gateway presents the first unequivocal appearance of the deity.

⁴⁵ See LABOURY 2010, 128–130; WILLIAMSON 2015, 5; DODSON 2014, 91 and note 26; GUNN 1923, 168–169. In many texts, the initial dating announces the regnal year of the god, whose epithets follow directly – a reference to the actual “reign” of the god.


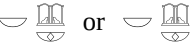
⁴⁶ See e.g. the detail photographs of body fragments of cat.-nos. K 46, K 48 in MANNICHE 2010, 74–75, fig. 2.71, 2.73, see ID., cat.-nos. K 52–54, 78–79, fig. 2.77–2.79.

⁴⁷ Compare e.g. HELCK 1958, 1965.1, 1967.12 and 16.

⁴⁸ Cf. HELCK 1958, 1981 (vertical) line 1, 1982 (horizontal) line 7. Dating to regnal years 6/7: DODSON 2014, 111; dating to regnal year 8: LABOURY 2011, 10.





⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the old variant of the name has generally not been erased, see KEMP 2012, 28. As mentioned above, the beaded skullcap found at the head of the mummy of Tutankhamen was decorated with a variant of the cartouches of the early “didactic name” of the Aten, which is the “latest” specimen of this early type to my knowledge. Cf. EATON-KRAUSS 2016, 111–112. Cf. HAAS DANTE 2022 I, 48 and ID. 2022 II, cat. no. 1.5-256 4T, 33–34.

⁵⁰ See DODSON 2014, 127. Compare also BONNET 1952, 63 (assumes that the shift took place around year 8). Compare GUNN 1923, 171–172 (supposes the same time as the birth of Neferneferuaten, “at latest in the ninth year [...] and not earlier than the middle of the eighth year”). A discussion on the relation to the jubilees of either Akhenaten or Aten itself, see ID., *passim*. WEGNER 2017, 39 (assumes that the shift took place “mid–late Year 8 into early Year 9”).

followed by  or , *nb ḥꜣb(.w)-sd* (see GUNN 1923, 171).⁵¹ The epithet *jm.j ḥꜣb(.w)-sd* is not attested before year 6 (see GUNN 1923, 171). It can thus be assumed that the epithets were most likely changed simulta-

neously with the name. Until now, the reference to the *Sed*-jubilees is a matter of debate, as it has been often discussed whether the festivals were held for Akhenaten or for Aten itself, as the heavenly overlord (see GUNN 1923, 170–172).

Tab. 4: Variants of the “didactic name” of Aten.

“Didactic name”: early cartouche-enclosed version (1st half year 4–year (8)/9)	“Didactic name”: Late cartouche-enclosed version (year (8)/9–year 17)
 	 

Within the present find corpus, five objects display either cartouches or epithets of the Aten (Fig. 14–19). Remains of one (AM_011, Fig. 14; AM_013, Fig. 16–17; AM_015, Fig. 19), or two cartouches (AM_012, Fig. 15) are preserved on four objects. AM_014 renders an epithet (Fig. 18).

As a first preliminary observation, the earliest variant of the name without cartouches and the unaltered prefix (attested until 1st half of year 4) is not present in the corpus at all. Two fragments are inscribed with the early variant of the cartouche enclosed “didactic name” (AM_011, Fig. 14; AM_012, Fig. 15). AM_011 depicts a finely carved falcon, adorned with an *ꜥḥ*-sign and crowned with a sun disk painted in red colour: This belonged to the prefix “(the) living Ra-Horakhty”. Since the half-preserved name on AM_012 is framed by a cartouche and thus points to the variant attested from the 1st half of

year 4 to year (8)/9, the same initial element can be reconstructed here.

Although the remains of the upper part of the cartouche on AM_013 display graphically unusual sign traces (Fig. 16–17), it seems plausible that the early form of the “didactic name” stood here, as parts of the titles of the god are arranged as a label text around the now lost scene expected below.⁵²

AM_014 is inscribed with the epithet *jm.j ḥꜣb(.w)-sd* (Fig. 18). As stated above, the epithet commonly follows the same variant of the “didactic name”. Since it is hitherto not attested before year 6, the fragment might be dated to the period between years 6 to (8)/9. Furthermore, the early variant of the enclosed “didactic name” is preserved on a relief fragment from Ain Shams in the eastern forefield of the temple: It depicts the hand of a royal figure, adorned with an armlet that is inscribed with two car-







⁵¹ Exceptions from this rule are provided in the tombs of Meketaton and Mahu, where *jm.j ḥꜣb(.w)-sd* follows the late version of the “didactic name”.

⁵² There is hardly space for the two expected signs *m* and *r* above the visible traces of *n-f m*. For the label text beside the cartouche, cf. GUNN 1923, 168; DODSON 2014, 89.

touches of the early type (see BAKRY 1972, 60, fig. 4). A *talatat* reused in the masonry of the medieval city walls of Cairo – regarding the spatial proximity probably from Matariya – also shows the early cartouches of the Aten. Only

one fragment (AM_015, Fig. 19) provides evidence for the late form of his name: *ḥḥ-Rḥ ḥḥz-šḥ.tj ḥḥj-m-šḥ.t*. It thus contributes to the corpus of Heliopolitan objects from the second half of Akhenaten’s reign (years (8)/9–17).

Tab. 5: Fragments with cartouches or cartouche remains of the “didactic name” of Aten.

object	transcription	reconstruction	dating in regnal years
 <p>AM_011: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	<p>ḥḥ Hr [...]</p>	<p>ḥḥ-Hr-šḥ.tj ḥḥj-m-šḥ.t</p> 	<p>4 (1st half) – (8)/9</p>
 <p>AM_012: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	<p>left: [...] ḥḥ m' [...]</p> <p>right: [...] m šw n.t <j> m Jtn'</p>	<p>ḥḥ-Hr-šḥ.tj ḥḥj-m-šḥ.t m rn=f šw n.tj m Jtn</p> <p>m rn=f m šw n.tj m Jtn</p> 	<p>4 (1st half) – (8)/9</p>
 <p>AM_013: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: D. Raue)</p>	<p>[...] n [...] (?) Jtn-ḥḥ [...] nb-Jtn nb-p.t 'nb'- <t3> [...] m ḥ.t-'J' <tn> [...]</p>	<p>m rn=f m šw n.tj m Jtn</p> 	<p>4 (1st half) – (8)/9</p>

Tab. 5 (continued)



AM_014: Fragment of altar/statue base, silicified sandstone (Photo: D. Raue)

[...] *jm.j-h3b(.w)-sd*
[...]

accompanying 6–(8)/9



nh-Hr-3h.tj h'j-m-3h.t
m rn=f šw n.tj m Jtn

m rn=f m šw n.tj m Jtn



AM_015: Fragment of altar/statue base, granite (Photo: S. Connor)

nh-R' h'k3-3h [...]

nh-R' h'k3-3h.tj h'j- (8)/9–17
m-3h.t



2.3.3. Iconography of the Aten

Apart from the “didactic name”, the iconography of the Aten provides another dating criterion as well. As was also the case with his name, the evolution of his representations constituted a fundamental strand in Akhenaten’s attempt to define the god’s nature. In the earliest regnal years, Aten was depicted in the theriocephalic form traditionally known from the falcon-headed Ra-Horakhty: This is attested on the Berlin relief fragment ÄM 2072, which probably dates to the 1st or 2nd regnal year and was found in the filling of Pylon X at Karnak (see JUNG in SEYFRIED 2012a, 205–207).⁵³ The

traditional representation – by then probably regarded as blasphemous – was rejected before the last two months of year 4 (see LABOURY 2011, 5–6), and may have been connected to the introduction of the cartouche-enclosed “didactic name” during the 1st half of year 4.⁵⁴ By then, it was replaced by the shape of the sun disk, in which Aten actually appeared to everyone daily on the sky. This new kind of representation usually includes descending rays with hands that touch the royal couple, the temples or offerings, and these commonly hold *nh*-signs.

It is evident that the introduction of this new iconography was already complete before the

⁵³ The depiction correlates to the “theological” content of the god’s name (the un-cartouched earliest type). The king himself is shown according to the traditional conventions of the 3rd decade of Amenhotep III. Borchardt postulated that original cartouches of Amenhotep III are recut as Amenhotep IV (see BORCHARDT 1917, 18–20), but this view is commonly rejected nowadays, see e.g. NIMS 1973, 185.

⁵⁴ See DODSON 2014, 89–92; WILLIAMSON 2015, 5; LABOURY 2011, 3. On the evolution of representations cf. furthermore VERGNIEX 2012, 85–88.

move to Amarna was commanded in the first third of year 5 (see LABOURY 2011, 1): The Aten disk is preserved on several *talatats* from Karnak, mainly in the context of Akhenaten's first *Sed*-festival.⁵⁵ Featured in a scene of the royal couple at the window of appearances north of the doorway, the rayed disk is furthermore present in the Theban tomb of the vizier Ramose (TT 55), whose decoration was begun in the last decade of Amenhotep III and continued in the early years under his successor before the relocation of the royal residency (cf. the aforementioned scene).⁵⁶ Contrary to the probably earlier begun decoration of the north wall, where the "didactic name" appears in columns without cartouches, the aforementioned scene at the window of appearances renders the early cartouche enclosed version.

The probably earliest specimen of the Aten disk can perhaps be identified on a *talatat* from Karnak's Pylon X, which is now stored in the Louvre.⁵⁷ The scene displays two figures of a censuring Amenhotep IV flanking the Aten disk with descending rays terminating in small hands with *ꜥnh*-signs. Here, the representation of the king is of particular interest: It is predominantly uniform with the canon of Amenhotep III, but shows definite outliers, such as the considerably rounded abdomen or the pronounced buttocks, presages of the later conventions of

so-called Amarna art.⁵⁸ The depiction is thus testimony to a stylistic transition period that will climax in the "revolutionary style" (cf. Chapter 2.3.4), which is often referred to as "Amarna style", but was in fact launched in Thebes (starting point 2nd half of year 4 at Karnak, see LABOURY 2011, 1 and 5). The cartouches of Amenhotep IV were originally engraved above his representations, but these were overwritten at a later point. Beside the sun disk the lower parts of cartouches are preserved⁵⁹ that – according to their position and the preserved sign trace in the left cartouche – must belong to the Aten. Thus, the 1st half of year 4 serves as a *terminus post quem* for the decoration of the Louvre *talatat*. We might be tempted to conclude that the Aten disk was either launched earlier than the "didactic name" in double cartouches or simultaneously at latest. However, the decoration of a stele from Hierakonpolis, now in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, speaks against this: The seated, falcon-headed Ra-Horakhty can be seen, before whom the double cartouche is located.⁶⁰ Unfortunately the name is erased but the columned inscriptions below contain a hymn to Ra-Horakhty-Aten (see ALDRED 1959, 21). A final relative sequence of events can therefore not be postulated. It is, however, obvious that the introduction of the Aten disc and the double cartouche took place in chronological

⁵⁵ Among others, cf. e.g. GOHARY 1992, 40–43, pl. I, 43–44, pl. II, 47, pl. V (group 10), 47–48, pl. VI (group 11) (the aforementioned fragments all correlate to scenes of Akhenaten's first *Sed*-festival); PM II, 190–191; ALDRED 1973, 111, no. 25: *talatat* fragment Brooklyn L. 96.38.1; Id., 113, no. 27: a relief fragment from the collection of Rëuben Hecht from Haifa.

⁵⁶ See DAVIES 1941, pl. XXXIII. On the decoration phases, cf. NIMS 1973, 181–183.

⁵⁷ Paris Louvre E. 13482 ter. See PM II, 191; NIMS 1973, 186; DODSON 2014, 94, fig. 78. A lower join of the Louvre fragment remained *in situ*, however, no other fragment from the Pylon X group renders a depiction of the Aten disk with descending rays.

⁵⁸ In comparison, the figurative representations in the Luxor temple from the reign of Amenhotep III "show only a very slight rounding of the abdomen, or none at all", according to NIMS 1973, 183.

⁵⁹ Dual cartouches probably stood on both sides of the disk, however, the remains of only one cartouche are visible to me on the left side (judging by the published photographs).

⁶⁰ The three fragments were labelled as reg.-nos. 975, 988, 996. The stela is published in ALDRED 1959.

8.1.1

proximity, but may not have been implemented in the same way at different locations and at different times. The discussed reliefs might thus attest to a kind of (a short) intermediary stage.

Furthermore, the Louvre *talatat* illustrates that the Aten disk was introduced earlier than the fully developed “revolutionary style” from the 2nd half of year 4 (at Karnak) until approximately year 8 at Amarna (cf. ALDRED 1973,

48–57) as well as before the shift in the royal nomina around the late 5th/6th year. From this point of view, it can be stated that the introduction of the Aten disk constitutes the first subject that Amenhotep IV changed within traditional Egyptian iconography (see ALDRED 1973, 35, fig. 17). The depiction of Aten in the shape of the sun disk was then valid until the end of Akhenaten’s reign.

Tab. 6: Fragments with pictorial representations of Aten.



AM_016: Relief fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)



AM_017: Relief fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)



AM_018: Relief fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)



AM_019: Relief fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

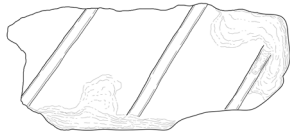
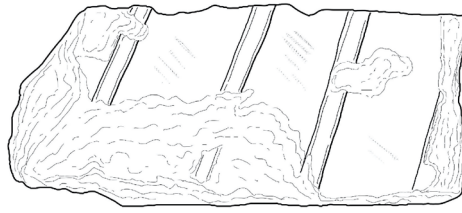


AM_020: Relief fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)



AM_021: Relief fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

Tab. 6 (continued)

AM_022: Relief fragment, limestone
(Digital Drawing: P. Collet)AM_023: Relief fragment, limestone
(Digital Drawing: P. Collet)AM_024: Relief fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)

During recent excavations, nine relief fragments with depictions of the Aten disk came to light (Fig. 20–30). All of them display parts of the rays descending from the Aten disk; in two cases even the hands are preserved (AM_016, Fig. 20; AM_024, Fig. 30). The decoration of AM_024 displays rays terminating in hands that touch a lotus bouquet with leaves of lettuces, probably topping an offering setup. In two cases, the rays are situated in front of an offering construction (AM_016, Fig. 20; AM_021, Fig. 27).

The inscription of AM_017 hints at a formerly accompanying representation of Nefertiti (Fig. 21): In the label text left of the Aten rays, the epithet *ḥn.wt-šmꜥ.w-mḥ.w*, “ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt”, is legible. Because of the grammatical gender of *ḥn.wt*, this can only refer to the queen. Several texts from the Amarna Period

address her with this epithet that is commonly followed by *nb.t-t3.wj*, e.g., in the inscriptions of the Boundary stela B and U belonging to the later set (cf. MURNANE/VAN SICLEN 1993, 86). However, the majority of the evidence comes from private tombs at Amarna.⁶¹ The composition of depictions of the Aten disk and Nefertiti can either point to an offering scene or a scene of the royal couple awarding high officials with the gold of honour, most commonly from their window of appearances and sometimes even accompanied by their children: a scene that could – but does not have to – point to a location in a private tomb.⁶²

The first option, an offering scene, would most likely include a line of members of the royal family, in which Nefertiti usually takes the place behind the leading Akhenaten. In few

⁶¹ Sources listed in the TLA: <http://aeaw.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetWcnRefs?f=0&l=0&of=0&ll=859380&db=0&lr=0&mo=1&wt=y&bc=Start> (last accessed: 18.07.2019).

⁶² E.g., in the scene on the north wall in the tomb of Ay, see DAVIES 1908, pl. XXIX and XLII.

other cases, she is represented as the main performer of cult.⁶³ However, the option of an offering scene can be excluded here for the following reasons: First, the close proximity of the rays and the epithet does not allow the representation of another individual ahead of the queen, whose names and titles would also be expected to be in front of hers in the label text and thus closer to the sun disk, under whose auspices the offering would be given. Second, the orientation of the hieroglyphs is facing away from the rays. This perhaps indicates a dichotomous scene with Nefertiti on the left side of the sun disk with a label text above her and a second person with a separate label text on the right side of the sun disk: the usual composition of scenes at the window of appearances, in which Nefertiti is usually shown to the left to Akhenaten. An exemplary specimen of this scene is known from the west wall of the tomb of Parennefer at Amarna, where her epithet *ḥn.wt-šmꜥ.w-mḥ.w* is also attested (see DAVIES 1908, pl. VI and IX). However, in this scene, the first five columns on both sides of the disk are filled with the designations of the Aten facing away from the disk. Subsequently, three columns on the left (*ḥn.wt-šmꜥ.w-mḥ.w* in the third) and four columns on the right reference queen and king. On both sides, these columns are facing towards the disk, whereas the left-justified inscription on the present fragment is facing away. As the orientation of the hieroglyphs is usually dependent on the viewing direction of the designated person, we can conclude that Nefertiti was turned towards the left, suitable to the position of *ḥn.wt-šmꜥ.w-mḥ.w* that usually constitutes the last part of her titles, as in the case

of Parennefer. Thus, she was displayed facing away from the expected center of the scene under the sun disk. While unusual, examples of this are well attested. In the tomb of Panehsy at Amarna the royal couple is facing away from each other under the sun disk, with Akhenaten promoting the tomb owner on the right side and Nefertiti embracing a princess on the left (see DAVIES 1905a, pl. X). The fragment from Heliopolis perhaps belonged to a comparable composition. In this case, the preserved columns would be placed below the nomina of the Aten that must have stood close to the sun disk.

Under the assumption that the recontextualization as a scene of the royal couple at the window of appearances is correct, the following question arises: Does the fragment originate from a temple or from a *talatat*-constructed private tomb chapel in the Heliopolitan necropolis? Although the window of appearances is most commonly known from scenes of awarding officials in private tombs (cf. the aforementioned parallels), it is also a frequently represented element on the *talatats* from Karnak (see REDFORD/SMITH 1976, 127–134). An eventual determination of the provenance of the fragment – if its decoration would actually correlate to a representation as assumed – is thus impossible.

AM_019 belonged to an offering scene in which probably several members of the royal family make an offering below the Aten disk (Fig. 23–24). Under this premise, it can be assumed that the fingers either belonged to Akhenaten, who most commonly lead a group of royal offering bearers, or Nefertiti (cf. e.g.,

⁶³ Cf. the decoration of the interior gateway and the so-called “Nefertiti colonnade” of the *ḥw.t-bnbn* at Karnak: REDFORD 1987, 76–77, fig. 6–7.

ALDRED 1973, 78, fig. 47, p. 103, fig. 17, p. 104, fig. 18). A vessel of high trapezoidal shape is presented to the god: This particular shape is paralleled on a fragment in Cambridge (perhaps coming from Memphis), where Akhenaten offers a similar vessel to the Aten in the context of a *Sed*-festival.⁶⁴ If the hands instead belonged to Nefertiti in the role of the main cult performer, one may be reminded of the decoration of the interior gateway as well as the so-called “Nefertiti colonnade” of the *ḥw.t-bnbn* at Karnak, in which only the queen is shown offering to the Aten and not a single depiction of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten is present (REDFORD 1987, 72–78, fig. 6–7). Does the predominance of the king’s chief wife in the decoration of the Theban *ḥw.t-bnbn*, a structure with an obvious connection to the Heliopolitan sun cult, perhaps point to a distinct relationship between Nefertiti and Heliopolis as well? At least among the present corpus, the fragments with cartouches of Nefertiti (6×) or Akhenaten (5×) are well-balanced.

Given the fact that all fragments from the recent excavations display Aten in the shape of the sun disk, the entire corpus can accordingly be dated to the 1st half of year 4–17. At this point, it can already be concluded that Akhenaten’s building activities at Heliopolis were definitely begun later than his earliest building projects at Karnak from the late 3rd or 4th year, of which the Berlin and Louvre fragments give testimony.

2.3.4. Iconography and Style of Relief Scenes

For iconographic and stylistic investigations, three main stages of development of the so-called Amarna art will be differentiated for the present study:⁶⁵ The first phase correlates to the continuation of the traditional conventions of Amenhotep III during the early regnal years of Amenhotep IV (approximately years 1–4, called “traditional style” in the following discussion, compare, for instance, the relief fragment Berlin ÄM 2072). During the course of the “metamorphosis of year 4” (LABOURY 2011, 10), the traditional canon was rejected in favour of a truly modern, exaggerated style that revolutionised the depictions of the king, his family and the deity (approximately years 4 (late)–8, called “revolutionary style” in the following discussion, compare, for instance, the Karnak colossi). Most likely connected to an official inauguration of the Aten cult at the site as well as to the first *Sed*-jubilee of Amenhotep IV in year 3 (see ARNOLD 2012, 145–146; LABOURY 2011, 6–7), the “revolutionary style” was introduced in Karnak and later brought to the new residence.⁶⁶ In the final stage, the art of the second half of the reign correlated to a considerably softer style, which was often described as a near-natural realism in past debates, however, this is nowadays commonly rejected (cf. e.g., ARNOLD 2012, 152; approximately years 8–17, called “soft style” in the following discussion, compare, for instance, the so-called portrait-heads).

⁶⁴ Cambridge EGA. 2300.1943, see DODSON 2014, 100, fig. 84.

⁶⁵ The following explanations are given in general accordance to LABOURY 2011. Cf. furthermore ARNOLD 2012. Another distinction is postulated by ALDRED 1973: He distinguishes an “early phase” (years 1–8), a “middle/transition phase” (years 8–12) and a “late phase” (years 12–17).

⁶⁶ The several phases of decoration in the tomb of the Vizier Ramose (TT 55), begun under the late Amenhotep III and most probably undertaken until the move to Amarna, point to a rather abrupt break between both styles (possibly by royal decree?), as it displays depictions of the king in “traditional style” (DAVIES 1941, pl. XXIX, Amenhotep IV enthroned with Maat) as well as in “revolutionary style” (DAVIES 1941, pl. XXXIII, Akhenaten and Nefertiti at the window of appearances).

Yet it is important to note that this subdivision is an entirely artificial framework of modern perception and we have to be aware that this lone-gone art with all of its facets, for example the multiple artisans of diverse origins and ages (see ARNOLD 2012, 150) and the various materials (see ALDRED 1973, 58–81), is forced into our model. For instance, the style of the Akhenaten colossi from Karnak East, which is frequently described as “caricatural” from a frontal viewpoint, appears considerably different when viewed from the intended perspective of a contemporary adorer: from far below (cf. LABOURY 2011, 7–8 and fig. 10, 12). The rigid character of classification systems poses a further problem, as it hardly leaves space for possible outliers. As an example, the “revolutionary style” is usually postulated to have been in use until approximately year 8, however, representations of Nefertiti in Karnak from year 6 at latest already display the distinct physiognomic features of her later representations in the “soft style” of years 8–17 (cf. LABOURY 2011, 8 and fig. 11). Thus, the investigations on the iconography and style of the relief scenes discussed below do not enable us to pinpoint fixed dates for the decoration of particular fragments, but help us to advance towards a relative dating slot.





The majority of the recently excavated relief fragments from the Amarna Period are in a highly fragmented state of preservation. In most cases, only very small extracts of the original decoration remained, which is most likely due to the intentional demolition of Akhenaten’s monuments that was begun under Horemhab (see HANUS 2012, 38–40). Among the corpus at hand, not one com-

plete face, head or torso of Akhenaten, Nefertiti or their offspring is preserved, except for the relief fragment from Area 251 with the depiction of Akhenaten as a small sphinx from the early regnal years (see the contribution of CONNOR, chapter 8.1.3). This could point to a very diligent execution of the *damnatio memoriae* in Heliopolis, as especially names and the depictions of faces represented the primary target of these measures. Unfortunately, the absence of significant features of human anatomy complicates the dating of fragments considerably.

In many cases we can only distinguish between the “traditional style” and the “revolutionary style”, since a differentiation between the latter and the “soft style” is not always possible in view of the small dimensions of the preserved decoration. As a preliminary result there is no distinct evidence for the “traditional style” among the finds. However, this might be due to a “blind eye” that constitutes a major methodological problem: As the style of the early regnal years continued the artistic conventions of Amenhotep III (still before the Louvre *talatat*), we would most likely not be able to recognize this as the “traditional style” of Amenhotep IV if cartouches are missing.⁶⁷ The fact that we are unable to differentiate between both periods can of course distort statistical outcomes of studies on Amarna corpora. Nevertheless, the lack of cartouches of Amenhotep IV, specimens of the early “didactic name”, as well as early representations of the Aten among the finds might rather point to the improbability of the “traditional style”. At this point, only a date after the late 4th year can be postulated for the corpus.

⁶⁷ Cf. the problem of survivorship bias/selection bias in academic science. I would like to thank Charlotte Dietrich for this remark.

Tab. 7: Fragments with remains of figurative or architectural representations.

object	context	dating in regnal years
 <p data-bbox="240 584 715 622">AM_025: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	Probably two princesses	8th–17th (probably last third of the reign)
 <p data-bbox="240 1173 715 1211">AM_026: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: D. Raue)</p>	Probably princess, court lady or lady of high social status	late 4th–17th
 <p data-bbox="240 1628 715 1666">AM_027: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	Intimate gesture between a royal couple	late 4th–17th (or later)
 <p data-bbox="240 1868 715 1906">AM_028: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	Architectural scene in a royal palace; a servant dusting off offerings, probably in the throne room	late 4th–17th

Tab. 7 (continued)



AM_029: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: M. Wenzel)

Architectural scene with depictions of a royal palace with genre scenes

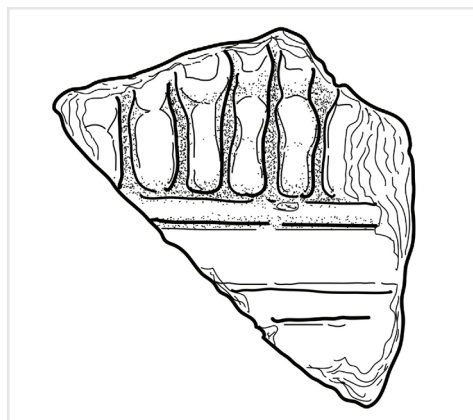
late 4th–17th



AM_030: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)

Architectural relief with depiction of a window of appearances in a royal palace

late 4th–17th



AM_031: Relief fragment, limestone (Digital Drawing: P. Collet)

Architectural relief with uraeus frieze, either palace or temple

late 4th–17th



AM_032: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: D. Raue)

Standing harpist in a scene of festive character

late 4th–17th

AM_025, AM_026: Lower Bodies

The two figures depicted on AM_025 display rounded upper thighs and curved buttocks, which are characteristics of representations after the late 4th year, although their curvatures appear not as strongly pronounced and exaggerated as in representations from the classic “revolutionary style” known from year 4 and immediately afterward (Fig. 31–32).⁶⁸ Thus, one feels tempted to propose a dating to the second half of the Amarna Period. A comparison with a *talatat* from Hermopolis supports such an assumption: The block was decorated between the 8th–17th regnal year and shows a depiction of the royal entourage with female figures of similar body proportions and in a comparable pleated cloth, probably a long open coat.⁶⁹ The slight difference in height (the left figure is slightly larger) is paralleled on the Hermopolitan *talatat* as well. The elongated body proportions and upright postures are almost comparable to the representation on the 19th Dynasty relief art from Memphis or Heliopolis and thus indicates a dating to the late regnal period (see ALDRED 1973, 61–63). The large dimensions of the present fragment indicate that the two preserved figures belonged to the royal family. As there is plenty of evidence for the queen and princesses, but also Akhenaten wearing this type of clothing (see SEYFRIED 2012b, 45, fig. 3), it is not possible to eventually determine their identities. However, the sequence of two figures, dressed in

an open coat, particularly correlates to females from the late regnal period in most cases. As depictions of the king followed by a female figure from the late regnal period usually render him much larger than her (cf. e.g., ALDRED 1973, 192, fig. 122), the two figures on the Heliopolitan fragment are most likely two princesses, which would also have employed a slight difference in height dependent on age.⁷⁰

The pronounced curvature of the lower thighs on AM_026 is a well attested feature of standing figures in Amarna depictions (Fig. 33–34). The figure is dressed in a long pleated open coat; in this case the feet are also preserved. Toe-separating sandals are attested for royal and private individuals of both sexes,⁷¹ however, pleated coats were in most cases worn by females. The clothing furthermore points to high-ranking social status. Within the present framework, the fragment cannot be dated more precisely than after the late 4th year.

AM_027: Royal Intimacy

On the left of AM_027 (Fig. 35), the hip area of a most probably female individual is preserved, dressed in pleated cloth and facing to the right. Her upper body is slightly bent forwards in direction of a person, who was present on the right side, of whom only a part of the hand is preserved, and held very close to the person on the left.

⁶⁸ Cf. e.g., the depictions of Akhenaten and Nefertiti on Boundary Stele B in SEYFRIED 2012b, 47, fig. 5. Moreover, in the “revolutionary style”, the curvature of the upper thighs is often more pronounced than the buttocks, which are commonly only slightly curved (cf. Id., the depiction of Nefertiti).

⁶⁹ The block is now stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv.-no. 1985.328.10); see ARNOLD 2012, 150–152, fig. 5.

⁷⁰ Cf. e.g., the depiction of princesses in a line in the tomb of Ipy in ALDRED 1973, 78, fig. 47.

⁷¹ Cf. e.g., the depictions in the tomb of Parennefer in DAVIES 1908, pl. III (right side, royal: Akhenaten and Nefertiti; left side, private: Parennefer). Cf. also ALDRED 1973, 200, fig. 136 (left side, private: ladies of the royal household).

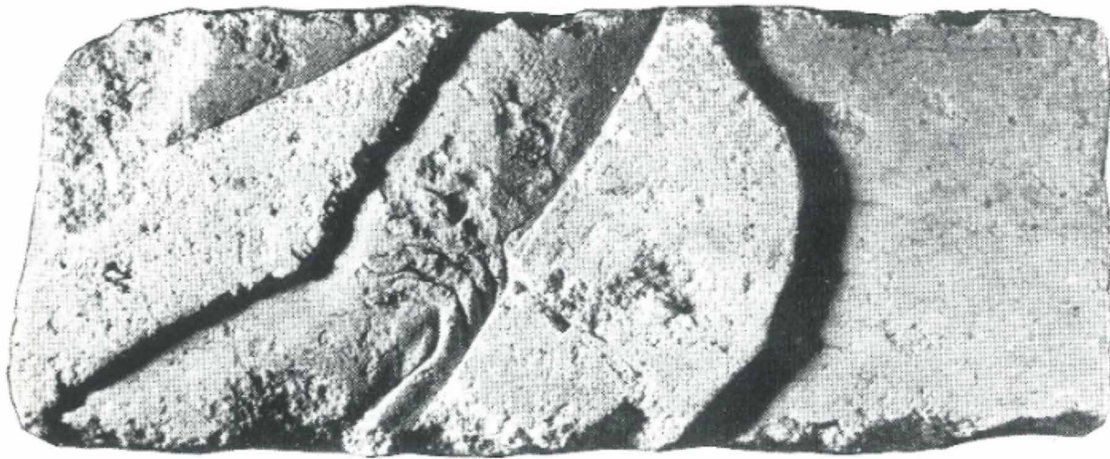


Fig. b:
Talatat from Hermopolis in HANKE 1978, 216, fig. 4.6.

For reconstructing the scene, a *talatat* from Hermopolis will be taken into account (Fig. b) that most likely belonged to a similar scene of intimacy between a royal couple and was reconstructed accordingly by Hanke.⁷² In view of other specimen of this scene, as well as the close position of both figures, he comes to the conclusion that the seated person was probably Akhenaten and the figure on the left Nefertiti, united in a gesture of caress. A similar composition can be assumed for the Heliopolitan fragment as well (Fig. c).

Another comparable scene of royal intimacy is attested on the throne of Tutankhamun: He is shown seated on a throne in a relaxed posture while a royal female, Ankhesenamun, is standing in front of him, slightly bent towards him in order to apply a precious essence to his broad collar (see WOLF 1957, 521–528, fig. 498). A relief scene from the Sanctuary of the

Great Aten temple, now stored in the British Museum (EA 58467), also shows the seated king, in front of whom can be seen in close proximity another figure, preserved only in fragments, which in all probability is a member of the royal family.⁷³

Scenes of royal intimacy or family scenes form an important part of Amarna iconography⁷⁴ as they replaced the traditional ritual scenes with deities. Since the early years, the most popular medium for scenes of family life were the so-called house altars.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, it appears that the majority of comparable scenes of intimacy between a royal couple originate from the second half of the regnal period and later – comparable body proportions as well. However, without a proper study of the parallels, no dating more precise than after the late 4th year can be securely given, although a dating to the second half seems most likely.

⁷² Published in HANKE 1978, 216, fig. 4.6 and 217, fig. 5.6. For the full discussion, see Id. 1978, 11–13.

⁷³ HILL 2018, 60, 77, fig. 18. I owe this reference to Marsha Hill.

⁷⁴ Cf. furthermore a depiction in the tomb of Huya in DAVIES 1905b, pl. XVIII; the two depictions of the royal couple in intimate proximity on a chariot in the tomb of Mahu in DAVIES 1906, pl. XX and XXII. Cf. also Id., pl. XLI.

⁷⁵ Cf. e.g. Berlin ÄM 14145, see SEYFRIED 2012c, 192–193, fig. 2.



Fig. c:
Reconstruction of
AM_027 (Digital
drawing by K. Dietze
on the basis of a
reconstruction of
HANKE 1978, 216,
fig. 4.6).

AM_028, AM_029, AM_030, AM_031:

Architectural Scenes

Four fragments contribute to the corpus of scenes with a visible architectural frame setting (Fig. 36–39). On AM_028, the preserved decoration renders a small-scaled detail of an offering construction on the right fringe and

the remains of a human representation on the left fringe (Fig. 36). The individual is holding a duster in his angled left arm with which he dusts the offerings in front of him. A broad stripe separates the figure from the offerings, which constitutes an architectural element, probably a column or a wall. As the decoration of the

Amarna rock tombs shows, the architectural scenes of the Amarna Period can be divided into depictions of the royal palace and the Aten temples: In many cases, the scenes illustrate the departure of the royal family from the palace towards the temple to perform the cult (see ALDRED 1973, 70). While the royal family is absent, the palace is usually depicted crowded with servants, who are cleaning, dusting and wiping different areas of it. In contrast, courts and sanctuaries of the temples are usually shown scrupulously tidy. Inside the palaces, especially the throne rooms are stacked with offering constructions, piled up for the king's return and being dusted off by a small-scale figure of a workman.⁷⁶ Thus, it seems most likely that the Heliopolitan fragment once belonged to a similar scene, perhaps set in a throne room.

On AM_029, extracts of three architectural compartments are preserved (Fig. 37): one on the left side and two, one above the other, on the right side. Left and right side are separated by a deep vertical division line. The left compartment consists of three small rooms above each other: two offering chapels and a storage room, although only the upper half of the latter remains. Another room was perhaps present on the upper fringe of the object.

The two chapels are accessible through narrow gates on the left side (indicating a court on this side); the lower one is decorated with a fillet. Behind the gates, a tall narrow offering stand is situated that might have been used for burning

incense. In the rear part of each chapel, a probably wooden offering stand with a different construction is placed on a shallow pedestal, which, in the upper case, seems fillet-shaped. Four loaves of bread are laid on the offering stand in the lower chapel. Above the bread, the shallow contours of a large hand are visible, which originally might have belonged to the Aten, but was erased at a certain point.⁷⁷

In the upper chapel, an indeterminable offering is shown; perhaps two bread loaves topped with a cucumber. The storage room on the lower fringe is mainly packed with round ceramic jars probably filled with beer. A similar distribution of rooms is attested from the wall decoration of the tomb of Meryra, where small chapels and storage facilities are displayed in the rear part of a small-scaled depiction of the royal palace (see DAVIES 1903, pl. X and XXVI). There, beer jars of the same roundish type are visible in multiple small rooms of the same layout. Only the rear parts of the Aten temple are sometimes depicted with similar rooms and offerings, as a scene in the tomb of Panehsy shows (see DAVIES 1905a, pl. XIX, right edge). It can thus not be distinguished whether the depicted rooms on the left side of the fragment belonged to a palace or a temple.

At the top of the right side of the fragment, an elongated room is depicted with a narrow gate on the left side. Behind the gate, a bent figure of a large-scaled servant, dressed in a long coat, is wiping the ground. The vast amount of parallel

⁷⁶ For a parallel in the tomb of Parennefer, see DAVIES 1908, pl. VI (upper left corner). Cf. furthermore a comparable depiction in the tomb of Panehsy in DAVIES 1905a, pl. XIV (duster missing).

⁷⁷ The Aten rays were usually shown reaching for its offerings in the context of an Aten temple, but were not displayed in the palace context. Perhaps, a confusion of both scenes occurred.

depictions indicates a good chance for the presence of another servant opposite to the wiper, moistening the ground by spraying water from a large vessel in his hands: a scene commonly set either in the entrance court of the royal palace or in or close to the throne room.⁷⁸ Only male servants in knee-length aprons are attested in these contexts. On the Heliopolitan fragment, the figure is dressed in a cloth of ankle-length, which, in the corpus of these scenes, is usually worn by female palace servants. In the tomb of Tutu, a female servant in a similar dress is depicted in the rear part of a palace: in the accommodation quarter of the servants (cf. DAVIES 1908, pl. XVII, upper left corner: accommodation quarter of servants).

On the lower right half, we can see two rooms of almost square layout and a staircase on the right side, indicating that the roof of this building was used by its inhabitants as well (a comparison in ALDRED 1973, 138, fig. 64). In the left room a box and a basket with bread loaves and a cucumber are present on a separate standing line. In the right room a beer jar and a pair of sandals are attached to the ceiling and a wine jar with jar stopper is leaned against the wall. The rectangular remains on the left lower edge of this room and on the stairwell probably represent doorways. In this case, an insight into housing spaces is provided that most likely correlates to a servant's quarter inside a royal palace. A lively example of the depiction of a servant's quarter, often referred to as the "harim", is attested in the tomb of Ay (see

DAVIES 1908, pl. XXVIII). Therefore, it seems likely that we here are viewing the most private rooms – note the sandals! – in the rear part of the housing spaces within a servant's quarter in a palace.⁷⁹

The vertical border line in the middle of the fragment shows that we are dealing with two separate scenes that might or might not have been part of the same scenic narrative. While the identification of all three architectural units as parts of a royal palace is therefore possible, it seems more plausible that the left-hand structure represents part of a temple, as both compartments on the right side certainly belong to a palace. In the case of the upper right scene, the female servant is either cleaning the rear part or the entrance court of the palace, which would be unusual in view of lacking parallels. Nevertheless, the scale of the upper scene and its relation to the lower scene rather points to a reconstruction in the representative zone of the palace.

It can furthermore be assumed that the *talatat* belonged to the iconographic framework of a large scene of the king or the entire royal family, for instance departing for a visit to the temple.

On the right side of AM_030, we see a closed window of appearances above a ramp and a court with two columns (Fig. 37). The preserved scene points to the depiction of a palace, while the closed window suggests the absence of the royal family. A parallel can be found in the tomb

⁷⁸ Cf. depictions in the tomb of Tutu in DAVIES 1908, pl. XVII (lower fringe: entrance of palace, upper fringe: throne room, in both cases males), pl. XIX (lower fringe: entrance of a palace in spatial proximity to the throne room). Cf. furthermore the tomb of Ay in Id. 1908, pl. XXVIII. See also a scene in the tomb of Meryra in Id. 1903, pl. X (upper left corner: entrance of palace in spatial proximity to the throne room) and pl. XVIII (detail). In a scene in the tomb of Panehsy the wiper is shown in the rear part of a temple, see Id. 1905a, pl. XIX.

⁷⁹ Cf. e.g., a scene in the tomb of Mahu in DAVIES 1906, pl. XXV. Here, sandals are hung up under the roof as well.

of Huya, where exactly the same composition of architectural elements is preserved: there, the royal couple is shown being carried away on a palanquin outside of the palace (cf. DAVIES 1905a, pl. XIII). Many comparable scenes originate from private tombs, but parallels of mostly closed windows of appearances are also known from Karnak (see REDFORD 1976, 127).

AM_031 displays an uraeus frieze as part of an architectural unit (Fig. 39). It either belonged to the decoration of a window of appearances (palace) or of a pylon (palace/temple). As no proper study devoted to the architectural reliefs has been undertaken thus far, a date more refined than between regnal years 4 and 17 cannot be determined for the corpus within the present framework.

AM_032

On the left half of the fragment the lower part of the sound box and chords of a harp are visible (Fig. 40–41). Behind the instrument, the feet and remains of the upper leg of a standing figure are preserved. The person is facing

left and can be identified as the harpist. Groups of musicians were a popular motif in Amarna iconography and are especially well attested in the decoration of private tombs.⁸⁰ However, three groups of harpists must be distinguished: First, groups of squatting blind musicians with bald heads, which commonly occur in scenes inside Aten temples: the harpist is usually sitting in front with his singers behind him, as they musically accompany the royal family offering to the Aten.⁸¹ Second, single harpists were sometimes depicted sitting in the rear parts of the royal palaces, playing music with various other musicians in a private atmosphere.⁸² Third, groups of standing musicians lead by a harpist are frequently represented in scenes of festive character, for instance accompanying a dinner of the royal couple or audiences given by the king.⁸³ Regarding the standing figure, the Heliopolitan fragment most likely belonged to the last mentioned group and originates from a scene of festive character (Fig. d). It is not possible to determine the sex of the harpist, as male and female harpers are both attested from the Amarna Period.

⁸⁰ On the topic of music at the court of the Aten, see MANNICHE 1991.

⁸¹ Cf. a depiction in the tomb of Ahmose in DAVIES 1905a, pl. XXX; depictions in the tomb of Meryra in Id. 1903, pl. XI, XXI, XXII, XXIII, and XXXIII.

⁸² Cf. a depiction in the tomb of Ahmose in DAVIES 1905a, pl. XXXIII; a depiction in the tomb of Ay in Id. 1908, pl. XXVIII and XXXVI.

⁸³ Cf. depictions in the tomb of Huya in DAVIES 1905b, pl. IV–V, VII (festive meals); a depiction in the tomb of Meryra (II) in Id. 1905b, pl. XXXIII (Akhenaten has his cup filled by Nefertiti); a depiction in the tomb of Parennefer in Id. 1908, pl. VI (king giving audience).

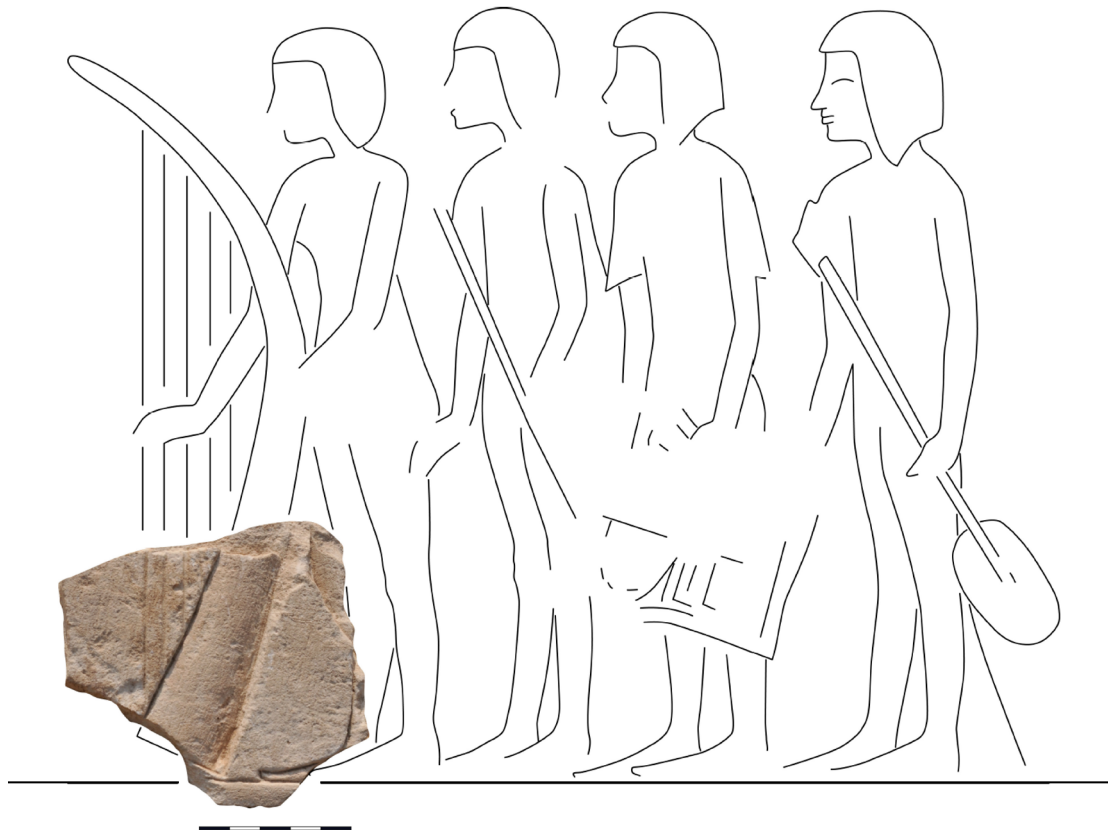


Fig. d: Reconstruction of AM_032 (Digital drawing by K. Dietze on the basis of a depiction in the tomb of Huya in DAVIES 1905b, pl. VII).

3. Chronological Conclusions

In the previous chapters, corpus studies on the topics of cartouches of Akhenaten and Nefertiti,⁸⁴ the “didactic name” as well as iconography of the Aten and iconography and style of relief scenes were undertaken to devise a chronological approach to the find corpus from the recent excavations in Heliopolis. The results are gathered in table 8 and will be interpreted below.

So far, there is just one fragment that points to building activity at Heliopolis before the 4th regnal year: This earliest object depicts Akhenaten – at this time most probably still called Amenhotep IV – as a sphinx and stylistically points to an early date in his reign (see the contribution of

CONNOR in chapter 8.1.3). Although its find certainly indicates that there must be more, no other distinct fragment of such an early date is known thus far.⁸⁵ In this context, however, the silicified sandstone architrave reused by Ramesses II should be mentioned again (AM_002, Fig. 4–5). As mentioned earlier, the treatment of the stone surface at the end of the inscription on the block could indicate that a cartouche on the preceding block had been recarved – possibly from the name Amenhotep to Akhenaten (cf. the section on royal cartouches in this article). Even if it is not possible to decide definitively whether this was the case with this block, it could provide a second, albeit indirect, indication of building activity by the early Akhenaten – or more precisely, by Amenhotep IV – at Heliopolis.

⁸⁴ The problematic case concerning the dating of cartouches of Nefertiti was discussed above. In the present study we consider the short form of the cartouche rejected by year 6, although this might have been the case even earlier.

⁸⁵ The methodological problem of selection bias was mentioned above.

Tab. 8: Overview of the dating proposals of examined fragments.

Dating slot in regnal years																	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Royal cartouches: Akhenaten																	
AM_001	Indistinct																
AM_002	Indistinct																
AM_003	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_004	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_005	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Royal cartouches: Nefertiti																	
AM_006	Indistinct																
AM_007	Indistinct																
AM_008	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
AM_009	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
AM_010	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
AM_005	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
“Didactic name” of the Aten																	
AM_011	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_012	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_013	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_014	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_015	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Iconography of the Aten																	
AM_016	■	■	■	> 1st half	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_017	■	■	■	> 1st half	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_018	■	■	■	> 1st half	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_019	■	■	■	> 1st half	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_020	■	■	■	> 1st half	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
AM_021	■	■	■	> 1st half	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

Tab. 8 (continued)

Iconography of the Aten															
AM_022				> 1st half											
AM_023				> 1st half											
AM_024				> 1st half											
Iconography and style of relief scenes															
AM_025											!	!	!	!	!
AM_026				late											
AM_027				late						!	!	!	!	!	!
AM_028				late											
AM_029				late											
AM_030				late											
AM_031				late											
AM_032				late											

At latest, the building activity presented in this section began in year 9. Furthermore, it is of particular interest that the fragments with royal cartouches, which were clearly determinable and showed no traces of emendations, all point to the period starting with the late 5th/6th year.

Since the earlier nomina of Akhenaten are not attested with certainty in the corpus, we can initially conclude that construction activity began at the latest after the change of his names. However, taking into account the silicified sandstone architrave (AM_002) and the sphinx relief fragment from Area 215, significantly earlier options should also be considered. Construction activities after the change of the royal nomina are moreover underpinned by the silicified sand-

stone fragment AM_014 (Fig. 18), on which the epithet *jm.j-hꜣb(.w)-sd* of the Aten is attested that is hitherto only attested from the 6th–9th year. It thus seems plausible that (at least some of) Akhenaten's monuments in the Heliopolitan temple precinct were erected during the 6th–9th year.

The most precise dating slots were obtained for the fragments with the “didactic name” of the Aten: Three objects were dated to years 4–9 (the epithet on AM_014 furthermore even to the years 6–9) and one fragment to the years 9–17. This fits with the conclusion that the commencement of royal building activity was launched before year 9 (perhaps starting with year 6). The obtained dating slot for the launch of

royal investment furthermore fits an observation of Raue, who dated the new building projects of Akhenaten, as well as the fragments of its furnishings, to the years 6–13 (see RAUE 1999, 89).

Provided that the dating slot should prove to be true, this assumption would generally fit into the relative sequence of events during the Amarna Period: The first efforts for the move to Amarna would have begun (starting first third of the 5th year) and Akhenaten was in a period of theological innovation and logistic capacities. This would also explain why there is no distinct evidence for the “revolutionary style” (4th–8th year) among the recent finds, as these conventions are nowadays known to have been winding down already from year 6 (cf. LABOURY 2011, 7–8 and 9, fig. 11). Furthermore, we can perhaps assume that Akhenaten was fully concentrating on his new capital at Amarna during the 4th–8th year, as the find corpus from Heliopolis provided evidence for the “traditional style” and the “soft style”, but not for the “revolutionary style”. In conclusion, it can be stated that the king’s investment in the Heliopolitan temenos was a very conscious decision. Whether an independent “Horizon-of-the-Aten” was actually located in Heliopolis – as legitimately suggested by Josef Wegner in 2017 (cf. WEGNER 2017, 147) – can still not be finally confirmed, but in view of the processed material from Heliopolis it becomes more and more clear that the place must have had a special importance for Akhenaten. The existence of an independent cult of Aten at the site thus seems conceivable.

Among the studied find corpus comparably few objects might be dated to the second half of the regnal period: AM_015 (Fig. 19), on which

the later version of the “didactic name” is preserved (9th–17th year), as well as AM_025 (Fig. 31–32) and AM_027 (Fig. 35), which were analysed in terms of iconography and/or style. So far, there is no certain evidence for building activity later than the 13th year.

4. Architectural Conclusions

By analysing the spatial distribution of Amarna findspots at Heliopolis, a separation into two main areas becomes apparent: A large proportion of finds originate from the western area of the main temple precinct, namely from excavations in Areas 200 (*Suq el-Khamis*) and 251, and at Sharia Petrol. The other part was found in the eastern area of the main temple precinct and within the eastern forefield of the temenos: in the area of the necropolis. Not a single (securely assignable) fragment from the Amarna Period was found in the area in between both sites in the course of the recent excavations. This separation into a western and an eastern distribution of finds of Amarna fragments leads to the question whether a) the blocks were dismantled from their original positions in the western temple precinct and brought to the necropolis to serve as construction material for younger tomb chapels or b) the findspots indeed correlate to the (more or less) original architectural location of the objects. It is common knowledge that buildings from the Amarna Period were dismantled nationwide and robbed for construction material of later buildings since the reign of Horemhab. Thus, option a) appears plausible and would also explain why no *in situ* find of Amarna architecture was

ever made at Heliopolis. If we assume the secondary use of Amarna material as italics within the masonry of tomb chapels the explanation for the eastern findspot, the location of the sacred institutions for the Aten – such as the *Wtꜣ Rꜥ m Jwn.w-Rꜥ* and the *pr-Jtn m Jwn.w-Rꜥ* – would probably be in the western precinct of the main temple.

The case of option b) would confront us with an entirely different situation, as both findspots would have to be considered to correlate to the *original* location of the objects or to be in spatial proximity with it at least. If so, again, two different scenarios must be taken into consideration. Either both findspots correlate to the location of sacred institutions of the Aten, constituting an eastern and a western sanctuary that were perhaps connected to the daily rise of the sun disk from dawn until dusk. The assumption of two Aten institutions would perhaps be covered by the two transmitted designations of such: *Wtꜣ Rꜥ m Jwn.w-Rꜥ* and *pr-Jtn m Jwn.w-Rꜥ*. Or, only the western findspots (Areas 200 and 251, Sharia Petrol) correlate to a proper “temple precinct” of the Aten and the findspots in the east might correlate to private tomb chapels from the Amarna Period. Although the presented fragments of altars and/or statue bases, column fragments and other architectural elements of granite and silicified sandstone must indeed originate from a temple, the origin of the *talatats* is not so unequivocal, as the motifs of temple and tomb decoration show a high congruency.

While correlating archaeological findings of funerary structures are absent, the existence

of private tombs from the Amarna Period in the necropolis of Heliopolis is attested by objects of tomb owners from this time: Paneshy (funerary stele now in Paris, Louvre C 321; see RAUE 1999, 181), most-probably Bak (funerary stele with naos-figures now in Berlin: ÄM 31009)⁸⁶ and Nebra (funerary stele from Ain Shams now in the Giza storeroom: Inv. No. 232 (= Cairo TR 05-06-76-02; see BAKRY 1972, 55–59, fig. 1–2; RAUE 1999, 212–213). Their tombs must have been freestanding chapels, since the topographical situation of Heliopolis certainly prevented the construction of rock-cut tombs. In the Memphite necropolis, rock-cut tombs, which were possible to construct there unlike at Heliopolis, as evidenced by the earliest private tombs in the necropolis near the Bubasteion,⁸⁷ were repressed by freestanding tomb chapels during the late/immediate post-Amarna Period (see HOFMANN 2004, 95). Thus, we learn that freestanding tomb chapels were particularly popular during the late/immediate post-Amarna Period in Memphis. We are furthermore provided with material remains that probably originate from private tombs of the Amarna Period in Heliopolis (stelae of Panehsi, Bak and Nebra), although it is impossible to prove their provenance from such structures. However, the probability that *talatat* constructed private tomb chapels were erected in Heliopolis during the Amarna Period appears rather high, although it remains subject to future research to determine the exact location of Amarna structures at Heliopolis – whether they be Aten sanctuaries or private tomb chapels.

⁸⁶ See KRAUSS 1986; RAUE 1999, 277–278, 278, note 1. See also the father Men: RAUE 1999, 199.

⁸⁷ See, e.g., the tomb of Maya and Meryt from the time of Tutankhamun in MARTIN 2012.

Figures



Fig. 3:
AM_001: Fragment
of altar / statue base,
limestone (Photo:
D. Raue).



Fig. 4:
AM_002: Architrave,
silicified sandstone
(Photo: D. Raue).

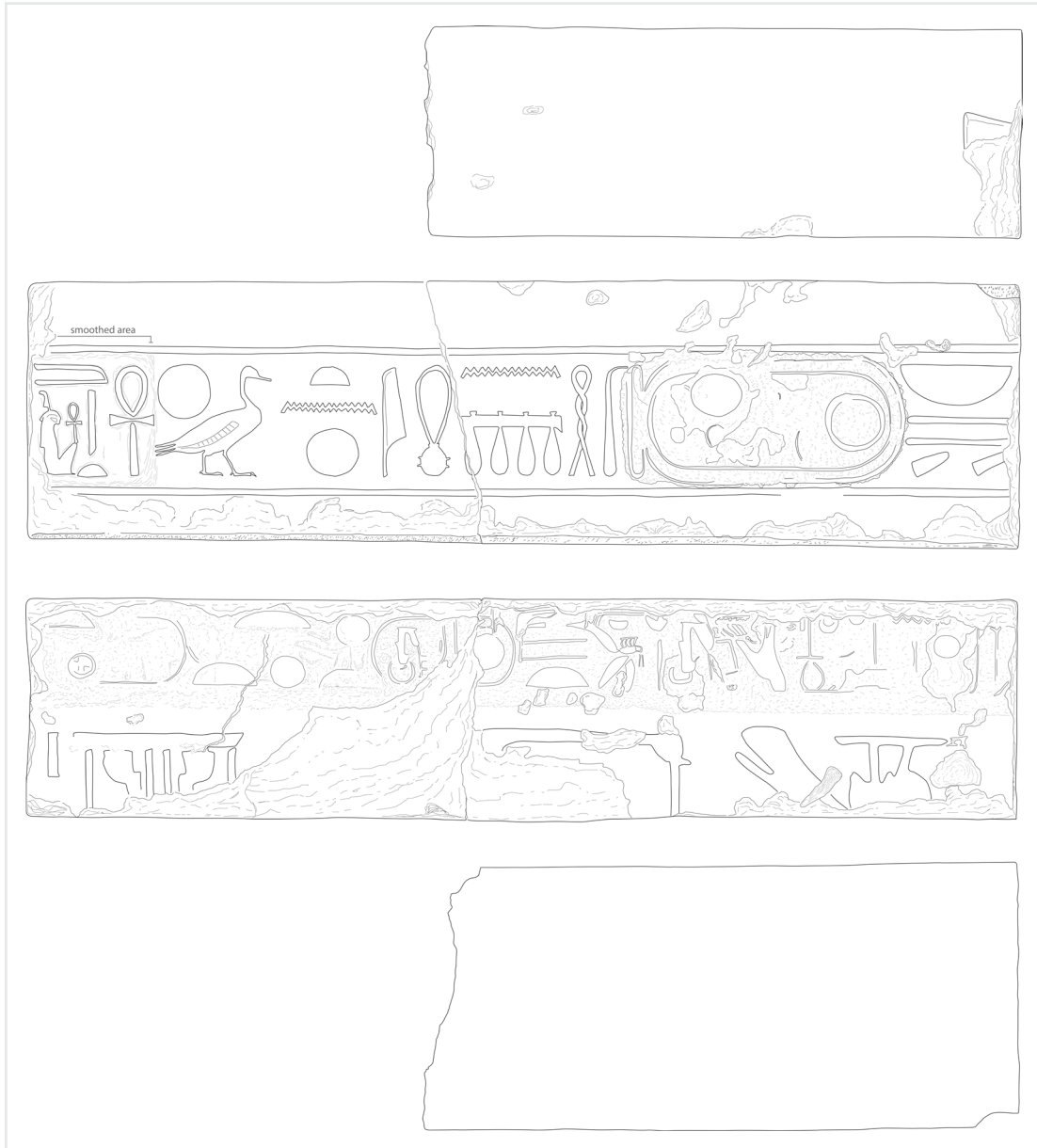


Fig. 5:
AM_002 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).

8.1.1



Fig. 6:
AM_003: Fragment
of altar/statue
base, granite
(Photo: D. Raue)



Fig. 7:
AM_004: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: M. Wenzel)



Fig. 8:
AM_005: Fragment
of column, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)



Fig. 9:
AM_006: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 10:
AM_007: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 11:
AM_008: Fragment
of altar/statue base,
silicified sandstone
(Photo: D. Raue)

8.1.1



Fig. 12:
AM_009: Fragment of altar / statue base, silicified sandstone (Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 13:
AM_010: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 14:
AM_011: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 15:
AM_012: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 16:
AM_013: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: D. Raue)

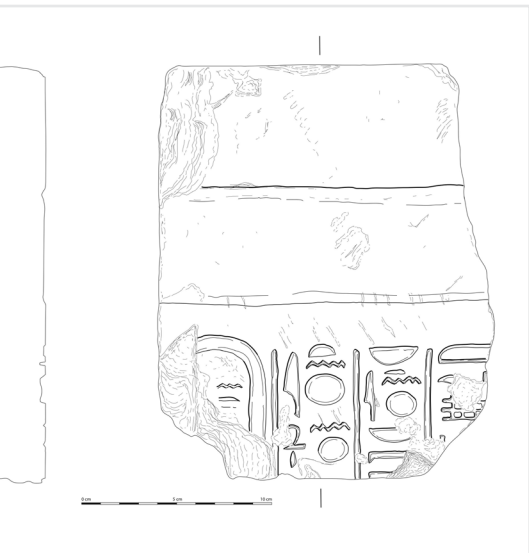


Fig. 17:
AM_013 (Digital drawing: P. Collet).

8.1.1



Fig. 18:
AM_014: Fragment
of altar/statue base,
silicified sandstone
(Photo: D. Raue)



Fig. 19:
AM_015: Fragment
of altar/statue
base, granite
(Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 20:
AM_016: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 21:
AM_017: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 22:
AM_018: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

8.1.1



Fig. 23:
AM_019: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

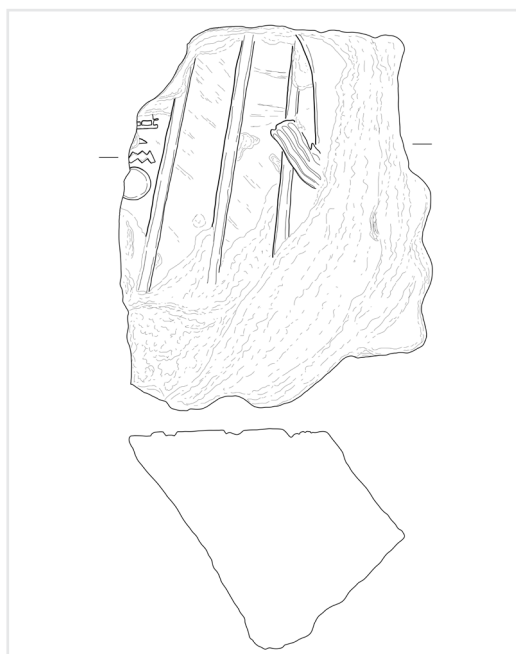


Fig. 24:
AM_019 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).



Fig. 25:
AM_020: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

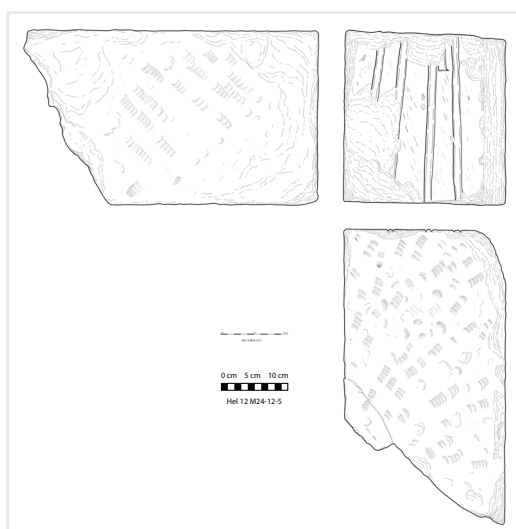


Fig. 26:
AM_20 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).

