



HELIOPOLIS REPORTS 1

Egyptian-German Mission in Matariya/Cairo
Aiman Ashmawy and Dietrich Raue (eds.)

Propylaeu^{III}
SPECIALIZED INFORMATION
SERVICE CLASSICS

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In Memoriam



Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq
(1948 – 2023)



Prof. Dr. Morgan De Dapper
(1947 – 2023)

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0.1 Introduction

Heliopolis functioned as the treasury of Egypt's identity, occupying a central position in the sun-cult in Egyptian culture (ASSMANN 2005, 14–24). As such, it was replicated in the religious landscape of Egypt itself in the form of temples throughout the land. Starting in the middle of the 1st millennium BC it attracted European curiosity and scientific interest, initially from Greek authors, then spreading as its materials were used to construct monuments in Alexandria, Italy and then on to various provinces throughout the Roman Empire.

This accumulation of cultural practice has resulted in the longest continuity ever observed in a single cult location (QUIRKE 2001, 73–114; RAUE 1999, 8–12); a cultural memory that lasted until the Islamic medieval ages when scholars including Pythagoras are listed among the pilgrims to the temple of Heliopolis (HAARMANN 1991, 76–77). Much more than a city with a temple, it seems to be structurally and literally a Hierapolis, or sacred city (RAUE 2013, 83–90). For at least 2400 years, Heliopolis developed and safeguarded knowledge about the genesis and structure of the cosmos, obtained over centuries of careful observation of nature. The Heliopolitan cult of the cosmos is a nucleus for Egyptian natural science; its *raison d'être* is also to legitimise the political order of kingship in a unified country (RAUE 2016–2017, 93–96).

For generations of archaeologists, the temple seemed to have been lost. Only the obelisk of Senusret I (1950 BC) stood alone, at this place of creation (GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 118–122). Heliopolis was the first large temple that was targeted as a quarry during the Roman era, with much of the pharaonic monuments removed and relocated to other locations. Other large temple complexes in Egypt may have been saved as they were still in use. The Roman constructions of Alexandria, Kanopus and Herakleion-Thonis were mainly achieved through quarrying Heliopolitan materials and objects (YOYOTTE 1998, 203; ABD EL-FATTAH/GALLO 1998, 7–19). From this point, they were taken out of Egypt, to Rome (VERSLUYS 2016, 274–293; LECOCQ 2005), Vienna (RAUE 1999, 245; ROGGE 1990, 126–127) and other cities of the Roman Empire. Subsequent quarrying in the Umayyad, Fatimide and Mameluke Periods turned the temple, now located in the modern suburb Matariya, into a place that is somehow known, but accessible only in terms of the mere memory of its former significance.

A series of unfortunate circumstances caused the absence of any systematic and scientific investigation. Just two excavations by the Egyptian Museum of Turin and the Egypt Exploration Society took place at the temple in the beginning of the 20th century (SBRIGLIO/

UGLIANO 2015; PETRIE 1915), before the current fieldwork began (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008; ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017). Important investigations concerned the administrative area at the northern perimeter of the precinct (SALEH 1981; ID. 1983) and were recently resumed by the Ain Shams University under the direction of Mamdouh Eldamaty; a small number of studies were conducted on textual sources from Matariya.¹

Generally, scholars have preferred to use better-preserved contexts in Upper Egypt for the study of mythology, cosmology and political theology, especially in Thebes, known to the ancient Egyptians as the "Upper Egyptian Heliopolis".

Over the past eight years the Egyptian-German Archaeological Mission to the Temple of Matariya/Heliopolis has aimed to preserve as much as possible of this unique place. With evidence of sixteen salvage campaigns available (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017, 29–45), it can clearly be stated that the temple is not, as yet, entirely destroyed.

The most effective way to make available and secure the knowledge about the site gained through the excavations is to publish following international open-access standards. All publication efforts are tightly bound to the Open Science concept, guaranteeing future scholarly work in order to continuously evaluate each edited report and the metatext of the reconstruction as well as the details on which all hypotheses are being built. The *Heliopolis Reports* aim to provide research data from Heliopolis that are open to re-evaluations and ready for continuously available updates.

¹ CONTARDI 2009; RAUE 1999; MOURSIS 1972.

Season Diaries

2001 – 2010: Excavations of the Supreme Council of Antiquities 1st Season: ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008

2nd Season

Spring 2012 February 26 – March 31 Area 200

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 200: Continuation of excavations at the eastern fringe (mainly squares H24-I24-K24-L24-M24-N24) to gain additional insights to the stratigraphy of the area in front of the temple, leading to the discovery of fragments from a large falcon statue and reused talatât blocks from the Amarna Period.

Survey: Conduct geomagnetic survey of cultic topography in the central sector of the main temenos (Area 220).

A training course for archaeological and epigraphical methods and techniques was attended by members of the Inspectorate of Antiquities/Matariya.

The Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) was represented by Eman Mohammed Kelany. We would like to express our sincere thanks for her kind support and cooperation along with the Director of Antiquities at Matarinya, Mohammed Farid, as well as to the authorities of the storerooms at Tell el-Hisn, Hoda Ibrahim and Ashraf Abd el-Hafiz.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Wagida Abd el-Aziz Mohammed, Hosni Badia Hosni, Tamer Ahmed Mohammed, Amani Samir Ibrahim, Amr Ismail Ibrahim, Mohammed el-Mizeyn, Dalia Ahmed Taha, Safaa Khairy Mohammed, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matarinya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Pieter Collet, Tomasz Herbich, Jakub Ordutowski, Robert Ryndziewicz, Marie-Kristin Schröder and Michael Weißl.

3rd Season

Autumn 2012

September 29 – October 24

Areas 200 and 220/221

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 200: Continuation of excavations at the eastern fringe (mainly squares H24-I24-K24-L24-M24-N24) to gain additional insights to the stratigraphy of the area in front of the temple in Area 200. The project uncovered limestone debris containing further relief fragments dating to the Amarna Period.

Conduct rescue excavation in the north-western part of squares G18/H18, leading to the discovery of a quartzite gateway of Ramesses II.

Survey: Reconstruction of the palaeo-landscape of the later temple area by geomorpholo-

gical survey (drill cores) with the identification of an 8 m stratigraphy down to the prehistoric layers in the centre of the temenos (Areas 220/221). Continuation of geophysical survey of the cultic topography in the central sector of the main temenos (Area 220).

The Department of Foreign Missions of the Ministry of State of Antiquities (MSA) was represented by Samhan Mohammed Abd el-Salam.

We would like to express our sincere thanks for his kind support and cooperation along with the Director of Antiquities at Matariya, Mohammed Farid, as well as to the chief inspectors Samir Abd el-Raouf and Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Wagida Abd el-Aziz Mohammed, Hosni Badia Hosni, Amr Ismail Ibrahim, Mona Ahmed Hussein, Nadja Gouda Anany, Heba Ali Osman, Ezzat el-Maghuri Mohammed, Sabah Abd el-Halim Ahmed, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Mohammed Abd el-Wahab Othman, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Prof. Dr. Morgan De Dapper, Tomasz Herbich, Wassim Moussa, Asja Müller, Jakub Ordukowski and Marie-Kristin Schröder.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Heba Mohammed Ahmed, Noha Abd el-Rahman Mohammed, Ahmed Mohammed Ibrahim and Sahar Ramadan Mohammed.

4th Season

Spring 2014

February 17 – March 31

Areas 005, 200, 210 and 211

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 005: Conduct an architectural survey and recording of elevations and sections of the southern enclosure walls of the main temenos in order to understand the history of the southern enclosure of the main temenos.

Area 200: Continuation of excavations at the eastern fringe (mainly squares K24-L24) to gain additional insights to the stratigraphy of the area in front of the temple; the project uncovered evidence for a colossal granite sculpture.

Area 210: First excavations of the Egyptian-German joint mission at the so-called Misraa el-Segun. Area 210 was chosen to re-investigate W. M. F. Petrie's excavation plans and to date the double wall that separated the main temenos and the northern extension.

Survey: Continuation of geomorphological survey (drill cores in Areas 005, 210, 211 and 220) to reconstruct the palaeo-landscape of the later temple area, leading to the identification of

late-pleistocene Gezira structures. Continuation of geophysical survey (electric resistivity in Areas 210, 211 and 220) of the cultic topography in the central sector of the main temenos.

A training course for archaeological and epigraphical methods and techniques, directed by Asja Müller, and funded by the German Embassy Cairo, was attended by members of the Inspectorate of Antiquities/Matariya. The MSA was represented by Mariam Fekri Shawky Zaki (inspector for Area 005), Tamer Ahmed Mohammed Mahmud (inspector for Area 200) and Hend Abd el-Nabi Mohammed (inspector for Area 210). To them we would like to express our sincere thanks for their kind support and cooperation.

As in the past season, the mission was generously supported by the Fondation Schiff Giorgini, German University Cairo and the German Archaeological Institute. We are grateful to Prof. Dr. Ashraf Mansour, Prof. Dr. Stephan J. Seidlmayer and Amani Ghanem for their unwavering support.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Samir Abd el-Raouf Gharib, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Wagida Abd el-Aziz Mohammed, Amr Ismail Ibrahim, Hanaa el-Said Abd el-Fattah, Nermeen Mohammed Taha, Rehab Abd el-Sattar Ahmed, Bosy Mohammed Abd el-Aziz, Dina Ahmed Mohammed, Mohammed Gamal Kamel Hozayn, Eman Mohammed Salah, Naglaa Fathy El-Shazly, Nahla Refaat Mahmud Ali, Salah Mostafa Abd el-Aziz, Amira Farag Mohammed, Doaa Hosny Abd el-Tawab, Ghada Essam Hassan, Enas Mahmud Sabry, Mohammed Mahmud Hendy. Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya. Dr. Dietrich Raue, Max Beiersdorf, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Prof. Dr. Morgan De Dapper, Klara Dietze, Dr. Luc Gabolde, Tomasz Herbich, Damien Laisney, Asja Müller, Dawid Swiech and Marion Wenzel.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Mohammed Ali Abdellah, Noha Abd el-Rahman Mohammed and Sahar Ramadan Mohammed.

5th Season

Spring 2015

February 16 – April 2

Areas 005, 210, 221, 231, 241–244

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 005: Completion of the architectural survey and recording of elevations and sections of the southern enclosure walls of the main temenos.

Area 210: Final investigations and recording of the large double walls dating to the New Kingdom.

Area 221: First excavations in the centre of Misraa el-Segun, about 300 m west of the obelisk of Senusret I. This sector was chosen to document the western portion of the structure named “Hyksos Fort” by W. M. F. Petrie. Instead, remains of a sanctuary of Nectanebo I for the sun-god were discovered.

Area 231: A sondage was dug in the eastern portion of the so-called “Hyksos Fort” in preparation for a modern road to be constructed over the area.

Area 241–244: Rescue excavations were conducted in response to a second road extension at Sharia Moatassim at the western fringe of the Misraa el-Segun.

Survey: Continuation of geomorphological survey (drill cores in Areas 005, 009 – farm close to column of Merenptah, 200, 203, 221, 231 and 241/244) to reconstruct the palaeo-landscape.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MSA was represented by Walaa Ali Mohammed

(inspector for Area 5), Ghada Samy Ibrahim (inspector of Area 210) and Hani Fekri Ishak (inspector of Area 221).

The mission was kindly supported by Dr. Yussuf Hamid Khalifa from the MSA and by Mohga Abd el-Fattah Behnasy at the Tell Hisn storerooms.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Wagida Abd el-Aziz Mohammed, Dina Ahmed Mohammed, Nahla Refaat Mahmud Ali, Amira Farag Mohammed, Ghada Samy Ibrahim, Eshaq Halim Gaber, Amal Ahmed Mohammed, Marwa Ahmed Mohammed Ahmed, Fatma Hussein Hassan, Sahar Abd el-Rady Ibrahim, Shaimaa Mohammed Abd el-Hamid, Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl, Walaa Omar Mohammed, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Max Beiersdorf, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Prof. Dr. Morgan De Dapper, Klara Dietze and Asja Müller.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Ghada Essam Hassan, Hassan Fawzy Amin, Heba Mohammed Ahmed, Islam Ibrahim Ahmed Shehata, Noha Abd el-Rahman Mohammed, Sahar Ramadan Mohammed. The geophysical and geomorphological survey was accompanied by Aschraf Abd el-Samir from the MSA.

6th Season

Autumn 2015	September 1 – October 12	Areas 221 and 232, Study Season for Area 200
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Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 221: Continuation of work at the temple of Nectanebo I in the centre of Misraa el-Segun, about 300 m west of the obelisk of Senusret I. Additional basalt blocks were found and a later 2nd millennium BC mud-brick workshop structure for processing calcite alabaster was uncovered.

Area 232: Rescue excavations commenced in the south-western sector inside the embankment of 18th Dynasty units (formerly named the

“Hyksos Fort” by W. M. F. Petrie), after the Egyptian Armed Forces evacuated their accommodation during summer 2015. Late Period workshop structures of mud-brick were uncovered after a geophysical survey was carried out.

Survey: Continuation of geomorphological survey (drill cores) to reconstruct the palaeo-landscape (Area 232/233; north of Area 233; Area 211/214 west and south of the museum).

The Department of Foreign Missions of the Ministry of Antiquities was represented by Amr

Ismail Ibrahim, Sabah Abd el-Halim Ahmed (inspector for Area 200), (inspector for Area 221) and Mohammed Sayed Sayed (inspector for Area 232).

The mission was supported by Dr. Mahmud Afifi from the MSA, and by Mohga Abd el-Fattah Behnasy at the Tell Hisn MSA store-

rooms. The geophysical and geomorphological survey was accompanied by Ashraf Abd el-Samir from the MSA.

The mission was visited by H. E. Minister of Antiquities Prof. Dr. Mamdouh Eldamaty on October 1, 2015, and further steps to protect the site were discussed.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Tamer Ahmed Mohammed, Amal Ahmed Mohammed, Amira Farag Mohammed, El-Amir Todrous Barakat, Ezzat El-Maghuri Mohammed, Walaa Omar Mohammed, Eshaq Halim Gaber, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Christopher Breninek, Susi Bergmann, Pieter Collet, Prof. Dr. Morgan De Dapper, Maximilian Georg, Klara Dietze, Jakub Ordutowski, Marie-Kristin Schröder and Stephanie Schulz (now Blaschta).

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Hajam Asab Mohammed, Hassan Fawzy Amin, Mina Mahrouz Soreal and May Kamal Abd el-Qader.

7th Season

Spring 2016

February 21 – April 13

Areas 202, 221, 232 and 245–247–248–249

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 202: Rescue excavations were conducted in response to municipal construction work west of the main building of the shopping mall, leading to the recovery of scattered elements from administrative contexts within the temple.

Area 221: Continuation and intensive investigation of the temple of Nectanebo I, leading to

the discovery of quartzite pieces from the gate blocks of Ramesses II and Nectanebo I. More decorated basalt blocks of Nectanebo I were also found.

Area 232: Continuation of rescue excavations in the south-western sector inside the embankment uncovered well preserved features of Late Period workshop structures.

Area 245–249: Additional fieldwork was carried out in the western periphery of the Misraa el-Segun in preparation for municipal construction work for the development of north-eastern Cairo. Various sondages were excavated south of the Youth Club Matariya (Markaz el-Shabab), leading to the discovery of scattered remains of a temple of Ramesses II in Area 248.

A training course for restorers was directed by Grit Karen Friedmann of the Graeco-Roman Museum of Leipzig University. It was attended by Hassan Fawzy Amin, Mina Mahrouz Soreal and Mohammed Ali Abdellah.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MSA was represented by Walaa Omar Mohammed (inspector for Area 202 and 248), Mahmud

Tharwat Abu el-Fadl (inspector for Area 221) as well as Amr Ismail Ibrahim and Eshaq Halim Gaber (inspectors for Areas 232).

The mission was supported by Dr. Mahmud Afifi from the MSA, and Mohga Abd el-Fattah Behnasy at the Tell Hisn MSA storerooms.

The mission was visited by H. E. Minister of Antiquities Prof. Dr. Mamdouh Eldamaty, H. E. Minister of Urban Development Dr. Ahmed Badr Zaki and the Governor of Cairo Dr. Galal el-Said, on March 12, 2016. Further steps for clearing the site from debris were discussed.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Tamer Ahmed Mohammed Mahmud, Wagida Abd el-Aziz Mohammed, Amal Ahmed Mohammed, El-Amir Todrous Barakat, Eshaq Halim Gaber, Merwa Adel Sobhy, Mohammed Atef Mahmud, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Prof. Dr. Kai-Christian Bruhn, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Klara Dietze, Thomas Graichen, Grit Karen Friedmann, Mariana Jung, Virág Pabeschitz, Dr. Lutz Popko and Stephanie Schulz (now Blaschta).

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Ragab Badry Swefy and Osama Shoukry Fakhory.

8th Season

Autumn 2016

September 1 – October 12

Areas 221, 232 and 248

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 221: Continuation of fieldwork at the temple of Nectanebo I focused on the extraction of various heavy quartzite blocks belonging to the gate of Nectanebo I.

Area 232: Continuation of excavations in the south-western sector inside the embankment on Late Period workshop structures.

Area 248: Rescue excavations were completed in response to municipal construction work on the western periphery of Misraa el-Segun, leading to the identification of the Ramesses II structure as a temple for “Amun of Ramesses” and “Mut-president of the horns of the gods”.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MSA was represented by Asmaa Abd el-Aziz Ramadan (inspector for Area 221), Menal Mansour Ali and Shenouda Fawzy Labib (inspectors for Area 232) and Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl (inspector for Area 248).

The mission was kindly supported by Dr. Mahmud Afifi from the MSA and by Mohga Abd el-Fattah Behnasy at the Tell Hisn MSA storerooms.

The mission was visited by H. E. Minister of Antiquities Prof. Dr. Khalid el-Enany and the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Julius Georg Luy. Further steps for opening the Museum of Matariya were discussed.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Tamer Ahmed Mohammed Mahmud, Hend Abd el-Nabi Mohammed, Eshaq Halim Gaber, Mohammed Gamal Hozayn, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Klara Dietze and Stephanie Schulz (now Blaschta).

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Omar Mohammed Ahmed and Ashraf Ibrahim Mohammed.

9th Season

Spring 2017

February 27 – April 5

Areas 200, 211 and 232

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 200: Documentation of two statue bases that were discovered by the SCA-Mission in 2006–2010, leading to the discovery of the colossal statue of Psamtik I.

Area 211: Excavations were carried out north-west of the Obelisk Museum, following results of the 2015 geophysical/geomorphological survey north of the main procession axis. For the first time, the lower zone of in situ limestone temple walls were located. Although this zone is yet to be dated, it does cover layers from the Predynastic Period.

Area 232: Continuation of excavations in the south-western sector inside the embankment on Late Period workshop structures.

Survey: Geomorphological survey continued in order to reconstruct the palaeo-landscape (Area 200).

A training course was held by Virág Pabeschitz for members of the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MSA was represented by Amr Ismail Ibrahim and Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl (inspectors for Area 200), Hend Abd el-Nabi Mohammed and Alaa Ahmed Hussein (inspectors for Area 211) as well as Khaled el-Assaal and Amr Maher Ahmed (inspectors for Area 232).

The mission was kindly supported by Dr. Mahmud Afifi, Dr. Basem Gihad, Eman Zeidan, Dr. Islam Ezzat, Dr. Mennat-Allah El-Dorry, Dr. Sherif Abd el-Moneim from the MSA, by Dr. Eissa Zeidan and the Restoration Centre at the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM), Dr. Moamen Othman and the team of transport experts of the Egyptian Museum Cairo, and by Mohga Abd el-Fattah Bahnesy at the Tell Hisn MSA storerooms.

The mission was visited by H. E. Minister of Antiquities Prof. Dr. Khalid el-Enany and the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany Dr. Julius Georg Luy on the occasion of the extractions of the fragments of the colossal statue.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Tamer Ahmed Mohammed Mahmud, El-Amir Todrous Barakat, Merwa Adel Sobhy, Eshaq Halim Gaber, Rais Ashraf El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Dr. Simon Connor, Prof. Dr. Morgan De Dapper, Klara Dietze, Dr. Luc Gabolde, Dr. Jana Helmbold-Doyé, Florence Langermann, Juliette Fayein, Virág Pabeschitz and Dr. Lutz Popko.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Hajam Asab Mohammed, Sara Ahmed, Hassan Fawzy Amin, Manar Mohammed Ibrahim, Mina Mahrouz Soreal, Shenouda Samir Sabry and Wahid Samir.

10th Season

Autumn 2017

August 27 – October 4

Area 200

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 200: Excavation work returned to Area 200 and the recovery of the statue bases of Psamtik I along with the neighbouring structures in squares K23, K24 and K25. Further fragments of the colossal quartzite statue of Psamtik I were discovered.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MSA was represented Nagwa Abd el-Aziz (inspector for Area 200). The Egyptian team worked in

this area from June to August 2017, preparing the ground for the upcoming autumn mission by excavating squares G22, G23 and G24. This work was carried out by the inspectors Amr Ismail Ibrahim and Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl.

The mission was supported by the restorers and transport experts of the GEM: Dr. Eissa Zeidan, Dr. Nassef Abd el-Wahed and their team. We are grateful to Dr. Tarek Tawfiq (Director of the GEM) and to Mohga Abd el-Fattah Bahnesy at the Tell Hisn MSA storerooms for their support.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Tamer Ahmed Mohammed Mahmud, Amal Ahmed Mohammed Ahmed, Rais Ashraf El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Dr. Mennat-Allah El-Dorry, Florence Langermann, Kerstin Seidel and Marion Wenzel.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Hajam Asab Mohammed and Mina Mahrouz Soreal

11th Season

Spring 2018

February 19 – April 14

Areas 200, 221 and 232

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 200: Continuation of excavations to complete the archaeological investigations and recovery of all accessible fragments of colossal statuary from trenches associated with remains of later Roman stone quarrying around the statue base of Psamtik I.

Area 221: Resumption of excavation work in the centre of the main temenos (Misraa el-Segun). Results of the geophysical survey led to the discovery of architectural elements of Merenptah, abutting the sanctuary of Nectanebo I.

Area 232: Continuation of excavations in the south-western sector of the inner enclosure focused on the 18th Dynasty embankment and the archaeological setting at the gateway discovered in 2017.

Survey: Geophysical survey (electric resistivity) in the central sector of the main temenos (Areas 211, 221 and 251); Geomorphological survey continued in order to reconstruct the palaeo-landscape.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MSA was represented by Amr Ismail Ibrahim (inspector for Area 200) and Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl (inspector for Area 221) and Mariam Fekri Shawky Zaki (inspector for Area 232).

The mission was supported by the restorers and transport experts of the GEM: Dr. Eissa Zeidan, Dr. Nassef Abd el-Wahed, Tamer el-Nawagy and their team. We are grateful to Mohga Abd el-Fattah Bahnesy and her team at the Tell Hisn MSA storerooms for their support.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Tamer Ahmed Mohammed Mahmud, Amira Farag Mohammed, Eshaq Halim Gaber, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq, Rais Ashraf El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Dr. Louise Bertini, Stephanie Blaschta (former Schulz), Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Dr. Simon Connor, Klara Dietze, Dr. Mennat-Allah El-Dorry, Juliette Fay-ein, Tomasz Herbich, Prof. Dr. Salima Ikram, Mariana Jung, Florence Langermann, Virág Pabeschitz, Dr. Lutz Popko, Dr. Gillian Pyke, Dr. Pamela Rose, Robert Ryndziewicz, Dr. Susanne Töpfer and Dr. Federica Ugliano. The Egyptian part of the team worked in Area 200 from December 2017 until January 2018, preparing the ground for the upcoming Spring mission by excavating squares M20 and M24 down to the subsoil water. This work was carried out by the inspectors Amr Ismail Ibrahim and Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Islam Ibrahim Ahmed Shehata, Hajam Asab Mohammed, Hassan Fawzy Amin, Mina Mahrouz Soreal and Sara Ahmed.

12th Season

Autumn 2018 August 28 – October 15 Areas 213/232; construction of shelters in the museum

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 213: Excavation of the sector 80 m east of the obelisk of Senusret I that had been partially investigated during the development project for the museum. A ritual complex was identified in 2008 by the SCA. Investigations recovered a Late Period installation, probably connected with the annual cult of the Nile flood.

Area 232: Continuation of excavations in the south-western sector of the inner enclosure focused on investigation of the Hellenistic bakery levels that superimposed the Late Period structures in the north-western squares.

Obelisk Museum: Two sheltering structures were built by the architect Dr. Nicholas Warner and the contractor Mahmud el-Tayeb in cooperation with the MSA-Project Sector and with the support of the Foreign Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany. These shelters provide a safe display for the Nectanebo I basalt reliefs of and limestone blocks found in earlier seasons. The mission supported the inspectorate of Matariya by providing the facilities to transport Heliopolitan pharaonic temple blocks to the

Obelisk Museum for display. These blocks had been reused during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods and were stored by the MSA-Islamic Sector at Bab el-Nasr/Gamaliya.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MSA was represented by Sarah Samy Fares (inspector for Area 213), Eshaq Halim Gaber (Inspector for Area 232) and Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl (Inspector for Area 251).

The mission was supported by the restorers and transport experts of the GEM: Dr. Eissa Zeidan, Dr. Nassef Abd el-Wahed, Tamer el-Nawagy and Osama Abd el-Shokour, and by Mohga Abd el-Fattah Bahnesy and her team at the Tell Hisn MSA storerooms.

The mission is very grateful to Prof. Dr. Fayza Heikal and Dr. Mennat-Allah El-Dorry for the translation and correction of Arabic texts for the panels and labels as part of the Museums Project, as well as to the engineers Waad-allah Abu al-Ela and Sayed Ibrahim for their valuable advice during the planning and building phase of the shelters.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Merwa Adel Sobhy and Amira Farag Mohammed, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq, Rais Ashraf El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Dr. Louise Bertini, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Dr. Simon Connor, Klara Dietze, Juliette Fayein, Dr. Mennat-Allah El-Dorry, Prof. Dr. Salima Ikram, Florence Langermann, Dr. Franziska Naether and Marion Wenzel.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Fatma el-Sayed Mohammed, Hajam Asab Mohammed, Hassan Fawzy Amin, Mina Mahrouz Soreal and Noha Mohammed Hamza.

13th Season

Spring 2019

March 12 – April 25

Areas 221, 232–233 and 251

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 221: Continuation of excavations within the centre of the main temenos in order to locate basalt blocks of the northern (Lower Egyptian) geographical procession of Nectanebo I.

Area 232: Continuation of excavations focusing on stratigraphy details next to the 18th Dynasty embankment, including deposits of destroyed temple inventory. Continuation of investigation of the Hellenistic bakery levels superimposing the Late Period structures in the north-western squares of Area 232.

Area 233: The western extension of the Late Period workshops was traced from the northern face of the southern enclosure wall of the main temenos.

Survey: Continuation of geomorphological survey (drill cores in Areas 221 and 232) to recon-

struct the palaeo-landscape in the south-western sector of the Misraa el-Segun. Support of MSA excavation in Area 151 (necropolis of OK) by drill cores.

The training program in Spring 2019 was attended by Eman el-Sayed Mohammed el-Kishky, Amany Abd el-Menem Tantawy el-Naggar, Rosalin Eireen Nazier Sawerus and Michel Tawfik Sharubeem.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MSA was represented by Hend Abd el-Nabi Mohammed (inspector for Area 221), Abd el-Halim Sayed Abd el-Halim (inspector for Area 232–233) and Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl (inspector for Area 251).

The mission was supported by Mohga Abd el-Fattah Bahnesy and their team at the Tell Hisn MSA storerooms.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Afaf Wahba Ab del-Salam, Merwa Adel Sobhy, Amira Farag Mohammed, El-Amir Toudous Barakat, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq, Rais Ashraf El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Dr. Louise Bertini, Stephanie Blaschta, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Collet, Dr. Simon Connor, Prof. Dr. Morgan De Dapper, Klara Dietze, Grit Karen Friedmann, Johannes Jüngling, Florence Langermann, Mattia Mancini, Giulia Pizzato, Dr. Lutz Popko, Camilla Saler and Dr. Federica Ugliano.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Omar Aziz ed-Din Abd el-Moneim, Hajam Asab Mohammed, Hassan Fawzy Amin, Mina Mahrouz Soreal and Moaaz Methad Ismail as well as Aid Mertah from the Egyptian Museum Cairo.

14th Season

Autumn 2019

August 19 – October 3

Areas 234 and 251

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

Area 234: Rescue excavation commenced in the south-western sector of the inner enclosure, yielding a stratigraphic sequence from the 1st millennium BC, including a Roman pit with fragments of temple statuary dating to the Ramesside Period.

Area 251: Excavation at the south-western sector of the Misraa el-Segun with documentation of the layers and workshops dating to the late 2nd millennium BCE and the underlying prehistoric strata.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MSA was represented by Abd el-Halim Sayed Abd

el-Halim (inspector for Area 234) and Eman Mohammed El-Sayed El-Kishky (inspector for Area 251).

The training program in autumn 2019 was directed by Florence Langermann. It was attended by Eman Zakariya Sayed, Randa Ali Ramadan, Rasha Sayed Shahat, Mohammed Mohammed Abd el-Rahman Tawfiq and Salah Mostafa Abd el-Aziz.

The mission was supported by Mohga Abd el-Fattah Bahnesy, Sabrine Habib and their team at the Tell Hisn MSA storeroom.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Afaf Wahba Ab del-Salam, Amira Farag Mohammed, Michel Tawfiq Sharubeem, Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq, Rais Ashraf El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Dr. Louise Bertini, Pieter Collet, Dr. Simon Connor, Dr. Mennat-Allah El-Dorry, Prof. Dr. Salima Ikram, Florence Langermann, Giulia Pizzato and Dr. Pamela Rose.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Hajam Asab Mohammed, Mina Mahrouz Soreal and Moaaz Methad Ismail as well as Aid Mertah from the Egyptian Museum Cairo.

15th Season

Spring 2020

March 15 – April 4

Study Season

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

The Department of Foreign Missions of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA) was represented by Abd el-Halim Sayed Abd el-Halim.

Area 251: Season was devoted to the study of pottery finds from Area 251.

The mission was carried out with reduced staff due to the pandemic situation.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Afaf Wahba Abdel-Salam, Rais Ashraf El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Dr. Louise Bertini, Pieter Collet, Dr. Simon Connor, Klara Dietze, Prof. Dr. Salima Ikram and Florence Langermann.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Hajam Asab Mohammed, Mina Mahrouz Soreal and Moaaz Methad Ismail.

16th Season

Autumn 2020

August 31 – September 17

Areas 005, 232 and 233

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

The mission was carried out with reduced staff due to the pandemic situation.

Area 232: Resumption of rescue excavation prior to the laying of municipal road construction. Documentation of the continuation of the embankment within the inner temple enclosure at the north-western extension of Area 232.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MoTA was represented by Amal Zakariya.

The mission was supported by Mohga Abd el-Fattah Bahnesy and her team at the Tell Hisn MoTA storeroom.

Area 251: Study of pottery finds from Area 251 was finalised.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khalid Mohammed Abu'l-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Afaf Wahba Ab del-Salam, Michel Tawfiq Sharubeem, El-Amir Todrous Barakat, Rais Ashraf El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Klara Dietze, Prof. Dr. Salima Ikram and Florence Langermann.

Restorers from the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Matariya: Hajam Asab Mohammed, Moaz Methad Ismail and Omar Aziz ed-Din Abd el-Moneim.

17th Season

Spring 2021

February 28 – April 4

Areas 221 and 232

Objectives, methods and results of the season:

The mission was carried out with reduced staff due to the pandemic situation.

Area 221: Resumption of excavations in the central part of the Misraa el-Segun, in order to understand the relationship between the temple of Nectanebo I and the remains of Merenptah's sanctuary. The location of the main processional axis of the temple and its relationship to the Ramesside Era and Nectanebo I sanctuaries were the main focus of work.

The Department of Foreign Missions of the MoTA was represented by Alaa Ahmed Hussein (inspector of Area 221) and Aml el-Qutb (inspector of Area 232).

Area 232: Rescue excavation was required in the inner temple enclosure, leading to the discovery of Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period workshop strata.

The mission was supported by Mohga Abd el-Fattah Bahnesy and her team at the Tell Hisn MoTA storeroom.

Participants in the mission: Dr. Aiman Ashmawy, Khalid Mohammed Abu'l-Ela, Hoda Kamal Ahmed Biyumi, Amira Farag Mohammed, Rais Ashraf El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and the workers from Quft and Matariya; Dr. Dietrich Raue, Pieter Collet and Dr. Simon Connor.

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0.1.1 Notes on Monumentality and Stones

Simon Connor

“Monumentality”

In chapter 6 of the superb exhibition catalogue *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, Betsy M. Bryan indicates that by convention she uses the adjective “monumental” for statuary exceeding 45 cm (for standing figures) and 35 cm (for seated figures; BRYAN/KOZLOFF 1992, 194, 197 note 1). In the Egyptological literature, there is a certain disparity in the use of terms defining an order of size: When do we speak of “statues” rather than “statuettes”? This usage varies from one study to the other, from one author to the other, and, similarly, the perception of the order of magnitude also depended on each individual in Antiquity. We will use the term “monumental” here for any statue large enough not to be easily transportable (although we are aware this criterion is itself not the most objective, for even colossal figures several metres tall could be moved, as the examples of Tanis or of the Theban Ramesside temples teach us). The falcon from Area 200¹ is unusually large (compared to the statuary repertoire which has yielded us), must have weighed over a ton and was probably not meant to be moved regularly. We will therefore consider it “monumental”.

Terms for Materials

A remark concerning the use of terms for materials, in particular granite, granodiorite, greywacke and basalt. We adopt here the terminology of Thierry De Putter and Christina Karlshausen (DE PUTTER/KARLSHAUSEN 1992; see also KLEMM/KLEMM 2008).

Summarising it, when using the terms of “granitic rocks” or “granitoids”, we mean in this book all the rocks related to granites, of any colour (commonly called red granite, pink granite, grey granite, black granite). We use this term only when we speak of all these rocks as a group, or if a stone could not be identified.

When the term “granite” appears alone in the text, it always indicates red/pink granite. Following this terminology, “red granite” would be a pleonasm since an Egyptian “granite” is red by definition. We never use the terms “grey granite” or “black granite”.