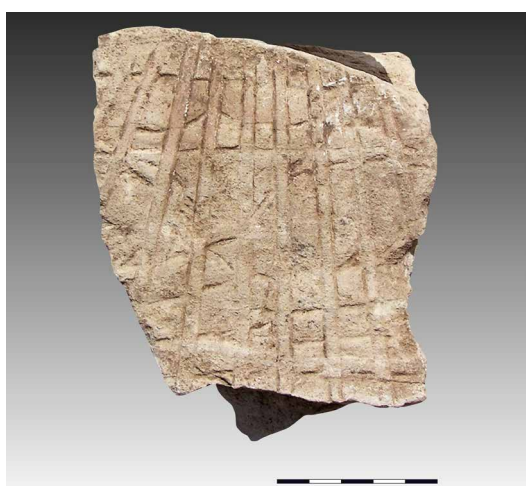


Fig. 27:
AM_021: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

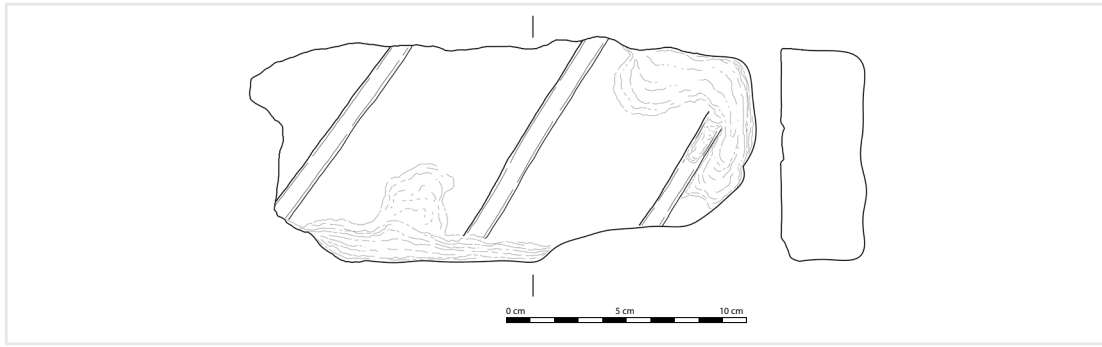


Fig. 28:
AM_022: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Digital drawing:
P. Collet).

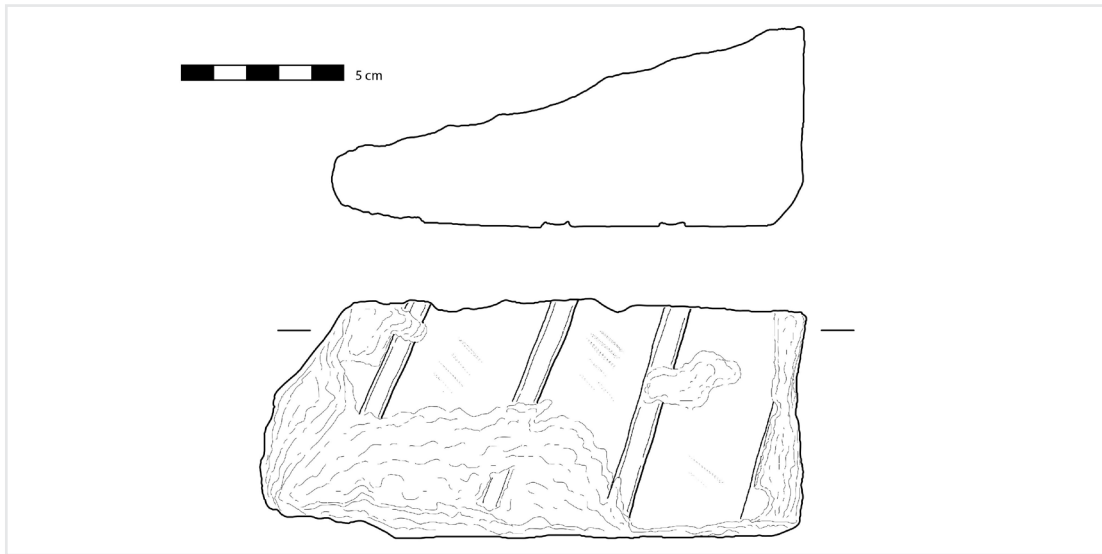


Fig. 29:
AM_023: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Digital drawing:
P. Collet).



Fig. 30:
AM_024: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 31:
AM_025: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)

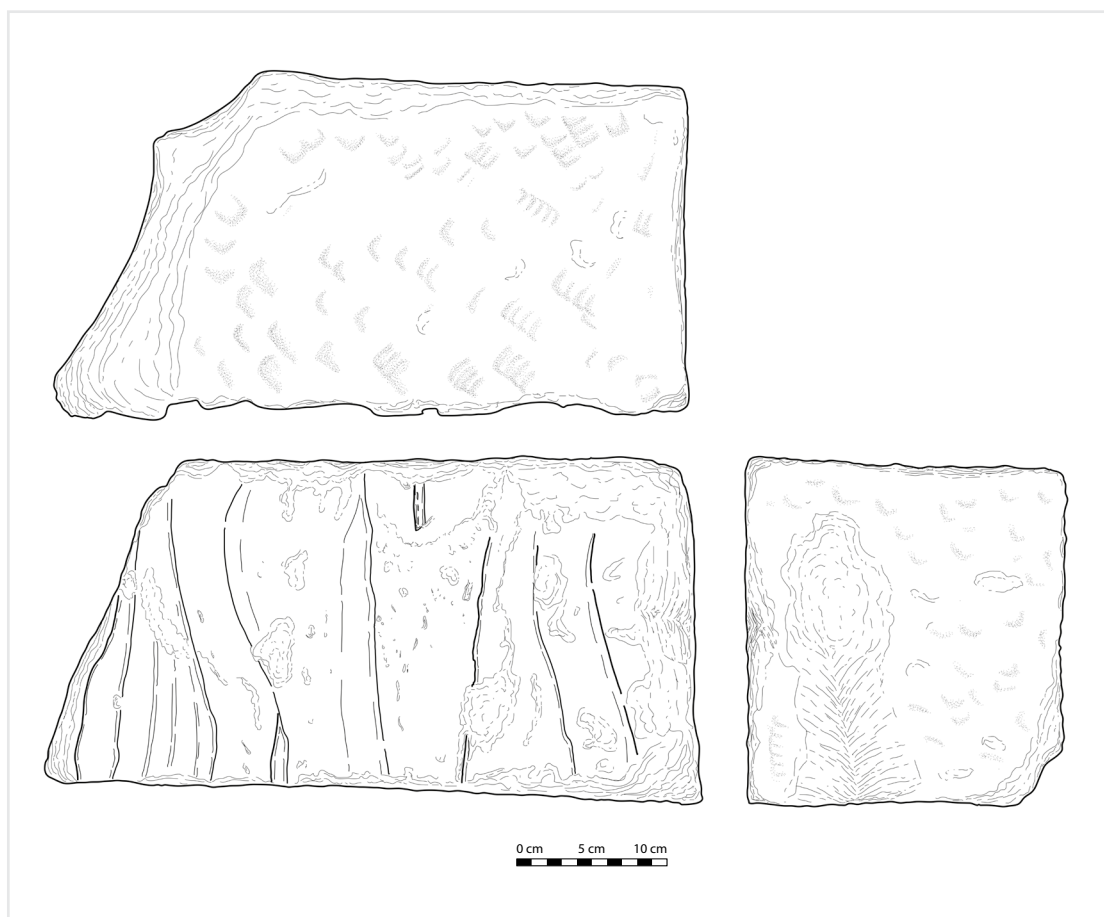


Fig. 32:
AM_025 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).



Fig. 33:
AM_026: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

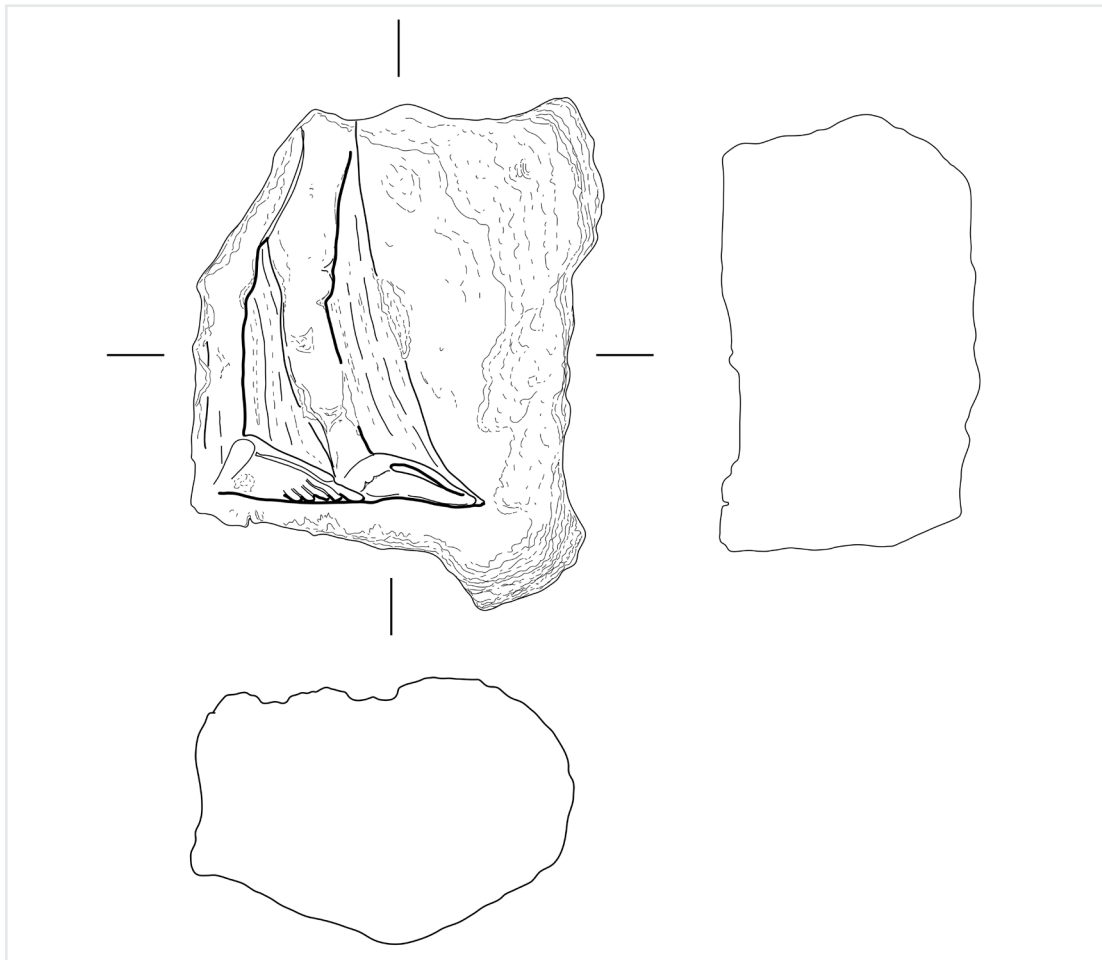


Fig. 34:
AM_026 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).

8.1.1



Fig. 35:
AM_027: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 36:
AM_028: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)



Fig. 37:
AM_029: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: M. Wenzel)



Fig. 38:
AM_030: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: S. Connor)

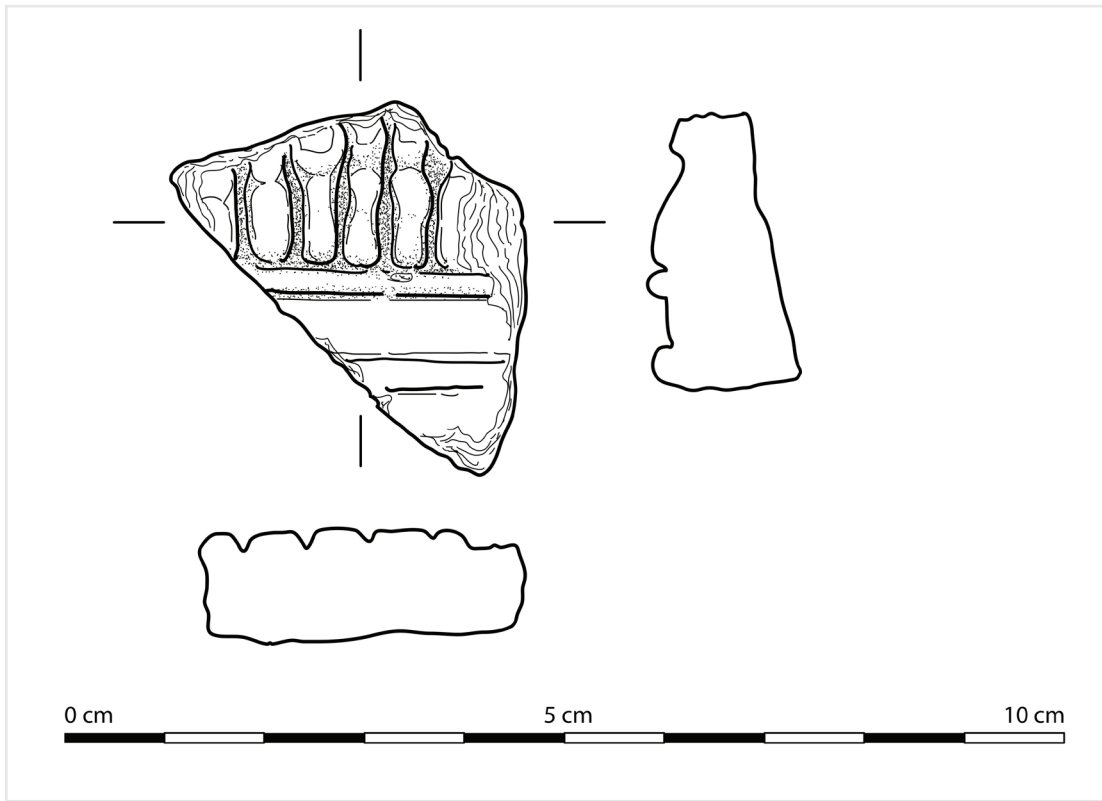


Fig. 39:
AM_031: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Digital Drawing:
P. Collet)

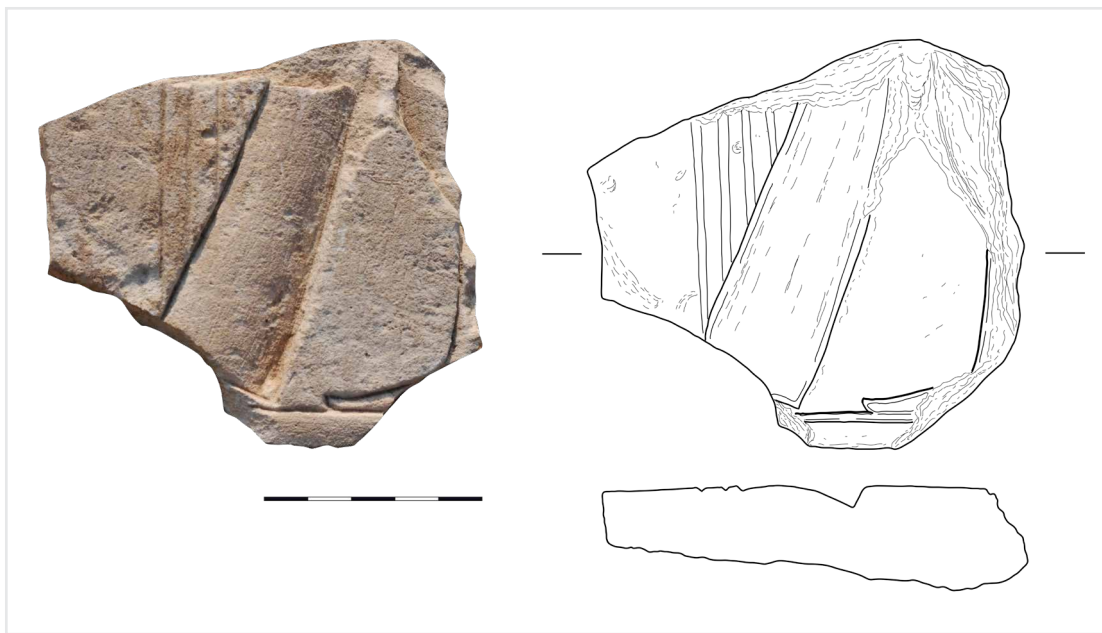


Fig. 40:
AM_032: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

Fig. 41:
AM_032 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).

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Talatat-block L24-14-5

Christopher Breninek

In 2012 during the third season of the Egyptian-German excavations in Cairo/Heliopolis a *talatat* fragment was recovered in Area 200 (Fig. 1). The limestone fragment measures 28.8×11.5 cm with a depth of about 14 cm. The lower and right edges of the stone are almost completely preserved. The larger parts of the upper and right edges have been destroyed in the past. This probably occurred during the demolition of the building during the Amarna Period, or in the subsequent reuse of the blocks in the course of the *damnatio memoriae* which Amenhotep IV fell victim to.

A sunken relief was attached to one of the long sides. The recessed relief work has only small

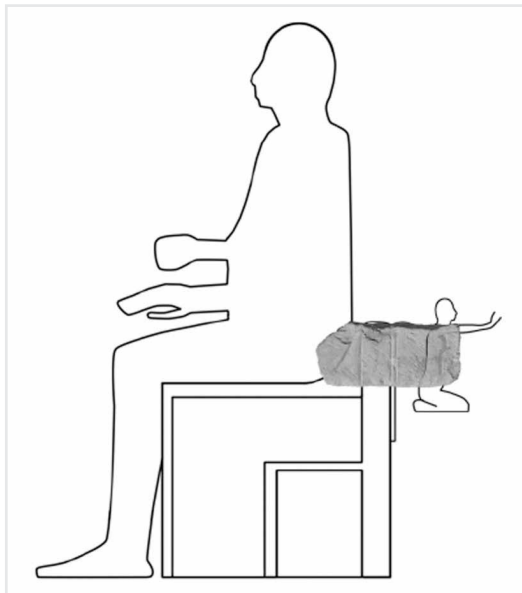


Fig. 1:
Block L24-14-5.
Reconstruction
of scene.

disturbances, so that a curved line can be seen adjacent to a straight line in the left part and a dual line runs vertically in the middle of the relief. All these lines blend into a small arc to the left or to the right in the upper end. The torso of a man with forward extended arms is shown in the right sector. Here a residue of red-brown color has been preserved. In this part of the preserved relief fragment the abdomen, chest, shoulders and the upper arm can be seen. This posture points to the illustration of a praising person in the context of *Sed*-Festival scenes (Fig. 2), similar to how they are represented in Scene 118 of the Karnak *talatat*-block (cf. GOHARY 1992, pl. XLVIII, scene 118). These blocks from Karnak were found due to their use as filling material in the IInd, IXth and Xth Pylons, the Hypostyle Hall and other outdoor facilities of the great Temple of Amun. Altogether there are more than 30,000 blocks and fragments, of which about 1,500 show parts of what are presumably *Sed*-Festival scenes (GOHARY 1992, 27). This assumption is also supported by the posture of the figure. The arms of the figure depicted here overlap, because in the art of the Amarna Period it was possible to render the bodies of people in a sunk relief not only frontally, but also in “correct perspective” (ALDRED 1973, 73). From the brown color residue, it can be deduced that the figure is male.



Fig. 2:
Block L24-14-5
(Photos: C. Breninek).

The male figure could represent a figure of Amenhotep IV, such as those that can be seen on the Amarna Boundary Stela S, but such an assumption would not provide a satisfying result for the following three reasons:

Using the model of proportions with 20 squares (Tab. 1; ROBINS 1994, 126–128), proposed by Gay Robins as a starting point and for comparison with the body of Amenhotep IV on the boundary stela, the right figure could be almost completely reconstructed. In order to determine how the distance between the individual lines of the canon should be placed, the shoulder with a height of horizontal line 17, the chest on the level of line 15 and the maximum curvature of

spine to 13.5 were selected, because these values represent the only benchmarks which could be found on this *talatat*-block. Thereafter, the grid has been supplemented by a corresponding number of lines at regular intervals, so that a 20-square grid was possible. If we now add more fixed points, such as the hairline (line 20), the navel (line 11) and the feet (line 0) and consult the representation of the boundary stela, we obtain a reconstruction, as can be seen in Fig. 2. If one now compares the remaining points with the canon of Robins, we obtain the following result, where the dark colored fields correspond to a match between the reconstruction and the proposed canon of proportions.

Tab. 1: Proportions in scenes of the Amarna Period.

Benchmark \ Line	According to the reconstruction	According to the canon			
		Representations of the King		Representations of the Queen	
		older	younger	older	younger
Sole of the foot	0	0	0	0	0
Knees	5,5	6	6	6	6
End of thighs	10	10	9,5	9,75	9
Posterior	10,5	11	10,5	10,5	10
Spinal cove	13	13	13	14	13
		-	-		
		14	14		
Chest	15	15,5	15	14	13
		-	-		
		16	15,5		
Shoulder	17	17	17	17	17
Larynx	18	18	18	18	18
Hairline	20	20	20	20	20

If one compares the current reconstruction with the images of the king in earlier and later representations, there are five in accordance with the older illustrations and seven with the younger ones. A comparison of the reconstruction with older and younger representations of the queen, Nefertiti, has six congruencies, the similarities thus argue for a representation of the king in the earlier period, although a hundred percent correlation cannot be confirmed. Supplementing the relief in this way it becomes apparent that the pelvis of the royal figure is more distinctive than that of the representation on the *talatat*. Furthermore, the ratio to the left image argues against a figure of Amenhotep IV. Because this shows the buttock of the king and a part of the backrest of a chair. In addition, pictures of the king were usually represented larger than non-royal actors of the same scene.

A minimal part of a seated figure is preserved in the left part of the relief. We cannot apply any benchmarks here and a grid cannot be reconstructed. However, we can venture a reconstruction with the help of the chair's backrest. There are four kinds of chairs which are relatively often shown in *bas-reliefs* of the Amarna Period:

- a) those which have no backrest (cf. Berlin ÄM 14145),
- b) those in which a high backrest is attached (cf. Paris, Louvre E. 11624, see DAVIES 1905, pl. 6),
- c) those that have a falcon as a backrest (cf. FREED/MARKOWITZ/D'AURIA 1999, 146) and
- d) those with a low-back, which are usually reserved for gods and kings in the *Sed-Festival* (ibid.).

Seating furniture of type a) are rejected from the outset, because a backrest can be seen on the *talatat*-block. A reconstruction with a chair of type b) yielded no satisfactory result, because the backrest seems too low in relation to the curvature of the present body and no internal pattern of a seat cushion or similar exists. Even a falcon as a backrest, as they are present in the *Sed*-Festival scenes of Akhenaten from Karnak or in the reliefs on the north-western wall in the tomb of Ramose, cannot be applied because of the absence of a feather pattern.

The most plausible possibility, however, is to suggest a throne, as seen, for example, in a representation of Amenhotep IV at the *Sed*-Festival scene at the Temple of Karnak or the depictions of gods in the tombs of Ramose and Kheriuef. This would explain the low back of the seat on the one hand and gives the opportunity to connect the arch of the back with the line in the center of the relief on the other. In addition, the absence of lines from a seat cushion or similar, and the lack of the lines of a pleated apron would be understandable, because a tight fitting *Heb-Sed* cloak has no folds.¹

In summary, it should be noted that the king was not only the center of the iconography of this *talatat*-block, but is also emphasized visually by an inordinate height from the other people in the scene. Thus, the hypothesis would be substantiated that the figure on the left is a royal one, but not that on the right. By implication, it would have to be a member of the entourage of the king on the right side, probably similar to

the portrayals on the Karnak blocks. Because no further information is to be gleaned from this part of the relief, there remains as a conclusion only the preliminary proposal that this *talatat*-block is a fragment of a *Sed*-Festival scene. If this interpretation is correct, this relief shows the first evidence of such a festival from the Amarna Period found at Heliopolis. However, this topic is currently controversial due to the scanty existing evidence (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 1974; ID. 2006). As visual indications of such a ceremony, as may be shown in the bas-relief, there are the *talatat*(-fragments) Louvre E. 13482 (cf. ASSELBERGHS 1923, 36–38, pl. 1), EGA 2300.1943 (cf. GRIFFITH 1918, 61–63, pl. 8; Schäfer 1919, 477–484), four fragments from Karnak (CLÈRE 1968, pl. 3; Chevrier 1938, pl. 109), Medamoud Inv. 5427 (COTTEVIELLE-GIRAUDET 1936, pl. 7), Medamoud Inv. 5434 (ID., pl. 8), a block from Luxor (FAKHRY 1935, 45) and a block from El-Ashmunein (BAILEY 2002, 70–71). Possible evidence for a *Sed*-Festival statue might be represented by a statue fragment of granite which shows the knee, a piece of the thigh and the lowest part of the *Sed*-Fest coat that was found in El-Tôd (cf. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT 1985, 18). Relief depictions and statues dressed in the *Sed*-Fest cloak, can be interpreted as a wish to a future festival in this world or in the hereafter (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 2006, 86). The written sources include excerpts from boundary stelae K, M and X of Amarna and a doorpost which is located in Berlin today (Berlin ÄM 20375). Furthermore, there are only two attestations for a “first *Sed*-Festival” of king Akhenaten² on the afore-

¹ Exceptions are the figurine London, BM EA 37996 (cf. GLANVILLE 1931, 65–66) and the *talatat*-block from El-Ashmunein (cf. BAILEY 2002, pl. 10).

² Here it is probably only a request formula, cf. HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 2006, 11.

mentioned doorpost and on a Karnak *talatat*-block, but nowhere is there a reference to an exact date on which the festival took place. It is also noteworthy that no inscriptions from contemporary private tombs and none of the hieratic dockets from pottery vessels found at Amarna mentions the delivery of goods for a *Sed*-Festival (HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 2006, 33).

Disappointingly the most reliable material which would confirm a *Sed*-Festival of Akhenaten is absent. Nevertheless, parts of the titles (see the contribution of Dietze, p. 342, 350), reliefs from Karnak and now also from Heliopolis, testify to the idea of the celebration of the jubilee which is well attested from sun-sanctuaries of kings since the Old Kingdom.

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Relief Showing the King Akhenaten as a Sphinx with Upraised Arms (Inv. No. U2210-3) Simon Connor

Material:	Quartzite (silicified sandstone)
Dimensions:	H. 10.6; W. 10.9; D. 3.4 cm
Provenance:	Matariya, Area 251
Date of discovery:	19th April 2019

Archaeological Context

The fragment (Fig. 1–2) was found during the spring season 2019, at the occasion of a rescue excavation carried out in Area 251 in the southwestern sector of the precinct of the sun god at Matariya, some 190 m south of the “Paramessu Temple (Area 248)”, 230 m south-east of the Ramesside temple in front of which were found Psamtik I’s and Ramesses II’s colossi (Area 200), and 430 m west of Senusret I’s obelisk.

This area was excavated again in the autumn season 2019.¹ The main feature found is a large enclosure mud brick wall running north-south, probably built during the early New Kingdom. Considering its dimensions (at least 4 m wide and likely much more, since it was cut in its eastern part during the Late Period to built a new, larger one), this straight wall, covered with a thick layer of white *mouana*, and built on a strong base made of several layers of mud bricks, must have enclosed an important structure, which

remains to be identified. During the Ramesside Period, the west side of this wall was used as a dumping area. A 3-metre-high accumulation of Ramesside pottery was indeed laying against it, extending on almost 10 m to the east, on a slow slope. This layer mostly contained shards of “beer-jars” with a pre-firing hole pierced in the bottom (flower pots?), as well as a large number of blue-ware pottery. A few fragments of statues and reliefs appeared too, but very few bones were found, which speaks in favour of a “clean” garbage, containing no food, but mostly pottery and stone structures’ fragments. This layer was then covered by a Late Ramesside or early 21st Dynasty cemetery, which constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the dumping of the relief presented here.

Description

The fragment represents the forepart of a sphinx with human arms, facing right (Fig. 1–2). The pharaoh is depicted wearing the ceremonial

¹ ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2021, 12–17. The publication of its structures and finds is still forthcoming.

beard, the uraeus and the *nemes* headdress topped by a high crown, probably the double crown. The fur on the chest and shoulders is carefully detailed. A cartouche behind the king's head reads: [...] -w^c-n-R^c. In front of the king, tiny parts of an object are preserved before the hand of the sphinx, perhaps fragments of a floral offering or of a hieroglyphic inscription.

Identification and Iconography

The partially preserved cartouche leaves no doubt as to the identification of the represented king, and can designate no one other than Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, [*Nefer-kheperu-ra*]-*Wa-en-ra*.

The king is represented here in the shape of a sphinx, one of the most traditional forms that the king can take, but here in a more unusual version, equipped with upraised human arms instead of the front paws resting on the ground. This anatomical peculiarity, attested from the early 18th Dynasty onwards but still rare before Amenhotep III,² allows the king to express an offering action, while being incarnated in a supernatural being, with solar connotations. This form particularly pleased Akhenaten, who used it a lot to put in images his devotion to the Aten (Fig. 3), of whom he was – with his nuclear family – the only intercessor. Only one arm is visible here. The other must have been lower, presenting either a vase, floral offerings, or perhaps even the cartouches of Aten (the small

carved detail preserved in front of the upper hand allows us to suggest an ointment vase).

Style and Dating

The style visible here differs from that generally known for Akhenaten. The artistic changes that accompanied the cultic and political reforms of Amenhotep IV are not yet apparent here, with an elongated face, a prominent chin, an endlessly long nose and slanted eyes. Yet, the relief still has proportions and style reminiscent of the reign of Amenhotep III, with a more regular profile, rounded cheeks and small nose. The relief is therefore most likely from the beginning of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten's reign. It must be nevertheless noted that the eyes already show the *sfumato* treatment that will be quite common in the Amarna style (see, e.g., several of Akhenaten's *shabtis*). Similar "shadow eyes" are visible on the reliefs from the early reign of Amenhotep IV, showing the king with the falcon-headed early form of Aten (see the block in Berlin, ÄM Inv. No. 2072, SCHÄFER 1919).

Nature of Object and Comment

The sphinx has probably solar connotations from the very beginning. The Great Sphinx of Giza might be a depiction of the pharaoh – probably Khafra – facing the rising sun and materializing in gigantic dimensions the king's devotion to the creator god. The Great Sphinx

² Two-dimensional representations of sphinxes with human arms are better attested. Previous attestations in sculpture in the round are: a calcite statuette of the early 18th Dynasty king (Alexandria, National Museum, before Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 36722 / CG 42033), a faience statuette of Amenhotep III (New York MMA 1972.125), and a pair of large sphinxes in granodiorite of Amenhotep III (Alexandria, National Museum, 25792, found in Karnak-North, Inv. No. 839). The type of the sphinx with human arms continues to be used after the Amarna Period, for male and female rulers, during the reigns of Tutankhamen, Horemhab, Ramesses II, Merenptah, and rulers of the 25th Dynasty. My most sincere thanks goes to Ray Johnson for generously sharing valuable comments concerning this fragment and comparable material.

itself was then reinterpreted as a solar deity, Horemakhet, by Thutmose IV, Akhenaten's grandfather. Although Akhenaten's cultic reforms caused a deep modification of style and iconographic forms, the sphinx remained part of the royal repertoire, probably due to this strong connotation with the sun.

The reliefs from the Amarna Period showing a sphinx with upraised human arms appear to be parts of doorframes (Fig. 3). Several of them are parts of "broken-lintels" for small temples or altar doorways. In these cases, two sphinxes worshipping the solar disk, one on either side of the door, would face each other, and flank the entrance of the sanctuary, perhaps evoking the traditional alleys of sphinxes in front of the monumental gates of previous temples. The reliefs of Boston 64.1944, Geneva 27804, Hanover 1964.3 (Fig. 4), and the Thalassic Collection, all four c. 2 cubits long, seem to have belonged to quite monumental doorways (perhaps all four from the same "sunshade temple", mentioned in their inscriptions, since they were all purchased around 1964). The small size of the relief presented here offers two options: either the doorway to which it belonged was of particularly modest dimensions, or this figure was merely a depiction of statue in the act of offering, itself being carried by a much larger figure of the king (Fig. 3). This second possibility can only be suggested by the comparison with much later images: the fragment of Hannover 1926.195, of similar di-

mensions, which can be dated to the Ptolemaic Period based on stylistic grounds.³ In that case, instead of a broken-lintel, the quartzite fragment discovered in Heliopolis would have been mere part of an orthostat or of a door-jamb. In the current state of documentation, it is difficult to favour a reconstruction rather than another. The latter option might be more likely, since all the representations of Akhenaten worshipping Aten in the shape of the sun disk with human handed-rays show the expressive Amarna style. The pre-Amarna characteristics visible here make it likely that no such sun disk was part of the relief, and that the figure was worshipping (or offered as an offering to) a more canonical form of a god – maybe even Aten with his falcon-headed shape of the early reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.

Although it is still difficult, so far, to locate or reconstruct the appearance of Akhenaten's monuments in Heliopolis, this fragment, despite its small size, provides invaluable insight on the chronology of constructions and innovations during this reign. First, it is one of the rare attestations of constructions of the early phase of the reign outside of Thebes. Secondly, the use of the iconographical element of the sphinx with upraised arms, well-attested in broken lintels and orthostates from Amarna, seems to have been used in earlier contexts and more classical offering scenes, perhaps for an early form of sunshade temple or some altar dedicated to Aten, in the precinct of the old City of the Sun.

³ Hannover, Museum August Kestner, Inv. No. 1926.195. Limestone. H. 14.1; W. 19.6 cm (WARMENBOL 2006, 226–228, cat. 84; TIETZE 2008, 229, fig. 5; CHAPPAZ/TIRADRITTI/VANDENBEUSCH 2008, 204, cat. 67). This piece has been previously dated to the Amarna Period, but Ray Johnson rightly pointed out to me that it most probably belongs to the Ptolemaic Period, as evidenced by the close similarity with the relief of Ptolemy I offering to the god Horus, from Tuna el-Gebel (Hildesheim, RPM Inv. No. 1883), see <http://globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=10887> (last accessed: 15.11.2021).

Comparisons

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. No. 64.1944

- Material: Limestone
- Dimensions: H. 51; W. 105.5 cm
- Provenance: probably Amarna
- Bibliography: TAWFIQ 1976, 217–226, pl. 53; FREED / MARKOWITZ / D'AURIA 1999, 103, 231, fig. 68, cat. 89; BERMAN / DOXEY / FREED 2003, 158–159; WILLIAMSON 2016, 15; WEGNER 2017, 75, n. 6.4.

New York, Brooklyn Museum, Inv. No. 36.881

- Material: Limestone
- Dimensions: H. 24.8; W. 38.1 cm
- Provenance: Amarna (gift of the Egypt Exploration Society)
- Bibliography: PENDLEBURY 1951, pl. 48.3; WEGNER 2017, 75.

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Inv. No. JE 65926

- Material: Limestone
- Provenance: Amarna
- Bibliography: PENDLEBURY 1936, pl. 20.4; Id. 1951, pl. 41.3; WEGNER 2017, 75, n. 6.3.

Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. No. 27804

- Material: Limestone
- Dimensions: H. 52.8; W. 102 cm
- Prov. probably Amarna
- Bibliography: CHAPPAZ 2005b; VANDENBEUSCH, in: CHAPPAZ / TIRADRITTI / VANDENBEUSCH 2008, 153, 204, cat. 66; WEGNER 2017, 75, n. 6.4.

Hanover, Museum August Kestner, Inv. No. 1964.3 (Fig. 4)

- Material: Limestone
- Dimensions: H. 56.7; W. 93.2 cm
- Provenance: probably Amarna
- Bibliography: WOLDERING 1967, 155; MUNRO, in: MÜLLER / SETTGAST / EGGBRECHT 1976, cat. 87; DRENKHahn 1989, 92–93, cat. 29; LACOVARA, in: FREED / MARKOWITZ / D'AURIA 1999, 231, cat. 90; LOEBEN, in: WARMENBOL 2006, 32–33, 226, cat. 82; GRIMM/SCHOSKE 2001, 6, 143–144, cat. 33; LOEBEN, in: CHAPPAZ / TIRADRITTI / VANDENBEUSCH 2008, 153, 203, cat. 65; WILLIAMSON 2016, 15; WEGNER 2017, 75, n. 6.4.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. E 15589

- Material: Sandstone
- Dimensions: H. 25; W. 65 cm
- Bibliography: LOEBEN, in: WARMENBOL 2006, 226, cat. 83; WEGNER 2017, 75, n. 6.3 (wrongly numbered 15538).

New York, Thalassic Collection⁴

- Material: Limestone
- Dimensions: H. 58.5; W. 92.5 cm
- Bibliography: ALDRED 1973, 99, cat. 13; ARNOLD 1996, 22–23, 134; LACOVARA / TROPE / D'AURIA 2001, 24–25, cat. 15; WILLIAMSON 2016, 15; WEGNER 2017, 75, n. 6.4.

Figures

Fig. 1:
Relief showing the king Akhenaten as a sphinx with upraised arms [Inv. No. U2210-3] (Photo: S. Connor)

⁴ Now in the Qatar Orientalist Museum, Inv. No. 2017.0160. See *A Falcon's Eye* 2020. My thanks go to Tom Hardwick for this information.

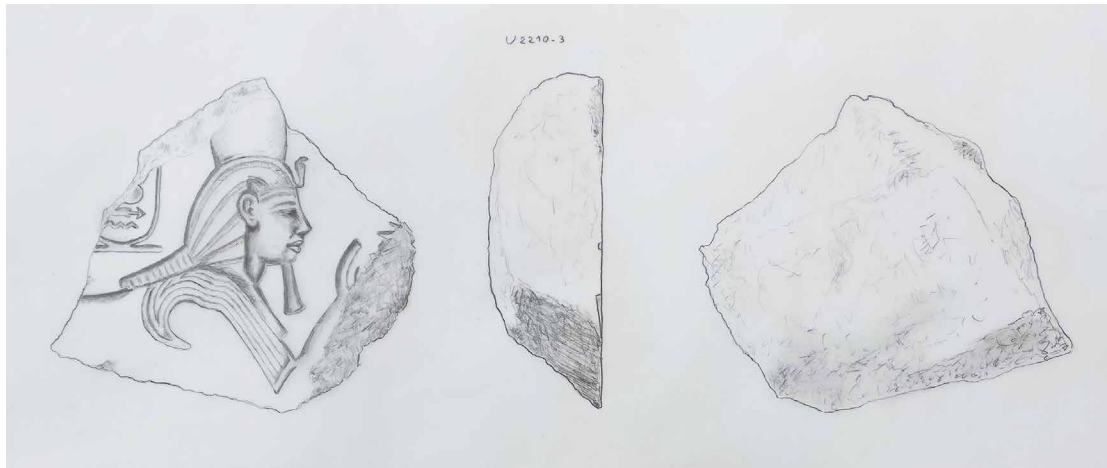


Fig. 2:
Relief
[Inv. No. U2210-3]
(Drawing: S. Connor).

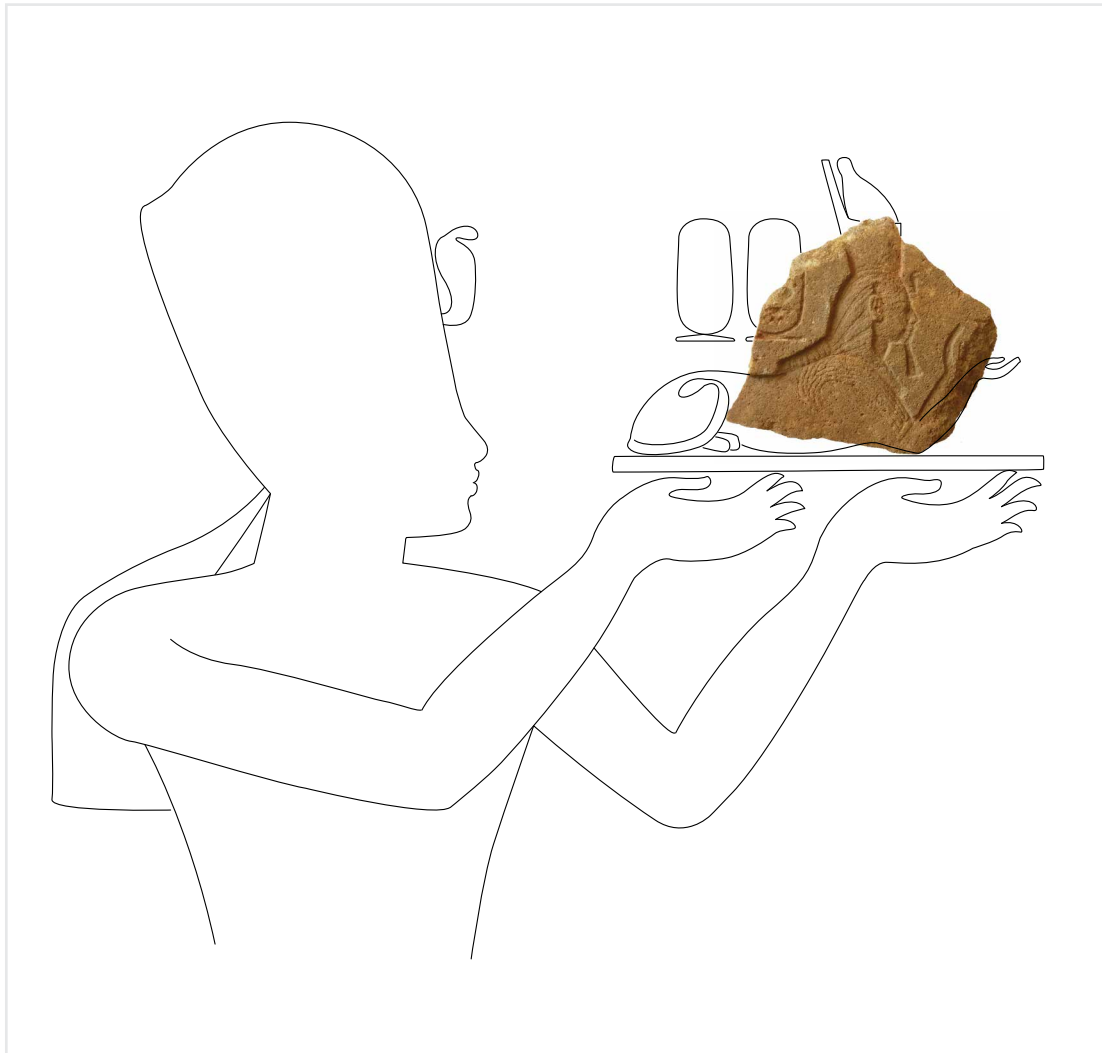


Fig. 3:
Suggestion of reconstruction of the scene to which the relief belonged (Drawing: S. Connor).



Fig. 4: Relief showing Akhenaten as a sphinx presenting offerings to Aten. Hannover [Inv. No. 1964.3] (Photo: S. Connor)

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A City of Sphinxes

Simon Connor

A profusion of sphinxes and fragments of sphinxes have been found at the archaeological site of Matariya, and many others, discovered at different sites, can be assigned to ancient Heliopolis due to their inscriptions or the stylistic criteria. The City of the Sun seems to have been adorned with a particularly large number of them, of various size and some of them of immense dimensions.

A number of these sphinxes seem to have been, similarly to the calcite-alabaster Thutmoseid sphinx in Memphis/Mit Rahina, the guardians of monumental gates. In 1798, the French Commission reported on fragments of a colossal sphinx made of a siliceous stone (*Description de l'Égypte*² V, pl. 26, X, 491), fragments that J. Hekekyan rediscovered during his short campaign in 1851, 717 m west of the obelisk, i.e., in the area of the western limit of the temenos, and probably in connection with a gate. Thanks to the drawing by Hekekyan (JEFFREYS 1999, 157–168, particularly 165–168) and the measurements of the main fragment, which is the body of the sphinx (3 × 7.3 m), the original dimensions of the statue may be estimated to have been approximately 6 m high and 11 or 12 m long, making it one of the biggest known so far (the alabaster sphinx in Mit Rahina is 4.25 m high and 8 m long). The cartouches in-

scribed on the shoulder of the sphinx are those of Ramesses III. If the fragments of that sphinx were left *in situ* (there is no record of their removal), it is possible that the enormous sandstone paw excavated by Schiaparelli and brought to Turin in the years 1903–1906 belongs to that sphinx¹ (Fig. 1–4).

A fragment of a sphinx of even bigger dimensions than those mentioned by J. Hekekyan or found by Schiaparelli was discovered in autumn 2017 in the area of Suq el-Khamis, west of the archaeological site of Matariya, among the remains of the Ramesside temple and the fragments of the colossal statue of Psamtik I (see p. 151–173). We need to be cautious when estimating the original size, considering the small portion of the statue which is preserved. It would nevertheless seem that this sphinx, were it in the traditional recumbent posture, might have been almost 10 m high and 18 m long. Such dimensions would be perhaps difficult to achieve with a monolithic statue – although the colossi from Kom el-Hettan, or the statue of Psamtik found in the same sector of Matariya, attest that gigantic statues could be made of single blocks of quartzite – but a gigantic monument composed of masonry blocks or at least made of a few separate parts does not have to be excluded.

¹ Turin, ME, S. 2733.2 (CONNOR 2016, 38). The precise provenance of that paw within the site of Heliopolis is not known. The material and dimensions seem to fit with the description and drawing of the sphinx excavated by Hekekyan. If the paw belonged to another sphinx, it may have been from a twin of that one, or a guardian of another gate of the city.

J. Hekekyan mentions an “alley of sphinxes” running east-west, between the obelisk of Senusret I and the centre of the archaeological area, which must correspond to Misraa es-Segun. It is difficult to know whether the identification of such an alley results from the observation of a large number of sphinxes still more or less in position in the nineteenth century, or if it is based on a perhaps optimistic interpretation of a few fragments, for which no other record is known so far. Nevertheless, the 2015–2018 campaigns of the Egyptian-German mission revealed several fragments of statues, which could speak in favour of quite a large number of sphinxes in the centre of the temenos of Heliopolis (Area 221), in the area called Misraa es-Segun, west of the obelisk and at the western limit of the “circular structure”, “fort bank” or “high sand” identified by Schiaparelli and Petrie.² The excavated sector yielded a large quantity of granite, basalt and quartzite architectural elements belonging to a temple dedicated by Nectanebo I to “Atum, Lord of Heliopolis”, probably completing a monument previously built by Ramesses II and Merenptah.³ Among the remains of this building, the excavations brought to light a series of fragments of large-sized sphinxes, as well as a monumental statue of Merenptah in a prostrating position (see p. 215–226).

At least five sphinxes can be identified from the following fragments found in that sector (see p. 200–206): four granite sphinxes (2 m, 2.7 m, 5.4 m and 5.8 m long) and a quartzite sphinx

(4.2 m long; the dimensions are estimated based on the preserved fragments). The two Ramesside heads (see p. 207–214) are also likely to have been parts of a pair of large granite sphinxes.

Fragments of three quartzite sphinxes were also unearthed in the area of Suq el-Khamis (see p. 143–148), two particularly massive (one almost 6 m long and another perhaps even up to 18 m long!); the third one is too fragmentary to propose a secure estimation of its dimensions.

None of these fragments provide an inscription. Only stylistic comparison with other, well-dated sphinxes can therefore help to date these fragments (Fig. 5). In the absence of a head, such dating will remain approximate. A feature that seems to appear only from the Late Middle Kingdom onwards and continues until the Third Intermediate Period is a sinuous line, clearly delimited in high relief, which starts on the “thumb” of the lion paw and continues until the chest. The quartzite paw from Misraa es-Segun (see p. 205) shows such a well-preserved feature; the others are too fragmentary or their surface is too leprous due to the long period in wet soil, but even in this case, the remaining modelling visible on two granite paws suggests that this line was also originally present (see p. 201–214).

In the Middle and New Kingdom, the rendering of the paw consists of a quite geometrized stylization of the shape of the animal, while in the Late Period, the modelling becomes more roun-

² PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 3–4; QUIRKE 2001, 115–119; VERNER 2013, 55–59; SBRIGLIO/UGLIANO 2015, 278–293, particularly 284–288.

³ ASHMAWY/RAUE/BEIERSDORF 2015a, 13–16 and 2015b; ASHMAWY/RAUE 2016, 4–9; see also p. 193–196 in this volume.

ded, softer and, at the same time, more naturalistic. The quartzite fragment from Misraa es-Segun, although the smallest of the group, is also the best preserved; it clearly shows this geometrized adaptation of the lion paw; the closest parallels we can find date from the Late Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom (Fig. 5). The state of preservation of the other fragments prevents us from any precise dating. Their comparison with sphinxes of all periods allows favouring the Middle and New Kingdom.

These numerous fragments contribute to complete the image of the statuary repertoire which must have once adorned Heliopolis, with monumental sphinxes in reddish stones: granite and quartzite. The comparison with other sites allows us to suggest pairs of monumental sphinxes facing one another, guarding the gates of the different temples. Except for two Ramesside heads, the fragments of sphinxes found so far in Matariya cannot yet be associated by pairs; however, the area has not revealed all its secrets yet and the next seasons of excavation may uncover more clues to reconstruct the proper “army” of sphinxes that must have been a key point of Heliopolis’ monumental sculpture.

Some of these pieces show traces of intentional breaking (it is particularly obvious on the sphinx No. 4 found in Misraa es-Segun, see Inv. No. U4868-5, p. 201, whose base is marked by a series of tool marks). The shape of all fragments corresponds to that of easily reusable blocks. This leads us to a question, which further field seasons at the site might at least partial-

ly answer in the future: why are there so many fragments of paws, and when were these statues dismantled? Sphinxes offer a valuable and easy source of building material: once the head and the front paws have been cut off, these statues provide parallelepiped blocks which can be reused in masonry, as attested at other antique and medieval sites (see for example the two quartzite sphinxes reused in the postern in the Fatimid walls of Cairo, cf. Tab. 1).

The dismantling of the Heliopolis statues may have occurred at different times, for example when the city was gradually emptied of its monuments in order to build Alexandria, in the Ptolemaic Period, or later to build medieval Cairo. Both sites, Alexandria and medieval Cairo, have yielded a large number of monuments, architectural blocks and statues, including numerous sphinxes, whose origin can be traced according to their inscriptions and dedications to Ra-Horakhty, to Atum Lord of Heliopolis, or to the “*Baw*” of Heliopolis (see a preliminary list in Tab. 1).

Among them, we may notably gather a homogeneous series of quartzite Middle Kingdom recumbent sphinxes, a bit less than 2 m long, bearing the names of Senusret III, Amenemhat IV and Amenemhat V, which may have formed a single group (see Tab. 1 for references to these statues): a sphinx of Senusret III, found in Alexandria, close to Qayt Bey Citadel and today in the Open-Air Museum of Kom el-Dikka; five sphinxes of Amenemhat IV, one of them found in Heliopolis and three of them in Abuqir; and one inscribed for Amenem-

hat V “Sekhemkara, beloved of Ra-Horakhty”, found reused in a postern of the medieval walls of Cairo, until recently on display in a modern reconstruction of the postern on a square, just north of Bab el-Nasr, and now in the open-air

museum of Matariya. This ensemble is noteworthy since it demonstrates the intention of completing coherently, reign after reign, the same sculptural repertoire within a monument – maybe, in this case, a dromos of sphinxes.

Tab. 1: Preliminary list of sphinxes that may be attributed to the site of Heliopolis.⁴

Dating	Current location and Inv. No.	Dating criteria	Material	Dimensions	Estimated original length	Provenance	Reason for Heliopolitan attribution	Bibliography
Menkaura	Israel Antiquities Authority 2015-1334	Inscription	Anorthositic gneiss	W. 43; D. 27 cm	170 cm	Tell Hazor	Dedication to the “ <i>Baw</i> of Heliopolis”	BEN-TOR 2016, 130–132; 2017, 584–586
Merenra	Edinburgh NMS 1984.405	Inscription	Steatite	3.2 × 1.8 × 5.7 cm	5.7 cm	Unknown	Dedication to the “god who is lord of the Great House”	FAY 2006, 220–221, cat. 66
Amenemhat II (?)	Berlin, ÄM 22580	Stylistic	Greywacke	H. 21.5; W. 24 cm		Said to be “from Matariya”	Uncertain	EVERS 1929, I, 107–108, § 690, pl. 71; FAY 1996, 26–27, cat. 2, pl. 53–54
mid-12th Dynasty	Boston, MFA 2002.609	Stylistic	Quartzite	27 × 24 × 22 cm		Said to be “from Matariya”	Uncertain	MORFOISSE / ANDREU-LANOE 2014, 49, 275, cat. 24
Senusret II	Cairo, JE 37796	Inscription	Greywacke	H. 47; D. 162 cm	215 cm	Cairo, Mottahar Mosque, in the masonry	Provenance and dedication to the “ <i>Baw</i> of Heliopolis, lord of the Great House”	SOUROUZIAN 1996, 743–754
Senusret III (re-inscribed for Merenptah)	Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka 99	Inscription	Quartzite	120 × 70 × 180 cm	235 cm	Alexandrian Sea, near Qayt Bey Citadel	Dedication to the “ <i>Baw</i> of Heliopolis”	POSTEL 2014, 116, Fig. 3; Fig. 6
Amenemhat IV	Giza, Storeroom 17	Inscription	Quartzite	W. 44; D. 147 cm	147 cm	Heliopolis	Provenance	BAKRY 1971, 99–100; FAY 1996, cat. 58
Amenemhat IV	Unknown	Inscription	Quartzite	Unknown	?	Abuqir	Provenance and comparison with other sphinxes	FAY 1996, cat. 57
Amenemhat IV	Cairo, CG 388	Inscription	Quartzite	W. 62 cm	190-200 cm	Unknown	Comparison with other sphinxes	FAY 1996, cat. 52
Amenemhat IV	London, BM EA 58892	Inscription	Anorthositic gneiss	38.1 × 20.2 × 58.5 cm	58.5 cm	Beyrouth	Dedication to Atum, Lord of Heliopolis	FAY 1996, cat. 54

⁴ This chronological list is the result of a preliminary research conducted for the publication of the sphinxes fragments recently found in Matariya, and cannot be considered as definite neither exhaustive. Despite the similarity of the quartzite sphinxes Alexandria NM 361 (73 × 56 × 187 cm; FAY 1996, cat. 55; DARESSY 1905, 116 ([5]) and Alexandria NM 363 (62 × 57 × 140 cm; estimated original length 185–190 cm; FAY 1996, cat. 56; DARESSY 1905, 116 [3]) from Abuqir with the others, a Memphite provenance cannot be excluded, as the mention of the sycamore (NM 363) and Sakhmet (NM 361, on inscription of Ramesses II, together with Hapy; the original inscription of Amenemhat IV has been reworked) in the base’s inscription may suggest. Other quartzite sphinxes of similar dimensions were found in Mit Rahina (see Cairo CG 1211, as well as the two sphinxes in GRÄZER OHARA 2020, 122–125, MO 69 and 71).

Tab. 1: (continued)

Sekhemkara (Amenemhat-Senbef)	Cairo, east of Bab el-Nasr, reused in a reconstructed postern	Inscription	Quartzite	68 × 50 × 156 cm	156 cm	Cairo, east of Bab el-Nasr, reused in a postern	Provenance and dedication to Ra-Horakhty	EL-MEZAIN/KACEM 2019; CONNOR/ABOU AL-ELLA 2020; Fig. 7
Thutmose III	Turin, ME suppl. 2673	Inscription	Quartzite	13.5 × 6.8 × 14.5 cm	23 cm	Heliopolis	Provenance	LABOURY 1998, cat. C 111
Horemhab (usurped from Tutankhamen)	Alexandria, Serapeum 353	Inscription	Granodiorite	83 × 63 × 232 cm	232 cm	Alexandria	Dedication to Atum, Lord of Heliopolis	TKACZOW 1993, 233, cat. 122A; Fig. 8
Ramesses II	Cairo, east of Bab el-Nasr, reused in a reconstructed postern	Inscription	Quartzite	54 × 51 × 157 cm	157 cm	Cairo, east of Bab el-Nasr, reused in a postern	Human armed, with an offering table	EL-MEZAIN/KACEM 2019; CONNOR/ABOU AL-ELLA 2020
Ramesses II	Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka 2002	Inscription	Greywacke	130 × 60 × 200 cm	200 cm	Alexandria, submarine ruins of the lighthouse	Dedication to Ra-Horakhty and Atum, Lord of Heliopolis	CORTEGGIANI 1998, 29; Fig. 9
Ramesses II (reused from the late 12th Dynasty?)	Alexandria, Serapeum 158	Inscription	Quartzite	68 × 50 × 122 cm	160 cm	Alexandria	Provenance and comparison with other sphinxes	Fig. 10
Ramesses III	Unknown	Inscription	?	300 × 730 cm	1100 cm	Heliopolis, Matariya, gate of Ramesses III	Inscription	JEFFREYS 1999, 162–166, fig. 7
Ramesses III	Heliopolis, Arab el-Hisn, <i>in situ</i>	Inscription	Limestone	Pair: L. 170 cm, H. 93 cm	170 cm	Heliopolis, Tell el-Hisn, gate of Ramesses III	Provenance	SALEH 1983, 52, 54, fig. 14, pl. XLIVA/B
New Kingdom?	Turin, ME S. 2733.2	Style	Sandstone	53 × 112 × 82 cm	1100 cm	Heliopolis (context unknown)	Provenance	CONNOR 2016, 38–39
New Kingdom (probably 19th Dyn.)?	Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka 126	Style	Granodiorite	35 × 55 × 65 cm		Alexandria	Provenance	Personal observation
Psamtik II	Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka 101 – 11273 - 1008	Inscription	Quartzite	130 × 90 × 310 cm	310 cm	Alexandria, submarine ruins of the lighthouse	Dedication to Ra-Horakhty and Atum, Lord of Heliopolis	CORTEGGIANI 1998, 29–30; Fig. 11–13
Psamtik II	Alexandria, Serapeum 4	Inscription	Quartzite	99 × 71 × 223 cm	223 cm	Alexandria	Dedication to Atum, Lord of Heliopolis	Fig. 14
Apries	Alexandria, Kom el-Shuqafa 90	Inscription	Quartzite	59 × 45.3 × 148 cm	148 cm	Alexandria	Dedication to the “Baw of Heliopolis”	TKACZOW 1993, 233, cat. 122; Fig. 15
Apries	Alexandria, Kom el-Shuqafa 91	Inscription	Quartzite	58.5 × 45 × 155.5 cm	155.5 cm	Alexandria	Dedication to the “Baw of Heliopolis”	TKACZOW 1993, 233, cat. 122; Fig. 16



Fig. 1:
Paw of a monumental
sphinx, Turin S. 2700
(3/4 view; photo:
Pino Dell'Aquila (c)
Museo Egizio).



Fig. 2:
Paw of a monumental
sphinx, Turin S. 2700
(Front view; photo:
Pino Dell'Aquila (c)
Museo Egizio).

Dimensions of the paw
 H. 53 cm
 W. 112 cm
 D. 82 cm

Turin S. 2733/2
 Sandstone
 Heliopolis (context unknown)
 Schiaparelli's excavations
 (1903-1906)

Estimated dimensions
 of the sphinx
 (very approximative)
 H. 550 cm
 W. 280 cm
 D. 1000 cm

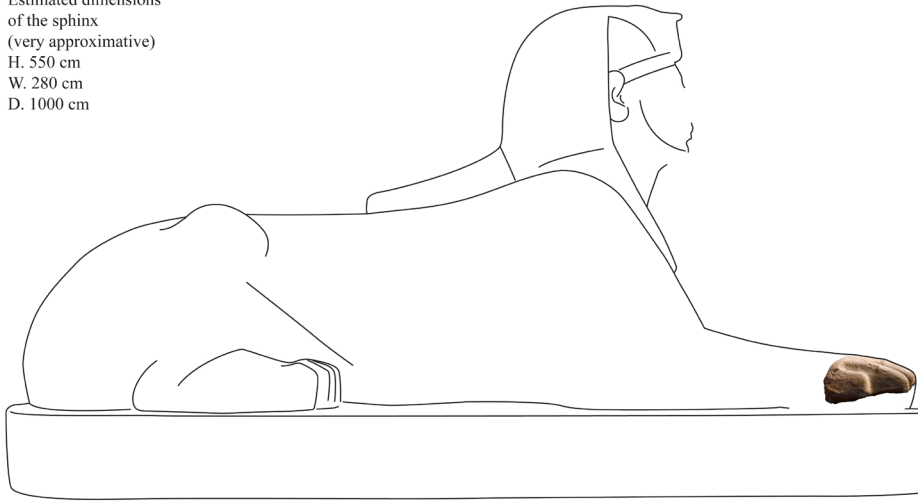


Fig. 3:
 Possible original
 appearance of the
 sphinx (or lion) to
 which the paw S.
 2700 once belonged
 (Side view; recon-
 struction: S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
 Possible original
 appearance of the
 sphinx (or lion) to
 which the paw S.
 2700 once belonged
 (3/4 view; recon-
 struction: S. Connor).

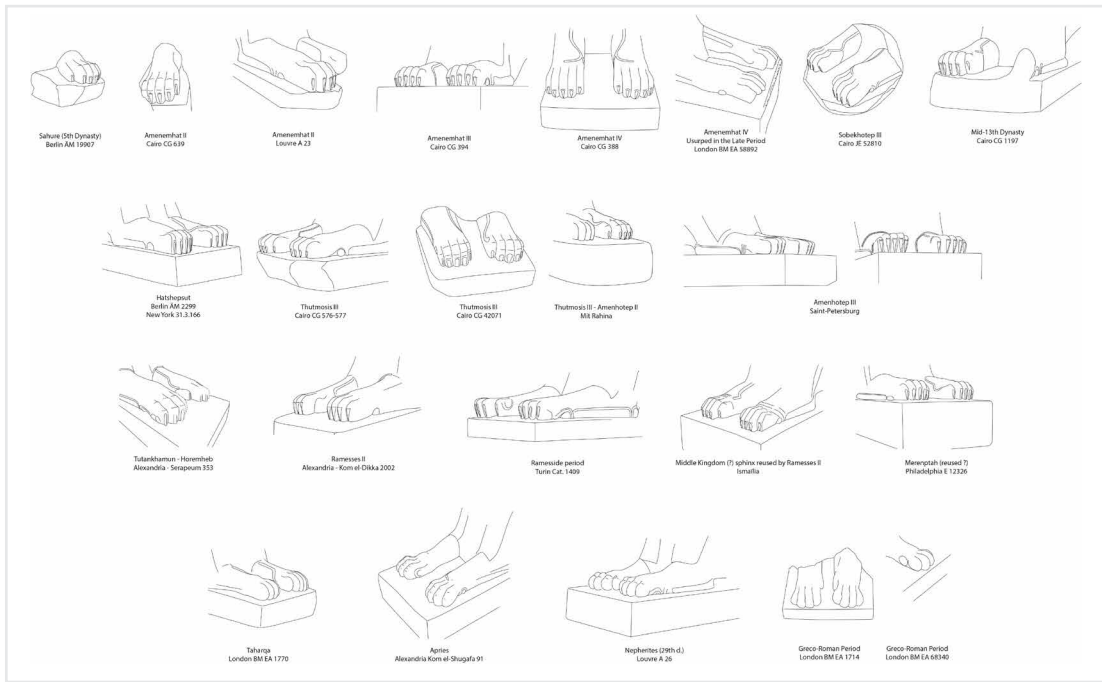


Fig. 5: Development of the shape of lion paws from the 5th Dynasty to the Greco-Roman period. (Drawing: S. Connor).



Fig. 6: Sphinx of Senusret III, Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka [Inv. No. 99] (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 7:
Sphinx of Amenemhat
V, Cairo, Bab el-Nasr,
now Matariya Open
Air Museum
[Inv. No. unknown]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 9:
Sphinx of Amenhotep
III (?) reused by
Ramesses II,
Alexandria, Kom
el-Dikka
[Inv. No. 2002]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 8:
Sphinx of
Tutankhamun or
Ay usurped by
Horemheb,
Alexandria, site of
the Serapeum
[Inv. No. 353]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 10: Middle Kingdom (?) sphinx inscribed for Ramesses II, Alexandria, site of the Serapeum [Inv. No. 158] (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 11: Sphinx of Psamtik II found in submarine excavations close to the lighthouse's ruins, Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka [Inv. No. 101] (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 12: Sphinx of Psamtik II found in submarine excavations close to the lighthouse's ruins, Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka [Inv. No. 101] (Rear view, photo: S. Connor).

8.2

Fig. 13:
Sphinx of Psamtik II
found in submarine
excavations close
to the lighthouse's
ruins, Alexandria,
Kom el-Dikka
[Inv. No. 101]
(Detail: front paws,
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 14:
Sphinx of Psamtik II,
Alexandria, site of
the Serapeum
[Inv. No. 4]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 15:
Sphinxes of
Apries, Alexandria,
Kom el-Shugafa
[Inv. No. 90 and 91]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 16:
One of the sphinxes
of Apries, Alexandria,
Kom el-Shugafa,
[Inv. No. 91]
(Photo: S. Connor).

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From the Necropolis to the Temple – Epigraphic Re-Contextualization of New *ex situ* Finds from the Necropolis of the New Kingdom

Klara Dietze

List of general abbreviations

Ah. I	Ahmose I	QV	Queens' Valley
Am.	Amenhotep (II, III)	R.	Ramesses (I, II, VII, VIII, XI)
Amm.	Amenmesse	S.	Sety (I, II)
Akh.	Akhenaten	Sthnkht.	Sethnakht
HEL	Heliopolis	BD	Book of the Dead
Hmh.b.	Horemhab	Th.	Thutmose (III, IV)
KD	Klara Dietze	Tsrt.	Tausret
KV	Kings' Valley	TT	Theban Tomb
Mrnph.	Merenptah		

1. Introduction: New Finds from the Necropolis of the New Kingdom

In the Cairene suburb of Matariya archaeological excavations of the *Heliopolis Project* have been conducted since 2012. The Egyptian-German mission is co-directed by Dr. Aiman Ashmawy (Egyptian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities) and PD Dr. Dietrich Raue (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung

Kairo). The objective of the excavation is to provide an architectural record of the temple of the Heliopolitan sun- and creator god: the so-called *pr-R^c*. Since large areas of the temenos have been overbuilt by modern settlements nowadays, only a few selected areas can be examined archaeologically. One of these is Area 202, situated in the southwestern precinct of the main temenos of Heliopolis (Fig. 1).¹ The current appearance of the area is mainly dominated by a modern shopping mall to the east (Area 201) as

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to W. Raymond Johnson, whose valuable comments and suggestions improved this manuscript significantly.

well as recently erected residential houses to the west (Fig. 2–3). Situated between these modern buildings, Area 202 comprises an elongated site of approximately 190 × 10 m. From 2012 to 2016, several rescue excavations were undertaken here by the *Heliopolis Project* (Fig. 4).

In the course of these excavations, a number of objects were discovered that were all found *ex situ*. Moreover, they do not fit in with the archaeological remains of a god's domain – they all clearly originated from a funerary context. Thus, their provenance can only be the necropolis of Heliopolis: the *Dd.t ʿ3.t n.t Jwn.w* (GOMAA 1987, II, 191–192). As Area 202 is located not inside the necropolis but within the main temenos, this might seem puzzling at first.

So how did the objects get from the necropolis to the temple? The answer to this question can be found in the urban history of the last century. The Heliopolitan necropolis is located to the east of Matariya, now underlying the modern suburb of Ain Shams (Fig. 6). Without being properly studied, a wave of intense urban building projects hit the suburb in the late 1950s (ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 136). Nowadays the area of the ancient necropolis is almost completely overbuilt (Fig. 7). For that reason, there is no in-depth information about the necropolis of Heliopolis.

In 1957, construction work for the erection of the Higher Polytechnic Institute in Ain Shams was begun. In doing so, a large number of above-ground tomb-chapels were fragmented and des-

troyed. Along with fragments of those tombs, the construction waste was afterwards transported to Matariya and dumped in the temple's southwestern precinct (what would later become Area 202). At any rate, this is indicated by a coin from the year 1958 that was found in the same archaeological context as the fragment of a door jamb dating to the New Kingdom (find-no. 202-4-3) and Ramesside pottery close to the shopping mall.

On the one hand, dumping the rubble from Ain Shams resulted in Area 202 being completely covered with modern layers of debris. On the other hand, New Kingdom tomb fragments entered the inside of the actual main temenos precinct together with the rubble. Therefore, the newly discovered fragments in Area 202 – forming the object of the present study – were all found *ex situ* as their original provenance might be identified as the Heliopolitan necropolis.²

However, the date of their removal cannot be conclusively determined as a number of funerary finds and features in Late Ramesside contexts have been documented in Area 251 in recent years as well.³ Since Area 251 is also located within the main temenos, it cannot be ruled out that the objects originate from this area and were merely relocated *within* the temple precinct of the New Kingdom. At this point it can be stated with certainty that the objects were relocated, which in both cases is most likely due to urban processes of the last century, especially for sites that were found at higher elevations above sea-level.

² Cf. chapter 3.2.3.1 of the present study.

³ Cf. the introduction to the contents of Area 251 by Simon Connor in this volume, chapter 7.1; ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE (2021).

Considering the biography of these objects, being mainly characterized by urban events, new questions arise. Which information can be gained about the fragments despite their displacement? Can their original contexts – both semantic and architectural – be reconstructed? Which conclusions can be drawn about the necropolis itself? In the following, a temporal and spacial re-contextualization of five of the fragments from the Heliopolitan necropolis of the New Kingdom will be undertaken using epigraphical methods. Each object will be discussed in regards to its provenance: to which extent can a funerary context be determined? As well as, whether an origin from the profane space can finally be excluded or not. As the modern building density of Ain Shams rules out any chance of future large-scale excavations of the New Kingdom necropolis, the epigraphical processing of the scattered fragments is of utmost importance for the investigation of the *Dd.t ʕ3.t n.t Jwn.w*.

2. Inventory: The New Kingdom Necropolis of Heliopolis

2.1 Topography

The Heliopolitan necropolis is located in the eastern forefield of the main temenos and its northern extension. Covering an area of 300 hectares, burials from the Old, Middle and New Kingdom as well as from the Third Intermediate Period, the Late Period, Graeco-Roman

and Coptic times are attested. The site shows an approximate north-south expansion of 2100 m and an east-west expansion of 1500 m (RAUE 1999, 35). Even in Pharaonic times, the bedrock was overlaid with many metres of sand and loose stony debris (ID. 1999, 58). A significant characteristic of the area's topography was certainly the light incline of the ground towards the southeast. The archaeological find spots are situated between an elevation of 14 and 27 m above sea level, the maximum difference in height among them being 13 m.⁴ Those tombs built on higher ground were thus clearly visible even from a large distance. On a clear day, one could easily enjoy an expansive view across the lower levels with the sacred buildings of the Heliopolitan temple as well as the *jt.y*-channel from the tombs. Nowadays, not much of the former appearance of the necropolis is preserved. The area is almost completely overbuilt with modern houses forming the Cairene suburb of Ain Shams. The slope of the terrane is now hardly recognizable, due to excessive building activity (the area is now situated in the heart of the modern settlement). However, its course can most likely be retraced by following a railway line running between 18 and 19 m above sea level.⁵ Its tracks divide Ain Shams into eastern and western precincts (Fig. 7).

The Old Kingdom burials are concentrated below an elevation of 17 m above sea level on the south-eastern edge of the main temenos. The mastaba tombs of the Heliopolitan high priests of the 6th Dynasty were excavated by

⁴ RAUE 1999, pl. 4. The predynastic necropolis is situated outside of the precinct of the (later) main necropolis, approximately 2 km in southern direction (see ID. 1999, pl. 1).

⁵ RAUE 1999, pl. 3. Especially in the older literature, several toponyms were used to refer to smaller settlements in the district of Ain Shams such as Ard el-Naam, parc aux autruches, Hod el-Balsam, Gebel el-Naam and Kafr Gamous. A list and localisation of these toponyms can be found in ID. 1999, 31–37.

Daressy.⁶ Although a few false doors – all of them clearly dating to the Old Kingdom – were found on much higher terrain, this particular find spot must be interpreted carefully, as it might have been some kind of interim storage area for further transport (RAUE 1999, 36).

It is very difficult to localise tombs of the Middle Kingdom. So far, they can only be traced based on the architectural material used as *spolia* in younger buildings; some of them situated within the temenos.⁷ Nevertheless, it is highly probable that the Middle Kingdom tombs were also mastabas. The highest elevation point of a find dating to this time was located between an elevation of 22 and 23 m above sea level.⁸

Tombs of the New Kingdom are spread across the complete eastern forefield of the main temenos. Of all periods, the New Kingdom tombs comprise the largest area within the necropolis, although only parts of the site were sampled archaeologically.

The northern border of the cemetery appears to equal that of the northern extension as no finds from a funerary context were discovered south of it (RAUE 1999, 57). There are no known indications of burials in the area south of the temenos. However, a small number of single chapels have been verified south of Ain Shams (Fig. 6). In the eastern part of Ain Shams, tombs have only been confirmed up to an elevation of 27 m above sea level (the greatest height ever

reached within the area of use of the Heliopolitan necropolis). Since the reign of Ramesses II, at the latest, the area of the main necropolis was accessible from the temenos through a gate in its eastern enclosure wall (RAUE 1999, 32 and note 4).

The tombs of the Third Intermediate Period, the Late Period as well as Greco-Roman times have been found in all parts of the main necropolis. It seems that all areas within the necropolis complex could have been used for burials. The erection of these late chapels was often made possible by reusing construction material from much older tombs (RAUE 1999, 36; precisely the Saite Period tombs and their furnishings were only recently subjected to an in-depth study by Abdelghaffar Wagdy, see Wagdy 2020).

2.2 Research History

As already pointed out, the area of the necropolis never underwent a systematic archaeological examination. Due to the dense extant neighbourhoods of the area, a large-scale archaeological survey will be impossible to realise for the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, a few small-scale excavations were undertaken and important single finds have been verified as originating from Ain Shams.⁹

In the course of construction work on a drainage ditch east of the temple, a great number

⁶ DARESSY 1916, 193–212. Some of these tombs might even be dated to the First Intermediate Period.

⁷ FARIS/MAHMUD/RAUE/SCHIESTL 2008. On sources from the First Intermediate Period, see RAUE 2014.

⁸ This is a stela belonging to a nomarch of the early 12th Dynasty. It is not clear whether the stela was found as *spolia* or not, see ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 144, no. 111.

⁹ For a list of all published sources about archaeological undertakings and finds in the area of Heliopolis, see RAUE 1999, 465–485. A *senet*-board was found in Ain Shams in a tomb of the 20th–21st Dynasty, see ISKANDER 2010.

of matching fragments of tomb reliefs from the New Kingdom were brought to light in 1911 (see EDGAR 1914, 5–8, fig. 1–13). In February 1936, also during the construction of a channel, a stela from the 18th Dynasty as well as a lintel of the 20th Dynasty were discovered (FAKHRY 1938, 31–44).

The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities in Egypt was responsible for the scientific inspection of the construction work that was begun in the late 1950s in Matariya, Ain Shams and Tell el-Hisn. The digging of construction pits was systematically supervised and smaller excavations were conducted when deemed necessary.

From 1957–1959, construction work was mainly executed in the area of Ard el-Naam¹⁰ in order to build the Higher Polytechnic Institute (MESSIHA 1966, 185 and RAUE 1999, 476). In its course, single pit burials of the Late Period and the Greco-Roman Period were identified and funerary objects of the New Kingdom were salvaged; among them, two alabaster vessels with the cartouches of Ramesses II (see BAKRY 1972, 66). Further rescue excavations in this area were undertaken by the Supreme Council of Antiquities in the years 1962, 1964, 1966–1968 and 1971–1973 (see RAUE 1999, 476–479). The large amount of finds from these excavations include funerary stelae as well as relief fragments from the New Kingdom. Moreover, the archaeological examination of a subterranean shaft complex of this period

brought to light – in addition to many small finds – a sarcophagus.¹¹

After the discovery of a stela from the immediate post-Amarna Period in 1976 (ed. KADRY 1985, 317–321), the Cairo University, under the supervision of Abdel-Aziz Saleh, carried out excavations in the area northeast of the main temenos during the years 1980–1981 and succeeded in salvaging small finds once belonging to the furnishings of New Kingdom tombs (LECLANT 1982, 60, no. 24). Since 1983, further stelae and small finds from funerary contexts were discovered at various widespread locations in Matariya and Ain Shams.¹² In 1988, during the archaeological examination of the Sharia Ibrahim Abd el-Raziq by the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, several fragments of a granite sarcophagus were found inside a burial shaft (ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 142, no. 79).

The site of the necropolis was surveyed and mapped by Raue in cooperation with the local inspectorate in 1993–1994 (RAUE 1999, 31 and note 1). A series of old find spots were thus relocalised (Id. 1999, 35). The Egyptian Ministry is still active in the area of Ain Shams, overseeing construction work and conducting small-scale excavations. It is thanks to the Ministry's efforts that the erection of a series of new buildings was prevented in view of the archaeological importance of the site.

¹⁰ The name Ard el-Naam denotes a small area within modern-day Ain Shams, situated approximately 3 km southeast of the obelisk of Senusret I. The Arabic toponym refers to an ostrich-farm which was established there at the end of the 19th century.

¹¹ A list of the finds in RAUE 1999, 478–479.

¹² An overview of the finds and related publications in RAUE 1999, 481.

2.3 Tomb Architecture

In the excavations of this area, often only the subterranean portions of the tombs remained (ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 138). Regarding their architecture, a direct connection to the topographical conditions can be stated. As only few of the underground premises reached the bedrock, they had to be extremely carefully noggged and vaulted.¹³ These constructions typically comprised a burial chamber; excavated as a simple pit and subsequently roofed with a barrel-vault. Access to the burial chamber was either provided by a mud-brick shaft or a descending but also roofed corridor. In several other tombs, the mudbrick shaft led to one or two underground chambers. In some shafts and chambers the original revetment with undecorated limestone slabs was still extant.¹⁴ The maximum depth attested for a New Kingdom shaft is 7 m (see ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 142, no. 78 and 80; MESSIHA 1966, 190 and pl. 10).

However, because of their general bad state of preservation, only a few of the excavated tombs could be dated securely. There are two reasons for this. In order to obtain construction material, many of the Heliopolitan tombs were already dismantled in Antiquity (RAUE 1999, 36). Additionally, a series of tombs were looted in modern times: a well-known problem in extremely densely populated areas such as Ain Shams (MESSIHA 1966, 185; ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 138). The lack of finds makes the dating of the plundered tombs even more difficult.

The archaeological examinations yielded only very little verified information concerning the aboveground architecture of the New Kingdom tombs. Five mudbrick chambers – panelled with undecorated slabs of limestone – were uncovered at the Sharia Ezzad Pascha in 1983. They probably date to the New Kingdom (ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 140, no. 46). A similar structure was excavated in the same area during the years 1993–1994, its mudbrick masonry was still preserved up to a height of 50 cm. Although the building could not be completely uncovered due to surrounding structures, it was possible to excavate an area measuring 10 × 4 m (RAUE 1999, 484). However, it is not possible to date this structure securely. Concerning the former appearance of the aboveground architecture, one has to rely solely on assumptions (RAUE 1999, 36). Nevertheless, it can already be stated that both old and recent finds point to the clear prevalence of one particular tomb type within the Heliopolitan necropolis during the New Kingdom, as will be shown.

2.3.1 Architectural Interpretation of the Old Finds

Assumptions concerning the missing superstructures of the New Kingdom tombs are mainly based on a series of objects found in Ain Shams and Matariya. Among other things, 13 relief-decorated blocks attracted a lot of attention. They belonged to the overseer of the domain of Ra named *Mr.y-Jtm.w* from the 20th Dynasty

¹³ The following information on the subterranean architecture of the Heliopolitan tombs are based on RAUE 1999, 58.

¹⁴ Attested in tombs of various epochs, see ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 139, no. 19–20, 140, no. 46, no. 49, 142, no. 81, no. 88–89, 143, no. 100, 145, no. 133; MESSIHA 1966, 189.

and were found during construction work of a channel east of the main temenos in 1911 (EDGAR 1914, 281–284, fig. 1–13; RAUE 1999, 205). These included matching fragments of door jambs, as well as three matching relief fragments showing scenes of the adoration of deities. As indicated by the archaeological record (which includes matching blocks decorated with funerary motifs, that were found directly at the ancient necropolis), a freestanding tomb chapel, with a relief-decorated superstructure in the Memphite style, was destroyed in the course of the construction work. That these blocks were reused here, on the other hand, is rather unlikely (RAUE 1999, 205).

The discovery of a lintel of $H^c-m-Ws.t$ (Boston MFA 12.1004) from the 20th Dynasty corroborates such tomb chapels in the Memphite style.¹⁵ Flinders Petrie discovered this lintel in Matariya in 1911. The left side of the decoration shows $H^c-m-Ws.t$ seated on a folding chair while receiving offerings from two figures standing opposite him. The donor can most likely be identified as the $H^c-m-Ws.t$ who is mentioned in the Papyrus Wilbour and was the overseer of the domains as well as the overseer of the granaries belonging to the mortuary temple of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu.¹⁶ However, no explicit Theban titles are mentioned on the Heliopolitan lintel.

The fragments of the lintel of $M^c j$ (Cairo TR 07-07-37-38/07-07-37-39), which were found during the digging of a water channel on the site

of the ancient necropolis in 1938, also date to the 20th Dynasty (FAKHRY 1938, 31–32, no. 1 and pl. 4; RAUE 1999, 198). Based on his office as royal scribe, the lintel's donor, $M^c j$, might also be identified as the anonymous person listed in the Papyrus Wilbour who occupied the very same office, as suggested by RAUE (1999, 198–199, note 7). Yet neither his titles nor the given genealogical references point to a connection to Heliopolis.

Furthermore, the Ramesside relief fragment of $Jtm-htp$ (Brussels E. 5182) must be mentioned in this context. It was found by Flinders Petrie as *spolia* in a younger building in the western precinct of the main temenos (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 6, no. 4, pl. 7–8; RAUE 1999, 166). The blocks are rectangular with two registers of decoration in sunk relief. Only the lower half of the figures in the upper register remain: $Jtm-htp$, a priest in the temple of Ra, and his wife are depicted adoring a deity. Only the upper part of the lower register is still extant; on the right side of which, a pyramid is depicted. Several people are shown standing in front of the pyramid headed by a figure wearing a jackal-mask and holding a human mummy in front of him. Opposite them, a priest is performing the ritual act of burning incense and pouring a libation. This figure is followed by another priest reciting a magical spell from a scroll. A group of mourning women are shown behind them. In this case, especially the 15 cm depth of the fragment¹⁷ points to its provenance from a tomb similar to those in the Memphite necropolis (cf. RAUE 1999, 166).

¹⁵ PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 7, no. 19, pl. 9; D'AURIA/LACOVARA/ROEHRIG 1988, 159, no. 110; RAUE 1999, 243–244. We cannot rule out the possibility that the lintel originated in a residential house.

¹⁶ HELCK 1958, 135–136 and 503, no. 17.

¹⁷ The regular depth of the Memphite limestone panels, see KITCHEN 1979, 275.

This particular type of tomb architecture, the freestanding chapel with relief-decorated superstructure, is mainly known from the New Kingdom necropolis in Saqqara.¹⁸ The architectural interpretation of the old finds from Heliopolis indicates that the superstructures of the Heliopolitan tombs were also shaped in this particular way. This assumption is further strengthened by the topographical conditions of the desert-like site of present-day Ain Shams with its broad layers of debris, detritus and sand; therefore making the construction of rock-cut tombs not realizable (RAUE 1995, 267–268). Since the archaeological examination of the necropolis did not provide much information regarding the prevalent tomb type, the epigraphic processing of the new finds from the temple of Heliopolis gains even more importance as it may verifies the architectural interpretation of the few known old finds.

2.3.2 *Excursus: The Tomb Architecture in the Memphite Necropolis of the New Kingdom*

From the immediate post-Amarna Period to the 20th Dynasty, the site of Saqqara superseded western Thebes as the preferred place of burial among officials of high rank and temple servants.¹⁹ Within this time frame, Egyptian tomb architecture experienced a major transformation. The so far earliest known tombs of the New Kingdom are a group of rock-cut tombs close

to the Bubasteion, dating to the time of Amenhotep III (HOFMANN 2004, 95). With the end of the 18th Dynasty, a new type of tomb architecture developed: the freestanding chapel with relief-decorated superstructure (Fig. 8). Although a few rock-cut tombs were still constructed in the Ramesside Period, the free-standing tomb chapels became more dominant within the Memphite necropolis.

Usually, the tomb chapels have an east-west axis;²⁰ As a rule, the entrance is constructed in the east and resembles the shape of a pylon.²¹ It provided access to one or more courts, many of them furnished with columns or pillars. One of these courts usually contained the shaft leading to the subterranean burial chambers. The architecture of these underground structures corresponds very closely with the observations made on the subterranean burial structures that were excavated in Ain Shams. The rear part of the Memphite chapels often includes a structure with three small chambers while the central room was used as the actual sanctuary. Its western wall was usually decorated with a rectangular stela which served as the focal point of cultic performances.²² The flanking chambers could either be used for cultic or storage purposes. Especially in the wealthier tombs, a small pyramid was added to the rear part. Whereas in the 19th Dynasty it was common to erect the pyramid above the central chamber of the sanctuary, it later

¹⁸ Similar types of tomb chapels – dating to various epochs – are also known from other sites including Dra Abu el-Naga, Deir el-Medineh and Abydos, see RAUE 1995, 258–264.

¹⁹ A discussion of this development and the reasons in VAN DIJK 1993, 189–204; RAUE 1995, 255–268.

²⁰ A detailed description of the typical ground plan of the Memphite tomb chapels in KITCHEN 1979, 272–275; RAUE 1995, 256.

²¹ However, this could not be realized in all cases since a large number of chapels were erected very close to each other. Therefore, the eastern walls of many tombs did not provide enough space for a doorway, see KITCHEN 1979, 273.

²² RAUE 1995, 263. As it is attested in some cases, two stelae could also be erected flanking the entry to the central chamber in the rear part.

appears as freestanding construction behind the sanctuary.

From the late 18th Dynasty to the early reign of Ramesses II, the superstructures of the Memphite chapels were constructed of mudbrick masonry. However, a large number of tombs from the advanced reign of Ramesses II show massive limestone masonry, although a few mudbrick chapels are still attested from the Ramesside time. In both cases, mudbrick and limestone masonry, the walls were panelled with thin precisely-cut relief-decorated limestone slabs. Nowadays, many of them can be found in museums all over the globe (HOFMANN 2004, 95).

While in the late 18th Dynasty the courts belonging to wealthier tombs were mainly furnished with papyrus-bundle columns, those of the Ramesside Period usually display pillars instead.²³ The latter are often decorated with a depiction of the deceased in a kneeling position. In the depiction, they are carrying the *ḏd*-pillar or worshipping in front of it. From the 19th Dynasty on, decoration of these rooms is dominated by motifs from the mortuary cult or scenes of deity adoration.²⁴ This can be seen in clear contrast to the courts of the post-Amarna time that usually depict scenes from daily life as well as the afterlife (KITCHEN 1979, 275–276), whereas – even in the courtyards of the tombs – the latter appear to be fully supplanted in Ramesside times (RAUE 1995, 263).

The private tombs in the Memphite necropolis are modelled after the royal mortuary temples,

and thus functioned as a private mortuary temple. As a result, the tomb became a place where not only the deceased, but also deities could be worshipped by the tomb owner and their relatives (RAUE 1995, 261).

3. Epigraphic Re-contextualization of the New Finds

3.1 Objectives and Applied Methodology

The epigraphic study of the five present objects found in the temple of Heliopolis pursues the three following objectives:

1. The dating of the objects
2. The reconstruction of the original location of the object within a Heliopolitan tomb (including the object's orientation)
3. The drawing of conclusions concerning the tomb architecture of the Heliopolitan necropolis as well as its chronological and social-stratigraphical occupancy period

Each chapter is structured as follows: First, a short explanation of the find context as well as a description of the object will be given. In the case of the fragments of door jambs and the offering table, a typological compendium of the object category is necessary in order to subsequently file the present object into this development.

If the object provides an inscription, it is studied first by transcribing, translating and commenting on it from a philological perspective. The

²³ RAUE 1995, 263. A popular type is the *ḏd*-pillar.

²⁴ HOFMANN 2004, 150; ASSMANN 1995, 283 and BUDKA 2001, 9.

transcription is made according to the conventions of the *TLA*²⁵ while the denomination of the hieroglyphs follows Gardiner (*GEG*, Sign-list, 442–543). Afterwards, textual criteria of the inscription are examined in regard to dating. In this context, the paleography provides a significant criterion. Based on MOJE's *Paläographie* (2007), a paleographical comparison with objects from securely dated contexts is undertaken for every object. If extant, title and name of the donor are analysed chronologically. Further, the temporal span of evidence of the preserved text genres, as well as the combination of genre and object category, as the text-bearing artefact, is determined. Significant textual modules (e.g., the appeal for mercy in the offering formula or the like) can contribute independent data points to the dating process. The denomination of the appeals follows the system established by BARTA (1968, 234–246). The given statistic calculations are also based on his studies.

After that, there is a section for describing any remaining decorative depiction (if present). It is put into a broader scenic context using Memphite reliefs as parallels. In a further step, the stylistic and iconographic criteria on the Heliopolitan object will be analysed. The statements are principally based on the observations about the decorative programme in the Rameside private tombs in Saqqara formulated in HOFMANN'S *Bilder im Wandel* (2004, 93–110). Due to the global dispersion of the relief-decorated wall panels that were dismantled from Memphite tombs and taken to collections worldwide, the remarks on the complete decoration

scheme of the tombs and their pictorial composition or their spatial arrangement are far from comprehensive or absolute (HOFMANN 2004, 94). It is especially the so-called pluralism of style of the post-Amarna phase that complicates the understanding of a continuous stylistic development (HOFMANN 2004, 119–124).

With all that in mind, then the object is dated. All of the analysed criteria from the fields of text, style and iconography are summarized and evaluated. The more typological, textual, pictorial or constructional criteria that is provided by the object, the more precise the dating can be.

Lastly, the reconstruction of the original setting is based on the dating of the object. In a first step, it must be proved that the particular object in fact originated in a tomb. Only then can the question of its position within such an architectural structure be posed. On the one hand, major indications of this are provided by the textual category and the scenic context. On the other hand, constructional details or semantic information (such as given names of deities) need to be considered. Conclusions about the orientation of the objects can be drawn based on the orientation of both hieroglyphs and figures. Again, reliefs from Saqqara serve as parallels.

Heliopolis is located on the east bank of the Nile. In order to transfer the observations made in the Memphite necropolis to the Heliopolitan necropolis, it is necessary to take into account the ground plans of the Memphite tombs, situated on the west bank. Since the entrance to the

²⁵ *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*: <http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/>.

tombs in Ain Shams must have been west-facing, their sanctuaries would have been located in the tomb's eastern part.

However, it should be pointed out that a tomb cannot be reconstructed from a single fragment. The finds from Area 202 must therefore be considered as isolated indications of separated units of architecture as well as decoration. It is thus necessary to investigate the extent to which the objects from Heliopolis can be compared to, and integrated into, the architectural and iconographical record from Saqqara.

3.2 Fragments of Decorated Door Jambs

3.2.1 Basics of Construction

The construction of an ancient Egyptian door essentially consisted of the door frame (*htr.w*²⁶ or *sbz*²⁷) composed of a horizontally mounted architrave (*ʕrj.t*²⁸) and two door jambs (*bnš*²⁹).³⁰ As usual in sacred buildings, a monolithic threshold (*sš*³¹ or *bnn.t*³²) in hard stone (ARNOLD 2000, 267) gave access to the inner rooms. In many cases the threshold further served as foundation for the door frame as the jambs were dowelled into its surface (ARNOLD 2000, 268 and BUDKA 2001, 6, fig. 2). The single

components were usually made of stone; due to the local resources, either sand- or limestone was predominantly used.

For the most sacred buildings (such as temple- or tomb-complexes) granite was also used. Both the architrave and the jambs were either monolithically manufactured or constructed of single blocks.³³ Throughout Egyptian history, the decoration of the architraves with a hollow fillet and torus was customary. The door frame was generally integrated into the surrounding masonry that consisted of mudbricks (profane architecture) or stone (sacred architecture).³⁴ Door leaves, mainly manufactured of wood, could be attached to the frame itself.³⁵ Circular indentations on the underside of the lintels are indicative of sockets into which the upper pivot of a door leaf was set. The grooves on the thresholds served as sockets for the lower pivots (ARNOLD 2000, 268).

To keep (outside) dangers away, some doors were furnished with a locking mechanism which could either be operated from the inside or outside. Whereas single-leaf doors were locked with a bolt that slid into the wall, two-leaf doors were secured with a bar in the centre.³⁶ Although the wooden leaves might not have remained,

²⁶ Wb. 3, 200.13–14; attested in the New Kingdom.

²⁷ Wb. 4, 83.9–17; earliest evidence from the Pyramid Texts and documented until Coptic times.

²⁸ Wb. 1, 209.5–6; attested in the Middle and New Kingdom.

²⁹ Wb. 1, 464.3; attested in the New Kingdom.

³⁰ For the architectural construction of Egyptian doors, see KÖNIGSBERGER 1936, 4–36; ARNOLD 2000, 267–269 and BUDKA 2001, 4–6 and 11–68.

³¹ Wb. 3, 482.15; evidence dating to the Middle Kingdom.

³² Wb. 1, 460.15; attested since the Late Period.

³³ However, only in the case of monumental gateways was the architrave constructed out of blocks set upright, see ARNOLD 2000, 267 and BUDKA 2001, 4.

³⁴ However, not in all cases: A handful of temple pylons of the New Kingdom show isolated door jambs which were not integrated into the surrounding masonry. In most cases the connection points of jambs and lintels display bosses, see BUDKA 2001, 4.

³⁵ Both single-wing and double-wing are attested in Egypt.

³⁶ For the different locking mechanisms, see KÖNIGSBERGER 1936, 13–64 and ARNOLD 2000, 268–269.

constructional details on the components of Egyptian doors allow conclusions to be drawn about their former locking mechanism, such as circular grooves on the front face of a door jamb that were carved approximately at half of its height (BUDKA 2001, 5).

However, a consistent width-to-height ratio cannot be determined for Egyptian doors. According to Arnold, the ratio of temple gates varied between 1:2 and 1:3 dependent on the overarching system of proportions (ARNOLD 2000, 268). For the doors in the Ramesside settlement of Qantir, as well as the house gates in Amarna, a ratio of clear width to clear height of approximately 1:2 has been reconstructed (BUDKA 2001, 4 and notes 23–24). So far, no average value is known for the gates of the freestanding tomb chapels. However, both profane and sacred gates seem to have been constructed equally (BUDKA 2001, 8).

As mudbrick masonry itself did not provide durable anchor points, the installation of a stone door frame offered clear structural merits in such architecture (BUDKA 2001, 3). Nevertheless, separate door frames of stone were also installed in buildings of stone masonry such as tombs, temples, administrative or palatial units. Since this cannot have been due to structural reasons, this phenomenon might best be explained in the words of BRUNNER (1988, 248): “Das ägyptische Tor ist eine zwar technisch und im Alltag wie in der religiösen Welt notwendige, aber doch im Grunde unliebsame Unterbrechung einer Grenze.” This might also be why special attention was given to the door jambs from the earliest

period on as they were specially marked, decorated or even designated (KÖNIGSBERGER 1936, 4–5). The fact that the names of 35 gates in the Karnak temple are testified shows how seriously this was taken (BRUNNER 1988, 251).

Nearly all of the ancient Egyptian door jambs stood out from the surrounding masonry (see KÖNIGSBERGER 1936, 6, fig. 4 and BUDKA 2001, 3) and were thus accentuated and exposed within the building complex, which gave them a degree of prominence within the building complex. The fact that the Egyptians did not dispense with stone door frames, even in surrounding stone structure, was interpreted as a symbiosis of traditional construction methods and a distinctive decorative aesthetic (KÖNIGSBERGER 1936, 6). The decorative elements of the constituent parts of these portals continued to develop into a complex set of conventions. These conventions, while consistent enough to be identifiable, were not so strict as to remove all mutability. These developments continued throughout Ancient Egyptian history. And all the while, the semantic conventions and literary devices were developing as well.³⁷

However, the portals inside the New Kingdom tombs were not just doors, but also intended to be highly ornamental gates imbued with magical power. They would enable the deceased to stride from the world of the living to the netherworld, able to move bidirectionally between worlds (ASSMANN 1995, 285). Above all, the tomb gates served as a partition between sacred and profane areas, between *sacrum* and *saeculare* (BRUNNER 1988, 250).

³⁷ For the semantics of the Egyptian tombs and its lines of development, see ASSMANN 1995, 281–284; for the semantics of the architectural elements within the Ramesside private tombs, see HOFMANN 2004, 130–136.

3.2.2 Decorative Programme in the New Kingdom

Ancient Egyptian door frames were usually decorated on the lintel and both door jambs, but these components must still be regarded as having a semantic unity. Following Königsberger, three main types of decoration can be distinguished: “Sturzdekoration” (BUDKA 2001, 6), “Rahmendekoration” and “Pfoستendekoration”.³⁸ Generally the decoration of tomb portals was more costly than that of house doors.³⁹ In both cases, the architrave, as well as the jambs, could be furnished with inscriptions and/or images. The architrave usually displays an antithetical scene. The front sides of the jambs were mostly decorated with inscriptions. Below these inscriptions, a free space of approximately 30 cm height was usually devoted to a scene (BUDKA 2001, 7) depicting the donor in his function as lord of the house or tomb.

During the New Kingdom, the subject matter of the decoration underwent a full conversion. It was Budka who outlined the interdependency of the generally analogous running development lines of decoration schemata of funeral and profane door frames (an observation that was already preliminarily sketched by SEIDLMAYER [1983, 183–206] regarding a series of inscriptions on architectural elements from Amarna). In order to fully comprehend this observation and its theological importance, the typological development of portals in the home and in the tomb during the New Kingdom will be sketched briefly in the following.

Pre-Amarna

The decorative scheme of door jambs before the Amarna Period must be labelled as uncanonical, which might be due to the fact that only a few instances are known so far. These few door jambs – both from profane and sacred buildings – usually include a brief annotation of the name and title of the donor. The annotation is made on the tomb portal in a format that dates back to the Old Kingdom (HORNUNG 1995, 107). Hornung compares these conspicuous names to visiting cards in stone. In the settlements, beginning with the reign of Thutmose III, the surfaces of the lintels started to be decorated with scenes of the owner in poses of adoration in front of a cartouche.⁴⁰ Whereas in tombs, they have been present since Hatshepsut (BUDKA 2001, 8).

Amarna Period

A canonic scheme of decoration had been evident since the Amarna Period (SEIDLMAYER 1983, 184–185). Both the lintels of front doors of houses and tomb portals were now decorated with a symmetric tableau, showing a framed group of cartouches in its middle, receiving worship from a kneeling, praying figure on both sides. The jambs in tombs and residential houses are equally furnished either with the offering formula starting with *hṯp-dj-nswt* or a prayer of joyful praise, regularly in the form of *jꜣ.w*, *jꜣ.w n=k* or in the infinitive form of *rdj.t jꜣ.w* (which also appears as an annotation in scenic contexts on architraves).⁴¹ The use of the offering formula marks the very first time that

³⁸ For the different decorative schemes and their explanation, see KÖNIGSBERGER 1936, 66–72. He further mentions the “Unsymmetrische Dekoration”.

³⁹ BUDKA 2001, 8. The door jambs from tombs in Amarna, for example, show three to five text columns whereas the front doors of houses in the city were only furnished with one or two columns.

⁴⁰ The ideological background of the cartouche-worshipping scenes is discussed in BUDKA 2001, 53–61.

an element of funerary texts had been used as an inscription on architecture within a settlement (see SEIDLMEYER 1983, 183 and BUDKA 2001, 1–2). Budka recognizes this development as a result of the “Wandlung der Geisteshaltung und Verschiebung von Prioritäten”⁴² which was cultivated in Amarna, based on the “Verdiesseitigung des Totenglaubens” (ASSMANN 2001, 295) or – *vice versa* – the “Sakralisierung des Diesseits” (ASSMANN 1995, 293). Since no fixed border parted this world and the netherworld any longer, also the settlements had to be understood as an otherworldly sphere in the final instance.

This turning point in belief made it both possible and necessary to decorate the front doors of houses with funerary texts.⁴³ This was referred to as “inhaltliche [...] Einengung der Topik der Amarnatexte im Ganzen, [bedingt] durch den Wegfall spezieller Jenseitsvorstellungen und einer vom Königtum unabhängigen Götterwelt, so daß die sonst differenzierend wirkende thematische Aufteilung in einen diesseitigen und einen jenseitigen Bereich in Amarna gedanklich aufgehoben wird” (SEIDLMEYER 1983, 185–186). However, the requests on the front doors differ from those on tomb jambs as they target the well-being of the living rather than the deceased.⁴⁴ Consequently, mainly deities without a primal funerary character were beseeched to give them vitality, health, welfare, as well as offerings for life on this side.

Ramesside Period

The decoration of Ramesside portals basically continues the traditions of the Amarna Period (SEIDLMEYER 1983, 185). However, it has been expanded in a certain way (BUDKA 2001, 9). The door jambs in houses and tombs continued to be decorated with an offering formula or prayers. In tombs, these inscriptions were mainly addressed to funerary deities, whereas the offerings were requested on behalf of a *Wsjr*-NN. On house doors, mostly non-funerary deities were asked for mercies benefiting life on the worldly side. The decorative programme specific to Amarna was primarily continued on Ramesside lintels within the settlements. To a great extent, the surfaces were furnished with two symmetrically composed depictions of the kneeling donor praying to a royal cartouche, which is positioned between them. In other cases, the royal cartouche is exchanged with deities of the sphere of the living.⁴⁵ In the private tombs of the Ramesside dynasties, the scene depicting cartouche worship was nearly entirely replaced by scenes of the adoration of deities as well as motifs from the mortuary cult (SEIDLMEYER 1983, 185). The decorative schemes of the Ramesside tombs therefore still held on to the abolishment of the border between the world of the living and the netherworld. However, the worldly sphere, to which the deceased aimed to come back to, thus gained a very explicit religious dimension as ASSMANN (1995, 288) pointed out.

⁴¹ Concerning the textual decoration schemes on portals in Amarna, see BUDKA 2001, 7–8.

⁴² BUDKA 2001, 1, as well as on the Amarna Period as the turning point of typology, see BUDKA 2001, 54–55.

⁴³ On the effects the Amarna religion had on the decorative schemes, see also HORNUNG 1995, 106–108.

⁴⁴ HABACHI 1952, 500. For the interpretation of inscriptions on house doors with the offering formula, see BUDKA 2001, 41–42.

⁴⁵ For an inventory list of the deities depicted on private door jambs of the New Kingdom, see BUDKA 2001, 61–68.

3.2.3 Fragment of a Door Jamb

(find-no. 202-4-3)

3.2.3.1 Find Context

In February 2014 excavations were carried out by the *Heliopolis Project* in Area 202. The work focused on an elongated trench west of the shopping mall of Matariya, now known as *Suq el-Khamis*. While removing the modern surface layer, the fragment of a limestone door jamb with three relief-decorated sides was found and given the find-no. 202-4-3. Some Ramesside pottery, as well as a coin minted in 1958 were also discovered within the same archaeological context. It can therefore be assumed that the objects originated from one of the debris layers that were unloaded in Ain Shams after they were removed from the construction site close to the Higher Polytechnic Institute in Ain Shams. The fragment is now kept in the local storeroom of Matariya.

3.2.3.2 Object Description

Short description and measurements

Find-no. 202-4-3 is the fragment of a door jamb made of limestone (Fig. 9–13). The front side is decorated with a hieroglyphic inscription in two columns. The remains of a column line on the right narrow side indicates that this side was also originally inscribed. The left side shows the remains of a depiction of a woman. With a height of 29 cm and a width of 26.5 cm, the front side has an almost square surface. The back side of the object had been destroyed, especially on the right, which is why the depth ranges

from a minimum of 5.5 cm on the right side to a maximum of 11 cm on the left side.

Material and state of preservation

The door jamb is made of greyish limestone of a coarse-grained consistency. The original surface is preserved on the front as well as the four lateral sides. While the top and bottom were only roughly polished, the decorated sides – the ones intended to be visible – received a more careful polishing. The object is generally in a satisfactory state of preservation, yet the rear side is completely broken away. Also, the corners and edges are chipped and damaged. The front side is mainly affected in the lower left part. The limestone shows rough abrasions which afflict the legibility of the inscription. A semi-oval fracture is situated on the left column line, approximately in the middle of the column. On the right side outside the inscription, there is an elongated fracture. The damage on the back side of the object caused breakages on the left narrow side.

Inscription (front and right narrow side)

The front side is decorated with two columns in sunk relief, displaying a hieroglyphic offering formula.⁴⁶ There is a vertical line to the left and right of each column, as well as between them. The inscription is slightly shifted to the right edge of the fragment so that the distance to the original edge on the object's left side is larger than on the right side: a well-known decoration feature of Egyptian door jambs.⁴⁷ The quality of the execution of the inscription is generally good. However, since the left column is severely damaged, the traces of the hieroglyphs in the

⁴⁶ Criteria for the undertaken classification as offering formula are discussed in chapter 3.2.3.3.1 of the present study.

⁴⁷ BUDKA 2001, 7. The position of the inscription in the exact middle is however more frequent.

lower part of the inscription are almost illegible. Except for a few small fractures, the preservation of the right column is very good, rendering its inscription fully legible.

On the right narrow side (which is 5.5 cm wide at the widest section) another vertical column line is preserved. The line is approximately at the same distance to the outer edge as the right line on the front and can therefore be identified as a vertical column line. Yet almost nothing is preserved of the hieroglyphic inscription itself. Only the remains of a few signs can be traced. The slightly aslant line might belong to a water line (𓂏, N35), whereas the line traces below might originate from a *p.t*-sign (𓂏, N1).

Relief decoration (left narrow side)

The 11 cm broad left narrow side shows a figural depiction that, based on the body shape, head-dress and clothing, can be identified as a woman. Nevertheless, only part of her back is preserved from the shoulders down to the upper thighs. Because of the roundish fracture on the back of the fragment, the front part of the stomach is not preserved.


The woman is orientated to the left side. Only the lower part of her wig, with thick, straight strands of hair, is visible on the fragment. Her hair is falling down from her shoulders to her waist. The edge of the wig is marked by a vertical ribbon without any further decoration. As the position of the remaining part of the woman's upper left arm suggests, she was originally depicted in the gesture of adoration with her arm outstretched at a slight angle in front of her face.⁴⁸

The praying woman is dressed in a pleated garment with vertical drapery, covering all of the preserved body parts.

Because of the parallel folds, the garment can be identified as a cloak commonly worn by Ramesside noblewomen. They were worn over a slightly flared, ankle-length dress as shown in the private reliefs of this time (HOFMANN 2004, 166, note 571). However, this undergarment is not visible in the depiction. Her shoulder and upper arm are covered by the pleated sleeve of the coat, which appears to have a wide cut as well as much tighter drapery.⁴⁹ The depiction of her buttocks was executed as a slight but well-defined curve. In this part, the relief is much deeper than on the other parts of the body. This as well as the straight line of the folds of fabric might indicate that the buttocks was a belated addition to the woman's body.

3.2.3.3 Inscription

3.2.3.3.1 Transcription, Translation, Commentary

Because of the rightward orientation of the hieroglyphs, the right column must be read first. The text inside the column can be read without problems. However, this is not the case in the left column. Due to severe damage in the lower part of the column, only fragments of the inscription have been preserved and only the initial pair of eyes  can be securely transcribed. Based on this, the preserved passage can either be identified as the appeal for mercy no. 57

⁴⁸ A similar gesture can be observed on the depictions of mourning women lamenting the deceased with the palm of their hands raised to their faces. See for example RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 92–93, scene 14, lower register, 94–95, scene 15, upper register, 97, scene 16a; MARTIN 1985, pl. 20–22, scene 5. The mourning women are bent forwards with their heads thrown back. Therefore, the possibility cannot be excluded that the depiction shows a mourning woman.

⁴⁹ The fact that the pleating continues up to the shoulder indicates that the garment is not a shawl or wrap. A shawl or wrap only covers the area between the elbow and the middle of the upper arm. In addition, usually just the woman's rear arm is shown covered by a shawl.

(keyword: *jr.tj*, “mit den beiden Augen sehen”) or no. 89 (keyword: *mꜣꜣ*, “das Sehen, besonders das die Gottheit sehen”) of the offering formula.⁵⁰ In both appeals, the wish to see a certain entity was expressed. As the surviving evidence of both appeals in the New Kingdom indicate, this entity was to be identified as the king himself (rather seldom in Ramesside times), a particular deity, a group of deities or natural elements (for example, light [e.g., BARTA 1968, 93, appeal no. 89 b] and sun [e.g., BARTA 1968, 93, appeal

no. 89 a]) and the phenomena connected to the latter (for example, sunrise [e.g., BARTA 1968, 93, appeal no. 89 c] and sunset [e.g., BARTA 1968, 117, appeal no. 89 b–c]). Thus, the crucial question for analysing this inscription is: to whom does the wish to be watched refer?

The possible reconstruction variants of the destroyed text passage in the left column are listed in the philological commentary and their largely graphic weak spots are discussed.

Transcription	Translation
Right column	
[...] [<i>n kꜣ n(.j)</i>] ^{a)} <i>Wsjr</i> ^{b)} <i>ḥm-nṯr</i> ^{c)} <i>m pr-Jmn-Rꜥ</i> [...] [NN] ^{d)}	[...] [for the Ka of the] Osiris of the Gods-servant in the house of Amun-Ra [...] [NN]
Left column	
[...] ^{e)} <i>mꜣꜣ</i> ^{f)} <i>nb.w (?)</i> ^{g)} [...] <i>k</i> [...] ^{h)} [...] ⁱ⁾	[...] (the) seeing of the lords / seeing (the) lords(?) [...] [...]

Commentary

- a) Since this is followed by a title introduced by *Wsjr* (which probably preceded a name) it has to be assumed that in this column the beneficiary of the inscription was introduced: the donor himself, who can also be identified as the tomb owner. *jꜣ.w-* as well as *ḥtp-dj-nswt*-formulae are always introduced by *n kꜣ n(.j)* or similar constructions.⁵¹ Based on the premise that *Wsjr* did not belong to an additional title (see comment b), it is highly probable that such an introduction stood above the preserved text passage.

⁵⁰ On appeal no. 57 in the New Kingdom (keyword: *jr.tj*), see BARTA 1968, 115, 145, 236. On appeal no. 89 (keyword: *mꜣꜣ*), see BARTA 1968, 93–94, 117, 147, 166, 238.

⁵¹ BUDKA 2001, 47. Rarely also with *jn NN* (in particular under the reign of Akhenaten), *jn kꜣ n(.j) NN*, *jn n kꜣ n(.j) NN* as well as *n kꜣ*. During the reign of Thutmose III, the initiation is completely missing, as was referred to by Budka as a “Nulleinleitung”, which is frequently evident in the late New Kingdom. From Ramesses II onwards, a fixed formula for the inscription on door jambs is present, now also including the standardized preamble *n kꜣ n(.j) NN*.

- b) The semantic contextualization of the name Osiris allows two options for the time being. On the one hand, as already mentioned, it could be the remains of a further title that the donor held in addition to the *ḥm-ntr*. However, this option seems unlikely because there are only very few indications of an independent cult of Osiris in Heliopolis (basically only those in an inscription on a fragment of a stela from the 20th Dynasty).⁵² Yet no archaeological evidence exists concerning the *pr-Wsjr*, the domain of Osiris, which is mentioned in the text. Furthermore, additional textual parallels are completely missing. On the other hand, the designation *Wsjr* might also refer to the donor himself (who due to the formula *Wsjr-NN* would have been classified as deceased). In this case, the offering formula is usually introduced by *n kꜣ n(.j)*⁵³ *Wsjr-NN*, an opening that should be reconstructed here as well. Because of the designation as *Wsjr*, the present inscription can certainly be identified as an offering formula. Without it, the title and name, the probable opening *n kꜣ n(.j)* or something similar, as well as the appeal for mercy in the left column could also belong to a *jꜣ.w*-prayer. Often, both text genres are so similar formally that it is difficult to distinguish them, especially in the case of fragmented inscriptions (SEIDLMEYER 1983, 184 and BUDKA 2001, 7–8, 31–47). However, the phrase *Wsjr-NN* is not attested in a *jꜣ.w*-prayer. Furthermore, the phrase is a clear indication that the fragment originally belonged to a tomb.
- c) The ideogram stroke (l, Z1) behind *ḥm-ntr* is elongated and as high as the hieroglyphs next to it (𓏏, R8, 𓏏, U36). Graphically, this might be adapted from hieratic, in which the stroke often runs across the entire height of the line.⁵⁴
- d) Additional titles and/or epithets could have been inscribed here if the donor held such titles. It also seems reasonable to suppose that the name *pr-Jmn-Rꜥ* was followed by *m Jwn.w*, localizing the domain within the Heliopolitan temenos.⁵⁵ In the last passage of the formula, the personal name of the donor is certainly to be expected, probably followed by *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*.⁵⁶
- e) If appeal no. 57 had occupied this column, it seems plausible that *jr.tꜣj* or *jr.tjꜣj* was inscribed in the upper text passage. Thus, the spelling with a pair of eyes must be understood as the verb *mꜣꜣ*. If it was appeal no. 89, *mꜣꜣ* must be understood substantival. In the latter case, the reconstruction of a subjunctive verb would be necessary, in which context further appeals constructed as nominal phrases might have also followed. Depending on which deity or constellation of deities was addressed in the offering formula, this could have been *djꜣf*, “he may give” or *djꜣsn*, “they may give”.














⁵² The inscription of a stela fragment from the reign of Ramesses VII, that was found in a Mnevis tomb in Heliopolis, is addressed to the priesthood serving at the *pr-Hr* and a certain *pr-Wsjr* at the same time, indicating that they were priests of both Horus and Osiris simultaneously. According to RAUE 1999, 387–388, this is the only indication of an independent cult precinct of Osiris in Heliopolis.

⁵³ Or a similar construction for the initiation of titles and personal name, see BARTA 1968, 93, appeal no. 89 c.

⁵⁴ I thank Lutz Popko for this information. See MÖLLER 1909, 50, 558. Concerning the private stelae of the 19th Dynasty, MOJE 2007, 461 also assumes that a hieratic template was used.

⁵⁵ In most cases, the *pr-Rꜥ* is mentioned without further local determinations. See the inscription of the Heliopolitan offering table (find-no. 202-3-9) within this chapter. According to RAUE 1999, 16 the toponym *pr-Rꜥ* refers to the very same institution until the late New Kingdom. This explains why the name of the domain is usually not supplemented with *m Jwn.w* or similar constructions. However, the case of the *pr-Jmn-Rꜥ* was probably a different one, as the lack of textual parallels of the domains name suggests.

⁵⁶ On the non-royal epithet *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw* in the inscriptions on door jambs, see BUDKA 2001, 49–52.

- f) In the case of appeal no. 57 (keyword: *jr.tj*) of the offering formula, the pair of eyes  could be read as *jr.tj*, “both eyes”. Although the usual spelling of the dual *jr.tj* includes the feminine ending (, X1) as well as the ideogram stroke (, Z1), it could also be reduced to just the pair of eyes (*Wb.* 1, 106.7–108.1). However, taking the subsequent inscription into account, the following problem would ensue: the mentioning of the singular *jr.t* or *jr.tj* in dual would have required a – here not present – suffix pronoun as well as a postpositive verb. This was often solved with *m33*⁵⁷ or *gmḥ*⁵⁸ which in many cases was composed as a pseudoverbal construction with *ḥr*.⁵⁹ Although the reading of the following word poses several difficulties (see comment g), the quail chick (, G43) and the ideogram stroke (, Z1) classify it as a noun. The reading as *jr.tj* is therefore not plausible. It seems more likely that it was read *m33* (this particular spelling had been attested since the Middle Kingdom).⁶⁰ Since *m33* was directly followed by an object, no verb is missing. It remains uncertain whether *m33* is to be understood as a verb or noun: In the case of appeal no. 57, the upper, lost text passage would thus have to be reconstructed as *jr.t/jr.tj=j ḥr m33*, whereby *m33* is the verb, “that my eye/my both eyes may see(s)”. In the case of appeal no. 89, *m33* would appear in nominal use and thus must be translated as “the seeing”.⁶¹ However, the fragmented state of the inscription excludes the possibility of a syntactic analysis.
- g) A proper reading of the passage following *m33* is impossible. However, as indicated by the quail chick (, G43) and the ideogram stroke (, Z1), a noun must be assumed here. As in the right column, the stroke is elongated. It is still unclear which hieroglyph is engraved above. One option is the -basket (V30), indicating a reading as *nb.w*, “(the) lords” (*LGG* 3, 802; *Wb.* 2, 231.9–232.3). The absolute use of *nb.w* is hereby principally possible: “the superiors” (*Wb.* 2, 232.1). As a designation for a group of deities, *nb.w* is attested in the Old and New Kingdom as well as in the Greco-Roman Period. Usually this is spelled with determinatives; however, they seem to have been left out because of the lack of space.⁶² More frequently, the *nb.w* have been attested in genitive constructions. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the *nb.w* were followed by a genitive. Instead of the ideogram stroke (, Z1), the graphic version of the plural strokes (, Z3) would be expected here. Another possible reading could be as channel (, N36), which would have to be transcribed as *mr.w(t)* and translated as “popularity” (*Wb.* 2, 102.1–103). However, in this case the feminine ending (, X1), the plural strokes, the determinative of the man seated with hand to mouth (, A2) as well as a specification of

⁵⁷ E.g., SALEH 1983, 65, fig. 19, 66, no. 3 as well as *ibid.*, pl. 61, right upper corner: *jr.t-j ḥr m33*; BARTA 1968, 145, appeal no. 57, a: *a: jr.tj=f ḥr m33*, b: *jr.tj=j m m33*.









⁵⁸ E.g., BARTA 1968, 115, appeal no. 57, a: *jr.tj-j ḥr gmḥ*.







⁵⁹ E.g., the inscription on a Heliopolitan door jamb from the time of Ramesses II: *jr.t-j ḥr m33*, SALEH 1983, 65, fig. 19, 66, no. 3 as well as pl. 61, upper right corner. See also BUDKA 2001, 150, no. 77; BARTA 1968, 115, appeal no. 57, a: *jr.tj-j ḥr gmḥ*.

⁶⁰ *Wb.* 2, 7.1–10.7. See also the spelling in the inscription of the Heliopolitan door jamb in SALEH 1983, 65, fig. 19, 66, no. 3, pl. 61, upper right corner: *jr.t-j ḥr m33*; In this case, the pair of eyes must be read as verbal form *m33*.

⁶¹ A probably nominal *m33* is preserved on a door jamb from the reign of Ramesses II from Heliopolis, see SALEH 1983, pl. 61, left upper corner. This spelling for *jr.tj* would be unusual. BUDKA 2001, 150, no. 78 does not exclude this option in her translation.

⁶² *LGG* 3, 802. The determinative of the three falcons sitting on a standard (G7) would be expected.

whose popularity was meant would be expected (see comment h). The sign could further be interpreted as the knife (, T31). Hence, the word could be identified as *sšm.w*, “monuments” (Wb. 4, 291.6–16), but the regular spelling of the word required the folded cloth (, S29) as a phonetic complement. Nevertheless, also without the initial , the phonetic value of the word remained *sšm*. Its abbreviated version, lacking the initial complement, is only attested in the spelling with the knife on legs (, T32). Traces of such legs have not been preserved on the present fragment. Moreover, the owl (, G17) is also included in the regular spelling as is the determinative of the seated god (, A40). Neither can be reconstructed based on the preserved traces of the signs. Therefore, the reading as *nb.w* seems to be plausible, merely with a graphic modification of  (Z3) to  (Z1), as no missing consonants, phonetic complements or determinatives have to be complemented.

- h) In the lower part of the column, only the basket (, V31) can be identified undoubtedly. Above it on the right, a flat horizontal stroke is preserved that might have belonged either to a determinative of the preceding word or the beginning of the following word. None of the expected determinatives for the above listed readings can graphically be reconstructed from the remains of the sign. If even despite this, the stroke belongs to a determinative of the preceding word, the following basket (, V31) might be understood as the masculine suffix pronoun of the second person singular. The connection of *-k* and nominal phrases (e. g. *mr.wt=k* or *nfr.w=k*), is well attested in the context of the offering formula.⁶³ With regard to the variant reading of the word listed above, *mr.w(t)=k*, “your popularity”, or *sšm.w=k*, “your monuments”, are possible suggestions. In both cases, the suffix pronoun refers to a god, whose popularity or monuments the speaker wishes to see. The New Kingdom concept of the afterlife provides a semantic basis for both readings, since the deceased desired unlimited mobility in this world and the beyond, which guaranteed his continued participation in festivities and rituals in the temples (ASSMANN 1995, 283–293). Assuming the preceding word was to be read *nb.w*, a genitive construction might have followed here. The basket (, V31) would thus be understood as a consonant belonging to the actual root word and not as a suffix pronoun. Here, one is reminded of the *nb.w-<m>k(.t)*, the “lords of protection”,⁶⁴ which are mentioned in connection with Heliopolis in the Papyrus Ebers of the 18th Dynasty.⁶⁵ However, the spelling without the consonant *m* – the owl (, G17) – is not yet attested and not to be expected in the name of a group of deities. This would have been the result of a scribal error. Nonetheless, together the owl (, G17) and the arm (, G36) form the phoneme *m*: Therefore, only one “graphic half” of the prefix is missing.⁶⁶

⁶³ E.g., BARTA 1968, 145, appeal no. 57, a: *dj=f jr.tj=f hr m33 nfr.w=k*, b: *dj=sn s3 jr.tj=j m m33 mr.wt=k*.

⁶⁴ See LGG 3, 812: The *nb.w-mk.t* are attested from the New Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period and are mostly mentioned in medicinal contexts. They designate a group of individuals “mit denen der Arzt zusammen herauskommt”.

⁶⁵ P. Ebers vso 1.1–1.11. The “lords of protection” are mentioned together with the “Great of the great house” and the “Rulers of eternity”: see <https://papyrusebers.de/>.

⁶⁶ I thank Lutz Popko for this information.

The fact that also here the feminine ending is not used could be due to the Late Egyptian scribing habits.⁶⁷ A scroll (𐎓, Y1), the usual determinative of the *nb.w-mk.t*, might be reconstructed from the remains of the signs below the basket (𐎓, V31). Another option is provided by the reading of *mkhꜣ*, “neglecting”:⁶⁸ Therefore, the arm (𐎓, D36), the basket (𐎓, V31) and, to the right, the papyrus shrub (𐎓, M16) must be read. The traces of the sign in the right half of the lower text field might depict the papyrus blossoms, the groove in the shape of the bread (𐎓, X1) could be the base of the shrub. The roundish trace in the lower left corner might be identified as part of the determinative of the human head (𐎓, D1). In the context of appeal no. 210 (keyword: *mꜣꜥ.t*, “doing the rightful, speaking the rightful”)⁶⁹ of the offering formula, *mkhꜣ* is attested on a statue of the 19th Dynasty (BARTA 1968, 156, appeal no. 210, note 13). In a parallel construction, a deity is implored to arrange the *jr.t mꜣꜥ.t mkhꜣ jzf.t*, “the doing (*jr.t*) of the rightful (*mꜣꜥ.t*) and the neglecting (*mkhꜣ*) of sin (*jzf.t*)”. The “act[ing] in a rightful way upon Earth without neglecting (*mkhꜣ*) it” is further attested on the left jamb of the niche in the Memphite tomb of *Hr-m-ḥb*.⁷⁰ In this inscription, the appearance of the papyrus shrub is characterized by its base in the shape of the bread (𐎓, X1), which is also present on the Heliopolitan fragment. Below the left column, *jzf.t* might be reconstructed. Thus, two appeals of the offering formula can be identified in the left column: *mꜣꜣ nb.w* (in absolute use), “the seeing of the lords” and *mkhꜣ [jzf.t]*, “the neglecting [of sin]”. The reading of the just assumed variant of arm (𐎓, D36) and basket (𐎓, V31) as the subjunctive verbal form *dj-k* can be excluded considering the two following reasons. As the offering formula does not include direct speech, a deity was usually only indirectly addressed with the use of a suffix pronoun in the third person singular.⁷¹ The use of *dj-k* is hence impossible within an offering formula. Moreover, a pointed bread should be resting in the palm of the hand (𐎓, D37) for the transcription of *dj*.

- i) Only a few traces are preserved below the basket (𐎓, V31), which can hardly be distinguished from the damage. Or does it depict a somewhat oblique misspelling of the toponym *Jwn.w*?
- j) Depending on which reading is assumed for the lower half of the left column, either appeal no. 57 or 89 might have been completed or further specified in that space. If it is to be read *mkhꜣ*, it must be followed by an object that one wanted to avoid, such as *jzf.t*.

⁶⁷ The spelling without feminine ending is at least attested for the word *mk.t*, see *Wb.* 2, 160.22–161.4.

⁶⁸ See *Wb.* 2, 163.9; *GEG*, 570. The explained reasoning regarding the word *mk.t* and its neglecting of the *m*-prefix applies here as well.

⁶⁹ See BARTA 1968, 242, appeal no. 210. Attested in the second half of the 18th Dynasty and in the 19th Dynasty. On the Egyptian tomb as “moralische Anstalt”, see ASSMANN 1995, 282–283.




⁷⁰ In this case not in the context of the offering formula. See MARTIN 1989, I, 89, jamb no. 71 (London BM EA 550), sixth column, pl. 109–110.







⁷¹ I thank Marc Brose for this information. Prayers and hymns are different as the deity had to be addressed directly with a greeting formula, see ASSMANN 1975, 49.

3.2.3.3.2 Analysis of Text Internal Dating


Criteria


Paleography


For the paleographical comparison, the following significant hieroglyphs were selected from the present inscription: the seated god (, A40), the eye (, D4) and the quail chick (, G43). These signs will be compared to graphical versions provided by the inscriptions on the private stela London BM EA 141, which dates to the time of Merenptah and probably originated from Saqqara.⁷² Both of these sources will be used to discuss and evaluate the ductus and paleographic characteristics of these selected hieroglyphs.

	HEL find-no. 202-4-3	London BM EA 141
(A40)		
(D4)		
(G43)		

⁷² JAMES 1970, 23–24, pl. 19; MOJE 2007, 223. The depicted and mentioned group of persons on the stela in London corresponds in large parts with the ones recorded on the stela Cambridge E. 195.1899 from Saqqara, which is also dated to the reign of Merenptah. Therefore, MOJE 2007, 219 suggests an origin from the Memphite necropolis for the stela London BM EA 141.

(, A40)

In both sources, the seated god is characterized by a very schematic depiction of the upper body and bent knees and feet drawn back toward the body. The Heliopolitan inscription shows, however, extremely elongated and slim proportions. The god's head is depicted as a flat, oval shape and in appearance seems to merge with the beard which points forward. The heads in the Memphite versions are rounder. The wig of the god is pronounced in both ductus and is present and shaped similarly on nearly all of the carefully executed stelae from Thebes and Saqqara (see MOJE 2007, 249). Both the smooth sweeping curve of the lower knee and the almost right-angled transition from the base to the back of the god is particularly characteristic for the Lower Egyptian area.⁷³ Both qualities can be observed in the Heliopolitan inscription. As stated by MOJE, the head of the sign  developed a bulkier shape after the reign of Ramesses II as a result of the increasingly abstracted transition between the head and the beard (*ibid.*). This Heliopolitan hieroglyph is highly typical of this development, as it shows a very flat oval head, which is visually dominated by the beard.