When, on the other hand, the matrix of the material is greyish or blackish, the term used is “granodiorite”, a term that includes all the varieties of diorite, gabbro and tonalite ... which

¹ *Egypt's dazzling sun: Amenhotep III and his world*. With Lawrence M. Berman and an essay by Elisabeth Delange. Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Museum of Art.

are “cousins”, and may differ from one vein to another in the same quarry but are difficult to distinguish for non-geologists (and sometimes even for geologists with the naked eye). As an example, the granodiorite Sekhmet statues from the reign of Amenhotep III, today scattered in dozens of sites and museums around the world, are found described, from one study to another, as “diorite”, “black granite”, “grey granite”, “gabbro”, “serpentinised gabbro”, ... or even “basalt” (which is however a totally different stone, of different geological origin; not found in Aswan and rarely attested in Egyptian statuary). It is not always clear how the various authors chose these terms and if it was with the help of a geologist. However, even if these identifications are correct, it is also not known whether these geological differences were visible or important to the sculptors since they are of the same appearance and hardness and are found in the same quarries. This is why we have chosen

here to group all dark granitoids under the term “granodiorite”.

Greywacke is often confused with basalt in Egyptological literature. Even when it is correctly identified as the stone extracted from Wadi Hammamat, bekhen-stone, it is also often referred to as “schist”. In dealing with this material, we adopt here the English adaptation of the German term: “grauwacke” (see DE PUTTER/KARLSHAUSEN 1992, 87–90; KLEMM/KLEMM 2008, 297–311; American English: “graywacke”).

Concerning “basalt”, although much rarer in the Egyptian repertoire than it would appear from the publications, it is found in Egypt (see DE PUTTER/KARLSHAUSEN 1992, 51–54; KLEMM/KLEMM 2008, 315–321) and is sometimes utilized for architectural elements. In the case of Matariya, it is indeed the material used for Nectanebo reliefs.

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1. Topographical Setting

1.1 Preliminary Results on the Study of the Orientation of the Temple of Ra-Atum at Heliopolis and Their Historical Implications.

Preliminary Results on the Study of the Orientation of the Temple of Ra-Atum at Heliopolis and Their Historical Implications.

Luc Gabolde¹ and Damien Laisney²

Abstract

A GPS campaign at the site of Heliopolis was implemented in order to document precisely the orientation of the remaining structures of the temple of Atum and to determine the azimuth of its axis. This operation resulted in improved data which allowed the formulation of some hypotheses about the date of the temple's foundation ceremony and its possible direct connection with the sunrise on the date recorded in the Berlin Leather Roll during the reign of Senusret I.

Prolegomena

The study of the Egyptian temples' orientation is a field of research which has already produced fruitful results³. However, reliable and accurate data on the precise azimuth of the archaeological remains is required before taking into account the possibility that this orientation was connected with potential astronomical events. A programme labelled OrTempSol within the

framework of the Labex-Archimède at Montpellier, led by L. Gabolde, was thus launched in 2013 with the aim to determine precisely the orientation of some of the Egyptian temples devoted to solar deities, along the same line of work already accomplished at Karnak⁴ and at Tell el-Amarna⁵. The programme focuses specifically on the temple of Atum at Heliopolis and the temple of Amun-Ra at Tanis⁶. The present chapter provides and summarizes the preliminary results obtained at Heliopolis.

Acknowledgements

The mission was conducted with the financial support of the Labex-Archimède⁷. It benefited from the scientific and logistical support of the joint mission of the Ministry of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt and of the Leipzig University at Matariya/Heliopolis, of which it was a part under the direction of Aiman Ashmawy and Dietrich Raue. A differential GPS was very kindly lent to us by the IFAO.

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³ SHALTOUT/BELMONTE 2005, 273–298; Id. 2006, 173–192; SHALTOUT/BELMONTE/FEKRI 2007, 141–160; Id. 2008, 181–211; CAUVILLE ET AL. 1992, 31–48; see also AUBOURG 1995, 1–10.

⁴ GABOLDE 1998, sp. 123–137; Id. 2010, 243–256.

⁵ GABOLDE 2009, 145–157. E. Castle has recently raised objections to the hypothesis that the foundation ceremony recorded on the year 5 and year 6 stelae could have been related to the small temple of Aten, arguing rightly that the great temple (*pr-Ītn*) was indeed mentioned in the text of stele K (Castle 2015, 43–82). However, this occurrence is rather far from the descriptions of the foundation ceremony rites, which, thus, may as well have concerned the small temple of Aten.

⁶ Another mission aiming to survey the orientation of the great Amun temple at Tanis was conducted from the 24th to the 27th of May 2016. The results were conclusive and suggest a foundation ceremony occurring on the New Year's Day 1 akhet I, of the first regnal year of Psusennes I, corresponding to the 10th of May in the Julian calendar (= 30th April in the Gregorian calendar) of the year 1039 BC (= -1038). It was also a new moon. See GABOLDE ET AL. 2021, sp. p. 346-349.

The Surveying Operations Carried out on Site (Fig. 1)

The main mission was conducted at Heliopolis from 2nd to 4th March 2014. Participants were L. Gabolde and D. Laisney with the extensive collaboration of the members of the Egyptian-German team.

Significant topographical points were taken on various parts of the site with the differential GPS, 170:

- 56 on the western part which may correspond to the entrance.
- 13 on the remains of the two southern precinct walls.
- 6 on the standing obelisk of Senusret I.
- 1 site on the naos base near the obelisk.
- 2 at the limits of the “high sand”.
- 8 on the gate of Ramesses III at Tell el-Hisn.
- 35 on the northern ruins of Tell el-Hisn, on the site of the column of Merenptah and on the remaining portion of the precinct wall.
- Existing stations were also recorded and noted on the new topographical grid.

The Historical Records and Surveys

Various plans generated during previous archaeological or historical studies were gathered and scanned in order to include them in the new grid:

- Description de l'Égypte, *Antiquités* V, pl. 26, 1.
- Ravioli 1841 (RAUE, *Heliopolis*, pl. 5).
- Hekekyan (British Library Additional Manuscripts 37458.20-21).
- LEPSIUS, *Denkmaeler* I, pl. 55.
- Petrie's excavations, *Heliopolis*, pl. I & II.
- ABD EL-AZIZ SALEH, *Tell el Hisn*, pl. VI, fig. 6.
- Cadastral map of Cairo.
- Survey of Egypt 1/5 000 1977-78.
- Views from Googlemap.

⁷ Labex-Archimède Montpellier, program “Investissement d’Avenir”, ANR-11-LABX-0032-01 AAP 2, 2014, Axe 2 “Pouvoirs: Espaces de pouvoirs et constructions territoriales”; “OrTempSol” project (Orientation des Temples à divinité Solaire en Égypte).

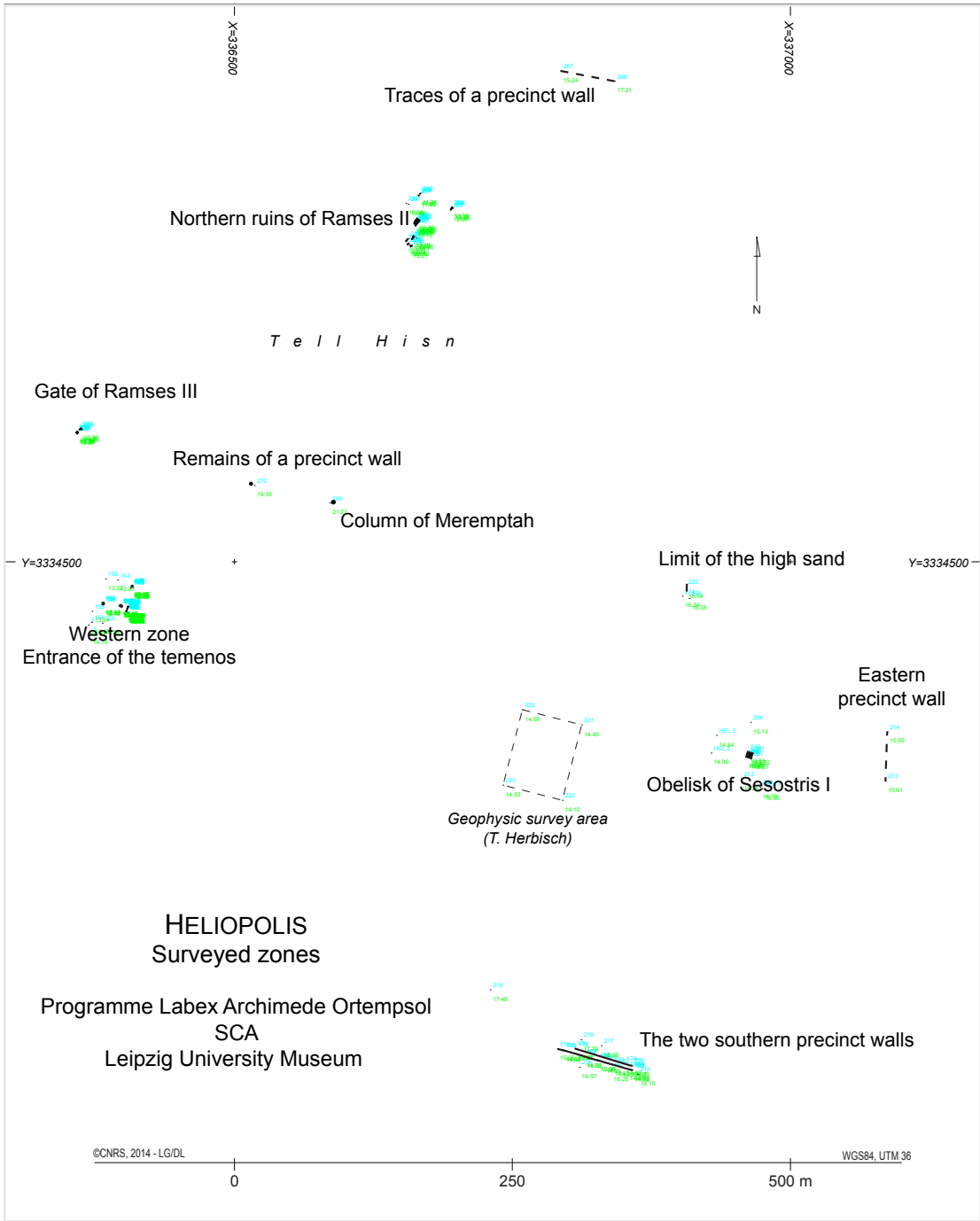


Fig. 1: Map showing the location of the structures surveyed by the mission OrTempSol.

The New Archaeological Grid

A new archaeological map was thus drawn by D. Laisney compiling the old and new data and providing the orientation of various structures (Fig. 2).

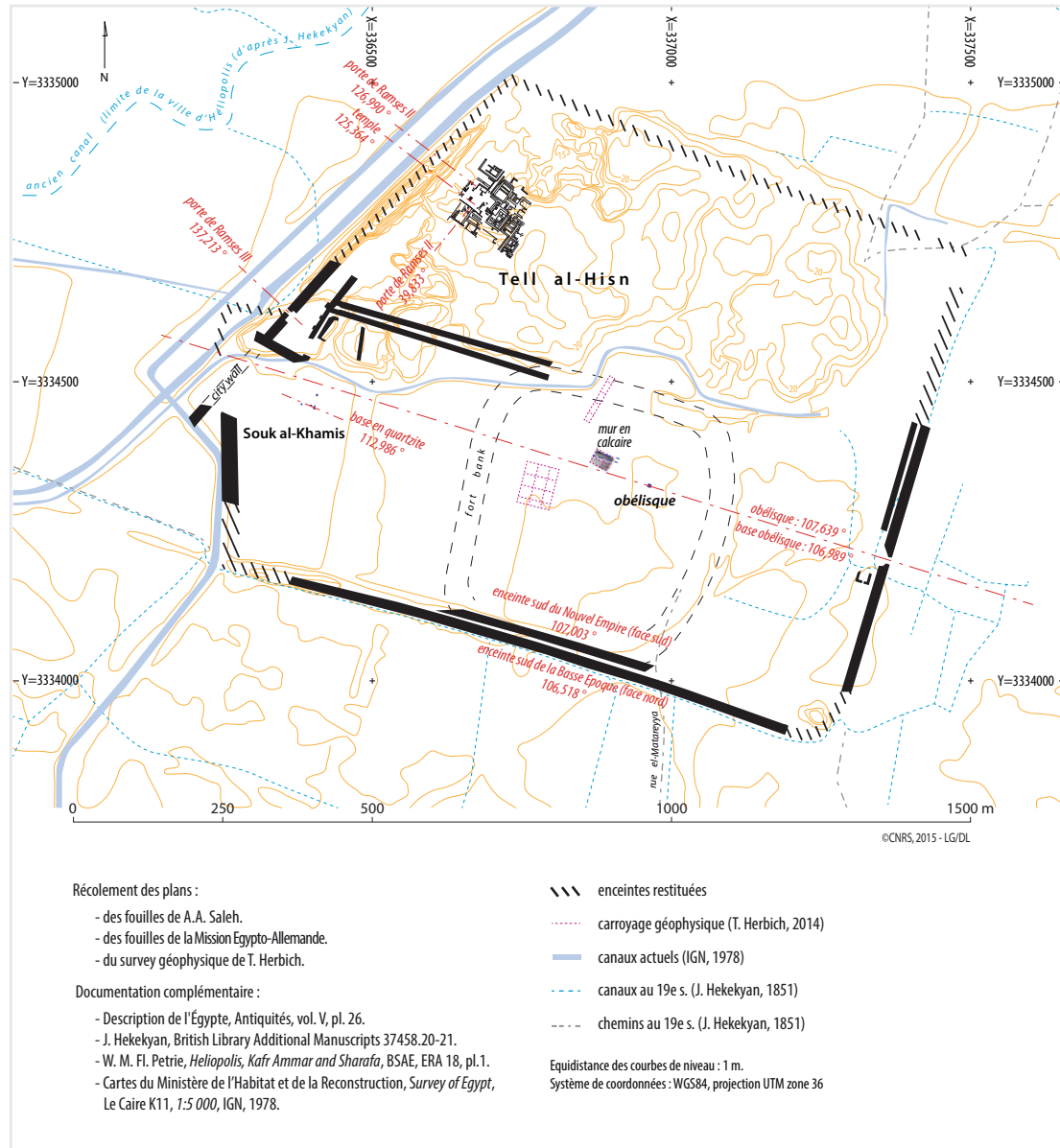


Fig. 2:
The new archaeological grid realized by D. Laisney (OrTempSol Mission, Labex-Archimède, Montpellier).

The Results of the Study of the Orientation of the Archaeological Structures at the Site

The data related to the topographical orientation of the different archaeological structures at the site were then noted in detail on the new grid (Fig. 3).

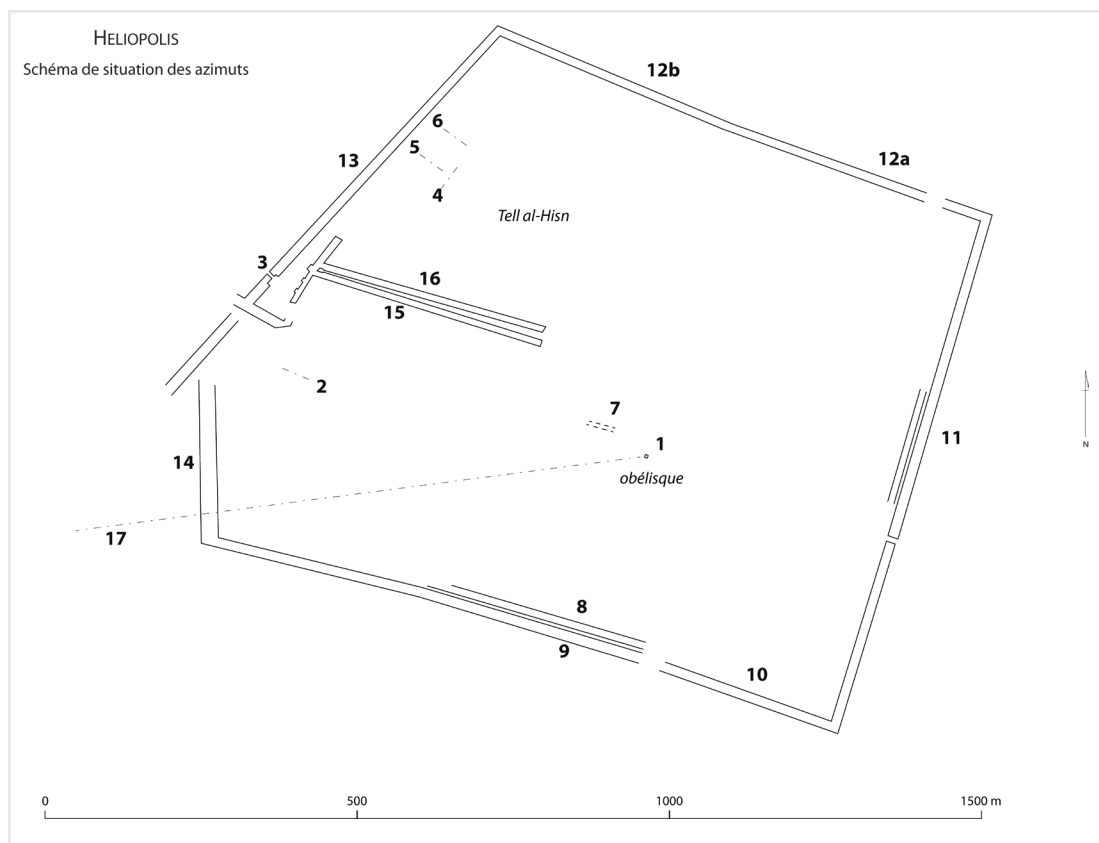


Fig. 3:
Sites of the different archaeological structures whose orientation could be determined and recorded during the 2014 mission.

The precise orientation of the surveyed structures is summarized in the following (Tab. 1)

The geodesic orientation of the various structures identified on-site or adjusted on the grid from earlier publications (the decimals are only for calculation and they have no significance for the exactness of the buildings' orientation taking into account the actual accuracy of the field measures and the poor state of the remains).

Site	Azimuth (in dec. degrees)	Kind of azimuth determination	Number on the map	Sources
Axis of the obelisk (Senusret I)	107.639	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	1	Survey by D. Laisney
Base of the obelisk (modern)	106.989	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	1	Survey by D. Laisney
Axis of the temple south of the obelisk	109.591	Graphical measure	1	J. Hekekyan (1851)
Corrected axis of the temple (north of the obelisk)	107.004	Graphical measure	1	Horner (1855)
Limestone wall (west of the obelisk)	105.205	Measures deducted from the survey <i>in situ</i> in 2014	7	Geophysical survey by T. Herbich (2014)
South New Kingdom precinct wall (southern face)	107.003	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	8	Excavations Ashmawy/Raue (2014); survey by D. Laisney
South New Kingdom precinct wall	106.704	Graphical measure	8	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
South Late Period precinct wall (northern face)	106.518	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	9	Excavations Ashmawy/Raue (2014); survey by D. Laisney
South Late Period precinct wall (western part)	104.905	Graphical measure	9	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
South precinct wall (western part)	103.207	Graphical measure	8 + 9	J. Hekekyan (1851)
South precinct wall (western part)	110.007	Graphical measure	8 + 9	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)
South Late Period precinct wall (eastern part)	108.685	Graphical measure (turned by 90°)	10	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
South precinct wall (eastern part)	106.334	Graphical measure	10	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)

Tab. 1 (continued)

Eastern precinct wall	106.706	Graphical measure (turned of 90°)	11	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
Eastern precinct wall	105.765	Graphical measure (turned by 90°)	11	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)
Northern precinct wall (south of Tell el-Hisn)	102.810	Graphical measure	15 + 16	J. Hekekyan (1851)
Northern precinct wall (southern wall)	107.385	Graphical measure	15	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
Northern precinct wall (northern wall)	105.988	Graphical measure	16	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
Quartzite base (Souk al-Khamis)	112.986	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014 (turned by 90°)	2	Excavations Ashmawy (2007–2008), survey by D. Laisney
Northern precinct wall (western part)	112.748	Graphical measure	12a	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)
Northern precinct wall (eastern part)	108.726	Graphical measure	12b	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)
Northern precinct wall	118.000	Data published by W. M. F. Petrie	12a + 12b	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
Western precinct wall (northern part)	133.609	Graphical measure (turned by 90°)	13	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)
Western precinct wall (northern part)	131.977	Graphical measure	13	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
Gate of Ramesses III (Tell el-Hisn)	137.213	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	3	Excavations A. A. Saleh (1976–1981)
Gate of Ramesses II (Tell el-Hisn)	129.833	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014 (turned by 90°)	4	Excavations A. A. Saleh (1976–1981)
Temple (Tell el-Hisn)	125.364	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	5	Excavations A. A. Saleh (1976–1981)
Gate of Ramesses II (Tell el-Hisn)	126.990	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	6	Excavations A. A. Saleh (1976–1981)
Western precinct wall, southern part	84.662	Graphical measure (turned by 90°)	14	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)
Western precinct wall, southern part	92.618	Graphical measure	14	J. Hekekyan (1851)
Western precinct wall, southern part	89.499	Graphical measure	14	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)

⁸ Since 2016, the mission has worked in cooperation with Kai-Christian Bruhn and the University of Applied Sciences / Mainz.

The mission of 2017 has led to the discovery of the remains of a segment of a new limestone wall located west-northwest of the obelisk, adding a new measurement to the series (Fig. 4 - 6).

Segment of limestone wall found <i>in situ</i> in March 2017	≈ 106.50	Measured <i>in situ</i> by D. Raue (2017)	7	Excavations SCA/Mus. Univ. Leipzig (2017)
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Fig. 4–6:
The segment of wall discovered in 2017 W-N-W of the obelisk (Area 211) and its general orientation;
Photos: C. Breninek.

Among this series of measurements, we have isolated those which are the most useful for our topic (i.e., the orientation of the temple of Atum, especially the buildings of Senusret I and the New Kingdom structures) and we balanced them taking into account their proper individual reliability (Tab. 2).

The geodesic orientation of the structures in direct relation to the orientation of the temple of Atum of Senusret I (the decimals are only for calculation and they have no significance for the exactness of the buildings' orientation).

Site	Azimuth (in dec. degrees)	Kind of azimuth determination	Number on the map	Sources
Axis of the obelisk (Senusret I)	107.639	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	1	Survey by D. Laisney
Corrected axis of the temple (north of the obelisk)	107.004	Graphical measure	1	Horner (1855)
Limestone wall (west of the obelisk)	105.205	Measures deducted from the survey <i>in situ</i> of 2014	7	Geophysical survey by T. Herlich (2014)
Segment of limestone wall found <i>in situ</i> in March 2017	≈ 106.50	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2017	7	Excavations SCA/Mus. Univ. Leipzig (2017)
South New Kingdom precinct wall (southern face)	107.003	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	8	Excavations Ashmawy / Raue (2014); survey by D. Laisney
South New Kingdom precinct wall	106.704	Graphical measure	8	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
South Late Period precinct wall (northern face)	106.518	Measured <i>in situ</i> in 2014	9	Excavations Ashmawy / Raue (2014); survey by D. Laisney
South Late Period precinct wall (western part)	104.905	Graphical measure	9	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
South precinct wall (western part)	103.207	Graphical measure	8 + 9	J. Hekekyan (1851)
South precinct wall (western part)	110.007	Graphical measure	8 + 9	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)
South Late Period precinct wall (eastern part)	108.685	Graphical measure (turned by 90°)	10	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
South precinct wall (eastern part)	106.334	Graphical measure	10	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)

Tab. 2 (continued)

Eastern precinct wall	106.706	Graphical measure (turned by 90°)	11	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
Eastern precinct wall	105.765	Graphical measure (turned by 90°)	11	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)
Northern precinct wall (south of Tell el-Hisn)	102.810	Graphical measure	15 + 16	J. Hekekyan (1851)
Northern precinct wall (southern wall)	107.385	Graphical measure	15	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
Northern precinct wall (northern wall)	105.988	Graphical measure	16	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)
Northern precinct wall (eastern part)	108.726	Graphical measure	12b	Description de l'Égypte (1798–1802)
Northern precinct wall	118.000	Data published by W. M. F. Petrie	12a + 12b	W. M. F. Petrie (1911–1912)

The Historical Issues

The importance of the different remains for our own set of problems has now to be evaluated. First, we must be aware that, though the religious occupation of the site may date back to prehistoric times, all the documents of the Old Kingdom discovered on-site were found in a reused context⁹.

Thus, the oldest monument, preserved and visible *in situ*, appears to be the obelisk which dates to the reign of Senusret I. This monument was part of a huge building or rebuilding programme that was launched by this king at Heliopolis. This wide-ranging program is known to us thanks to the *Berlin Leather Roll* and through the *Annals of Senusret I* found at Bab el-Tawfiq. This

abundant documentation led us to focus the potential astronomical research on this epoch and on this reign.

From the *Berlin Leather Roll*¹⁰ we know that the foundation of a new temple at Heliopolis was decided in year 3, IIIrd month of the inundation season (*akhet*), day 8; the *Annals* of Bab el-Tawfiq are not dated, but from the mentions of the pair of obelisks and because of the connection between the obelisks and the jubilee (mentioned on the shaft of the still standing one), we can assume that the pair of monoliths was probably erected around year 30–31 of the king (POSTEL/RÉGEN 2005, 237, 266, note kk, 273).

⁹ WEILL 1911/12, 9–19, sp. 9–10; MARTIN 1977, 42–43, fig. 3; HABACHI 1978, 42–43, fig. 7.

¹⁰ Berlin Inv. P. 3029; DE BUCK 1938, 48–57; GOEDICKE 1974, 87–104; LICHTHEIM 1973, 115–118.

Relative Location of the Standing Obelisk in Regard to the Temple's Axis

However, the question of the location of the standing obelisk “vis-à-vis” the temple has to be solved in order to correctly place the axis of the temple. Joseph Hekekyan in 1851–55 and David Jeffreys in 1999 (JEFFREYS 1999, 160, 166–168, fig. 3–4; followed by CONTARDI 2009, 17) had concluded from their observations that the obelisk was most probably the northern one of a pair on the west-east axis (that is the left-hand one when entering from the west). They had in fact equated a structure found 17 m south of the standing obelisk with the base of its counterpart. Therefore, they drew an axis south of the standing obelisk. However, this situation is in obvious contradiction with the contemporary customs concerning the orientation of the royal inscriptions on each side of an obelisk, in respect to the end of the temples: according to the inscriptions, the obelisk should be either the right one of a pair marking an access west-east, or the left one of an access south-north, with no other possibility (Fig. 7).

D. Jeffreys then supposed that the temple could have been entered from the east and/or that the obelisk could have been rotated on its base

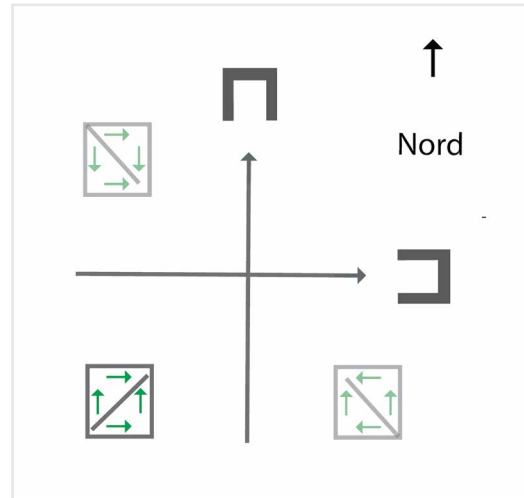


Fig. 7:
The two location possibilities of the sanctuary vis-à-vis the obelisks in regard to the orientation of the inscriptions on the standing obelisk.

later on. However, a closer look at what Hekekyan had found 17 m south of the obelisk reveals that it could not have been a pedestal for an obelisk (Fig. 8). It is in fact a much thinner base for a naos with an engraving on the upper surface which was carved to match a more or



Fig. 8: The structure found south of the standing obelisk which is not the pedestal of its counterpart but the base of a temple-shaped naos. (Photo: L. Gabolde)

less temple-shaped wooden shrine with a pylon façade.

Subsequently, there is no reason not to equate the standing obelisk with the southern one, that is the right-hand one when entering the temple from the west, as required by the texts' orientation; nor need one suppose the obelisk was rotated.

It is appropriate to mention here the fact that the obelisk was raised by around 2.50 m in 1957 by the Krupp Company on behalf of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (HABACHI 1982, 32; ID. 1984, 49), because it was threatened by the high water table. However, this purely vertical motion of the monolith was accomplished with hydraulic cylinders. This operation did not affect, albeit very marginally, its orientation. It thus remains a good clue as to the orientation of Senusret I's buildings.

Besides the obelisk, New Kingdom mud-brick walls have also survived on the southern border of the site. Their orientation has been measured and altogether they always point to an azimuth of around 107° with very minor discrepancies; these data were inserted in Tab. 2.

Finally, as already mentioned, excavations carried out in 2017 have brought to light the remains of a limestone wall located to the west-northwest of the obelisk, and oriented east-west. Its azimuth appeared to be close to 106.50° .

The main orientation of the temple of Atum of Senusret I can thus be provisionally established at around:

$$107^\circ (\pm 2/3^\circ)$$

The vertical angle of the eastern horizon line in that direction (i.e., towards the sunrise) can be determined: 1. by the altitude of the soil dating to Senusret I ($z = 13.00$ m a.s.l.)¹¹ augmented by the altitude of the observer's eye (+ 1.50 m), resulting in $z=14.50$ m. 2. by the distance of the horizon (14 000 m) and its height (180 m).

The vertical angle (α) of observation is then calculated as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Tangent } (\alpha) &= (180-14.50)/14\,000 = 0.011821429 \\ \text{Angle } (\alpha) &= \text{arc-tangent } (0.011821429) = 0^\circ 40' 38.23''. \end{aligned}$$

For such an angle (α), the refraction is $0^\circ 29' 26.61''$, implying an actual observation angle of $0^\circ 40' 38.23'' - 0^\circ 29' 26.61'' = 0^\circ 11' 11.62''$.

In case of a solar observation, half of the solar diameter ($0^\circ 16'$) has also to be subtracted, resulting in a height under the horizon of $0^\circ 11' 11.62'' - 0^\circ 16' 00'' = - 0^\circ 4' 48.38''$.

¹¹ Synthesis of the data of Hekekyan (JEFFREYS 1999, 162–163 and fig. 3–4 and <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O171844/sketch-of-the-foundation-and-drawing-simpson-william/> (11 November 2015)) and of HORNER 1855, 131–132.

The Sunrise at Heliopolis in the Reign of Senusret I

Because the Lord of the temple, Ra-Atum, was a prominent solar deity, it is very likely that the azimuth of the sanctuary corresponds with a specific sunrise, as it was the case at Karnak¹², at Tell el-Amarna¹³ and Tanis¹⁴.

As the reign of Senusret I marked a major step in the building history of Heliopolis and, so far, provides the oldest architectural remains preser-

ved *in situ* we have chosen to focus our research on this reign, and especially on the year 3 (8th day of the IIIrd month of the *akhet* season) of this king — which, as recorded in the *Berlin Leather Roll*, corresponds to the first building activity of Senusret I at the site — in order to evaluate the potential concordances between the azimuth of the temple and the sunrise.

The Reign of Senusret I in Absolute Chronology

The first question to solve is the calibration of the reign of Senusret I in absolute chronology. The anchor date for such a study is the heliacal rising of Sirius recorded in year 7 of Senusret III and reported in the *Illahun Archive* on the IVth month of the *peret* season, 17th day (see bibliography in KRAUSS 2006, 448–450). The first apparent difficulty lies in the determination of the number of years filling the gap between the date of Illahun and the date recorded in the *Berlin Leather Roll* in year 3 of Senusret I, as the exact length of the intermediate reigns is not definitely fixed. We have estimated it here at 89 years¹⁵. The second difficulty consists in finding the exact place of this reign in the 2nd millennium BC. It depends, in fact, on which chrono-

logical theory (high, medium or low) is adopted for the fixing of the Illahun Sothic date. We shall examine here the results provided by the high chronology of U. Luft and those provided by the low chronology of R. Krauss.

In the chronological frame of U. Luft (LUFT 1992a, 109–114; ID. 1992b, 224–229), the heliacal rising of Sirius in year 7 of Senusret III occurred on the 17th of July (in the Julian calendar = 1st July in the Gregorian calendar) 1866 BC (= -1865). Year 3 of Senusret I would then correspond to 1955 BC (= - 1954).

In the chronological frame of R. Krauss (KRAUSS 2006, 448–450), the heliacal rising of Sirius in

¹² *Supra* note 3.

¹³ *Supra* note 4.

¹⁴ *Supra* note 5.

¹⁵ Based on the following regnal years succession: year 45 of Senusret I = year 1 of Amenemhet II; year 35 of Amenemhet II = year 1 of Senusret II; year 8 of Senusret II = year 1 of Senusret III. Hypotheses of coregencies have been discarded here, following the convincing conclusions of DELIA 1979, 15–28; ID. 1982, 55–70 and OBSOMER 1995, 149–152.

year 7 of Senusret III occurred 36 years later, in 1830 BC. Year 3 of Senusret I would then correspond to 1919 BC (= -1918).

Now we can check the date of the sunrise on the temple axis in both systems. In 1955 BC (= -1954), following the chronological frame of U. Luft, the sun rose in the axis of the Heliopolis temple (at an azimuth of $106^{\circ} 59' 30.6''$) on the 26th of February (in the Julian calendar, corresponding to the 9th of February in the Gregorian calendar). A retro-calculation based on the date of Censorinus shows that this day corresponds to the 4th day of the IIIrd month of the *akhet* season, i.e., 4 days before the date recorded in the *Berlin Leather Roll*.

In 1919 BC (= -1918), if we follow the chronological frame of R. Krauss, the sun rose in the axis of the Heliopolis temple (at an azimuth of $106^{\circ} 53' 28.7''$) on the 26th of February (in the Julian calendar, corresponding to the 9th of February in the Gregorian calendar). A retro-calculation based on the date of Censorinus shows that this day corresponds to the 13th day of the IIIrd month of the *akhet* season, i.e., 5 days after the date recorded in the *Berlin Leather Roll*.

It is quite remarkable that these two evaluations appear to be very close — the first 4 days before and the second 5 days after — to the date registered in the *Berlin Leather Roll* as this document had genuinely recorded the day chosen by Senusret I to convene with his courtiers in order to decide on and implement the rebuilding of the Atum temple at Heliopolis.

It is thus very tantalizing to propose an intermediate chronological frame, between 1955 and 1919 BC, in which the determination of the temple's axis on the sunrise during the foundation ceremony would have immediately followed the decision of the king to rebuild the temple.

Empirically, the date which better fits these requisites appears to be Monday the 26th of February in the Julian calendar (= 9th February in the Gregorian calendar) 1936 BC (= -1935). In the Egyptian calendar, retro-calculated from the Censorinus date onwards, this day corresponds with the 9th day of the IIIrd month of the *akhet* season, i.e., the day after the meeting of Senusret I with his courtiers. Astronomical computer calculations show that the sun rose on this very day at Heliopolis at an azimuth of $106^{\circ} 50' 51.1''$ (Fig. 9), a result which fits very well with the topographical data we have recorded above.