(, D4)

Mainly based on the shape of the pupils, the hieroglyphs of the eye dating to the 19th Dynasty were divided into three groups by MOJE (2007, 262):

- A) semi-oval pupil, partly covered by the upper lid
- B) roundish, mostly separately carved pupil
- C) no pupil



Based on his corpus of recorded stelae from Deir el-Medina, Moje observed a degree of development from type A toward B in the course of the 19th Dynasty. Despite this development, type A continued to be the dominant design during the dynasty. The pupil was depicted increasingly larger and protruded from below the lid, although it can be assumed other Egyptian areas were also affected by a similar development. Three versions of the eye are preserved on the Heliopolitan inscription. Both the eye in the right column and the lower eye in the left column correlate to type B. These hieroglyphs are further characterized by drooping upper eyelids, which was observed by Moje on yet another stela from the time of Merenptah (now stored in the Louvre).⁷⁴ The eyes appear almost triangular with a very pronounced inner corner. The upper eye in the left column can be identified as type A as the pupil is semioval. The two stelae from the time of Merenptah in London and Paris that were used for comparison therefore show clear parallels to the Heliopolitan hieroglyphs as they also depict roundish versions of the eyes, a pronounced inner corner with slightly (London) or highly (Paris) drooping lids.

⁷³ See MOJE 2007, 249. The right-angled connection of the back and the base is particularly well known from Qantir.

⁷⁴ A stela from Abydos (now in Paris, Louvre E. 3629), in Mojes *Paläographie* designated as Mer/Aby/002. The author only had access to an unpublished photograph (see MOJE 2007, 216, 263).

(, G43)

The paleography of the quail chick underwent several small modifications in the New Kingdom (see MOJE 2007, 310). However, the slightly oblique shape of its slim body as well as the undifferentiated sharp beak consistently remained characteristic. The Heliopolitan hieroglyph generally adheres to this convention, although its basic shape appears rather schematically depicted. That is, the body and head are extremely slim, the beak is pointing upwards. The legs of the bird are not visible, however, there is no fracture or damage in this area. So, at most, only a slight abrasion of the surface could have happened. That indicates in turn that the legs were carved with less care than the rest of the body. The legs could only have been shallowly incised. This might be a result of the low quality of manufacture that is particularly attested on private monuments dating to the time after Ramesses II. As noted by MOJE (2007, 462), the quality of the appearance and content had degenerated. The versions in the London inscription clearly differ in regard to the execution of the legs. In these inscriptions, the legs were as deeply and finely incised as the bodies. In all cases, both legs are clearly recognizable. The quail chicks have a rather round shape, their beaks point forwards rather than upwards.

The paleographical analysis of the selected signs therefore points to a dating in the time after Ramesses II. In particular the versions of the quail chick (, G43) and the seated god (, A40) show clear paleographical differences between the door jamb fragment and the stela in London. The Heliopolitan versions appear rather elongated and have much slimmer proportions. Thus, the door jamb fragment probably dates a little later than Merenptah.

Offering formula

Because of the formula *Wsjr*-NN on the one hand, and on the other hand, the appeal for mercy in the left column, the inscription has already been identified as an excerpt from the offering formula in the philological comment. Since the transmitted excerpts are extremely short, only the appeal in the left column can be examined for potential dating criteria. As already mentioned, it is not possible to identify the appeal as either appeal no. 57 (keyword: *jr.tj*)⁷⁵ or no. 89 (keyword: *mꜣꜣ*)⁷⁶ on the basis of the word *mꜣꜣ* alone. But the eye-related phraseology is a characteristic of Heliopolitan texts (BUDKA 2001, 150, no. 78).





An analysis of the chronological distribution of the single appeals was conducted by Barta. The following values are taken from his “Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel” and are therefore based on the corpus of sources compiled by him (BARTA 1968, 248).

⁷⁵ Attested from the 11th, 18th and 19th Dynasty, see BARTA 1968, 236.

⁷⁶ Attested from the 12th, 18th and 26th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic-Roman Period, see BARTA 1968, 238.

Tab. a: Evidence for appeal no. 57 and 89 in the corpus of offering formulas of the New Kingdom studied by BARTA 1968.

New Kingdom				
	18th Dynasty		19th Dynasty	20th Dynasty
	1st half (Ah. I – Am. II)	2nd half (Th. IV – Hrmhb.)		
Appeal no. 57 keyword: <i>jr.tj</i> , “The seeing with both eyes”		< 1 %	< 1 %	
Appeal no. 89 keyword: <i>mꜣꜣ</i> , “The seeing, in particular the seeing of the god”	1 %	2 %	2 %	1 %

Because of the paleographical dating to the later 19th Dynasty, the values of the 18th Dynasty can be neglected in the following. In the Ramesside Dynasties, appeal no. 57 is only attested in the 19th Dynasty. It comprises less than 1 % of Barta’s corpus. Appeal no. 89 is attested in both the 19th and 20th Dynasty. Representing 2 % of the recorded appeals from the 19th Dynasty, it was much more frequent than in the following dynasty (1 %). In both cases, a dating to the 19th Dynasty is therefore most probable.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the listed values make an identification with appeal no. 89 very probable since there are twice as many instances of no. 89 than no. 57. The spelling of the word *mꜣꜣ* with the pair of eyes  also points to a nominal form as *mꜣꜣ* was usually spelled with the sickle (, U1) or its graphic variants (, U2; , U3; *Wb.* 2, 7.1–10.7). Since the reading of *mkꜣꜣ*, “neglect”, and therefore also the reconstruction of appeal no. 210 in the lower part of the left column is not certain, it cannot be used as part of dating criteria. However, this appeal is also attested from within the second half of the 18th Dynasty up to the 19th Dynasty.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Offering formulas are attested on front doors in the time from Thutmose III to Siamun, see BUDKA 2001, 32, tab. 2. On the lintels of the front doors of the New Kingdom, both appeals are attested from the time of Ramesses II to Ramesses III, see BUDKA 2001, 43.

⁷⁸ See BARTA 1968, 249. In this appeal, the word *mkꜣꜣ* is only attested in the 19th Dynasty, see BARTA 1968, 156, appeal no. 210, note 13.

Titles

Assuming the word *Wsjr* in the right column does not belong to an additional title, the preserved title can be divided into two components:

Title core	<i>ḥm-ntr</i>	Functional title
Title specification	<i>m pr-Jmn-R^c</i>	Name of domain

The title shows that the anonymous donor held the office of a *ḥm-ntr* priest in the domain of Amun-Ra.⁷⁹ In the following, the two components – the title’s core and its specification – will each be independently examined in regards to dating criteria. The results will subsequently be combined and evaluated.

The title *ḥm-ntr* has been attested to be in use since the Old Kingdom⁸⁰ and still has equivalents in Coptic and Greek (*Wb.* 3, 88.19–90.7). Literally, it designated the “servant of a god” (a priest employed in the cult of a particular deity, in this case Amun-Ra; *Wb.* 3, 88.19–89.2). There are numerous New Kingdom instances of this title from throughout the country, also in combination with other priestly titles. In the Thebais, the *ḥm.w-ntr* served as high-priests and were arranged in hierarchies bearing the ranks of first to fourth priest.⁸¹ Another title development is attested for the high-priests of Heliopolis. From the Early Dynastic Period to the Ptolemaic era, a high-priest was given the title of *wr-mꜣ.w*.⁸² Consequently, the *ḥm.w-ntr* did not comprise the highest grade of priests in Heliopolis, but they still held one of the higher ranks among the hierarchy of cult-appointees.⁸³ The New Kingdom evidence for *ḥm-ntr* priests, which were certainly employed in Heliopolitan domains, constitutes the following five individuals:⁸⁴

⁷⁹ It is not possible to draw any conclusions on the sociostratigraphic rank of the donor from the amount of columns. Nevertheless, on the door jambs from the residential houses in Amarna, the costlier three- or four-columned inscriptions were probably reserved for high-ranking officials, see BUDKA 2001, 34.

⁸⁰ See in particular MURRAY 1908, pl. 27–28 and JONES 2000, 503, no. 1885.

⁸¹ See AL-AYEDI 2006, 335–361, no. 1132–1215 as well as the evidence of the 18th Dynasty in TAYLOR 2001, 147–155, no. 1436–1519; *Wb.* 3, 88.19–89.5. The different combinations are most frequently attested on private objects from the mortuary cult.

⁸² See MOURSİ 1972, 10, 12–16, 140–146. The earliest evidence for the later usual spelling of *wr-mꜣ.w* is known from the 3rd Dynasty. Since the end of the Second Intermediate Period, the priests in Thebes and Thinis and in the 18th Dynasty also in Amarna held this title. The Heliopolitan sources of the New Kingdom are listed in MOURSİ 1972, 46–79 and in RAUE 1999, 65–66.

⁸³ On the hierarchy of the priesthood and its title formations, see RAUE 1999, 65–66.

⁸⁴ The *ḥm-ntr* priest of Amun *Hw-nfr* from Edfu is attested on a Ramesside Mnevis-pectoral from Saqqara (New York MMA 23.10.70). Whether he was in fact involved in the Heliopolitan cult executions cannot be determined based on this object alone (see RAUE 1999, 239) as well as *Dhw.tj- < m > -ḥb* (see RAUE 1999, 295–296). On *Hw-nfr*, see FEUCHT 1971, 117, no. 187. From the middle of the 18th Dynasty, the *jmj-rꜣ ḥm.w-ntr* called *Sn-nfr* is attested (RAUE 1999, 248–249). The mentions of the *ḥm.w-ntr n(.w) pr-Wsjr* are attested on a stela of Ramesses VII, see RAUE 1999, 387–388. The private individuals listed in the table can be found in RAUE 1999: *Mry.tj* (206), *H^c-m-Wꜣs.t-nḥt* (244–245), *H^c-H^cpj* (245–246), *Pth-ms* (149), anonymous/NN (265).

Tab. b: New Kingdom evidence for *ḥm-ntr* priests employed in Heliopolitan domains.

New Kingdom							
Title	Personal name	18th Dynasty		19th Dynasty		20th Dynasty	
		1st half (Ah. I – Am. II)	2nd half (Th. IV – Hrmhb.)	1st half (R. I – II)	2nd half (Mrnph. – Tsrt.)	1st half (Stkht. – R. VII)	2nd half (R. VIII – XI)
<i>ḥm-ntr</i> , <i>ḥm-ntr-tp.j n(.j) p3-R^c</i>	<i>Mry.tj</i>						
<i>ḥm-ntr-(sn.nw ?)</i> <i><n.j> p3-R^c</i>	<i>H^c-m-W3s.t-nḥt</i>						
<i>ḥm-ntr</i>	<i>H^c-H^cpj</i>						
<i>ḥm-ntr n(.j) p3-R^c</i>	<i>Pth-ms</i>						
<i>ḥm-ntr-tpj n(.j) Jw=s- c3=s Nb.t-ḥtp.t</i>	NN						
		20 %	20 %	60 %	80 %	60 %	40 %

On the one hand, the small number of *ḥm-ntr* priests can be explained as the result of the fact that Heliopolitan high-priests held the title *wr-m3.w* instead of *ḥm-ntr*, like they did in Karnak.⁸⁵ On the other hand, the title *jt-ntr*, designating the priests known as “God’s Fathers”, was probably already used synonymously with the *ḥm-ntr* title during the 18th Dynasty (KEES 1961, 121–122 and RAUE 1999, 65).

We know of three individuals bearing the title of *ḥm-ntr* priest of Ra during the New Kingdom: *Mry.tj*, *H^c-m-W3s.t-nḥt* and *Pth-ms*. It cannot be determined whether *Mry.tj* was employed in Heliopolis or Piramesse (RAUE 1999, 65). From the title of *H^c-H^cpj* we cannot infer what domain he served or who the main deity was,

although – with regard to the title of NN – it could have also been *Jw=s-c3=s Nb.t-ḥtp.t*.

A systematic division into first, second, third and fourth *ḥm-ntr* priest, as is known from Karnak, cannot be established for Heliopolis on the basis of the known sources (RAUE 1999, 65, also note 3). Nevertheless, the titles of *H^c-m-W3s.t-nḥt* (*ḥm-ntr-(sn.nw?) <n.j> p3-R^c*) and, assuming that he was in fact employed in a Heliopolitan institution, *Mry.tj* (*ḥm-ntr-tp.j n(.j) p3-R^c*) might be indicative of this.⁸⁶ The chronological distribution of the evidence of Heliopolitan *ḥm.w-ntr* priests show a clear emphasis in the 19th Dynasty as well as in the first half of the 20th Dynasty, but most evidence is attested from the second half of the 19th Dynasty.

⁸⁵ Another reason could be the chance circumstances of preservation.

⁸⁶ According to RAUE 1999, 206, this earlier title formation might be connected with a similarly “young” temple, such as e.g., Ed-Derr.

In Heliopolis, title formations including the name of a domain were the norm throughout the complete Ramesside Period (RAUE 1999, 65). However, before this jamb fragment was found, the present title of a *ḥm-ntr m pr-Jmn-R^c* priest was unattested. Also, there are no textual parallels for the mention of a *pr-Jmn-R^c*. Thus, this is the first piece of written evidence for an autonomous domain of Amun-Ra in Heliopolis. However, the results of the recent excavation might provide the chance to pinpoint the exact location of this particular domain within the Heliopolitan main temenos.⁸⁷ In 2016, the Egyptian-German mission was able to identify a festival temple from the reign of Ramesses II during fieldwork conducted in Area 248, situated approximately 450 m to the west of the obelisk of Senusret I, along the procession axis.⁸⁸ Among the finds were fragments of royal and divine sculpture as well as large column bases. In the rear part of the building, the sanctuary, several relief fragments were unearthed showing a so far unattested name of Ramesses II: *P3-R^c-ms-sw-mr.y-Jmn* instead of *R^c-ms-sw-mr.y-Jmn*. Ashmawy and Raue interpreted the new name as “eine neue Facette im Prozess der Vergöttlichung des hochbetagten Herrschers”;⁸⁹ a direct reference to the sun god whose name at this time was already *P3-R^c*. The depictions on the reliefs include the performance of the daily ritual in front of the goddess Mut, the “Vorsteherin der beiden Hörner der Götter” (LGG 5, 897). However, the

temple was probably dedicated to another main deity. Thanks to the work of Khaled Mohammed Abou el-Ela und Mahmud Tharwat, two re-used decorated blocks from the temple in Area 248 were identified in the Cairene Bab el-Nasr. One of the blocks depicts the god “Amun-of-Ramesses II” (see ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017 and ASHMAWY/RAUE 2022) while receiving the cult. The accompanying cartouches again include the new name *P3-R^c-ms-sw-mr.y-Jmn*. The rarity of this name, as well as the same low quality of the relief, which was observed on the finds from within the temenos, suggest Area 248 as provenience. In turn, this indicates that the festival temple was principally dedicated to “Amun-of-Ramesses II”, continuing the theological idea of the Ramesside world-god in Heliopolis.⁹⁰ Based on the new name and the modified portrait of the pharaoh, the erection of the temple can probably be dated to the later decades of the long reign of Ramesses II.⁹¹

However, our current state of knowledge does not allow us to identify the festival temple of the Ramesside Amun in Area 248 with the *pr-Jmn-R^c* mentioned on the door jamb fragment. Nevertheless, the following observations suggest that it is one and the same institution: The preliminary evaluation of text internal dating criteria points to a dating of the door jamb to the late 19th Dynasty, after the reign of Ramesses II. The construction date of the

⁸⁷ On the archaeological identification of the temple in Area 248, see ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017.

⁸⁸ After Areas 200 and 221, this forms the third archaeologically attested temple building of Ramesses II within the Heliopolitan temenos.

⁸⁹ The name might also intentionally refer to Ramesses I, the grandfather of Ramesses II and founder of the Ramesside Period, who, before his coronation, had the same name: *P3-R^c-ms-sw*. Graphical or phonetic reasons are also possible. See the different options of interpretation in ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017 and ASHMAWY/RAUE 2022.

⁹⁰ See ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017, note 24. In Thebes, the so-called world-god of the Ramessides was associated with Amun-Ra, who, in turn, could appear as primeval- or sun god and probably in these incarnations received worship in Heliopolis. On the concept of the Ramesside world-god as a response to Amarna, see ASSMANN 1975, 66–77.

⁹¹ See ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017 and ASHMAWY/RAUE 2022. Before his 26th regnal year, no royal monuments of Ramesses II are attested in Heliopolis, see RAUE 1999, 249.

festival temple can be placed in the last stage of the reign of Ramesses II. Furthermore, it is not to be expected that – in the same period of time – several independent domains of Amun existed within the Heliopolitan temenos. Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that the structure unearthed in Area 248 can be archaeologically identified with the *pr-Jmn-R^c* and that the owner of the door jamb performed his duties right here.

3.2.3.4 Iconography

3.2.3.4.1 Scenic Classification

On the left narrow side of the object, a woman dressed in a pleated garment is depicted. Her left arm is positioned in a gesture of adoration. Since the depiction of her right arm is not preserved, it cannot be determined how it was positioned. It can either be reconstructed as similar to the left one, angled in front of her face, or carrying an offering or cultic device. However, the object/entity of her worship was certainly depicted opposite her. There are numerous attestations of scenes of worship in the tombs of the New Kingdom. The decoration of Ramesside private tombs is clearly dominated by them since they enabled the deceased to face the gods “personally” and worship them directly for the first time (ASSMANN 1995, 283). First, their divine counterparts could have been particular deities, a group of deities or the statue of a god.⁹² The worshipping person is usually the tomb owner

himself, frequently depicted together with his wife. Second, the tomb owner and his wife were depicted, mostly seated on a bench or a chair, receiving worship (set within the context of an offering table scene).⁹³ Opposite the deceased, the priests responsible for their cult or dependents were usually depicted. In many cases, male relatives served as priests. If the scene on this fragment is indeed a scene of divine worship, then the individuals are shown in a gesture of adoration while performing the mortuary cult (e.g., a libation, fumigation or carrying offerings). In this case, the woman on the left side is probably the wife of the deceased.⁹⁴ However, if it is part of an offering table scene, instead of the deceased’s wife another relative, such as a sister or daughter, is usually depicted.

3.2.3.4.2 Analysis of Stylistic and Iconographic Dating Criteria

The fact that only a small section of the original scene is preserved on the fragment is a complicating factor for dating. However, enough iconographic and stylistic criteria are preserved to at least suggest a dating. The following criteria were examined: wig, gown, body shape and proportions.

The woman’s wig has thick, straight braids, which are represented as vertical lines. This is the characteristic headdress of the Memphite

⁹² See among others MARTIN 2001, pl. 7, upper register, pl. 9, upper register, pl. 11, upper and lower register; RAVEN 2005, pl. 28–29, scenes 16–17, pl. 30, scene 17, pl. 43, scene 28; MARTIN 1997, pl. 21, scene 28, pl. 23, scene 32, pl. 24, scene 33, pl. 25, scene 34; RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 128–129, scene 32, upper register; MARTIN 1985, pl. 23–24, scene 6, lower register.

⁹³ On the development of the offering table scene, see in particular SPIEGEL 1956, 190–207; von BISSING 1952, *passim*. See also the following scenes in the Memphite necropolis: MARTIN 2001, pl. 5, lower register, pl. 7, lower register, pl. 9, lower register; RAVEN 2005, pl. 30–31, scene 18, pl. 34–35, scene 22; MARTIN 1997, pl. 59, scene 108, lower register; RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 128–129, scene 32, lower register, 144–145, scene 44; MARTIN 1985, pl. 17–19, scene 4, lower register, pl. 23–24, upper register.

⁹⁴ Regarding the decorative programme in profane architecture, depictions of private individuals, who are not the owner of the house but his relatives; frequently attested on naoi from private houses, see BUDKA 2001, 38–39.

depictions of females beginning with the second half of the reign of Ramesses II (HOFMANN 2004, 105). Whereas the depictions from the first half of his reign still show the fluted edges of each braid,⁹⁵ this was omitted from the later phases of the dynasty to the late Ramesside era.

The strands of the here depicted woman do not show flutings. The bottom edge of the wig was not decorated,⁹⁶ although in the earlier stages of development this area was commonly decorated with coiled or frayed hair ends which were usually executed in relief.⁹⁷ Yet it cannot be excluded that these were originally painted on the surface, although this would be typologically untypical. This particular disinterest in details in the Memphite private artistry is evident since the end of the reign of Ramesses II, increasingly developing during the transition of the 19th to the 20th Dynasty (HOFMANN 2004, 107–108).

At the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, a few basic types of cloth drapery had already evolved which were in constant use in the Ramesside Period (HOFMANN 2004, 102). In the mid-19th Dynasty, the high abstraction of drapery became a popular trend, whereby the single layers of pleating become independent from the point of

view of the graphic effect up to the pure parallel hatching (HOFMANN 2004, 105–106).⁹⁸ This sort of simplified hatching can be observed on the depiction on the jamb fragment: The single layers of the robe are reduced to vertical lines. This trend ended in the 20th Dynasty when extremely pronounced, sweeping draperies became *en vogue*, whose pleated layers experienced a high grade of artistic attention and care (HOFMANN 2004, 110). The present depiction of the rather simply decorated garment does not provide this kind of detailed appreciation of details and sweepings.

The buttocks of the woman are shown as a pronounced curve. In this part, the relief is worked much deeper than on the other body parts. The compact, roundish body shape is reminiscent of the figural conventions of the relief decoration in the 19th Dynasty, around the time of Sety I.⁹⁹ Since the 20th Dynasty, the buttocks of men and women in a standing position were not pronounced, but appear as fairly flat curve.¹⁰⁰ However, only very few depictions of females exhibit an extremely pronounced curvature.¹⁰¹

Since the woman's body is not completely preserved, just very careful statements can be

⁹⁵ Equally similar on wigs of women and men, see e.g., ZIVIE 1998, 43, fig. 17; MARTIN 1985, pl. 17 and 19; RAVEN 2005, pl. 79.

⁹⁶ Very early evidence of the intentional neglecting of the decoration of the lower edge of a wig is attested on a stela in the Memphite tomb of *P3j* in the depiction of the wigs of the female relatives, see RAVEN 2005, pl. 58–59, lower register.

⁹⁷ This can be observed already since the immediate post-Amarna Period, see e.g. the headdress of the nurse of Tutankhamen *M3y3* in ZIVIE 1998, 49, fig. 8. Also the wife of *Mr.y-Nj.t* is wearing this particular headdress, in relief (see RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 122–123, fig. 29), as well as in sculpture (RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 188–189, fig. 5.1–5; also one of the musicians, RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 114–115, fig. 269). See also the wigs in the tomb of *Tj3* and *Tj3* from the first half of the reign of Ramesses II in MARTIN 1997, e.g., pl. 10, 14, 18; also the wig of *R3j3* in MARTIN 1985, pl. 17 and 19.

⁹⁸ The author lists e.g. the stela of *P3j3* from the Serapeum, see HOFMANN 2004, 38, fig. 44 and also MALININE/POSENER/VERCOUTTER 1968, I, 3–6, no. 4–5 and MALININE/POSENER/VERCOUTTER 1968, II, pl. II, no. 4–5.

⁹⁹ See HOFMANN 2004, 103. Cf. further depictions in the tomb of *Tj3* und *Tj3* in MARTIN 1997, pl. 46, 56 and 94.

¹⁰⁰ Among others, see the Memphite funerary stela of *Jmn-ms* and *Nfr-rnp.t*. PÖRTNER 1908, 6, pl. 6, no. 20; a depiction from the tomb of *P33-z3-nswt* and *T3-mh.jr*: HÖLBL 1985, pl. 12. Already a handful of depictions from the late regnal phase of Ramesses II show this kind of decoration, yet mainly the male figures, see ZIVIE 1998, 43, fig. 17.

¹⁰¹ E.g., the depictions of two female dependents of *P33-z3-nswt* and *T3-n.t-mhj.t* on the funerary stela of the latter in HÖLBL 1985, pl. 11.

given concerning its proportions. Even by the early 19th Dynasty, Memphite reliefs were dominated by slim and tall figures. In the middle and late phase of the dynasty, their lower bodies appear in an exaggerated elongated style. As a result, the bodies of the figures of the 20th Dynasty have a notable degree of abstracted bodily proportions. Heads and necks often seem much too small in comparison to the still elongated bodies, whereas hips and upper thighs were usually depicted with bulging protruding curves. Yet none of these elements can be observed in the present depiction.

3.2.3.5 Dating

The summary evaluation of dating, in terms of the examined criteria (e.g., the areas of inscription and iconography/style), tends to indicate the late 19th Dynasty, in the time after Ramesses II. The present fragment therefore probably dates to the period between 1213–1186/1185 BC (BECKERATH 1997, 190) and was thus installed in a Heliopolitan tomb that was most likely erected sometime during the reigns of Merenptah and Tausret in Ain Shams.

Tab. c: Summary of dating criteria for find-no. 202-4-3.

New Kingdom						
	18th Dynasty		19th Dynasty		20th Dynasty	
	1st half (Ah. I – Am. II)	2nd half (Th. IV – Hrmhb.)	1st half (R. I – II)	2nd half (Mrnph. – Tsrt.)	1st half (Stnkht. – R. VII)	2nd half (R. VIII – XI)
Inscription						
Paleography				■	■	
Offering formula: appeal no. 57			■	■		
Offering formula: appeal no. 89			■	■		
Functional title: <i>ḥm-nṯr</i>				■		
Domain: <i>pr-Jmn-R^c</i> (Area 248?)				■	■	
Iconography/Style						
Wig				■	■	
Garment				■		
Body shape			■	■	■	
Body proportion	■	■	■	■		
	11 %	11 %	44 %	100 %	44 %	0 %

3.2.3.6 Original Location within the Tomb

Since the fragment is decorated on three sides, it can be excluded that the door jamb once belonged to a front door. Jambs with decoration on three sides are not attested among profane architecture. This is further supported by the figural depiction on the narrow side of the jamb. As already discussed in the philological comment, the designation as *Wsjr*-NN certainly points to a funerary context. Considering the stratigraphical situation of Area 202, it seems highly probable that the provenience of the door jamb is the New Kingdom necropolis in Ain Shams. It can further be concluded that the fragment originates from the tomb of a priest of Amun-Ra who also appears to be the owner of the door jamb.

At first glance, all doorways within the tomb are worth considering when reconstructing the original location of the door jamb. On condition that all decorated sides were visible in the tomb, these options can be significantly restricted.¹⁰² In the private tombs of the New Kingdom, the decoration of the door jambs is usually limited to one or two sides at most, whereas jambs with two-sided decoration mainly appear

in the tombs of individuals of high rank.¹⁰³ In the Memphite necropolis, gates with three-sided decoration can only be found in the tomb of *Tjz* and *Tjz*¹⁰⁴ from the time of Ramesses II and in the tomb of *Ms*, the scribe of the treasury, dating to the late 19th Dynasty.¹⁰⁵ Although the building material of the latter tomb is not fully preserved, its ground plan was reconstructed¹⁰⁶ on the basis of a collation of several relief- and architectural fragments from the tomb and the documentation of Loret, who supervised the excavation of the tomb between 1897–1899 (LORET 1901, 1–10).

The superstructure of the chapel shows a large, open and almost square courtyard which could be entered through a gate at the south side (Fig. a). Four chambers are located on the west side of the court, whereby the northern chamber, the cult chamber,¹⁰⁷ is twice as big as the three southern chambers.¹⁰⁸ In the northeast corner of the court, the burial shaft is situated. So far, four door jambs with three-sided decoration are attested from the tomb: Gaballa reconstructed one of them at the entrance of the tomb (GABALLA 1977, pl. 1, scenes 27–29) and the other three at the portals of the two southwestern chambers.¹⁰⁹ In regard to the almost square courtyard, the entrance at the

¹⁰² Considering the small dimensions of the object, an identification as a fragment of a tomb pillar can be excluded.

¹⁰³ Among others, door jambs with decoration on two sides are attested in the following Memphite tombs of the New Kingdom: *Jw-rwd-f* (RAVEN 1991, 2 and pl. 3, fig. a–b, pl. 4, fig. a–b); *Jnj-wjz* (SCHNEIDER 2012, 106, fig. 3.70 b, 107 (with partly preserved figural depictions)); *Tjz* and *Tjz* (MARTIN 1997, 130); *Pzj* und *Rzjz* (RAVEN 2005, pl. 36 und 38, scenes 26 and 27, pl. 20).

¹⁰⁴ See the ground plan and the numbering of scenes in MARTIN 1997, pl. 3, scenes 11, 17 and 18 as well as 10, 13 and 14 on the first pylon, also the drawings of the scenes on pl. 9–10, 18. Among the three small chambers in the western part, only the northern chamber shows a door jamb with three-sided relief decoration: scenes 67, 88, 89 and 68, 90, 91, the drawings on pl. 40, 49–50. On the front side of the jambs a narrow projection points towards the gateway.

¹⁰⁵ See GABALLA 1977, *passim*; HOFMANN 2004, 91. Based on the biographical inscriptions, which also include the description of long juridical dispute, the tomb is dated to the late 19th Dynasty, probably to the end of the reign of Ramesses II, see HOFMANN 2004, 108. On the tomb and the legal dispute, see ANTHES 1940, 113–118.

¹⁰⁶ On the reconstruction of the tomb, see GABALLA 1977, 3–6 and pl. 1.

¹⁰⁷ The cult chamber is now stored in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (TR 22.5.25.1), see ANTHES 1940, 3, 103, fig. 1.

¹⁰⁸ The completely preserved middle chamber (TR 17.6.25.2) as well as fragments of the surrounding chambers and part of the south wall of the open courtyard are also part of the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. They still await a complete publication. See GABALLA 1977, 5 and GABALLA 1972, 178–179.

¹⁰⁹ See GABALLA 1977, pl. 1, room III: scenes 11, 13, 14 and 12, 18, 19 and room IV: scenes 23–25.

south side as well as the four chambers, the ground plan of the tomb differs clearly from the classical conception of the Memphite tomb chapels.¹¹⁰

However, the tomb of *M*s provides a useful parallel in regards to the architectural reconstruction of the Heliopolitan fragment. Therefore, the same four rooms as in the Memphite tomb with the

three-sided decorated jambs must be considered the entrance and portals to the small chambers. These four options can further be narrowed down by examining the orientation of the particular inscriptions and depictions. In the following, the four jambs in the tomb of *M*s will be analysed in this regard in order to subsequently compare the Heliopolitan fragment with them (Fig. b).

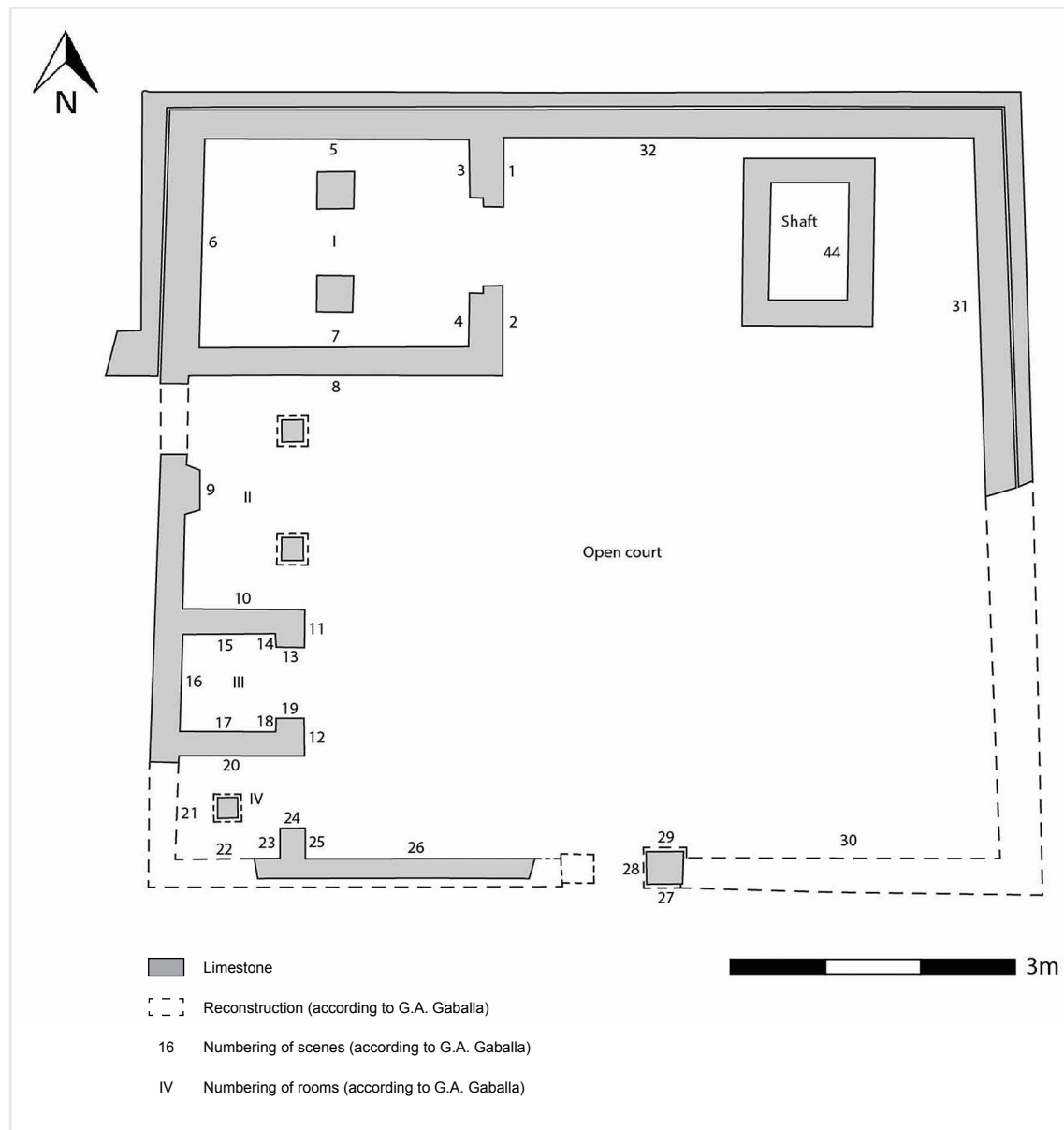
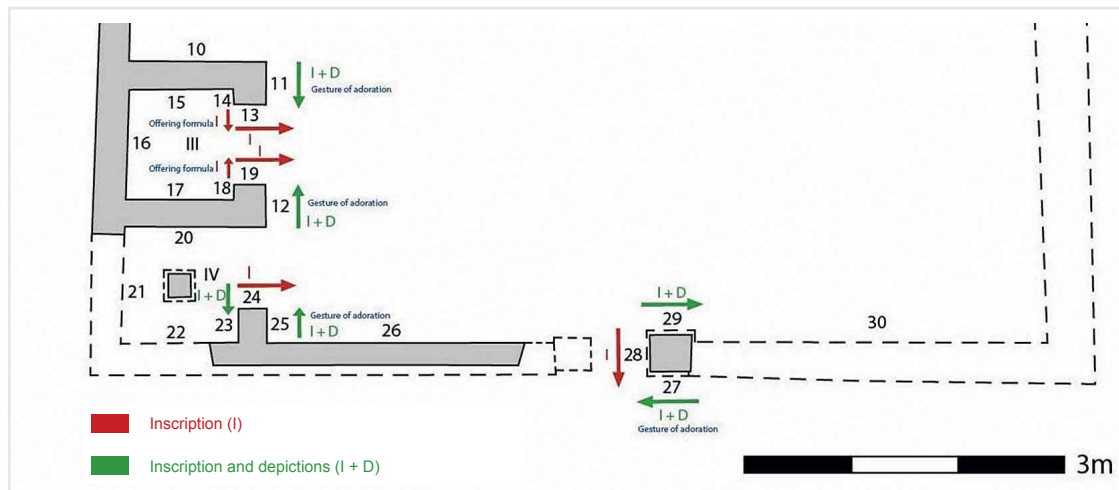


Fig. a:
Plan of the tomb of *M*s, Reconstruction after GABALLA 1977, pl. 1 (Digital drawing: K. Dietze).

¹¹⁰ However, this does not provide an architectural exception. Also, the tombs of *Jnj-wj3* and *Stj-nht* show a rather square ground plan, see SCHNEIDER 2012, 24, fig. 1.2 and RAVEN et al. 2012–13, 4, fig. 1, 7, 9.

Fig. b:
Orientation of the
decoration on the four
door jambs in the
tomb of *Ms* (Digital
drawing; K. Dietze,
based on GABALLA
1977, pl. 1).



The inner face of the eastern entrance pillar is inscribed with one column of a prayer text with rightward orientation (western side, scene 28¹¹¹). The hieroglyphs are looking out of the tomb. The narrow side on the outside of the tomb (southern side, scene 27¹¹²) shows a depiction of *Ms* with a bald head, in a gesture of adoration. Three columns of a prayer of praise addressed to Ra-Horakhty are situated above and next to him. The hieroglyphs and the depiction are facing the left; looking into the tomb. The other narrow side, on the inside of the tomb (northern side, scene 29 [GABALLA 1977, 17, pl. 37]), includes a depiction of the standing *Ms* wearing an apron and a wig. Above him, traces of a three-columned inscription are attested. And again, depiction and leftward oriented inscription are facing towards the inside of the tomb.¹¹³

The entrance to the southern chamber (room IV after GABALLA 1977, 14–16) was only furnished with a door jamb on its southern side.

The inner face (northern side, scene 24 [ibid., 16, pl. 31, fig. b, pl. 32, fig. b]) is decorated with one column of a hieroglyphic prayer inscription. The hieroglyphs have a leftward orientation, looking out of the chamber. The outer face outside of the chamber (eastern side, scene 25 [ibid., 16, pl. 33]) has four columns of a rightward oriented inscription, in which praise is given to several deities. Added is a depiction of the tomb owner in a pleated garment, performing a gesture of adoration. *Ms* and the inscription are orientated towards the entrance of the chamber. The narrow side on the inside of the room (western side, scene 23 [ibid., 15–16, pl. 31, fig. a, pl. 32, fig. a]) is decorated with a four-columned inscription with rightward orientation and a depiction of the standing *Ms*, both facing towards the inside of the room.

The entrance to the middle chamber (room III after GABALLA 1977, 12–14) is flanked by a southern and northern door jamb.¹¹⁴ The inner

¹¹¹ See GABALLA 1977, 17, pl. 36 (left). The numbering of the scenes follows GABALLA.

¹¹² See GABALLA 1977, 17, pl. 36 (right).

¹¹³ This in turn allows the reconstruction of the not preserved western door jamb at the entrance: eastern side with one column of leftward oriented inscription, southern side with rightward oriented inscription and depiction of *Ms* in priestly garments, northern side with rightward oriented inscription and depiction.

¹¹⁴ A view of the entrance area of the middle chamber in GABALLA 1977, pl. 13.

face of the southern jamb (northern side, scene 19 [*ibid.*, 14, pl. 24]) is decorated with one column of text, which, despite the destruction of the upper part, can be identified as an offering formula because of the phrase *Wsjr*-NN. The hieroglyphs are orientated towards the outside of the chamber as they are facing leftward. The outer face of the jamb (eastern side, scene 12 [*ibid.*, 12, pl. 13]) shows a depiction of *Ms*, dressed in a pleated gown and in a gesture of adoration. Around him, several inscriptions are grouped, such as his title and name, introduced by *Wsjr*, as well as a group of signs behind his back, which might be reconstructed as an appeal for the daily seeing (?) of the sunrise. In front of *Jtn*, Gaballa complements the nominal phrase *mꜣꜣ=f*.¹¹⁵ Inscription and depiction are orientated towards the entrance of the chamber. On the interior side of the jamb (western side, scene 18 [*ibid.*, 14, pl. 24]) is a fragmented column of inscription with leftward orientation that might also have belonged to an offering formula. The hieroglyphs are facing the exit of the chamber.

The same conventions of decoration can be observed on the orientation of the relief on the northern jamb. The inner face (southern side, scene 13 [GABALLA 1977, 12, pl. 24]) is decorated with one column of inscription, the hieroglyphs orientated to the exit of the chamber. The outer face (eastern side, scene 11¹¹⁶) depicts *Ms* in festive clothing while praying. A notation of his

name is present in the sign group next to him. Hieroglyphs and tomb owner are looking into the tomb, facing the doorway. The inner face of the jamb (western side, scene 14¹¹⁷) contains one column of an offering formula. Due to their rightward orientation, the signs are facing the inside of the chamber.

It is important to note that only the sides decorated with texts are positioned in the doorways. The hieroglyphs are therefore always orientated towards the exterior. The contrary is true for the sides decorated with inscriptions and depictions, which are orientated towards the interior. Although the main desire of the deceased was unlimited mobility, so that he could leave his tomb according to his own will (ASSMANN 1995, 283–293), this does not seem to have been taken into account in the tomb decoration. This might be due to the several depictions of deities and divine emblems that are present on the western rear part of the tomb of *Ms*. Here, it is in particular the western halves of the longitudinal walls of the three small chambers that provide depictions of deities (room IV: scene 21 [see GABALLA 1977, 15, pl. 30] and 20 [*ibid.*, 14–15, pl. 29], a depiction of BD 125, room III: scene 17 [*ibid.*, 13–14, pl. 28], 16 [*ibid.*, 13, pl. 17] and 15 [*ibid.*, 12–13, pl. 16]; room II: scene 10 [*ibid.*, 11–12, pl. 21, depiction of the Elysian Fields]). All the deities are looking towards the outside of the particular chamber, out of the tomb and out of the west.

¹¹⁵ See GABALLA 1977, 12 as well as note 9. It remains to be seen if the reconstruction of *mꜣꜣ=f* is correct here. In any case, it is clear that the desire for personal participation at sunrise is central. A plea formulated with *mꜣꜣ*, in this case the glimpsing of *Nb-ꜣl.t*, is attested on the inner face of the door jamb of chamber IV (scene 24) in the tomb of *Ms*, whereas *mꜣꜣ* is equally spelled with the pair of eyes (D4), although the eyes are grouped next to each other and *mꜣꜣ* is here used nominally, “the seeing”, see GABALLA 1977, 16, pl. 32, fig. b. However, this inscription is not an offering formula (see direct approach with suffix pronoun of the second person singular).

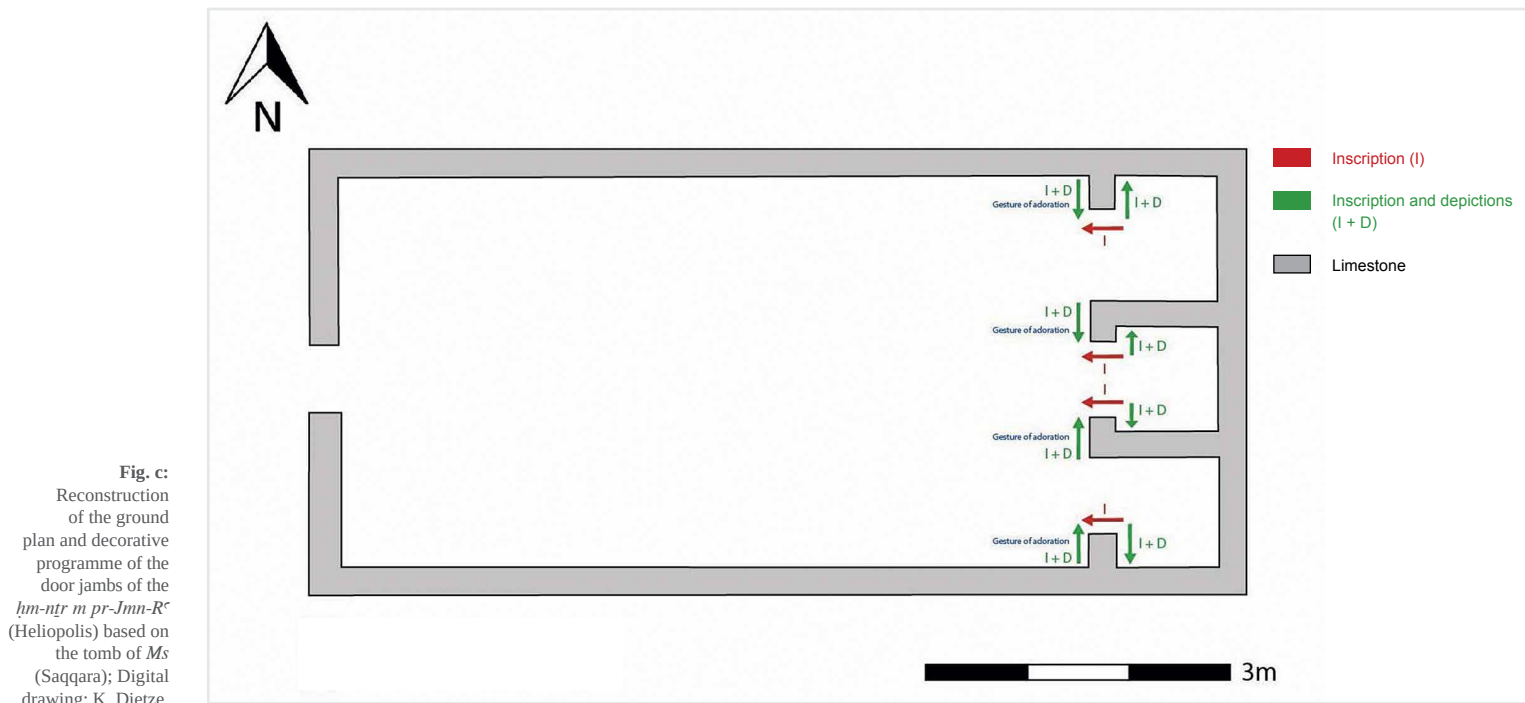
¹¹⁶ See GABALLA 1977, 12, pl. 23.

¹¹⁷ See GABALLA 1977, 12, pl. 24.

The depictions of private individuals therefore face the gods. This also refers to the two depictions of *Ms* in gesture of adoration on the outer sides of the jamb of the middle chamber. In that case, his adoration is dedicated to the gods in the antithetically composed scenes of worship of the divine on the western wall of the chamber (scene 16).¹¹⁸ A passage in the *Harper's Songs* in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50) can be construed in this context: "Den Göttern, denen du auf Erden gedient hast, trittst du jetzt von Angesicht zu Angesicht gegenüber" (ASSMANN 1995, 283 and note 8).

The following conclusions can be drawn for the architectural re-contextualization of the present Heliopolitan fragment: the inscribed front side of the jamb was probably situated in the doorway, rendering both narrow sides visible as well.

The rightward orientation of the inscription indicates that the fragment belonged to a right door jamb; only as such does the orientation fit the conventions of the Ramesside tomb decoration. In the New Kingdom necropolis in Saqqara, tombs with three chambers in the rear part are usual.¹¹⁹ On condition that a sanctuary with three chambers was as common in the Heliopolitan necropolis as it was in the Memphite cemetery,¹²⁰ only three (tomb entrance, entrance to the middle and southern chamber) of the four (tomb entrance, entrance to the three chambers in the rear part) possible locations are worth considering as the original location of the door jamb, as only the exterior sides of the outer chambers were usually furnished with a protruding jamb (Fig. c). Therefore, the entrance to the northern chamber was not furnished with a right door jamb.



¹¹⁸ This impression is created from the perspective of the open courtyard, see GABALLA 1977, pl. 13.

¹¹⁹ The four chambers in the tomb of *Ms* are an exception.

¹²⁰ All of the large-scale tomb chapels in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara have three chambers in the rear part. Thus, this can probably be reconstructed for the tomb of a high-ranking priest at Heliopolis. Only much smaller tombs, such as the tomb of *Jnj-wjz*, were not furnished with three chambers in the rear.

Only the tomb owner was usually depicted near the tomb entrance. A scene with other adorants would thus be uncommon in this location. Hence, the fragment most likely belonged to a door jamb in the rear part of the tomb (Fig. 14). Although an offering formula and not a scene of worship is depicted on the left narrow side of the right door jamb of the middle chamber in the tomb of *Ms*, a scene of deity worship can be found on the subsequent longitudinal wall of the chamber. Scene 15 (see GABALLA 1977, 12–13, pl. 16) shows, from back to front, i.e., from the door jamb to the west wall, in both registers a standing woman in a pleated cloak with her arms outstretched at a slight angle in front of her chest. It is a depiction of the tomb owner's wife, who, as can be seen in the lower register, carries a sistrum in her right hand. *Ms* is shown in front of her as they worship a standing male deity together.

A similar scenic reconstruction can be assumed for the relief on the narrow side of the door jamb fragment from Heliopolis (Fig. d). It might therefore be a continuation of a scene that was originally attached to the southern longitudinal side. This characteristic decoration is well-documented in the Memphite private tombs.¹²¹ According to the film-strip style, the depiction guided the viewer “around the corner” while at least one figure was moved from the long wall to the narrow side of the protruding door jamb. Optically, this might have created the impression of adorants striding into the chamber. Such sort of pictorial continuation can be suggested for the



Fig. d:
Scenic reconstruction
for the relief on the
narrow side of find-
no. 202-4-3 (Digital
drawing: K. Dietze).

¹²¹ See the tomb of *P3-bs* in MARTIN 2001, 20, fig. 5, scenes 6 and 7, pl. 16 and 19. Here, too, women in the gesture of adoration complete the scene on the longitudinal wall. Also, the scene on the opposite longitudinal wall is continued on the inner narrow side of the jamb, although this does not present a scene of worship, see *ibid.*, scenes 3 and 4, pl. 15, 17 and 64. See further scenes 102 (two columns of inscription on the front side of door jamb) and 104 (depiction of a woman in the gesture of adoration, dressed in a pleated gown on the eastern longitudinal wall of the chamber) in the tomb of *Jw-rwd=f* within the tomb structure of the *T3s*: MARTIN 1997, pl. 3 and 52.

present door jamb. This in turn would indicate that the depicted woman belonged to a line of people leading to the depiction of a deity on the western longitudinal wall or even on the eastern wall. If that was the case, the procession certainly would have included the *hm-ntr m pr-Jmn-Rc* himself.

The reconstruction of the fragment in the right door jamb of the middle chamber is furthermore supported by the listing of different appeals for mercy, which, in the tomb of *Ms*, are attested on the inner face of the door jamb in this particular chamber (scenes 14 and 18) – here, however, as a prayer-like nominal phrase.¹²² The fact that at least one appeal is attested on the Heliopolitan fragment – now in the context of an offering formula – points to the reconstruction at the entrance of the middle chamber, which is further supported by the festive clothing of the female figure.¹²³ Assuming the fragment belonged to the middle chamber, a large-scale depiction of the tomb owner in a gesture of adoration as well as a hieroglyphic inscription with notation of titles and name of the donor¹²⁴ would be expected on the right narrow side of the door jamb, as was present in the case of *Ms* (GABALLA 1977, pl. 13). Both should have a leftward orientation. However, it cannot be excluded that the fragment belonged to the door jamb of the

southern chamber. But the classification of the preserved text categories, as well as the scenic depiction on the narrow side, render this option rather unlikely. In the tomb of *Ms* for example, a juridical scene with a legal text is on the outer longitudinal wall (the partition wall to chamber I); a context in which a woman in a gesture of adoration would certainly not be expected.¹²⁵

A final parallel between the structural construction of both door jambs shall be mentioned. On average, the inner face of the door jambs in the tomb of *Ms* is 30 cm wide. This is almost the same width of the present fragment (26.5 cm). Thus, the middle chamber of the tomb of the priest of Amun-Ra might have had similar dimensions as the one in the Memphite tomb (an outer length of 1.31 m and a width of 1.50 m), in which the width of the doorway between both jambs measures 80 cm (GABALLA 1977, 5). The Memphite chamber measured only 1.21 m².¹²⁶

It can further be stated that the Heliopolitan door jamb was built with single blocks since the fragment shows original surfaces on its upper and lower side. Based on the notation of the title of the owner, the fragment must have belonged to the lower half of the right jamb.¹²⁷ Thus, the depicted woman in the pleated garment belonged to the decoration of a lower register.

¹²² See the direct approach with the pronoun of the second person singular masculine (*-k*), although Gaballa translates *nb* in the inscription of the left jamb (scene 18), but does not exclude the alternative reading as suffix pronoun. However, this should be considered a more probable reading in regards to the inscription of the right jamb, which is to be understood in the same manner: There, the reading as suffix pronoun is certain. Moreover, a juxtaposition of offering formula and prayer is very rare, see GABALLA 1977, 12, 14 with note 15 and pl. 24. In the tomb of *Ms*, the corresponding inscriptions are not located on the reveals in the doorway, but inside the chamber. Instead of two columns of inscription, as on the Heliopolitan jamb, only one column of text is present on each jamb.

¹²³ On the necessity of appropriate clothing while facing a god, see ASSMANN 1975, 8.

¹²⁴ See the inscription next to *Ms* on the left door jamb of the middle chamber in GABALLA 1977, 23: *Wsjr zhs n(j) Pth Ms*.

¹²⁵ See GABALLA 1977, 10–11, pl. 15–17. This is considered an exception within the decorative programme of the Memphite private tombs, see RAUE 1995, 263.

¹²⁶ The distance between the walls measured on their insides was 1.10 m and taken into account in this calculation, see GABALLA 1977, 5.

¹²⁷ See BUDKA 2001, fig. 4–5, 16–17, 24–25, 29, 32, 60–61, 67, 73–74; MARTIN 2001, pl. 10, 8, 60, 6; GABALLA 1977, pl. 32, fig. a–b, pl. 36, fig. 27–28.

3.2.4 Fragment of a Door Jamb

(find-no. 203-1-1)

3.2.4.1 Find Context

In spring 2015 the Ministry for Endowment (Awqaf) carried out construction work in the south-eastern part of the shopping mall. The Egyptian-German mission labelled this precinct as Area 203 (Fig. 1). In March, a deep construction trench was dug between the shopping mall and an adjacent residential block from the 1970s (Fig. 5), thereby unearthing an inscribed fragment of a door jamb. It was given the find-no. 203-1-1. The object originated from the same layers of modern debris that also cover the area to the west of the mall. Thus, it can be assumed that the fragment was transported to Matariya together with the construction rubble from Ain Shams. The fragment is now kept in the Matariya storeroom.

3.2.4.2 Object Description

Short description and measurements


The rectangular limestone fragment measures 43 cm in height, 30 cm in width and 10 cm in depth (Fig. 15–16). On the front side, a column with a hieroglyphic inscription in sunken relief is preserved. The right outside edge is characterized by an oblique drill hole with oval cross section, running through the stone to the right narrow side of the fragment.

Material and state of preservation

The fragment consists of grey-yellowish limestone and shows spots of dark discolourations that indicate weathering processes. The object's structural integrity is in the somewhat robust to fragile range. Several chips have already come off the surface. On all narrow sides, remains of the original roughly-polished surface have been preserved. The inscribed front face was polished more carefully. The preserved engraved hieroglyphs (up to approximately 0.3 cm deep) are quite shallow. Part of the surface in the lower half has broken away, resulting in the loss of part of the inscription. Furthermore, a superficial, narrow crack runs horizontally across the front side of the fragment. Also, the very fragile backside of the object is roughly polished. The powdery consistency of the surface indicates that it was exposed to water in the recent past.

Inscription

On the front, a hieroglyphic inscription is preserved that is framed by vertical lines on both sides. The column, slightly shifted to the right edge of the object (BUDKA 2001, 7), has a width of 12.3 cm including the register lines (0.5 cm wide). The inscribed hieroglyphs have a rightward orientation and show v-shaped engraving traces that point to the use of a triangular chisel. Despite the limited amount of preservation, the inscription is still fully legible, as all hieroglyphs can be identified with certainty.

Although the quality of the execution of the inscription is on the whole good, the relief-carver made a small slip: On the corner of the hieroglyph of the mouth ( , D21), it is evident that the chisel accidentally slipped out of his hand. This lapse was probably not even visible under the original paint.¹²⁸ The single column of inscription is the most-attested form among the decoration options of house- and tomb jambs (BUDKA 2001, 33–34).

Drill hole

On the right side of the fragment, an oblique cannulation with a diameter of 2.5 cm was made and ends as a hole in the right narrow side. This is situated at the same height as the hole on the front. A secondary use of the drill hole can be excluded, as the right column line clearly shows that the relief was decorated after the drill hole was worked. The otherwise vertical line runs around the hole so as not to correlate with it. The drill hole provides a constructional detail that, in this particular shape or similar ones, is well-attested on door jambs. In most cases, the front

sides show oval or rectangular drill holes that were connected through channels to one or two drill holes on the adjoining narrow side (BUDKA 2001, 5). According to Budka, these constructional details are connected to a locking mechanism that had to be operated from the outside. The drill holes were used to either tie the door panel to the frame or to fix it with a tenon inserted in the front hole (BUDKA 2001, 5 and note 34). These explanations are mainly based on thoughts stated by KÖNIGSBERGER (1936, 49–63).¹²⁹ However, locking the door with a bar or by tying, the latter often connected to the further sealing of the door, did not present an insurmountable obstacle for wilful entering. Nevertheless, KÖNIGSBERGER (1936, 45) stated that doors in their primarily religious context, for locking shrines and chapels, appeared as symbolic barriers to guarantee the control of secret openings.

¹²⁸ The incising direction of the upper part of the hieroglyph was thus reconstructed from left to right.




¹²⁹ Also, doors furnished with bolts were partly locked by tying, see KÖNIGSBERGER 1936, 45–49. On the locking mechanism with sealing, see BUSSMANN 2014, 98–101.

3.2.4.3 Inscription

3.2.4.3.1 Transcription, Translation, Commentary

Transcription	Translation
[...] [<i>h^c</i>]. <i>w(t)</i> ^{a)} <i>wnn</i> ^{b)} <i>hr=k</i> ^{c)} <i>hw</i> ^{d)} <i>d[<i>fz</i>(.w?)]</i> [...] ^{e)}	[...] [Jubilation], that is with you, sustenance (and) fo[od(s?)] [...]

Commentary¹³⁰

- a) Only the determinative of the standing man with raised arms (, A28) and the vertically grouped plural strokes (, Z3) are preserved of the word *h^c.wt*, “jubilation”.¹³¹ This is the only word that can be reconstructed here. The gesture of the determinative  illustrates the emotional state of rejoicing (ASSMANN 1975, 7). Among other things, this word identifies the inscription as a prayer to a deity, introduced by *dwz*, “adoration”, *jz.w*, “praise”, *jz.w n=k*, “praise for you” or *rdj.t jz.w*, “(the) giving (of) praise” (BUDKA 2001, 7–8; SEIDLMEYER 1983, 183). Assmann differentiates between the textual categories of adoration (*dwz*) and praising (*jz.w*) of a deity.¹³² It cannot be determined to which of these categories the present inscription belonged since the significant opening has not been preserved. In many cases, “jubilation” was further connected to mentions of cheering, dancing and cries of joy and is a well-attested motif of the tomb- and cult hymns of the New Kingdom in the context of sacred festivities. It is likely that the passage before *h^c.wt* included a short greeting formula addressing the deity as was common in Egyptian hymns and prayers of the New Kingdom.
- b) Several forms of *wn/wnn* and equally many grammatical constructions are used in Late Egyptian.¹³³ Most frequently, a subordinate sentence of temporal character is introduced by the root *wn* as well as its geminated form *wnn*. However, concerning the Late Egyptian syntax a future- (or rather preterite-) construction is unlikely since the form *wnn* forms a syntactic connection to the preceding word *h^c.wt* and is semantically dependent on *h^c.wt*.¹³⁴ Thus, *wnn* must be a participle (“jubilation, which is with you (*hr=k*)”) with attributive use for the noun *h^c.wt* (JUNGE 2008, 67).

¹³⁰ I thank Lutz Popko for syntactic references.

¹³¹ Wb. 3, 41.3–10. *h^c.wt* has been attested dating back to the Old Kingdom, although the word was commonly reduced to *h^c.w* in the New Kingdom. Whether the feminine ending was used in the present case cannot be determined since it is usually placed before the determinative. The dual form *h^c.wj* was especially popular in the Ramesside Period.

¹³² See ASSMANN 1975, 13–18. He limits the textual media of *jz.w*-prayers to votive stelae in the temple courtyards, which in regard to the work of BUDKA 2001 has to be extended to door jambs.

¹³³ Mostly for the temporal specification in subordinate clauses: *wn/wnn* either function as future- or preterite converter or mark subordinated temporal activities, see LEG, 512–514 as well as the different combinations with the preposition *hr*, which nevertheless still stands before *wnn* (LEG, 515–516; ENG, 245–250; JUNGE 2008, 169–172) as well as for the balanced sentence (“Wechselsatz”) formed by *wnn* (JUNGE 2008, 288–294). The present verbal form *sdm.hr=f* is not attested in Late Egyptian, see GEG, 347, § 435; SCHENKEL 2012, 218.

¹³⁴ E.g., the future statement “jubilation being with you” would have required the following syntactic construction: *wnn h^c.wt hr=k*, whereas *wnn* would function as initial future converter and the prepositional phrase would be situated behind the predicate. Nevertheless, the nominal phrasing of the predication was a popular stylistic device within the Egyptian hymnody, see ASSMANN 1975, 27–34. However, the verbal approach is dominant in the hymns addressed to the sun god.

- c) The present prepositional phrase with suffix conjugation confirms the proposition that the text is an excerpt from a prayer, as was already suggested in regard to *ḥꜥ.wt*. The door jambs of the New Kingdom are either inscribed with hymns/short prayers in nominal phrases or offering formulas. Only in the first category of texts was it possible – and necessary – to address a deity directly by using the suffix pronoun in the second person singular. Since it was not possible to address a deity directly in an offering formula and the suffix pronoun 𓆎 (=k) appears in the inscription, the present text must be a prayer. The addressed deity of the prayer remains anonymous. However, the deity can be identified as a male as is indicated by the suffix pronoun.¹³⁵ The funerary hymns of the New Kingdom could be addressed to a large number of deities,¹³⁶ although the sun god (in his various manifestations) and Osiris appear to be the most frequently addressed among them (ASSMANN 1975, 24–25). The preposition *ḥr* indicates spatial closeness between the god and *ḥꜥ.wt*, “jubilation”.¹³⁷
- d) *ḥw* designated sustenance (Wb. 3, 44.11–16). Whether and how the noun is linked to the preceding text passage cannot be determined. Because of the small excerpt of preserved text, a syntactic analysis of the present compound sentence cannot be undertaken. But it can be excluded that *ḥw* introduces a new sentence at this place because in the Late Egyptian syntax a noun required an introductory particle, such as *jn* or *jr*; even a topicalized noun.¹³⁸ Because it is very likely that *ḥw* does not function as part of the subordinate clause, the word probably continues the main sentence.
- e) Most frequently, the word *ḥw* is attested next to nouns with a similar meaning, such as *dfꜥ* / *dfꜥ.w* and *ḥtp.t* (Wb. 3, 44.13–14). As the remains of a 𓆎 -snake (I10) can be traced above the broken edge, *dfꜥ* or the plural *dfꜥ.w*, “food(s)” (Wb. 5, 569.9–571.5) might be reconstructed here. In particular in the funerary prayers, provisions play a prominent role. In this context, the divine sphere is often praised as an inexhaustible source of sustenance with all kinds of food.¹³⁹ Thus, it can be assumed that this ideal state was further described with other nouns.