Note that, interestingly enough, this day corresponds with a new moon, the new crescent being visible at twilight¹⁶, a circumstance considered propitious for the foundation ceremonies as attested for the foundation date of the *Akhmenu* of Thutmose III at Karnak or that of the pylon of Ramesses II at Luxor¹⁷.

However, if we were to admit that several days — 5 for example — had elapsed between the convening of Senusret I with his officials and the foundation ceremony of Heliopolis' temple, then the date of the astronomical observation of the sunrise used for establishing the temple's axis

¹⁶ The actual neomenia had occurred on the 25th of February (Julian calendar) at dawn.

¹⁷ *Akhmenu*: Urk. IV, 836.1–4; see Beckerath 1981, 41–51; Pylon of Ramses II at Luxor temple: KRI II, 346, 10–11 and KRITA II, 184.

could fit in with Krauss' chronological frame. The 3rd year of Senusret I's reign could thus correspond with 1919 BC.

Note, in that respect, that if we accept a relation between the *Berlin Leather Roll* text and the orientation of the temple of Heliopolis through a direct observation of the sunrise at dawn, we would have to discard the high chronology system which U. Luft proposed. In that case, the orientation of the temple based on the sunrise would have preceded by approximately 4 days

the convening of the court by Senusret I in order to decide on the rebuilding of the temple and on the implementation of the foundation ceremonies. However, such a circumstance seems very unlikely.

This statement is moreover in agreement with the chronological conclusions already drawn from the orientation of the small temple of Aten at Tell el-Amarna, an orientation which mainly matched the low chronology system (GABOLDE 2009, 153–154).

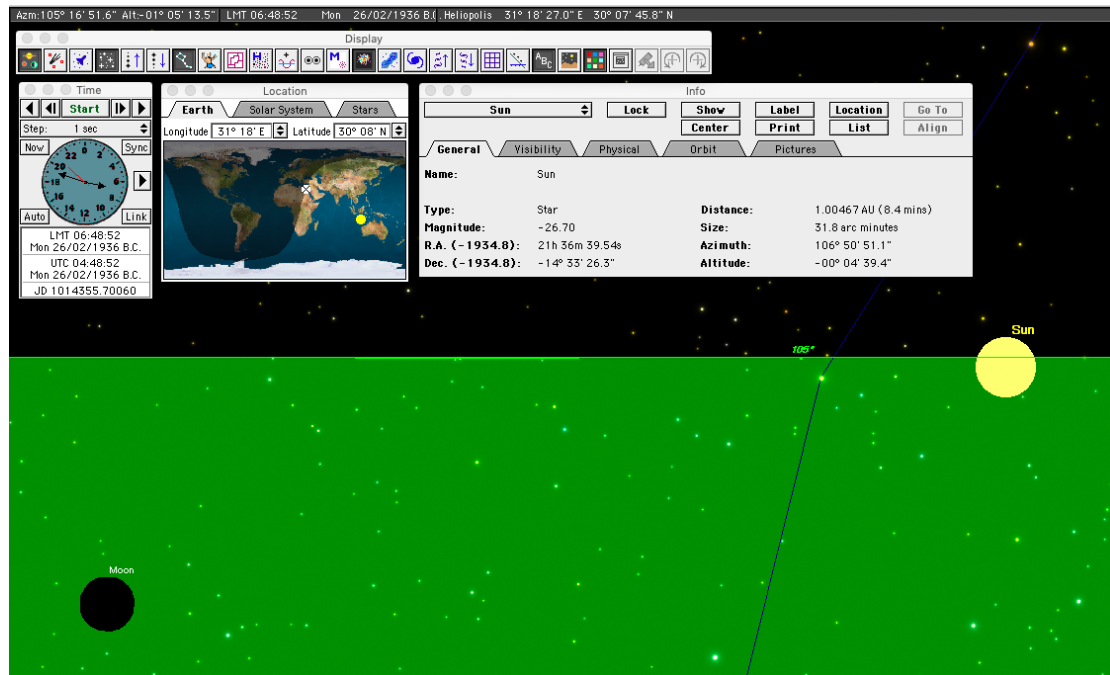


Fig. 9: Screen-shot from Voyager 3 simulation of the sun rise at Heliopolis on the 26th of February in Julian calendar (= 9th February in Gregorian calendar) 1936 BC (= -1935).

Conclusions

The new survey of the site and the recent excavations west of the obelisk have provided us with rather precise data regarding the original orientation of the temple of Atum, especially for the one rebuilt by Senusret I in the 3rd year of his reign.

Though there remain some uncertainties (length of the intermediate reigns between Senusret I and III, exact position of the Illahun Sothic date in absolute chronology), we can propose a hypothesis suggesting a remarkable convergence between the orientation of the Atum temple and the azimuth of the sunrise on the date recorded in the *Berlin Leather Roll* during the reign of Senusret I. This conjunction can hardly be considered a mere coincidence. Moreover, this date was of particular significance for the king as it was the second anniversary of his father's assassination and of his own accession to the throne. In this respect it was undoubtedly not a coincidence that, 16 years later, the temple of the same Senusret I at Karnak was clearly aligned, on purpose, on the sunrise at winter solstice.

The most enticing chronological hypothesis for Heliopolis is to fix the foundation ceremony on the 26th of February in the Julian calendar (= 9th February in the Gregorian calendar) 1936

BC (= -1935) at dawn. This day corresponds with the 9th day of the IIIrd month of the *akhet* season, i.e., the day after the meeting between Senusret I and his courtiers. It was a new moon.

The other interesting possibility would imply a foundation ceremony delayed by 5 days after the meeting of Senusret as recorded in the *Berlin Leather Roll*. In that case, the event would have occurred on the 26th of February in the Julian calendar (= 9th February in the Gregorian calendar) 1919 BC corresponding to the 13th day of the IIIrd month of the *akhet* season and could match the chronological system of R. Krauss. The convening of the court by Senusret I would have then occurred on the 21st of February (Julian), and was in correspondence with the reappearance of the moon crescent after the new moon (the true *neomenia* had taken place on the 18th of February and was a partial eclipse, but not visible from Egypt). As already mentioned, the low chronology system favoured by these new data is confirmed by the results previously gained at Amarna (GABOLDE 2009, 145–157)¹⁸.

If one of these hypotheses were to be confirmed and widely accepted, it could constitute a new milestone for the Egyptian chronology.

¹⁸ However, other scholars have recently argued for a high chronology system, based, for example, on a reassessment of the Thera-Santorini eruption's date: RITNER/MOELLER 2014, 1–19, sp. 13–17.

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2. Western Temenos Areas 200–203

- 2.1 **Introduction to Areas 200–203 – “Suq el-Khamis”**
- 2.2 **Area 200–203: Inscriptions and Reliefs**
 - 2.2.1 Ramesside Inscriptions and Reliefs
 - 2.2.1.1 A Copy of the Blessings of Ptah from the Primordial Mound
- 2.3 **Area 200–203: Sculpture**
 - 2.3.1 Middle Kingdom Colossal Statues Reused by Ramesses II
 - 2.3.2 Royal Statuary
 - 2.3.2.1 Fragment of a Back Slab from a Dyad of Ramesses II and the Goddess Isis
 - 2.3.2.2 Upper Part of a Kneeling Statue of King Sety II
 - 2.3.2.3 Fragments of Sphinxes from Suq el-Khamis
 - 2.3.2.4 Back Pillar of a Kneeling Statue (?)
 - 2.3.2.5 The Quartzite Colossus of Psamtik I in Suq el-Khamis
 - 2.3.3 Privat Statuary
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 - 2.3.4 Faunal Statuary
 - 2.3.4.1 Fragments of a Monumental Falcon

Introduction to Areas 200–203 – “Suq el-Khamis”

Aiman Ashmawy and Dietrich Raue

The temples of the precinct of the sun-god at Matariya are aligned alongside the remains of a dromos that could have started in the western perimeter at the monumental main gate close to the *Jty*-canal (PETRIE 1915, 2–3, pl. II top, marked as “gate”). The first major unit was a temple of Ramesses II. Its orientation runs north-south, facing the main procession axis from the southern side.

The following areas cover parts of this temple and its immediate vicinity (Fig. 1):

- Area 200: sector in front of the main pylon (excavations 2001–2018)
- Area 201: sector with remains of the temple proper (excavations 2001–2003)
- Area 202: sector west of Area 201 (excavations 2012, 2016)
- Area 203: sector between Area 201 and houses built in the 1980s
- Area 7: findspot of fragments of a kneeling statue of Sety II (excavation 1987)

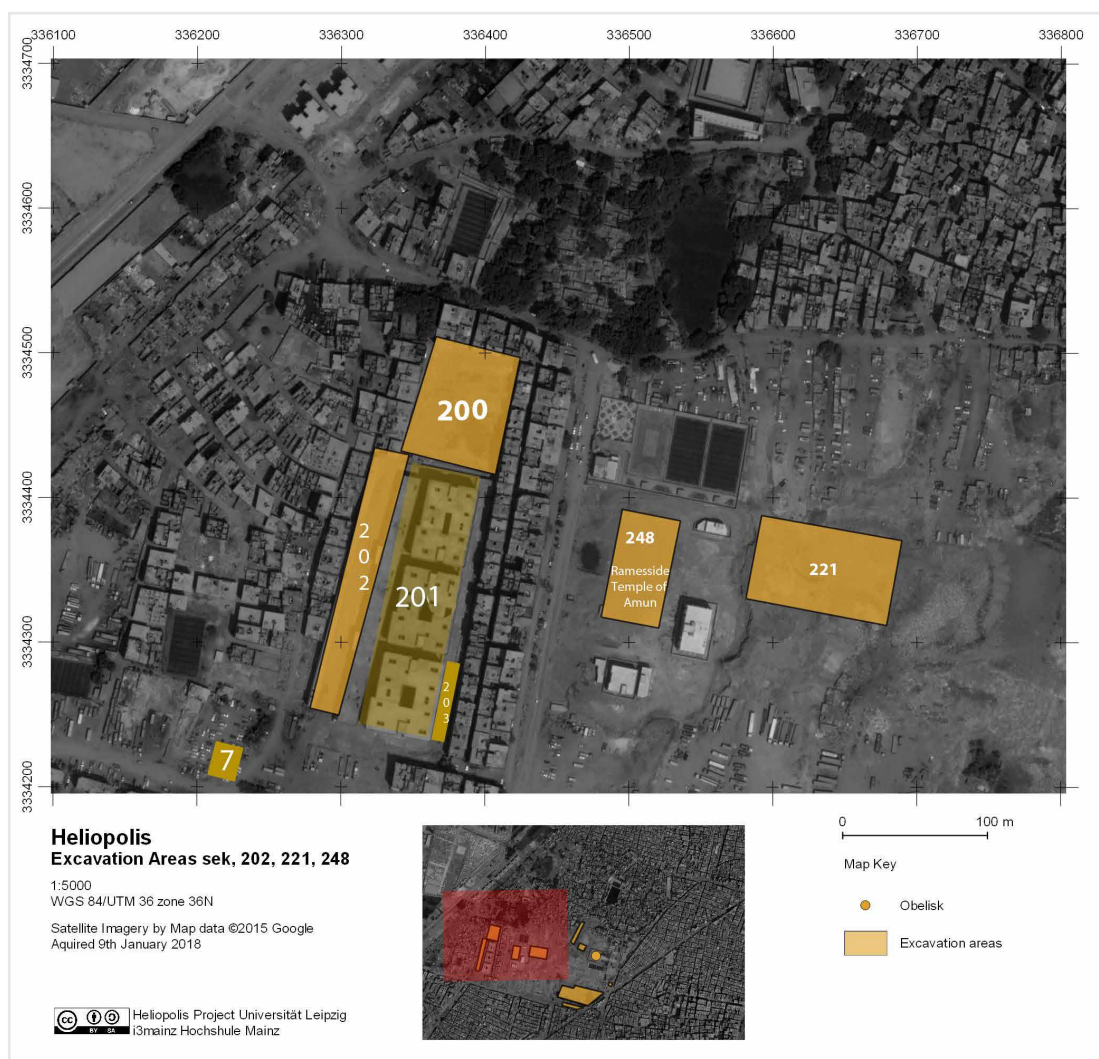


Fig. 1:
Excavation areas at
the western periphery
(Areas 7, 200–203:
“Suq el-Khamis”).

Large quartzite fragments that probably belong to at least one colossal sphinx were located on the eastern, inner side of the monumental temenos gate. Several sketches and illustrations from the later 18th and 19th centuries (Fig. 2) provide us with the position of these blocks (JEFFREYS 1999, 165, fig. 6; GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 107–108, fig. 1–2), and the notes of J. Hekekyan mention excavations at the “southern sphinx” (GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 110, fig. 5). This “Excavation C” revealed a body fragment of 7 × 3 m with the cartouche of Ramesses III, along with other parts of this impressive sculpture (JEFFREYS 1999, 166, fig. 7). The position of this sphinx is probably linked to the dromos and the north-western glacis of the temple at Areas 200–203, known today as “Suq el-Khamis”.¹ Furthermore, Hekekyan’s drawing of the western sector of the temenos reveals the position of “bedoween huts” at the southern face of the temple (GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 110, fig. 5).

Excavations of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), directed by Dr. Yussuf Hamid Khalifa discovered fragments of a kneeling limestone statue of Sety II south-west of the temple (ABD EL-GELIL/SHAKER/RAUE 1996, 137, no. 7). No architectural context was observed and an estimation of the distance of the original emplacement of this sculpture seems impossible.²

In 2001 the municipal authorities of Cairo Governorate decided to move the weekly market known as Suq el-Khamis from the main street in the suburb of Matariya because it caused disruption and traffic congestion throughout the area every Thursday. A free piece of land in Matariya was chosen as alternative for this market. This area operates as an endowment, supervised by the Ministry of *Awqaf*. In addition, it is subject to archaeological law, as it is about 600 m to the west of the obelisk at Matariya, within the precinct of the former Sun Temple of Heliopolis. It was decided that the area should be excavated and void of archaeological material before starting any building activity.³

The area of the market was divided into four stages of work “A–D”. Sondages were carried out in the first three stages A–C (later called Area 201) and the area was handed over to the local authority in 2003/2004. Area “D” (later called Area 200) was also investigated by sondages, which led to the discovery of basalt and granite blocks within this area.⁴ The most important find has been the door-jamb of a sacral building of Senusret III that might match with other quartzite lintels from Heliopolis found in Alexandria.⁵ Column fragments of granite measuring 95 cm in diameter were found mentioning the creator-sun-god Atum-Khepri (KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 50). After several slabs of

¹ Other quartzite fragments of colossal sphinxes were found directly in front of the main pylon of the temple in Area 200, see p. 143–144, Fragment Inv. No. U2076-2 and ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 7, pl. 7b (cartouche of Merenptah).

² EL-SAWI 1990, 337–340, pl. 55–56; RAUE 1999, 374, XIX.6-5.2, h. 160 cm; SOUROUZIAN 2019, 624–625, no. 396; ID. 2020, p. 25 and 206. A fragment of a slightly smaller kneeling statue was discovered in 2017 in Area 200, see CONNOR, p. 132–142 in this report; for another statue base of a kneeling representation of Sety II found in 2019, see ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2022, 13–24.

³ The deciding committee was headed by the late Attya Radwan, to whom our mission owes the deepest gratitude.

⁴ For a summary of this work, see KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 49–56.

⁵ KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 50, 55, fig. 2; London BM EA 145, acquired in 1805, www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA145 (last accessed: 24.11.2022), BUDGE 1913, pl. 8 with the “God of the Souls of Heliopolis”; London BM EA 74753: www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA74753 (last accessed: 24.11.2022), with the depiction of [Ra-Hor?]-akhet and Atum, Lord of the Great Mansion.

a basalt pavement and large fragments of granite were found, indicating the presence of several colossal sculptures in Area 200, it was decided to conduct full-scale excavations at the site, and in 2004 the SCA resumed excavation in this location. This excavation led to the discovery of fragments from Middle Kingdom colossal statues of granite, a door-jamb of Senusret I, more evidence for the basalt pavement, as well as a fragment of a quartzite statue of Ramesses II.⁶ From August 25 until October 1, 2005 a joint mission of the SCA and the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo carried out more excavations at Area “D” as well as drill coring in



Fig. 2:
Area 200 from the
north, October 2005
(Photo: D. Raue).

the area to investigate the earlier history of the site (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 1–9), after a 10 × 10 m grid was established (Fig. 2). Several relief and altar fragments from the Amarna Period were discovered in the top layers of the stratigraphy, pointing to a sub-recent date of redeposition.⁷ Again, more fragments of granite colossal statuary were discovered. The most important stratigraphic result was the locati-

on of a stratum belonging to a mud-brick building with a storage facility from the Second Intermediate Period in square K21. The associated pottery finds point to a noticeable southernmost presence of Middle Bronze Age material culture in Egypt. This occupation covered an almost clean layer of red burnt soil (MAHMUD ET AL. 2008, 197–205).

The SCA mission continued excavation at the site from 2006–2011 under the direction of Aiman Ashmawy. During this period, excavations were carried out in 25 squares covering most of the area of stage “D” at Suq el-Khamis (Area 200). Until 2006, no stone structures were found *in situ*. Therefore, it was of utmost significance that the SCA mission discovered two statue bases in their original position. The first base in square K23 measured 3.5 × 2.78 m and still had the lower part of a seated colossal statue in place.⁸ Even though partly split and turned over when the removal of these statues was initiated, what remained of the statues’ feet and throne provided reliable evidence for the orientation of the cult axis of the temple in Area 200.

The other base, located in square K24w, was constructed in an entirely different way. Its colossal statue had once been supported by a frame of quartzite blocks (5.5 × 3 m, h. 1.02 m) on top of a layer of limestone blocks (7 × 4.5 m).⁹

The limestone fill of the frame was removed during the various phases of the temples’ demolition in the 1st millennium CE. Further debris

⁶ ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 1–9; for the colossal sculpture that was reused in the Ramesside context of Area 200, see p. 85–123.

⁷ See p. 308–361 and p. 362–367.

⁸ See p. 88, 92–96, 104 Fig. 4.1–4.2.

was discovered in its place, including another large *nemes*-headdress fragment from a seated colossus dating to the Middle Kingdom.

In 2008, the water table was unusually low due to a drainage project to the west of the site, making it possible to reach an excavation depth not previously possible. This situation allowed the project to uncover a limestone pavement that might be associated to a gate of Ramesses II, discovered in 2012 (see below).

The excavation of the top layers yielded a number of high-quality *talatât*-blocks with depictions of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, mostly from



Fig. 3: Area 200, square K23, statue base and lower part of seated colossal statue from the west, January 2010 (Photo: A. Ashmawy).

squares L24, N22 and N24.¹⁰ More evidence for a settlement dating to the Second Intermediate Period was found in square M24, as well as residual pottery material, and a large fragment of a colossal statue in square H24 (see Fig. 6).¹¹

A number of relief slabs with life-size ritual scenes was found in squares N23–24 (see Fig. 6). The reliefs were very deeply carved and all cartouches mention Ramesses II. Even though an in-depth study of these reliefs is still in progress, it seems clear that a major east-west oriented, relief-decorated wall of Ramesses II was located about 25–30 m south of the statue bases.

The work had to be stopped due to the security situation after the 25th of January 2011 Revolution.

The joint Egyptian-German Archaeological Mission at Matariya, directed by Dr. Aiman Ashmawy and Dr. Dietrich Raue, was resumed in spring 2012. Excavation work in Area 200 continued, but the water table had unfortunately risen by about more than a metre (Fig. 4). The excavations were now only able to reach the floor level of the Ramesside temple and deeper sondages were no longer possible. Three more seasons were devoted to the top layers of Area 200. More evidence for Amarna Period building activity, as well as additional fragments of a large falcon statue¹², were discovered before work was halted in spring 2014.

Salvage excavations by the SCA were able to save remains of a Ramesside gateway of quartzite connected to a basalt pavement. The lintel of the gateway shows traces of the name of a king who originally commissioned this struc-

⁹ The date and function of base K24w was settled ten years later as the support for the colossal statue Psamtik I, see p. 151–173.

¹⁰ The *talatât*-blocks mentioned here are dealt with in the contributions by K. Dietze and C. Breninek, see chapters 8.1.1 und 8.1.2.

¹¹ Find-no. H24-2-3, see p. 87 Fig. 1.1, 89 Fig. 1.12–1.14.

¹² The date of this statue was established by the identification of matching fragments with the cartouche of Horemheb in Spring 2020, see contribution of Simon Connor, p. 182–191.

ture. Unfortunately, these cartouches were thoroughly reworked by Ramesses II (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2015, 10). A basalt slab along with the existence of vertical inscribed zones from the Western Hall of Ramesses II at the temple of Ptah at Memphis¹³, provides a very good comparison. Surface cleaning was carried out in Area 202 (Autumn 2012) and Area 203 (Spring 2014), which led to the discovery of several limestone elements belonging to Ramesside tomb chapels.¹⁴ Construction work for the shopping mall was

ly lower zone than those found ten years earlier at N23/N24 (see above). They bear the cartouches of Ramesses IV, who also added his name in Heliopolis close to the inscriptions of his famous namesake of the 19th Dynasty (RAUE 1999, 382, XX.3–7). Subsequent excavations investigated the narrow stripe west of the shopping mall, where evidence for administrative units close to the proper stone temple structure was confirmed by unscribed limestone columns and door-jambes.



Fig. 4: Area 200 from the east, March 2012. Front: statue base frame K24w and statue base with remains of seated colossal statue in K23 (Photo: D. Raue).

resumed in 2016, resulting in the discovery of two blocks of an outer façade with deeply executed reliefs at the area of squares N15/N16. One block shows a corner-torus of 52 cm in diameter (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017, 17–18), a measurement that can only be compared to such monuments as the Second Pylon of Ramesses II at Karnak. We therefore assume that this block represents the corner of the main pylon of the temple at Areas 200–203. The position of the other block has to be reconstructed in a slight-



Fig. 5: Area 200, squares K23–K24 from the east, September 2017. Front: statue base K24e, middle: statue base K24w, rear: statue base K23 (Photo: D. Raue).

¹³ PETRIE 1909, pl. XXII top right.

¹⁴ See contribution of Klara Dietze, p. 391–535. Such tomb chapels have originally been located about 1.5 km further east in the necropolis, but as has been proven by recent excavations in Area 251, relocation of New Kingdom tomb chapel blocks had happened during the transition to the very early Third Intermediate Period (ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2021, 12–17). The final deposition of blocks in Areas 202 and 203 might be connected with the urban development projects in the late 1950s at Ain Shams or with the construction of houses east of Areas 200/201/203 in the 1980s.

Final investigations were launched in Spring 2017, when the land of Area 200 was to be released for the extension of the “Suq el-Khamis” project. Documentation of the statue base K24w allowed for draining activities leading to the discovery of a pit with fragments of the colossal statue of Psamtik I.¹⁵ Excavations were continued in Autumn 2017 and Spring 2018 resulting in the complete documentation of

a bases and the *in situ* discovery of a third base in square K24e (Fig. 5). Both bases K23 and K24e were made of reused temple blocks with the typical treatment of deep Ramesside sunken relief. Study of the pottery from the foundation sand layer provided a late Ramesside date.

Four layers of the statue foundation made of reused blocks at square K24w were recorded.



Fig. 6:
Area 200, Summer
2020 (Plan: P. Collet
and C. Breninek).

¹⁵ ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2021, 49-68; see p. 151–173.

Cleaning of the pits surrounding the statue base K24w yielded 6500 quartzite fragments of various sizes along with several hundred fragments

of granite colossal statuary. In addition, fragments of private statuary, including a head of an official from the Middle Kingdom,¹⁶ were found.

Preliminary Summary of Observations in Area 200

The final mapping of all features (Fig. 6) illustrates that the three statue bases (K23, K24w, K24e) were not constructed in front of a large pylon. A foundation for a small statue/sphinx (square L23), the presence of Second Intermediate Period layers in square M24, and the lack of a large foundation pit for the pylon point to a screen wall that was erected at a distance of about 25 m in front of the monumental pylon.¹⁷ Corner

stones of the western wing of such an entrance were found in squares N15/16 and N24. Basalt slabs marked a western lateral procession axis (I21–K21–L21)¹⁸, as well as a central main procession-way in K25. Another pathway paved with basalt slabs was identified in the north-western sector of Area 200 in G18/H18. This access is in line with a number of squares without evidence of features (I22–I23–I24).

A Local Sequence for Areas 200–201–202–203

Thus far, the investigations during the past 20 years have led to the following evidence:

- Presence of 6th Dynasty layers of unknown function (drill coring: ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 2).
- Presence of Middle Kingdom debris layers of granite grit (drill coring: ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 3). The temple debris layers comprised of a door-jamb¹⁹ dating to

Senusret I as well as an element of a monumental quartzite portal of Senusret III. The combined evidence leads us to believe that Area 200 (and probably also Area 201) may have been occupied by a 12th Dynasty temple, probably as part of the greater building programme of Senusret I and its extension by Senusret III. A fragment of a high quality quartzite statue (p. 174–181) from a later context belongs to this phase.

¹⁶ See p. 174–181.

¹⁷ It was just at the very southern fringe that a deep trench filled with red burnt soil and burnt limestone was found. These features, which were also observed at a level of 12.30 m in squares M/N24 during the SCA mission in 2006–2011, might point to the robbed foundation of a Ramesside pylon.

¹⁸ This feature was initially and incorrectly described as “collapsed frame masonry of temple platform”, see ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 5, pl. 4a. In their 2008 season, the SCA mission reached a limestone pavement in square I21.

¹⁹ After its complete excavation in 2008 it was obvious that this fragment did not belong to a back pillar from one of the colossal granite statues as it had been initially assumed, see ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, pl. 7a.

- Occupation level of the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period: Small sections revealed the presence of mud-brick architecture underneath the Ramesside temple building in K21 (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 4). A rather simple silo and few walls do not allow for determining its function. The same stratum was found in square M24 and pottery from this period was also found to be residual material (e.g., ASHMAWY/RAUE 2015, 11).
- No evidence for Thutmoside building activity at Area 200 has been found to date. A stamped amphora handle with the throne name of Thutmose I was found in later debris layers (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 4, pl. 2b).
- A number of fragmentary *talatât*-blocks, along with numerous altar/statue base fragments, point to a Heliopolitan building programme undertaken by Akhenaten during his reign. It seems probable that at least one of the known building projects of Akhenaten and Nefertiti was located close to Area 200.²⁰
- A screen wall element of Sety I was discovered in Spring 2017 in the destruction debris of the top layers in Area 200. Unfortunately, its relationship to prior building activities remains unknown. The post-Amarna Period is also documented by the noticeably large falcon statue inscribed for Horemheb.²¹
- Construction of a festival temple by Ramesses II, orientated south-north. The original position of the main pylon can be located in the very southern fringe of Area 200. The connection with the dromos of the main temple was covered by modern habitation and therefore has not been investigated. Fragments of granite columns from Area 201 suggest the inner segments of the temple. The procession axes were paved with basalt slabs; a possible parallel for this arrangement can be identified with the western hall of the Ramesside temple of Ptah at Mitrahina/Memphis.²² The monumental inscription, “Blessings of Ptah” is inscribed on one of the pylon’s wings.²³ Up to six seated and standing Middle Kingdom colossal statues may belong to the first phase layout, but just one seated sculpture fragment bears an inscription of Ramesses II (see p. 86, 90 Fig. 1.19). Another colossal statue of a king with an Upper Egyptian crown bears the remains of an inscription of probably Middle Kingdom date with the mention of Thot (see p. 112, 113 Fig. 6.1–6.2). Among a group of Ramesside royal sculpture fragments, one life-size quartzite seated statue of Ramesses II and a kneeling statue of Sety II deserve special mention. They were placed in the open southern spaces of Area 200 as well as a sphinx/statue foundation in square L23.

²⁰ See contribution of DIETZE, p. 308–361 and BRENINEK p. 362–367.

²¹ See contribution of CONNOR, p. 182–191.

²² PETRIE 1909, 5–6, pl. II, XXI–XXIII.

²³ See contribution of ПОРКО, p. 61–84.

- Afterlife of the temple I: Corner blocks from the western wing of the main pylon show additional inscriptions by Ramesses IV (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017, 17–18); furthermore, statue bases K23 and K24e were built during the later Ramesside Period, as evidenced by the reuse of Ramesside spolia and late Ramesside pottery in the foundation sand of both bases. It cannot be stated with certainty whether this arrangement of bases in squares K23 and K24e was restoration or whether it was initially constructed in the late 19th–20th Dynasties.
- Afterlife of the temple II: A colossal statue of Psamtik I (664–610 BC) was placed between bases K23 and K24e (see p. 151). The base were constructed using six layers of reused and uninscribed blocks. Further remains from the second half of the 1st millennium BC include fragments of a 4th century BC healing statue.²⁴
- Afterlife of the temple III: Although no stratified deposits survived the subsequent use of the area, considerable amounts of mid-Hellenistic pottery and a figurine of a Hellenistic child-god confirms occupation of Area 200 at least during the 2nd century BC.²⁵
- Roman/Late Roman Period: Traces of stone-cutting by wedges, pottery finds of late Hellenistic and Roman Period were found in the pit with the Psamtik I statue fragments. Such evidence provides a hypothesis that dismantlement started rather early, perhaps in connection with the removal of obelisks during the reign of the emperor Augustus.²⁶ Late Roman activity is supported by pottery finds dating to the 4th–6th centuries.
- Ottoman Period: the top layers of debris contained fragments of Ottoman pipe-heads.

Inscriptions at the Area 200/201 temple point to the following gods as beneficiaries of the cult:

- The creator god Atum as “Lord of Heliopolis” is attested among architectural elements of the Ramesside Period and on the throne of the seated statue of Ramesses II (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 7, pl. 6; SOUROUZIAN 2019, 530–531, no. 336). Atum is the main god in the ritual scene on the back pillar of the colossal statue of Psamtik I. (ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2019, 34–39; see p. 156, 162 Fig. 13).
- Atum-Khepri is mentioned on a granite column from the temple proper (KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 50). The sun god Ra-Horakhty appears on the quartzite sculpture of Ramesses II (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 7, pl. 6; SOUROUZIAN 2019, 530–531, no. 336).

²⁴ Publication by Florence Langermann (*in preparation*). The archaeological mission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (2006–2010) discovered the remains of a limestone statuette of a cat that was clearly made as a sculptural exercise, typical for temple contexts of the final phase of the Late Period and the early Ptolemaic Era.

²⁵ See contribution of MÜLLER, p. 542–549.

²⁶ For another more eastern feature in Area 234 that supports a Roman date for a similar destruction and relocation of statuary see ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2022, 13–24.

- The top portion of the back pillar of a granite colossus bears the name of Thot, probably from a text of the Middle Kingdom, but still in use in the Ramesside Period (see p. 112, 123 Fig. 6.1–6.2).
- Isis-mistress-of-heaven appears in the text on the back of a dyad belonging to Ramesses II (see p. 124–131).
- Another female goddess is addressed as “his mother” on a statue fragment of Ramesses II. The inscriptions related to the female goddesses of the pylon reliefs of Ramesses II from squares N23/24 are not preserved (see p. 85).

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Area 200–203: Ramesside Inscriptions and Reliefs

2.2.1.1 A Copy of the Blessings of Ptah from the Primordial Mound

Lutz Popko

Technical Data

During the 7th campaign of the joint venture of the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities and the University of Leipzig (March 2016) at Heliopolis,

a limestone block with a badly abraded hieroglyphic inscription was found in Area 200 at the Suq el-Khamis (Fig. 1–2). It was labelled as 200 L22-KS004 and is now kept in the Open-Air Museum Heliopolis/Matariya (Study piece 22). The block measures 0.97 m (width) × 0.29 m (height) × 0.35 m (depth); only the rest of two lines are preserved. The surface was smoothed, but it is not absolutely even,¹ and parts of it seem to have chipped off already while the inscription was being carved: The relief lines of the *r* under *t3* in line *x*+1, for instance, follow the depression in the left half, so that they are still visible, although the surface is deeper here than in the surrounding parts. The hieroglyphs are not very deeply incised,² but their outlines are still visible, as are the inner lines in some cases. The hieroglyphs are arranged in squares with an edge length and height of 14 cm, except for the group *pd.t-9*, which has a length of 18 cm. The dividing line between *x*+1 and *x*+2 is visible, and in the left part of the inscription, the upper dividing line seems to be visible as well. Line *x*+1 has a height of 16 cm. There are no colours preserved.

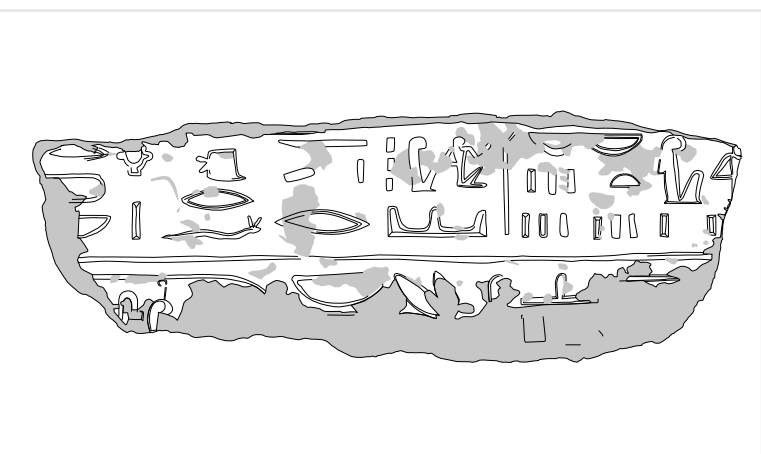


Fig. 1-2:
Area 200 L22-KS004
(Photo/Drawing: L. Popko).

¹ The writing surface shows a slightly convex curve in the longitudinal section.

² They are roughly 0.6 cm deep.