¹³⁵ During the Amarna Period, the king appeared as the addressed entity in prayers and hymns on door jambs in house and tomb portals.

¹³⁶ In the New Kingdom and earlier, such formulas not only addressed the sun god and funerary god, but also other deities, e.g., Sokar, Hathor, Ptah, Khons and Min, see ASSMANN 1999, 453–507.




¹³⁷ See GEG, 128, § 167; Wb. 3, 315.1–316.9. The “Anbetung aus der Nähe” depicts an important situative characteristic of the funerary hymns, which culminated in the motif of the “Bewegung des Toten im Herrschaftsbereich der Götter”, see ASSMANN 1975, 22.














¹³⁸ According to the conventions of the Late Egyptian nominal topicalization, the first syntactic part, the protasis, follows the scheme (*ḥr*)-*jr*-noun “What (noun) concerns, ...”, followed by the second syntactic part in function as apodosis, see JUNGE 2008, 267–257.

¹³⁹ An especially well-attested motif in the prayers of the Amarna Period, e.g. in the hymn on a door jamb in the tomb of *Mr.y-Rꜥ* (tomb no. 4), where it is stated that the “Musikanten und Sänger jauchzen vor Freude (*nḥm m rꜥ.wt*) im Vorhof des Obeliskentempels, (und) jedes (anderen) [...] Tempels in Amarna, (dieser) Stätte der Wahrheit, mit der du [= Aton; KD] zufrieden bist, die Nahrung, Vorräte und Opfergaben (*ḥw dfꜥ ḥtp.t*) birgt”, see ASSMANN 1975, 214, no. 91, 34–40. The motifs of cheerful jubilation and food are therefore also closely connected. The jamb is published in DAVIES 1903, 50–52, pl. 37.

Paleography

Since neither content-related nor iconographical information is preserved, the paleographical comparison provides the only dating criterion. However, only approximate tendencies can be detected on the basis of the paleography, which ideally should be evaluated together with further textual and iconographical dating criteria.

This is not possible in the present case. The few preserved hieroglyphs can only tentatively suggest a dating range. In the following, variants of the standing man with raised arms (, A28), the rabbit (, E34) and the quail chick (, G43) are described and compared.¹⁴⁰


HEL find-no. 203-1-1		Selection of paleographical comparisons (after MOJE 2007)			
		S. I	R. II	Amm.	S. II
(A28)					
(E34)					
(G43)					

¹⁴⁰ The variants selected for comparison were taken from the paleographical tables in MOJE 2007 (digital appendix).

(, A28)

The graphic rendition of the man is only schematic. The remains of the head indicate a roundish, small shape, whereas the arms are raised in an almost right angle and show no other anatomical details as was customary (MOJE 2007, 246). The body is symbolized by a narrow, vertical stroke to which two shortened legs are attached, with one foot slightly advanced. The left foot is more carefully executed than the right, which is almost triangular. Among Moje's corpus of private stelae of the 19th Dynasty, sign A28 is only attested in the time of Sety I–II.¹⁴¹ The recorded variants differ mainly in two points from the Heliopolitan sign. On the one hand, the majority of the signs show a more differentiated anatomy which can most clearly be observed on their broader upper bodies. On the other hand, almost all of the compared signs feature stylistic details of their clothing, such as kilts of various sizes as well as the knot on the front of the kilt. The Heliopolitan variant is simplified to such an extent that neither anatomical nor textile details are recognizable. Only a small number of slim men from the time between Sety I–Ramesses II can be found in Moje's dossier, and it is not possible to observe a continuous development. The abstract reduction of the sign to a few lines – not to mention the shortening of the legs – indicates a variant borrowed from hieratic.

As a result, the paleographical analysis of the sign does not provide a significant dating criterion. However, perhaps it allows us to draw conclusions about the use of hieratic templates and the role of the "outline-draughtsman".¹⁴²

(, E34)

The slim, elongated shape of the rabbit is typical of the 19th Dynasty (MOJE 2007, 285). The basic sign varies primarily in the depiction of the ears and tail. Either two separate ears were depicted, like in the present example, or the ears merged into one. Paleographical parallels for both conventions are attested throughout the 19th Dynasty. The tail was usually depicted as a right-angled stroke, pointing upwards from the body. However, one example from the time of Sety II shows an almost triangular tail, extending outwards. The significant characteristics of the Heliopolitan variant are the slim, elongated shape of the body and the protruding, right-angled tail, which is clearly separated from the body.

Although no direct parallels can be found for this grade of abstraction of the body, the design of single parts can still be compared to variants from the 19th Dynasty. The narrow shape of the belly is well-attested under Sety I and II. The flat, stretched pronunciation of the front and hind legs is known from the time of Ramesses II. The upwards extending tail was already attested in variants from the reign of Sety I, but there the tail is still connected to the hind legs. A large part of the variants from the time of Ramesses II shows an additional horizontal line between tail and body, which is why both body parts appear more differentiated. This is also the case for the Heliopolitan sign.

¹⁴¹ See MOJE 2007, 246. In total there are 18 attestations of sign-groups/units ("Schriftfelder") and individual hieroglyphs.

¹⁴² The final engraving of the hieroglyphs was probably executed by yet another person. See the examples of hieratic variants in MÖLLER 1909, 1, 4.

(, G43)

This sign of the quail chick shows a slim upright – almost vertical – body, giving the impression of falling backwards (a characteristic of the sign-group writing of the 19th Dynasty; MOJE 2007, 311). The head is very small and pointed, the body somewhat round. The variants from the time of Sety I show a slightly slimmer body with clearly elongated legs, the body posture is crouched. Regarding body posture and shape, paleographical parallels are also known from the time of Amenmesse. The signs from the time of Sety II differ considerably as the single body parts are much rounder than in the Heliopolitan writing.

Therefore, the paleographical analysis indicates a dating to the 19th Dynasty, which is further supported by the fact that there are no known comparable variants from the 18th and 20th Dynasty. The deeply incised hieroglyphs of the 18th Dynasty appear much finer and also roundish. In particular the anatomical elements are worked more carefully and detailed.¹⁴³ The variants from the 20th Dynasty are increasingly abstracted, which can mainly be observed in the birds as their bodies were mostly just depicted with a narrow stroke. However, a handful of significant elements were particularly stressed graphically at the same time.¹⁴⁴ As a conclusion it can be noted that, within the 19th Dynasty, the signs from the reign of Ramesses II provide the most similarities with the present inscription, as was the case with the right-angled tail of the rabbit as well as the upright quail chick.

Prayer

Only a short passage of the original text is preserved on the door jamb. The category of the text and the media upon which it was found are both known. Both can be used to help date the tomb, in lieu of other dating information. That is by looking for similar cases of certain categories of text being found upon specific surfaces. In tombs, hymns to gods and similar phraseologies of prayers have only been attested since the New Kingdom (ASSMANN 1999, 8). However, a typology of these texts in tomb architecture has not been compiled yet. Therefore, an examination of the texts within profane architecture seems helpful (the jamb inscriptions have already been studied extensively by BUDKA 2001). In the corpus recorded by her, nominal phrases with prayer characteristics are attested in the time from Akhenaten until Ramesses II. She noted that a dating to the reign of Ramesses III is questionable.¹⁴⁵ The majority of the texts seem to date to the 19th Dynasty, while the jambs and door jamb fragments – seven in total – date to Ramesses II.¹⁴⁶ Since the typological development of door jambs in funerary and profane architecture

¹⁴³ See e.g., RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 47, fig. II.1, 54, fig. II.2, 83, fig. 7, 87, fig. 8, 105, 18–20, 112, fig. 25; SCHNEIDER 2012, pl. 1, 7, 8 and 15.

¹⁴⁴ In particular, the *n*-water line (N35) is mostly carefully pronounced, the seated god (A40) often has very round, almost broad body proportions, whereas the beard is emphasized. On the Memphite paleography of the 20th Dynasty, see the stelae and relief fragments from the tomb of *P3-z3-nswt* and *T3-n.t-mhjt* in HÖLBL 1985, pl. 9–12 and the drawings of objects from the tomb of *Hk3-msꜥ.t-Rꜥ-nhꜥ* by MÁLEK 1985, fig. 2–7 and 9.

¹⁴⁵ See BUDKA 2001, 34, tab. 2. On the lintels of the residential houses, prayers had already been attested since Thutmose III, only later they were extended to jambs, see BUDKA 2001, 7.

¹⁴⁶ See BUDKA 2001, 37. Naturally also the long reign of Ramesses II has to be taken into account in this matter.

progressed, a similar result can be assumed for the tomb jams. However, of course a concrete parallel cannot be drawn between both contexts. Basically, placing hymns and prayers in New Kingdom tombs served the purpose of eternalising the interaction between the tomb owner and the gods, monumentalising this act of communication between the praying individual and the recipient forever (ASSMANN 1999, 9). The examination of the addressed gods allows drawing further conclusions about the dating of the texts. In the present case, only two statements can be made with certainty. The god is male (=k) and surrounded by jubilation (*h^c.wt*) (and despite the doubtful syntactic relation, probably also sustenance (*hw dfz.w*)).¹⁴⁷ Both are well-attested in the prayers to the sun god in his various shapes,¹⁴⁸ as well as the god of the dead, Osiris.¹⁴⁹ The solar hymns of the New Kingdom primarily address the daily movements of the deceased in and out of his tomb, whereas the hymns to Osiris are dedicated to the unique transition between this side and the netherworld (ASSMANN 1999, 9). When *htp.t hw dfz.w* or similar termini are mentioned in the solar hymns, they are mainly positioned at the end and show certain formal parallels to the requests within offering formulas. In this context, the appeal for offered nutrition was usually introduced by *dj=k*. In regard to the present inscription, it can neither be excluded nor proven that the verbal form was left out and has to be supplemented.¹⁵⁰ Since the addressed god remains anonymous, the recipient of the prayer cannot be used for dating.

¹⁴⁷ On the location of eternal sustenance, see ASSMANN 2001, 204–216.

¹⁴⁸ The motifs jubilation, cheering and songs of joy in favour of the sun god are listed in ASSMANN 1999, 144, no. 51.5: “Deine Mannschaft [jubelt] in deinem Gefolge”; 145, no. 52.5–7: “Deine Mannschaft hat Jauchzen ergriffen: ihre Tuae sind gerichtet, dein Gefolge ist in Frohlocken; die Götter deiner Barke sind in Freuden”; 148, no. 55 B.3: “Der Westen jubelt dir zu”; 154, no. 58.23–24: “»jedes Auge« ist in Jauchzen, frohlockend, weil du für sie erscheinst”; 160, no. 60.12: “Dein Gefolge ist in Frohlocken”; 161, no. 61.15: “Die Mannschaft des Re ist in Jauchzen”; 162, no. 62.13: “Jubel dir, der die Götter schuf” and 20: “Die Tagesbarke ist in Jauchzen”; 171, no. 67.14: “Die »Seelen von Buto und Hierakonpolis« feiern dich jauchzend” and 24: “Du durchquerst deinen Himmel in Jubel”; 173, no. 68.19–22: “Die Barke der Millionen gerät in Entzücken, die Mannschaft des Re ist in Frohlocken. Die Sonnenaffen beten dich an bei deinem Erscheinen, die Wildtiere, die du geschaffen hast, tanzen vor dir”. Evidence for the motif of sustenance in the sphere of the sun god in New Kingdom prayers is mostly constructed in formulas similar to the appeals of mercy in the offering formulas, and placed at the end of the prayers – see ASSMANN 1999, 152, no. 57.24–25: “Möge mein Herz sich befriedigen an jeglichen Opfergaben, möge ich Opfer empfangen im Obeliskenhau”; 156, no. 58.84–86: “Mögt ihr geben, ein- und auszugehen im Binsengefilde, und daß ich mich dort mit dem Opfergefilde vereinige, Opfergaben zu empfangen täglich”; 169, no. 65.39: “Opfer empfangen, die aus seiner Gegenwart hervorgehen”; 175, no. 69.21–22: “Mögen mir Opfergaben und Speisen gegeben werden, die aus der Gegenwart Amuns hervorgehen”; 178, no. 71.60: “Mögest du meine (= mir) Opferspeisen geben auf dem Opfertisch der Bewohner von Busiris”.

¹⁴⁹ The motifs of jubilation and cheering for Osiris are listed in ASSMANN 1999, 478, no. 213.38: “Die an den Grenzen wohnen (?) jauchzen, wenn sie ihn sehen” and 50–51: “Vielbejubelter am Wag-Fest, dem Jauchzen veranstaltet wird”, 480–481, no. 213.125–127: “Alle Welt freut sich, ihre Herzen sind froh, ihre Brust ist voll Entzücken, alle Gesichter jauchzen, während jedermann seine Schönheit anbetet”; 483, no. 214.1–4: “Ich bin zu dir gekommen [...] und juble über das, was er getan hat”, 490, no. 216.3: “Die gesamte Neunheit jubelt ihm zu”, 490, no. 216.20–23: “Die Bewohner von Busiris sind in Jubel, das Kollegium von Heliopolis ist im Fest, der Mühderzige hat sich der Freude vereint, das Heilige Land ist in Jubelrufen”, 493, no. 218.13: “Die Neunheit ist versammelt und jubelt”, 495, no. 219.51–52: “Ich gebe dir Lobpreis und juble dir zu, ich küsse die Erde ohne Ermüden”. Evidence for the motif of sustenance in the hymns to Osiris from the New Kingdom are listed in ASSMANN 1999, 477, no. 213.7: “Der den Speisen vorsteht in Heliopolis” and 21: “Vollkommen ausgestattet mit Speisen und Nahrung”; 483, no. 214.46–51: “Man bringt dir Gottesopfer dar [...] und Totenopfer für die Verklärten, die in deinem Gefolge sind”.

¹⁵⁰ A well-attested phenomenon in Ramesside offering formulas. For example, in appeal no. 25, in which sustenance in the shape of bread, beer, meat, water, wine and milk was requested. See BARTA 1968, 143–144, appeal no. 25, b, d–e, h (19th Dynasty); 165, d (20th Dynasty). In these cases, depending on the addressed entity, either *dj=sn* or *dj=k* (prayer type) must be added before the list of food. Immediately following the initial verb form, in an appeal from the 19th Dynasty, the word *hw* is attested, followed by *ks*, also designating “food”: *dj=sn hw ks mnw r-htf-ht-k r nb*; see *ibid.*, 144, appeal no. 25, h. Perhaps a similar supplement of a verbal form continuing on the lower, not preserved part of the jamb can be assumed for the Heliopolitan inscription.

3.2.4.4 Dating

In comparison to the preceding object with the find-no. 202-4-6, there are very few dating criteria for the present object. A dating can only be based on the following: paleography, inscribing prayers in tombs and in particular, inscribing them on door jambs. Although since the very beginning of the New Kingdom, prayers addressed to gods are attested in tombs, they only appear on door jambs

between the late 18th and the 19th Dynasty. The majority of paleographical similarities to the Heliopolitan variant was detected in signs from the time of Ramesses II. According to the current state of knowledge, the larger part of the door jambs inscribed with prayers and prayer-like phrases date to his reign.¹⁵¹ A dating to the 19th Dynasty is thus most likely. Although a more refined dating to the reign of Ramesses II seems probable, it cannot be verified.

Tab. d: Summary of dating criteria for find-no. 203-1-1.

New Kingdom						
	18th Dynasty		19th Dynasty		20th Dynasty	
	1st half (Ah. I – Am. II)	2nd half (Th. IV – Hrmhb.)	1st half (R. I – II)	2nd half (Mrnph. – Tsrt.)	1st half (Stnkht. – R. VII)	2nd half (R. VIII – XI)
Inscription						
Placement of hymns in tombs						
Placement of prayer-like phrases on door jambs						
Paleography						
	33 %	67 %	100 %	33 %	33 %	33 %

3.2.4.5 Original Location within the Tomb

The assumption that the present fragment belonged to a tomb and not a house cannot be fully ascertained. Because of the extensive decorative programme, it was possible to verify this assumption in the case of the preceding fragment. The identification as a prayer-like phrase is, on

a typological basis, not a conclusive indicator of the funerary precinct since such texts are also frequently attested on house doors in the Ramesside Period. However, stone portals are less frequent in settlement than in tomb architecture. Thus, it seems reasonable to suppose that the fragment originated in a tomb.

¹⁵¹ At 66 years, the reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC) was clearly the longest reign of a pharaoh of the New Kingdom (his reign comprises 61% of the duration of the 19th Dynasty: 1292–1186/85 BC). This must always be considered when confronted with a large amount of accordances from his period of reign. See BECKERATH 1997, 190.

Assuming the fragment belonged to a tomb jamb, the original location of the fragment can be reconstructed within the tomb. The following characteristics of the object are therefore decisive: the oblique drill hole on the front side, the textual category of the inscription and the orientation of the hieroglyphs. The drill hole was already identified as a detail of a locking mechanism. In regard to the architectural re-contextualisation, it can be noted that it belonged to a portal with a door that could be locked. This first observation already limits the possible locations since, in the Memphite necropolis, access through most portals was not barred. The few door leaves that must have existed in the necropolis are not preserved as they were probably made of wood. However, there are round sockets in a number of thresholds into which the lower door pivot fitted and they are thus indicative of a door. In Saqqara, such sockets in the sills can be observed in the following tombs of the New Kingdom.

The tomb of the overseer of the cattle *Jnj-wjz*, dating to the time of Tutankhamen, features a threshold with sockets right at its entrance (SCHNEIDER 2012, 32–34, fig. 2.2a, 2.3 and 2.4). The decorated front sides of the jambs are located in the doorway while the narrow sides are orientated east-west. The sockets for the door pivots are situated on the same axis as the inner

face of the northern, undecorated door jamb. Thus, a single-leaf door can be reconstructed, opening inward as was customary in the tomb chapels of the New Kingdom.¹⁵² On the reveal of the southern jamb, a large-scale depiction of the tomb owner in a gesture of adoration as well as a notation of his name and titles can be found. Hieroglyphs and depiction are orientated eastwards, looking towards the outside of the tomb as it was already observed in the tomb of *Ms. Jnj-wjz* is probably standing in adoration of the rising sun: the sun god in his morning manifestation.¹⁵³ The entrance portal is the only gate in the entire tomb that was furnished with a locking mechanism; there is no evidence for such locks on the entrances to the chambers in its rear part.¹⁵⁴

Also, the tomb of *Pz-sr* from the reign of Ramesses II shows constructional details of a former locking mechanism at the entrance to the courtyard. The northern jamb has a 5 cm deep socket on the back side,¹⁵⁵ also indicating that the door was opened inward. Both jambs are undecorated, which is quite exceptional in the Memphite necropolis.¹⁵⁶ However, just because a door was located at the entrance does not mean that the cult chapel was always locked, as indicated by the visitor's inscription of the washerman *Nht-Jmn* in the cult chapel.¹⁵⁷ Within the tomb, this chamber was always accessible

¹⁵² See ARNOLD 2000, 267–269; MARTIN 1997, 9 and MARTIN 2001, 4.

¹⁵³ See SCHNEIDER 2012, scenes 1, 59 and 58, fig. 3.1. On the connection between orientation to the east and the worship of the morning sun god, see ASSMANN 1975, 14.

¹⁵⁴ To the east of the tomb of *Jnj-wjz* is the tomb of *Pzj* and *Rjz*. The threshold at the entrance shows a socket for the door pivot, but it is located in the centre, which indicates that the stone was reused. See RAVEN 2005, 12.

¹⁵⁵ See MARTIN 1985, 3–4 and pl. 2. South of this socket another recess with a diameter of 34 cm is in the threshold, which cannot have served a practical function and thus points to the re-use of the threshold.

¹⁵⁶ There are numerous decorated door jambs at the entrances to Memphite tombs, see e.g., RAVEN 2005, scenes 1 and 2, 21–23 and pl. 5, pl. 14–15; GABALLA 1977, scene 27 with a prayer to Ra-Horakhty, pl. 1 and 36; MARTIN 2012, I, scenes 1 and 2, 18, pl. 1 b, pl. 8.

¹⁵⁷ A secure dating has not been established yet, see MARTIN 1985, 6 and pl. 34, fig. 5.

(MARTIN 1985, 7) – also to the deceased himself, who is shown in the act of entering and leaving the tomb in the inscriptions on the door jambs.¹⁵⁸ Although the threshold to the adjoining south-ern storage magazines does not display any sockets, Martin believes that the traces of plaster adhering to the undecorated door jambs were a type of sealing (cf. MARTIN 1985, 8).

The tomb of *Tjz* and *Tjz* (also dating to the reign of Ramesses II) is furnished with four portals that have sockets in the sill (all situated along the main axis).¹⁵⁹ Listed from east to west these are the pylon at the tomb entrance, the entrance to the hypostyle hall, the entrance to the antechamber of the sanctuary as well as the entrance to the sanctuary itself. Like in the tomb of *Pz-sr*, the sockets are placed on the back side of the door jambs, the doors again opened inward. All of the mentioned door jambs are decorated. The front sides of the jambs on the pylon include a prayer to Osiris as well as a depiction of the kneeling *Tjz* in a gesture of adoration in the lower registers.¹⁶⁰ The above-average number of doors in the tomb of the two *Tjz*s is probably explained by the tomb owners' high rank as they were a sister and brother-in-law of Ramesses. They belonged to the royal family and, thus, the tomb architecture was more elaborate than in private tombs. In regard to the tomb architecture of private tombs, there are no indications of any doors in the chambers. As seen in the tombs of *Jnj-wjz* and *Pz-sr*, doors were

only found at the entrances. However, there were no drill holes on the front sides. It is not possible to make any statements regarding drill holes on the narrow sides since there are hardly any published photographs or drawings.

The fragment therefore probably belonged to a door jamb at the tomb entrance, which was a popular location for hymns and prayers in the New Kingdom (Fig. e). The hieroglyphs were oriented to the east to address the sun god in his morning manifestation, whereas the orientation of the hieroglyphs to the west addressed the sun god in his nocturnal manifestation – or Osiris (ASSMANN 1975, 14). The inscriptions were intentionally oriented towards the recipient.

How was the Heliopolitan fragment oriented? This is where the depth of the fragment is interesting. At 10 cm it is fairly flat for a door jamb. However, this is the original depth of the object as the back side is polished. The revetment on the door jambs at the entrance to the tomb of *Jnj-wjz* have the exact same depth.¹⁶¹ As already mentioned, the jambs there were arranged with the broad sides to the passage.¹⁶² Thus, they were directly connected to the surrounding mudbrick masonry. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Heliopolitan fragment was also located on the door jamb since it is not very thick and the inscription was identified as a prayer, which usually appears on door jambs.

¹⁵⁸ See MARTIN 1985, 5, scenes 2 and 3. The southern jamb reads: “[...] You will enter and leave wherever you wish. Your ba will not be retrained. When you will be summoned you will come immediately. You will walk around your house upon earth”.

¹⁵⁹ See MARTIN 1997, 4–6 and pl. 1: designated as court F and E, chapel B and D.

¹⁶⁰ See MARTIN 1997, 18, scenes 9–12 and pl. 10. In the upper registers Ramesses II is depicted while offering to a deity. This is a further indication that it was a royal tomb since such a depiction is not usually found in private tombs.

¹⁶¹ See SCHNEIDER 2012, 34. However, with a width of 50 cm the southern jamb in the Memphite tomb is 20 cm wider than the Heliopolitan jambs.

¹⁶² Also, in the doorway of the first pylon in the Memphite tomb of Horemhab, two flat jambs are arranged with their broad sides opposite each other. See RAVEN 2001b, 58, fig. 1.

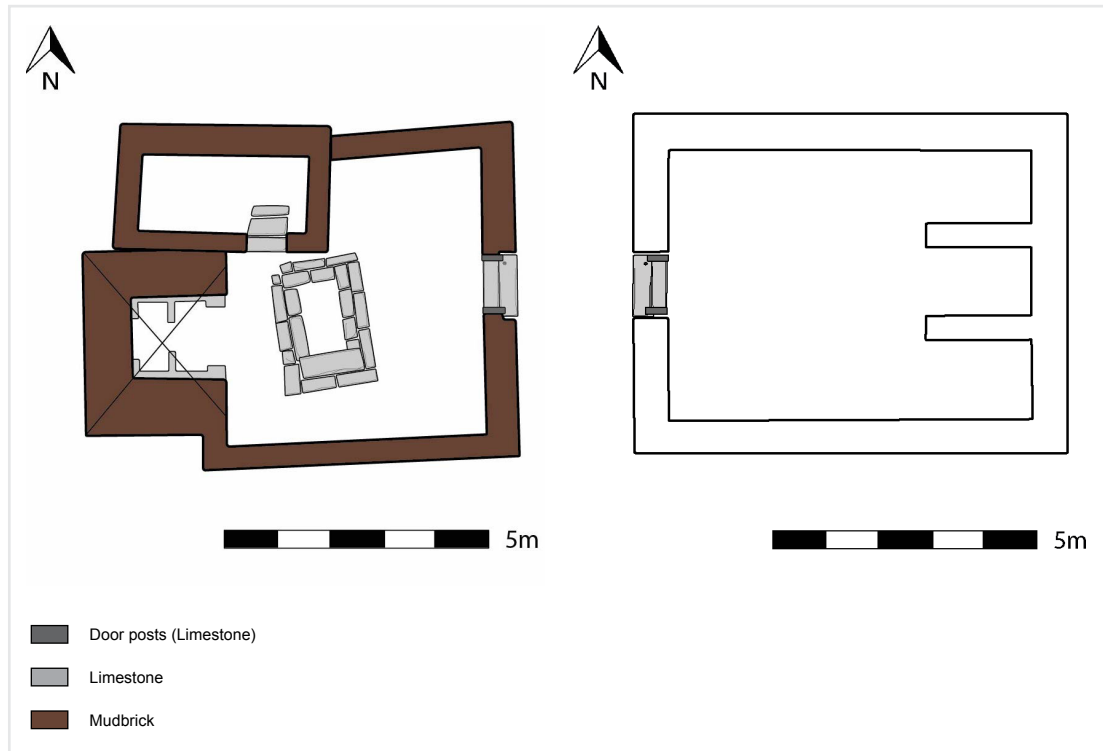


Fig. e:
Left: Ground plan of the tomb of *Jnj-wj3* (Saqqara); right: Reconstruction of the Heliopolitan tomb on the basis of the ground plan of the tomb of *Jnj-wj3* (Saqqara); Digital drawings: K. Dietze.

This hypothesis is also supported by the orientation of the hieroglyphs, which either face south or east and thus the recipient. Moreover, in all of the Memphite tombs the sockets were on the northern side of the sills. Thus, this seems also likely for the Heliopolitan tombs. On single-leaf doors, the locking mechanism was always on the opposite side of the pivot, the side that opened and closed (see ARNOLD 2000, 269 and KÖNIGSBERGER 1936, 49–63). For this reason, the drill hole must have been on the southern jamb. Hence, the fragment most probably belonged to the southern jamb of the tomb entrance (Fig. 17). This indicates that the closed door lined up with the front side of the jamb and that the decoration was part of the interior of the tomb. Although the doors in the tombs of *Tj3* and *Tj3* as well as *P3-sr* closed behind the jambs, as indicated by the position of the socket in the sill behind the northern jamb, the tomb

of *Jnj-wj3* provides an example that supports this idea. Here, the socket in the sill is situated on the same axis as the front narrow sides of the jambs. Thus, the door must have closed *before* the jambs, as it can also be assumed for the Heliopolitan tomb.

Based on the original surface of the upper and lower side of the fragment, it can be concluded that the door jamb was constructed out of several blocks. The oblique drill hole suggests that the fragment was located halfway up the southern jamb since the locking mechanism was usually placed in this area (BUDKA 2001, 5). In regard to the inscription, this means that the middle to lower part of the original prayer is preserved. The orientation of the hieroglyphs to the west allows us to narrow the list of recipients of the prayer down to the sun god in his evening form and Osiris.

3.3 Fragments of Decorated Wall Panelling

3.3.1 Relief Fragment (find-no. 202-6-20)

3.3.1.1 Find Context

During the field season of the *Heliopolis Project* in October 2015, the relief fragment with the find-no. 202-6-20 was discovered. The object is now kept in the Matariya storeroom.

3.3.1.2 Object Description

Short description

The present relief fragment consists of limestone and is triangular (Fig. 18–20). On the front side, part of a scene with three standing women in sunk relief is preserved. The fragment is 15 cm high, 21.5 cm wide and 9.9 cm deep. On the top narrow side, the original surface is preserved. All other narrow sides are fractured.

State of preservation and measurements

The preservation of the object is generally good. The front and back side as well as the upper narrow side are polished. There are no large fractures, only the top and bottom corners of the right side have suffered some damage. Several areas of dark discolouration caused by weathering are evident on the front side of the fragment. The surface of the limestone is abraded on all sides. This is particularly evident on the highly eroded contours of the relief. Thus, the preserved relief is quite flat. The quality of the decoration appears rather poor and hurriedly executed.

*Scenic depiction*¹⁶³

The fragment shows part of a depiction of three women in profile, all turned to the left. Neither their heads nor hands or feet are preserved. Each woman is depicted with only one arm. The left woman is only preserved from her shoulders until shortly under the buttocks. Although the left corner of the fragment is abraded, remains of her arm, held in front of her face at an angle can still be observed there. A long wig hangs down her back. The contours of her body are slightly curved at her chest, the waist is narrow, her buttocks round. She is wearing a long, loose garment, which can be seen in the front and also on the back side of her thighs. This gown can be identified as a cloak with an open front.¹⁶⁴ Fine vertical lines symbolize the pleated structure of the textile. Furthermore, a shawl is draped around her upper arm; originally, the end of the shawl hung down (to the knees?) as can be seen on the depiction of the other women.¹⁶⁵

Only the area from the shoulders down to the knees is preserved of the woman in the middle. Her arm is upraised and she wears a wig that hangs down her back to her waist. The shape of her body is characterized by a very narrow waist as well as wide hips. Her upper thighs are quite round and render her silhouette voluptuous and feminine. However, her chest is rather flat. This woman is also dressed in a loose, pleated cloak.

¹⁶³ The first to identify the scenic representation was W. Raymond Johnson, who should be explicitly credited here once again.

¹⁶⁴ See the depiction in the tomb of *R'-ms* (TT 166): HOFMANN/SEYFRIED 1995, pl. 16, fig. b.

¹⁶⁵ Comparable depictions of this particular type of garment are attested, e.g., in the tomb of *Tjz* and *Tjz*: MARTIN 1997, pl. 40, fig. 69 and pl. 48, fig. 85. References to further parallels in HOFMANN 2004, 176.

Since the hem of the cloak is not executed in relief, the body underneath appears naked.¹⁶⁶ Although the cloak is rather loose fitting on the front and behind the thighs, it seems quite tight on the back and clings tightly to her upper back. An almost semi-circular shawl is draped over her upper arm and falls down to her knees in the front.

The remains of a depiction of a third female figure are preserved near the right edge of the fragment, however, only parts of the upper and lower arm are visible. The arm is raised at an angle in front of her head. A shawl is draped around her upper arm; it is preserved down to the hanging corner. It reaches down to the middle of the woman's thigh and projects outward. Behind her, the beginning of a long cloak can be seen.

3.3.1.3 Iconography

3.3.1.3.1 Scenic Classification

All three women are depicted with their arms raised in the gesture of adoration: The preserved depiction can be identified as part of a scene of worship. Thus, the women are worshipping a particular entity, which was originally situated directly opposite them or placed in a register above them. Without doubt, the preserved motif can be put into the broader context of the decoration of Ramesside private tombs: One of several comparable scenes is attested on a free-standing

stela in the court of the tomb of *Tjz* and *Tjz*, which probably marked the burial of a servant of the tomb owner (Fig. 21).¹⁶⁷ In the lower of the two preserved registers, the standing figure of Hathor is depicted on the right side, facing left. Opposite her, eight figures are standing with arms raised in prayer, being led by a female dressed in a tight, ankle-length dress. On her head she carries a cone and a lotus. Behind her, two male worshippers are dressed in a long, pleated kilt. They are followed by two females who are dressed exactly like the woman in the front. The last three women, however, are wearing a different kind of garment: a long coat, probably open in front, with a sleeve shawl wrapped around their arm. This can be identified as the same clothing that the women on the Heliopolitan fragment are wearing. Above the Memphite worshippers, a hieroglyphic inscription gives the personal names of the individuals depicted below.

The gesture that the three Heliopolitan women have adopted as well as the festive clothing covering their bodies indicate that the fragment originally belonged to a scene comparable to that in the lower register of the stela from the tomb of *Tjz* and *Tjz*. The assumption of a re-contextualization in such a procession is supported by the high number of worshippers that, in this pose, are not attested in any other scenic context within the decorative programme of the private tombs of the Ramesside dynasties.

¹⁶⁶ A well-attested type of garment on New Kingdom depictions of females, see HOFMANN 2004, 166. The hem might have been painted.

¹⁶⁷ See RAVEN 2001b, 61–62 and fig. 7. In the course of restoration work, the fragment of the stela was re-installed by the Dutch mission in a covered wooden niche in the northern wall of the court in 2006. See <http://www.saqqara.nl/excavations/tombs/tia--tia/restoration> (last accessed: 20.09.2017).

3.3.1.3.2 Analysis of Stylistic and Iconographic Dating Criteria

The following two criteria are significant for the approach of an iconographic/stylistic dating: the body shape and the type of garment. The exaggerated female anatomy is known from two different Egyptian periods. First, this is attested for the Amarna Period and is also a well-known feature of the late 18th Dynasty, when the comprehension of the body is mainly based on Akhenaten and his queen, who are both depicted as voluptuous – and, thus, feminine – in sculpture and relief. Female and male figures had broad hips and curvaceous thighs.¹⁶⁸ In the depictions of socially high-ranking males, this was frequently combined with drooping bellies,¹⁶⁹ whereas the female bodies were mostly characterized by a soft belly as well as full hips and thighs, which, however, became narrower towards the knee.¹⁷⁰

After a “Phase überschlanker Figuren mit extrem dünnen Armen und Beinen am Ende der 19. Dynastie” (HOFMANN 2004, 55) the intentional curvaceousness of some body parts was stylistically revived in the 20th Dynasty, culminating in particular depictions from the Third Intermediate Period (HOFMANN 2004, 64, fig. 86–87). The depiction of females of the 20th Dynasty attests the anatomic paradox *par excellence*. The lower body parts were extremely

elongated, rendering the lower legs unnaturally slim. On the other hand, these slim lower legs were joined to very full, almost bulging thighs as well as expansive hips. In particular the female representations are thus stylistically very close to the body ideal of the early post-Amarna Period (HOFMANN 2004, 56). Hofmann states an intentional reference back to the canonic art of the 18th Dynasty, in response to the decreasing quality during the Ramesside Period and the impending “Niedergang der Privatkunst” (HOFMANN 2004, 53). Especially in Heliopolis, it is questionable if there were models to draw on since the majority of the Amarna monuments were probably not visible anymore in the 20th Dynasty. Whether the Heliopolitan style of the late Ramesside Period was an intentional reference to the conventions of the Amarna Period or not, remains uncertain.¹⁷¹

Ultimately, it is the modelling of the waist that clearly differs from the anatomic concept of the (post-)Amarna Period. The depictions of standing women of the 20th Dynasty show an unnaturally slim waist compared to those of the 18th Dynasty, where at least a soft belly is indicated. Here, an influence of the extremely slim figures of the 19th Dynasty is obvious. A certain stylistic example of the exaggeration of the human anatomy is provided by a depiction from the tomb of *H^c-m-jp.t* (TT 105) from the 20th Dynasty, whose wife is shown with an

¹⁶⁸ See the figural representations in the tomb of *R^c-ms* (TT 166) in HOFMANN/SEYFRIED 1995, 52–53. Although a few figures show clear characteristics of Amarna style, others already provide typical characteristics of the body style of the early Ramesside Period.

¹⁶⁹ See in the tomb of *Jnj-wjz*: SCHNEIDER 2012, 85, fig. 3.33, pl. 15. In the tomb of *Mr.j-Nj.t*: RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 83–85, scene 7. In the tomb of *Njr-htp*: DAVIES 1933, I, pl. 4, 9 and 13.

¹⁷⁰ See HOFMANN/SEYFRIED 1995, 52 and pl. 16, fig. b. The hanging corner of the textile is depicted here as well, see also DAVIES 1933, I, pl. 4. This concept of the female body is also attested for the Memphite style from the post-Amarna Period: SCHNEIDER 2012, pl. 7–8.

¹⁷¹ Perhaps single Amarna tomb structures were still accessible and, thus, visible in the Heliopolitan necropolis at that time. I would like to thank Dietrich Raue for this information.

extremely slim waist and elongated lower legs, but also with very round hips and full thighs.¹⁷² The proportions of the first two women rendered on the fragment from Ain Shams thus indicate a dating to the 20th Dynasty, especially because of their slim waists. How extraordinarily narrow their waists are in comparison to other female representations, becomes evident in an analysis of the waist-hip ratio of selected depictions (Fig. f). A female figure in the tomb of *R^c-ms* (TT 166)

from the Amarna Period (HOFMANN/SEYFRIED 1995, pl. 12, fig. b, female figure in the middle) has a ratio of 1:1.5. Whereas the aforementioned depiction from the tomb of *H^c-m-jp.t* (TT 105) from the 20th Dynasty shows a ratio of 1:1.75. The waist is therefore already much slimmer than the one examined in TT 166. The woman depicted in the middle of the relief fragment from Heliopolis, however, has an extremely exaggerated waist-hip ratio of 1:2.¹⁷³

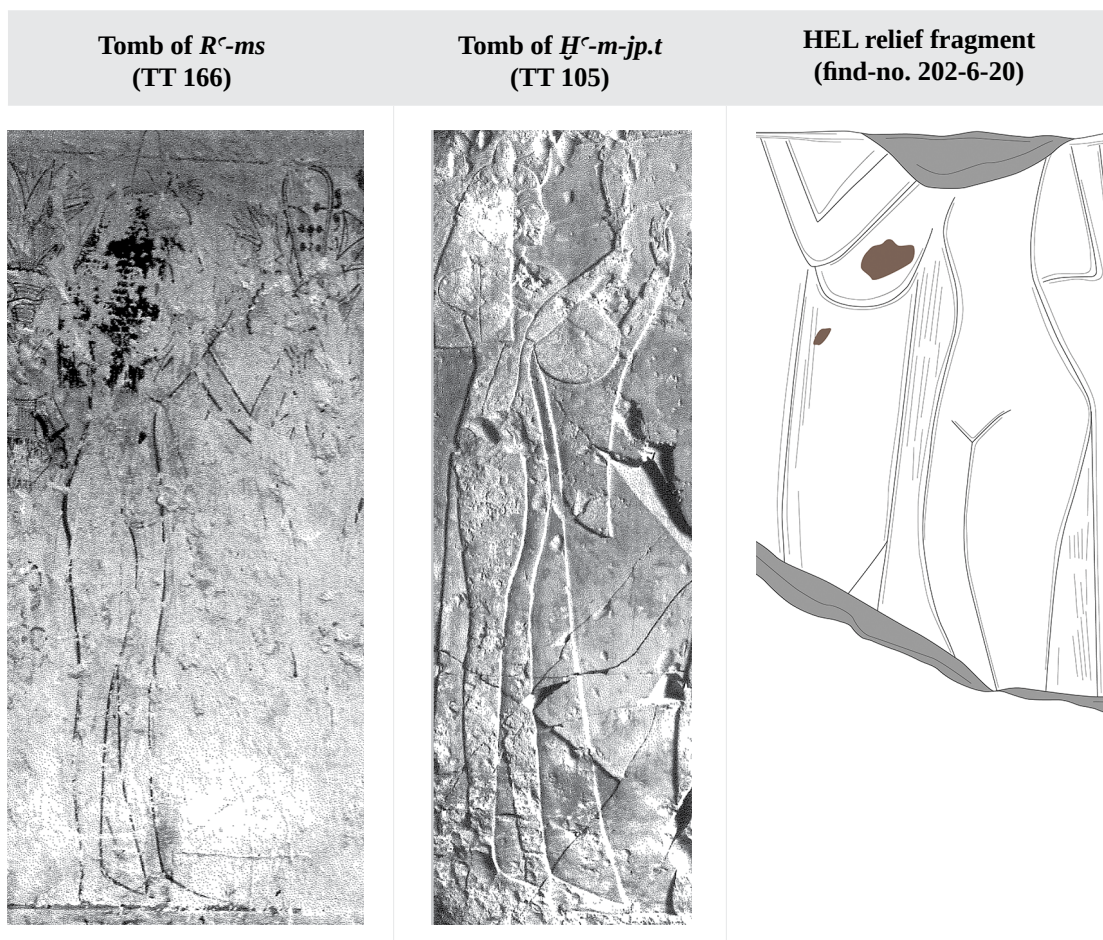


Fig. f: Comparison of selected representations of female figures in or from tombs of the New Kingdom (Photos: HOFMANN/SEYFRIED 1995, pl. 12, fig. b (detail); HOFMANN 2004, 60, fig. 78 (detail); Digital drawing: K. Dietze).

¹⁷² A depiction of this scene is published in HOFMANN 2004, 60, fig. 78. On the dating of the tomb to the 20th Dynasty, see HOFMANN 2004, 53–64.

¹⁷³ In addition to potential stylistic reasons, this might also be due to the poor quality of the relief execution.

Furthermore, the type of clothing is examined. The combination of long, open cloak and sleeve shawl, wrapped around the upper arm and with hanging corners, provides an iconographic criterion of the Amarna Period, which was continued in the conventions of funerary art of the late 18th Dynasty.¹⁷⁴ This style of dress can also be observed on female depictions of the 19th Dynasty. In the Memphite necropolis, in particular a handful of relief scenes from the tomb of *Tjz* and *Tjz* have to be mentioned.¹⁷⁵ But there is also a vast amount of evidence from the 20th Dynasty: For example, the wife of *H^c-m-jp.t* in the already cited scene from his tomb (TT 105) is dressed in a cloak and a curving draped shawl. However, in this context it has to be stated that the shawls of the 20th Dynasty are curved more than in earlier epochs. This is again illustrated in the depiction from TT 105 (HOFMANN 2004, 63–64, fig. 85–87). The sleeve of the middle woman on the present fragment also shows this particular sort of round shape.

3.3.1.4 Dating

Although the area of the hips and upper thighs of the Heliopolitan women is certainly reminiscent of the figural style of the post-Amarna Period, their extremely slim waists show the impact of the stretched and elongated figures of the 19th Dynasty. Such slim waists were unheard of in the decorative scheme of the 18th Dynasty. The full thighs as well as the narrow waists provide therefore concrete

evidence for the figurative style of the 20th Dynasty. Also, the circular shawl of the woman in the middle clearly points to the later Rameside Period. However, the fact that the present fragment was hurriedly executed complicates the differentiation between stylistic and craft-related criteria. Yet it might be this particularly poor quality that provides a further argument for a later Ramesside dating. Ultimately, a similar extent of low quality of decoration is attested for the majority of later Ramesside reliefs in the Memphite necropolis (HOFMANN 2004, 106).

3.3.1.5 Original Location within the Tomb

Because the depiction on the present fragment could be identified as part of a worship scene, a localisation in the funerary context seems reasonable as this scenic type presents a central motif of the decorative programme of Ramesside private tombs.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, the large amount of comparable scenes from Memphite tombs points to the provenience in a tomb.¹⁷⁷ For example the depiction of three private praying females would not be expected in the decoration of a temple. These observations as well as the find context in the modern layers of debris in Area 202, point to the identification as a tomb relief.

First, the question of the object category of the present fragment and, in connection to that, its former location point in the tomb will be addressed. As the stela of the servant of the *Tjz*s showed, adoration scenes with long rows

¹⁷⁴ See RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 165, scene 27; HOFMANN/SEYFRIED 1995, pl. 16, fig. b and pl. 17, fig. c and DAVIES 1933, I, pl. 4.

¹⁷⁵ See e.g., MARTIN 1997, pl. 23, scene 32, pl. 40, scene 69, pl. 85 and 157, scene 85, pl. 57 and 165, scene 109.

¹⁷⁶ See HOFMANN 2004, 150; ASSMANN 1995, 283 and BUDKA 2001, 9.

¹⁷⁷ These will be examined in detail in the following.

of worshippers were, among other things, frequently included on stelae.¹⁷⁸ A comparable scene can further be seen on a stela fragment from the tomb of *R^c-ms* of the late 18th Dynasty.¹⁷⁹ Two processions with several individuals are depicted in two registers: The upper procession shows four women in a row, each carrying an offering in one hand. This is also true for the two women depicted below. In both registers, the individuals are orientated to the right. The proportions of the depictions are approximately equal to the ones of the Heliopolitan fragment. The stela is 12 cm deep and therefore 2 cm deeper than the object in question. The adored entities are not fully preserved on the Memphite stela.

However, scenes of adoration are much more frequently attested on the wall panelling of the Ramesside tombs. In this context, in particular the following four structures can be mentioned: the tomb of *Pzj* and *R^cjz* of the late 18th/19th Dynasty, the tomb of *R^cjz* of the late 19th Dynasty as well as those of *H^c* and *Pz-bs* of the late 19th/20th Dynasty.

In two spatial units in the tomb of *Pzj* and *R^cjz* the wall panels show processions of praying figures. The first is the north-east chapel, which is situated in front of the open columned yard. On its north wall, two registers are preserved that each show the depiction of processions of private individuals that are oriented towards the right (RAVEN 2005, 26–27, pl. 28, scene 16). In the upper register, the depiction of four men

carrying offerings is shown. Originally there were probably eight men. In the lower register, eight women are depicted in a gesture of adoration, some of them also carrying offerings in one hand. All of them are dressed in open cloaks, at least two of them also equipped with a shawl. They are worshipping an enthroned Osiris on the east wall of the room. The proportions of the women in the lower register are slightly larger than on the present fragment from Heliopolis.

Second, a similar scene is depicted on the south wall of the southern chamber in the tomb's rear part (RAVEN 2005, 34–35, pl. 48, scene 44). Processions of praying persons are depicted in two registers. They are all orientated to the right – walking in to the tomb, in the direction of the depiction of a deity on the west wall of the chamber. Whereas the upper register seems to be reserved for male worshippers, the lower one is equipped with nine praying females. Here, too, some of the women are carrying offerings. All of them are dressed in open cloaks, to which, in a few cases, a shawl is added. The depiction of the women is approximately 2 cm larger than on the Heliopolitan fragment.

The tomb of *R^cjz* only consists of an open court and a cult chamber. A scene of worship with private individuals is present on the north wall of the latter; below that a register with an offering table scene (MARTIN 1985, 14, pl. 23–25, scene 6). The right side shows five praying figures, walking into the tomb, which can be identified as *R^cjz*, his wife and three more female

¹⁷⁸ No measurements are available since the stela has yet to be detailed in a publication.

¹⁷⁹ MARTIN 2001, 32, pl. 26 and 73, no. 9. The adjoining upper fragment is published in MARTIN 1985, 17, pl. 26, no. 7.

relatives. Anubis is depicted within the scene, in a shrine, opposite the five individuals. The proportions of the figures are approximately equal to the ones on the Heliopolitan fragment.

Also, the tomb of *H^c* was furnished with a scene of worship on the southern wall of its southern chamber (MARTIN 2001, 16, pl. 13 and 57, scene 9). The wall is divided into three registers: The upper register shows an offering table scene with the tomb owner and his wife. The middle register shows nine figures, males and females, orientated to the right towards the inside of the tomb. The lower register shows eight additional figures, also of mixed sex, walking on their way into the tomb. One of the women is wearing a shawl around her arm. Only a few of the individuals are carrying an offering. The scale of the depiction equals the Heliopolitan object.

In the tomb of *Pz-bs*, the south wall of the middle chamber shows a worship scene with a procession of praying figures (MARTIN 2001, 21, pl. 19, scene 6). To the right, a standing deity is shown opposite six private persons. The procession is headed by four men, followed by two women who are wearing an open cloak and shawl. The figures are only a few centimeters larger than the Heliopolitan ones.

Which conclusions can therefore be drawn about the present fragment? The proportions of the figures are approximately equal to those on the stelae depictions (e.g., *R^c-ms*) as well as on the wall panels (e.g., *R^cjz* and *H^c*). However, it is not possible to identify the fragment as part of a stela or a revetment based on the measurements

alone. Both object categories have approximately the same depth as the relief fragment from Area 202. The majority of the comparable scenes originate from wall panelling, however. If the fragment is hence to be identified as such, we must consider a number of locations within the tomb. Most evidence comes from the chambers in the rear parts. This seems to be a plausible location since the proportions of the Memphite scenes of worship in the rear part of the tombs are equal to those of the Heliopolitan examples (e.g., *R^cjz* and *H^c*). It could further be observed that in the area of the three rear chambers, the depiction of the praying figures is orientated westward to face towards a deity or the tomb owner with his wife in front of an offering table. To arrange the Heliopolitan women according to this convention, walking westwards, the fragment would have to have been located in the southern part of the tomb, perhaps on the southern wall or a western wall in the southern part. The location in one of the rear chambers is thus reasonable. Despite this estimation of probable placement, there are limits to the certainty of the original placement, being that other similarly themed scenes of worship have some precedent of being found in other parts of tombs of this kind (e.g., *Pzj* and *R^cjz*).

Furthermore, the compared scenes showed that male and female praying figures were either arranged in one register or were separated by sexes. In the latter case, the female figures were usually depicted in the lower register. The fact that only women are depicted on the fragment might be indicative of the lower register of such a scene, which could be stretched over a whole wall.

It cannot be determined who the worship was dedicated to. As the Memphite depictions have shown, this can either be the tomb owner and his wife or a particular deity. However, at least the identities of the depicted women can be narrowed down. The Memphite inscriptions have shown that processions mostly contained relatives of the tomb owner. Therefore, the three ladies were probably relatives of the anonymous tomb owner in Ain Shams.

3.3.2 Relief Fragment (find-no. 202-7-4)

3.3.2.1 Find Context

Between the fall 2015 and spring 2016 field seasons of the *Heliopolis Project*, the Ministry of Endowment (Awqaf) performed further construction work in Area 202, west of the modern shopping mall. Thereby, the inspectors of the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities recovered several objects including the relief fragment with the find-no. 202-7-4. However, no further information is known about the find context of these objects. The relief fragment is now kept in the Matariya storeroom.

3.3.2.2 Object Description

Short description and measurements

The object with the find-no. 202-7-4 is a fragment of limestone with a trapezoid front side (Fig. 23–25). On its front side, part of a figural depiction in sunk relief is preserved. The object is 23 cm high, 28 cm wide and 9 cm deep. The original surface is preserved on the front side as well as the upper, left and lower narrow side. The right vertical edge is broken away.

State of preservation and material

The greyish-white limestone is extremely heavy. The fragment is in a generally good state of preservation. There is only minor damage on the decorated front side. The relief depiction is very well preserved. However, the lower right corner is broken away and thus some of the original surface is lost. The relief is well executed and the contour lines are still clearly visible. Measuring c. 0.6 cm on average, the deep parts of the relief consistently reach this base depth. In certain places the relief has an intentionally sculptural character. Moreover, there are numerous tool marks. It has traces of rubbing, obliquely running across the front, indicating careful polishing – probably executed with a flat stone. The back side was only roughly polished with a larger chisel. The contours of the relief show very fine, v-shaped chisel marks and thus indicate that a chisel with a triangular point was used (Fig. 26). These marks also show where the relief-carver re-positioned his tool on the stone. The texture of the woman's skirt is symbolized by thin and regular vertical lines. Probably a fine comb chisel was used for that.

Scenic depiction

The relief shows a fragmentary depiction of a seated couple. The representation of the woman occupies the left half of the object. In the upper corner, the lower part of her legs remains visible; her knees are oriented to the right. Her lower legs are extremely slim and elongated. An expansive, rigid skirt projects in front of her shins which can also be seen in the narrow area behind her lower legs. The comb-chiselled lines within the textile indicate the garment's pleating. Close to the fragment's lower edge, the section with the upper part of her feet is still extant.

Right next to the woman is the depiction of her husband. However, only his thighs and buttocks are still intact. He is seated on a chair which can be identified by the low back rest.¹⁸⁰ The chair has a cushioned seat that also covers the backrest. Below the actual seat, a very thin – slightly oblique – tapered chair leg is visible. The leg is carved to resemble an animal's leg, which is indicated by the fetlock in the lower half of the leg. However, it is not possible to determine whether it is the leg of a bull or lion because the lower edge of the fragment is broken and neither a paw or hoof has been preserved.¹⁸¹ In both cases the long-legged, thin shape of the legs is highly stylized. It is possible that both the chair legs and the man's legs were on a pedestal.¹⁸² Angled braces below the seat are included to give the chair stability.¹⁸³ The chair is worked in rounded relief, giving it a three-dimensional impression.

The pleated structure of the man's garment is symbolized by parallel hatching. A long narrow piece of cloth hangs down from his lap and over his thigh. Comparable scenes show that this is a folded cloth handkerchief that men originally held in their hands.¹⁸⁴ However, usually such a handkerchief is depicted with two ends.

Therefore, it seems likely that this length of cloth is a sash used to secure a kilt; similar depictions can be found on the Heliopolitan lintel of *H^c-m-Ws.t* from the 20th Dynasty (see PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, pl. 9, no. 19 and D'AURIA/LACOVARA/ROEHRIG 1988, 159, no. 110). Close to the bottom of the right broken edge are two lines in relief that probably represent the lower legs of the man. Thus, his legs appear to be just as slim as the woman's legs.

3.3.2.3 Iconography

3.3.2.3.1 Scenic Classification

The present scene can be identified as part of an offering scene, which was a central motif of the mortuary cult in the decorative programme in Ramesside private tombs (Fig. 27). In this context, usually the tomb owner is depicted with his wife¹⁸⁵ in front of an offering table.¹⁸⁶ Opposite the couple, either standing relatives worship the deceased or carry offerings, or priests perform the cult.¹⁸⁷ Regarding the present fragment being identified as an offering scene, allows the following conclusions: It is highly probable that the tomb owner is depicted on the right side. The female figure might be his wife. In front of the

¹⁸⁰ I owe thanks to Karl Heinrich von Stülpnagel for helpful information about the construction and shape of the depicted furniture. Comparable depictions of the chair in HOFMANN 2004, pl. 22, fig. 62 and pl. 6, fig. 13; DAVIES 1933, I, pl. 25.

¹⁸¹ See the legs shaped like those of a cloven-hoofed animal in KILLEN 1980, pl. 1, 26, 34 and 35 and those shaped like lion legs, KILLEN 1980, pl. 40, 49–50, 78, 87–88.

¹⁸² See the depiction in the tomb of the *Tj*ꜣs in MARTIN 1997, pl. 51, scene 93, lower register.

¹⁸³ Angled braces are also attested by many examples of ancient Egyptian furniture, see e.g., KILLEN 1980, 74–77.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. in the tomb of *M*ꜣꜣ and *Mr*.yt: MARTIN 2012, I, pl. 17, scenes 8–9, pl. 27, scene 35, pl. 28, scene 35, pl. 29, scene 37. The tomb also included the stela of the reciting priest *J*ꜣmn (late 18th–early 19th Dynasty), who is depicted holding a folded piece of cloth in the lower register: RAVEN 2001a, II, pl. 28. A comparable scene in the tomb of the *Tj*ꜣs: MARTIN 1997, pl. 26, scene 38, pl. 27, scene 40, pl. 38, scenes 64–65, pl. 27, scene 40 and in the tomb of *R*ꜣꜣ: MARTIN 1985, pl. 17–19, scene 4.

¹⁸⁵ Other female relatives rarely appear here.

¹⁸⁶ In the 20th Dynasty, the offering tables are not as lavish as in earlier periods. See panel no. 3 in the tomb of *Jmn-m-jn.t* bei GOHARY 1991, pl. 57 and the upper register of the stela of *Jmn-ms* and *Njr-rnp.t*, see PÖRTNER 1908, no. 20, pl. 6. Sometimes offering tables are omitted, as can be seen e.g., in the lower register of the above cited. See also the lower register of the stela of *Hrj* from the time of Ramesses IV in MÁLEK 1988, pl. 20.

¹⁸⁷ Or male relatives, such as the sons, perform this role.

couple could have been an offering table and other figures. It can be assumed that a hieroglyphic inscription was inscribed above this scene, giving names and titles of the depicted individuals.

3.3.2.3.2 Analysis of Stylistic and Iconographic Dating Criteria

The depiction of anatomical characteristics provides crucial information about the dating of the fragment, since figural style and body proportions change significantly between the 19th and 20th Dynasty.¹⁸⁸ In this context, the preserved lower legs give important information as they are extremely slim and elongated. This sort of stylized bodily proportions is a characteristic of Egyptian art in painting and relief from the 20th Dynasty. In particular anatomical details, like the calves in this case, were highly simplified in depictions (see HOFMANN 2004, 85 (Thebes) and 106–110 (Memphis)). Elements of realism (like accurate anatomical proportions) seemed to become less and less important compared to developing stylistic ideals throughout this period.

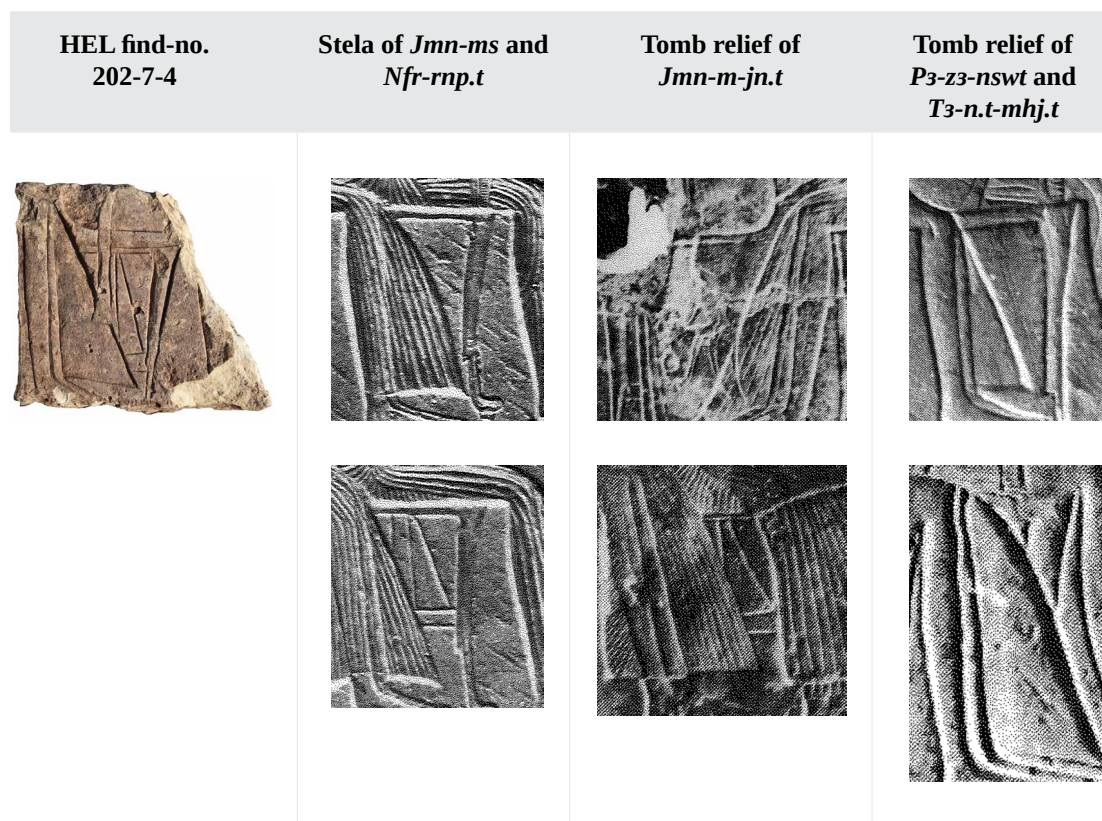


Fig. g:
Depictions of female lower legs in offering scenes of the 20th Dynasty (Photos: K. Dietze; PÖRTNER 1908, 6, no. 20, pl. 6; GOHARY 1991, pl. 56–58, no. 2–4; HÖLBL 1985, 23–29, pl. 9 and 11).

¹⁸⁸ See HOFMANN 2004, 85. The author mainly refers to tomb paintings of the 20th Dynasty in Deir el-Medina.

The extremely elongated extremities would be one of the chief features of this trend.

Comparable depictions of female lower legs are frequently attested in the offering scenes of the 20th Dynasty:¹⁸⁹ Parallels can be found, among others, on the Memphite stela of *Jmn-ms* and *Nfr-rnp.t* (PÖRTNER 1908, 6, no. 20, pl. 6), in the tomb relief of *Jmn-m-jn.t* in Saqqara (GOHARY 1991, pl. 56–58, no. 2–4) as well as in the tomb relief of *P3-z3-nswt* and *T3-n.t-mhj.t* (Fig. g).¹⁹⁰ Also, the woman's pointed, projecting skirt finds clear parallels in the cited depictions. As was already stated above, the expansive draping of textiles and the rigid, projecting skirts provide a certain stylistic characteristic of later Ramesside art.¹⁹¹

Also, the positioning of both figures is interesting. In many examples of the offering scene, the man and woman are depicted so close to each other that the knees of the woman already occlude part of the man's body. However, the same strict placing of one figure next to the other is also attested in two relief scenes from the tomb of *Jmn-m-jn.t*¹⁹² as well as in a scene on the stela of *Rc-ms-sw-m-pr-Rc* (BERLANDINI-GRENIER 1974, pl. 2).

The shape of the chair is well-attested in the depictions of the 20th Dynasty. On the stela of *Jmn-ms* and *Nfr-rnp.t* as well as on the relief of *Jmn-m-jn.t*, chairs with very high, slim lion legs

and triangular lattice construction are shown. Also, the scenes in the tomb of *P3-z3-nswt* and *T3-n.t-mhj.t* show such stools, however, only one has the same kind of lattice (HÖLBL 1985, pl. 11). In Egyptian furniture as well as in painting and sunk relief, the combination of animal legs and lattice has been attested going back to Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III (FISCHER 1986, 94).

The fact that the Ramesside lintel of *Hc-m-W3s.t* provides a certain parallel for the sash hanging down from the man's lap further points to a dating in the 20th Dynasty.

3.3.2.4 Dating

The comparison with Memphite relief scenes of the 20th Dynasty rendered several stylistic and iconographical parallels, as was illustrated by the elongated legs of the figures as well as the furniture. The extreme exaggeration of the proportions, the rigid cloth of the woman's garment and the long sash are clear indications for a dating in the 20th Dynasty. Since no further dating criteria are provided on the fragment, it is not possible to determine the precise date within this dynasty. Until now, very few objects have been dated with a strong degree of certainty from the later Ramesside era in the Memphite necropolis. Hofmann succeeded in dating a number of Memphite stelae and reliefs to the 20th Dynasty based on stylistic features and the

¹⁸⁹ On the dating of the tombs and objects mentioned in the following, see HOFMANN 2004, 106–110.

¹⁹⁰ HÖLBL 1985, 23–29, pl. 9 and 11. HOFMANN 2004, 108 dates the tomb to the late 19th/20th Dynasty. Depictions of similarly slim lower legs can also be found in the tomb of *Hc*, see MARTIN 2001, pl. 58, scene 11, pl. 59, scene 13.

¹⁹¹ See HOFMANN 2004, 109. Depictions of similarly rigid skirts can also be seen in earlier epochs, e.g., in the relief depictions in the tomb of *Rc* from the late 19th Dynasty, see MARTIN 1985, pl. 17–19, scene 4 and pl. 24, scene 6.