Translation, Philological Commentary, and Reconstruction of the Text

2.2.1.1

Only a couple of very common words are preserved on fragment 200 L22-KS004. Their combination, however, is significant enough to identify the text as a new copy of the so-called “Blessings of Ptah”, one of the longest hymnic

inscriptions of Ramesses II. This inscription is known by six other copies from Egypt and Nubia, to which the fragment from the Suq el-Khamis can now be added. The text on the fragment runs as follows:

 x+1

 x+2


x+1 [---] [*rm*].*w* *p**d*.*w**t*-9 *t*z *r*-*d**r*-*f* *h**r* *r*<*n*>=*k*¹ [---]

x+2 [---] *T*z [. *w**j* *m*] *h**t**p* ¹(*n*)*z**w*-*b**j**t*¹ *n**b*-¹*T*z¹ [. *w**j*] ([*W**s**r*]-*m*z^c.*t*-[*R*^c*w*] *s**t**p*[. *n*-*R*^c*w*]) [---]


x+1 [---] ¹people¹ and the Nine Bows, the entire world, with your name [---]

x+2 [---] the [Two] Land[s with] peace, the Insibiya and Lord of the [Two] La[nds],
[Usi]ma[re] Setep[enre] [---]

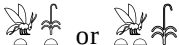

Commentary

x+1: Only the classifiers of *rm*.*w* are preserved, but the restoration is certain from the context (s. below), and the same applies to the reading *rn*=*k* at the end of the line. No traces of the *n* of *rn* are visible, nor is there space for it between the *r* and the classifier. The present writing  seems to be irregular and is presumably a writing error.³ Another option would be that the *r* belongs to the preposition and that the word *rn* is written logographically only with the cartouche. This alternative, however, is less likely, because the preposition *hr* does not show the phonetic complement in the status nominalis.

The extensive classification of *p**d*.*w**t*-9 with throwing stick, man and woman, plural strokes and hill sign is uncommon for this word in general and for hieroglyphic instances in particular. Parallels are known from pHarris I, ll. 4.5, 7.3, 22.7, and 56b.8 (GRANDET 1999, 57) and pChester Beatty I verso, B.30 (GARDINER 1931, pl. XXI and XXIa), both from the 20th Dynasty.







³ See BONHÉME 1978, 369–370 for spellings of *rn*. The complementation of the second consonant (i.e., the writing ) , however, is attested at least once, see BONHÉME 1978, No. 49 = RIK I, pl. 4, col. 10.

x+2: The parallels, where preserved, show *ḥnm Tz.wj m ḥtp.w*: “who imbues the Two Lands with peace” before the royal title (*KRI* II, 281, 5–8). The first preserved sign traces in line x+2 form a straight horizontal line, which can only be the land sign, so that the preposition *m* was presumably written with Gardiner Aa 13 instead of the owl, if it wasn’t erroneously omitted. The noun *ḥtp.w* is written with a book roll and plural strokes in the parallels, see *KRI* II, 281.5–6, and below. In line x+2, there is not enough space for both signs, but only for one, and the available space speaks for a flat sign.

It is unknown whether *(n)zw-bjt* was spelled  or  as here proposed. The parallels show the latter grouping, s. *KRI* II, 281.9–10.

Only the upper part of the seated Maat-figure and the beginning of the *stp*-adze (Gardiner U 21) are preserved within the cartouche. The Blessings were composed for Ramesses II and were copied once by Ramesses III, whose prenomen does not contain the element *stp.n*. Therefore, the most likely restoration is Ramesses II, unless one postulates unnecessarily another copy by a king whose prenomen does contain this element as well. The attribution to Ramesses II is further supported by the fact that this final section of the Blessings is totally different in the versions of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, see the synopsis below.

These two fragmentary lines find their place in the final sentences of this text, as can be shown by the following synopsis:⁴

	I
	AW
	S
	KF
	H
	MH

Version of Ramesses II (s. fig. 9 + 10):⁵ *ꜥb(w)=j r(m)t.w pd.wt-9 t3 r-dr=f ḥr rn=k*

Version of Ramesses III: *ᵚjr(j)¹.y [ḥm]=j⁶ n=k [---]*

⁴ The hieroglyphs are mainly based on *KRI* II, 280.13–281.12, version I is collated with the photos quoted in note 32. The following sigla from KITCHEN (*KRI* II, 258) are used: I = Abu Simbel (“Ipsamboul”), AW = Amara West, S = Aksha (Serra West), MH = Medinet Habu. Copy K from Karnak does not preserve the lower part and is here omitted. The versions I, AW, S and K are from the time of Ramesses II, MH from the time of Ramesses III. Another copy from the time of Ramesses II, called KF in the following, was discovered in Kiman Faris/Medinet el-Fayum, see DONADONI 2001 and SHAIKH AL-ARAB 2014. The position of the line breaks of KF in the following synopsis are just approximative. For the present fragment, the siglum H = Heliopolis is used.





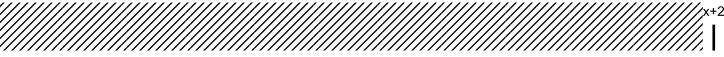

⁵ Version I is used as leading text version in the following, and deviations in the other copies are given in the footnotes.

⁶ Reading of *jr(j).y* with EDGERTON/WILSON 1936, 129, note 50b. Next to it, the available space and the sign traces indicated on *DZA* 28.073.750 could fit *[ḥm]=j*. For deviations from the normal word order, see *ENG* § 693.

	I
	AW
	S
	KF
	H
	MH

Version of Ramesses II: $wn=sn^7 n k3=k (n)h\dot{h} mj ntk qm3^8 st^9$

Version of Ramesses III: $[---] m rnp(j).t w3dw3d.t []t []=k r^c w-nb$

	I
	AW
	S
	KF
	H
	MH

Version of Ramesses II: $m wd z3=k pn hr.j^{10} ns.tj=k nb^{11} ntr.w-r(m)t.w$

Version of Ramesses III: $jb=j hr [hr]p=j []^{12} nb [] nb/k []=j []=j m ph.tj=k r-dd$

⁷ Versions I and S write $wn=sn$, AW $wnn=sn$.







⁸ The sickle is reversed in AW.

⁹ Only in I. Copies S and KF write sn .

¹⁰ The t for Gardiner Z 4 in AW might be mistaken from the hieratic original; and an overlong hieratic n might have led to the insertion of the head into one square with pn . The mistake of substituting Gardiner D 1 for D 2, however, is puzzling, since both signs are clearly distinguishable in hieratic.







¹¹ AW erroneously writes k .

¹² KRI II, 281.3 writes a normal arm left of the plural strokes. The photo MH II, pl. 104 rather looks like the arm with stick, and a stick seems to also be alluded on MH II, pl. 106 and on DZA 28.073.750.

	I
	AW
	S
	KF
	H
	MH

Version of Ramesses II: *jty jr(j) ḥb-s(d) mj-qd=k tw(t)*¹³ *hr*¹⁴ *šhm.tj*

Version of Ramesses III: *mntyk t3 p.t z3t[.w]*¹⁵ [---]

	I
	AW
	S
	KF ^{x+6}
	H
	MH ⁵³
	

Version of Ramesses II: *z3 ḥd(.t) jw^c d<šr>.t*¹⁶ *ḥnm T3.wj m ḥtp.w*

Version of Ramesses III: *d(j)=k n=j (n)zw.yt sq3(j).tj nḥt.w* ^c*z.yw n ḥpš=j t3.w nb.w ḥr ṯb.wj=j*
T3-mrj [---]

¹³ AW writes *wj* instead. See below, note 25 for this passage.

¹⁴ AW writes *hr*.

¹⁵ Reading with EDGERTON/WILSON 1936, 129 with note 52b. Sethe writes *b(s)k.t* instead, DZA 28.073.750. (NB: The reference “Sethe, Heft 14, 42” on this slip refers to his personal notebook, vol. 14, which is now kept in the archive of the *Altägyptisches Wörterbuch* at the BBAW; I thank S. Gallert, BBAW, for this information and for sending me a scan of this page. Sethe transcribes this group explicitly as “*bkt*” in this notebook.) But a word *b(s)k.t* does not exist that makes sense in collocation with *p.t*.

¹⁶ Both I and AW seem to misspell this word. For the reading see note 26.

	I
	AW
	S
	KF
	H
	MH

Version of Ramesses II: $(n)zwt-bjt$ ¹⁷ $(Wsr-ms.t-Rw stp.n-Rw)$ $z3-Rw$ ¹⁸ $(Rw-ms(j)-sw mr(j)-Jmn(.w))$ $d(j) nh d.t (n)hh$

Version of Ramesses III: $(n)zwt-bjt nb-T3.wj hq3 3 n Km.t nb n h3s.t nb(.t)$ $(Wsr-ms.t-Rw mr(j)-Jmn(.w))$ $z3-Rw n h.t=f mr(j)=f nb-h.w$ $(Rw-ms(j)-sw hq3-Jwn.w)$ $d(j) nh mj Rw d.t$

¹⁷ AW writes $(n)zwt-bjt nb-T3.wj$. A t precedes the cartouche in KF according to SHAIKH AL-ARAB 2014, fig. 5 and 11. This can only be the rest of $(n)zwt-bjt$. Neither the t nor the – then to be expected – tail of the bee were visible during the author’s visit of the Open-Air Museum at Karanis/Kom Aushim on the 18th of April 2019, but the light was not optimal at this time.

¹⁸ AW writes $z3-Rw nb-h.w$.

<i>ʒb(w)=j r(m)ḫ.w pḏ.wt-9 tʒ r-ḏr=f ḥr rn-k</i>	I will brand the people (of Egypt) and the Nine Bows, the entire world, ²⁰ with your name, ²¹
<i>wn-sn n kʒ=k (n)ḥḥ mj ntk qmʒ st</i>	so that they may be at your will eternally – because it was you who created them –
<i>m wḏ zʒ=k pn ḥr.j-ns.tj=k nb-nṯr.w-r(m)ḫ.w</i>	by decree of this your son, the successor on your throne (?) ²² – (o) Lord of Gods and Men ²³ –,
<i>jty jr(j) [ḥ]b-s(d) mj-qd=k tw(t) ḥr šḥm.tj</i>	(the) sovereign ²⁴ , who celebrates jubilees like you, who is pleasing in wearing the double crown ²⁵ ,
<i>zʒ ḥḏ(.t) jwᶜ d < šr > .t ḥnm Tʒ.wj m ḥtp.w</i>	son of the white crown, heir of the red crown (?) ²⁶ , who imbues the Two Lands with peace,
<i>(n)zʒw-bjt (Wsr-mʒᶜ.t-Rᶜw stp.n-Rᶜw) zʒ-Rᶜw (Rᶜw-ms(j)-sw mr(j)-Jmm(.w) d(j) ᶜnh ḏ.t (n)ḥḥ</i>	the Insibiya (Usimare Setepenre), the Son of Re (Ramesses Miamun), given live eternally and forever.

¹⁹ The parallel to H is marked in bold.

²⁰ There are different views on the syntax of *rmḫ.w pḏ.wt-9 tʒ r-ḏr=f*: (1) NAVILLE 1882, 127 translates: “les habitants et les étrangers de tout le pays”; thus he separates *rmḫ.w* from *pḏ.wt-9 tʒ r-ḏr=f*, or takes *tʒ r-ḏr=f* as apposition of *rmḫ.w pḏ.wt-9*. (2) Kitchen’s translation “the people and Nine Bows, the whole land” (KRITA II, 109) conforms to the latter. (3) Contrary to Naville, BREASTED 1906, § 414 separates *rmḫ.w pḏ.wt-9* from *tʒ r-ḏr=f*: “the people of the Nine Bows and the whole land”. He is followed by ROSENVASSER 1978, 20: “al pueblo de los Nueve Arcos y todo el país”. (4) SCHNEIDER 1996, 43 interprets the sentence as enumeration with three elements: “die Ägypter, die Neun Bogen und die ganze Erde”.

²¹ Branding prisoners of war with the king’s name is a well-known phenomenon especially from 20th Dynasty Egypt, see e.g., FRANKE 1983, 198 with note 3, MENU 2004, 196–200, 208, fig. 6. For this phenomenon outside of military contexts, although here mainly used metaphorically, see also GRAPOW 1924, 156, and MEEKS 1974. The branding the entire world is an allusion to the royal image of the good shepherd, who brands the cattle; and one wonders whether it also points to role of the king as deputy of the gods, as he did not brand people with his own name, but with Ptah’s.

²² The phrase *m wḏ zʒ=k* is puzzling, as it is usually a superior being who decrees something to an inferior being, and not the other way around. This means that a king decrees something to his people or to his foes, or a god decrees something to the king, but the king does not decree something to a god. One wonders whether the preceding phrase *mj ntk qmʒ st* is parenthetical, so that the main clause should be understood as *wn-sn n kʒ=k (n)ḥḥ m wḏ zʒ=k*: “so that they may be at your will eternally by decree of this your son”. Another option is taking *wḏ* not as a noun, but as a verb: “as it was you who created them, by ordering (at the same time) this your son upon your throne” (i.e., ‘you created mankind and made your son their lord’), although this is not an idiomatic phrase either. SCHNEIDER 1996, 43 takes the *wʒḏ* of AW as the correct form and understands the phrase as expressing a purpose: “(...) ihr Schöpfer zum Gedeihen dieses deines Sohnes (...)”. Yet the preposition *m* does not have this meaning.

²³ Taken as epithet of the king by SCHNEIDER 1996, 43. This makes the translation apparently easier, because the phrase interrupt the sequence of royal epithets in this case. But “Lord of God and Men” does not sound like a fitting epithet for a king.

²⁴ Taken as epithet of Ptah in KRITA II, 109.

²⁵ The phrase *tw(t) ḥr šḥm.tj* poses several problems:

(1) Version I and probably S start with *tw(t)*. The classification of I (the end of the word is destroyed in S) is not specific enough to decide, whether it is the “image”, the verb “to be like, to be complete, to be pleased”, “to collect, to assemble”, or the adjective “complete”. NAVILLE 1882, 138 takes it as “forme du pronomens majestatis”, but certainly as a spelling of *twr*, Wb. 5, 360.6–8 (cf. DZA 31.221.760, and cf. GEG § 64), and not as variant of *tw-k* with the suffix replaced by the standing mummy, as ROSENVASSER 1978, 48 states. AW has a puzzling *wj* instead, which may be a misspelled *tw(t)*, unless one suggests taking it as a very late and singular instance of the old and rare word *wr.w*: “eldest son” (Wb. 1, 377.21).

(2) Version I continues with the preposition *ḥr*: “under; having (something), with (something)”, while AW writes *ḥr*: “(being) with (someone, in someone’s presence)”.

(3) The next word, *šḥm.tj*, is classified by two sistra in I, with a seated god (and something lost) in AW. NAVILLE 1882, 127, and BREASTED 1906, § 414, who did not yet know version AW, translated as “sistra”, followed by ROSENVASSER 1978, 20 and 48–49. Wb. considered “sistrum” as well, but “double crown” as a second option, see DZA 50.093.380; and the occurrence of the lemma “double crown” in the 19th Dynasty with two sistra on DZA 29.519.420 can only refer to this instance, even though it is not included in the DZA file of this lemma. KRITA II, 109 takes it for “Double Crown” without any hesitation. Actually, the word for “sistrum” is masculine, and the dual should be *šḥm.wj*, not *šḥm.tj*. Another possibility would be taking *šḥm.tj* as an epithet for the crown snakes (see rare and late (Ptolemaic) instances in LGG 6, 568b, classified with cobras). Sistra are used in rituals for Hathor and Sakhmet, and the uraeus can be a hypostasis of both goddesses; this may explain this specific classifier, and it would suit the fact that the white and the red crown are personified in the next epithets as well.

(4) Apart from the understanding of each single word, their combination poses further problems. Naville’s idea to take *tw(t)* as variant of the independent pronoun *tw* is impossible, because *tw* usually has nominal predicates, apart from a very few and exceptional cases with *ḥr.tj* and *wrr.tj*. Only if taken as the writing for *tw-k*, as Rosenvasser thinks, can it have an adverbial predicate. But this interpretation rests on a misunderstanding and is not attested otherwise. The translation used above follows Kitchen: “One pleasing in wearing the Double Crown”. A similar interpretation is suggested by Karl Jansen-Winkel (e-mail from 18.01.2021): “(der du) vollkommen (bist) unter / mit der Doppelkrone”. See also HANNIG 2006, 992, no. {36662}: “vollendet wenn er das Pschent rägt” (his reference is most likely the present passage). A parallel of this phrase can be found in KRI V, 309.8: *jty ᶜnh(j) m (n)zʒw ḥr s.t. ᶜTm(.w) [j]wt ḥr zif mj Hr.w-šḥ.tj*: “sovereign, who is beautiful as king on the throne of Atum, who is pleasing in wearing the Atef-crown like Horakhty”. Another solution is provided by SCHNEIDER 1996, 43, who translates *tw(t) ḥr šḥm.tj* as two independent epithets with a nominalized *ḥr(j) šḥm.tj*: “(dein) Bild, Träger der Doppelkrone” (for the king as a statue, i.e. an image, in the Blessings, see now LURSON 2019). This resembles the translation of DZA 30.985.760 for KRI V, 309.8: “Der Herrscher, schön als König auf dem Thron des Atum, ein Bild mit der zif Krone wie Harachte”.

²⁶ The reading as *dšr.t* is not certain and only proposed by the context. This combination of epithets is not very common, and in the other few cases the king is called *ms dšr.t*: “child of the red crown”, not *jwᶜ dšr.t*: “heir of the red crown”, cf. DZA 27.582.030, 27.582.040, and 27.582.060.

<i>ʿjr(j)¹.y [hm]=k n=k [---]</i>	My [Majesty] will make for you [---]
<i>[---] m rnp(j).t wꜣdꜣwꜣd.t []t[]=k rꜥw-nb</i>	[---] while rejuvenating plants [---] your [---] daily.
<i>jb=j hr [hr]p=j [] nb [] nb/k []=j []=j m ph.tj=k r-dꜥ</i>	My heart guides me [---] every [---] my [---] my [---] with your strength, saying:
<i>mntk tꜣ p.t zꜣt[.w] [---]</i>	To you belong sky and earth ²⁷ [---] ²⁸
<i>d(j)=k n=j (n)zꜣw.yt sqꜣ(j).tj nꜥt ꜥꜣ.yw n ꜥꜣꜣꜣꜣ tꜣ.w nb.w hr tb.wj=j Tꜣ-mrj [---]</i>	You granted me exalted kingship and great victories of my sword, so that all lands are under my sandals, and Egypt is [---],
<i>(n)zꜣw-bjt nb-Tꜣ.wj ꜥꜣ n Km.t nb n ꜥꜣꜣꜣꜣ nb(.t) (Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥw mr(j)-Jmn(.w)) zꜣ-Rꜥw n ꜥꜣ.t=f mr(j)=f nb-ꜥꜣ.w (Rꜥw-ms(j)-sw ꜥꜣꜣꜣꜣ-Jwn.w) d(j) ꜥꜣnꜥ mj Rꜥw d.t</i>	(me,) the Insibiya and Lord of the Two Lands, the Great Ruler of the Black Land and Lord of every foreign country, (Usimare Miamun), bodily Son of Re, whom he loves, Lord of Appearances, (Ramesses Heqa-lunu), given live eternally like Re.

The parallels make it possible to estimate some of the original dimensions of the new copy from Heliopolis (Fig. 3–4): Compared to copy I, the only one whose ending is preserved, roughly 8 squares are missing left of line x+2, including the closing of the prenomen. One can add another square, because the prenomen is introduced by *(n)zꜣw-bjt nb-Tꜣ.wj* (as in AW), and not by *(n)zꜣw-bjt* alone (as in I and probably KF), so

that it is highly likely that the nomen was also introduced by *zꜣ-Rꜥw nb-ꜥꜣ.w*. Whether the nomen was spelled as in I, or as in AW and KF, is of minor relevance for the reconstruction, because the difference in length is not that great between both versions. In sum, approximately 9 squares are missing to the left, which makes 126 cm, given the square length of 14 cm.

²⁷ It is not the usual collocation *p.t tꜣ*: “heaven and earth”. Since *zꜣ[.w]* rather denotes the material aspects of the broad term “earth”, the term *p.t* probably denotes here the perceivable “sky” and not “heaven”.

²⁸ KRITA II, 109 translates: “to you belong heaven and earth, fowl [and ...]”. The word for “fowl” is not discernible, although his restoration is likely.

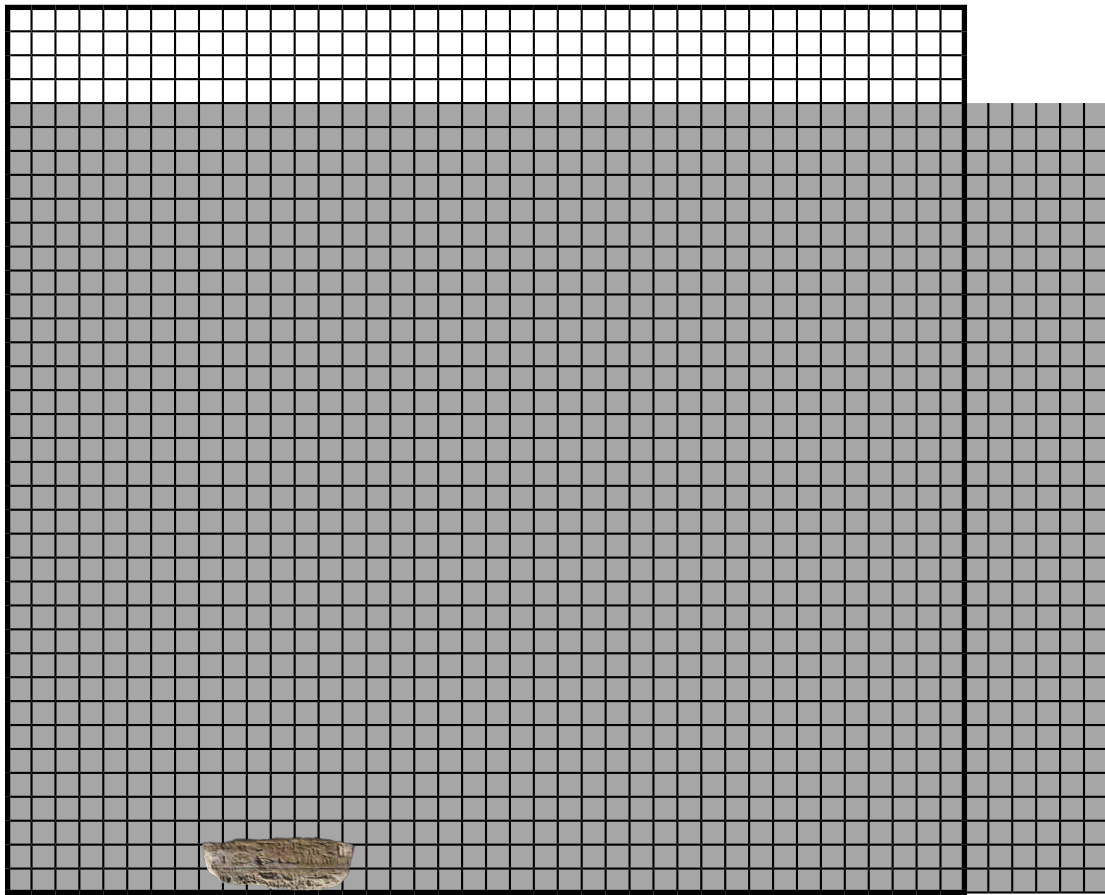


Fig. 3:
Schematic grid of hieroglyphic squares of Version H (grey) compared to the squares of version I (bold outline).

The missing part to the right can be estimated with less certainty, because the orthography, and thus the arrangement of signs, varies from copy to copy. In addition, not a single version is free of errors, not even the new one, and misspelled or missing words can have further influence on the original text length. The misspelled *mn=k*, for instance, needs only one square in H, while it needs two squares in the other copies. Starting again from version I, one line or roughly 40 squares are missing between *mn=k* and *T3.wj*. Eight squares of these still belong to line $x+1$, so

that 32 squares are to be reconstructed to the right of the fragment, making 434 cm.

Taking all these measurements together, the main text had an original width of ca. 6.57 m, ca. 12.5 Egyptian cubits, with the still extant block belonging to the third quarter from the right. Thus, copy H had the largest width of all known copies: The width of version AW is given as 1.645 m (BREASTED 1908, 101);²⁹ version S has a width of 1.85 m without frame (ROSENVASSER 1978, 11);³⁰ version MH, with which H sha-

²⁹ Based on the scaled photo in SPENCER 2016, pl. 8.c, the width of the main text is about 1.71 m. The width of the “niche” (i.e., stela with frame) is given as 2.38 m in SPENCER 2016, 7, whereas it is about 2.29 m according to her pl. 8b. In both cases, these differences may be caused by the difficulty of specifying exact edges both on the original and on the photo to take the dimensions.

³⁰ He estimates the height of the text as 2.85 m, the height of the stela including the scene as ca. 3 m.

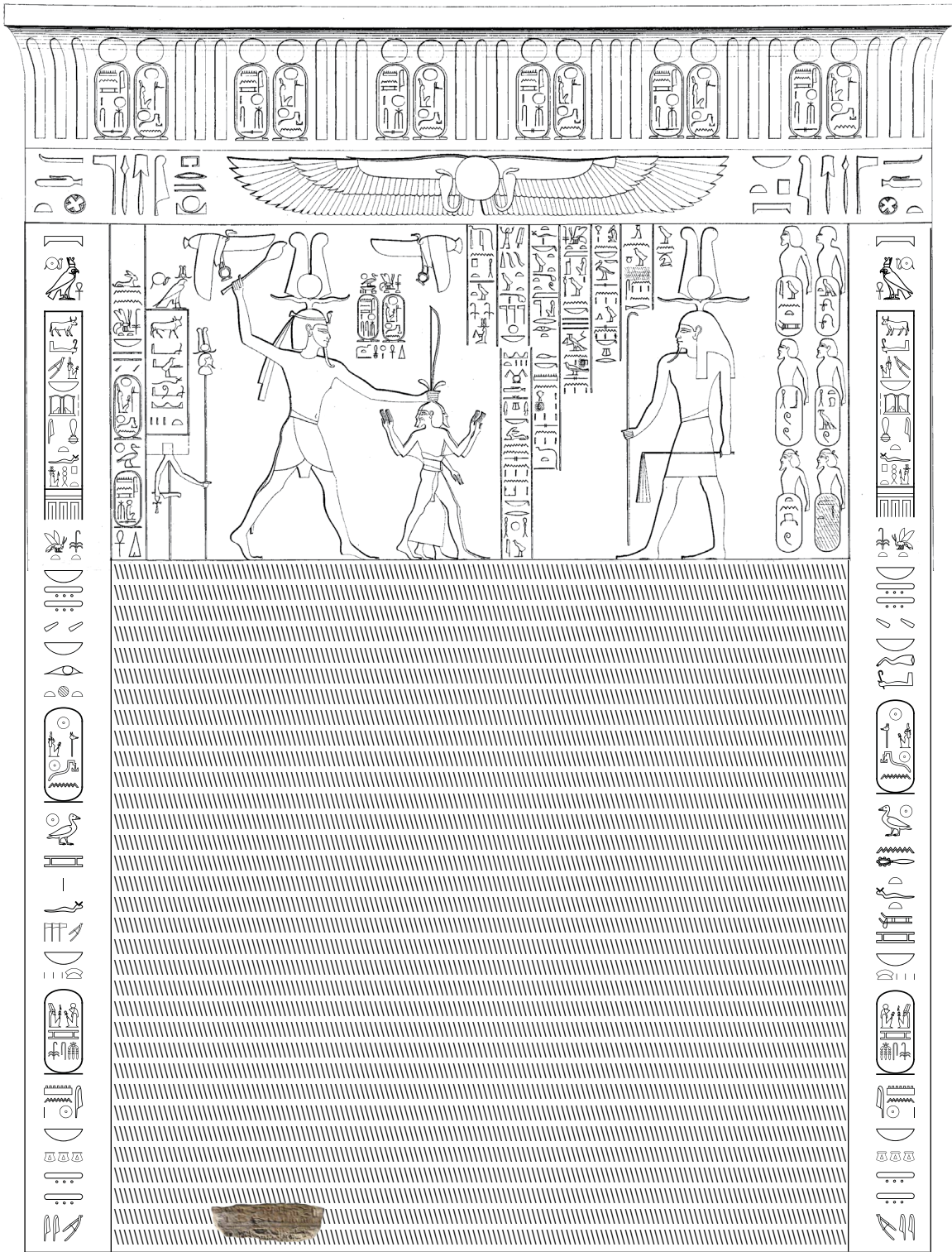


Fig. 4: Sketch of original layout of H with frame columns of K and scene of I (size of scene conjectural; scene of I is only made to fit the width of H).

res the dimensions of writing squares, of 2.90 m;³¹ version I has a width of ca. 2.30 m without frame;³² and version KF was slightly wider. The main text of version K has a width of 4.23 m without frame.³⁴

While enough words are preserved to estimate the original width, their number is not high enough to also extrapolate the number of missing lines and the height of the text.³⁵ It can be concluded from the parallels (see Fig. 5-10 and 16), at least, that it once formed a rectangular wall stela with framing vertical columns, a scene above the main text showing Ramesses (on the left) smiting some enemies in front of Ptah (on the right)³⁶, and a topographical list.

Architectural Context

All Ramesses II copies of the Blessings are accompanied by a stela about the first Hittite marriage,³⁷ an allusion to which can be found in the Blessings itself (*KRI* II, 274.10 = l. 25–26 of

version I). This pairing gives a clue for dating of our text: The arrival of the princess is dated to year 34, the 3rd month of Peret in the Marriage Stela (*KRI* II, 253.9). This date is the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the Blessings; and copy I from Abu Simbel, the only one with a preserved date line, actually mentions regnal year 35. The same must apply for version H: It cannot be earlier than year 34 of Ramesses II.³⁸

A comparison with the other copies and their pairing with the Marriage Stela also provide further information on the architectural context of our stela:

— **Copy AW** from Amara West (Fig. 5–6) is integrated into a niche in the rear wall of the outer forecourt, in its eastern half,³⁹ as is the Marriage Stela in the western half.⁴⁰ This rear wall of the outer forecourt is erected in front of the temenos wall, and together, these two adjacent walls replace the pylon that would be expected at this place in a usual temple layout of this time.⁴¹

³¹ Based on the scale in *MH* II, pl. 105–106.

³² Based on the scaled photos Oriental Institute: P. 2475 / N. 1538 (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/c0490c75-3f59-4b1e-b838-f5d441ea2666>), P. 2479 / N. 1542 (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/49151b7a-b87b-4d4c-a2b3-6bc0c31063e4>); last accessed: 12.11.2021.

³³ Cf. DONADONI 2001, 99: The main text of KF contained ca. 45 squares per line in contrast to the 40 of Abu Simbel.

³⁴ I thank Brigitte Bulitta and Peter Dils for taking this measurement in March 2018.

³⁵ Only a very rough idea may be given: Copy I contains 37 lines of text with ca. 40 squares per line (the same number is given by DONADONI 2001, 99). The Heliopolis fragment, as reconstructed above, has 46 squares in a line, 6 squares more. This difference adds up to 4 lines over the whole distance of the text: 37 lines (version I) × 40 squares (version I): 46 squares (version H) = 32,17 lines (version H), and this number was rounded up to 33 to give the Heliopolis scribe some more space for orthographic differences. And this number, multiplied by a line height of 16 cm, makes 5.28 m, almost exactly 10 cubits, without the scene above the text. These calculations, however, must be taken with extreme caution, and it needs to be emphasized that they are based on the restoration of two single lines and the distance between two groups of less than 10 words each, and that it is calculated with equal square lengths (but see above for *pd.wt-9*, and see ČERNÝ/ EDEL 1962, note at the end of page F62,6 for Abu Simbel).

³⁶ For these directions, see also below.

³⁷ Noted already by KITCHEN 1982, 88, and KRITANC II, 160, GOELET 1991, 30, and 34–35. The interrelation between both texts is confirmed by a simple crosscheck: The only version of the 1st Hittite Marriage that is not complemented by the Blessings, is the version from Elephantine, which was found reused in the Roman quay wall, and thus out of context.

³⁸ This supports the impression of ASHMAWY/ RAUE 2012, 7–8, that the temple of area 200 may have been built in the later decades of Ramesses II.

³⁹ For the inconsistencies concerning the directions of this temple, see POPKO 2016, 214–216. Here, the geographical compass bearings are used, not the local ones.

⁴⁰ *PM* VII, 159–160, nos. (2) and (3). See also SPENCER 1997, pl. 15. There, the Blessings are labelled as “Dream Stela”.

⁴¹ For the changes in plan during the construction of this temple and the consequences for its layout, see the brief overview in SPENCER 1997, 27–28.

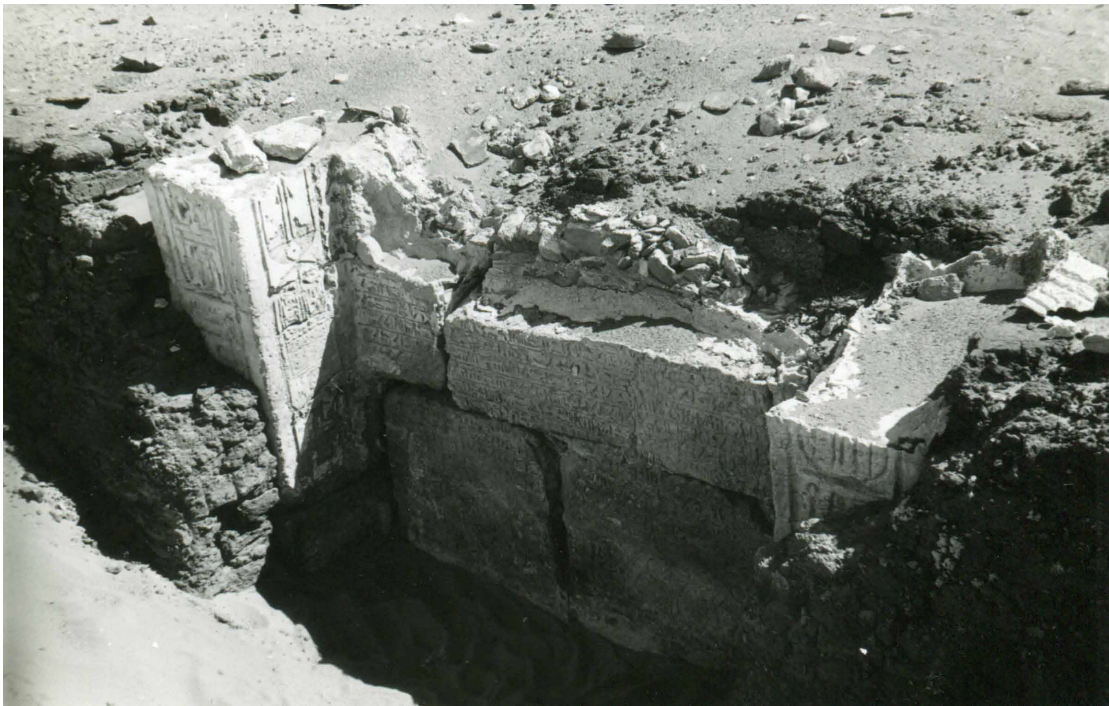


Fig. 5: Blessings of Ptah from Amara West before clearing, session of 1937–1938 (Version AW), Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society.



Fig. 6: Blessings of Ptah from Amara West after clearing, session of 1938–1939 (Version AW), Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society.

— **Copy K** (Fig. 7–8) was inscribed on the IXth Pylon of the temple of Karnak, on the southern face of its western tower, with the Marriage Stela on the eastern tower (*PM II*², 181, and pl. xv, nos. (541) and (545)).

— **Copy S** from Aksha is again to be found on the outer face of the pylon, on the eastern

side of its southern tower (VERCOUTTER 1962, 113 and pl. 35a–b). There, a block was also found with a version of the Marriage Stela. Its original location, however, cannot be determined (FUSCALDO 1994, 22); the text has a right-to-left orientation, and thus the same orientation as the Blessings (see *KRI II*, 235.3



Fig. 7: Karnak, IXth Pylon with Blessings of Ptah (Version K) to the left and the Marriage Stela to the right (Photo: L. Popko).



Fig. 8: Blessings of Ptah, Version K, Scene (Based upon a photo kindly provided by Sébastien Biston-Moulin).

2.2.1.1

and ROSENVASSER 1980, pl. 1); but this also applies for the Marriage Stela of Amara West, so that this layout does not exclude a location on the right tower.

— **Copy I** (Fig. 9–11) from the great temple of Abu Simbel was not paired with the Marriage Stela in the same way as the others, yet probably only because of lack of space, since it was added to an already decorated temple (FUSCALDO 1994, 22).⁴² Here, the Blessings are written on a secondary screen wall between pillars III and IV of the hypostyle hall, while the Marriage Stela is inscribed on the left margin of this temple's façade (Fig. 12) (see *PM* VII, 96 and 98, no. (9), and 106).⁴³ One may call it a “lateral pairing” at least, since both texts are written on southern walls in the left axis of the temple.



Fig. 9:
Blessings of Ptah,
Version I (Online
Source #1).

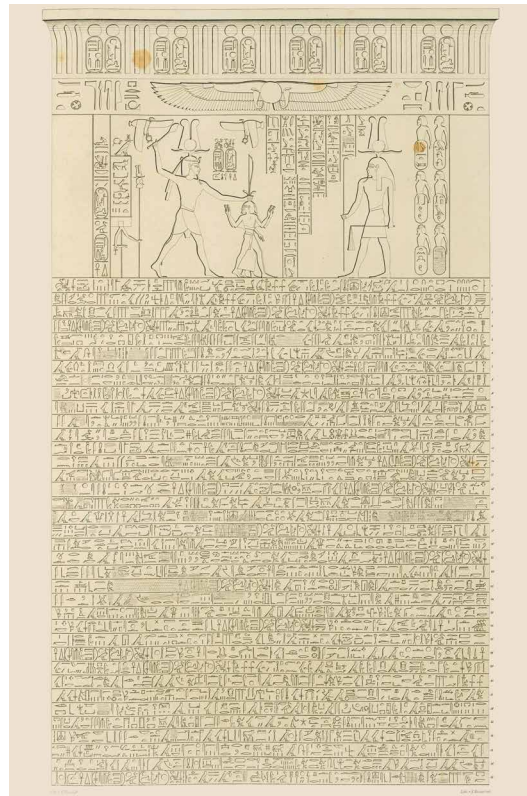


Fig. 10:
Blessings of Ptah,
Version I, state of
preservation in the
19th century
(LD III, 194).

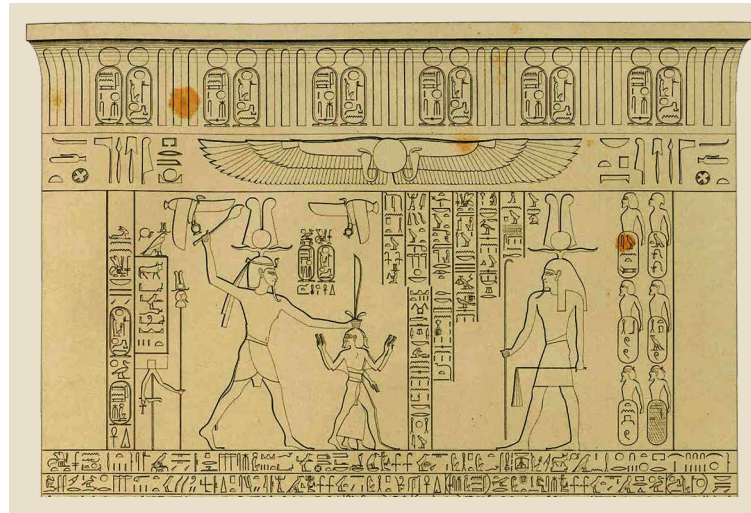


Fig. 11:
Extract from Fig. 10.

⁴² See also FISHER 2013, 83–85, for the time difference between the erection of the temple and the events described in the Marriage Stela.

⁴³ Here and in the following the terms “left” and “right” are to be understood as “left/right, looking from the outside into the temple”.

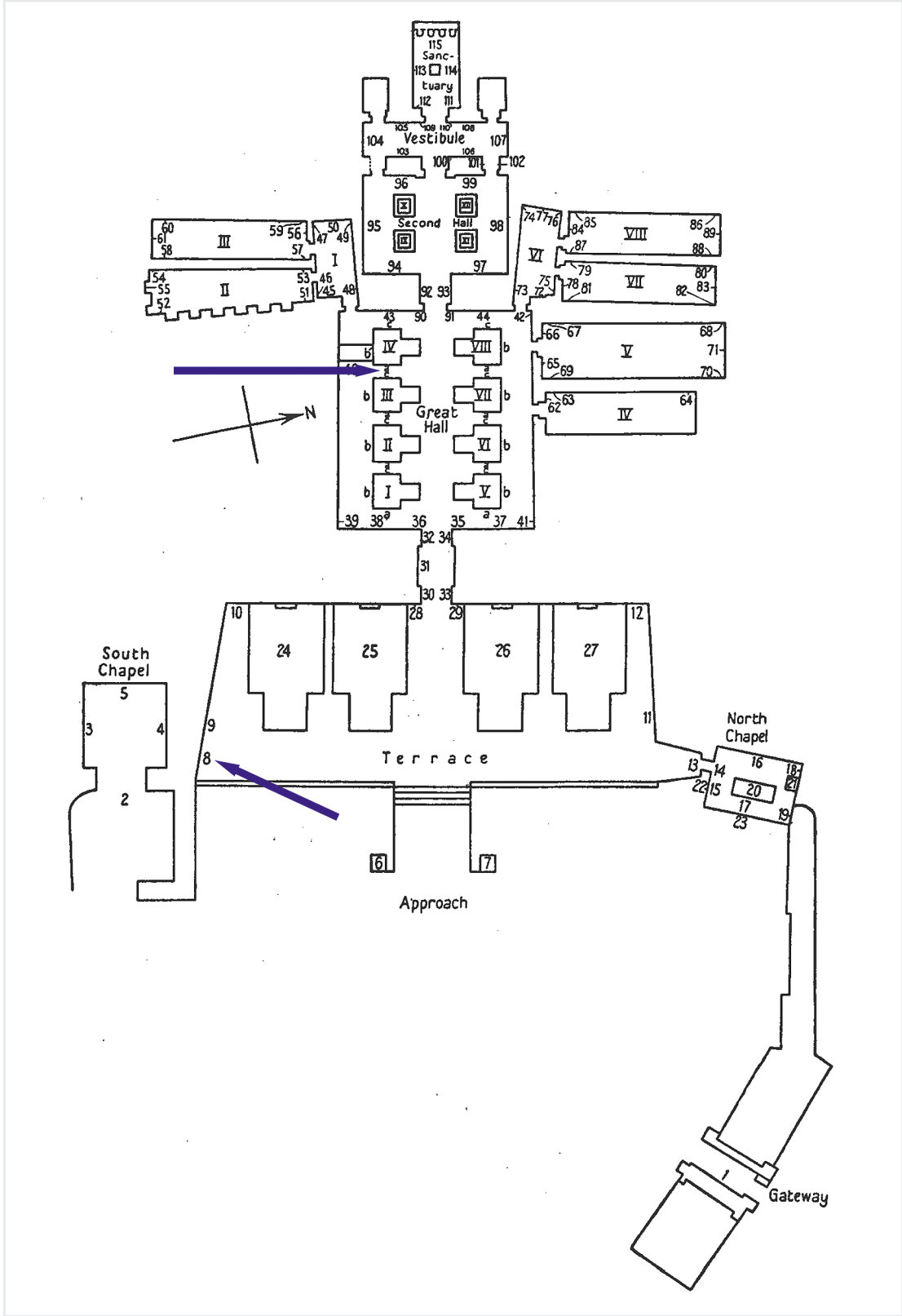


Fig. 12: Plan of Abu Simbel with Blessings of Ptah (above) and Marriage Stela (below), PM VII, 96.

— Nothing is known about the original location of **copy KF** from Kiman Faris/Medinet el-Fayum (Fig. 13), although it is most likely from the temple of Sobek there. It is made of “granite” (SHAikh AL-ARAB 2014, 114) and comes, therefore, from a gate rather than from a pylon or temple wall. A block was also found at this site that shows Hattušili and a princess, doubtless his daughter, and which apparently belongs to a local copy of the Marriage text (Fig. 14). This block is also made of “granite” and was, therefore, a part of a gate as well (DAVOLI/AHMED 2006, 84). The orientation of both figures is inverted to the scene in Abu Simbel, and Davoli suggests placing the block on the right side of the entrance. Following her suggestion, Shaikh al-Arab proposes placing the Blessings on the corresponding left side.⁴⁴ Yet the right-to-left-orientation of Hattušili and his daughter in Abu Simbel is irregular, because with placing the stela left of the entrance, they are shown heading towards the outside of the temple, while the opposite should be expected. It is possible, therefore, that the Marriage Stela of Abu Simbel was intended to be erected at a temple gate (see already FISHER 2013, 83); and the western tower of the pylon of the northern temenos wall, opposite to which the stela was finally carved, seems to be a promising place.

Therefore, the opposing directions of the scene in Abu Simbel and Kiman Faris do not mean that their location has to be sought on opposing sides of their respective temples: in Abu Simbel left

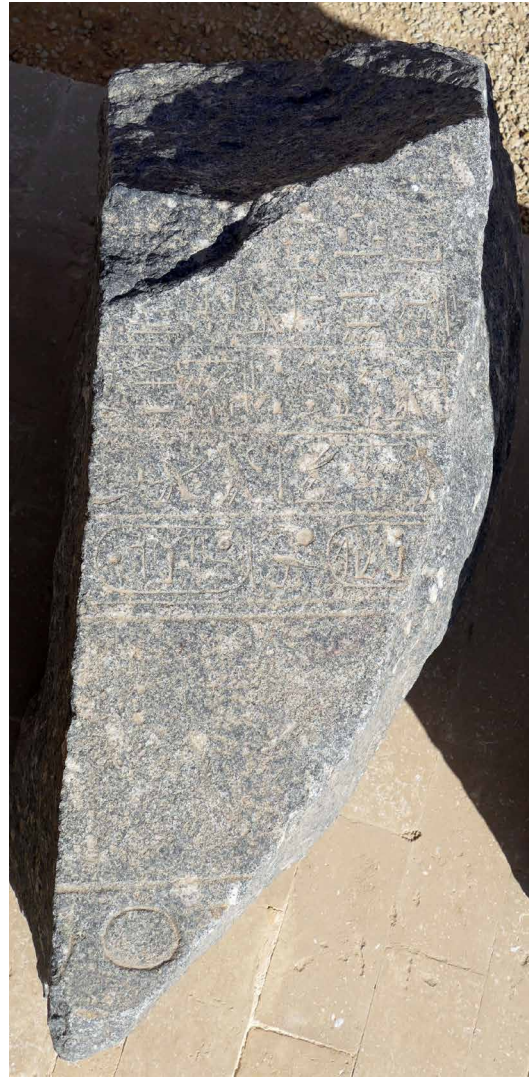


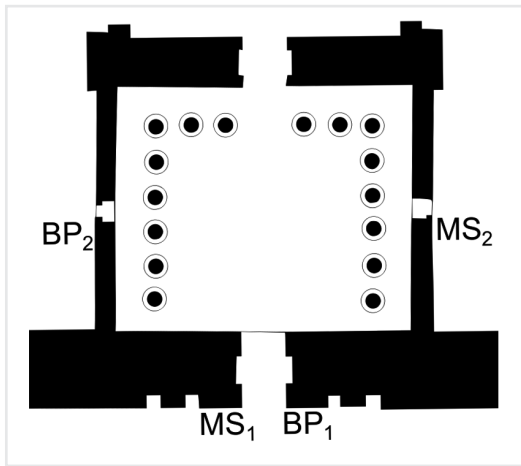
Fig. 13: Blessings of Ptah, Version KF (Open-Air Museum Karanis, Photo: L. Popko).



Fig. 14: Scene of Marriage Stela from Kiman Faris (Open-Air Museum Karanis, Photo: L. Popko).

⁴⁴ SHAikh AL-ARAB 2014, 114–115, probably assuming a direct pairing. Shaikh al-Arab specifies the material of KF as “grey granite”, while the Marriage fragment (DAVOLI/AHMED 2006, 83) is said to be made of “black granite”. Both fragments are displayed side by side in the Open-Air Museum at Karanis/Kom Aushim and appeared equally grey at the author’s visit on the 18th of April 2019.

Fig. 15:
Possible locations of Blessings (BP) and Marriage Stela (MS) from Kiman Faris on a hypothetical temple ground plan: (1) Placement at the pylon; (2) placement at side entrances.



of the entrance, and the Kiman Faris text right of the entrance. Just the contrary: Placing it left of the entrance in Kiman Faris as well (so also FISHER 2013, 92), would not only be in accordance with the directions expected for Hattušili and his daughter, it would also explain the direction of the local Blessings copy: It is the only copy where the text is oriented left to right, meaning that it would be headed towards the exterior if it were placed left of the entrance (Fig. 15), while all other copies are headed towards the interior of the temple. But once copy KF is placed on the right side of a gate, the text is headed towards the interior as well.

— **Version MH** from Medinet Habu (Fig. 16–17) was again written on the outer face of a pylon, to be more precise: on the eastern face of the southern tower of the first pylon. Since it could not be complemented by a Marriage Stela for obvious reasons,⁴⁵ it was instead paired with the Libyan War inscription of year 11.⁴⁶

In conclusion, seven copies of the Blessings are known so far (I, AW, K, S, KF, H, MH). Five of these (I, AW, K, S, KF) are paired, one way or the other, by a version of the Marriage Stela, while version MH cannot be taken into account for this question. As a consequence, the existence of another copy of the Marriage stela can be suggested with great certainty for the temple from Suq el-Khamis.

Four of the Blessings were written on the outer façade of a pylon (K, S, MH), or the “pylon replacement” respectively (AW), on its left half, whatever this implies for the “grammaire du temple”. This placement corresponds well with the right-to-left-orientation of the main text.

The corresponding Marriage Stela can be found on the respective right half (AW, K). The situation is unclear for S, although a similar pairing cannot be excluded. The fifth and the sixth copy were not written on a pylon, but on a temple wall (I) and on a gate (KF) respectively. Nevertheless, the fifth version (I) is again situated left of the temple axis (seen from the outside), and heads towards the interior. The only exception of this rule is the sixth version (KF), as its direction suggests placing it on the right side of the temple axis, with the Marriage text on the left side.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The allusion to the Marriage in the Blessings is accordingly replaced by another phrase, see *KRI* II, 274.12.

⁴⁶ Cf. *MH* II, fig. 5 and pl. 84–86, 104–406. Version MH is dated to year 12, curiously enough “even imitating the one-year interval in the date-lines of Ramesses II’s stelae (11 before 12, just like 34 before 35)”, *KRITANC* II, 160.

⁴⁷ The location of the texts is unique in any case, so that one may also speculate whether they were erected not at the main entrance, but at corresponding lateral entrances left and right of a court or a hall. If the Marriage text was carved at the left side of such a hypothetical entrance to the right side of the court, and the Blessings at the right side of a corresponding entrance to the left side of the court, they would both be oriented towards the interior of the temple and would show the same relative pairing left and right of the temple axis like the other copies (s. Fig. 16, option (2)).



Fig. 16: Medinet Habu, Main Temple, First Pylon with Blessings of Ptah (Version MH) to the left and the Libyan War inscription of year 11 to the right (Online Source #2).

Altogether, there is good reason to assume that fragment 200 L22-KS004 from Matariya/Heliopolis once formed part of the outer side of the eastern tower of a pylon of Ramesses II's temple at Suq el-Khamis and this was paired with a Marriage Stela, probably on the western tower of the same pylon (Fig. 18).

The reason for erecting this long hymnic dialogue between the king and Ptah in Heliopolis, the temple precinct of Atum, still needs further studies.⁴⁸ It is, however, remarkable that none of the other copies of the Blessings were found in Ptah temples either. Curiously enough, most of them were found in Amun(-Ra) precincts instead, where Ptah played only a minor role. This is true for K, AW, and S, and in part also for I and MH, where Amun(-Ra) was one of the main gods.⁴⁹ This relation of the Blessings to

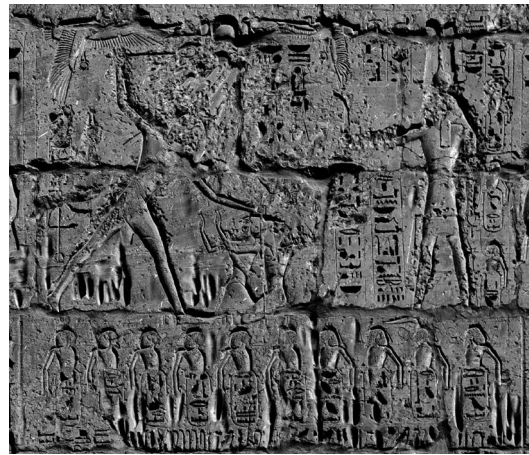


Fig. 17: Blessings of Ptah, Version MH, Scene (Based upon a photo kindly provided by Simon Thuault).

Amun(-Ra) may be, however, pure coincidence, the more so since it does not suit the prominent role of Ptah-Tatenen in the Blessings. Another *tertium comparationis* that may be even more important, is the fact that most of the Blessings were found in temples dedicated to the king or his divine manifestations: Abu Simbel, Medinet Habu, and the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak –

⁴⁷ The location of the texts is unique in any case, so that one may also speculate whether they were erected not at the main entrance, but at corresponding lateral entrances left and right of a court or a hall. If the Marriage text was carved at the left side of such a hypothetical entrance to the right side of the court, and the Blessings at the right side of a corresponding entrance to the left side of the court, they would both be oriented towards the interior of the temple and would show the same relative pairing left and right of the temple axis like the other copies (s. Fig. 15, option (2)).

⁴⁸ For Ptah's connection to Heliopolis, see e.g., EL-BANNA 1984. – Perhaps the study of the Blessings & Marriage ensemble that is announced at <http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/accueil/programmes-scientifiques/axe-1-pouvoir-etmarques-de-pouvoir-a-karnak/la-stele-du-mariage-de-ramses-ii/> (last accessed: 01.06.2019) will shed more light on this question.

⁴⁹ For the Ptah temple in Karnak, see more recently BISTON-MOULIN/THIERS 2016, for Ptah in Medinet Habu see ULLMANN 2002, 447–449, 467–472, 515, 520. The statue of Ptah in the sanctuary of the great temple of Abu Simbel is well known, but its place in this temple must not be overestimated, see HEIN 1991, 119. As a member of the “Reichstriade”, he finds a place also in Aksha and Amara West, HEIN, op. cit., 120, but this aspect does not set them apart from other Nubian temples that are without a copy of the Blessings.

which can be reached, though only indirectly⁵⁰, by passing by the IXth Pylon – are “Houses of Millions of Years”,⁵¹ temples dedicated to the royal cult. Abu Simbel was dedicated, furthermore, to the deified Ramesses II, and Aksha to “Usimare-Setepenre, the Great God, Lord of Nubia”; Amara West was at least named as the “House of Ramesses Miamun” (see HABACHI 1969, 16, HEIN 1991, 119–120). These temples were fitting places for a text in which a god promises the king a long and successful reign.

Yet if this would be the reason for erecting the Blessings, one wonders why a copy does not exist in other Nubian temples dedicated to Ramesses II, while lack of evidence from the Ramesseum might be explained by the bad preservation of the outer face of its pylon. So, it can be hoped that the copy from Kiman Faris, and the new one from Heliopolis, highly fragmentary though they are, may be useful pieces for solving this puzzle.

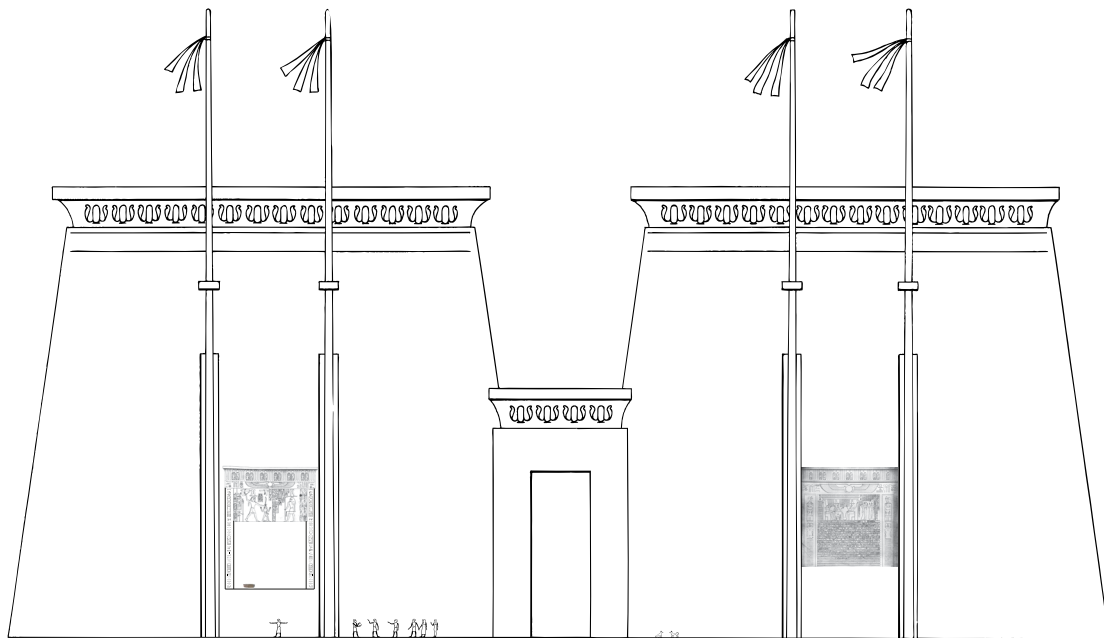


Fig. 18: Possible arrangement of Blessings of Ptah (version H) and Marriage Stela on a pylon at the Suq el-Khamis, exact position is purely conjectural (Drawing of Pylon is based upon UPHILL 1984, pl. 21, size of pylon is based on observations in Area 200).

⁵⁰ NB: When one leaves the Great Hypostyle Hall through the southern gateway and joins the north-south processional way by entering the Cour de la Cachette through the western gateway, one passes by – in chronologically correct order – the Battle of Kadesh, the Peace Treaty, and the First Hittite Marriage.

⁵¹ For the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak as the House of Millions of Years of Sety I, see ULLMANN 2002, 250–257, and esp. 255 for libations for the Ka of Ramesses II; for Abu Simbel, see op. cit., 390–393.

Bibliography

2.2.1.1

Online Source #1:

Photo: O. Tausch; CC BY 3.0 (<<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons); Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b4/Gro%C3%9Fer_Tempel_%28Abu_Simbel%29_Gro%C3%9Fe_Pfeilerhalle_28.jpg (last accessed: 24.01.2021).

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Photo based on: EliziR, CC BY-SA 3.0 (<<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons); Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/53/Al_Bairat%2C_Luxor%2C_Luxor_Governorate%2C_Egypt_-_panoramio_%2829%29.jpg (last accessed: 24.01.2021).

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Area 200-203: Sculpture

2.3.1 Middle Kingdom Colossal Statues Reused by Ramesses II

Simon Connor

with the collaboration of Christopher Breninek

Dating:	12th and 19th Dynasties, reigns of Senusret I (1920–1875 BC) and Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC)
Material:	Granite
Estimated dimensions of the seated colossi:	H. 550; W. 220; D. 360 cm
Estimated dimensions of the standing colossus:	H. 800; W. 200 cm

1. Archaeological Context

Several dozen pink granite fragments were unearthed from 2001 to 2018 in the area known as “Suq el-Khamis”, in the southwestern part of the large sun temple precinct within the archaeological zone of Matariya, among the ruins of what must have been a temple of Ramesses II, according to the inscriptions and architectural fragments that were discovered.¹

In front of the remains of a limestone pylon (almost entirely disappeared²), a series of bases were discovered in their original position, and oriented N-S (Fig. 1.1). Three of these bases, made of limestone blocks, were found in good condition, still forming a row (Fig. 1.2). The base of the middle served as a support for the standing colossus of Psamtik I in square K24w

(Fig. 1.17, see p. 151–173), while the two bases surrounding it (K23/K24e), of the same dimensions, supported two of the granite colossi that are the subject of this notice.³ The only complete base of one of these (although cut into fragments) was discovered in its original location on the western base in square K23 (Fig. 1.3–1.8, 1.16). Most of the other fragments of various sizes were found scattered throughout the site (Fig. 1.18), abandoned after the statues were dismantled. The limestone pylon had already disappeared when this activity took place (Fig. 1.15). An important question is therefore whether the quartzite colossus of Psamtik I and the granite statues were destroyed at the same time, or if we are dealing with different events. It is indeed possible that some of the debris, perhaps laying around, was used to fill the emptied foundation trenches of the temple in this area.

¹ ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017.

² Except for some reliefs of Ramesses II that are currently stored in the storerooms of the citadel. Two of these were re-inscribed by Ramesses IV.

³ The pottery found in the foundation sand of these bases is late Ramesside, which would designate that period for their installation. Furthermore, some of the limestone blocks forming bases K23 and K24e were reused from earlier Ramesside structures, according to the style of their reliefs.

Most of the granite fragments found on the site show teeth-like traces of cutting on their edges, witnesses of their dismantling in order to produce smaller blocks, perhaps for new constructions or as grinding stones. This is suggested by the presence of broken, roughly cut ones on the site, among other blocks from the statues (Fig. 1.23–1.24). The scars left by the cutting tools are very regular: the chisel(s), most likely made from hard metals, apparently had bevelled extremities (around 7–8 cm at the extremity and 10–11 at their largest width, while the cuts are usually 7 cm deep, Fig. 1.22). According to D. and R. Klemm, the “wedge splitting” technique for cutting blocks of granitic rocks was first used in the Ptolemaic period, but is mostly attested in Roman times in Egypt. Iron chisels were necessary for this, and they are rarely used in pre-Ptolemaic times. The theory of wooden wedges is definitely to be abandoned. Indeed, this makes no sense for such hard stones and especially for holes cut horizontally or diagonally from above down, as these often appear in quarries (notably in Mons Claudianus). To cut a block, iron chisels have to be aligned and hammered at the same time by several stonemasons. It is a rhythmic procedure and the changing sound of the hammer indicates when the splitting is taking place.⁴ The wedge splitting method still continues into early Arabic times, but is less regularly executed, and mostly limited to the fragmentation of ancient Egyptian granite objects. In the case of Heliopolis, this period cannot therefore be excluded.

The main bodies of the statues are generally missing: torsos, thrones and back slabs have

almost entirely gone, probably because these parts of the statues are the most suitable for reuse, to produce new blocks of large size. Nevertheless, the elements that have come down to us allow us to reconstruct the presence of several monumental sculptures:

- At least six statues of the same size and style, and probably all of the same type, king seated on a throne, with the left hand flat on the knee, and the right one, turned down on the knee, and holding a piece of cloth (Fig. 1.9–1.14). All six statues show the king wearing the nemes and a false beard. Apparently, all included a back slab instead of a back pillar – an unusual feature, which will be discussed below. These colossi reached some 5.50 m high (while the standing statue of Psamtik I erected between two was approximately 11 m high, see p. 166, Fig. 21–22).
- At least one standing colossus showing the king wearing the white crown. Similarly to the seated colossi, the statue was leaning against a monumental slab, instead of a back pillar.
- Probably a statuary group
- A kneeling statue?
- Several other fragments of granite may have belonged to other still unidentified statues.

Among these granite remains, the site excavated also contained, apart from Psamtik I’s colossus

⁴ Pers. com. 2020. Our deepest thanks go to R. Klemm for kindly sharing with us these observations made in experimental studies.

2.3.1

(p. 151–173), a limestone torso of Sety II (p. 132–142), the body of a granodiorite “healing statue” of 4th century BC date (p. 174–181, see LANGERMANN (in preparation)), the quartzite head of a 12th Dynasty official (p. 174–181), several fragments of sphinxes (p. 143–148), fragments of a large quartzite statue of a falcon (p. 180–191) and of another colossal statue in granite (p. 124–131), as well as fragments of quartzite and granite Amarna period altars (p. 308–376).

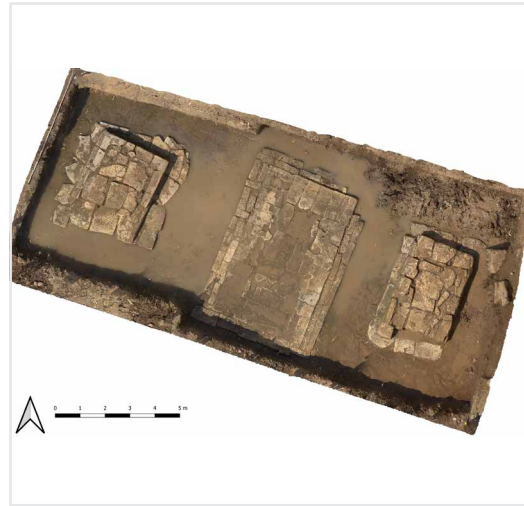


Fig. 1.2: Bases of two granite seated statues framing the base of Psamtik I's standing colossus (Orthophotograph: C. Breninek).



Fig. 1.1: Plan of the excavated sector of Suq el-Khamis (Drawing: P. J. Collet & C. Breninek).



Fig. 1.3–1.8:
 Square K23: Base and feet of one
 of the seated colossi discovered still
in situ, cut into smaller blocks and
 ready for reuse [Inv. No. RG 126]
 (Photos and orthophotographs:
 C. Breninek).



Fig.1.9–1.11:
Head of one of the seated colossi
in situ (currently at the Grand
Egyptian Museum);
Photos: D. Raue.



Fig.1.12–1.14:
Square H24: Legs and lower torso
of one of the seated colossi *in situ*
(Photos: D. Raue).

2.3.1



Fig. 1.15:
View of Suq
el-Khamis in 2012
(Photo: D. Raue).



Fig. 1.16:
Square K23: Base and
feet of one of the
seated colossi
discovered still
in situ, in 2008
(Photo: A. Ashmawy).



Fig. 1.17:
Square K24: Base
of the colossus of
Psamtik I, discovered
still *in situ*, in 2008
(Photo: A. Ashmawy).



Fig. 1.18:
Fragments of
Psamtik I's quartzite
colossus and of one
of the granite statues
with the base inscri-
bed for Ramesses II
(Photo: D. Raue).



Fig. 1.19:
Base fragment of one
of the granite colossi
with a segment of
the Horus name of
Ramesses II
(*Ks-nht-mrj-ms^c.t*)
[Inv. No. RG U06]
(now in the Ministry
of Antiquities maga-
zine in Arab el-Hisn;
Photo: D. Raue).

2.3.1

Fig. 1.20:
Fragment of a horizontal inscription (probably from the base of one of the colossi) with the Horus name of Ramesses II (*[Kꜣ-nḥt]-ḥmrj-mꜣꜥ.ṯ*) (Photo: C. Breninek).



Fig. 1.21:
Back slab of one of the granite seated colossi [Inv. No. RG 482]. The teeth-like traces in the lower part witness to the cutting technique of the colossi, achieved with hard metal chisels (Orthophotograph: C. Breninek).



Fig. 1.22:
Bust of one of the granite seated colossi [Inv. No. RG 059]. The marks of chisel-cutting are highly visible in the lower part of the statue, as well as on the edges of the back slab (Photo: S. Connor).

Fig. 1.23–24:
Grinding stone discovered among the fragments of the granite colossi, probably made from one of these. It may have been abandoned on the site after breaking (Photos: S. Connor).



2. The Seated Colossi

Most of the stone material from the seated colossi was taken away when the statues were dismantled. Only a few large fragments of the bases, thrones and arms were left, enough to allow us to reconstruct the statuary type (Fig. 2.1–2.3, 2.5). As far as can be judged, all seated statues showed the same stylistic and typological features, and all were of the same dimensions. Elements of six distinct heads were found – since they were probably considered unsuitable for reuse, the recyclers left these behind. All the preserved heads show the king

wearing the *nemes* and a false beard – in all cases broken. One of the noses was discovered in the ground.

The rear part of the *nemes* shows a quite unusual feature: instead of being carved in full three dimensions with the braid on the back reaching the top of the back pillar, the head cloth emerges from a high slab. On one of the heads (Inv. No. RG 01; Fig. 3.2.2–3.2.3) the pleats on the top of the *nemes* even continue until the slab, on the space behind the head (this was not visible from below, when the statue was complete).

Dimensions:

A “complete” colossus (estimated):	H. 550; W. 220; D. 360 cm
The throne (in average):	H. 202 (including base); D. 112 cm (without the front part of the base)
Hand:	W. 20 cm
Upper arm:	W. 34–35 cm
Front arm:	thickness 28–30 cm
Eye:	H. 5–6; W. 11–15 cm; the extremity of the make-up lines (at the level of the temples) is around 3 cm thick for the eyes and the eyebrows
Ear:	H. 26–29; W. 11–14 cm
Beard:	H. 42; W. (at the lower extremity) 18 cm

The preserved right hand holds a piece of cloth, while the left one lays flat on the knee. The hand holding the folded cloth is horizontal, facing down, with all fingers on the knee. This iconographic feature may be taken into account as a dating criterion, since beginning from Amenem-

hat III both hands are usually represented flat on the knees. However, the right hand (holding the cloth) placed horizontally is the most frequently documented until Senusret III. That hand is placed vertically during the Old Kingdom, and only occasionally attested under Senusret II and III.⁵

⁵ EVERS 1929, 38–39, § 262–277.