¹⁹² GOHARY 1991, pl. 56, no. 2, pl. 58, no. 3 and 4 show a closer position.

results of the Dutch-Italian mission in Saqqara (supervised by Maarten J. Raven und Christian Greco; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden/Leiden University/Museo Egizio). That work has helped advance the general research relative to this phase of occupation within the Memphite necropolis.¹⁹³

3.3.2.5 Original Location within the Tomb

The present depiction was identified as part of the offering scene. Thus, only a tomb can be considered as original location since the fragment depicts a scene dedicated to the private mortuary cult of the deceased. This is further supported by the find context within the debris layers in Area 202. The relief comes therefore most probably from Ain Shams. Because of a dating in the later Ramesside Period, it seems plausible to assume that the man on the right had his tomb chapel built at this very place sometime during the 20th Dynasty. To reconstruct the fragment's original location within the tomb, the following criteria must be taken into account:

1. Dating of the object to the 20th Dynasty
2. Identification as offering table scene
3. Measurements (23 × 28 × 9 cm)

Beginning with the time of Ramesses II, offering table scenes are attested in two contexts within the Memphite private tombs: on stelae and wall

panelling. This extends particularly to stelae on the west walls of cult chambers. The Ramesside lintels also attest a rough version of the usual offering table scenes with a seated couple. On the Heliopolitan lintel, *H^c-m-W₃s.t* is depicted seated alone on a folding chair (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 7, pl. 9, fig. 19). Opposite him, his son and wife are bringing him offerings. On the antithetically composed lintel of *M^cj*, which was found during the construction of a channel in Ain Shams in 1936, again only the tomb owner is depicted seated. His standing wife is depicted on both sides: in the right scene she is performing a libation (FAKHRY 1938, 31–32, no. 1 and pl. 4). In the left scene, she is carrying a bunch of flowers in her left hand and is reaching for a token on a game board which is placed between her and *M^cj*. Although the wife of *H^c-m-W₃s.t* is not depicted on his lintel, the wife of *M^cj* is shown, however, not seated next to her husband but opposite him. Therefore, the Heliopolitan objects cannot be used as a comparison.¹⁹⁴ A seated couple is neither depicted on the Heliopolitan nor on the Memphite lintels of the 20th Dynasty. It can thus be assumed that the relief fragment from Area 202 did not belong to a lintel.

Only the comparison of height proportions can answer the question whether the Heliopolitan fragment formerly belonged to a stela or wall panelling. Since only the lower legs of the woman are completely preserved on the fragment, just this measurement can be compared to

¹⁹³ See HOFMANN 2004, 108–110; MÁLEK 1985, 47–48. The fact that Ramesses II transferred the capital to the northern Nile delta is also of importance in this context, see HOFMANN 2004, 94.

¹⁹⁴ See also the lintel of an anonymous tomb owner from Ain Shams that depicts only the tomb owner seated on a chair: FAKHRY 1938, 33, no. 2 and pl. 4.



Fig. h: left: comparison of the length of the lower legs of female figures in Memphite tombs of the New Kingdom with find-no. 202-7-4; right: measured length on find-no. 202-7-4 (Photo: K. Dietze)

measurements of Memphite depictions of similar dating. There are very few depictions from the 20th Dynasty, thus all of the relief scenes from the time of Ramesses II onwards were taken into account (Fig. h). Because sufficient measurements were published, scenes from the tombs of *Tjz* and *Tjz* (Ramesses II, 1st half of reign; MARTIN 1997, pl. 59, scene 108), *Pz-sr* (Ramesses II),¹⁹⁵ *Rcz* (late 19th Dynasty),¹⁹⁶ *Hc* (late 19th/20th Dynasty),¹⁹⁷ *Rc-ms-sw-m-pr-Rc* (20th Dynasty; BERLANDINI-GRENIER 1974, pl. 2), *Pz-zz-nswt* and *Tz-n.t-mhj.t* (20th Dynasty)¹⁹⁸ and *Jmn-ms* and *Nfr-rnp.t* (20th Dynasty)¹⁹⁹ were analysed.²⁰⁰

The Heliopolitan woman's lower legs measure 17 cm. The comparison of the measurements shows that in all cases seated females are smaller on stela (ø h: 10 cm, n 8) than on the wall panelling (ø h: 18 cm, n 6). The leg's length of 17 cm thus indicates that the fragment belonged to an offering table scene depicted on the wall panels. This is further supported by the fragment's depth of 9 cm.

Assuming that the fragment belonged to the revetment, the next step is to localise the scene within the decorative programme of the Mem-

¹⁹⁵ The first stela listed in the table is located in the entrance of the northern chamber; MARTIN 1985, pl. 9, scene 1. The second stela is from the west wall of the cult chamber (*ibid.*, pl. 2, scene 7). The wall relief is from the north wall of the cult chamber (*ibid.*, pl. 11, scene 6).

¹⁹⁶ The stela is located on the west wall of the tomb, see MARTIN 1985, pl. 17–19, scene 4. For the depiction of the wall panel on the northern wall, see *ibid.*, pl. 23–24, scene 6.

¹⁹⁷ The stela is located on the west wall of the northern chamber. See MARTIN 2001, pl. 9. The depictions in the wall relief are located on the southern wall of the northern chamber (*ibid.*, pl. 5, scene 5), on the southern wall in the court (*ibid.*, pl. 14, scene 11) and on the northern wall of the court (*ibid.*, pl. 7, scene 2).

¹⁹⁸ HOLBL 1985, pl. 11. Whether the relief depicted on pl. 9 belonged to a stela or to the wall panelling is unknown. It is thus not considered in this comparison. However, with a length of 7.8 cm the woman's lower leg points to a stela.

¹⁹⁹ PORTNER 1908, no. 20, pl. 6. In total, there are three scenes with a seated couple on the stela. The women's lower legs are all the same length.

²⁰⁰ Also, stylistic reasons have to be considered in this context.

phite private tombs. However, it must be noted that it will not be possible to determine the exact location. This is due to the fact that already in the early 19th Dynasty, religious motifs and texts experienced a significant spatial expansion within the decoration of the tomb chapels (RAUE 1995, 262–263). From now on, scenes of the worship of deities as well as scenes of the mortuary cult dominated the decoration and thus were installed in nearly all thinkable architectural and epigraphic contexts.²⁰¹ In this regard, the offering table scenes occur henceforth in various locations, e.g., on the walls of the court (*Rꜥjꜣ*), in the cult chamber (*Pꜣ-sr*) or in the court and in the rear chambers at the same time (*Hꜥ*), as clearly illustrated by the listed examples. In particular the courtyard was increasingly used for religious motifs (RAUE 1995, 262–263). Because basically all of these locations are worth considering, it is not possible to pinpoint the original location of the fragment within the tomb. With a lower leg length of 18 cm, the depiction on the south wall of the court in the tomb of *Hꜥ* approximates the proportions of the Heliopolitan fragment. On this wall, the depictions are divided into three registers. The upper register is almost completely destroyed and only shows the feet of two persons, maybe *Hꜥ* and his wife. They are standing in front of an enthroned deity in a scene of deity-worship. The register in the middle shows the scene that is important in this context: *Hꜥ* and

his wife, seated in front of a small offering table. In this offering table scene, they are receiving a libation and incense offering performed by two of their sons (MARTIN 2001, 16 and pl. 14 and 58, scene 11). Above this scene is an inscription, thirteen columns long, that lists the names of the depicted persons. The lower register reaches down to the ground and has no decoration. Based on comparable anatomical proportions of the figures, a similar scene re-contextualization can be assumed for the present fragment.

3.4 Tomb Equipment

3.4.1 Offering Slab (find-no. 202-3-9)

3.4.1.1 Find Context

In the summer of 2012, construction work on the modern shopping mall was undertaken in the southwestern precinct of the temenos: Area 202. In this course, the left half of a limestone offering slab was unearthed. In the fall of the same year, the Egyptian-German mission found the matching piece. While removing the modern debris in the elongated trench to the west of the mall, the slightly smaller right half of the offering slab was found and given the find-no. 202-3-9. Subsequently, both fragments were restored and joined. The slab is now kept in the Matariya storeroom (inv. no. 5112).

²⁰¹ See HOFMANN 2004, 150; ASSMANN 1995, 283; BUDKA 2001, 9.

3.4.1.2 Object Description

Short description

The rectangular offering slab consists of two separately discovered limestone fragments, which have since been conserved together (Fig. 28–31).²⁰² The border of the top surface is slightly raised and shows a hieroglyphic inscription in sunk relief. In the middle of the lower long side, a tiny channel separates the inscriptions. The text frames the slightly lower rectangular area with a scene depicted, in which several offerings are executed in raised relief.

Measurements and material

The slab is 35 cm high, 72 cm wide and has a maximum depth of 10 cm. The original surface is characterized by a rough polish, which can be observed on the front side and the four narrow sides. The back side of the slab is especially abraded on the left side and thus only shows some of the original surface. The limestone is greyish-white, with some small brown discolourations due to the long burial in the soil. In the upper right part of the depicted scene, some remains of green and brownish-red paint are preserved. It is therefore likely that the complete depiction area was once coloured.

State of preservation

The offering slab is well-preserved. The fracture between the two fragments runs almost vertically through the right side of the stone slab. Limestone flakes have come off the decorated surface along the upper long side. Further damage can be observed on the corners of the raised frame,

which destroyed the inscription in a few places. This is particularly evident in the lower left corner as well as in the upper right corner, where the broken edges are now also badly weathered. There is a convex fracture in the middle of the bottom side of the lower edge, which also caused the loss of the channel and the bottom of some of the hieroglyphs. The state of damage, however, does not allow the reconstruction of a protruding spout with possibly triangular segments.²⁰³ The offering table retains its original shape and did not have any protruding additions.

Inscription

The hieroglyphic inscription is carved in the raised frame of the offering slab in bas-relief and is framed by two parallel register lines on both sides. A bipartite, circumferential offering formula is present, which can be divided into a left and a right part; each is introduced by *hꜥp-dj-nswt* on the upper long side and runs down to the spout. Despite the listed damage, the state of preservation is generally good. However, in a few places the hieroglyphs are completely lost. The most hieroglyphs are missing in the lower left corner of the long side. The middle and lower part of the left column are highly abraded making some signs almost illegible.

Spout

In the middle of the lower long side, there is a very narrow, vertical depression with a width of 0.4 cm at the height of the image field. The inscription is thus divided along an axis (running through the word *hꜥp* on the upper long side). This can be identified as a spout through which

²⁰² Concerning the object category of the offering slabs and connected categories, no uniform terminology is used in the Egyptological literature, see HÖLZL 2002, 4.

²⁰³ A favoured shape in the New Kingdom.

the libation liquids could run off during the performance of the offering ritual. Only the upper 3 cm are preserved because of the fracture on the lower side of the offering slab. However, it seems plausible to assume that the channel went to the outer edge of the slab due to the function and typology.

Image field

The top surface of the slab is highly decorated. The decorated rectangular area within the border is 26 cm high, 62.5 cm wide and lies 0.5 cm lower than the raised frame. It depicts offerings in raised relief; rendering them three-dimensional. With an average height of 0.4 cm the relief of the offerings is at the same height as the inscriptions. Compared to the inscription, the preservation of the image field is generally much better. Some damage and abrasions can only be found on the edge of the right side of the image field. The quality of the individual depictions is very high. The depictions are highly detailed, especially the larger elements.

In the centre of the image field are aspective representations of foodstuffs that might be expected on an ideal offering table. The depictions of the offerings fill the image field almost completely. The spatial distribution is quite dense, but by no means unsystematical. In regard to their height and position, the depicted offerings can be divided into two categories: large, syste-

matically placed offerings and small, spacefilling offerings. The offering setup is mainly composed of representations of the first category. The depiction of the very small elements, such as the berries, mainly served to fill the open space between the bigger offerings and are thus to be treated secondarily. Based on the larger elements, the image field can be divided into four horizontal registers. They will be described in the following from bottom to top:²⁰⁴

First register

Three rows of bell-shaped loaves of bread are depicted on the left side of the first register.²⁰⁵ The first and third rows consist of two overlapping loaves of bread and the middle row of three (only the upper parts of the back loaves are visible). The loaves are elongated, the left side is convex and the other side tapers towards the right. In the middle of the narrow right end is an oval incision with pointed edges (the slashes in the crust of the bread). On the right side, three flat breads (each with a raised/thickened outer edge) are arranged in a row. In the lower right corner of the offering table, a basket with a handle is shown in profile. The basket is filled with two different offerings, which are separated by the handle: On the left side, rectangular fruits are stacked and on the right are small round berries. Most likely, dates are depicted on the left.²⁰⁶


²⁰⁴ I owe thanks to Anke Weber for a number of references regarding the identification of the represented offerings.

²⁰⁵ The bell-shaped breads do not belong to the most frequently depicted bread types in the offering setup. However, there are parallels in the tomb of *H^c* (TT 8), see PETERS-DESTÉRACT 2005, 120, fig. 3.108. The template for the shape might have been the lotus flower in profile.

²⁰⁶ Because of the shape, the beads depicted on the right side of the basket are undoubtedly to be identified as berries. The rectangular shape of the fruits on the left side may point to dates and not figs, which are equally popular within the offering setups, see KEIMER 1924a, 184, pl. 6–11. The colour, which is not preserved, is usually a conclusive indicator of the type of berries. Generally, berries with the same color were not shown next to each other in a basket. Dates were painted red, so it is unlikely that the berries on the right represented the fruit of the Christ's thorn tree. Most likely they are grapes, which were rendered in blue.

Second register

Behind the three rows of bell-shaped breads, offering stands are visible, of which only the upper parts are recognizable in the relief. They have funnel-shaped necks attached to flat tops with articulated lips. It is unknown whether they were fixed to the stands or were removable.²⁰⁷

Each stand is filled with different offerings. On the left, two lengths of cloth are placed next to each other. The broader ends of the cloth are on the left, whereas the narrow ends are hanging down on the right side. The possible identification as lengths of cloth results from a comparison with similar depictions in painting/relief art:²⁰⁸ Three lengths of cloth are arranged on an offering table, dedicated to Hapi, on the northern wall in the tomb of the prince *Mnt.w-ḥr-ḥpš-f* (KV 19); they have the same shape as the Heliopolitan examples.²⁰⁹ They are light in colour and have several narrow vertical stripes. In the tomb of Tausret/Sethnakht (KV 14) two offering table scenes are located on the west wall of Hall F, in which Anubis is making offerings to Osiris-Khontamenti. In both cases, the latter is wrapped in a long, narrow textile band with red stripes.²¹⁰ Above the lengths of cloth is a wick of flax, twisted three times to resemble the shape of the hieroglyph  (V28).

On the next stand are bulbous figs with short, pointed stems. In the foreground is a single

sycamore fig (*ficus sycomorus*) with a small incision.²¹¹ No signs of gashing are visible on the other figs, which can therefore be identified as figs of the species *ficus carica*.²¹² Because the paint is not preserved, the fruit without score markings could also represent garlic or fruit of the mandragora. Usually they have the same shape as the fig, but have a different colour. However, a combination of gashed sycamore-figs and uncut figs is highly improbable in Egyptian art. Thus, it seems plausible to assume that the one incision refers *pars pro toto* to all the figs in the background. The elongated shape on the left side of the offering stand might be identified as two undefined figs. A loaf of bread seems unlikely in this context of figs. The third stand from the left is loaded with small stacked elongated bread rolls. A single, oval loaf of bread is depicted on the fourth stand. Above the round, flat breads in the first register there are three rows of bread consisting of three stacked loaves. They are long and conical with a wide end on the left and a narrow, rounded end on the right and can be identified as so-called *šꜥw.t*-cakes:²¹³ a sweet pastry, which was made out of tiger nut flour, fat and honey.²¹⁴ To the right, another offering stand of the just described type is depicted, also with elongated, stacked loaves of bread.

²⁰⁷ Since the feet of the vessels are not depicted, they could also represent flat bowls that were hung in high constructions of palm stalks. The depiction of such a construction is for example attested in an offering setup for Thutmose I on the west wall of the cross hall in the tomb of *Wsr-ḥꜥ.t* (TT 51), see DAVIES 1927, pl. 8; KÖNIGSBERGER 1936, 18 with note 2 and fig. 18 (left).

²⁰⁸ Anke Weber, *pers. com.*

²⁰⁹ Anke Weber, *pers. com.*

²¹⁰ Anke Weber, *pers. com.*

²¹¹ Only the figs of the sycamore were gashed to help the gall wasp pollinate the fruit, see GERMER 1985, 26 and KEIMER 1929, 53, fig. 3.


²¹² On the species *ficus carica*, see KEIMER 1984, 41–44.

²¹³ *Wb.* 4, 421.3–5; HARTWIG 2013, 62 translates *šꜥw.t* as “biscuits”.

²¹⁴ The production of *šꜥw.t*-cakes is depicted in the long hall of the tomb of *Rḥ-mj-Rꜥ* (TT 100), see PETERS-DESTÉRACT 2005, 146, fig. 3.138 and DAVIES 1943, I, 39.

Third register

On the left is a representation of a meat offering. The offering comprises three bones, with meat hanging down from the front and back side. To the right is a plant of the *Cucurbitaceae* family with a long oval body and a crooked neck. Because the colour is missing, it cannot be determined whether it is a representation of an Egyptian cucumber (*Cucumis chate*) or a type of gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*).²¹⁵ Nevertheless, the size and the tapered end is indicative of a gourd.²¹⁶

Above the third and fourth stand, respectively, a feathered duck is lying on its back with legs stretched upwards. While the head of the left duck is close to the lower side of the body, the head of the right duck is hanging down limply between the two stands. Above the left and middle row of the *šꜣw.t*-cakes two more ducks are depicted. However, these ducks have been plucked and cleaned as is indicated by the oval slits in their ventral surfaces. Both roast ducks are lying on their backs with wings and legs stretched out from their bodies. Their necks are placed behind their right wings, so that the heads are looking out from under the wing. Remains of the original reddish-brown colour can be seen around their bellies. On the very right side of the register is the depiction of a *hꜣpš*-foreleg of an ox in the shape of the hieroglyph  (F24).

The hoof and the slightly angled knee joint are oriented towards the right edge of the image field, so that the thigh points to the left. Brownish-red traces of colour are visible around the lower leg and ankle joint.

Fourth register

The fourth register forms the top of the offering setting. On the left is the representation of a round, slightly oblique pomegranate.²¹⁷ Its crown-like wreath of leaves is slightly bent to the right. The fruit is shown in cross-section, revealing the ripe seeds. To the right is a depiction of a round flat bread with two small, circular depressions in the top half: a version of the round loaves depicted in the first register. Next to the bread, an elaborately wrapped bouquet of flowers is shown,²¹⁸ the stems pointing to the left. The stems were tied three times, probably with strings or thin linen ribbons (at the bottom, in the middle and right below the blossoms). The blossoms point to the right. Three of the blossoms can be identified. A wide-open lotus flower is in the middle flanked by two red poppies; identifiable by their piston shape. The carefully worked relief of the lotus flower reveals numerous sepals and petals. Another plant is clinging to the bottom of the bouquet of flowers. It has a short, thin stem and a tall, conical body with a pointy end. It


²¹⁵ Egyptian cucumber of the species *Cucumis chate* were usually coloured in a deep blue or green and sometimes even depicted with vertical stripes in these colours. The pumpkins of the species *Lagenaria siceraria* were depicted in either a light yellow or green.

²¹⁶ A comparable depiction of a pumpkin with pointed bottom, although without the snapped off neck, is attested in the tomb of Nefertari (QV 66), see CORZO 1987, 8. On an offering table in the tomb of *Nfr-hꜣp* and *Nb-nfr* (TT 6), a comparably large pumpkin is depicted, see WILD 1979, pl. 20, upper register.

²¹⁷ On the pomegranate in Egypt, see KEIMER 1924a, 47–51 and 180–182.

²¹⁸ On the meaning of flower bouquets as offering, see DITTMAR 1986.

is a representation of lettuce, the holy plant of the god Min.²¹⁹ Such splendid arrangements of lotus flowers and lettuces symbolized life and are in particular attested for the New Kingdom as bouquets of Amun.²²⁰

In the middle of the fourth register, a flat open basket, depicted in cross-section, is filled with figs of the *ficus carica* variety.²²¹ The lower right part of the basket as well as some of the figs show traces of brownish paint. Above the figs are two Egyptian cucumbers, with their necks pointed towards each other.²²² In comparison to the cucumbers in the third register, they are much smaller and the ends are rounder. To the right of the fig basket is another depiction of a flower bouquet. This one consists of three lotus flowers; their blossoms turned to the left. In the overall picture, both bouquets are pointing towards each other. At the transition between stem and blossom, the three plants show remains of green colour. Similar to the lotus in the left bouquet, also here the middle flower is wide open and exhibits sepals and petals worked in relief. In the case of the closed, outer blossoms, only two sepals are recognizable. The three stems are twisted and bound into a circular loop in the middle, so that the ends are close to the right side of the image field. Bouquets of this type are known as *ḥnḫ.w*.²²³ They are characterized by the shape of the hieroglyph  (V9), the so-

called ring of life.²²⁴ The interior of the ring is filled with common figs (*ficus carica*). Above the ring, another, long *šꜥw.t*-cake is depicted, whose narrow end also reaches the right edge of the image field. Between the cake and the stems, a round flat bread with two circular depressions on the left is depicted.

Between the just described elements, several smaller offerings can be seen, which mainly function as decorative space-fillers within the composition. They are loosely arranged in between larger depictions, either individually or in small groups. Since the paint has not been preserved, it is not possible to always determine which offering is represented.

The free space between the bell-shaped loaves of bread in the lower register and the edge of the composition was mainly filled with depictions of conical loaves of bread lying on their sides. Individual loaves appear throughout the composition. Moreover, depictions of small to medium large round fruits can be seen, which perhaps represent berries of a not yet determined species. Uncut as well as gashed figs are wildly distributed in the complete composition. In these cases, only the gashed figs can certainly be identified as *ficus symcomorus* since the uncut depictions could also belong to representations of garlic,²²⁵ mandragora fruit²²⁶ or mimusops

²¹⁹ KEIMER 1924b. On lettuce, see KEIMER 1924a, 1–6 and 167.

²²⁰ This designation is based on the custom to offer lettuce to Amun during the Festival of the Desert Valley, since he granted life. See SCHOTT 1953, 818–819. During the Festival of the Desert Valley, the same bouquets were offered to the deceased, to grant him life through them. On the meals during the course of these festivals in the Theban tombs of the 18th Dynasty in Dra' Abu el-Naga, see SEILER 1995, 192.

²²¹ The depictions of the figs do not show gashes.

²²² The depiction of two cucumbers, pointing towards each other, is a typical component of the offering setup of the New Kingdom, see KEIMER 1924a, 171, fig. 8.

²²³ *Wb.* 1, 204.5; attested since the 18th Dynasty.

²²⁴ See SCHOTT 1953, 820; BRUNNER-TRAUT 1975, 838. A comparable depiction of the lotus bouquet with the ring of life is attested, e.g., in the tomb of *Wsr-ḥz.t* (TT 51) of the 19th Dynasty in DAVIES 1927, pl. 5, upper and lower register.

²²⁵ On garlic, see PETERS-DESTÉRACT 2005, 307.

²²⁶ On fruits of the mandragora, see KEIMER 1924a, 20–23 and 172–173.

fruit.²²⁷ The depictions of smaller pomegranates also belong to the space-filling elements. It is noteworthy that the ripe cores were not shown in these cases, which is clearly different from the big pomegranate in the left upper corner of the image field. Above the *šw.t*-cake in the upper right corner, a single date can be identified.

3.4.1.3 Typology of Offering Slabs in the New Kingdom

Typological development

The New Kingdom was far from the stylistic heyday of offering slabs. It merely followed the traditions of the Middle Kingdom (see HÖLZL 2002, 41), during which, compared to the Old Kingdom, offering slabs had already experienced a notable decrease of shape diversity. Many of the significant characteristics of the older offering slabs, such as the plastically worked protrusions and depressions as well as the basins with connecting channels, are only very poorly attested, except for a few examples.²²⁸ Thus, the offering slabs of the New Kingdom clearly differ stylistically from those of the Old and Middle Kingdom. This can be explained by a whole new development that is tangible at the beginning of the New Kingdom. In the Old and Middle Kingdom, the slabs functioned as slabs with representations of food offerings and cult basins with depressions for libations. In

the New Kingdom, this type of object category was divided into two separate types, which complemented each other:²²⁹ offering slab *and* cultic basin, instead of offering slab *with* cultic basin. This is attested by the following two observations. Firstly, the depressions for libations disappear almost completely from the offering slabs. Secondly, while a large number of round cult basins have been attested from this time,²³⁰ in comparison to earlier epochs, this is still quite exceptional.

Moreover, the relief fragment London UC 408 in the Petrie Collection, dated to the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty, provides significant information on the combined function of both object categories. The fragment shows how liquid that was poured over an offering slab flows through a projecting spout shaped like a *hṯp*-bread loaf and is collected in a separate cult basin (Fig. 32).²³¹

The division into two separate object categories affects the typological development of the offering slabs significantly. In this context, the following tendencies can be observed in the New Kingdom. Basically, the rectangular shape, which was introduced in the Old Kingdom and used throughout the Middle Kingdom, was retained as a leading form. Like the offering slabs from the Middle Kingdom, those of the New Kingdom were generally furnished with a slightly raised, inscribed frame as well as a channel or a protruding spout. The latter was frequently flanked

²²⁷ On the mimusops-tree and its fruits, see KEIMER 1924a, 31–37 and 176–177.

²²⁸ One offering table from the time of Ahmose I (London BM EA 1511), which is furnished with several embedded basins and channels and thus stands clearly in the tradition of the Middle Kingdom; an offering table from the early 19th Dynasty (Turin inv. no. 22047) also shows an image field furnished with depictions of offerings and basins; from the 20th Dynasty: Cairo CG 23095 and 23096.

²²⁹ An exception is the offering table Turin inv. no. 22046 from the time of Amenhotep III, which shows an inscribed frame and a central basin but no depictions of offerings at all.

²³⁰ See Turin inv. no. 22030, 22031, 22032, 22033, and 22034.

²³¹ WILDUNG 1985, 17–38 and HOFMANN 1995, 276 assume that a temple court was depicted because of the statues and kneeling figures at the basin. HÖLZL 2002, 127–128 does not exclude that the depiction shows the court of a tomb.

by triangular segments.²³² However, the offering slabs of the New Kingdom are much deeper than those of earlier times (HÖLZL 2002, 41).

The decoration of the central image field underwent a general change within the New Kingdom, which can be shortly summarized as follows. In the 18th Dynasty, the representations are limited to the traditional main elements of the meal for the deceased. A *htp*-bread loaf in the shape of the hieroglyph 𓆎 (X2) is placed in the middle of a usually very high offering mat.²³³ Next to the loaf, mostly round loaves of bread, containers for liquids and in a few cases meat and poultry are shown. As there are only a few selected offerings, the compositions were rather straight forward.

This changed fundamentally at the beginning of the Ramesside Period. In particular the image fields of the offering slabs of the early 19th Dynasty appear almost overloaded with representations of different foodstuff in numerous variations.²³⁴ The central depiction of the offering mat with a *htp*-bread loaf of the 18th Dynasty gradually disappears. In the few cases where the mat is still depicted, it is extremely flat.²³⁵ Also the *htp*-bread loaf is much smaller in these cases than in the preceding dynasty. On many offering slabs there are no representations of the mat or loaf.²³⁶ Over time, as the offering

mat disappeared, the offering slab took over that symbolic role. The depiction of the *htp*-bread loaf was sometimes shifted to the projecting spout which could have the shape of this particular loaf of bread.²³⁷ There are numerous types (with various shapes and sizes) that could be paired with a range of offerings. They were complemented by pastries, fruit, vegetables, bouquets of flowers or plants as well as cult equipment. The depiction of very small offerings, such as individual berries or figs, were placed in blank spaces to maximally fill the composition space. A similar *horror vacui* can be seen on the inscriptions of the offering slabs as well. A good example is provided by the Turin offering slab with the inv. no. 220290 (HABACHI 1977, 34–37 and 136–137) from the early 19th Dynasty: It is decorated with two circumferential offering formulas on the surface, inscribed triangular gussets as well as inscribed sides.

Very few offering slabs are attested from the 20th Dynasty.²³⁸ However, the few known offering slabs point to a general continuation of crowded composition, although they do not have the same diversity of shapes and types as the offering slabs of the 19th Dynasty. The composition area is now again mainly filled with depictions of larger offerings, however, without small elements placed in between them.

²³² The flanking segments present a trend which was particularly popular in Deir el-Medina. See e.g., the offering tables Turin inv no. 18154, 22029, and 22037, all listed in the index of the present study (Tab. 1).

²³³ The depiction of the mat sometimes fills half of the image field. See the offering tables Cairo CG 23085 and 23089 (royal), Luxor (1) (royal), Boston MFA 24.980 (royal), all listed in the index of the present study (Tab. 1). The dating of the just listed examples to the time of Thutmose III – three of them being of royal production – could point to a stylistic characteristic of his reign.

²³⁴ In Theban funerary art, the stylistic phenomenon of “Opfergaben in verschwenderischer Fülle” is associated with oversized depictions of flower bouquets and formal bouquets, see HOFMANN/SEYFRIED 1995, 53. Hofmann interprets this as one of the main concerns of the restoration period.

²³⁵ See index (Tab. 1), e.g., Abydos (1) of the time of Sety I, Baltimore inv no. 22.91, London BM EA 1355.

²³⁶ See index (Tab. 1), e.g., Turin inv no. 22029 and 22028.

²³⁷ See index (Tab. 1), e.g., Turin inv no. 22028, 22029 and 22037.

²³⁸ See index (Tab. 1), e.g., Cairo CG 23075, 23094, 23093, 23076, 23096 and Turin inv no. 22040.

Due to the abundance of depicted offerings, the early 19th Dynasty constitutes a certain outlier – particularly in comparison to the offering slabs of the 20th Dynasty (which, especially in relief and painting, exhibit comparatively sparsely laden spaces, populated with a restrained motif range).²³⁹ How can this development be explained?

Assmann assumes that this was a consequence of the so-called Amarna trauma.²⁴⁰ The extreme theological transformation that had been experienced universally during the Amarna Period left a sense of insecurity throughout the Egyptian population. In particular the traditional concept of the Netherworld underwent a basic restructuring (see ASSMANN 1995, 286; HORNING 1995, 105–115) as to put it in Hornung’s words, a “Jenseitsglauben ohne Jenseits” (HORNING 1995, 105–106) was evoked. The same phenomenon was described as “Verdiesseitigung” of the Netherworld by Assmann, who recognized this development as “entscheidende Wende im ägyptischen Totenglauben” (ASSMANN 2001, 295). The private mortuary belief²⁴¹ was now suddenly confronted with the issue of how to provide for the deceased as this was not thematised and there were no Books of the Dead during the Amarna Period.²⁴² At Amarna, all of the dead were thought to be provisioned for in

the Aton temple.²⁴³ However, it remains unclear as to what happened to those who were buried outside of Akhenaten’s capital. In the early 19th Dynasty, after the demise of Amarna, this insecurity culminated in the particular fear of not being provided for in the Netherworld and consequently not being kept alive. Thus, the more depictions of offerings one could arrange for oneself, the safer one might have felt. Whether this presents the – or one – reason for this development remains to be seen. However, the offering slabs of the 19th Dynasty clearly present an outlier within the typology of the New Kingdom, which might really be an echo of Amarna.

3.4.1.3.1 Analysis of Typological Dating Criteria

An analysis of form and function of offering slabs from the Old, Middle and New Kingdom is provided in Hölzl’s *Ägyptische Opfertafeln und Kultbecken*.²⁴⁴ Based on the following characteristics, the author distinguishes different types:²⁴⁵ raised circles and depressions, basins, depictions of the *ḥtp*-bread loaf. Since the Heliopolitan offering slab does not have any of these main criteria,²⁴⁶ it has to be classified as type \emptyset according to Hölzl’s typology. However,

²³⁹ See the offering table in the tomb of *H3j* (TT 267) in HOFMANN 2004, pl. 10, fig. 27, as well as the offering table in the tomb of the prince *Mnt.w-ḥr-ḥps3-f* (KV 19) in HOFMANN 2004, pl. 13, fig. 37.

²⁴⁰ A thought formulated by Assmann in the course of a seminar discussion in Leipzig, December 5, 2016; cf. ASSMANN 1975, 64–77 and ASSMANN 1998, 49–54.

²⁴¹ On the non-royal mortuary belief during the Amarna Period, see REICHE 1996, 204–222 and OCKINGA 2011, 16–37. Inscriptions in tombs of officials attest that the Ba-souls still relied on offerings, see HORNING 1995, 107.

²⁴² The so-called Enigmatic Netherworld Book, first attested on the second shrine of Tutankhamen, is not considered in this context, see DARNELL 2004 and HORNING 1997, 67–70.

²⁴³ On the “Fortleben im Tempel”, see HORNING 1995, 109–110.

²⁴⁴ HÖLZL 2002; cf. the review by MARTIN 2005, 215–218.

²⁴⁵ On the typological characteristics and main types of the offering slabs and basins, see HÖLZL 2002, 9–12.

²⁴⁶ However, it shows two of the so-called additional attributes of the New Kingdom: the frame and the spout. See HÖLZL 2002, 39 and 42, tab. 4, typ \emptyset .

this provides no concrete information about the dating of the slab since type \emptyset is rather equally attested throughout all of the dynasties of the New Kingdom. The offering slab is densely packed with depictions of offerings (e.g., both larger items and space-filling smaller elements). With this packed style, it can be stated that the piece probably dates back to the 19th Dynasty. To further concretize this rough dating, an index of securely dated offering slabs of the New Kingdom²⁴⁷ was created for the present study, which will serve as a groundwork for dating issues in the following (Tab. 1). An analysis undertaken on the basis of the index sketched the following chronological distribution of the slabs: 16 objects are collected from the 18th Dynasty and 22 objects from the Ramesside Period. The two sets are similar in size, with only a slight increase in the 19th Dynasty.

In the next step, an analysis and comparison of the particular aspect ratios of the original surfaces was undertaken. In *table e*, the aspect ratio data is given in a height:width format.²⁴⁸ Of the 38 objects recorded in the index, only 30 objects could be considered due to strong fragmentation or unpublished measurements of the remaining eight slabs.

The aspect ratios were analysed in *table f* in order to determine an average value for the reigns of a pharaoh, yet the reference values (n), depending on the amount of evidence, vary

greatly. The average values range from 1:1.4 to 1:2, however, especially the values of the 18th Dynasty do not present a reliable factor in all cases. The divergent finding does thus not allow general conclusions on potential form developments or trends.

The surface of the Heliopolitan offering slab shows an aspect ratio of 1:2, which is further attested under Thutmose III ($1 \times 1:2$; $2 \times 1:1.9$), Akhenaten ($1 \times 1:2$), Ramesses I – Sety I ($1 \times 1:2$; $3 \times 1:1.9$) and under Ramesses II ($1 \times 1:1$; 1×1.9). The average value of 1:2 of the reign of Amenhotep III resulted from $1 \times 1:1.4$ and $1 \times 1:2.6$ and can thus not be treated as a representative average factor. The same is true for the case of Akhenaten, from whose reign only one offering slab is recorded in the index. Most parallels come from the early 19th Dynasty, the time from Ramesses I and Sety I.

The comparison of the aspect ratios therefore points to a dating within the early Ramesside Period and supports the preliminarily assumed stylistic classification into the same era. The most obvious parallel for the present offering table supports this dating: an offering slab of Sety I from Abydos (see the index, Tab. 1: Abydos (1)), which not only has the same ratio but also a very similar decoration. However, since an offering mat and containers for liquids are represented on the offering slab from Abydos, it followed the traditions of the 18th Dynasty more closely.

²⁴⁷ Only offering tables with a secure dating were recorded; the designation of those objects with unknown inventory numbers follows Hölzl 2002 (for example: Luxor (1)). The index expressly makes no claim to completeness. Cult- and offering-basins as well as exceptional forms were not included.

²⁴⁸ Exceptional triangular segments or projecting spouts were not incorporated. The measurements only refer to the rectangular surface. The depth of the objects could not be taken into account due to inadequate information in the publications.

Tab. e: Selection of securely dated offering slabs of the New Kingdom (no claim to completeness).

New Kingdom									
18th Dynasty					19th Dynasty			20th Dynasty	
	Ah. I	Th. III	Th. IV	Am. III	Akh.	post-Amarna	R. I – S. I	R. II	Sth-nkht. – R. XI
1.	London, BM EA 1511	Cairo, CG 23085	Cairo, CG 23088	London, UC 2242	Cairo, CG 23020	Cairo, CG 23084	Cambridge, E SS-15	Turin, inv. no. 22043	Cairo, CG 23075
2.	London, BM EA 1142	Cairo, CG 23089		Manchester, acc. no. 633			Turin, inv. no. 22029	London, BM EA 1355	Cairo, CG 23094
3.		Boston, MFA 24.980					Turin, inv. no. 22047	Baltimore, inv. no. 22.91	Cairo, CG 23076
4.		Medinet Habu (1)					Turin, inv. no. 22025	Paris, E. 16331	Cairo, CG 23092
5.		Qurna (1)					Abydos (1)	Turin, inv. no. 22028	Cairo, CG 23093
6.		Luxor (1)					Cairo, CG 23090	Deir el-Medina (1)	Cairo, CG 23096
7.		Cairo, JE 88803					New York, MMA 22.2.22	Deir el-Medina (2)	
8.		Turin, inv. no. 22045					Copenhagen, E. 115; ÆIN 44	Deir el-Medina (3)	
9.		Sedment (1)							

Private offering slabs

Royal offering slabs

Tab. f: height:width-ratios of securely dated offering slabs of the New Kingdom.

New Kingdom									
	18th Dynasty					19th Dynasty		20th Dynasty	
	Ah. I	Th. III	Th. IV	Am. III	Akh.	post-Amarna	R. I – S. I	R. II	Sth-nkht. – R. XI
1.	1:1	1:1.5	1:1.5	1:1.4	1:2	1:1.8	1:1.9	-	1:1.6
2.	1:1.7	1:1.3		1:2.6			1:1.9	1:1.9	1:1.3
3.		1:1.9					1:1.6	1:1.2	1:1.8
4.		1:2					1:1.3	1:1	-
5.		-					1:1.9	1:1.8	-
6.		1:1.6					1:2	1:1.3	1:1
7.		-					-	1:1.7	
8.		-					-	1:2	
9.		1:1.9							
∅	1:1.4 (n 2)	1:1.6 (n 6)	1:1.5 (n 1)	1:2 (n 3)	1:2 (n 1)	1:1.8 (n 1)	1:1.8 (n 6)	1:1.6 (n 7)	1:1.4 (n 4)



Private offering slabs



Royal offering slabs

3.4.1.4 Inscription

3.4.1.4.1 Transcription, Translation, Commentary

Both parts of the offering formula start in the centre of the upper side of the offering slab with the word *hṭp* and end in the middle of the lower side at the channel for the libations. Therefore: the inscription was divided into six chapters for the following study (Fig. i). Since the central

word *hṭp* is oriented rightward, the left part of the inscription has to be read first. This is further supported by the thus resulting order of the listed offerings, which are introduced by the general wish of a *pr.t-hrw*-offering on the left side and conclude with the distribution of *sn.w*-offering bread loaves in the course of the offering circulation on the right side of the frame. A “narrative” context is thus recognizable.

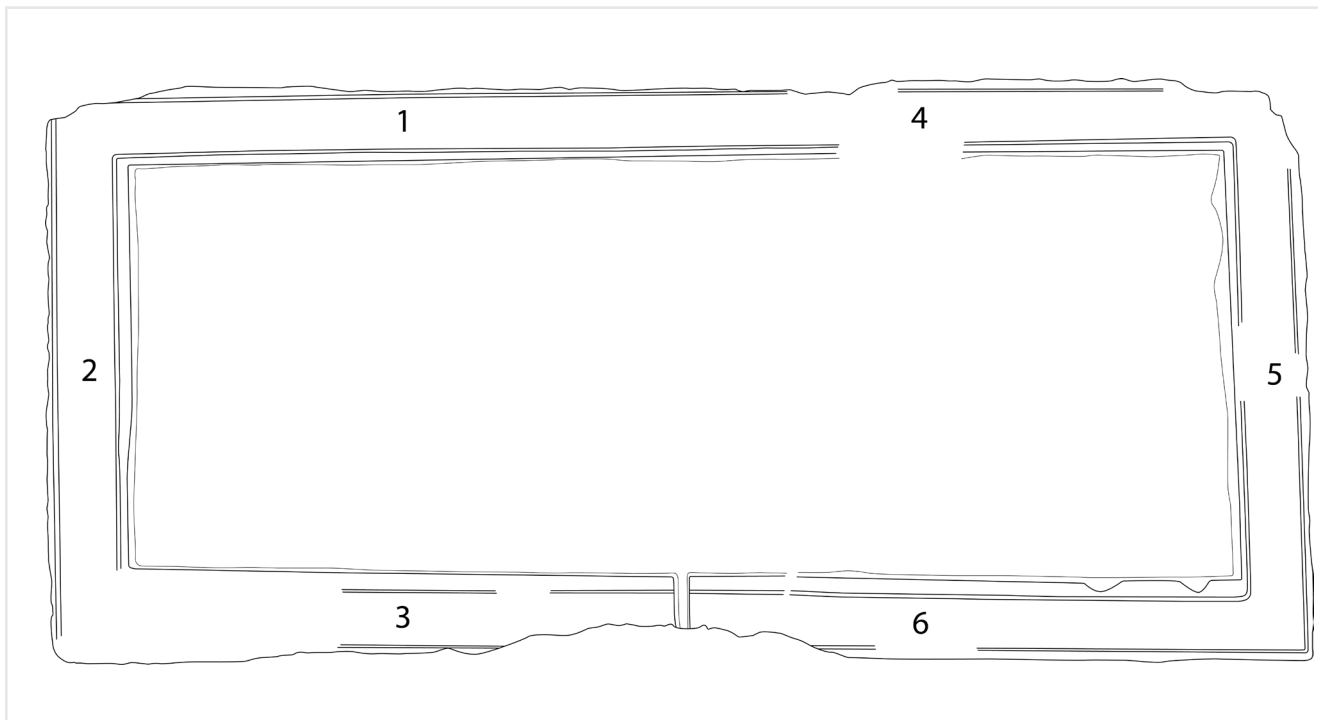

















Fig. i:
The inscription of find-no. 202-3-9,
divided into six chapters (Digital
drawing: K. Dietze).

	Transcription	Translation
Left side		
(1)	<i>htp</i> ^{a)} - <i>dj-nswt</i> <i>Wsjr-hnt.j-jmn.tj(w)</i> ^{b)} <i>ntr</i> ^{-c3} <i>nb-t3-dsr</i>	(A) <i>htp-dj-nswt</i> Offering (for) Osiris-Khontamenti, great god, lord of the necropolis
(2)	<i>dj</i> ^{c)=f} <i>htp.w</i> [[<i>n</i>]] <i>d</i> [[<i>f</i>]] <i>f(3)</i> ^{d)} (<i>j</i>) <i>h.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) wcb(.t)</i> ^{e)} <i>pr.t-hrw</i> <i>k3 3pd.w</i> ^{e)} <i>kbh.w</i> [...] ^{f)}	that he may give offerings, sustenance, every 'good (and) clean' thing, 'a <i>pr.t-hrw</i> -offering (consisting of) meat, poultry', libations, [...] (wine?)
(3)	[...] ^{g)} [<i>n k3 n(.j) Wsjr</i>] ^{h)} < <i>jt</i> > - <i>ntr</i> ⁱ⁾ <i>wcb</i> ^{-c. wj} ^{j)} <i>m pr-Rc</i> ^{k)} [<i>Mr</i>]. <i>y</i> -[<i>Rc</i>] ^{l)} <i>m3c-hrw</i>	[...] ((and) milk?) [for the Ka of the Osiris], (of the) god's <father> with clean hands in the house of Ra, [Mer]i-[Ra], justified.
Right side		
(4)	<i>htp</i> ^{a)} - <i>dj-nswt Rc-Hr-[3h.tj]</i> ^{b)} <i>nb-p.t</i> <i>jm.j Jwn.w</i> <i>dj=f hnm.w (?)</i> ^{m)}	(A) <i>htp-dj-nswt</i> offering (for) Ra-Hor[akhty], lord of the sky who is in the middle of Heliopolis that he may give scent/pleasure (?)
(5)	<i>sn</i> ⁿ⁾ [<i>tr</i>] <i>wrh.w</i> (<i>m</i>) <i>d</i> [.t] ⁿ⁾ [...] ^{o)} <i>sn.w</i> ^{p)} <i>prj m-b3h m Hw.t-ntr n(.j) Nb</i> .w	(of) incense, <i>wrh.w</i> -ointments, <i>md.t</i> -ointments, [...] <i>sn.w</i> -offering bread loaves, offered in front of the temple of the lord[s]
(6)	<i>Jwn.w</i> ^{q)} <i>n k3 n(.j) Wsjr</i> <i>jt-ntr</i> <i>wcb</i> ^{-c. wj} [<i>m</i>] <i>pr-Rc</i> <i>Mr</i> <.y> - <i>Rc</i> <i>m3c-hrw</i>	of Heliopolis for the Ka of the Osiris (of the) god's father (with) 'clean' hands [in the] house of Ra Mer<i>-Ra, justified.









- a) The word *hṭp* has to be read bidirectionally. At the same time, it replaces the *hṭp*-bread loaf that is not depicted on the offering mat (, R4).
- b) The mentions of Osiris-Khontamenti and Ra-Horakhty refer to the intended solar-funerary dualism of both deities, which played a particularly important role within the concept of the Ramesside theology of the so-called “world god” (HORNUNG 1995, 102–103). The combined mention of Ra and Osiris therefore always underlies the mythological reference to the cycle of life and death, consisting of day (Ra) and night (Osiris). The mention of Ra-Horakhty further presents a strong local-theological reference to Heliopolis. His evocation was most likely indispensable for *Mr.y-R^c*, who served as a god’s father-priest of Ra.
- c) In contrast to the rightward orientation of writing in the present excerpt, the -arms (D37) present the only leftward oriented hieroglyph. According to Fischer, this reflects a “reversal”:²⁴⁹ an intentional formatting measure, “to direct the offerings towards the recipient”²⁵⁰ – the recipient in this case is *Mr.y-R^c*, whose name is given at the end of the formula. The reversal of the -arms is particularly well-attested following an evocation of Osiris (FISCHER 1977b, 69–70). A reason for this might be the evoking of his manifestation as Osiris-Khontamenti, in which *Mr.y-R^c* is transformed – or rather with whom he merges – after his death.
- d) This part shows two emendations, which appear like strong abrasions at first glance. On the one hand, there are traces of the left side of the water line (, N35) between the plural strokes (, Z2) of the preceding word and the snake (, I10), the first hieroglyph of the word *dfz*. It seems like this hieroglyph – which does not appear in the subsequent word – was incorrectly executed but immediately erased afterwards. On the other hand, this also refers to the first use of the horned viper (, I9): traces of the sign, such as its clearly pronounced horns, indicate that the viper was first carved directly below the horizontal part of the snake’s (, I10) body, right next to the hanging tail. At this spot, the hieroglyph was emended and carved below the tail of the snake.

²⁴⁹ On reversals in the contexts of offering formulas and lists: FISCHER 1977b, § 25, 63–70. For this information I thank Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert.

²⁵⁰ FISCHER 1977b, 65. In some cases from the Old Kingdom, the complete initiation of the offering formula was reversed.

- e) The writing of *pr.t-hrw k3 3pd.w* is uncommon as one would first expect the vessel and the loaf of bread (equalling the sign ; O3), followed by the animal heads, instead of first the ox (, F1) and second the bird (, H1) (*Wb.* 1, 528.11, 529.7 – 530.5). But perhaps the engraver suddenly noticed the lack of space for the still required signs and thus modified the classic writing. Moreover, *k3* and *3pd.w* are the only offerings mentioned in the text that are also depicted in the image field. *k3* comprises the cut of meat and the *hps*-foreleg, whereas the four depicted roast ducks can be classified as *3pd.w*. It is interesting that none of the other offerings mentioned in the inscription are depicted in the image field. Nevertheless – or maybe because of this – a composition of intertwined text and image is evident. On the one hand, by not doubling the offerings, apart from *k3* and *3pd.w*, there was more available space. On the other hand, Weber recognized an intended dualism between the offering tables and the accompanying offering lists that do not correlate. The offering table and list function together as a whole, but can also “function independently of each other in their individual aspects” (WEBER 2015, 231). Thus, the decorative programme underlies the principal of ritual efficacy that had to guarantee the continuity of providing for the dead. Image and text therefore provided two supporting pillars, which also functioned as isolated units.
- f) Due to the severe damage in this area, all of the text passage is lost. Based on several comparable inscriptions of the New Kingdom, the word *jrj* for “wine” can be supposed here.²⁵¹
- g) As in the case of the preceding appeal, comparable inscriptions suggest the reconstruction of the word *jrj.t* for “milk” (cf. WEBER 2015, 231). This concludes the list of offerings in this chapter.
- h) Based on the equivalent sixth chapter on the right side of the offering table, a reconstruction as *n k3 n(.j) Wsjr* seems plausible. There, the standard formula for the notation of titles and personal names is completely preserved. Moreover, remains of the sign  (A40) can be traced here, which further supports *Wsjr*.
- i) Since the priestly title of *jt-ntr*, “god’s father” (*Wb.* 1, 142.1 – 5) is completely preserved in the corresponding text passage on the right side, it can be reconstructed here.
- j) The graphic grouping of the epithet *w^cb-^c.wj*, “with clean hands” (*Wb.* 1, 281.15) and the subsequent preposition *m* (, Aa15) differs in both parts of the inscription. In the third chapter,  is placed in the next text square, whereas in the sixth chapter, it is still squeezed in under both arms (, D36).

²⁵¹ See the index (Tab. 1), e.g. Turin inv. No. 22029 (outer inscription band, left side of the lower part: *pr.t-hrw k3 3pd.w kbh.w jrj jrj.t*), Baltimore inv. no. 22.91 (lower area of the left text column: *pr.t-hrw k3 3pd.w kbh.w jrj jrj.t*), and the offering table in Paris E. 23 (= N 365), which is not included in the index (left text column: *t hnk.t k3 3pd.w kbh.w jrj jrj.t*) in HÖLZL 2002, pl. 15, fig. B.





- k) The name *pr-R^c* refers to the entire sacred domain of Ra in Heliopolis.
- l) The personal name of the owner is fully preserved in the sixth chapter and can thus be supplemented here to *Mr.y-R^c*. It is interesting that the name *Mr.y-R^c* is spelled in two different ways: On the left with -double reed leaf and on the right without it.
- m) Since the upper right corner of the slab is damaged, not all hieroglyphs of the word can be identified. Although  (N35) and  (Aa1) are clearly visible, it remains uncertain which two signs follow. Due to the fact that incense and two different kinds of ointments are mentioned in the following, the present word is most probably *hnm.w*,²⁵² “scent/pleasure” as derivation of the root *hnm* for “smelling” (*Wb.* 3, 292.4 – 9). Thus, the last two signs should be  (T35) and  (G17) or  (G43). Only the bird-shaped hieroglyphs are attested for *hnm.w*, however, the present sign does not correspond to any of them.
- n) The spelling of *md.t*, an ointment used in the cult (KOURA 1999, 125 – 127), is abbreviated. Beginning with the 18th Dynasty, the initial *m* could be omitted even without the preceding preposition *m* (*Wb.* 2, 185.12 – 15).
- o) The here destroyed word can probably be reconstructed as *šsp*.²⁵³ The phrase *šsp-sn.w prj m-bšh* is a well-attested concluding element of the offering formula (*Wb.* 4, 155.13). Since the provided space was not big enough for the common spelling , perhaps it was abbreviated to .
- p) The distribution of the *sn.w*-offering loaves, which were previously offered to deities or temples, concludes the involvement of the deceased in the circulation of offerings since they partake of the offerings.²⁵⁴ Thus, the *sn.w*-offering loaves are always mentioned at the end of offering formulas. This clearly indicates that both parts of the text, here considered as a whole, were structured according to a narrative context, which, in abbreviated form, reflects the ideal procedure of the offering ritual.
- q) The appeal for participating in the circulation of offerings of the *Nb.w-Jwn.w*, the “lords of Heliopolis”, belongs to the textual standard repertoire of the Memphite tombs between the time of the immediate post-Amarna Period and the reign of Sety I (RAUE 1999, 9 with note 9).









²⁵² *Wb.* 3, 293.2. The appeal for incense and other, pleasant-smelling goods is well-attested in the context of the offering formula of the New Kingdom as well as in other contexts, see BARTA 1968, e.g., 239, appeal no. 127.

²⁵³ For this information I thank Dietrich Raue.

²⁵⁴ *Wb.* 4, 155.10–12. Within the offering circulation, the *sn.w*-loaves represent an offering, which was provided for the deceased. On the circulation of offerings in general, see TACKE 2013, II, 172–180. The original recipients of this ritual performance were the royal statues, see HELCK 1966, 32–41.

Paleography

A first dating criterion is provided by the paleography. Therefore, the following characteristic signs were selected from the inscription: the seated god (, A40) (attested three times on the offering slab), the seated man with the flail (, A52) (attested two times), the owl (, G17) and the swallow (, G36) (each attested once). In order to gain a paleographical dating, the Heliopolitan signs were compared to variants on a securely dated object. Therefore, the offering table Turin inv. no. 22029 from the 19th Dynasty from Deir el-Medina was selected (HABACHI 1977, 34–36 and pl. 136–137).

	HEL find-no. 202-3-9	Turin inv. no. 22029
(A40)		
(A52)		
(G17)		
(G36)		

(, A40)

Both in the Theban and Heliopolitan inscription, the signs of the seated deity are characterized by the schematic representation of the upper body as well as the bent knees and feet drawn back toward the body, set on a flat baseline. On both offering slabs, the god wears a wig and a long beard. Moje stated, that on signs after the time of Ramesses II, the shape of the head became more and more bulky, often the beard and the head merge into each other, and anatomical recognition is no longer possible (MOJE 2007, 249). This development is already visible on the Theban deities, whereas it is not as pronounced in the Heliopolitan inscription.

(, A52)



No representations of this hieroglyph are completely preserved on the Heliopolitan offering slab, since in both instances the bottom of the sign is missing. However, there are clear parallels between this version and the signs on the Turin offering slab. The man's head is quite flat, his arms stretched out and stylistically reduced to a few lines without embellishment. The upper hand holds the flail and the palm of the lower hand can face down. However, the signs differ in the fact that the Theban variants show a small protrusion on the back, which Moje interprets as the upper part of the other arm.²⁵⁵

(, G17)

In both texts, the owl's body is slightly oblique and bent forward, the head has the shape of an upright rectangle. The shapes of the feathered tails are different: The tail of the Heliopolitan owl leads downwards in prolongation of the body without further subdivisions (MOJE 2007, 304) and thus can be identified as Moje's type A, which is rarely attested. The shape of the Theban owl's tail can be classified as type C, because a small, almost horizontal part of a wing grows out of the downward leading, one-piece tail section" (*ibid.*). This type is only attested in the late 19th Dynasty beginning in the time of Sety II. Furthermore, the Heliopolitan owl shows a rather atypical and extremely detailed interior decoration, which in this extent, is only attested once under Ramesses II (*ibid.*).

(, G36)

In both ductus, the swallows have a very narrow body, slightly leaning forward, with small legs on a short baseline. The beak is usually pointed, the tail forked – these characteristics are more pronounced in the Theban variants. As already observed on the owls, also the Heliopolitan swallow has a detailed interior decoration. Comparable variants of swallows with wings as indicated are only attested twice, both dating to the time of Ramesses II (MOJE 2007, 308).

As Moje concluded, the private stelae of the early 19th Dynasty are principally more complex and carefully designed and executed than those of the late 19th Dynasty (MOJE 2007, 462). In particular the carefully designed hieroglyphs  (G17) and  (G36) are only paralleled in inscriptions from the time of Ramesses II and therefore provide a significant paleographical dating criterion of this time. Thus, it can be assumed that the offering slab dates to the early to middle 19th Dynasty.

Offering formula

In the following, selected parts of the offering formula will be examined in regard to potential dating criteria. First, the standardized initiation formula *hṯp-dj-nswt* is subject to this examination. On the slab, it is twice attested in the particular spelling of *hṯp-nswt-dj*. This does not provide information on a

²⁵⁵ See MOJE 2007, 251. Not present in the basic sign.

concrete dating since this variant is attested in all dynasties (although not always consistently and without focusing too much on certain trends in usage; BARTA 1968, 223).

The case of the deities referenced (Osiris-Khontamenti and Ra-Horakhty) is different. Osiris is naturally the most frequently evoked god in the offering formula. His designation is always (at least there are no exceptions known of) inscribed on the left side of the offering slabs. The selection of Ra-Horakhty can certainly be explained by the local theology of Heliopolis. On the other hand, it also refers to the employment of *Mr.y-R^c* as a god's father of Ra.

The following figures are based on the source corpus given in Barta's *Opferformel*.²⁵⁶ It obviously shows that, in the New Kingdom, the combination of Osiris and Ra-Horakhty is most frequently attested in the 19th Dynasty.²⁵⁷ The values of both halves of the 18th and the 20th Dynasty are only marginally lower.

Tab. g: Evidence for *Wsjr* and *R^c-Hr-ꜥh.tj* as invoked deities in the corpus of offering formulas of the New Kingdom studied by BARTA 1968.

New Kingdom				
	18th Dynasty		19th Dynasty	20th Dynasty
	1st half (Ah. I – Am. II)	2nd half (Th. IV – Hrmhb.)		
<i>Wsjr</i>	25 %	23 %	24 %	20 %
<i>R^c-Hr-ꜥh.tj</i>	4 %	7 %	7 %	5 %

As already stated, the *Nb.w-Jwn.w* are in particular known as beneficiaries in the context of the circulation of offerings from the immediate post-Amarna Period until the reign of Sety I, but are consistently attested during the New Kingdom (RAUE 1999, 9–10).

Moreover, the pleas contained in the offering formula can be analysed in regard to potential trends. The offering table comprises appeal nos. 65 (keyword: *hꜥp.w; dꜥꜥ.t*), 15 (keyword: *jꜥ.t nb.t*), 2 (keyword: *pr.t-hrw*), 274 (keyword: *ꜥbh.w*), 127 (keyword: *hnm.w snꜥr*), 158 (keyword: *md.t; wrꜥ.w*) and 120 (keyword: *sn.w*).²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ On the evidence of isolated gods in the gods' formula, see BARTA 1968, 225–231.

²⁵⁷ Due to its long duration, the 18th Dynasty was divided into two halves, whereby each was examined separately.

²⁵⁸ On the variants of the offering formula in the New Kingdom, see BARTA 1968, 85–171.

Neither in the 18th nor 20th Dynasty, but only in the 19th Dynasty are *all* of these appeals attested. However, there is more evidence for specific appeals, such as the *pr.t-hrw*-offering, in the 18th and 20th Dynasty than in the 19th Dynasty. Nevertheless, the analysis of the listed appeals as entirety indicates a dating in the first Ramesside dynasty.

Tab. h: Evidence for appeal nos. 65, 15, 2, 274, 127, 158 and 120 in the corpus of offering formulas of the New Kingdom studied by BARTA 1968.

	New Kingdom			
	18th Dynasty		19th Dynasty	20th Dynasty
	1st half (Ah. I – Am. II)	2nd half (Th. IV – Hrmhb.)		
appeal no. 65 keyword: <i>hṭp.w; dḥs.t</i> “The <i>hṭp.t</i> -offering and the <i>dḥs.w</i> -meal”	1 %	1 %	3 %	2 %
appeal no. 15 keyword: <i>jh.t nb.t</i> “The <i>jh.t</i> -offering”	5 %	4 %	6 %	9 %
appeal no. 2 keyword: <i>pr.t-hrw</i> “Letting the voice come forth for the deceased”	22 %	13 %	8 %	10 %
appeal no. 274 keyword: <i>kbḥ.w</i> “The receiving of fresh water”	-	-	< 1 %	< 1 %
appeal no. 127 keyword: <i>hnm.w snṯr</i> “The smelling of incense”	< 1 %	< 1 %	< 1 %	-
appeal no. 158 keyword: <i>md.t; wrḥ.w</i> “The receiving of ointment, ointment oil etc.”	< 1 %	1 %	< 1 %	-
appeal no. 120 keyword: <i>sn.w</i> “The receiving of offering breads”	4 %	4 %	4 %	3 %
	< 34 %	< 24 %	23 %	25 %

Titles

In order to examine the present titles of the donor to extract more information regarding dating, the title was divided into three parts:

Functional title	<i>jt-ntr</i>
Epithet	<i>w^cb-^c.wj</i>
Name of domain	<i>m pr-R^c</i>

In Heliopolis, the given functional title *jt-ntr* is attested from the 6th Dynasty/First Intermediate Period (DARESSY 1916, 193–212; BLUMEN-THAL 1987, 14–15) to the 26th Dynasty (see e.g., EL-SAWI/GOMAA 1993, 4). During this long period of time, the title seems to have undergone a general change of meaning,²⁵⁹ which resulted in a use as a synonym for *hm-ntr*-priest during the 18th Dynasty (RAUE 1999, 65; KEES 1961, 121–122). In Heliopolis, the use of the title in combination with the domain, here *pr-R^c*, is most frequently attested during the Ramesside Period (RAUE 1999, 65). In this case, it refers to the institution *Mr.y-R^c* was connected to as a priest. Because both titles are consistently attested over a long period of time, they cannot be used as dating criteria.

Thus, the epithet *w^cb-^c.wj* has to be analysed. Although most evidence originates in priestly titles – in this case the priests who were acting with *w^cb-^c.wj* towards a god – the epithet was also integrated into biographical texts of officials as well as their titles. And thus, it referred

to the conduct towards pharaoh (see e.g., TAYLOR 2001, 95, no. 864–865). However, it remains uncertain, whose titles could be supplemented by this epithet as well as when this was performed and by whom. It might have been an honorary title, which marked outstanding moral and loyal behaviour towards a high-ranking authority. The semantics of the epithet points to an origin from the priesthood. Various sources have split into categories the elaborate rites of purification that had to be performed by the priest so that they could enter the temple (GEE 1998, 14–25) and subsequently be able to perform their priestly duties. The epithet *w^cb-^c.wj* refers to the conscientious performance of these rites, in which the purity of the *^c.wj* refers *pars pro toto* to all other body parts and thus affirms the fact of purity²⁶⁰ of the particular priest – in this case *Mr.y-R^c*.

The epithet *w^cb-^c.wj* dates back to the First Intermediate Period, although not in the titles of a private person.²⁶¹ From the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period, only very little evi-

²⁵⁹ See KEES 1961, 115–117; on the priestly class of the god's fathers in the New Kingdom and their precise duties, see *ibid.*, 121–125. He assumes that it originated in the royal court.

²⁶⁰ See KUBISCH 2008, 74, with a short summary of the general rites on p. 73–74. The purity requirements of the priests employed in the temple service comprised circumcision, regular shaving of the entire body, daily cleaning of the clothes as well as washing the mouth with natron and bathing in the holy lake. All of these requirements had to be carried out before performing the service. On the purification rites in the cult, see ALTENMÜLLER-KESTLING 1968.