Few fragments of the legs and kilt were discovered, but all show the *shendjyt*, which is the most characteristic of this type of statue.

The front part of the throne seems to have been rectangular in all preserved cases, which is the most frequently attested shape during the Middle Kingdom.

From the stylistic point of view, various features are in favour of a dating in the early 12th Dynasty, most probably the reign of Senusret I.

- Shape of the *nemes*' outlines and rays: the head cloth's wings are narrow. The upper part of the head is flat and relatively small, compared to the face. Both of these features are characteristic of the early Middle Kingdom, until Senusret I. From Amenemhat II onwards, the wings get wider and wider, until the 13th Dynasty.⁶ The rays are thick, with an alternation of rays in relief and in recess.
- The uraeus stands directly above the king's forehead, at the lower limit of his head cloth's front band. This characteristic is typical of the 11th Dynasty (see BASEL BSAe III 8397, Bristol H 5038, Edinburgh A. 1965.2, New York MMA 66.99.3). From Amenemhat I onwards the uraeus can also be found standing a bit higher, a mid-half of the front band (e.g.: Ismailia JE 60520, Paris E 10299, Cambridge E. 2.1974, Cairo JE 67345). From Senusret III onwards it is most often above the band. The snake's hood
- is large and simple, with no other carved decoration than a vertical line in low relief. The tail draws a sinuous line toward the back of the head. Until Amenemhat I and Senusret I the curves drawn by the tail are numerous and tight. Under Amenemhat II various shapes are attested: circular or sinuous. From Senusret III onwards the most common shape is a wide "S"-shape just above the head of the snake. Exact parallels to the shape visible here are thus far unknown to the authors, but it does seem to relate more to the first half of the 12th Dynasty.⁷
- The mouth's outlines are surrounded by a "liseré", i.e., a border in relief corresponding to the "vermillion line" (Fig. 3.2.5, 3.4.3–3.4.4). This stylistic characteristic appears in Egyptian art throughout the whole Old Kingdom – it is particularly visible during the 6th Dynasty – and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom (until Senusret I, then it disappears with Amenemhat II). From Amenemhat II onwards the mouth no longer includes this line in relief and shows a protruding lower lip, with a severe expression. The "liseré" is clearly visible again with Amenhotep I and Amenhotep III. The lips of the latter are thicker and fleshier, while the large and thick mouth with simple geometric lips, and deeply cut corners of the mouth, which we can observe here, correspond to the Late Old Kingdom and Early Middle Kingdom stylistic features.

⁶ EVERS 1929, 14, § 75 and 78; CONNOR 2020, 239, pl. 143.

⁷ EVERS 1929, 26, § 164–171; POLZ 1995, 239–242; CONNOR 2020, 239, pl. 145.

- The eyes are large, surrounded by a thick make-up line. The inner canthi are clearly delineated, while the make-up lines continue on the temples, widening out until rectangular ends, similarly to the eyebrows.
- While all heads are missing their noses, one of the noses was found among the fragments. Although noses are so rarely preserved in Egyptian statuary, Senusret I's one is exceptionally well known from his statues: it is still preserved on the two granite standing statues found in Abydos (Cairo JE 38286 and 38387), the "osiriatic" pillars from Karnak (Cairo JE 48851, Luxor J. 174, Stockholm 1972:17), as well as most of the seated and standing limestone statues from Senusret I's funerary complex in Lisht-South (Cairo CG 398–402, 411–420).⁸ It follows the shape that we find on these statues, as well as on the reliefs from his reign: the nose is straight and rounded at its extremity, with large nostrils. Perhaps due to the particularly large dimensions

of the granite colossi, the modelling is here more developed and shows a slight undulation on the nose's bridge.

The stylistic features therefore point to an early Middle Kingdom dating, and most probably to the reign of Senusret I. While an earlier date (from Mentuhotep II to Amenemhat I) cannot be categorically excluded on stylistic grounds, the royal repertoire of 11th Dynasty statuary has not yielded granite or granodiorite thus far, or any proper colossi. Amenemhat I is known by a number of large hard stone statues, including a granite colossus discovered in Tanis, but probably originally from Memphis (Cairo JE 37470⁹), and a quartzite statue unearthed in Heliopolis (Cairo JE 29212¹⁰).

Such a monumental ensemble fits particularly well with the programme of Senusret I in Heliopolis, as attested to by a series of constructions,¹¹ for which the obelisk that gives its current name to its area in Matariya ("Masalla") is the most impressive witness.

⁸ EVERS 1929, pl. 28, 34, 35; LORAND 2011, cat. C11–12, C22–26, pl. 8, 9, 16–20; GABOLDE 2018, 328, fig. 205–206, cat. 6–7.

⁹ EVERS 1929, I, pl. 15–17; SOUROUZIAN 2005, 103–105, pl. 1. This statue was "usurped" by Merenptah in the simplest way, i.e., by only adding the Ramesside ruler's titulature, but without removing the name of Amenemhat I, nor modifying his physiognomy.

¹⁰ EVERS 1929, I, pl. 18; II, 22, fig. 4, 35 and pl. 2, fig. 34; SEIDEL 1996, 65–67, doc 31, pl. 22; SOUROUZIAN 2005, 105, pl. 3.

¹¹ RAUE 1999, 85, 115, 439; POSTEL/RÉGEN 2005; LORAND 2011, 307–317; GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 118–122, 124, 127–132; DÍAZ HERNÁNDEZ 2019. SEIDLMEYER 2013 also linked an inscription in Aswan to this work.

2.3.1



Fig. 2.1–2.3:
 Archetype of the six
 seated granite statues,
 reconstructed from
 the various preserved
 fragments (Drawing:
 S. Connor).



Fig. 2.4:
 Best-preserved head
 from the group of
 seated statues
 [Inv. No. RGM 01],
 now in the Grand
 Egyptian Museum,
 H. 123.2; W. 85.9;
 D. 109 cm (Photo:
 German Archaeo-
 logical Institute Cairo,
 P. Windszus).



Fig. 2.5: Reconstruction of the six seated granite statues (Illustration: S. Connor).

2.3.1

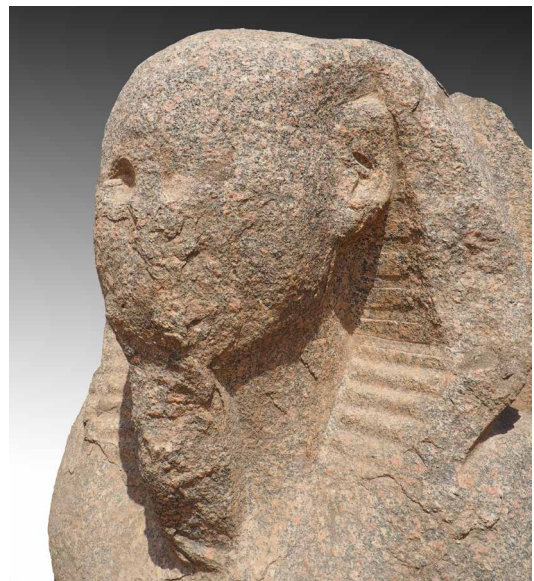




Fig. 3.1.1–3.1.7: Bust of one of the seated colossi [Inv. No. RG 59], now in the Open-Air Museum of Matariya, H. 154.6; W. 160; D. 100 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 3.1.8: Bust photographed *in situ* (Photo: German Archaeological Institute Cairo, P. Windszus).



Fig. 3.2.1–3.2.4: Defaced head of one of the colossi [Inv. No. RG 01], now in the Grand Egyptian Museum, H. 98.1; W. 70.8; D. 109.3 cm (Photo: German Archaeological Institute Cairo, P. Windszus).



Fig. 3.2.5: Face of a colossus [Inv. No. RG 315], now in the Open-Air Museum of Matariya, H. 72.1; W. 31.5; D. 21 cm (Photo: S. Connor).

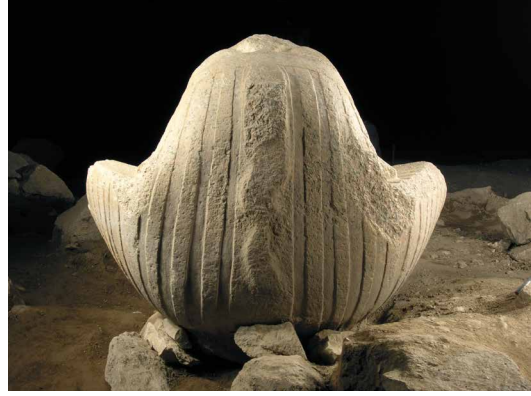
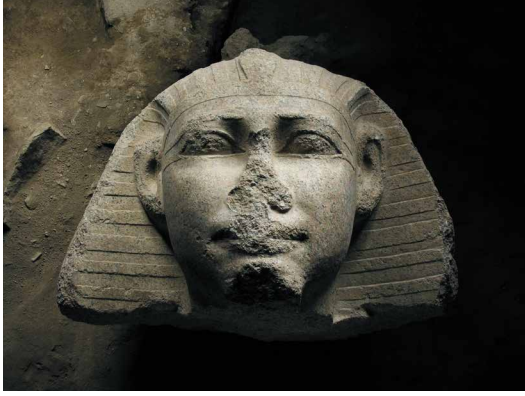


Fig. 3.3.1–3.3.4: Face of a colossus [Inv. No. RGM 01], now in the Grand Egyptian Museum, H. 123.2; W. 85.9; D. 109 cm (Photo: German Archaeological Institute Cairo, P. Windszus).



Fig. 3.4.1–3.4.2: Front part of a nemes with the uraeus's body [Inv. No. RG 485], now in the Ministry of Antiquities storage in Arab el-Hisn, H. 36; W. 40; D. 16 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 3.4.3–3.4.4: Part of face of a colossus, now in the Ministry of Antiquities storage in Arab el-Hisn. (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 3.4.5–3.4.6:
Nose of a colossus,
now in the Ministry
of Antiquities storage
in Arab el-Hisn
(Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 3.4.7:
Ear of one of
the colossi
[Inv. No. RGM 02],
now in the Ministry
of Antiquities storage
in Arab el-Hisn, H.
14; W. 23; D. 6 cm
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 3.5.1–3.5.5: Upper part of the face of one of the granite colossi [Inv. No. RG 484], now in the Ministry of Antiquities storage in Arab el-Hisn, H. 81.9; W. 52.5; D. 30.9 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 3.6.1–3.6.2:
Face of a colossus,
now in the Open-Air
Museum in Matariya
(Photos: S. Connor).

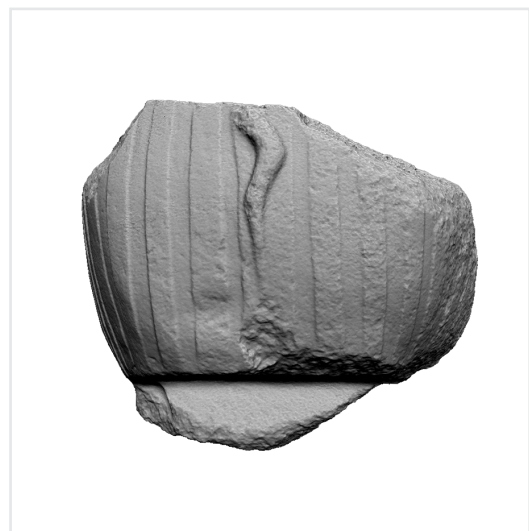


Fig. 3.6.3–3.6.6:
Back part of one of
the colossi's head.
The upper part was
cut, probably when
the back slab was
removed for reuse
[Inv. No. RG 402],
now in the Ministry
of Antiquities
storage in Arab
el-Hisn, H. 110.1;
W. 72.1; D. 71.8 cm
(Photos: S. Connor;
orthophotographs:
C. Breninek).



Fig. 4.1–4.2: Best-preserved base of one of the seated colossi [Inv. No. RG 126], now in the Open-Air Museum of Matariya (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 4.3–4.5: Lower part of a seated colossus [Inv. No. RG 126, RG 127, RG 133], H. 272; W. 113; D. 120 cm (Photos: S. Connor).

2.3.1



Fig. 4.6–4.7:
Lower and middle
part of a seated
colossus
[Inv. No. RGU 07],
H. 293.3; L. 132.5;
D. 205 cm
(Photos: C. Breninek
& S. Connor).



Fig. 4.8:
Right lappet of a
nemes, and shoulder
[Inv. No. RG 407],
H. 61; W. 41;
D. 65 cm
(Photo: S. Connor).

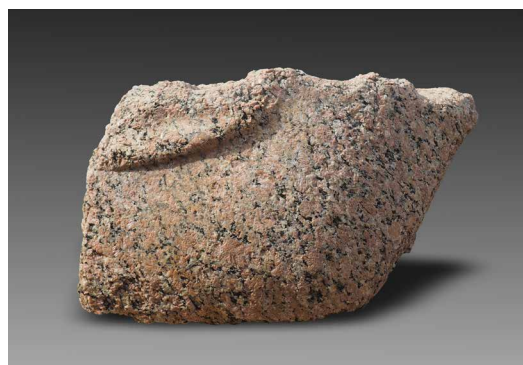


Fig. 4.9:
Left pectoral muscle
with lower extremity
of *nemes* lappet
[Inv. No. RG 404],
H. 46; W. 23.8;
D. 36.6 cm (Photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 4.10:
Left upper arm of
a seated colossus
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4.11:
Fragment of the
right upper arm of
a seated colossus
(Photo: S. Connor).

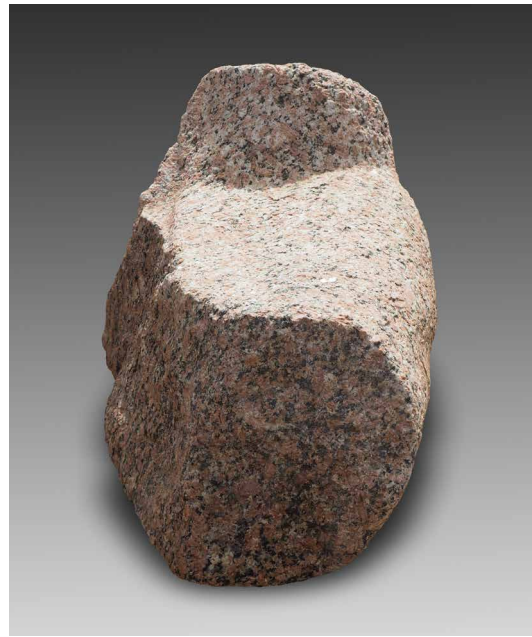


Fig. 4.12 - 4.15:
Fragments of an arm
[Inv. No. RG 149]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4.16-4.18:
Right hand of a
colossus, H. 23;
W. 30; D. 48 cm
(Photos: S. Connor).

2.3.1

Fig. 4.19:
Right hand
of a colossus
[Inv. No. RGU 08],
H. 27; W. 32;
D. 23 cm
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4.21:
Fragment of a right
thigh seen in profile
[Inv. No. RGU 03],
H. 84.1; W. 78.7;
D. 116 cm
(Photo: S. Connor).

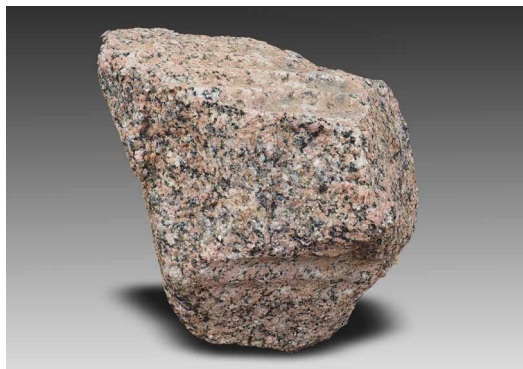


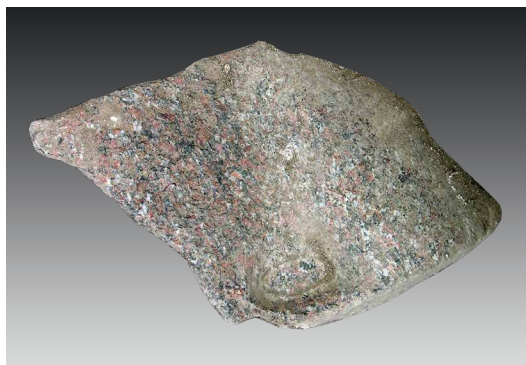
Fig. 4.20:
Fragment of kilt,
W. 14.7; D. 20.4 cm
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4.23:
Probable fragment of
the base or back slab
of one of the colossi
[Inv. No. RGU 05],
H. 40.6; W. 43.1;
D. 25.3 cm (Photo:
C. Breninek).



Fig. 4.22:
Fragment
with a navel
[Inv. No. RGU 02],
could be also from
the standing colossus
(Photo: C. Breninek).



For stylistic comparisons:



Fig. 5.1–5.2:
Statue of Mentuhotep II from Deir el-Bahari (detail), Cairo JE 36195, Sandstone, H. 203 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 5.3:
Head of a king, probably Mentuhotep III or IV, New York MMA 66.99.3, Limestone, H. 18.3 cm (Photo: © Metropolitan Museum of Art).

2.3.1



Fig. 5.4–5.5: Head of a king, probably Mentuhotep III or IV, showing a rounded back slab, Basel BSAe III 8397, Greywacke, H. 15 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 5.6: Statue of Amenemhat I from Khatana/Tell el-Dab'a (detail), currently in Ismailia Museum, previously Cairo JE 60520, Granite, H. 174 cm (Photo: S. Connor).

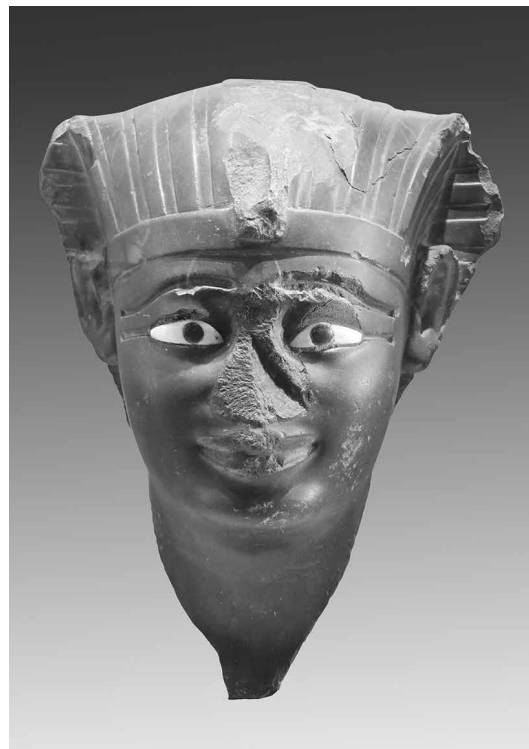


Fig. 5.7: Head attributed to Amenemhat I or Senusret I, Paris, Louvre E 10299, Greywacke, H. 27.5 cm (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 5.8–5.9: Head of a statue of Senusret I (?), Hanover, August Kestner-Museum 1935.200.507, Greywacke, H. 11.8 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 5.10:
Statue of Senusret I
(detail), Berlin ÄM
1205, Anorthositic
gneiss, H. 47.5 cm
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 5.11 – 5.12:
Statue of Senusret I
from Karnak, London
BM EA 44, Grano-
diorite, H. 78.5 cm
(Photos: S. Connor).

2.3.1



Fig. 5.13–5.14:
Head of Senusret I
(?), Hanover, August
Kestner-Museum
1935.200.121, Grano-
diorite, H. 27 cm
(Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 5.15:
Head of
Senusret I (?),
Cambridge,
Fitzwilliam Museum
E. 2.1974, Grey-
wacke, H. 8.4 cm
(Photo: S. Connor).

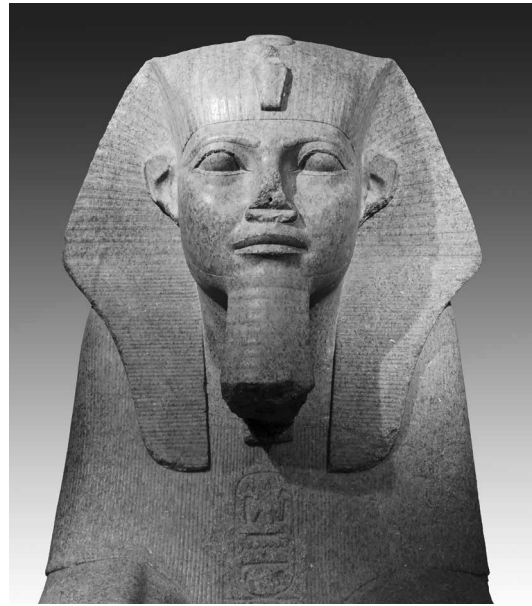


Fig. 5.16:
Sphinx attributed
to Amenemhat II
(detail) from Tanis,
Paris, Louvre A 23,
Granite, H. 204 cm
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 5.17:
Torso attributed to
Amenemhat II from
Semna, Boston,
MFA 29.1132
(Photo: S. Connor).

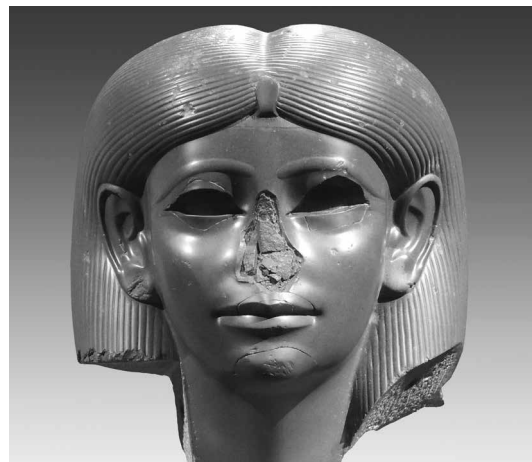


Fig. 5.18:
Head of a queen
(as a sphinx), dated
to the reign of
Amenemhat II, New
York, Brooklyn
Museum 56.85
(Photo: S. Connor).

3. The Standing Colossus

At least three other fragments that were found among the granite material of Suq el-Khamis belong to a colossal standing statue (or two statues of the same size):

- The upper part of a back slab, with the bulb of a white crown (Inv. No. RG 403). H. 42; W. 78.3; D. 36.6 cm (thickness of the slab itself: 22 cm). Maximum preserved width of the bulb: 20 cm.
- A fragment of the body of the white crown (Inv. No. RG 082). H. 51.3; W. 59.3; D. 69.7 cm. The dimensions fit with the previous fragment and, although there is no clear direct joint, both pieces probably almost fit. Like the numerous fragments of the seated colossi, these pieces (especially their breaks) are heavily weathered due to their long stay in wet ground.
- A lower torso, with the kilt, belt and dagger (Inv. No. RG 108). H. 121.2; W. 107.3; D. 93.2 cm, now in Matariya Museum.
- The original size of the standing colossus can be estimated as approximately 8 metres high and around 2 metres wide.

The proportions must have been roughly the same as those of the seated statues, therefore it cannot be excluded that fragment Inv. No. RG 315 (Fig. 3.2.5), which shows no remains of a *nemes*, could belong to the standing statue ins-

tead. Some fragments, such as shoulders or arms, could also be attributed either to the seated colossi or the standing one.

Like the seated colossi, the standing one leant against a back slab, similarly to the colossi discovered in Memphis, Bubastis and Tanis, a typological feature that seems typical of Senusret I's reign. In the case of the standing colossi from these three sites, these were all "usurped" by Ramesses II, not only in their inscriptions, but also in their facial physiognomy.¹² Concerning the Suq el-Khamis colossus, it cannot be deduced from the fragments that have been preserved. If the face Inv. No. RG 315 belongs to this, it is likely that only the inscriptions were modified.

Two fragments of hieroglyphs, facing the statue, were preserved on the front face of the back slab, on either side of the white crown's upper extremity. To its right is the head of a goose facing right, perhaps for *sꜣ Rꜥ* [...], while on the other side, a long and curved beak is preserved, perhaps of an ibis. The dedication of the colossus might therefore have involved the god Thot, at some point of its "life", either in the Middle or in the New Kingdom.

The small portion of the sculpted surface of the kilt does not allow a precise analysis of the cloth's or the dagger's style. Nevertheless, the presence of the rectangular back slab, as well as the similarity of size with the early 12th Dynasty colossi reused by Ramesses in Memphis, Bubastis and probably Pi-Ramesses

¹² SOUROUZIAN 1988; Id. 2019, 650–656, cat. R-1 to 7 (with extensive bibliography).

2.3.1

(those found in Tanis) make it likely that the Suq el-Khamis colossus was part of the same series of granite standing colossi that were

produced for various sites under Senusret I and then re-activated seven hundred years later for new construction projects.



Fig. 6.1–6.2:
Top of the back slab
and of the white
crown [Inv. No.
RG 403] (Photos:
S. Connor).



Fig. 6.3–6.5:
Middle part of the
white crown
[Inv. No. RG 082]
(Orthophotograph:
C. Breninek).



Fig. 6.6–6.8:
Kilt and dagger
of the standing
colossus
[Inv. No. RG 108]
(Photos: S. Con-
nor).



Fig. 6.9:
Reconstruction
of the original
appearance of the
colossus (Drawing:
S. Connor).

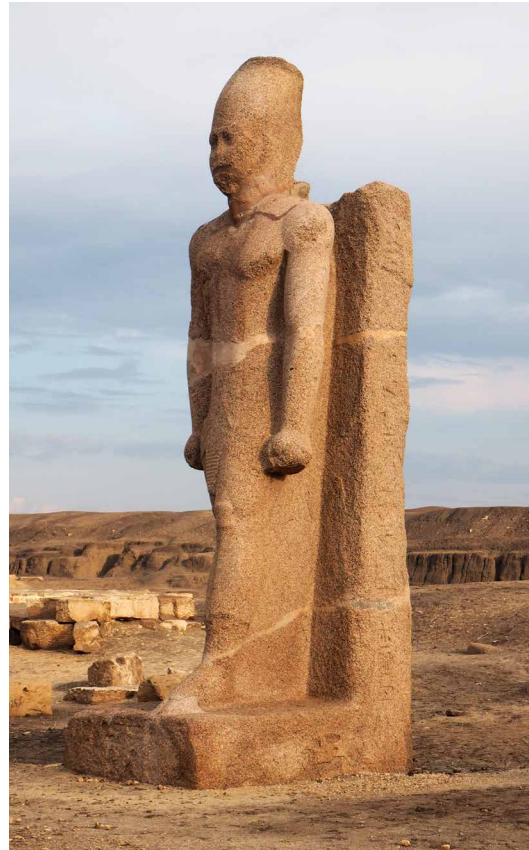
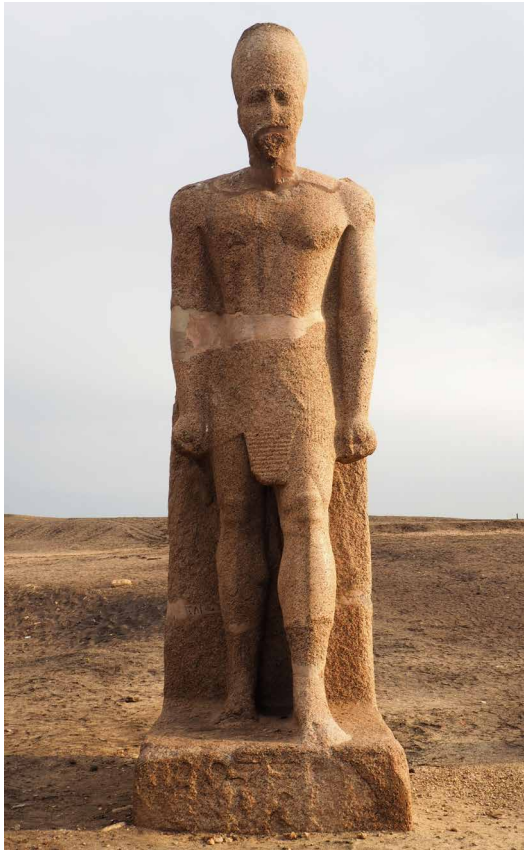


Fig. 6.10–11: Standing colossus of the early 12th Dynasty reused by Ramesses II, Tanis, temple of Amun, in front of the gate (southern statue); Photos: S. Connor.



Fig. 6.12: Standing colossus of the early 12th Dynasty reused by Ramesses II, Tanis, temple of Amun, in front of the gate (northern statue); Photo: S. Connor.



Fig. 6.13–6.15:
 Standing colossus of the early 12th
 Dynasty reused by Ramesses II,
 discovered in Memphis, Open-Air
 Museum of Mit Rahina, re-erected
 to the east, facing west (planned
 to be re-displayed in the new Capital,
 east of Cairo); Photos: S. Connor.



Fig. 6.16–6.18: Standing colossus of the early 12th Dynasty reused by Ramesses II, discovered in Memphis, Open-Air Museum of Mit Rahina, re-erected to the south, facing north; Photos: S. Connor.

4. Commentary

The (minimum) seven granite colossal statues that can be reconstructed here are important contributions to our knowledge of the early 12th Dynasty in Heliopolis. Although it is impossible, in the current state of knowledge, to know where they originally stood, they further document the significant works carried out in this period, notably by Senusret I. The discovery of at least one doorjamb of Senusret I in Suq el-Khamis may be in favour of the presence of an edifice of the Middle Kingdom in the area, but large blocks could be reused over far distances. Like the still-standing obelisk of Matariya, these colossi show that resources and sculptor's skills were used to monumentalize and embellish the city-temple. The close typological and stylistic similarity between this series of colossi and those discovered (in secondary contexts) in Memphis, Bubastis and Tanis are in favour of major works being carried out in the region of Lower Egypt, either at the same time or in any case following the same programme.

Like those in Memphis,¹³ Bubastis and Tanis, these colossi were again all part of a similar new programme, since they were the subjects of a vast plan of reuse of ancient monuments for new projects under Ramesses II. Re-inscribed,

probably moved to new podiums, in front of new pylons or gates, they may have been a way of allowing the 19th Dynasty ruler to “incarnate” in the body of his distant predecessors or to integrate the past into the present.¹⁴ If all, including those of Matariya, were clearly re-adapted, the degree of modification is not everywhere equal. If the statues in Heliopolis were re-inscribed, as it would seem from the base fragments with the Horus name of Ramesses II that were discovered in Suq el-Khamis (Fig. 1.19 - 1.21), the colossi were not “plastically” usurped, since their physiognomy is entirely that of early Middle Kingdom rulers (most likely Senusret I).¹⁵ This brings us to reflect on the practice of the re-appropriation of statues under the reign of Ramesses II, a practice that we observe mostly for large scale royal sculpture – even if it is also attested in the private sphere. As observed by several scholars,¹⁶ various levels of “usurpation” can be detected: the most frequent among the preserved cases from the Ramesside period include a partial re-carving of the statue's features, in order to adapt their style and “ramessize” them. A stylistic analysis, as well as a thorough observation of the statue's surface (looking for scars of transformation and inequalities in the polishing) are necessary to ascertain whether the statues were modified, and identify the originally depicted individual. If some cases are relatively

¹³ Including the three heads in Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 643, 644, and JE 45085 (SOUROUZIAN 1988, 231–233, pl. 65–66; MAGEN 2011, 439–440, 442–443, cat. C-a-1, C-a-2, C-a-5).

¹⁴ UPHILL 1984; MAGEN 2011; HILL 2015; GILLI 2016.

¹⁵ Ashmawy and Raue suggested that these sculptures of Senusret I could show an attempt at giving an Old Kingdom gaze, when seen from a lower angle, considering that the heads were some 5 metres above the viewer (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017, 33). If the adaption of style for statues of large dimensions is indeed attested in the New Kingdom (LABOURY 2008), this interpretation would need further discussion when dealing with earlier pieces. Intentional references to the past are well documented throughout Egyptian history, but in this case, I am personally more inclined to see what we may consider an Old Kingdom appearance of the early Middle Kingdom Heliopolis colossi as a result of a stylistic continuation, rather than a specific citation. We will leave the debate open and reserve this for further publications.

¹⁶ VANDERSLEYEN 1979; SOUROUZIAN 1988; BRAND 2009 and Id. 2010; MAGEN 2011; EATON-KRAUSS 2015 and Id. 2016; HILL 2015; CONNOR 2015 and Id. 2020b.

clear, others remain under discussion.¹⁷ In some other cases, statues are only modified in terms of their inscriptions, while their physiognomy was not changed. Sometimes even the original inscriptions are preserved, and the later king only adds his titlature to the statue – this is often the case with Merenptah, or with rulers of the Third Intermediate Period. In the case of the Suq el-Khamis colossi, it is difficult to know whether the name of the original ruler was erased or not, but it is certain, from the fragments discovered, that their style was not modified and that their appearance was their original one. If they “became” Ramesses, this was only in their inscriptions. Since, in many other cases, including Herakleopolis Magna, Memphis, Bubastis and Pi-Ramesses, Middle Kingdom usurped statues were heavily modified in their appearance, it is manifest that leaving the faces of the series of Heliopolitan granite colossi intact was intentional, or at least that there was no intention to hide their original dating and to pretend that these statues were made for Ramesses II. Their

reuse was obvious to whoever was allowed to pass in front of the pylon, and who had a minimum of capacity for observation. The very fact that statues were so often modified proves that 19th Dynasty people were sensible to it. The case of Suq el-Khamis illustrates well that Ramesses II ostensibly reuses (seven centuries old!) statues, in which he embodies himself with a new inscription.

Another noticeable feature is the Ramesside date of the blocks reused within the masonry of at least two bases of these colossi (K23 and K24e), as well as the later Ramesside pottery discovered in their foundations, as mentioned above. These statues were therefore neither on their original bases, nor on the pedestals planned for them by Ramesses II. They found their final location only, at the earliest, in the later Ramesside period. The later dating of their bases attests to one more step in the life of these statues, and a final moving and reuse (apparently without further re-inscription) even after the reign of Ramesses II.

¹⁷ Among other examples, it is still debated whether some statues are original statues from the reign of Ramesses II, bearing unexplained traces of modifications and perhaps a lower level of quality of carving, or if they are modified statues of previous rulers (Geneva 8934, Boston 87.111, Cairo JE 67097, Strasbourg 3048, Geneva-Gandur EG-133, Paris, Louvre A 20, or the colossi against the Northern face of the 10th Pylon in Karnak), VANDERSLEYEN 1983; BARBOTIN 2007, 86–90; MAGEN 2011, 492–493, 545–548, cat. 1-a-1, P-a-5; BIANCHI 2016, 76; SOROUIZIAN 2019, 293–304, 674–675, cat. 192–196, R-24 and R-25; CONNOR 2020b, 87.

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Royal Statuary

2.3.2.1 Fragment of a Back Slab from a Dyad of Ramesses II and the Goddess Isis (Inv. No. RG 408)

Simon Connor

Dating:	19th Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC)
Material:	Granite
Dimensions:	H. 79.9; W. 114.7; D. 54 cm
Estimated dimensions of the complete statue:	H. 220; W. 90; D. 80 cm

This inscribed fragment of granite was discovered in Area 200, “Suq el-Khamis”, in one of the northernmost squares (H23) that were excavated between 2001 and 2003 by the Supreme Council of Antiquities¹.

Three original surfaces of the dyad are partially preserved, forming the upper right corner of a back slab from a statue (Fig. 1–4). The larger preserved surface is the rear part of the sculpture, and carries three vertical lines of inscription:

Col. 1 (left)	<i>Hr K3 nḥt mr.y M3ꜥ.t</i>	Horus “Mighty bull, beloved of Maat”
Col. 2 (middle)	<i>Hr K3 nḥt mr.y Rꜥ</i>	Horus “Mighty bull, beloved of Re”
Col. 3 (right)	<i>ꜣs.t nb.t p.t di-s rnp.wt ꜥtm</i> [...]	Isis, mistress of the sky, she gives the years of Atum [...]

The original inscription most probably consisted of four columns. The two central ones, in mirrored columns, include the Horus name of Ramesses II in hieroglyphs facing outwards, while the signs in the right-hand column (which corresponds to the edge of the dorsal panel) are

oriented towards the centre, i.e., towards the name of the king.

This fragment strongly resembles a large series of group statues produced during the reign of Ramesses II, which associate the king with one or sever-

¹ The block is mentioned in ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 5 and 6, fig. 2 as well as in KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 50–51, 56, fig. 3. The block is visible in Pieter Collet’s plan of Area 200, see the reports of 2005 (https://projectdb.dainst.org/fileadmin/Media/Projekte/5724/Dokumente/1st-season_Matariya_2005-autumn.pdf) and 2012 (<https://projectdb.dainst.org/fileadmin/Media/Projekte/5724/Dokumente/ASAE-Heliopolis-autumn2012.pdf>); last accessed: 17.07.2022. The block is drawn on the berm that separates H23 from H24.

al deities, particularly in the north of the country (several have been found in Memphis, Bubastis (Fig. 8–9), Tanis (Fig. 10), Buto, Tell el-Maskhuta and Heracleopolis Magna (Fig. 11–12; SOUROUZIAN 2019, 423–527, cat. 269–334). Usually of quite stocky proportions and often of lower quality of carving compared to the rest of the repertoire of Ramesses II, they usually include the king's titulary in several vertical lines on a back slab, with the names of the depicted deities, who grant the king their blessings (Fig. 5; see Fig. 6–12 for comparisons). Taking into consideration the dimensions of the piece found in Suq el-Khamis, and the apparent organisation in four columns, the statue was probably a dyad, similar to that of Ramesses II and the goddess Anat that was discovered in Tanis (Louvre AF 2576, Fig. 6–7).

On the right edge the polished surface is interrupted by a protruding element that has been cut away (probably contemporary to the dismantlement of all the statues of Suq el-Khamis). Since the fragment consists of the upper corner of the back slab, this protruding element was probably the headdress of the king or the goddess. The preserved outlines allow us to suggest that it may have been a *khepresh*, but the comparison with other group statues of this period allows a wide range of possibilities (solar discs above wigs, crowns and deity symbols).

Two other such granite group statues found in Tell el-Maskhuta (currently in Ismailia Museum, 1096–1097) might also originate from Heliopolis, since they represent Ramesses II associated with Atum-Khepri and Ra-Horakhty. Nevertheless, the presence of a cult of the Heliopolitan deities in a sanctuary of the region of Tell el-Maskhuta seems to be attested (“Pithom”), therefore the two statues may well have been discovered close to their original location (RAUE 1999, 19–20).

Although weathered by a long stay in wet ground, there remains enough of the statue to see that the precision of the hieroglyphs is quite approximate, and that the polishing of the surface was left relatively rough.

In some cases, at least, it seems that such statuary groups, whose proportions are not always particularly harmonious, were carved within pre-existing blocks collected from ancient monuments, witnessing the large-scale Ramesside practice of reuse. Evidence of such activity was discovered in Giza, where an unfinished dyad depicting Ramesses II with a solar deity had been apparently carved from a granite block of the casing of Menkaura's pyramid, and then abandoned when the block broke.²

² HAWASS 1997; RAUE 1999, 197, note. 4; HAWASS 2011, 124–127.

Figures

2.3.2.1



Fig. 1:
Fragment in situ
(Photo: German
Archaeological
Institute Cairo,
P. Windszus).

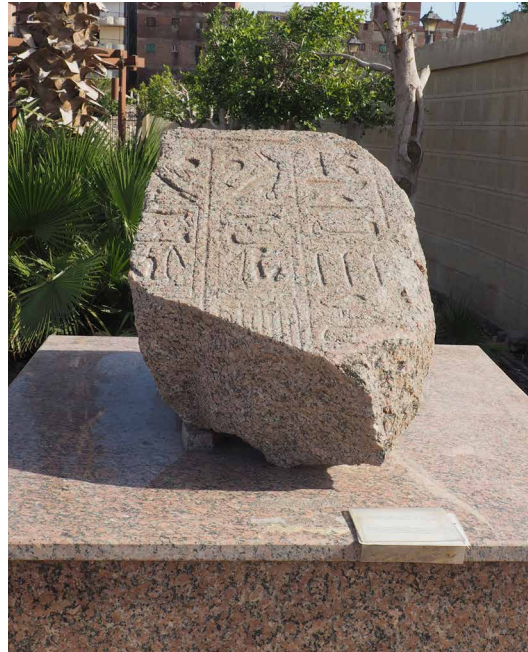


Fig. 2:
View of the fragment,
now in the Open-Air
Museum in Matariya
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 3:
Fragment RG 408
(side view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
Fragment RG 408
(3/4 rear view;
photo: S. Connor).

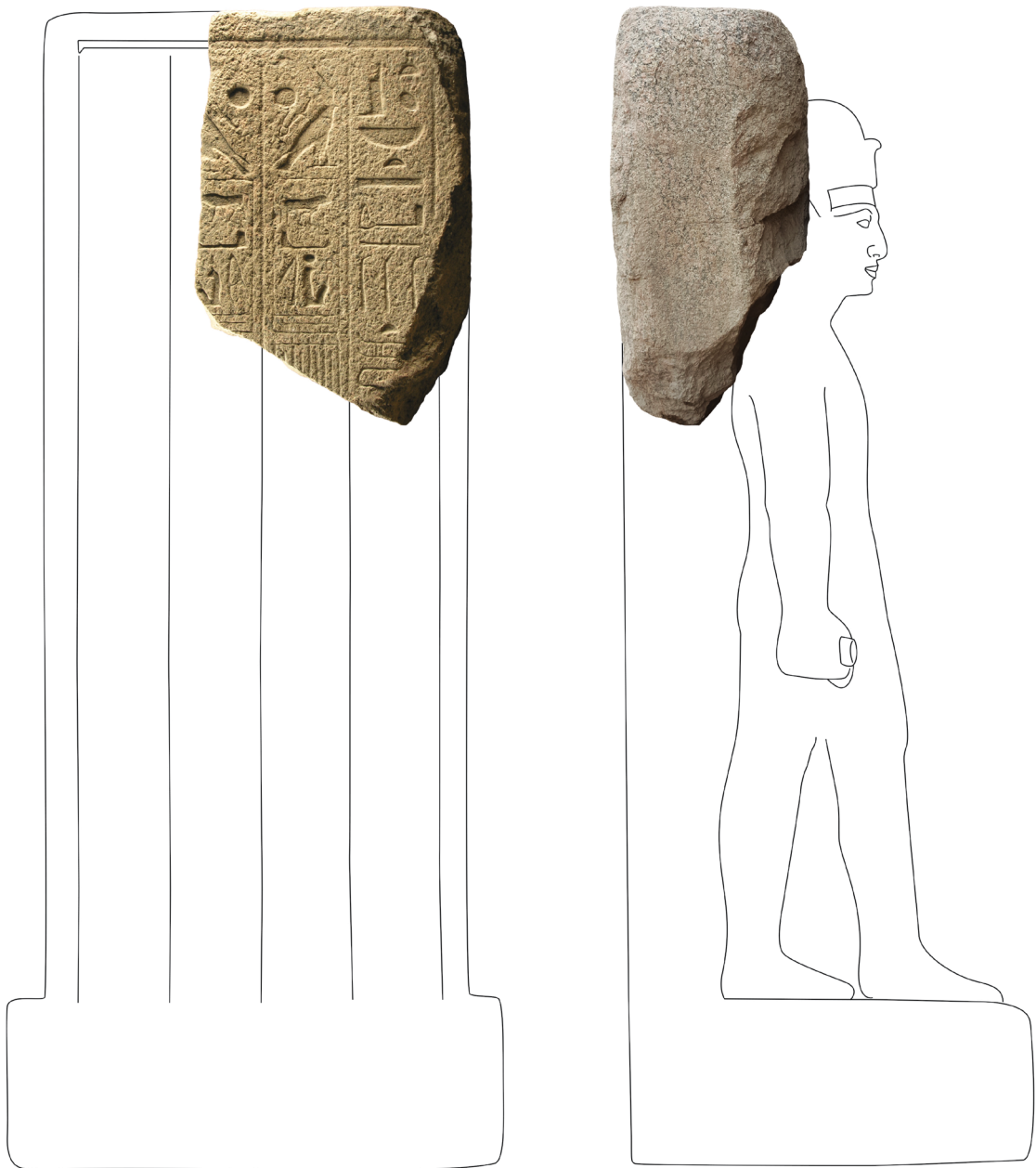


Fig. 5:
Proposition of reconstitution of the
statue's original appearance
(Drawing: S. Connor).

2.3.2.1



Fig. 6:
Dyad of Ramesses II and the goddess Anat, discovered in Tanis; Paris, Louvre AF 2576, front side (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 7:
Dyad of Ramesses II and the goddess Anat, discovered in Tanis; Paris, Louvre AF 2576, back side (Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 8:
Ramesside statuary group in Bubastis (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 9:
Ramesside statuary groups in Bubastis (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 10:
Dyad of Ramesses II and the goddess Sekhmet in Tanis, temple of Mut (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 11:
Triad of Ramesses II, Ptah and Sekhmet, from Heracleopolis Magna, Cairo TR 8.2.21.20; now in Giza, Grand Egyptian Museum (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 12:
Triad of Ramesses II, Ptah and Sekhmet, from Heracleopolis Magna, Cairo TR 8.2.21.20 (side view; photo: S. Connor).

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2.3.2.1

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Upper Part of a Kneeling Statue of King Sety II

(Inv. No. U2035-2)

Simon Connor

Dating:	19th Dynasty, reign of Sety II (1202 – 1198 BC)
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions:	H. 47.5; W. 39.7; D. 33.1 cm
Find spot:	Area 200 (Suq el-Khamis), square M21

This fragment was found in the southern part of Area 200 at Suq el-Khamis/Matariya (Inv. No. U2035-2). The find context belongs to the various stone extraction pits that have been dug in Suq el-Khamis from the Roman to the Ottoman Period. It is likely that the fragment was part of the statue equipment of the spaces in front of the main pylon of the festival temple of Ramesses II in Area 201/200.

The piece is the upper part of a statue of a king who is wearing the *nemes* headdress and a false beard (Fig. 1–5). On the preserved shoulder (the proper right), a cartouche includes the throne name of king Sety II: (*Wsr-hpr.w-R^c-stp-n-R^c*).

The dimensions are the following: H. 47.5; W. 39.7; D. 33.1 cm. Viewed in profile, the inclination of the bust allows us to reconstruct a kneeling position (Fig. 6–7) – a prostrate figure can be excluded because of the back pillar. The kneeling type is very characteristic of the statuary repertoire of Sety II that is found in Karnak and Heliopolis (see Tab. 1). The statue must have been approximately 120 cm high (without the crown that would have topped the *nemes*).

The back pillar rises to the top of the head. It bears the following inscription:

Proper left side	[...] <i>mr.y</i> [...] <i>di=f 3w.t-ib nb n s3=f mr.y=f</i>	Beloved of [...], may he give all joy to his son whom he loves
Back	[...] <i>Hr k3-nht</i> <i>mk-Km.t nswt-bj.tj nb t3.wj (Wsr-hpr.w-R^c-[stp-n-R^c])...</i>	[Horus, The Victorious Bull] and Protector of Egypt, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands <i>Weser-kheperu-ra-[setep-en-ra]</i> ...
Proper right side	[...] <i>mr.y</i> [...] <i>di=f snb nb n s3=f mr.y=f</i>	Beloved of [...], may he give all health to his son whom he loves

A separate block was once inserted in the top of the head, as attested by the flattened upper surface with a rectangular mortise in the middle; this allowed the upper crown be fixed by a tenon. Furthermore, the beginning of the formula inscribed on the back pillar is missing; this must have contained the name of the king and that of the deity. By comparing it with the repertoire of the 19th Dynasty, we may suggest a reconstruction of this upper part either as a double crown or an *atef*-crown, or a combination of both.

The *nemes* is smooth, which is quite an unusual feature in the New Kingdom and in the Rameside Period in general, which leads us to assume that it was at least painted to represent the stripes.¹ The uraeus snake has a very thin and flat tail, with a symmetrical loop on either side of its hood, following the typical shape observable in the late 19th Dynasty (see notably statues cited in Tab. 1).

Although the quite damaged features seem, at first glance, reminiscent of the late 18th Dynasty, there is no reason to believe that it is an usurped statue. Not only does the statuary type fit within Sety II's repertoire, but the elongated oval of the face, the almond-shaped eyes with marked upper eyelids, the large horizontal mouth, and smooth cheeks, as well as the generally neutral expression, appear on other representations of this king (see London, BM EA 26). It is a derivative, less expressive version of the official portrait of Ramesses II. This piece is actually represen-

tative, in style and statuary type, of the known corpus of Sety II and confirms the interest of this king in two major cultic centres that were somewhat a mirror of each other: Karnak and Heliopolis. As seen in Tab. 1, all the statues of Sety II with known provenance were found in Karnak or in Heliopolis and bear great similarities in postures, since most of them show the king in a devotional action: either kneeling and presenting an altar or an offering table, standing as a standard-bearer, or even, when seated, holding a ram-headed altar in front of him.

The bust of Sety II found in Suq el-Khamis also displays traces of the practice of mutilating images in Egypt and perhaps also of repair or reuse. The absence of the uraeus, of the nose and of the beard is probably not only due to the ravages of time: they seem to have suffered from repeated blows, not necessarily with a proper tool, but perhaps with a blunt, hard stone. The beard is not only damaged, but entirely missing, which can hardly be the result of an accident. While it is still difficult to fully interpret this action, the removal of these parts must have been significant, since it is systematic on all statues showing traces of intentional mutilation. The reasons for such defacement are not always clear either: the most likely, in this context, may be the anti-pagan iconoclasm in the 4th–5th centuries AD, or perhaps the ritual “de-activation” of the statue before its reuse for another purpose.² On the chest is visible half of a mortise meant to link the piece to another one. This trace may be interpreted in two different ways. On the one

¹ Such painted stripes on smooth *nemes* head cloths are visible on some other Rameside statues: the quartzite colossus of Ramesses II in Philadelphia E 635 (re-used from a Middle Kingdom statue, MILLER 1939), the granodiorite colossus in London, BM EA 19 (bust of the seated colossus of Ramesses II, whose lower part is still in the second courtyard of the Ramesseum, LEBLANC/ESMOINGT 1999), as well as the two sandstone sphinxes in Turin Cat. 1408 and 1409 (CONNOR 2016, 108–111).

² BRYAN 2012; KRISTENSEN 2013; JAMBON 2016; CONNOR 2018.

hand, the statue may have been broken accidentally and then repaired, and this mortise would have allowed the ancient sculptors to attach the bust to the lower part of the statue with a tenon. Such a repair would have hardly been discreet, especially in limestone and in this obvious part of the body, but a layer of plaster and some paint, now gone, may have disguised it. A similar system of repair is attested on a few other

statues (but on the back of the throne of colossal, hard stone statues).³ An alternative explanation could be the transformation of the statue into construction blocks for masonry, perhaps even still during the Pharaonic Period. Other objects attest to this practice of defacing images in ancient Egypt, either statues or reliefs that were reused as construction material in a new building.⁴

Tab. 1: Other statues known of Sety II.

	Current location and Inv. No.	Dating criteria	Position/statuary type	Headdress	Material	Provenance
Statues found in Thebes						
1	Karnak KIU 83	Inscription	Kneeling, presenting an offering table	<i>nemes</i>	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple
2	Karnak KIU 84	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	<i>khepresh</i>	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple
3	Karnak KIU 85 + New York MMA 34.2.2	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	<i>khepresh</i>	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple
4	Karnak	Inscription	Kneeling, presenting an offering table	<i>nemes</i>	Quartzite	Karnak, Akhmenu
5	Karnak, Open-Air Museum, in front of the red chapel (west)	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	/	Quartzite	Karnak
6	Karnak, Open-Air Museum, in front of the red chapel (east)	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	/	Quartzite	Karnak
7	Karnak Nord S. 1 (base of a statue)	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	/	Quartzite	Karnak Nord, Montu Temple
8	Karnak, Sheikh Labib 94CLI395	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer (?)	Double crown with feathers and solar disc	Quartzite	Karnak

³ The western seated colossus of Ramesses II in front of the pylon of Luxor Temple; the Middle Kingdom colossus reused by Ramesses II and Merenptah in Berlin ÄM 7264, on long-term loan in New York, MMA L.2011.42 (OPPENHEIM ET AL. 2015, 300–301, cat. 221).

⁴ See, e.g., many of the Old Kingdom reliefs methodically mutilated and integrated inside the masonry of the funerary complex of Amenemhat I in Lisht, some 400–500 years after their first use (GOEDICKE 1971; ARNOLD 1988, 71; GILLI 2009; JÁNOSI 2016, 13–30).

Tab. 1 (continued)

9	Luxor Mag.	Inscription	Base for a (wooden?) statue	/	Quartzite	Luxor Temple
10	Cairo CG 1198	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	“Sety I”-type long wig	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple, 3rd Pylon’s surroundings
11	London, British Museum EA 26	Inscription	Seated, presenting a ram-headed altar	“Sety I”-type long wig	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple
12	Paris A 24 + Cairo TR 16.2.21.7	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	Rounded wig and double crown with feathers and solar disc	Quartzite	Karnak, chapel of Sety II
13	Turin Cat. 1383	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	Rounded wig and double crown with feathers and solar disc	Quartzite	Karnak, chapel of Sety II
Statues found in Heliopolis						
14	Cairo, Egyptian Museum (piece discussed in this contribution)	Inscription	Kneeling, presenting an offering table (?)	nemes, surmounted by a crown	Limestone	Heliopolis, Suq el-Khamis (Area 200)
15	Matariya, Open-Air Museum	Inscription	Kneeling, presenting an offering table	nemes, surmounted by a scarab	Limestone	Heliopolis, south wall of the temenos
16	Matariya, Open-Air Museum	Inscription	Kneeling	/	Quartzite	Heliopolis, “Army Camp” (Area 234)
17	Matariya, Store Room of the Ministry of Antiquities at Arab el-Hisn	Inscription	Kneeling	nemes, surmounted by a scarab	Granite	Heliopolis, Army Camp (Area 221)
Statues of unknown provenance						
18	Florence 7668	Inscription	Standing (?)	“Sety I”-type long wig	Granodiorite	Old Cairo (orig. Heliopolis?)
19	Alexandria 20307	Inscription	Sphinx with human hands	khat topped with a high crown	Alabaster/calcite	Unknown (Heliopolis or Memphis?)
20	Alexandria 20308	Inscription	Sphinx with human hands	nemes topped with a high crown	Alabaster/calcite	Unknown (Heliopolis or Memphis?)

Tab. 1 (continued)

21	Cairo (without number)	Inscription	Standing (?) (base)	/	Sandstone	Unknown
22	Private coll.	Inscription	Sphinx (base)		Quartzite	Unknown (Heliopolis?)
Other provenances						
23	Cairo TR 16.11.24.10	Inscription	Kneeling - naophorous	/	Quartzite	Atfia, private house
24	Cairo CG 1239	Inscription	Kneeling - naophorous	/	Quartzite	Tell el-Yahudiya (orig. Heliopolis?)
25 - 26	Alexandria, Maritime Museum 453 and 454	Inscription	Standing statues	Khepresh or double crown	Granodiorite	Herakleion-Thonis (orig. Heliopolis?)
Statues re-inscribed						
27 - 28	Karnak, entry of the Akhmenu	Re-inscription of two jubilee statues of Thutmose III	Jubilee ("osiriatic")	Double crown	Sandstone	Karnak, entry of the Akhmenu
29	New York, MMA 22.5.1	Addition of his name on a statue of Amenhotep III, previously re-inscribed for Merenptah	Seated	<i>nemes</i>	Granodiorite	Luxor Temple
30 - 31	Karnak, in front of 2nd Pylon	Addition of his name on two colossi of Thutmose III, previously re-inscribed for Ramesses II	Standing	Double crown	Granite	Karnak Temple

Figures

2.3.2.2



Fig. 1:
Frontal view of the limestone bust of Sety II [Inv. No. U2005-2]. Mutilations are clearly visible on the uraeus, nose, and chin. The beard has been entirely removed. The half of a dovetail mortise is visible at the level of the torso, perhaps witness to an earlier repair to the statue, unless it is evidence for a reuse as a block in a wall masonry (Photo: S. Connor).

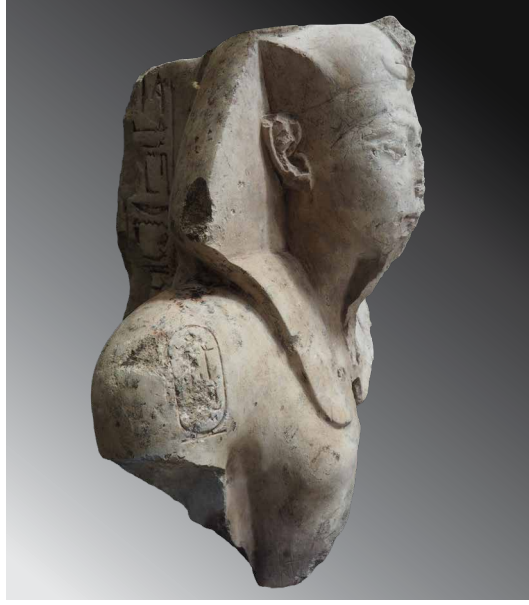


Fig. 2:
Side view. The cartouche on the shoulder shows traces of damage, but this does not appear to be the result of intentional hammering (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 3:
Upper view. A mortise on top of the head once allowed to fix a crown above the nemes (Photo: S. Connor).

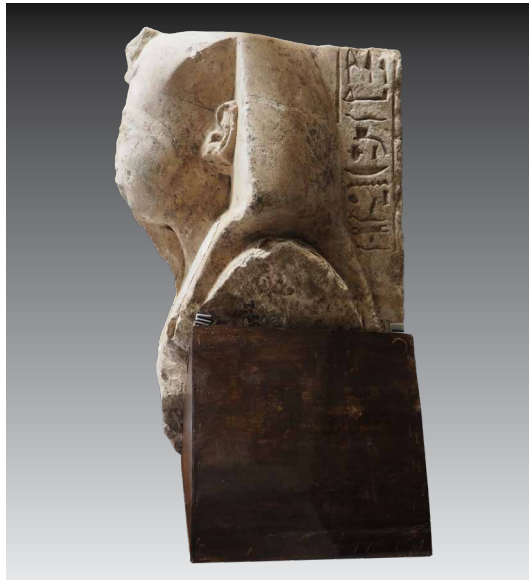


Fig. 4:
Side view (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 5:
Rear view (Photo: S. Connor).

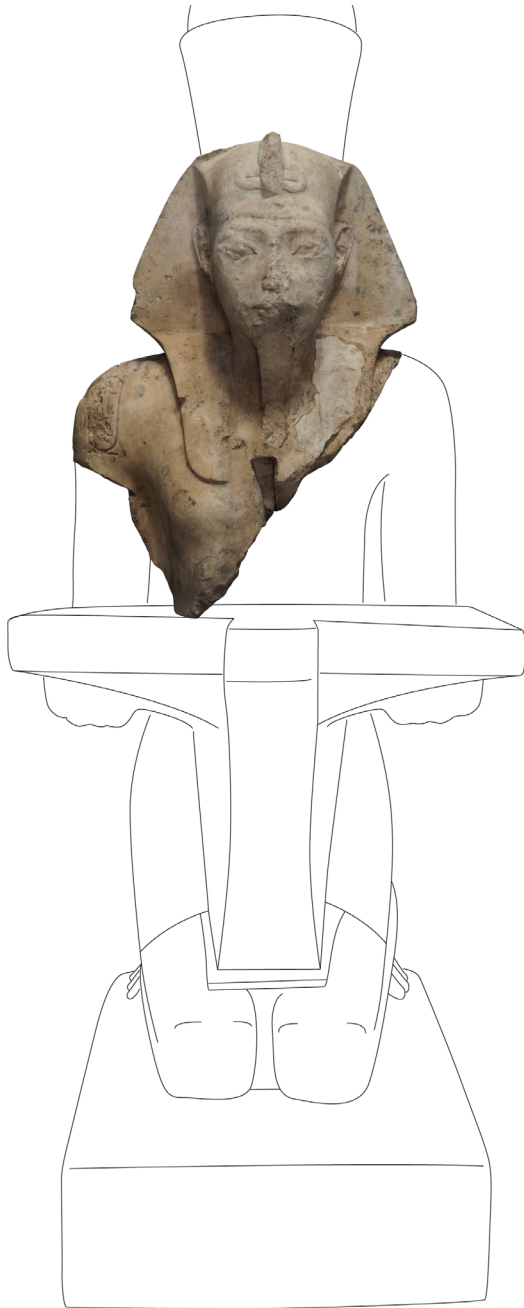


Fig. 6:
The angle formed by the head and torso allows us to identify the original posture of the king as kneeling, probably holding an offering table in front of him. Such a statuary type is particularly common among the known statuary repertoire of Sety II (Reconstruction: S. Connor).



Fig. 7:
Proposition of reconstitution of the original appearance of the statue (Reconstruction: S. Connor).

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2.3.2.2

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Fragments of Sphinxes from Suq el-Khamis

(Inv. No. U2076-2, U2116-19, 202-20-1-1)

Simon Connor

Two or three fragments of quartzite sphinxes have been excavated in the western area of Matariya's archaeological site, Suq el-Khamis; they were among the granite fragments of statues of Ramesses II. The claw (Inv. No. U2076-2), which belonged to a gigantic sphinx, was found at the eastern limit of the area, very close to the houses that were built on the site and separate Suq el-Khamis from the main archaeological area of Matariya.

Securely dating these fragments of sphinxes would be quite adventurous. It is likely that

the fragments of paws Inv. No. U2076-2 and U2116-19 predate the Late Period due to the shape of the claw, very geometrized, and the horizontal line incised on Inv. No. U2116-19. The third fragment, if it has been correctly identified as a fragment of a back leg of a sphinx, might perhaps date to the Late Period according to the very undulating modelling of the preserved surface, which can be observed on sphinxes from the 26th Dynasty.¹

1. Inv. No. U2076-2

Dimensions:	L. 58 × W. 31 × H. 41 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	1000 × 600 × 1800 cm
Dating:	New Kingdom, probably Ramesside (stylistic criteria)

The claw of a sphinx (Fig. 1–2) was found during the 2017 autumn season. The state of preservation hardly allows reconstructing to which paw of the statue this fragment belonged. The estimated dimensions of the original sphinx are very approximate due to the small size of the preserved part, but it seems to have been particularly gigantic. The pattern of the claw is very similar to that of the greywacke sphinx of Ramesses II in Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka 2002 (probably reinscribed and originally depicting a king of the 18th Dynasty)².

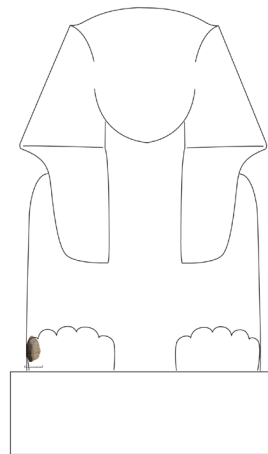
¹ See the contribution "A City of Sphinxes", p. 398–411.

² SOUROUZIAN 2019, 767, cat. R-109.

2.3.2.3



Fig. 1:
Monumental
quartzite claw of a
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U2076-2]
(Photo: D. Raue).



Sphinx U2076-2
Quartzite
Heliopolis
Suq el-Khamis

Fragment's dimensions
H. 41 cm
W. 31 cm
D. 56 cm

Estimated dimensions
of the sphinx
H. 1000 cm
W. 600 cm
D. 1800 cm

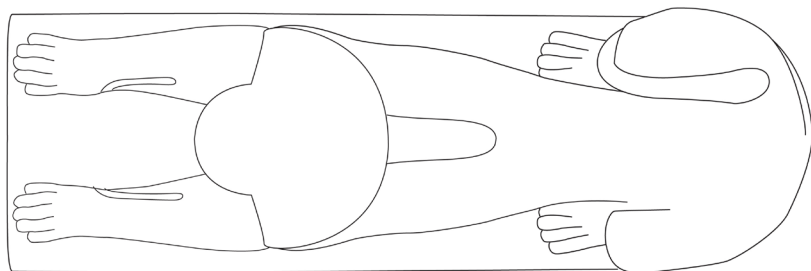


Fig. 2:
The fragment
U2076-2 belongs
to the rightmost
claw of the lion's or
sphinx's right paw. In
comparison with the
proportions of other
surviving sphinxes,
we can estimate the
original dimensions
of the statue as being
particularly imposing
(about 10 metres
high; drawing/recon-
struction: S. Connor).

2. Inv. No. U2116-19

Dimensions:	L. 16 × W. 9.8 × H. 15 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	325 × 190 × 585 cm
Dating:	Middle–New Kingdom (stylistic criteria)

This claw of a sphinx (Fig. 3–6) was found during the 2018 spring season. Like the previous one, the state of preservation hardly allows reconstructing to which paw of the statue this fragment belonged.



Fig. 3:
Monumental
quartzite claw of a
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U2116-19]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
Frontal view of
U2116-19
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 5:
Top view of
U2116-19
(Photo: S. Connor).

2.3.2.3

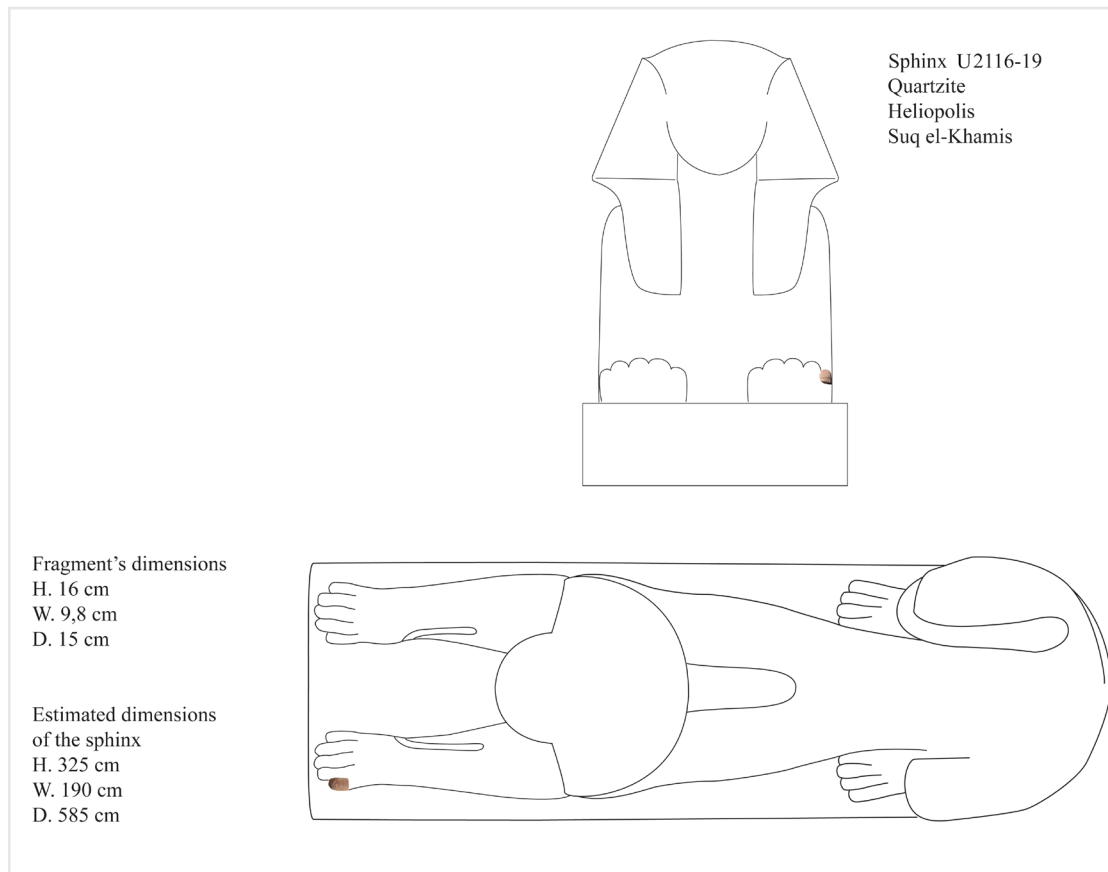


Fig. 6:
The fragment U2116-19 belongs to the leftmost claw of the lion's or sphinx's left paw. In comparison with the proportions of other surviving sphinxes, we can estimate the original dimensions of the statue as being a bit more than 3 metres high (drawing/reconstruction: S. Connor).

3. Inv. No. 202-20-1-1

Dimensions:	L. 36 × W. 15 × H. 19 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	(?)
Dating:	Late Period (?)

The fragment of the back leg of a sphinx (?) was found during the 2016 spring season (Fig. 7–10).



Fig. 7:
Fragment of a
sphinx's or lion's
back leg (?)
[Inv. No. 202-20-1-1]
(Photo: M. Jung and
S. Connor).



Fig. 8:
Fragment of a
sphinx's or lion's
back leg (?)
[Inv. No. 202-20-1-1]
(Photo: M. Jung and
S. Connor).



Fig. 9:
Fragment of a
sphinx's or lion's
back leg (?)
[Inv. No. 202-20-1-1]
(Photo: M. Jung and
S. Connor).



Fig. 10:
Fragment of a
sphinx's or lion's
back leg (?)
[Inv. No. 202-20-1-1]
(Photo: M. Jung and
S. Connor).

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Back Pillar of a Kneeling Statue (?)