²⁶¹ E.g., the inscription in tomb no. 5 in Bersha, see GRIFFITH/NEWBERRY 1895, 32–33, pl. 13, col. 20.

dence has survived.²⁶² The amount of evidence increases in the New Kingdom and the epithet becomes a fixture of the titles. There is no evidence from later times.

For the analysis of the chronological development, an index of the evidence from the Egyptian Delta of the New Kingdom was created (Tab. 2). The epithet $w^c b^c . wj$ is attested twelve times as a fixed part of private titles.²⁶³ Further, the index shows that the priestly titles $jt-ntr$ and $wr-mz.w$ could be supplemented by $w^c b^c . wj$.²⁶⁴ But also the title $wb3-nswt$, the “steward of the king” (*Wb.* 1, 292.3–6), was supplemented by it. The chronological distribution of the evidence depicts a low point in the first half of the 18th Dynasty (0/12 = 0 % of the total amount). However, from the second half of the 18th Dynasty two pieces of evidence are attested (2/12 = 17 %). The amount of evidence increases with the beginning of the 19th Dynasty: a maximum of 50 % for the first half (6 of 12) and up to 50 % for the second half (6 of 12). Again, less evidence is attested from the 20th Dynasty with up to 42 % (5 of 12) for the first and second half, respectively. Interestingly, those individuals who possessed the same titles as $Mr.y-R^c$ were also Heliopolitans: $Jtm-htp$ ²⁶⁵ (19th–20th Dynasty) and $Mr.y-Jtm$ ²⁶⁶ (20th Dynasty, Ramesses III). To conclude, the analysis of the evidence of the epithet $w^c b^c . wj$ speaks in favour of a dating to the 19th Dynasty.

Personal name

On the offering slab, the name of the donor – $Mr.y-R^c$, “beloved by Ra” – is attested in two different spellings. The full variant with double reed leaf has been attested since the Middle Kingdom and appears frequently in the New Kingdom (*RPN* 1, 160.23). The abbreviated spelling without 𓄏 has only been attested since the New Kingdom, but from then on used frequently (*RPN* 1, 157.8). The explicit mention of R^c refers to the Heliopolitan city-god. According to Raue, 9.4 % of the male names included the name Ra during the 18th–20th Dynasty (RAUE 2003, 385, tab. 1), forming the largest corpus of theophoric names in Heliopolis. Approximately every 9th–10th person was called Meritra, Ramose, Parahotep or similar (RAUE 2003, 377). Due to the chronologically balanced distribution of evidence during the New Kingdom, the personal name of the donor offers no information concerning dating. Two individuals called $Mr.y-R^c$ are already attested from Heliopolis during the New Kingdom: $Mr.y-R^c$ ²⁶⁷ from the time of Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III and $Mr.y-R^c$ (RAUE 1999, 205–206) from the time of Sety I–Ramesses II. The latter is attested on the stela London BM EA 166,²⁶⁸ whose donor $Jmn-htp$ refers to his grandfather $Mr.y-R^c$ with the title $jt-ntr n(.j) p3-R^c$ in the textual and pictorial listing of his relatives (Fig. 33). On the stela (which has a damaged and

²⁶² For this information I thank Sabine Kubisch. See also DOXEY 1998, 66–67, tab. 11, and 283. Most evidence dates to the time of Amenemhat III.

²⁶³ The term $w^c b^c . wj$ was also frequently used in a phraseological sense in commentaries of ritual scenes. Attestations of this sort of use were intentionally neglected as they do not provide a fixed part of private titles. Evidence is listed in TAYLOR 2001, 94–95, 859–867.

²⁶⁴ From the Theban area, the title $w^c b^c w^c b^c . wj$ is further attested, see AL-AYEDI 2006, 216.

²⁶⁵ RAUE 1999, 166. He also held the titles $w^c b^c$ - and $hrj-hb$ -priest.

²⁶⁶ RAUE 1999, 205. The title $jt-ntr w^c b^c . wj m pr-R^c$ seems very plausible here.

²⁶⁷ See RAUE 1999, 205. Attested on a stela in the Giza storerooms, found in 1967 during excavations in Ain Shams. Titles not attested.

²⁶⁸ JAMES 1970, 26–27 with pl. 22 and 22A, second register, middle. In 1835, the British Museum acquired the stela from the Salt Collection. Possible proveniences are Abydos and Memphis, see KRI 1, 386.10.

illegible date), the third sed-festival of Ramesses II is mentioned: the stela thus dates to his 37th regnal year (1243 BC).²⁶⁹

Could this be the same *Mr.y-R^c* who commissioned the present offering slab? This is indicated by the rare title *jt-ntr* – despite the missing epithet *w^cb-c.wj* – that described one of the high-ranking priests²⁷⁰ in Ramesside Heliopolis; an elite position within a socially-stratified society.²⁷¹ Thus, only very few people could have held this title in a short period. Despite the spelling of *p³-R^c* (stelae) instead of *pr-R^c* (offering slab), it is clear that both refer to Ra and his domain. The use of the determinative article *p³* before the god’s name has been attested since the immediate post-Amarna Period (RAUE 1999, 65) (but was especially popular during the late 19th and 20th Dynasty). Therefore, the London stela is most probably slightly younger than the offering slab. The genealogy provided on the stela indicates a temporal difference of about two generations, as *Mr.y-R^c* is referred to as *jt n(.j) jt*, “father of (the) father” of *Jmn-htp*, the actual donor. Based on the average duration of a generation of 20 to 28 years during the Dynastic Period,²⁷² the difference comprises approximately 40 to 56 years. The preliminary

examination of particular criteria of the offering slab chiefly points to a dating in the early 19th Dynasty. Thus, the earliest date of production could have been around the year 1292 BC (first regnal year of Ramesses I; BECKERATH 1997, 190). Because of the partly damaged reference to the third *Sed*-festival of Ramesses II on the stela London BM EA 166, the youngest date could be around year 1243 BC. The temporal difference between both monuments thus comprises approximately 49 years: a period of time that certainly could accommodate two generation modules of at least 40 years in total. It is therefore certainly possible that the offering slab and stela refer to the very same *Mr.y-R^c*; however, other options cannot be excluded. If, in fact, they did not refer to one individual but two, who held the same name and titles, a family relationship between both still seems plausible because of the low frequency of the god’s father titles. The fact that the family attested on the London stela had a direct geographic connection to Heliopolis and specifically to the domain of Ra is further evident by the titles of the relatives, which primarily point to an employment in Heliopolis.²⁷³

²⁶⁹ Because the regnal year is illegible on the stela except for the first number sign V20 (thus > 10th regnal year), it is not possible to securely date the stela. The third *Sed*-festival of Ramesses II is also mentioned on the London stela BM EA 164, most probably in connection with the 37th year; however, the spelling is problematic: JAMES 1970, 164–165, pl. 21–21A; KRI 1, 386.10. Moreover, in an inscription in Aswan from the 36th regnal year, prince *H^c-m-W³s.t* announces the third *Sed*-festival for the upcoming year: SEIDLMAYER 2001, 247–248. The third *Sed*-festival is further attested on a scarab from Qantir, albeit without a date: HAMZA 1930, 59, 61, fig. 15.5. On the Egyptological discourse concerning the occasions of *Sed*-festivals such as the problematic of their temporal distances, see HORNUNG/STAEHELIN 2006, 9–12 (in the case of Ramesses II proposal no. 3 seems most plausible: Celebration of the *Sed*-festival after 30 years, then held periodically – perhaps every 3 years?). The 37th regnal year of Ramesses II correlates to the year 1234 BC, see BECKERATH 1997, 190.

²⁷⁰ On the Heliopolitan hierarchy of priests in the New Kingdom, see RAUE 1999, 65–66.

²⁷¹ On the critical term “elite” in the Egyptological discourse, see AUENMÜLLER 2015, 20–67.

²⁷² RAVEN 1981, 15 estimates 20 years for one generation module; TAYLOR 2003, 95 estimates 25 years; ASTON 2009, 36 28 years. However, concerning the average life expectancy of 36 years for Egyptian men, a generation module of 28 years seems too high; cf. NUNN 1996, 22.

²⁷³ Also the son of *Mr.y-R^c* held the title *jt-ntr n(.j) p³-R^c*, his mother *Mr.yt-R^c* and two further female relatives held the title of *šm^c.t n(.t) p³-R^c*, his so-called *sn*-“brother” (except for the father, all male relatives could be referred to as *sn*) the title of *w^cb n(.j) p³-R^c*, another *sn*-“brother” was *z^h3 n(.j) pr-R^c*.

3.4.1.5 Iconography

3.4.1.5.1 Classification of the Depicted Offerings


The offerings depicted in the composition area were already identified and their arrangement described. Based on this, they will now be classified in order to subsequently examine potential dating criteria. The following groups will be examined:

1. Bread and pastries (round flatbreads, round loaves with two depressions, oval flatbreads, bell-shaped breads, bread rolls and *šꜣw.t*-cakes)
2. Meat and poultry (*ḥpš*-foreleg of an ox, a cut of meat, two roast ducks with feathers, two plucked roast ducks)
3. Fruits and vegetables (pomegranate, cut pomegranate with ripe cores, uncut figs, gashed sycamore figs, gourd/Egyptian cucumber, dates, grapes, dates and grapes in a basket, individual undetermined berries)
4. Plant- and flower bouquets (flower bouquet of Amun, lettuce, *ꜥnh*-bouquet)
5. Inventory goods (wick, lengths of cloth)
6. Vessels (basket with handle, offering stands, basket in cross-section)

The offering group of the so-called inventory goods requires a detailed examination. Whereas the most depicted offerings relate to food and other symbolic goods, such as the *ꜥnh*-bouquet, the wick and the lengths of cloth do not fit into one of these categories since they form a

different group. Referring to the offering lists of the 4th Dynasty, but, also relevant to the present problems of classification, Barta stated: “Es muß grundsätzlich unterschieden werden, ob ein Opfer als einmalige Grabbeigabe zu verstehen ist, und damit zum Grabinventar gehört, oder ob es innerhalb eines sich regelmäßig wiederholenden Speisungsritual dargebracht werden soll” (BARTA 1963, 8). According to this, one has to distinguish between the fixed, because only offered once,²⁷⁴ and henceforth established “Hausrat des Toten”²⁷⁵ and the magically regenerated offerings such as the elements of food.

Nevertheless, the precise intended use of such inventory goods in the Great Beyond remains rather blurry. The lengths of cloth, which represented popular grave goods in various shapes and sorts, can at least be understood in the context of the textile list²⁷⁶ as the deceased wished to be properly clothed.²⁷⁷ However, depictions of textiles on offering tables and slabs are extremely rare.

An interpretation of the offering of the wick is particularly complicated. The most common shape of the Egyptian wick, functioning as candle and correlating to the hieroglyph  (V28), was the braided strips of linen that were subsequently soaked in fat (FISCHER 1977a, 79). Because of its fabric the wick can theoretically also be classified as a textile offering. A parallel to the depiction of such a wick is present

²⁷⁴ See WEBER 2015, 204–205. She states that also the inventory goods had to be transmitted to the deceased by the performance of a ritual.

²⁷⁵ BARTA 1963, 8. His term “inventory goods” can be misunderstood since the referred-to goods do not correlate with the goods that were in fact present in the tomb, but rather those which were functional in any kind of way in the beyond. On this problem, see WEBER 2015, 204–205.

²⁷⁶ On the textile list in general, see BARTA 1963, 8.

²⁷⁷ Just to mention the wardrobe of Tutankhamen, including dozens of garments, given as burial goods. See VOGELSANG-EASTWOOD 1997, *passim* and Id. 1999, *passim*.

on a not securely dated Ramesside offering slab from the former Museum Scheurleer (its current whereabouts are unknown; VON BISSING 1932). Incidentally, this particular depiction (also resting on two lengths of cloth), was identified by VON BISSING (1932, 58) as “Früchte des Johannisbrotbaumes”, whereas the textiles were interpreted as “Fleischstücke (?)”.²⁷⁸ This clearly illustrates the problem of identifying these depictions. Moreover, two wicks depicted in a row are attested on an offering slab from the 19th Dynasty tomb of *Jmn-m-jp.t* in Deir el-Medina (TT 265).²⁷⁹ From the 19th Dynasty, the word *ḥꜥ.t* is known to have designated the wick of the candle (*Wb.* 3, 39.18) and was therefore used in phrases like *sh.t ḥꜥ.t*, “lighting fire” during the New Kingdom (*Wb.* 3, 467.9), broadly understood as *kindling fire* or a *source of light*. Thus, the depiction of the wick on the offering table might represent the essential magical requisite for this act. However, a cultic use of the wick does not appear very probable,²⁸⁰ since that would imply that also the deceased was expected to perform cultic duties or at least possess cultic equipment. But to what extent was it necessary for the deceased to light fire in the netherworld? In the Book of the Dead, in total 19 spells mention light/lightning as such,²⁸¹ whereas this is primarily mentioned in the various epithets of Ra or in connection with him, mostly in the context of the cycle of light or the ride in the solar

barque. In spell §119, the deceased announces: “Ich bin der Große, der sein Licht geschaffen hat”,²⁸² in spell §147 he is encouraged to say the same phrase as soon as he reaches the first gate of the underworld: “Von NN zu sprechen, wenn er zum ersten Tor gelangt: Ich bin der Große, der sein Licht geschaffen hat.”²⁸³ Whether this really refers to the act of illuminating the darkness is questionable as the spells have to be interpreted against a mythological-symbolic background.²⁸⁴ However, two torches and two lamps that were placed as grave goods in the tomb of Tutankhamen (KV 62; see CARTER 1923, 113, pl. 75; ID. 1927, 214) must certainly be understood in this context since their prior function was to make light. Not only did light illuminate darkness, it also guaranteed protection against evil (TACKE 2013, II, 182).

The passage in the temples of the New Kingdom describing the performance of the offering ritual underlines this assumption. Approximately at dawn, the rite of illuminating the sanctuary with a torch and immediately extinguishing it was performed (TACKE 2013, II, 181–192). Tacke recognizes a performance “bei der das Sanktuar ausgeleuchtet wird und auf diese Weise alle bösen Kräfte vertrieben werden. Das Licht wird dabei wie eine Substanz eingesetzt, die Schutz, Abschreckung und – ähnlich dem Weihrauch –

²⁷⁸ VON BISSING 1932, 58 gives these interpretations with reservations. He further interprets a headless, plucked roast duck in the upper left corner of the composition as an artichoke.

²⁷⁹ Deir el-Medina (3), see BRUYÈRE 1925, 46, pl. 12.

²⁸⁰ One of the daily offering rituals in the New Kingdom was illuminating the sanctuary with a torch as well as extinguishing the torch, see TACKE 2013, II, 181–192. In the hypostyle in the Amun-temple of Karnak, a depiction from the time of Sety I is on the eastern wall, in which the kneeling king holds a wick candle to the ground in front of Amun-Ra: the extinguishing, see TACKE 2013, II, 322, K 21. On the same wall, the “Spruch vom Flechten (?) des Dochtes” is written, see TACKE 2013, II, 189. On the further uses, e.g., in the context of the festivities of the new year, see FISCHER 1977a, 80–81.

²⁸¹ Spells §17, 21, 39, 53, 67, 74, 81A, 85–86, 98, 110, 119, 124, 147, 153B, 170, 172, 183, 190.

²⁸² Spell §119.1, see HORNUNG 2004, 227.

²⁸³ Spell §147.4–5, see HORNUNG 2004, 294.

²⁸⁴ On the colour yellow and its aspect of light in Ramesside tomb decoration, see HOFMANN 2003, 154–162.

Reinigung erzeugt” (*ibid.*, 183). The use of magic as means of protection through brightness and purification is thus to be assumed for the depiction of the wick on the offering slab of *Mr.y-R^c*.

Therefore, the inventory goods count among the “Hausrat des Toten” (according to the definition of BARTA 1963, 8), which does not mean that the deceased actually *resided* in his tomb. As Assmann outlined, the tombs of the New Kingdom were no longer believed to be the permanent home of the deceased, as was the case in the Old Kingdom (ASSMANN 1995, 283).

In particular the motif of the proximity to the gods became increasingly important in private funerary beliefs. In the New Kingdom, it was of utmost importance for the deceased to be able to participate in festivities in temples and the necropolis as well as to be equipped with unlimited mobility in all spheres of this side and the other (ASSMANN 1995, 285–293). In this context, the precinct of Heliopolis was known nationwide as a popular place of residence for the *bas* of the deceased (ASSMANN 1979, 61; RAUE 1999, 20). In order to participate in one’s very own mortuary cult and eventually benefit from its performance, the *ba* of the deceased first had to be called from “unbekannten Fernen” (ASSMANN 1995, 285). However, it remains unclear whether the same unlimited mobility was also inherent to the inventory goods

or whether their usage was limited to the spatial unit of the tomb.

3.4.1.5.2 Analysis of Iconographic Dating

Criteria

Based on the index of the offering slabs of the New Kingdom, the time frame during which the specific offerings are attested was examined (Tab. 3).²⁸⁵ Since there are no remains of the original colour, pumpkins and Egyptian cucumber were not always securely distinguished from each other and were thus summarized as cucurbits. The analysis shows that the offerings depicted on the slab of *Mr.y-R^c* have the greatest number of accordances with Ramesside offering slabs. While smaller berries as space-fillers and round flatbreads with two depressions already occur in the food offering piles of the Amarna Period,²⁸⁶ the bell-shaped breads and the lengths of cloths are exclusively attested on offering slabs of the 19th Dynasty. The *ḥh*-bouquet of flowers and the form of the high offering stands have no parallels on the slabs recorded in the index. In the early phase of the 19th Dynasty (Ramesses I–Sety I), 85% of the depictions coincide, the highest concentration of similarities. Thus, the iconographic analysis points to a dating to the early 19th Dynasty. However, the type of the narrowly packed food offering pile in stacked rows attested here already finds

²⁸⁵ Based on this, statements about food offerings on offering tables in (bas)-relief cannot be made. On the depictions of offerings on offering tables in the Theban necropolis of the New Kingdom, see WEBER 2020.

²⁸⁶ For this information I thank W. Raymond Johnson.

counterparts in the Amarna Period, in which this became the standard.²⁸⁷ If the donor of the present offering slab should indeed correspond with the *Mr.y-R^c* mentioned on the stela London BM EA 166, this would additionally support the iconographic dating into the early 19th Dynasty: especially with regard to the fact that the craftsmen of Ramesses I and Sety I seem to consciously follow the traditions established in the Amarna Period before Ramesses II rejects this early in his reign.²⁸⁸

3.4.1.6 Dating

To perform a final dating of the present offering slab, the examined criteria from the areas of typology (aspect ratio, stylistic design of the image field), inscription (paleography, spelling of the offering formula, invoked deities, appeals, personal name and titles of the donor) and iconography (depicted offerings) will now be summarised and evaluated. The result is the following:

Tab. i: Summary of dating criteria for find-no. 202-3-9.

New Kingdom						
	18th Dynasty		19th Dynasty			20th Dynasty
	1st half (Ah. I – Am. II)	2nd half (Th. IV – Hrmhb.)	R. I – S. I	R. II	Mrnptḥ – Tsrt	Sthnkht. – R. XI
Typology						
Aspect ratio						
Design of image field						
Inscription						
Paleography						
Spelling of the offering formula						
Invoked deities						
Appeals in the offering formula						
Personal name						
Title						
Iconography						
Depicted offerings						
	33 %	22 %	77 %	66 %	66 %	22 %

²⁸⁷ For this information I thank W. Raymond Johnson, who does not exclude a dating of the offering slab to the Amarna Period. Compare e.g., PENDLEBURY 1951, pl. LXIV, fig. 4–6.

²⁸⁸ For this information I thank W. Raymond Johnson.

The dating of the criteria that has only been examined separately so far shows a clear emphasis on the 19th Dynasty. Due to the fact, that 77% of the determined criteria were dated to the early phase of this particular dynasty (Ramesses I–Sety I), this dating seems the most probable for the offering slab. Thus, it is dated to the period of time between c. 1292–1279/1278 BC (BECKERATH 1997, 190).

3.4.1.7 Original Location in the Tomb

3.4.1.7.1 The Ritual Function of Offering Slabs in Tombs of the New Kingdom

Before the provenience of the slab can be discussed, the ritual function of offering slabs in the tombs of the New Kingdom has to be examined since this provides a general idea about the original location. Offering slabs symbolized the offering table, on which the funerary meal was served for the deceased. The different components of the meal, which were carved on to the top surface of the offering slabs, were revived magically – and thus offered – through the performance of the offering ritual²⁸⁹ by a priest or a relative.²⁹⁰ For the deceased, the continuity of this ritual was an absolute necessity

since this secured a continual supply of provisions in the Beyond (WEBER 2015, 204). Therefore, the offering rituals, as well as their component elements, formed the central element of royal and private mortuary cult.

Its origin can be traced to the very beginning of Egyptian history, as is indicated by the evidence of food offerings in predynastic tombs. From Badari, there is substantial evidence that food was offered to the deceased in front of the graves and that the deceased was most probably supposed to symbolically partake in the rituals (BRUNTON/CATON-THOMPSON 1928, 42). The hieroglyph *htp* (𐀨, R4) can be derived from the shape of the loaf of bread on a reed mat; it became the very symbol of the offering ritual throughout the Dynastic Period.²⁹¹ Later, stone offering tables replaced the earlier versions made of perishable materials and were also referred to as *htp*²⁹² or, in the 19th Dynasty, *htp.t*.²⁹³ However, the depicted offerings – as well as the real food offerings – had to be rendered accessible to the deceased,²⁹⁴ which was solved by the magical performance of the offering ritual. The complete and ideal version of the ritual comprised several single rites, such as calling the *ba* of the deceased,

²⁸⁹ In textual and pictorial sources, the offering ritual is attested since the Old Kingdom. On the offering formula of the Old Kingdom, see LAPP 1986. He makes a chronological distinction between Offering Ritual 1 and Offering Ritual 2, with several subdivision. On the offering list of the Old Kingdom, see BARTA 1963, 5–89. On the offering ritual of the New Kingdom, see TACKE 2013, I–II, as well as on the ritual offering lists in the mortuary cult and the divine cults of the New Kingdom, see BARTA 1963, 117–147. On the function of offering slabs and cultic basins in the offering ritual, see HÖLZL 2002, 129–138.

²⁹⁰ A depiction of the offering ritual in the tomb of *Mr-jb* from the Old Kingdom in Giza shows that several priests could be involved, see LAPP 1986, 153, fig. 28. On the participating priests, see HÖLZL 2002, 131.

²⁹¹ Already attested in the Pyramid Texts, see *Wb.* 3, 183.9–13 and 184.1–16. Referring to the symbolic character of the sign, HÖLZL 2002, 133–134 and note 29 states: “Zum einen bedeutet *htp* ‘Zufriedenheit’ als Folge des Erhalts von Opfertgaben und andererseits ‘Speiseopfer’.”

²⁹² *Wb.* 3, 183.4–5; also used for the four-legged offering table (see *Wb.* 3, 183.6).

²⁹³ *Wb.* 3, 183.8; perhaps a variant of Late Egyptian.

²⁹⁴ The *in situ* find of the offering plate Sedment (1) (dated to Thutmose III) with actual offerings placed on its surface, indicates that real dishes were also placed on the tables (only those with blank composition areas?), see BRUNTON/PETRIE 1924, 23–24, pl. 49, fig. 1–4. According to the photograph it could have been a filled plate and a piece of bread. This would explain why no depictions are represented on the surface of the plate.

indispensable in the private cult (ASSMANN 1995, 285), as well as inviting him to sit down to the meal.²⁹⁵ Many more rites were included in the offering ritual that was performed in the temple. For example, the burning of incense, the reciting of spells, the proclamation of the dishes, the already mentioned lighting of the fire and the concluding sweeping away of footprints (HÖLZL 2002, 130–132; TACKE 2013, II, 15–203). The main act of the private ritual was the pouring of water over the offering slab (HÖLZL 2002, 130–131). It was this libation, accompanied by the reciting of the offering formula, that actually “activated” the depicted offerings.²⁹⁶ As stated by Assmann, the Egyptian monumental tomb thereby created “einen Zugang, ermöglichte einen symbolischen Kontakt, stellte ein Verbindungsglied dar zwischen Diesseits und Jenseits” (ASSMANN 1995, 283). As the connecting link between this side and the beyond, the tomb functioned through its regular cultic performances. And in particular the offering ritual, in which the *ba* of the deceased had to be invoked at the beginning, which enabled the deceased to return to this world and participate in the offering cult (ASSMANN 1995, 285). The *ba* inhabited the tomb as long as the duration of the cult performances (*ibid.*). Being an instrument in the offering ritual, the function of the offering slab itself has to be understood as a sort of magical transfer area: a place of transition between this side and the netherworld.

3.4.1.7.2 Reconstruction of the Original Placement and Orientation

The ritual function of the offering slabs indicated that the slabs primarily belonged to the tomb furnishings. However not exclusively, as private offering slabs and cult basins were also donated to temples (HÖLZL 2002, 127). The latter option can be excluded for the present slab because of the invocation of Osiris-Khontamenti in the inscription as well as the designation of *Mr.y-R^c* as *Wsjr* and *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*, which can only be interpreted in a funerary context.²⁹⁷ Thus, the slab must originate from a tomb, and most likely the tomb of *Mr.y-R^c* himself, since he appears as the only beneficiary in the offering formula.

From the New Kingdom, only one offering slab was found *in situ*. The slab was found in tomb no. 276 in the necropolis of Heracleopolis: a rock-cut chamber from the time of Thutmose III (BRUNTON/PETRIE 1924, 23–24, pl. 49, fig. 1–4). During later excavations, no internal burial structures were noted; thus, the chamber was most probably a sort of family cult place (RAUE 1999, 249–250). In a niche, a rectangular offering slab was placed in front of a big stela, its spout orientated towards the inside of the room.²⁹⁸ The surface of the slab is only decorated with a circumferential inscription. In the middle of the surface, well-preserved remains of actual offerings were found. A stelo-

²⁹⁵ The decisive lexeme is *ḥmsj*, “sitting”, priorly used in the imperative. See BARTA 1963, 48, no. 18: “Sitz nieder! (zum Mahle)”.

²⁹⁶ On the offering of the goods, see ASSMANN 2001, 446–452.

²⁹⁷ *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw* (the justified) is traditionally and primarily associated with the mortuary cult, but was also included in inscriptions in domestic areas, such as the decorated door jambs of the New Kingdom, see BUDKA 2001, 49–52.

²⁹⁸ In the first register of the stela the Heliopolitan high priest *Sn-nfr* is listed, among others, see RAUE 1999, 249–250.

phore statue was found in the front part of the niche, facing the exterior of the room.

Another *in situ*-find is a rectangular cult basin from Thebes-West. In TT 125, constructed during the reign of Hatshepsut, the basin was placed in front of the stela in the front transverse hall (HERMANN 1940, 76, pl. 9c). Hölzl recognizes evidence of the original location of offering slab in the flat but broad brick pedestals, which were observed on the facades of the forecourts in some Theban tombs of the 18th Dynasty.²⁹⁹ Kampp explains the function of these forecourts as a sort of ritual stage, which was used as setting for the mouth opening ritual (KAMPP 1996, I, 77). Therefore, no precise statements can be given concerning the actual placement of the offering slabs. No *in situ*-finds are attested from the 19th Dynasty, into which the offering slab of *Mr.y-R^c* was dated.

Further evidence is provided by the inscription of the offering slab Turin inv. no. 22029 from Deir el-Medina (see HABACHI 1977, 34–37 and 136–137), which reads: *dj=sn ttf.tw n=j mw hr htp.t r r3 n(.j) jz=j*, in translation: “They [the deities] may arrange that water will be poured for me daily on the offering table at the entry of my tomb”. Hence, the particular slab should have been installed near the entrance (*r3*, *Wb.* 3, 390.12 and 391.10) of the tomb (*jz*, *Wb.* 1,

126.18). The terminus *jz* generally designates “sowohl das aufgemauerte Grabgebäude [...] als auch das Felsgrab” (*Wb.* 1, 126.21–22). Where exactly the *r3* is located within the tomb will be discussed later.³⁰⁰ However, one has to bear in mind that this text refers to a tomb in Deir el-Medina and thereby most probably to a rock-cut tomb.³⁰¹

The already mentioned relief fragment London UC 408 in the Petrie Collection from the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty appears to be more relevant (Fig. 32). Irrespective of the discussion whether a court of a temple or tomb is depicted,³⁰² the representation clearly illustrates the setup and function of an offering slab in an open courtyard. Due to the fact that the architecture of the Memphite tomb chapels imitated the architecture of the temples (RAUE 1995, 260–268), the question of the architectural context of the depictions is not crucial. The Memphite tomb of *Tjz*, who started his career as an overseer of the treasury (already under Sety I) and probably died in the 31st regnal year of Ramesses II,³⁰³ and his wife *Tjz* (sister of Ramesses II), approximately corresponds to the dating of the Heliopolitan offering slab. However, *Mr.y-R^c*'s tomb was probably much smaller. The tomb of the *Tjz*s was furnished with a colonnaded court that resembles the court on the Memphite relief fragment. As was customary in

²⁹⁹ See KAMPP 1996, I, 77–78, fig. 67 and 70; HÖLZL 2002, 127. Hölzl mentions in this context that some of the pedestals were occasionally located in front of stelae, but this seems only to refer to the reconstructions suggested by KAMPP 1996, I, 79, fig. 70.

³⁰⁰ HÖLZL 2002, 83 translates “auf die Opfertafel am Eingang meines Grabes”, without examining the term *r3* or suggesting a possible localisation in the tomb context.

³⁰¹ On the east- and west necropolis in Deir el-Medina and the architecture of the tombs, see VALBELLE 1985, 5–17. The dating of the Turin offering slab, whose provenience is only described as “Deir el-Medineh, scavi Schiaparelli 1905” by HABACHI 1977, 34, points to an origin from the western necropolis of Deir el-Medina, which was only in use from the post-Amarna Period onwards.

³⁰² WILDUNG 1985, 17–38 and HOFMANN 1995, 276 assume that a temple court is depicted because of the statues and kneeling figures at the basin. HÖLZL 2002, 127–128 does not exclude that the depiction shows the court of a tomb.

³⁰³ See <http://www.saqqara.nl/excavations/tombs/tia--tia> (last accessed: 18.07.2017).

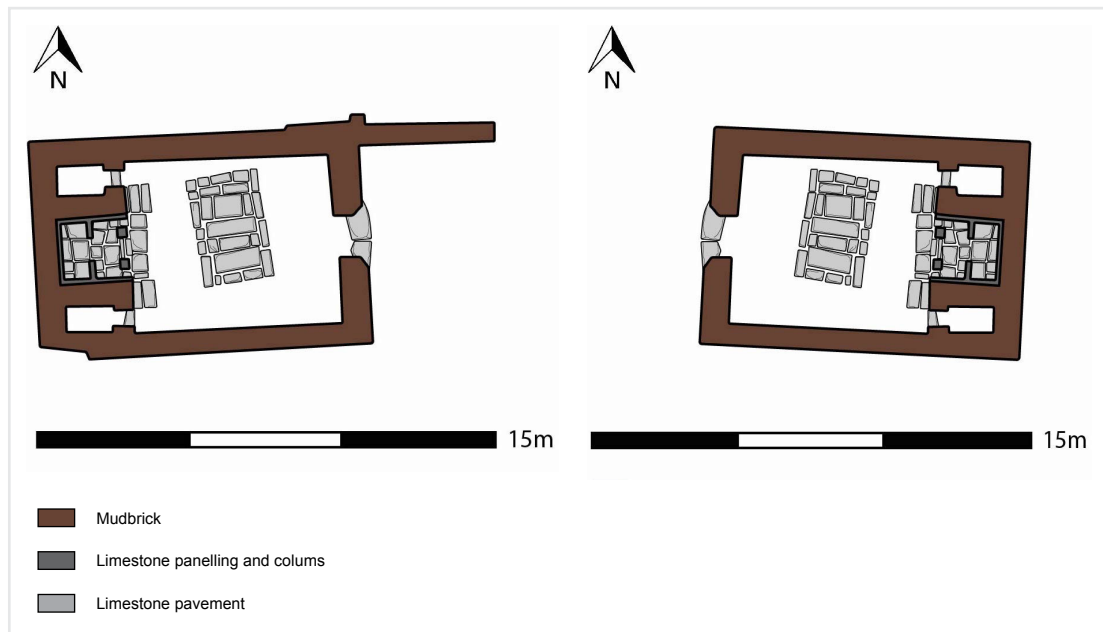


Fig. j:
left: Ground plan of the tomb of *P3-sr* (Saqqara);
right: Reconstruction of the ground plan of the tomb of *Mr.y-Rc* (Heliopolis) based on the comparison with the ground plan of the tomb of *P3-sr* (Saqqara); Digital drawings: K. Dietze).

the Memphite necropolis, the burial shaft was located in the middle of the court. The tomb of the royal scribe and overseer of construction work *P3-sr* in the same necropolis also dates to the reign of Ramesses II (MARTIN 1985, 3–9; HOFMANN 2004, 94). Its measurements of 7×11 m provide a better comparison to the tomb of *Mr.y-Rc*.³⁰⁴ Therefore, the suggested reconstruction of the Heliopolitan tomb of *Mr.y-Rc* is based on the tomb of *P3-sr* (Fig. j).

The mudbrick chapel of *P3-sr* contains a fore-court, which is attached to the walls of the chapel of *Hr-m-ḥb* in the east. It gives access to another courtyard with central burial shaft. This shaft,

with a depth of 6.80 m, leads to two subterranean chambers. To the west of the aboveground courtyard is the central cult chamber; two stelae were placed at the entrance and one stood against the west wall.³⁰⁵ The cult chamber is the only room to have limestone pavement and revetment and is flanked by two storerooms. Although the tomb's courtyard is not furnished with columns, it provides access to the burial shaft. Collating the architectural findings of both tombs and the depiction on the relief fragment, the offering slab should have been placed in close proximity to the burial shaft – if not even on top of it – in the examined tombs since both elements marked the centre of the open courts (Fig. k).³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ On the ground plan of the tomb, see MARTIN 1985, pl. 2.

³⁰⁵ At the entrance to the offering chapel in front of the northern and southern stelae, each of which was placed on a flat limestone pedestal, two 20 cm high pedestals consisting of two limestone slabs were noted. They were probably used for two libation basins, which have not been preserved, see MARTIN 1985, 4. He does not exclude the installation of an offering slab on the pedestals in front of the stela. The stela from the western wall was found in the debris layers in the northern storeroom, but reconstructed on the back wall of the cult chamber by the mission of the excavation (see MARTIN 1985, 7 and pl. 7–8). In the tomb of the *Tj3s*, a similar limestone pedestal was interpreted as statue base, see MARTIN 1997, 5.

³⁰⁶ Initially also a location on the eastern wall of the cult chamber seems plausible. In the tomb of *P3-sr*, a stela was placed here. See <http://www.saqqara.nl/excavations/tombs/paser> (last accessed: 18.07.2017). Why the offering slab was probably not located there, will be discussed in the following.

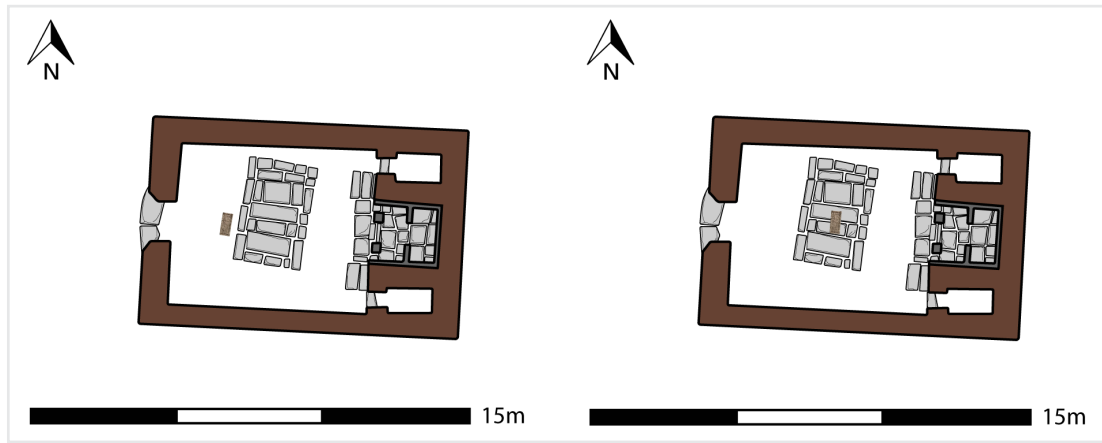


Fig. k:
left, option I: placement in front of the burial shaft;
right, option II: placement on top of the burial shaft (Digital drawings: K. Dietze).

Thus, a new interpretation of the inscription on the offering slab in Turin inv. no. 22029, which mentions that the offering slab is installed *r r3 n(.j) jz=j*, is possible. It has already been noted that the architectural localisation of the term *r3* within the tomb is problematic. In general, *r3* is translated as “gate” or “door” (Wb. 2, 390.12). The literal meaning, however, is “mouth” (Wb. 2, 389.1–9), which in a figurative sense designated the “opening” (Wb. 2, 390.10) of something. Within buildings, this refers to the actual door. In view of the depiction on the relief fragment London UC 408 showing the offering slab in an open court, namely in the area that

usually contains the burial shaft in the Memphite private tombs, the text passage *htp.t r r3 n(.j) jz=j* could refer to the burial shaft,³⁰⁷ which literally marks the “opening” of the actual burial place in this case.

In the following, some ideas on the possible orientation of the offering slab within the open courtyard of the tomb chapel will be formulated. For this purpose, the different principles of decorating offering slabs – resulting from the relation between depictions and inscription with spout – must be distinguished. Consequently, there are two main types (Fig. l):³⁰⁸

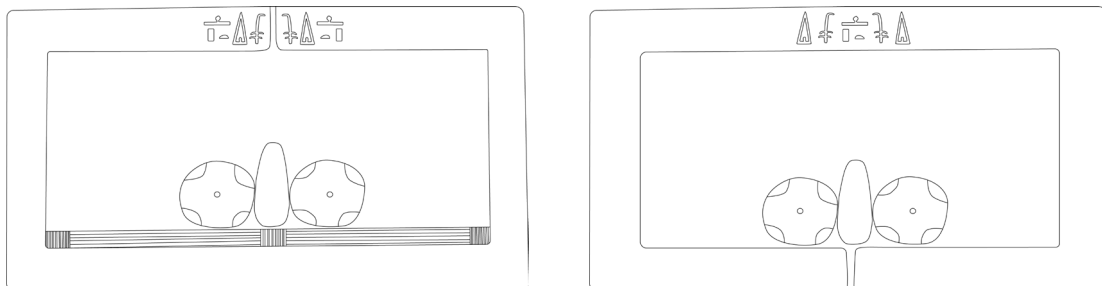


Fig. l:
left, Type 1:
Spout/channel at the top, above the depictions and inscription;
right, Type 2:
Spout/channel at the bottom, below depictions and inscription (Digital drawings: K. Dietze).

³⁰⁷ The burial shaft was commonly designated as *3h-h.t*, see Wb. 1, 12.16.

³⁰⁸ Special forms also exist, such as: Turin inv. no. 22044 from the Meretseger-chapel in Deir el-Medina (spout on the lower side of the hieroglyphs and opposite to the depictions), see HABACHI 1977, 53; from the Karnak temple: London BM EA 1142 (spout at the lower side of the hieroglyphs, opposite the depictions, recorded in the index). In these cases, it should be considered whether the inscription was perhaps intentionally directed towards the priest, so that he could recite directly from the object during the performance of the ritual, maybe this is also true for the *in situ* find of Sedment (Sedment (1)). See ASSMANN 1995, 282; he perceives mortuary literature generally as recitation literature. The slab Turin inv. no. 22029 is a special case since the inscription of the segments has a different orientation than the hieroglyphs of the circumferential offering formula.

The offering slabs with spouts/channels at the top of the slab – the term top refers to the perspective of the depicted offerings and hieroglyphs – are most frequently attested in the Theban area.³⁰⁹ In this context, the above described *in situ*-finds from Heracleopolis and Thebes-West must be brought to mind, in which the offering slab/cultic basin was placed in front of a stela or stelae-wall.³¹⁰ It is thus likely that the slabs that were decorated according to type 1 from Thebes – mainly originating from Deir el-Medina – were similarly situated in front of a stela at a cultic place. The depicted offerings and the inscription would thus have been orientated towards the stela, whereas the priest, standing in front of the slab, poured the libation over the offering table during the performance of the offering ritual. The water subsequently ran off in direction of the priest, maybe even into a separate cultic basin.

But how can the offering slabs be explained whose spouts/channels were located below the depictions and inscriptions (type 2) including the offering slab of *Mr.y-R*? This particular type is only rarely attested in the New Kingdom.³¹¹ But perhaps it is the differing concept of decoration that points to another place of installation and provides significant information about the original setup of the offering slab at this place. The relief fragment London UC 408 depicts the cultic use of an offering slab and a cultic basin in an open courtyard that might be

identified as the court of a freestanding tomb chapel in Saqqara. As was already explained, the offering slab was supposed to be close to the burial shaft. As the tomb of *P3-sr* in Saqqara serves as the basis for the suggested reconstruction of the tomb architecture of *Mr.y-R*, there are two options for the orientation of *Mr.y-R*'s offering slab at his burial shaft:

1. Orientation of the offering slab with the spout pointing away from the shaft
2. Orientation of the offering slab with the spout pointing towards the shaft

The first option would have enabled the libation fluid to run off through the channel towards the priest although the depicted offerings and hieroglyphs would have appeared upside down from the perspective of the tomb owner – the actual beneficiary of the whole act – who was thought to have symbolically participated in the ritual in or at his shaft. But since the offerings were the primal focus of the ritual and were to be manifested through the performance and to benefit solely the tomb owner himself, this option seems rather improbable.

The second option would have caused the proper appearance of the offerings, conforming to the standard canon, from the perspective of the deceased. However, in turn the cleansing (and libation) fluids also flowed in a different direction, namely towards the shaft and poten-

³⁰⁹ E.g., the offering tables recorded in the index (Paris E. 16331, Turin inv. no. 22025, 22028 and 22029), and Turin inv. no. 22035, which is not included in the index (see HABACHI 1977, 43–44); also Turin inv. no. 22037, see HABACHI 1977, 45–48. From a Ramesside tomb in Saqqara, the offering table Cairo CG 23094 is attested.

³¹⁰ In the case of the Heracleopolitan offering table Sedment (1), the decoration correlates to type 2: However, no offerings are depicted on the slab. It cannot be distinguished which type of decoration is represented on the Theban find as it is not discernible on the sole photograph of the offering table that has been published.

³¹¹ See London BM EA 421 from Thebes (JAMES 1970, 32 and 42); Turin inv. no. 22047 from Deir el-Medina as well as Baltimore inv. no. 22.91 (both recorded in the index, Tab. 1).

tially the deceased himself. Of course, also in this case it seems likely that the water was collected in a basin installed inbetween slab and shaft. If no such basin was present, the libation fluid – dependent on the precise position of the offering table in relation to the shaft – would have flown directly towards the shaft. However, this might have been the desired effect: Water was associated with basic restorative qualities.³¹² When the water touched the surface of the offering slab and thus the magically activated offerings, which were supposed to sustain the tomb owner in the afterlife, the vitality of the depicted offerings and thus the vitality of the tomb owner were enhanced. Since the precious libation liquids flowed towards his shaft, *Mr.y-R's ba*, who had settled down to the meal, immediately benefited by the magical nutrients that were transported with the water while the deceased was revived and nourished at the same time.

Through the north-south orientation of the offering slab with the spout pointing towards the shaft, the right side of the offering table, on which Ra-Horakhty is evoked, was placed in the north (Fig. m). The left side of the offering slab, on which Osiris-Khontamenti is mentioned, was placed in the south. The same spatial distribution of deities can be observed in the mortuary temples/mansions of millions of years of the New Kingdom in western Thebes:³¹³

The mortuary temples of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III from the early 18th Dynasty,³¹⁴ as well as those of the Ramesside Period³¹⁵ in western Thebes show a cult precinct for Ra in their northern parts whereas funerary areas are located in their southern precincts, such as the offering halls where the royal mortuary cult was carried out, or the (barque) chapels for the father's barque.



Fig. m:
Proposed orientation
of the offering slab
in the tomb (Photo:
M. Wenzel).

³¹² A clear representation thereof: the depictions of water as a stream of *nh*-signs in purification rituals. On the symbolic vitality of water and the resulting libation ritual, see KAPLONY 1992, 17–44. On the sacramental interpretation of water, see also ASSMANN 2001, 462–471.

³¹³ For this reference I thank Dietrich Raue.

³¹⁴ See STADELMANN 1979, 305, for the ground plans of the mortuary temples of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, see STADELMANN 1979, 307, fig. a–b.

³¹⁵ The mortuary temple of Sety I in Qurna, the Ramesseum of Ramesses II and the mortuary temple of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu, see STADELMANN 1979, 311, fig. a–c.

Thus, is it highly improbable that the offering slab was not located in an open court of the tomb but at the eastern wall of the cult chamber, where it might have been installed in front of a stela: Had the offering slab been orientated as described above – Osiris in the south and Ra-Horakhty in the north – the libation fluid would have flowed towards the stela. However, in front of a stela, one would expect the spout of the offering slab to have been directed towards the priest and not towards the stela.

To summarize, the following findings about the original location and orientation of the Heliopolitan offering slab can be noted:

1. The offering slab originated from the tomb of *Mr.y-R* in the necropolis of the New Kingdom in Ain Shams, which most likely was a free-standing chapel of Memphite type.
2. Many observations indicate that the offering slab was set up in an open court close to the burial shaft.
3. In regard to the conventions of decoration and the ritual function of the offering slab it could be determined that the slab was most likely orientated north-south with its spout directed towards the shaft.

4. Summary: Conclusions on the Necropolis of the New Kingdom in Heliopolis

4.1 Tomb Architecture and Decorative Programme

The epigraphic study of the five objects revealed that the tomb architecture in the New Kingdom necropolis in Ain Shams resembles that in the Memphite necropolis in Saqqara. The free-standing private tomb chapel with relief-decorated superstructure was most likely also the prevailing type of tomb in Heliopolis.

Further conclusions can be drawn about the tomb architecture in Heliopolis based on the studied objects. Imagine moving from the outside of the tomb into the inside: from an

entrance of a Heliopolitan tomb, the fragment of a door jamb with the find-no. 203-1-1 and decorated on one side is attested. We can conclude that at least some of the jambs of the tomb entrances were built of several limestone blocks. Some of the entrances appear to have been furnished with a single-leaf door with which the tombs could have been – at least symbolically – locked. The doors most likely opened inward. It appears that a number of the entrance jambs were decorated with short hymns in nominal style, which were primarily dedicated either to the sun god or the god of the dead. The inscription was oriented towards its recipient.

The tomb entrance gave access to a court (or more), with walls that probably had revetments decorated with panels. This was indicated by the relief fragment with the find-no. 202-7-4 that showed part of an offering table scene and, assuming it did not belong to a stela, the relief fragment with the find-no. 202-6-20. In this context, especially the depth of the objects (10 cm, 9.9 cm) was important as it speaks in favour of the practice of using revetments decorated with reliefs: the typical Memphite method of construction.³¹⁶ Also the shape of the relief of *Jtm-htp* points to relief-decorated superstructures. Furthermore, in the course of the excavations of the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, several mudbrick structures covered with limestone plates were unearthed in Ain Shams (ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 140, no. 46 and 49). The large number of undecorated limestone panels that were discovered during the early excavations in the area is probably to be interpreted in the same context (e.g., ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 139, no. 19–20 and 29). Based on the Memphite tomb structures, the burial shaft with access to the subterranean structures is most likely in one of the courtyards.

The fragment of a door jamb decorated on three sides with the find-no. 202-4-3 was epigraphically relocated in the door jamb of a chamber in the rear part of a tomb. This was indicated by the elaborate decoration on three sides, the present text category, the scenic content as well as the orientation of the hieroglyphs and figural depictions. It can thus be noted that at least part of the

Heliopolitan tombs were furnished with small chambers in their rear parts. How many chambers there were and what concrete function they had remains uncertain.³¹⁷ However, the use of at least one of these rooms as cult chamber appears reasonable in view of the Memphite necropolis. According to the studied fragment, the decorated door jambs in this part of the tomb could also have been built of several blocks.

The door jamb with decoration on three sides from the middle chamber in the tomb of *Ms* is basically as wide as the Heliopolitan jamb. The middle chamber measures 1.21 m², which can at least be considered as a comparable value for the reconstruction of the Heliopolitan tomb. The depiction of the woman in a pleated dress on the left narrow side of the jambs was interpreted in the context of a scene of worship. Also, the relief fragment with the find-no. 202-6-20 probably comes from the revetment of a rear chamber, perhaps even from the cult chamber itself, as the present depictions of praying females also points to the context of a worshipping scene.

In some cases, the furnishing of the tombs included an offering slab, as the slab with the find-no. 202-3-9 indicated. This supports the findings of the earlier excavation in the area of the necropolis. Most probably, the Heliopolitan tomb chapels were primarily furnished with a stela and an offering slab (ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 138–145; RAUE 1999, 58). Some of the tombs might even have included a small tomb pyramid in the back part, as is

³¹⁶ In the mudbrick chapels as well as in the stone chapels, which were common since Ramesses II, see HOFMANN 2004, 95.

³¹⁷ However, indications of three (no. 49) and five (no. 46) chambers were observed in the course of the early excavations in Ain Shams, see ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 140.

shown in the lower scene on the relief fragment of *Jtm-htp*, which is also the case in Saqqara (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, pl. 8, no. 4). It still remains unknown whether also the Heliopolitan tomb architecture switched to stone constructions at a certain point. That was a trend that can be traced to the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II in the Memphite necropolis, although mudbrick chapels were still constructed in succeeding periods as well. In this context it seems notable that all of the (few) unearthed superstructures in Ain Shams consisted of mudbrick masonry, panelled with undecorated limestone plates (ABD EL-GELIL/RAUE/SHAKER 1996, 139, no. 34 [dating uncertain], 140, no. 46 and 49). Indications of free-standing chapels of massive limestone masonry are not known for Ain Shams. However, they might have been used as source of building material in later eras.

It can further be assumed that scenes of the mortuary cult and the worship of deities also dominated the decoration of the Heliopolitan private tombs – from the 19th Dynasty on, perhaps even in the open courtyards. The conducted epigraphical re-contextualization showed that the decoration of *all* of the studied object categories in certain typological or stylistic aspects can be traced back to the conventions of the Amarna art: The Ramessides continued the decoration of the door jambs that was conceptualized in Amarna, even driving it further. The

full body shapes of the depicted females (cf. find-no. 202-6-20) refer to the canon of proportions of the Amarna Period. Under stylistic considerations, this development is particularly interesting since it occurred after a phase of very slim figures in the 19th Dynasty. Also, the heavily laden offering tables are a characteristic of the restoration period: a reaction to the transformed concept of the beyond, that, during the Amarna Period, completely neglected the theological subject of the supply for the deceased. In many aspects it is astonishing how present Amarna art still must have been during the Ramesside dynasties. Hofmann's statement that the pictorial programme of the Memphite tombs would have been unthinkable without the Amarna Period can now also be seen as relevant to the Heliopolitan tomb decoration (HOFMANN 2004, 97).

4.2 Chronological Occupation Sequence

All of the five examined objects were dated to the Ramesside Period. The offering slab as well as door jamb fragments originate from various epochs within the 19th Dynasty, whereas the two relief fragments most probably belonged to tombs of the 20th Dynasty. Also, all of the old finds from Ain Shams, which provided the first indications of freestanding tomb chapels with relief-decorated superstructures, correlate to the Ramesside Period.³¹⁸

In the Memphite necropolis, this particular tomb type is attested since the immediate post-Amarna Period. The first tomb chapels were thus constructed at the same time as the residency was transferred to Memphis in the course of Tutankhamen's restoration policy. Since there is no known evidence of Heliopolitan tomb chapels that is older than the 19th Dynasty, it can be assumed that the architectural tomb type was first introduced in Saqqara from where it was taken to Ain Shams shortly afterwards. However, this assumption can as of yet not be verified. The Memphite necropolis became less important at this time when again the residency was relocated to Piramesse under Ramesses II.³¹⁹ The political developments thus influenced the importance of the Memphite necropolis significantly.

How did this pertain to the Heliopolitan necropolis? Indeed, the majority of the objects from relief-decorated private tombs attested so far and examined in the present study date to the 20th Dynasty. Although these few objects naturally do not provide a substantiated corpus, it appears as if the Heliopolitan necropolis still flourished during the 20th Dynasty. The fact that Ain Shams

did not become less important during the relocation of the residencies like Saqqara did has to do with the minor political role Heliopolis played. After all, Heliopolis was never the capital during Egyptian history. Therefore – and nevertheless also because of Heliopolis' unchanging role as important religious and cultic centre – its necropolis was not subject to political trends like Saqqara. Furthermore, in the 20th Dynasty the Heliopolitan temenos received several donations by the later Ramessides (RAUE 1999, 126–129).

Based on the attested tomb owners in Heliopolis, it becomes evident that the necropolis of Ain Shams experienced a particular boom in the late 18th/early 19th Dynasty (Fig. n).³²⁰ From the 18th Dynasty to the Amarna Period, only twelve tomb owners are attested. Whereas the list of tomb owners during the period between the late 18th Dynasty and the 20th Dynasty in total comprises 29 individuals, including the *jt-ntr m pr-R^c Mr.y-R^c*, the donor of the offering slab (find-no. 202-3-9) and the *hm-ntr m pr-Jmn-R^c*, the anonymous donor of the door jamb (find-no. 202-4-3).

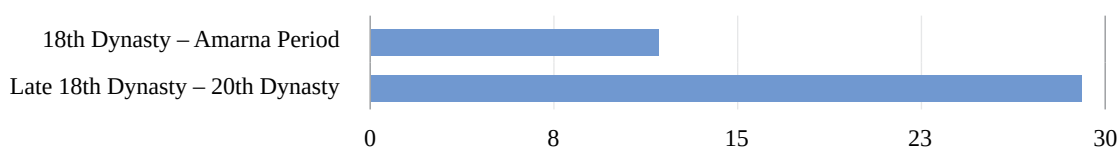


Fig. n: Number of evident tomb owners from Ain Shams.

³¹⁸ *Jm-htp* (19th–20th Dynasty), *H^c-m-Wss.t* (20th Dynasty), *Mr.y-Jm* (20th Dynasty), *M^cj* (20th Dynasty).

³¹⁹ See HOFMANN 2004, 94. Isolated tomb structures of the 20th Dynasty are still attested in the Memphite necropolis.

³²⁰ A list of the tomb owners attested so far in RAUE 1999, 58–59. According to the present study, the number of tomb owners must be changed from 45 to 47, see *ibid.*, 58 with note 1.

4.3 Social-stratigraphical Occupancy

The tomb owners so far attested in the 18th Dynasty were primarily craftsmen and thus from the lower social strata. On the objects from their tombs, the titles of smiths, sculptors, goldsmiths, shepherds and bird keepers are evident among others (RAUE 1999, 58). In the Ramesside Period, increasingly many high-ranking officials were buried in Ain Shams, including the overseer of the royal estate *H^c-m-W₃s.t* – employed in Medinet Habu – as well as the royal secretary scribe *M^cj*. Also, higher-ranking temple servants and priests had their tombs built in the eastern precinct of the temple of Heliopolis. From now on, also *Mr.y-R^c* and the anonymous priest of Amun-Ra must be counted to this group.

The inscription of the door jamb (find-no. 202-4-3) provided the first textual evidence of a *pr-Jmn-R^c*: an independent domain of Amun-Ra in the temple of Heliopolis, which perhaps can be archaeologically identified with the festival temple of Ramesses II in Area 248.

The reasons that must have motivated both priests to erect their tombs in the Heliopolitan necropolis,³²¹ without succumbing to the nationwide attraction of the elite necropoleis of western Thebes – a funerary magnetic field, so to speak, for the entirety of Egypt³²² – or Saqqara (AUENMÜLLER 2016, 46), must probably be sought in their priestly office. As Auenmüller outlined,

the functional affiliation to a deity and its domain was the crucial factor for selecting a burial place for the high priests of the New Kingdom (AUENMÜLLER 2016, 46); however, the *wr-m₃.w* of Heliopolis are a special case.³²³ How dogmatically this in fact was realized in the New Kingdom is illustrated by the Theban high priests of Amun, who were all buried in western Thebes – even the priests of foreign origin (AUENMÜLLER 2016, 39–40). Perhaps also in the case of the two Heliopolitan priests, being close to the(ir) god was the decisive factor for selecting their burial place.³²⁴ To what extent the decision in favour of the Heliopolitan necropolis was compulsory for the priestly classes of the *jt.w-n^{tr}* and *hm.w-n^{tr}* remains unknown. Neither can the question whether Heliopolis was also the birthplace of both priests be answered. The fact that the place of birth was also a decisive factor for selecting the appropriate necropolis is attested by the following. Other members of the (late) Ramesside elite, mainly the so-called majors, the *h₃.tjw-^c*, as well as other local administrators (AUENMÜLLER 2012, 21–25), had their tombs built in their hometowns, irrespective of their place of office (GRAJETZKI 2003, 88–89; AUENMÜLLER 2016, 46). This explains why the overseer of the estate of Medinet Habu *H^c-m-W₃s.t* was buried in Ain Shams, although no explicit Heliopolitan titles or references to the city are attested on his lintel. The same might be true for *M^cj*, whose lintel lacks explicit Heliopolitan titles as well.

³²¹ On the motives for selecting the burial place in the New Kingdom, see AUENMÜLLER 2015, 132–807; AUENMÜLLER 2014, 171–193 as well as in particular on the case of the high-priests: AUENMÜLLER 2016, 39–52.

³²² AUENMÜLLER 2016, 46. Especially since the mid-18th Dynasty.

³²³ In this context it is particularly crucial that some of the Heliopolitan high-priests simultaneously held priestly offices in two different temples and sometimes served different deities as well, see RAUE 1999, 44–49; AUENMÜLLER 2016, 40–41 with note 16.

³²⁴ On the importance of proximity to a god in monumental tombs of the New Kingdom, see ASSMANN 2015, 283.

As her sarcophagus was found in Ain Shams, it seems plausible that also *Z3.t-Rc*, a *wcb*-priestess of Atum of *Tkw*, was buried in the Heliopolitan necropolis, although her place of office was 150 km away from Heliopolis (RAUE 1999, 281). Was she perhaps born in Heliopolis? This is interesting in that *Hc-m-W3s.t* and *Mcj* were Ramesside officials of very high rank, but *Z3.t-Rc* might provide the first indication that also members of lower social strata were buried in their hometowns. Yet so far there is no proof for this assumption (RAUE 1999, 244). Eventually, it may be noted that for many individuals throughout the country, the reason for choosing to be buried in the *Dd.t 3.t n.t Jwn.w* was linked to the general character of Heliopolis, which correlated explicitly to a “holy city” in the Ramesside Period (RAUE 1999, 129).

Tab. 1: Index of securely dated offering tables from the New Kingdom (no claim to completeness).

inv. no. / Designation of object	Current location	Short description	Origin	Date	Bibliography (selected)
18th Dynasty					
London, EA 1511	British Museum	Offering slab with basins, private	Thebes	Ah. I	EDWARDS 1939, 1, pl. 1.
London, EA 1142	British Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Thebes, Karnak temple	Ah. I	EDWARDS 1939, 1–2, pl. 1.
Cairo, CG 23085	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Thebes, Karnak temple	Th. III	KAMAL 1909, 70.
Medinet Habu (1) (unknown inv. no.)	Medinet Habu Storeroom	Offering slab in shape of the <i>hṫp</i> -bread loaf, royal	Thebes-West, Mortuary temple of Th. III	Th. III	FAKHRY 1937, 28, pl. 2.
Qurna (1) (unknown inv. no.)	unknown	Offering slab in shape of the <i>hṫp</i> -bread loaf, royal	Thebes-West, Mortuary temple of Th. III	Th. III	FAKHRY 1937, 28.
Cairo, CG 23089	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Thebes, Karnak temple	Th. III	KAMAL 1909, 73.
Boston, MFA 24.980	Museum of Fine Arts	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Koptos	Th. III	http://www.mfa.org/ collections/object/ offering-table-of-king- thutmose-iii-145874 (last accessed: 31.07.2017)
Luxor (1) (unknown inv. no.)	unknown	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Thebes, Luxor temple	Th. III	HABACHI 1951, 464–484, fig. 12, pl. 5.
Cairo, JE 88803	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with circular depressions, royal	Thebes, Karnak temple	Th. III	SALEH/SOUROUZIAN 1986, no. 136.
Turin, inv. no. 22045	Museo Egizio	Offering slab, royal	Heliopolis	Th. III	HABACHI 1977, 54, 145.
Sedment (1) (unknown inv. no.)	unknown	Offering slab without depictions, private	Sedment	Th. III	BRUNTON/PETRIE 1924, 23–24, pl. 49, fig. 1–4.
Cairo, CG 23088	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Kom Azizieh (near to Memphis)	Th. IV	KAMAL 1909, 72.

Tab. 1 (continued)

London, UC 2242	University College, Petrie Collection	Offering slab with basins, royal	Amarna (?)	Am. III	STEWART 1976, 21, pl. 11.2.
Manchester acc. no. 633	Manchester Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Gurob	Am. III	https://egyptmanchester.wordpress.com/2015/02/23/texts-in-translation-15-an-offering-table-dedicated-by-queen-tiye-acc-no-633/ (last accessed: 31.07.2017)
Cairo, CG 23020	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with basins and depictions of offerings, anonymous	Amarna	Akh.	KAMAL 1909, 18, pl. 10.
Cairo, CG 23084	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with basins and depictions of offerings, private	Akhmim (?)	post-Amarna Period	KAMAL 1909, 69, pl. 18; GABALLA 1981, 7–11, fig. 3.
19th Dynasty					
Cambridge E SS-15	Fitzwilliam Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West Deir el-Medina	early 19th Dynasty	BIERBRIER 1982b, 85–92, pl. 10, 11.
Turin, inv. no. 22029	Museo Egizio	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West Deir el-Medina	early 19th Dynasty	HABACHI 1977, 34–36, 136–137.
Turin, inv. no. 22047	Museo Egizio	Offering slab with basins and depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West Deir el-Medina	early 19th Dynasty	HABACHI 1977, 55–57, 146.
Turin, inv. no. 22025	Museo Egizio	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West Deir el-Medina	S. I	HABACHI 1977, 29–30.
Abydos (1) (unknown inv. no.)	Abydos Storeroom	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Abydos	S. I	EL-KHATIB 1993, 67–78.
Cairo, CG 23090	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings (?), royal	Heliopolis (reused in a residential house)	S. I	KAMAL 1909, 73–74, pl. 19; BRAND 2000, 136–137.
New York, MMA 22.2.22	Metropolitan Museum of Art	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Naqada	S. I	BRAND 2000, 188–190, pl. 91–92.
Copenhagen, E. 115; ÆIN 44	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	Heliopolis	S. I	MOGENSEN 1930, 102, pl. 110; BRAND 2000, 138–139, pl. 70–71.
Turin, inv. no. 22043	Museo Egizio	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West, Deir el-Medina	R. II	HABACHI 1977, 52–53.
London, EA 1355	British Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, royal	unknown	R. II	BIERBRIER 1982a, 12, pl. 16.

Tab. 1 (continued)

Baltimore, inv. no. 22.91	Walters Art Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes (?)	R. II	STEINDORFF 1946, 88, pl. 55; http://art.thewalters.org/ detail/621/offering-table/ ?type=date&letter=a& sort=begin_date&order =asc&begin_date=- 30000&end_date=-1 (last accessed: 30.07.2017).
Paris, E. 16331	Louvre	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West, Deir el-Medina	R. II	http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/ cartelfr/visite?srv=car_ not&idNotice=31830 (last accessed: 30.07.2017).
Deir el-Medina (1) (unknown inv. no.)	unknown	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West, Deir el-Medina	R. II – S. II	CLÈRE 1929, 193–141, pl. 3.
Deir el-Medina (2) (unknown inv. no.)	unknown	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West, Deir el-Medina (TT 7)	R. II, 2nd half of reign	BRUYÈRE 1925, 46–47, pl. 12.
Deir el-Medina (3) (unknown inv. no.)	unknown	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West, Deir el-Medina (TT 216)	R. II (– S. II?)	BRUYÈRE 1925, 45–46, pl. 12.
Turin, inv. no. 22028	Museo Egizio	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Thebes-West, Deir el-Medina	R. II	HABACHI 1977, 32–33.
20th Dynasty					
Cairo, CG 23092	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab, royal	unknown	R. III	KAMAL 1909, 79.
Cairo, CG 23093	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with basins and depictions of offerings, royal (?)	Alexandria (originally from Heliopolis)	R. IX	KAMAL 1909, 79–80.
Cairo, CG 23075	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	Salamieh	Sthnkht – R. XI	KAMAL 1909, 63.
Cairo, CG 23094	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with basins and depictions of offerings, private	Saqqara	Sthnkht – R. XI	KAMAL 1909, 81, pl. 20.
Cairo, CG 23076	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with depictions of offerings, private	unknown	Sthnkht – R. XI	KAMAL 1909, 63–64.
Cairo, CG 23096	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab with basins, private	Abydos	Sthnkht – R. XI	KAMAL 1909, 82–83.
Cairo, CG 23092	Egyptian Museum	Offering slab, royal	unknown	R. III	KAMAL 1909, 79.

Tab. 2: Index of the evidence for the epithet $w^c b^c . wj$ functioning as a fixed component in titles of private individuals from the Egyptian delta in the New Kingdom.

Title	Name	Bibliography (selected)	Origin of the object	New Kingdom					
				18th Dynasty		19th Dynasty		20th Dynasty	
				1st half (Ah. I – Am. II)	2nd half (Th.IV – Hrmhb.)	1st half (R. I – II)	2nd half (Mrnpth. – Tsrt.)	1st half (Sthnkht. – R. VII)	2nd half (R. VIII – XI)
$w^c b^c . wj$									
$w^c b^c - <^c . wj >$	<i>Mr(.y)-n-Pth-m-pr(.w)-Pth</i>	MOJE 2007, 527.	Saqqara						
$w^c b^c . wj + (X)$									
$w^c b^c . wj m pr-R^c$	<i>^h(j)-pt</i>	MOJE 2007, 516.	Piramesse						
$w^c b^c . wj m pr-R^c$	<i>Nfr-^c b.t</i>	RAUE 1999, 214–216.	Piramesse/ Memphis (?)						
$w^c b^c . wj m Hw.t-^c s.t Jwn.w$	<i>Nb-mz^c . t-R^c</i>	RAUE 1999, 209.	Heliopolis						
$(X) + w^c b^c . wj$									
$wb3-nswt w^c b^c . wj$	<i>^c nn</i>	RAUE 1999, 167–168.	Heliopolis						
$wb3-nswt w^c b^c . wj$	<i>R^c-mss-wsr-ph.tj (1)</i>	RAUE 1999, 230.	Heliopolis						
$wb3-nswt w^c b^c . wj$	<i>R^c-mss/Nht-hr-Km.t</i>	RAUE 1999, 229.	Heliopolis						
$(X) + w^c b^c . wj + (X)$									
$jt-ntr w^c b^c . wj m pr-R^c$	<i>Jtm-htp</i>	RAUE 1999, 166.	Heliopolis						
$jt-ntr w^c b^c . wj m pr-R^c$ (reconstructed)	<i>Mr.y-Jtm</i>	RAUE 1999, 205–206.	Heliopolis						
$wb3-nswt w^c b^c . wj n(j) ^c . t$	<i>R^c-mss-nht/Rwd-n-j-Tj</i>	RAUE 1999, 231.	Heliopolis						
$wr-m3.w w^c b^c . wj m pr-R^c$	<i>Mr.y-Jtm</i>	RAUE 1999, 202–205.	Heliopolis (among others)						
$wr-m3.w w^c b^c . wj m pr-R^c$	<i>Z3-Jnhrt</i>	RAUE 1999, 246–247.	Heliopolis (among others)						
				0 %	17 %	50 %	50 %	42 %	42 %

Tab. 3: Evidence for depictions of offerings in the image fields of the offering slabs from the New Kingdom (listed in the index).

	18th Dynasty						19th Dynasty		20th Dynasty
	Ah. I	Th. III	Th. IV	Am. III	Akh.	post-Amarna	R. I - S. I	R. II	Sthnkht. - R. XI
1. Bread and pastries									
round flatbreads	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
bell-shaped breads	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red
<i>šw.t</i> -cakes	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Green	Green	Green
oval flatbreads	Green	Green	Green	Green	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green
small and elongated breads	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Green
round flatbreads with two depressions	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Red
2. Meat and poultry									
<i>hps</i> -foreleg of an ox	Green	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
cut of meat	Red	Green	Red	Green	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green
plucked ducks	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Green
feathered ducks	Green	Red	Red	Green	Green	Red	Green	Green	Red
3. Fruits and vegetables									
pomegranate	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Green
cut pomegranate with ripe cores	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Green
uncut figs	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Green	Green	Green
gashed sycamore figs	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Green
gourd/Egyptian cucumber	Red	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green
dates (in a basket)	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Green
(wine) grapes (in a basket)	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green
individual berries (undetermined)	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red
4. Plant- and flower bouquets									
<i>nh</i> -bouquet	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red
flower bouquet of Amun	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Red	Green	Green
lettuce	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Green	Green	Green

Tab. 3 (continued)

5. Inventory goods									
wick									
length of cloth									
6. Vessels									
basket with handle									
offering stand									
basket in cross-section									
	15 %	12 %	19 %	31 %	31 %	31 %	85 %	62 %	69 %

■ Not depicted

■ Depicted

Figures/Plates



Fig. 1: Designation of the areas of excavation of the Heliopolis Project (© i3mainz, Photo: Google Earth).



Fig. 2: Area 202 (condition of site in fall 2012); view of the shopping mall (Photo: D. Raue).



Fig. 3: Area 202 (condition of site in spring 2016); view of the shopping mall (left) and residential houses (right); (Photo: D. Raue).

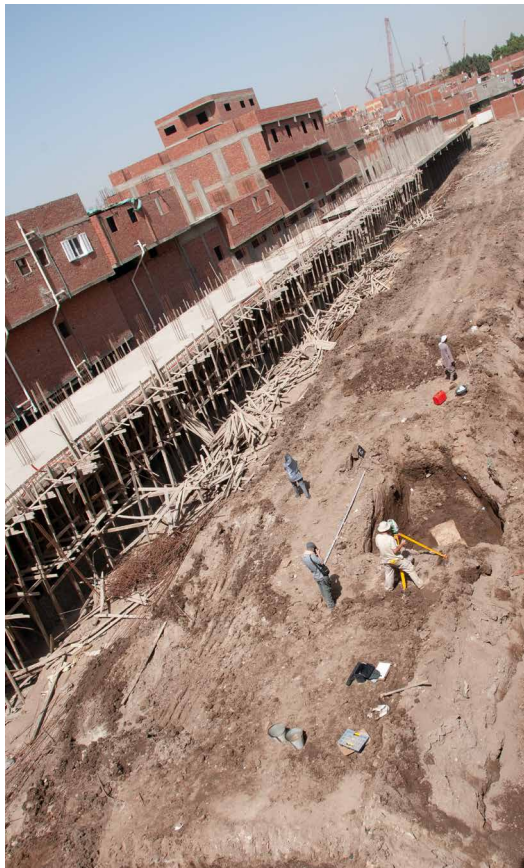


Fig. 4: Excavation in Area 202 (spring 2016); view of residential houses (Photo: D. Raue).



Fig. 5: Area 203 (view into the construction trench of new buildings; spring 2015); shopping mall (left) and residential houses (right); Photo: D. Raue.



Fig. 6: Heliopolitan find places with the temenos precinct in the northwest and the necropolis in the eastern precinct of the temenos (RAUE 1999, pl. 4, key *ibid.*, Appendix 1, p. 483–485).

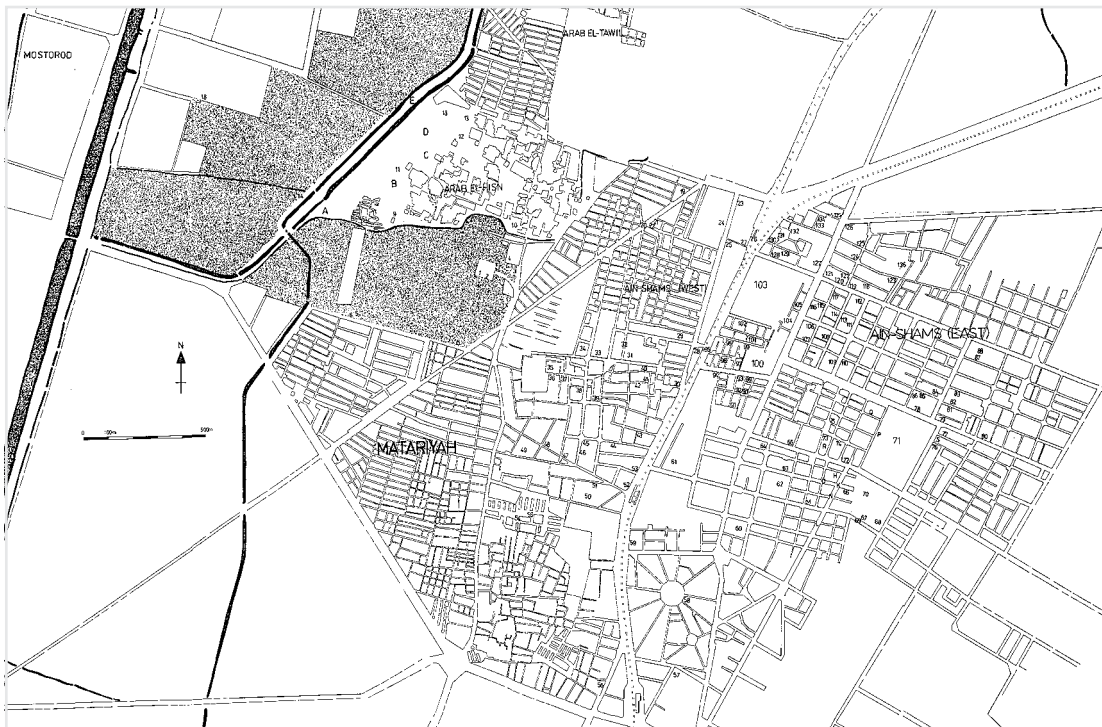


Fig. 7: Find places in the districts Matariyah, Ain Shams, Arab el-Hisn and Arab el-Tawil (RAUE 1999, pl. 3, key *ibid.*, Appendix 1, p. 483–485).

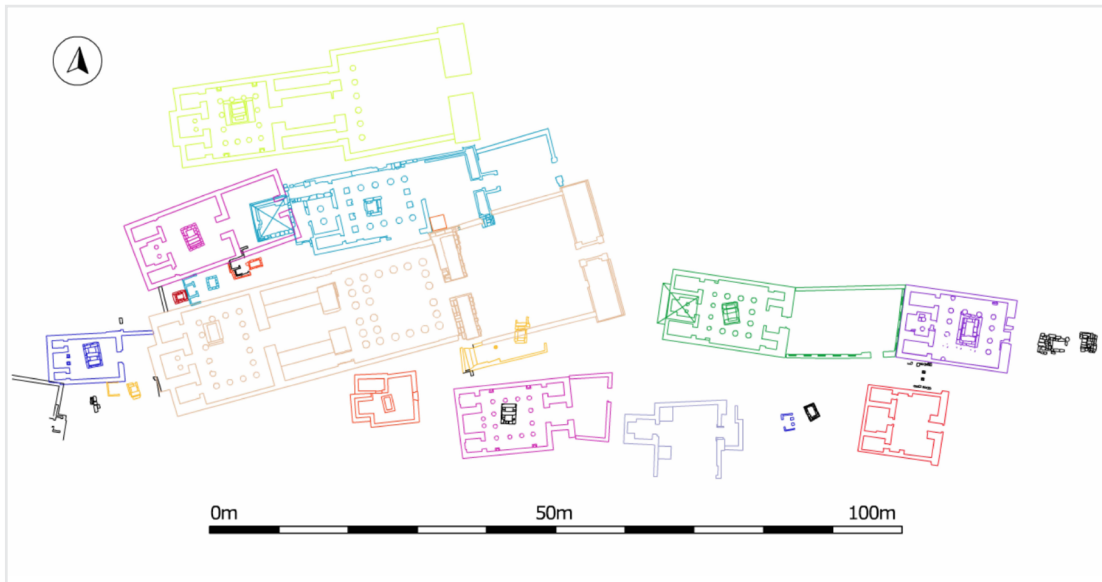


Fig. 8: Plan of the Memphite necropolis in Saqqara (area of excavation of the Dutch-Italian Mission (<http://www.saqqara.nl/excavations/tombs>); last accessed: 09.10.2017).



Fig. 9: Fragment of a door jamb, find-no. 202-4-3, front side (Photo: M. Wenzel).



Fig. 10: Fragment of a door jamb, find-no. 202-4-3, back side (Photo: M. Wenzel).



Fig. 11: Fragment of a door jamb, find-no. 202-4-3, left narrow side (Photo: M. Wenzel).



Fig. 12: Fragment of a door jamb, find-no. 202-4-3, right narrow side (Photo: M. Wenzel).



Fig. 13:
Digital drawing of
find-no. 202-4-3
(by P. Collet &
K. Dietze).

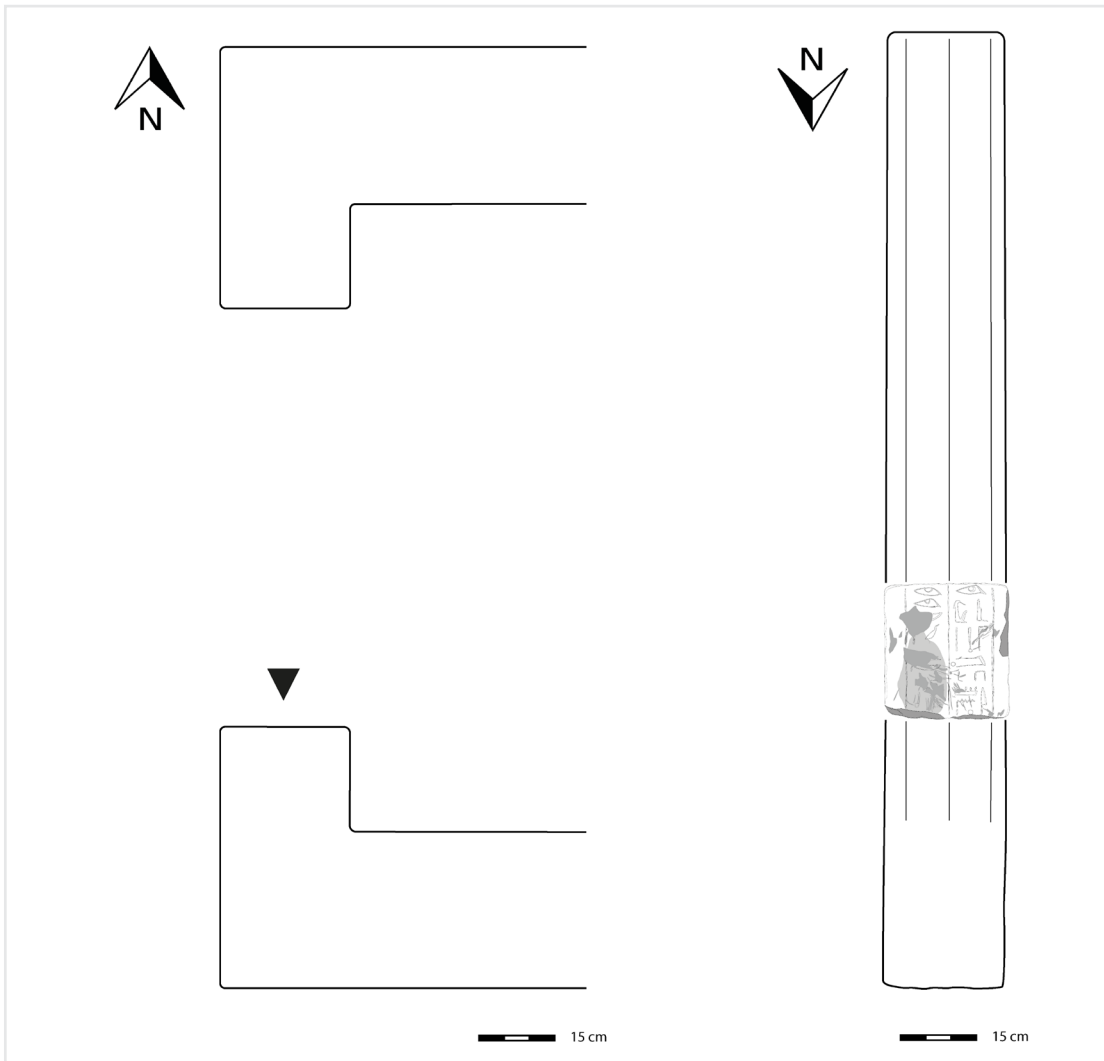


Fig. 14:
Reconstruction of the
original location of
find-no. 202-4-3
(Drawing: K. Dietze).



Fig. 15:
Fragment of a door
jamb, find-no.
203-1-1, front side
(Photo: M. Wenzel).



Fig. 16:
Digital drawing of
find-no. 203-1-1
(by K. Dietze).

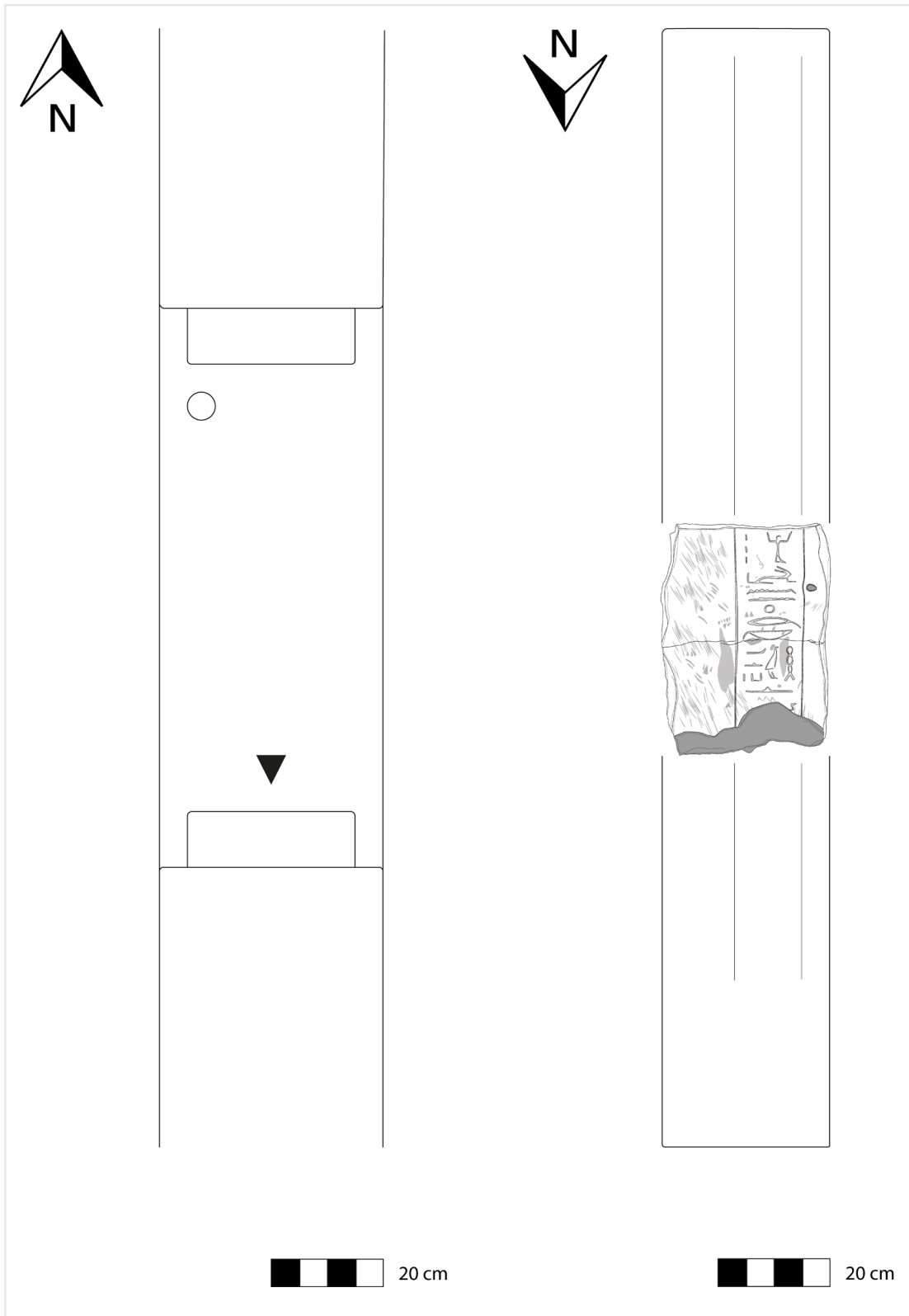


Fig. 17:
Reconstruction of the
original location of
find-no. 203-1-1
(Drawing: K. Dietze).



Fig. 18:
Relief fragment,
find-no. 202-6-20,
front side (Photo:
M. Wenzel).



Fig. 19:
Relief fragment,
find-no. 202-6-20,
front side (Photo:
M. Wenzel).

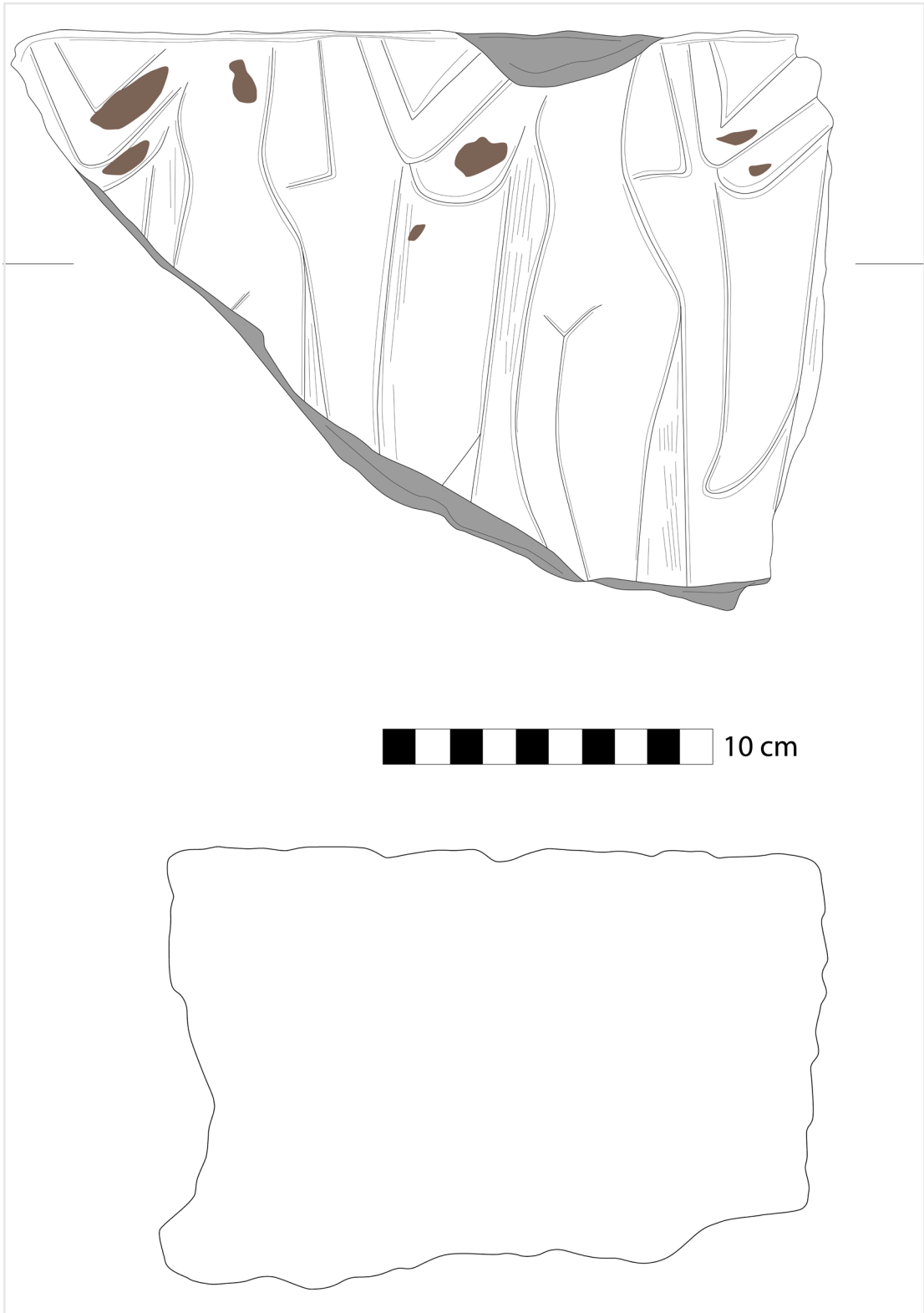


Fig. 20:
Digital drawing of
find-no. 202-6-20
(by P. Collet &
K. Dietze).



Fig. 21:
Freestanding stela in
the forecourt of the
tomb of *Ti* and *Ti*
with scene of adora-
tion in two registers
(Photo: K. Dietze).

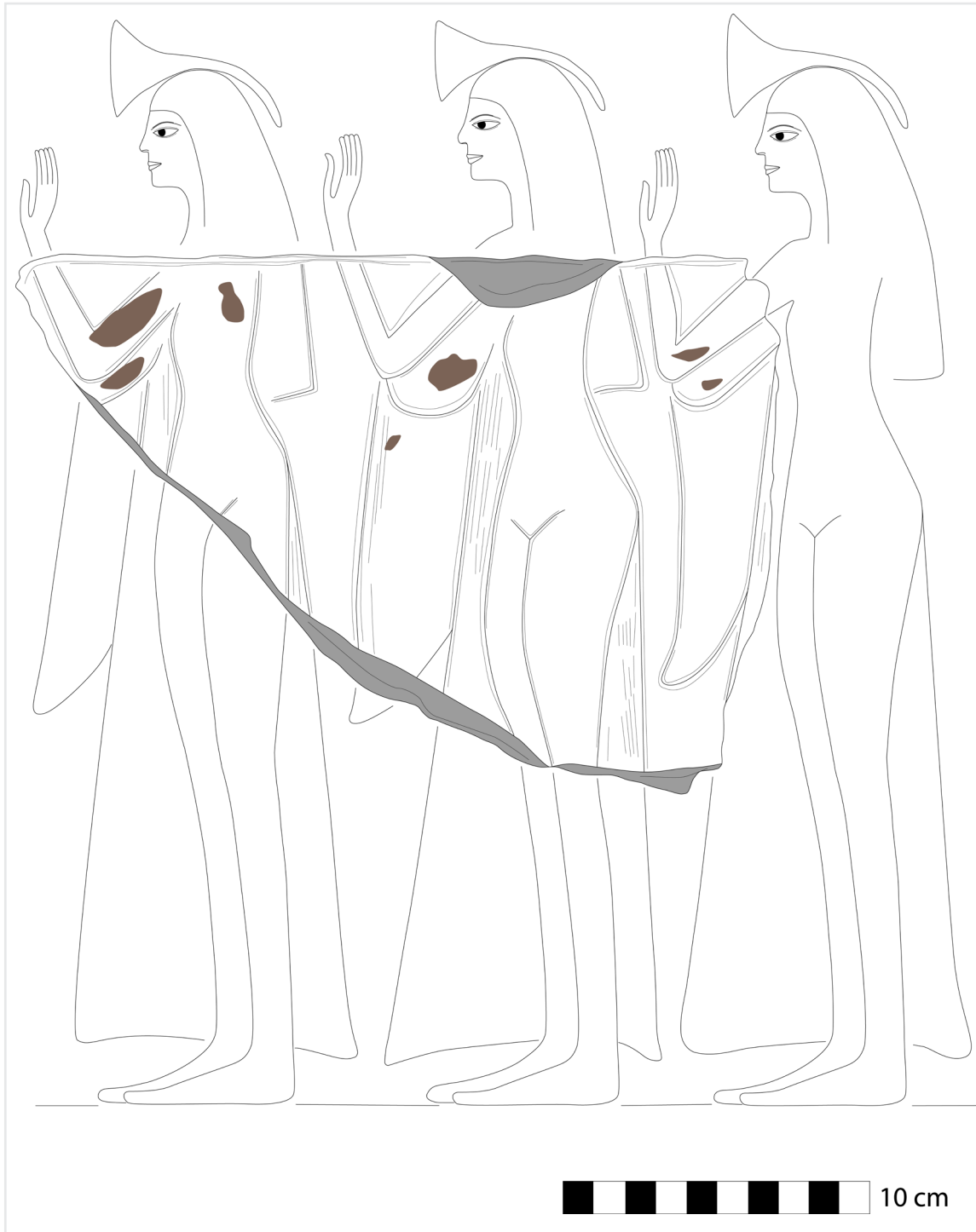


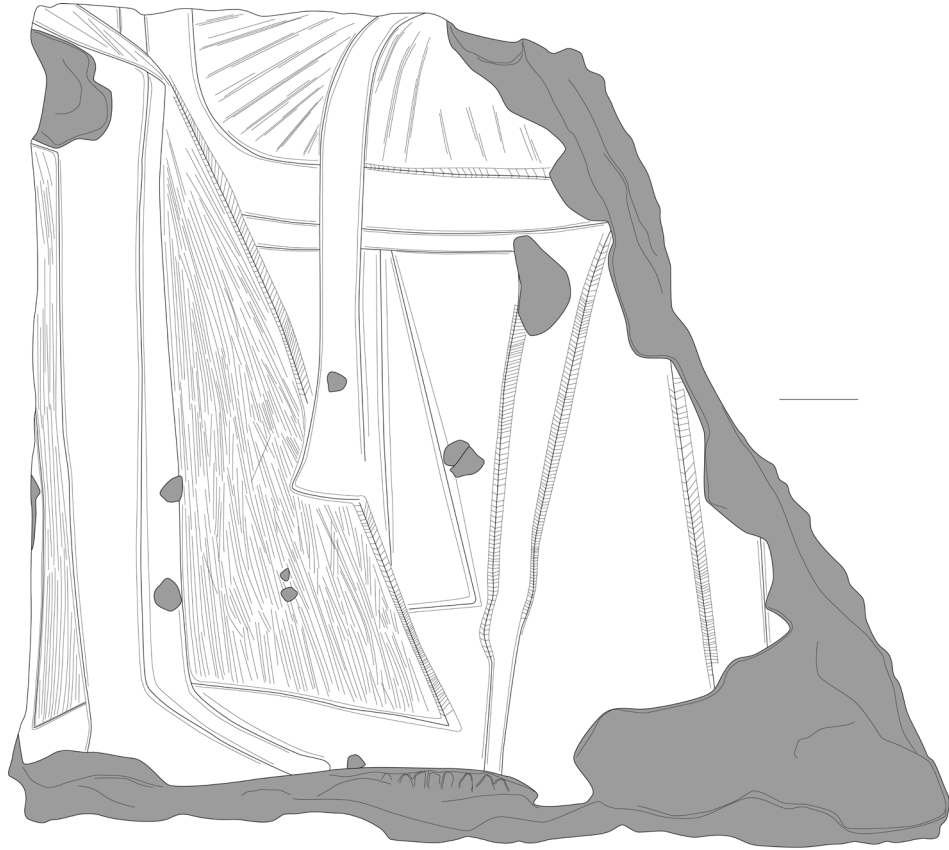
Fig. 22:
Scenic reconstruction
of find-no. 202-6-20
(Drawing: K. Dietze).



Fig. 23:
Relief fragment,
find-no. 202-7-4,
front side (Photo:
M. Wenzel).



Fig. 24:
Relief fragment,
find-no. 202-7-4,
back side (Photo:
M. Wenzel).



10 cm

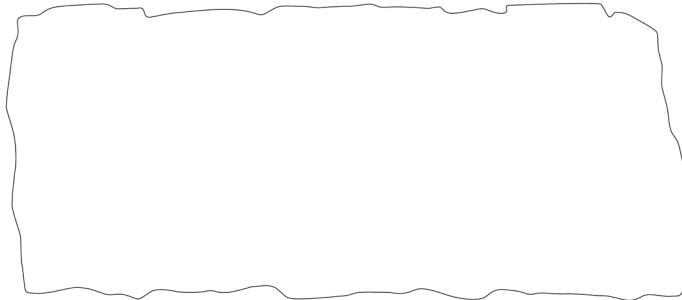


Fig. 25:
Digital drawing of
find-no. 202-7-4
(by P. Collet &
K. Dietze).



Fig. 26:
Relief fragment,
find-no. 202-7-4,
Detail (Photo:
K. Dietze).



Fig. 27:
Reconstruction of
find-no. 202-7-4
(Drawing: K. Dietze).



Fig. 28–30:
Offering slab, find-no.
202-3-9, front side
and oblique views
(Photos: M. Wenzel).

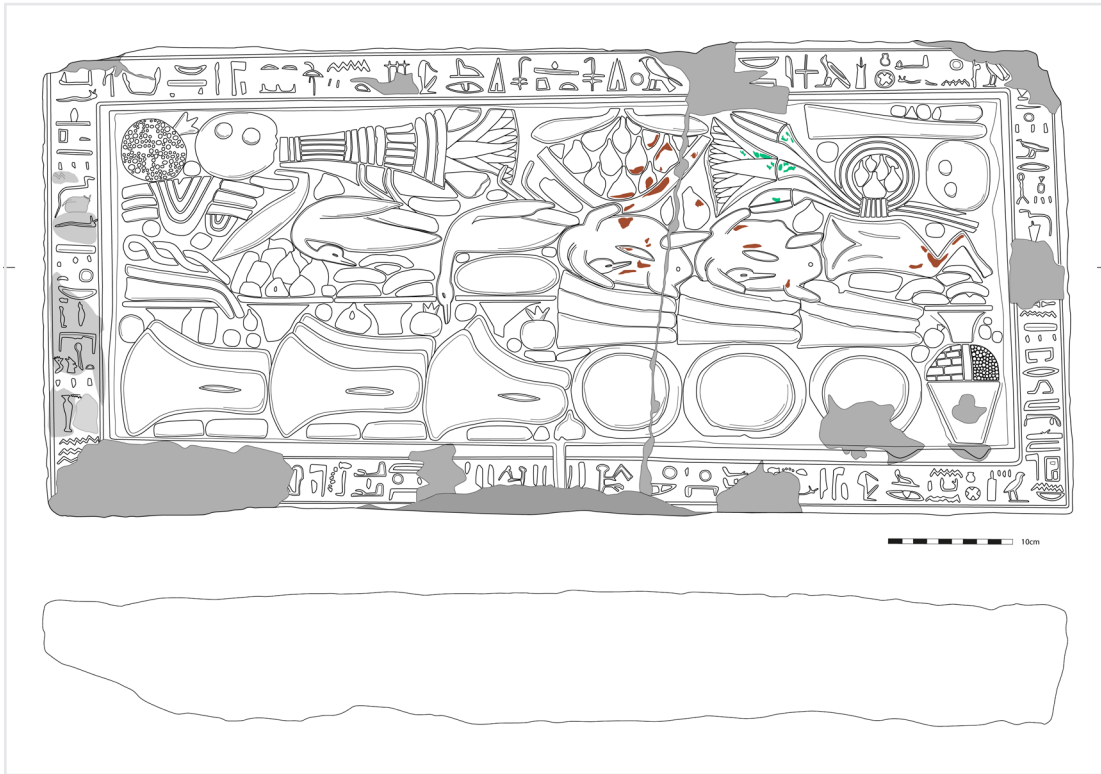


Fig. 31:
Digital drawing of
find-no. 202-3-9
(by P. Collet &
K. Dietze).

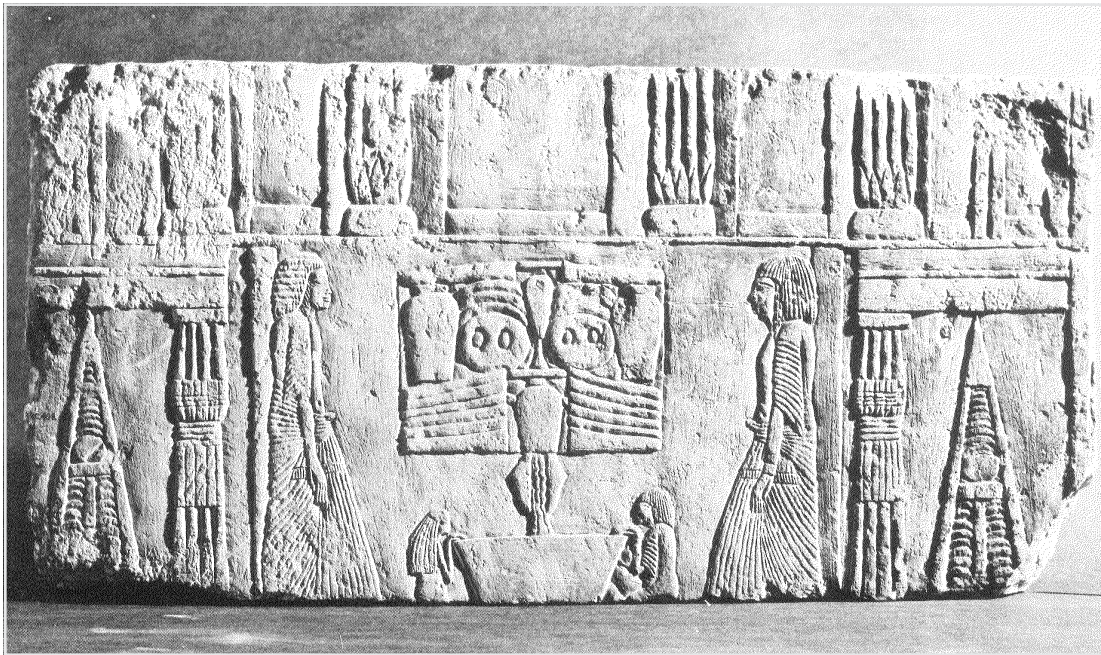


Fig. 32:
Relief fragment
London UC 408
(STEWART 1976,
pl. 53).



Fig. 33:
Stela London BM
EA 166 with evidence
for the *jt-ntr n(.j)*
ps-R' Mr.y-R' (JAMES
1970, pl. 22).

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Finds from the Temple in the Necropolis

8.4.1 A Quartzite Royal Head (reg. no. 2861) of the Late Old Kingdom or Early Middle Kingdom

Simon Connor/Gamal Faris

Dating:	6th/11th Dynasty
Material:	Quartzite
Dimensions:	H. 17.9; W. 22; D. 18 cm
Find spot:	Ain Shams

This head of a royal statue was found in 1996 on the premises of the Police Academy in Ain Shams,¹ i.e., in the zone of the necropolis. This find spot suggests that the archaeological context is secondary. No information is available concerning the association of this piece with other objects or architectural structure. This royal male head, made of yellowish quartzite, shows the king wearing a *nemes*. The fragmentary state does not allow us to ascertain what type of statuary this was. The join with the shoulders seems to have been very high, as was the tail of the *nemes*, which may suggest that the head was part of a sphinx; however, another form of statue cannot be excluded since in the Late Old Kingdom and Early Middle Kingdom – the period to which we propose to date this head – the *nemes* is very rounded and its tail begins very high on the neck. If this had been a kneeling or seated statue, it would have been between 75 and 90 cm high, while a sphinx would have been approximately 80 cm long.

The head cloth is smooth; if it originally had stripes, then they must have been only painted, although no traces of pigment are visible. The face is large, quite massive compared to the narrowness of the wings of the *nemes*, with a low forehead, and the outlines evoke a hexagon. These proportions correspond to the stylistic characteristics of the royal portraits of the Late Old Kingdom and Early Middle Kingdom, and to the 25th Dynasty, which drew inspiration from earlier periods. A more thorough analysis follows below.

This head is a particularly good example of the practice of mutilating statues. Indeed, the eyes, ears, mouth and uraeus have been totally mutilated, literally erased. They seem to have been pounded or hammered in a very systematic way, probably with a blunt hard stone, since many impacts are detectable, but no tool marks are clearly identifiable. Such a practice is attested throughout the whole Egyptian history, for

¹ Marked no. 103 on map 3, see RAUE 1991, 485.

various reasons and can hardly be dated in the current context: *damnatio memoriae*, Christian iconoclasm, perhaps also deactivation of the statue before dismantling it and reusing it for other purposes.² The nose and uraeus are the most frequently targeted parts. In this case, the perpetrator of the statue's defacement was particularly thorough since the whole face, including the ears and the entire tail of the uraeus, were carefully hammered. Because of such methodical mutilation, the original shape of the uraeus' tail is visible almost like a scar, and provides a helpful dating criterion. Precisely because the area of the forehead is so damaged, the front part of the uraeus seems at first glance to have been double, which would lead us to date the piece to the 25th Dynasty. However, it probably was just a very wide uraeus, a type attested at the end of the Old Kingdom and at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. The traces of the snake on the top of the *nemes* seem to belong to a single tail, particularly long, which reaches the back of the head. It once drew a long and undulating line which followed the outlines of uraei typical of the Late Old Kingdom and Early Middle Kingdom. The rounded profile of the *nemes* also corresponds to such a dating.³ The absence of stripes on the *nemes* of the head in question would be quite unusual for an Eleventh Dynasty statue. However, the *nemes* is very frequently smooth, at least on its upper part, in the Old Kingdom (EVERS 1929, II, § 52–58). The side locks in front of the ears are generally not depicted on

statues with a *nemes* from the early Middle Kingdom (ex: New York MMA 66.99.4; Amenemhat I, Cairo JE 48070 and Cairo JE 60520; ALDRED 1970, 36–37, fig. 14–16; SOUROUZIAN 2005, 111, 113, 119, pl. 2, 8), but are attested on royal statues of the 5th and 6th Dynasties (ex: Pepy I, Brooklyn 39.121; Pepy II, Brooklyn 39.119).⁴ Such a criterion, based on just a few examples, has to be considered cautiously. Royal statues from the 6th and 11th Dynasties are very much alike, as a result of an intentional revival (ALDRED 1970, 29–30; ARNOLD/ARNOLD 2015), and distinguishing them is not always easy.⁵ The absence of facial features on this head prevents us from enlarging on the stylistic analysis and pinpointing the date. Whether from the Late Old Kingdom or Early Middle Kingdom, in any case it is unlikely that its defacement was the result of a *damnatio memoriae* since none of the kings from these periods is known to have suffered from such a proscription and destruction of his monuments. This head was therefore probably not disfigured because of the identity of the king, but more likely because of a “deactivation” of the piece. This could have occurred during iconoclastic waves against paganism that took place in Egypt during the 4th–5th centuries AD or perhaps, for more practical and magical reasons, when the statue was dismantled in order to reuse the body of the statue as a piece of masonry (this practice is particularly attested for sphinxes, whose bodies provide ideal rectangular blocks; CONNOR 2018).

² On the topic of destruction or mutilation of images in antiquity, see HANNESTAD 1999; KRISTENSEN 2010 and 2013; BRYAN 2012; JAMBON 2016; CONNOR 2018; Id. 2019 and 2022.

³ Concerning dating criteria of the *nemes* in the Old and Middle Kingdom, see EVERS 1929, II, § 41–46.

⁴ Several photographs are available on the website of the Brooklyn Museum.

⁵ See for comparison the heads attributed to the early Middle Kingdom: the greywacke head of Basel BS Ae III 8397 (MÜLLER 1976–1977; OPPENHEIM ET AL. 2015, 73, cat. 17), a limestone head from a private collection (OPPENHEIM ET AL. 2015, 75–76, cat. 19), the quartzite heads in Bristol H 5038 and Edinburgh A. 1965.2 (ALDRED 1970, 32–33, fig. 6–8), the limestone head in New York MMA 66.99.3 (Id. 1970, 34–35, fig. 10–12), the green stone head in New York MMA 66.99.4 (Id. 1970, 36–37, fig. 14–16), and the granodiorite head in Cairo JE 48070 (SOUROUZIAN 2005, 111, 119, pl. 8).

Figures



Fig. 1:
Quartzite head of a
king, storage of
Arab el-Hisn
[Reg. No. 2861]
(Front view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 2:
Quartzite head of a
king, storage of
Arab el-Hisn
[Reg. no. 2861]
(3/4 view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 3:
Quartzite head of a
king, storage of
Arab el-Hisn
[Reg. no. 2861]
(right side view;
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
Quartzite head of a
king, storage of
Arab el-Hisn
[Reg. no. 2861]
(Top view; photo:
S. Connor).

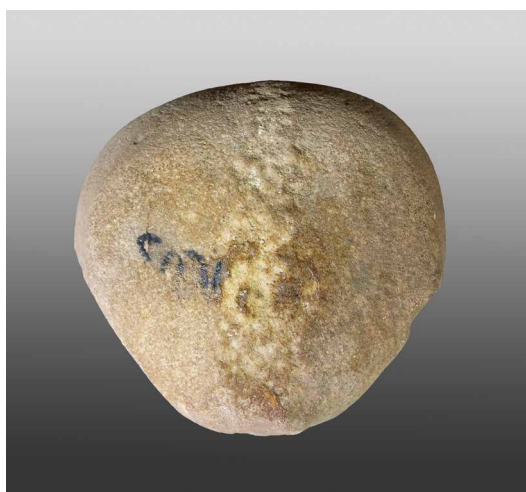


Fig. 5:
Head Reg. no. 2861,
with remains of the
erased uraeus (Top
view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 6:
Statue of Pepy I,
Brooklyn Museum
[Inv. No. 39.121]
(Photo: S. Connor).

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Graeco-Roman Terracottae

8.5.1 Terracotta Fragment of a Child God from Area 200 (Suq el-Khamis) Inv. No. 200-L21-2-4

Asja Müller

Description

The terracotta with the Inv. No. 200-L21-2-4 discovered in autumn 2005 in square L 21 during the excavation of the Cairo University and University of Leipzig joint mission in Suq el-Khamis (Cairo – Heliopolis) has a very fragmentary state of preservation. All of the edges have broken away and the surface has been heavily abraded (Fig. 1–3). It measures 8.3 × 3.7 cm and consists of reddish-brown clay. Only the right shank of the displayed figure survives, featuring a chubby naked leg. It runs in a slight curve from the knobby knee to the foot. The foot is placed flat on the ground. The person shown perches on some kind of elevation or podium. Above the knee, a garment frames the leg. What remains of the garment is resting on the little horizontal part of the thigh

that remains. From there it drops down either side of the leg, slightly curving on the left-hand side. In addition to the leg, only one other feature of the figure survives: a somewhat enigmatic object just adjacent to the right foot. At first glance it seems to be another foot, placed exactly at the same position directly alongside the other. However, the vertical groove running along the object does not really favour this hypothesis since it seems too broad to be the gap between the first and second toe. Furthermore, when examining the figure from above and looking down the leg (Fig. 3), it is obvious that this object is slightly set back from the line created by the right foot. Altogether, these indications make it necessary to take into account other options.

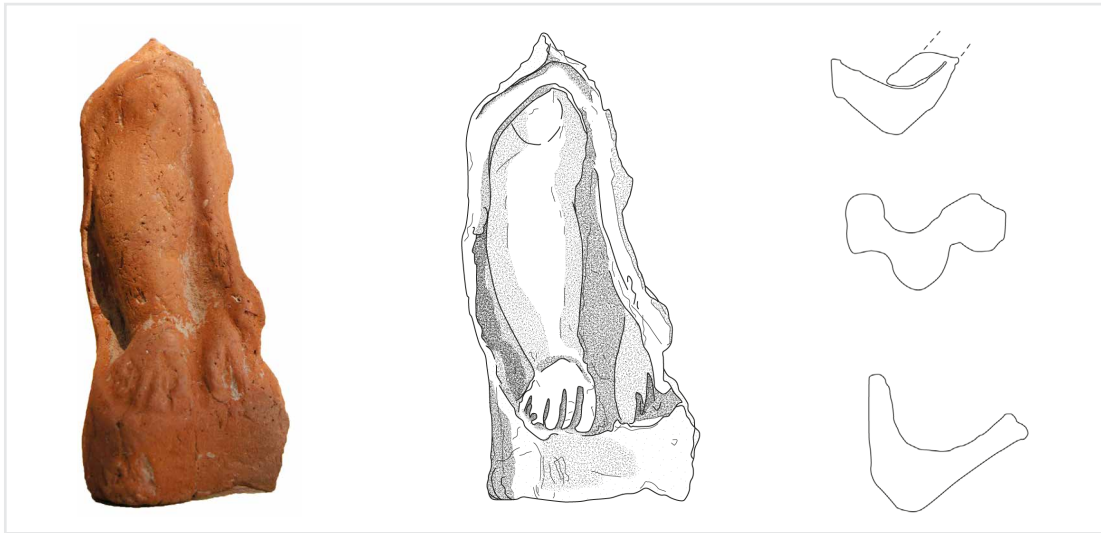


Fig. 1:
Inv. No. 200-L21-2-4,
front (© Heliopolis
Project Cairo/Leipzig;
rendering by
P. Collet).

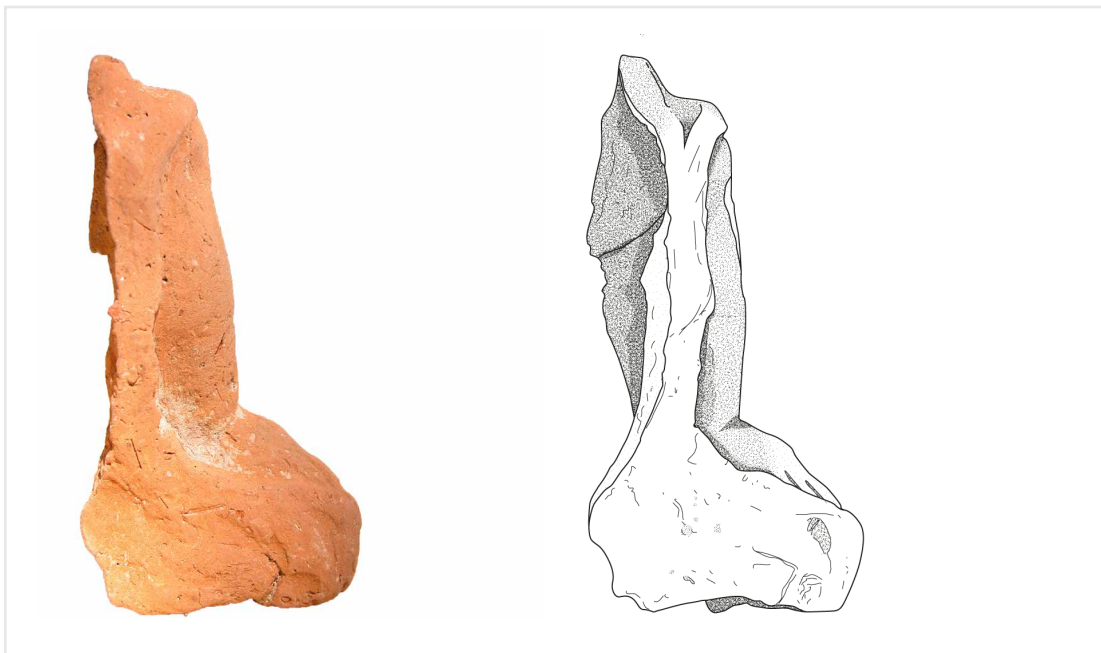


Fig. 2:
Inv. No. 200-L21-2-4,
right side (© Heliopolis
Project Cairo/
Leipzig; rendering by
P. Collet).



Fig. 3:
Inv. No. 200-L21-2-4,
top view (© Heliopolis
Project Cairo/
Leipzig; rendering by
P. Collet).

Identification

Notwithstanding the fragmentary state of preservation, the fragment gives an astonishing number of clues about how the whole figure once looked like. Thus enabling even a suggestion of the type of figure depicted:

- 1) The terracotta is definitely a human figure, as the leg indisputably proves.
- 2) This individual was of rather short stature. The proportions of the leg (fairly broad when compared to the vertical extension) and the chubbiness of the calf as well as knee indicate this. The most reliable identification of the figure is therefore as a child or a dwarf.
- 3) The figure was clad in a garment covering the lap but displaying the lower legs.
- 4) The posture of the figure was that of a seated or squatting person, as the horizontal area above the knee proves.

We therefore have to search for a human with a growth-restricted body, sitting (or perching) and wearing a garment that can leave the legs bare. This narrows the list of possible identifications down to a manageable number of options.

Enthroning deities can be excluded as the Heliopolis fragment does not indicate such a piece of furniture and, even more important, such deities are regularly clad in long garments, reflecting their exalted position. When it comes to the object's proportions, two beings regularly feature a growth-restricted body: dwarfs (in particular the god Bes) as well as child gods (such as Harpocrates).

The dwarf god Bes, however, is not normally shown squatting but standing (his crooked legs slightly bent at the knee). He is also usually shown either naked or with a short military tunic above the knees (BAILEY 2008, pl. 15–17); very unlike the smooth-hem garment framing the terracotta leg from Heliopolis.

Child gods, on the other hand, can be depicted naked as well. There are, however, some terracottas, where the god is wrapped in a cloak that covers his lap, unveiling the torso as well as the lower legs and extending between them in a wide curve, as the Heliopolis piece seems to indicate. Such figures normally sit on the ground, with either both legs upright or only one upright and the other positioned horizontally (cf. DUNAND 1979, 212–213, no. 137; ID. 1990, 102, no. 233). Both postures fit quite well to the Heliopolis figure. Yet, there is usually some distance between both upright legs, which makes it difficult to place the enigmatic object next to the right leg in this picture. There are however, two variants of the second posture with one leg upright and the other one horizontal that might offer an explanation. From time to time, the horizontal leg is placed next to the upright one so that both are just touching each other (cf. BOUTANTIN 2012, 9, no. 26). In other cases, a long phallus between both legs emerges from underneath the cloak, gently touching both limbs on either side (Fig. 4–5) or even placed below the god's foot (PERDRIZET 1921, 31, no. 90, pl. 22). It is hard to decide which of those options best fit the Heliopolis fragment, but the object next to the right foot seems too broad and flat to be the upper edge of a vertical placed

second foot. Therefore, the suggestion of it being part of the god's glans seems to be most plausible and was therefore taken as the basis for its reconstruction (Fig. 6).

Contextualization

The problems in reconstructing the exact posture notwithstanding, it can be confirmed that the Heliopolis fragment once depicted a child god (BUDE/SANDRI 2005, 124–125). Although such figures are regularly tagged as “Harpocrates” in catalogues picturing these terracottas, it is nevertheless quite difficult to say which child god exactly is meant since the same iconography is shared by the whole group. Only when names are given, can a definite identification be made (VERHOEVEN 2002, 126; SANDRI 2004, 499–500). As the Heliopolis piece is only fragmentarily preserved, we cannot say which attributes and thus messages were originally tied to the figure. In addition to the figure's nakedness, the sidelock of youth (Fig. 4) as well as the finger at the mouth (Fig. 5) also indicate the status of a child god (SANDRI 2006, 97–101). Further attributes such as a garland on the head (Fig. 4) and cornucopia (FISCHER 2003) or a pot (GYÖRY 2003) (Fig. 4–5) held in the god's arms – symbolising fecundity and abundance – point in this direction. If the object next to the right foot of the Heliopolis fragment is indeed a phallus (Fig. 4–5), it conveys exactly this message (SCHMIDT 2003, 254), corresponding well with Harpocrates' (and other child gods') function as a warrantor of nutrition, life as well

as regeneration in Egyptian temple reliefs (SANDRI 2006, 172–185). On later terracottas, such a long phallus was regularly combined with a pot held under the arm (SCHMIDT 2003, 267; FISCHER 2005, 351).



Fig. 4:
Tübingen, University
Collection of
Antiquities
[Inv. No. 4919]
(Courtesy of the
Antiquities Collection
in Tübingen; Photo:
Th. Zachmann).



Fig. 5:
Tübingen, University
Collection of
Antiquities
[Inv. No. 5220]
(Courtesy of the
Antiquities Collection
in Tübingen; Photo:
Th. Zachmann).



Fig. 6:
Reconstruction of
Inv. No. 200-L21-2-4
(Rendering by
A. Müller).

Most of the child terracottas come from undocumented or insufficiently documented contexts, which makes it very difficult to gauge their function in antiquity. Nevertheless, it seems quite certain that child gods were not merely an expression of popular beliefs, but also deeply integrated into the Egyptian temple cult (BUDE/SANDRI 2005, 128; BUDE 2011). It is true that most terracottas depicting such gods were found in private residences, but they were used as grave goods in tombs and votives in temples as well.¹ This makes the appearance of such a terracotta fragment in the great sanctuary of Heliopolis less surprising than it might appear at first glance (notwithstanding the fact that it is the first specimen deriving from this site so far [*pers. com.* S. SANDRI in January 2021]).

Due to the lack of archaeological contextualisation, child god terracottas, as all other kinds of terracottas, are notoriously difficult to date (SANDRI 2012, 632–633). We may only state that child god terracottas were massively produced from the 3rd century BC until the 4th century AD (FISCHER 2005, 348; SANDRI 2006, 92). The long phallus between the legs, on the other hand, was integrated into the child god iconography from the middle of the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD (FISCHER 1994, 80). Given the Heliopolis piece's fragmentary state of preservation and without detailed contextual information available, there is at present no way to narrow down its period of production.

¹ NACHTERGAELE 1985; BALLETT 1988, 507–509; SANDRI 2004, 506–507; Id. 2006, 70–71, 92–93.

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Graeco-Roman Import Pottery

8.6.1 Stamped Amphora Handles from the Temple Precinct of Heliopolis: Seasons 2012-2018

Cornelia Römer

No. 1

Find no.:	U5084-1.4
Find spot:	Area 221, debris levels of the temple of Nectanebo I
Dating:	In the time of Damainetos, in the month of Pedageitnyos
Description:	Rectangular stamp (3.9 × 1.6 cm) with the Rhodian eponym Damainetos and the month name.



Fig. 1:
Stamped amphora
handle U5084-1.4
(Photo: D. Raue)

Ἐπὶ Δαμα-
νέτου
Πεδαγειτνύου

This Rhodian eponymous priest is well attested in many locations; he has 57 entrances in the Alexandria database; most of the items listed there have the rectangular form, some are round. The rectangular form of the same month is not from

the same matrix, since all lines are left-aligned in the new find. The database of *ALEX* assigns the priest to the period IVa (after FINKELSZTEJN 2001); he can therefore be dated to the time between 160 and 153 BC, or even more precisely 159/158 BC (CANKARDEŞ-ŞENOL 2015, 21–30). It may be noteworthy that Damainetos can be associated with Timo II (No. 2 here); see CANKARDEŞ-ŞENOL 2015, 21, with note 19.

No. 2

Find no.:	U5082-1.1
Find spot:	Area 221, debris levels of the temple of Nectanebo I
Description:	Rectangular stamp (3.9 × 1.4 cm) with the Rhodian female fabricant/producer Timo II.



Fig. 2:
Stamped amphora
handle U5082-1.1
(Photo: D. Raue)

Τιμοῦς “*Of Timo*”

The fabricant/producer Timo II, one of the few female names to be found on amphora handles is attested often and has 12 different matrixes in the Alexandria database. Her date falls within the periods III–V (= 2nd century BC). In PRIDIK 1917, 33, she has 4 entrances, nos. 843–846; for more literature see NICOLAOU 2005, 216, and

nos. 573–575, the two later ones being very similar to the new stamp; Nicolaou assigns the fabricant/producer to the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century BC.

No. 3

Find no.:	210-1-14
Find spot:	Area 210, surface at northern enclosure of temple precinct
Description:	Rectangular stamp (4.1 × 2 cm) with the name of the Rhodian wine producer Linus and a bunch of grapes to the right of the name.



Fig. 3:
Stamped amphorae
handle 210-1-14
(Photo: D. Raue).

Λίνου “bunch of grapes”

The wine producer Linus is quite well attested on handles found at different sites, e.g., Delos (GRACE 1952, 527), Nea Paphos (SZTETYŁŁO 1991, nos. 130–131) and Tell Atrib (SZTETYŁŁO 2000, nos. 86–87). Usually, a bunch of grapes is attached to the name on the right side; however, a bunch on the left and right sides

respectively are also attested (SZTETYŁŁO 2000, no. 87; ALEX ABC 0372.13).

Linus can be dated to the 2nd century BC, most likely to the second half of that century rather than the first. The database of *ALEX* assigns him to period V, that is c. 145–108 BC (after FINKELSZTEJN 2001); the database has 45 examples of Linus’ stamps, all, except one (ALEX ABC 0372.14), appear without a month name.

Find no.:	U4885-7
Find spot:	Area 221, debris levels of the temple of Nectanebo I
Description:	Rectangular stamp (5 x 2 cm) with the name of the Rhodian eponym Teimagoras (Timagoras), and the Rhodian month name Dalios.



Fig. 4:
Stamped amphorae
handle U4885-7
(Photo: D. Raue).

Ἐπὶ Τεῖμα- “Under (the priest of Helios) Teima-
γόρα goras,
Δαλίου in the month of Dalios”

Teimagoras is well attested on amphora handles; his name features already in Grace’s list of the Rhodian eponyms (GRACE 1953, 123; NILSSON 1909, 487, no. 401, has 6 examples from Lindos). In the meantime, there is evidence for this eponym priest from Alexandria, Rhodos, Delos, Iasos and from the Black Sea (SZTETYŁO 1992, 198). The layout of the pre-

position followed by the name and the month Dalios is the same as here in ALEX MGR 356.31 (4.9 × 2.4 cm) and 313.34 (4.6 × 1.7 cm); they may come from the same matrix.

Grace dated handles with the eponym Teimagoras to the second half of the 2nd century BC (GRACE 1952, 529). The database of ALEX gives the refined date as period Vb (= 132–121 BC; after FINKELSZTEJN 2001). CANKARDEŞ-ŞENOL 2017, 36–50 has 10 examples, none of them with the same layout. She dates this eponym to c. 124–122 BC.

No. 5

Find no.:	U4934-3 (ex 213TV-1.3)
Find spot:	Area 221, debris levels of the temple of Nectanebo I
Description:	Rectangular stamp (5 × 1.2 cm) of Visellius, producer of ceramics at Ciancola near Brindisi in the 1st century BC; the handle was part of an oil amphora



Fig. 5:
Stamped amphorae
handle U4934-3
(Photo: D. Raue).

Amphorae of the producer Visellius were found in Egypt, in particular in Alexandria and the Fayum; see MANACORDA/PALLECCHI 2012, 409–410 (I owe thanks to J.-Y. Empereur for his help with this Latin stamp).

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8.6.1

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