(Inv. No. U2036-2)

Simon Connor

Dating:	Ramesside (?)
Material:	Granite
Dimensions:	H. 39; W. 26; D. 34 cm

This fragment of sculpture was found among the remains of the granite colossi in Suq el-Khamis. It was found immediately east of the crown of the colossal statue of Psamtik I. at a level of about 11.00 m, in the eastern profile of the section that was extended to extract the large fragments of the colossus. Heavily cut into pieces together with all the statues of the same area, only a few original surfaces remain. They seem to be sufficient, nevertheless, to identify a 13.8 cm wide back pillar, probably the top of it, diagonally carved at its top. The original surfaces, well polished, are the three perpendicular faces of this pillar, as well as the two joint faces at the top. The rest of the piece consist of roughly cut planes, made by chisels when the object was dismantled. Several of the chisel cuts are easily visible on both sides.

The “negative” of the original sculpture remained on the back pillar, showing a gentle

curve. The state of conservation of the piece being so fragmentary, it is difficult to propose a reconstitution with certainty. The most likely is perhaps a kneeling statue. Kneeling statues in general show a wide range of shapes for the back pillar: either ending under the braid of the nemes, or covering it, reaching sometimes the top of the statue. In the present case, and the type being correctly identified, the individual would not have worn the *nemes*, of which there is no trace on the back pillar’s profile. A *khat* head cloth might be a possibility, like on a small limestone statue of Ramesses II from the Cachette of Karnak (Cairo JE 37978).¹ If the individual was private, he could also have had a short headdress, or none at all.

If this reconstruction is correct, the original statue measured c. 160 cm high and 100 cm deep.

¹ SOUROUZIAN 2016, 270–272. 288. For further bibliography and several photos, see <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck488> (last accessed 12.11.2021).

2.3.2.4

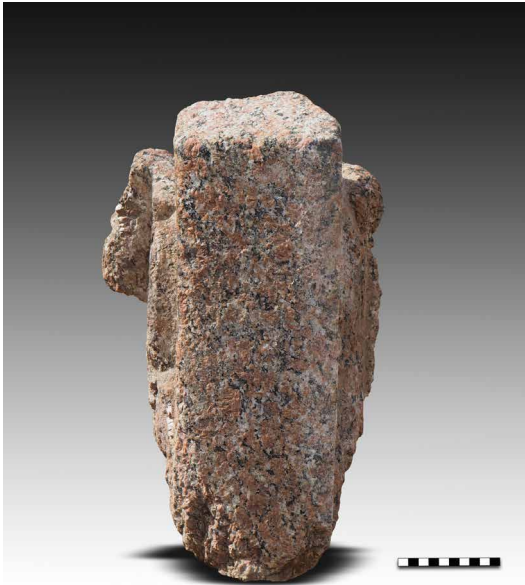


Fig. 1:
Rear view
of the fragment
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 2:
Top left view
of the fragment
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 3:
Left view of the bust,
with the back pillar
and what seems to be
the upper back
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
Right view
of the fragment
(Photo: S. Connor).

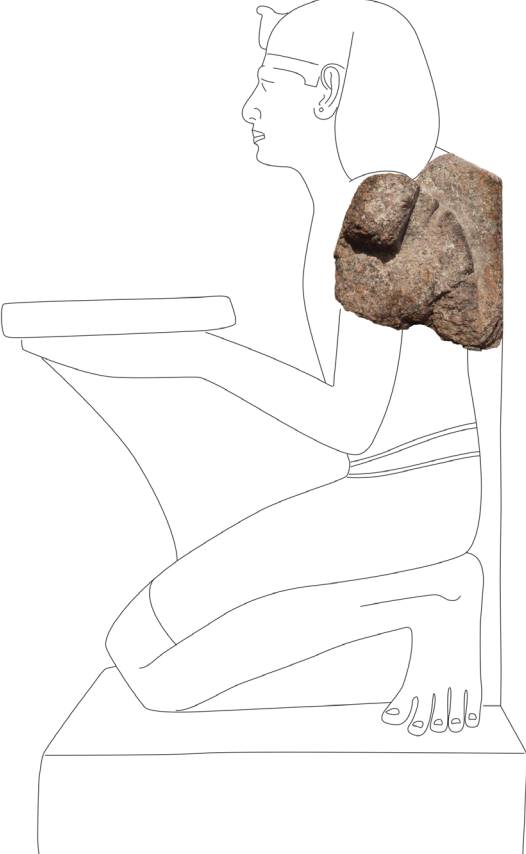


Fig. 5:
Proposition of
reconstruction of the
sculpture's original
appearance
(Drawing: S. Connor).

The Quartzite Colossus of Psamtik I in Suq el-Khamis

Simon Connor, Christopher Breninek and Dietrich Raue

1. Archaeological Context

On 7 March 2017, the Egyptian-German Mission found fragments of a colossal quartzite statue in the area of Suq el-Khamis, an area in which a temple of Ramesses II once stood (Fig. 1). The manufacturing of these fragments (a massive torso (Fig. 2–5), a part of a head with the white crown (Fig. 6–8) and a piece of a beard (Fig. 9)) is of extremely high quality. The surface is wonderfully polished. The two following campaigns (fall 2017 and spring 2018) brought to light the other fragments of the colossus (Fig. 10–16), which appears to be more or less complete. The fragments belong to the only known colossal statue of a king of the 26th Dynasty; in many respects, this statue revolutionizes our perception of sculpture from this period of Egyptian history.

The torso, the main part of the head and the beard, the first fragments to be found in spring 2017, were discovered in a 3-meter-deep pit, approximately 10 m long (E-W) and 5 m wide (N-S), just north of a rectangular pedestal uncovered in 2006–2010, under the Ramesside ground level (Alt. 13,20 m). This rectangular pedestal (4th layer: depth (S-N): 6,55 m, width (E-W): 4.12 m, at 11.33 asl.) consists of a mass of limestone blocks covered on four sides with quartzite slabs. It is part of an east-west oriented series of statue bases, which once preceded a limestone pylon; some of the bases' blocks

were found during the previous seasons of the mission. A basalt pavement oriented N-S apparently marked a passage through this pylon (see plan, p. 54, Fig. 6).

The other fragments of the statue (around 6500, of various dimensions) were found in different pits around the base, next to its western side (therefore between this base and the adjacent one, which once supported a granite colossus) and southern side (in the missing foundations of the pylon of Ramesses II). These pits also yielded fragments of pink granite from the Middle Kingdom seated colossi that were re-inscribed and re-carved for Ramesses II and were erected on either side of Psamtik's statue (see p. 49–60), as well as the quartzite Middle Kingdom head (Inv. No. U2108-3, see p. 174–181) and two claws from massive quartzite sphinxes (see Inv. No. U2076-2, U2116-19, p. 143–148).

2. State of Fragmentation and Description of the Fragments

By far the largest fragment is the torso, which includes the lower part of the head (chin and mouth) and a large portion of the back pillar. The head itself is broken into four main fragments: the proper left eye and nose (Fig. 10), the white crown with proper right ear, the left ear and the bulb of the white crown.

The king is shown standing, probably with his left leg forward. The virtual reconstruction (Fig. 17–22) allows us to estimate the original total height of the statue at 11 meters. The king wears the *shendjyt* kilt, the white crown and the beard; but there are no other ornaments, neither collar nor wristbands.

The arms are in several fragments, but can mostly be reconstructed. The right arm is stretched out alongside the body, while the left hand is placed on the king's lower stomach, under the navel (Fig. 16–17). The current state of reconstruction of the fragments gives no indication of whether his hand was lying flat on the kilt, or holding an object. This very unusual position is subject to discussion (see below).

It is noticeable that most of the upper part of the statue (from the crown to the pelvis) is broken in relatively big fragments, which make a quite complete virtual reconstruction possible, including the upper half of the back pillar of the statue. All of this upper part was made of a fine and very homogeneous yellowish variety of quartzite. However, the legs and base are in a

very fragmentary state, reduced to thousands of pieces barely bigger than a fist. Such a discrepancy between the state of conservation of the upper and lower part is striking. Gravity would have made the opposite situation more logical, and thus ensured a better preservation of the lower part, as it would not have fallen from such a great height. An explanation might be an intentional and particularly relentless destruction of the lower part of the statue, either with blunt stones (since no apparent tool-marks have been identified on the fragments so far) or maybe with fire (as the brittle state of the quartzite and the dark purple surface of some of them may suggest).

The back pillar (Fig. 13, 19) shows an unusual shape: its upper part has a shape which evokes a kind of rounded obelisk. One cannot help thinking about the *benben* stone of Heliopolis, although this can hardly be more than a hypothesis. Covering most of the surface of the back pillar, there are two columns in mirror symmetry with the titulature of King Psamtik I (664–610 BC), the first long-reigning king of the 26th Dynasty:

Hr ʕ3-ib nswt-bj.tj Nb.tj Nb-ʕ3 Hr-nbw Qnw (W3h-ib-Rʕ) s3-Rʕ (Psmṯk) ntr nfr [...]

The Horus ʕ3-*ib* (“Great of willing”), the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, The One of the Two Mistresses *Nb-ʕ* (“master of arm”, or “powerful”), The Golden Horus Qenu (“brave/valiant”), Wahibre, the son of Ra Psamtik, the perfect god [...].

A sky-sign sits atop of these two columns, surmounted by a scene showing the kneeling king, wearing the *nemes* and offering the *nw*-vases to the seated god Atum. An inscription accompanies this scene:

nṯr ʿz nb iri-jḥ.t [...] [...] d.t
mr.y ʾItm nb t3.wj ʾIwn.w [...]

The great god, master of ceremonies [...] [...] forever,
 Beloved of Atum, lord of the Two Lands in Heliopolis.

The scene is surmounted by the throne name of the king written not inside a cartouche, but directly in the rounded peak of the back pillar. The top hieroglyph, the sun Ra, contributes to the interpretation of the back pillar itself as a solar element.

The restorer Juliette Fayein identified several traces of preliminary red outlines of the hieroglyphs on the back pillar, before they were cut in sunken relief. The preservation of these red lines is perhaps exceptional in the wet archaeological context in which the fragments were found. The rest of the statue does not show any apparent traces of paint. We may therefore have to conclude that the statue was never painted.

3. Identification of the King

Despite the speculations which were at the centre of the discussions immediately after the discovery of the first fragments, the colossus can be securely identified as a statue of King Psamtik I. Due to the archaeological context (in front of a temple apparently built for Ramesses II) and the close presence of granite statues stylistically attributed to the early 12th Dynasty, it would have been reasonable to expect the following situation: a colossal statue of Ramesses II, perhaps reused from the Middle Kingdom, similar to those found at the sites of Mit Rahina (Memphis), Tell Basta (Bubastis) and San el-Hagar (Tanis) (SOUROUZIAN 1988, 229–254; HILL 2015, 294–299). Nevertheless, the perfectly preserved inscriptions on the back pillar, as well as the stylistic analysis, leave no doubt about its dating to the 26th Dynasty and make this piece the first colossal statue known so far from this period of Egyptian history.

Relatively few royal statues are preserved from the Late Period, and rarely complete, which makes the comparison of this enormous colossus with securely dated pieces difficult. Various stylistic features might appear as characteristic of different phases of Egyptian art history and, considered individually, they would point to contradictory dating. Nevertheless, their combination allows us to identify some of them as probably “archaizing” features and ascertain that the statue is indeed contemporary to the back pillar’s inscription and cannot have been recarved from an earlier colossal statue.

3.1. The Crown

The king’s white crown bears two characteristic features that could provide dating criteria: the absence of an uraeus and the shape of the lappet around the ear (Fig. 7, 23). According to the preserved statuary material, there is no uraeus on the

white crown in the Old Kingdom¹ and on most of the early Middle Kingdom corpus.² In the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period the uraeus becomes more common³ and appears systematically on the New Kingdom statuary,⁴ except on some statues of Amenhotep III.⁵ Royal statuary of the Late Period all attest an uraeus on the white crown, but there are too few examples to provide statistics.⁶ The absence of uraeus could therefore support an Old Kingdom or early Middle Kingdom dating, but the cited exceptions rule it out as an absolute criterion.

The absence of chinstraps joining the beard to the crown on the Heliopolis colossus does not provide strong dating criteria either. From time to time they appear in all periods and are particularly frequent – but not systematic – in the New Kingdom.

The shape of the lappets around the ear is, however, more characteristic of specific periods

(Fig. 23). On the head of the Suq el-Khamis colossus, the lappets surround the ears, in front and below them. The front lappets end with a straight horizontal line, while the rear ones draw a curve surrounding the whole lobe of the ears. This pattern (with variations in the shape of the lower lappet's curve) is specific to the Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom (EVERS 1929, II, 20–21, § 123–129). In the New Kingdom, the rear part of the crown draws a regular, almost horizontal, curve from one ear to the other.

Therefore, this combination of characteristics (absence of uraeus and form of the lappets around the ear) places the crown of the Heliopolis colossus stylistically closer to the Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom shape. Nevertheless, the shape of the lappets is again attested, although exceptionally, on some reliefs⁷ of the 1st millennium BC (Fig. 24) and may therefore have appeared also on sculpture in the round, although no other example is known so far.

¹ Khasekhemuy (Cairo JE 32161 and Oxford E. 517), anonymous 3rd or 4th Dynasty sovereign (Brooklyn 46.167), Snefru (Cairo JE 98943), Djedefra (Cairo JE 15070), Khafrā (Kelekian Collection), Menkaura (Brussels E 3074), Neferefra (Cairo JE 98181), anonymous 5th Dynasty sovereigns (Cleveland 1979.2 and Washington DC, Sackler and Freer Gallery of Art F 1938.11), Pepy I (Brooklyn 39.120), Teti (Cairo JE 39103).

² Mentuhotep III (Boston 38.1395, Cairo JE 67379, Luxor J. 69, Worcester 1971.28), Senusret I (the two standing colossi of Mit Rahina, the heads in Cairo CG 643, 644, JE 45085, the seated colossus in Cairo JE 37465). On the other hand, an uraeus stands on the white crown of Mentuhotep II (Cairo JE 38579, London BM EA 720), of Amenemhat I (Cairo JE 37470) and of some of the statues of Senusret I (Cairo CG 38230, JE 38286 and 48851 (in this case, it may be a later addition since it was inserted in a hole cut into the forehead).

³ Senusret III (Berlin ÄM 9529, Cairo CG 42011, London BM EA 608). Amenemhat Sobekhotep (Beni Suef JE 58926, Cairo JE 54857, Paris E 12924), Sobekhotep Merhotep (Cairo CG 42027), anonymous 13th Dynasty heads (Atlanta 2004.6.3, Abemayor Collection [Sotheby's 1980], Philadelphia E 15737). From the Late Middle Kingdom, only the two statues of Amenemhat III (Copenhagen ÆIN 924, Cairo JE 42995) are without uraeus.

⁴ Ahmose (New York MMA 2006.270), Amenhotep I (Boston 07.536, Brooklyn 37.38, Luxor J. 40, Khartoum 63/4/5 and the heads recently found in Ermant, probably from the early 18th Dynasty), Thutmose I (Cairo CG 905 and 1224, JE 71963, London BM EA 1238, Turin Cat. 1387 and the colossi still standing in the Wadjyt in Karnak), Hatshepsut (Cairo JE 56260, New York MMA 30.3.1, 31.3.154, 31.3.155), Thutmose II (Elephantine 1086), Thutmose III (three colossi still standing in front of Karnak's 7th pylon's northern face, London BM EA 986, Cairo CG 42053 and 42058, JE 88888, Philadelphia E 14370, Rome Barracco 19), Amenhotep II (Cairo JE 39394, CG 42067, Dallas AP 1982.04, London BM EA 61, Luxor J. 178, Paris E 10969, Philadelphia E 14304, Toulouse Musée Labit), Amenhotep III (jubilee statues from Kom el-Hettan (Luxor J. 133, Paris A 19, and the statues recently found at the site by the team of H. Sourouzian), the standing statue with prominent abdomen (Cairo JE 33900–33901), a head probably from the Karnak Cachette (Selim 2010, 277–278, fig. 5–6) and the statue, later recarved for Ramesses III, which shows the standing king as he receives the crown from Horus and Seth (Cairo CG 629)), Ramesses II (the Abu Simbel colossi, the jubilee statues from Abydos (Philadelphia 69-29-1 and the heads still in the temple of Sety I)). In the case of statues reused from earlier periods, like the head Sydney NM 62.657, it seems that Ramesses II's sculptors inserted an uraeus by cutting a mortise into the crown.

⁵ Boston 09.288, Cairo JE 98832 and perhaps also the standing colossi of the first court of Luxor temple. In the latter case, an uraeus was perhaps added to these colossi on the occasion of their recarving for Ramesses II, as would be attested by the hole cut into the front part of the crown.

⁶ A head in Turin S. 1226.2 (which might also be a head of a statuette of the god Osiris), a head attributed to Nectanebo I thanks to comparisons with inscribed reliefs from his reign (Paris E 27124). Two uraei rise on the crown of a 25th Dynasty sovereign (Florence 7656).

⁷ See, e.g., the fragment of relief of Sheshonq I, with the red crown, from el-Hiba (Heidelberg ÄSU 562), or the royal and divine figures from the tomb of Pabasa in Thebes (TT 279).

3.2. The Torso

The torso shows a particularly developed musculature. The emphasized modelling of the pectoral muscles, the wide shoulders and the deep vertical depression on the abdomen make this statue a real colossus – in every sense – expressing the supernatural strength of the pharaoh. Such a massive and naturalistic aspect, with prominent pectoral muscles and shoulders, might be reminiscent of the body shape of the colossal statues of the 4th and early 12th Dynasty.⁸ Nevertheless, it appears again in the style of the Late Period, as early as the 25th Dynasty, with a deep median line, as a probable reference to the early 12th Dynasty⁹, and is very well attested by numerous (particularly non-royal) examples; the clavicles are also inclined and extremely pronounced, a feature which is common in Late Period sculpture¹⁰, while in the earlier periods, they remain almost horizontal.

A striking peculiarity of the Heliopolis colossus are the very prominent nipples. There are no comparisons for such a feature, perhaps due to the fact that no other colossus has been preserved from the concerned period. Sculptures from the 26th Dynasty, although mostly quite small in size, usually display well-defined nipples, linked to a particular attention to the rendering of the modelling of the torso.

3.3. The Facial Features

The head of the statue is sufficiently preserved to reconstruct the outlines of an oval and elongated face, with rounded cheeks and smiling lips, as well as two deep circular holes to mark the corners of the mouth, all characteristic features of the 26th Dynasty (Fig. 25–27). The mouth seems to have been systematically hammered, perhaps at the moment of the statue's dismemberment and/or burial, but the characteristic smile of the Late Period is still clearly visible. The ears are very carefully modelled and detailed, again a frequent feature in the refined style of the Late Period.

The whole proper left eye and eyebrow, as well as a small preserved part of the proper right eye and eyebrow, are probably the most characteristic stylistic elements of the face during the time of Psamtik I; the outlines of both the eye and eyebrow are in relief, with sharp extremities, and ending almost horizontally after a slight curve. The concavity of the eye sockets is also very characteristic of large statues from the 26th Dynasty (Fig. 10, 25–27).

The facial shape, the affected smile with the deep corners of the mouth and the sharp make-up lines are therefore all characteristic of the 26th Dynasty style and perfectly correspond to the dating provided by the back pillar's inscription.

⁸ See particularly the seated colossus of Menkaura (Boston 09.204), the early 12th Dynasty colossi reused by Ramesses II in Mit Rahina, those found in Tanis (Berlin ÄM 7264, Cairo CG 384, JE 37465) and the colossi of Senusret I from Abydos (Cairo JE 38286) and Karnak (Cairo JE 38287).

⁹ As attested, e.g., on the colossal seated statue of King Shabaka (Cairo JE 27852), the colossus of King Tanwetamani (Toledo 1949.105) and those recently discovered in Dokki Gel (BONNET/VALBELLE 2003, 747–769), or the kneeling statue of Psamtik I (Copenhagen AAb 211, Fig. 28). See also, among many other non-royal examples, the standing statues of Horwedja (Louvre A 111) and Khonsuiraa (Boston MFA 07.494).

¹⁰ In royal statuary, we may refer particularly to Brooklyn 58.95 (Fig. 29), Copenhagen AAb 211, Florence 5625 (Fig. 30), New York MMA X 358 (Fig. 31), Paris N 830 (see MÜLLER 1955, 46–68). The non-royal corpus is much more numerous; see, e.g., the statue of the vizier Nespaqas-huty (Cairo CG 48634), the kneeling statues of Nakht-horheb (Paris A 94, London BM EA 1646 and private collection; PERDU 2012, 48–49, cat. 7–9), of Amenem-opet-emhat (New York MMA 24.2.2.) or the vizier bust in Turin Cat. 3075).

3.4. The Offering Scene

The scene is delimited by a rectangular frame, which separates it from the double column below and the top of the back pillar containing the name of the king (Fig. 13–15, 19). The sovereign is represented kneeling in front of a seated figure of the god Atum, and offering him the globular *nw*-vases. He wears the *shendjyt*-kilt and the bull's tail, the *nemes* head cloth and a broad collar, while the god is wearing the double crown and curved plaited beard – his two insignia – as well as a *shendjyt*-kilt, the bull's tail and the same broad collar as the king. He presents the *ankh*-sign with his left hand to Psamtik, while holding the *was*-sceptre in his right hand.

It is noticeable that each figure stands on its own base, as if we were dealing with the depiction of two statues, instead of a human, Psamtik, offering to a deity. This is reminiscent of the double statue found in the “cachette” of The Luxor temple, which shows the kneeling Horemhab presenting the same *nw*-vases to a seated figure of Atum (EL-SAGHIR 1991, 35–40, fig. 75–89). Could this image on the back pillar actually be a representation of a group statue that was originally set up in the temple, in front of which the colossus stood?

The two figures show the distinctive stylistic features of the 26th Dynasty,¹¹ with broad shoulders and muscular arms, elongated torso and narrow waist. Under variable lightening, the

high level of refinement in the modelling of the figures, with the subtle indication of details such as the hip bone, just above the belt, becomes visible. The face is characterized by a receding chin, a small mouth, a long straight nose, rounded cheeks and an almond-shaped eye inclined towards the top of the nose. The sinuous eyebrow follows the curve of the upper lip. The ear is particularly large, with a prominent lobe, a feature which perhaps recalls the style of the Late Middle Kingdom.

3.5. Modified and Reused?

The archaeological find spot (among the remains of what seems to have been a temple built by Ramesses II) and the huge dimensions of the statue (no such colossus has been attested so far in statuary from the period between the Rameside sovereigns and the Ptolemies) might lead us to suggest that Psamtik I reused the statue of a predecessor, following a tradition that is very well attested during the Ramesside Period.¹² Nevertheless, several elements speak against this theory and confirm that this statue is the first colossus of the 26th Dynasty to have reached us. First of all, the preserved surface of the stone does not show any irregularity in the polishing, nor any evidence of modification of the features. Furthermore, if some features, considered individually, may seem to refer to earlier periods, their combination would create unavoidable anachronisms; besides they all fit perfectly to the style of Psamtik I's period. The absence of an uraeus on

¹¹ Concerning the stylistic criteria of Late Period sculpture, see PERDU 2012, esp. 170–199: “Des rois, des époques et autant d'images du pharaon”.

¹² Concerning reuse of statues by the Ramesside sovereigns, and particularly those which show modification of the physiognomy, see SOUROUZIAN 1988, 229–254; ID. 1995, 505–543; HILL 2015, 294–299; EATON-KRAUSS 2015, 97–104.

the crown and of holes in the ear lobes¹³ prevents us from identifying the colossus as a Ramesside figure, while the musculature is far too developed, the torso too long and the waist too narrow to have belonged to a colossus of Amenhotep III, and could hardly have been re-carved on a statue from any other period. The noticeable absence of collar also prevents us from identifying the colossus as Amenhotep III or Ramesses II. An early Middle Kingdom date must also be rejected since the make-up lines of the eyes and eyebrows and the shape of the face and smile do not correspond to the stylistic features of that period, but clearly point to the 26th Dynasty. The apparent characteristics of the Middle and New Kingdom that could be used as arguments for an early date have to therefore be considered as “archaistic” features, common in this “Renaissance phase”, but not as evidence of reuse.

Despite the massiveness of the torso and the large dimensions of the piece, the statue is striking because of the extreme care dedicated to the refinement of the anatomic details (ear, eyebrow and eyelid, clavicles, nipples), and the high quality of the hieroglyphs on the back pillar and the admirable polishing of the surface. All testify to the pursuit of formal perfection that strongly characterizes the style of the 26th Dynasty. Due to the extremely fine quality of this statue as well as the unusual position of the left hand on the lower stomach, the quartzite colossus that was found in 2017 in Matariya is now a landmark for the study of Late Period sculpture.

4. Interpretation

This statue of Psamtik I that was found in Matariya is an extraordinary discovery and a very unusual piece in many ways, first of all because of its size, some 11 m high, which is much larger than any other statue known from this period. Despite these colossal dimensions, the quality of the sculpture, the balance of proportions, the elegance of forms, the rendering of details and polishing of the surface are as remarkable as on the corpus of much smaller size, which is representative of the 26th Dynasty. This purity of shape and refinement of details can perhaps be best seen on the back pillar, where every single hieroglyph and the offering scene – although barely visible at the top of the back pillar – are a real and exquisite masterpiece.

The position of the king’s left hand under his navel must have had a meaning, which is still obscure. The current state of reconstruction does not indicate whether the hand was flat or closed, but it does not seem to have held a sceptre or stick since the surface of the belly and that of the kilt, on either side of the hand, do not show any such trace. The closest parallels in sculpture in the round are the few statues of jubilee of the late reign of Amenhotep III, which show the 18th Dynasty king standing, with both hands joined under a prominent belly.¹⁴ In the case of Psamtik’s statue, only one hand is concerned, therefore it is difficult to know whether or not it might refer to the unusual position of Amen-

¹³ Even when Ramesses II reuses a statue from a Middle Kingdom king or from Amenhotep III, the sculptors add such holes in the lobes, as one can see, e.g., on the statues in the first courtyard of the temple of Luxor. Only rare exceptions are attested: Cairo CG 42146 (a small sphinx), and the colossus in London BM EA 15 (reused from Amenhotep III).

¹⁴ Cairo JE 33900 and 33901 (PM III, 452; KOZLOFF et al. 1992, 146, 153, 181, 206, 208, 464); New York MMA 30.8.74 (HAYES 1959, 237, fig. 142).

hotep III (and perhaps to his own jubilee?) or to a gesture associated to the cult of Atum, for which there are no other traces in the current state of knowledge.

The 26th Dynasty seems in fact to have been particularly active in Heliopolis. Several of the monuments found in Alexandria with mention of the gods of Heliopolis actually date to the reigns of Psamtik I, II and Apries.¹⁵ The obelisk of Psamtik I that today stands on the Piazza di Montecitorio in front of the Italian Parliament and was brought to Rome by Augustus to serve as gnomon for the sundial of the Campo Marzio, probably was once erected in the city of the sun (IVERSEN 1968, 142 [quoting Strabo, *Geography*, 17, 1, 27]). A large sculptural repertoire of this period was also found at the site: a greywacke head found by Petrie¹⁶ as well as many fragments of statues in quartzite, greywacke and alabaster found by Schiaparelli¹⁷ (Fig. 32–33). If the archaeological context of Suq el-Khamis has so far revealed mainly Ramesside material, or 12th Dynasty material reused at the time of Ramesses II, the finding of this extraordinary 26th Dynasty colossus provides new perspectives on the history of this area of the site of Heliopolis.

Standing in front of the limestone pylon of Ramesses II between two seated Middle Kingdom statues in granite that were reused by the same Ramesses, the quartzite colossus of Psamtik, twice as high, must have been at the centre of a very suggestive contrast of colours and ma-

terials. Due to the lack of architectural remains or traces, it is difficult to draw any plan of the temple and of its surroundings, and therefore to understand the reasons why Psamtik I placed such a striking statue in this place, between the much smaller statues inscribed for Ramesses II.

The abandonment and dismantlement of the pylon cannot be dated with precision, although the pit in which the colossus was lying contained mixed pottery of all periods, from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period, which would suggest that the statue was destroyed and buried before the Christian Period, but cannot be ascertained. Several of the blocks from the temple and the granite statue fragments found in Suq el-Khamis bear clear marks of intentional cutting, in order to reuse them in later construction. The bust of Sety II found in the same area (see p. 131–142) had its nose, uraeus, beard and double crown above the *nemes* cut off; this may have happened before it was used as a masonry block, as suggested by the mortise cut in its torso, which could have linked it to another block with a system of tenons.

The fragments of the quartzite colossus may have been buried in the pits (forming maybe a kind of “cachette”?) after the statue was knocked down from its base. Various hypotheses may be proposed:

- The statue might have collapsed during an earthquake. Like a large number of sculptures from the Karnak Cachette,¹⁸ the mouth

¹⁵ Our thanks go particularly to Hourig Sourouzian for drawing our attention to the fragments of statues, particularly sphinxes, now on display next to the Serapeum of Alexandria (Psamtik I and II), in Kôm el-Dikka (Psamtik II), Kôm el-Shuqafa (Apries). See PM IV, 3; TKACZOW 1993, cat. 122, 132; CORTEGGIANI 1998, 29–30.

¹⁶ New York MMA 12.187.31; this face might either be from a royal or non-royal statue. PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 6, § 14, pl. 6, c–d.

¹⁷ Alabaster: Turin S. 2683/1–8; greywacke: S. 2686, 2686bis, 2687, 2687bis, 2719, 2719bis; quartzite: S. 2696 + 2701, 2697, 2699, 2702, 2702bis.

¹⁸ Concerning the mutilations on statues found in the Cachette of Karnak, see JAMBON 2016, 131–175 (particularly 148–154).

2.3.2.5

of the statue might have been mutilated before being buried, in order to “deactivate” it: the mouth seems to show traces of repeated pounding. However, this hypothesis would make it difficult to understand the extreme fragmentation of the legs.

- The dismantlement of the statue may also be more or less contemporaneous with the demolition of the pylon, but its fragments, unsuitable for reuse due to the hardness and weight of its material, may have been buried in the now empty foundations of the pylon, either to symbolically protect them or, more practically, to leave a free passage between the remaining bases of statues. Let us note that the heavy slabs of quartzite surrounding the base of the statue were left in position, while the upper levels of limestone blocks forming the core of this pedestal are missing,

clearly showing that quartzite was less valued than limestone for reuse.

- Another, perhaps more tempting suggestion would be that the fall of the statue and the mutilation of the mouth (and legs?) occurred during military action.

Although the mouth seems to show traces of intentional mutilation and the legs and base might have been burned, there are no traces of the “usual” and “typical” Egyptian defacement of images: the nose is mostly preserved (only the end of it is missing, which seems to be due to the shock when the statue collapsed) as are the eyes and ears, and the beard, even if in two pieces, is complete.¹⁹ The inscriptions, as well as the offering scene, are also in an excellent state of preservation and do not show any intention of mutilation.



Fig. 1: Colossal bust of the statue of Psamtik I when removed from the pit in which it was buried. The water table has risen considerably since ancient times. What, on the photograph, appears to be a pond is actually the water rising in the excavated pit when pumping stops (Photo: S. Connor).

¹⁹ Concerning the parts of the statue which are the most commonly mutilated on Egyptian images, see CONNOR 2018.

2.3.2.5

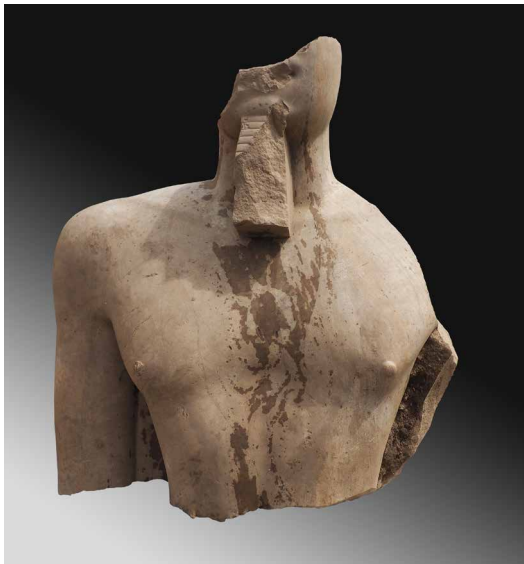


Fig. 2: Frontal view of the statue's torso (before cleaning). Currently in the garden of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Photo: S. Connor).

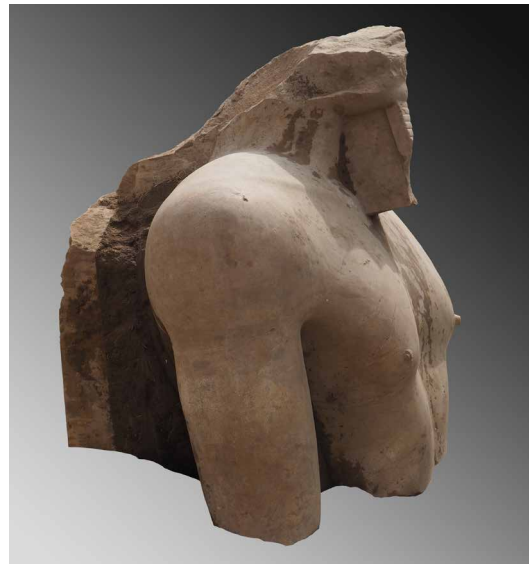


Fig. 3: Side view of the statue's torso (before cleaning; Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4: Rear view of the statue's torso (before cleaning). On the back pillar appears the Nebty name of the king (Photo: S. Connor).

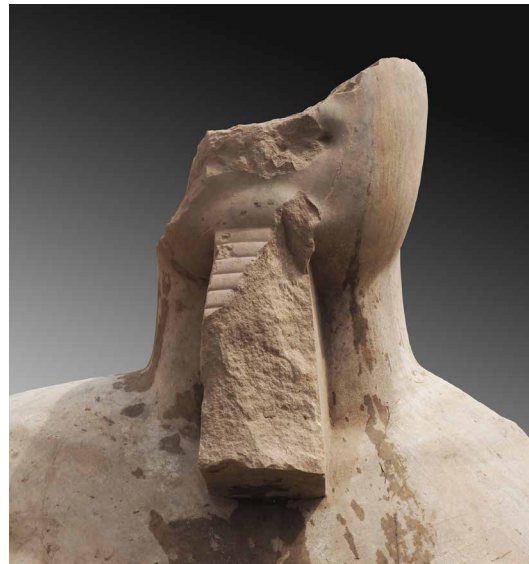


Fig. 5: Detail of the mouth and beard (Photo: S. Connor).

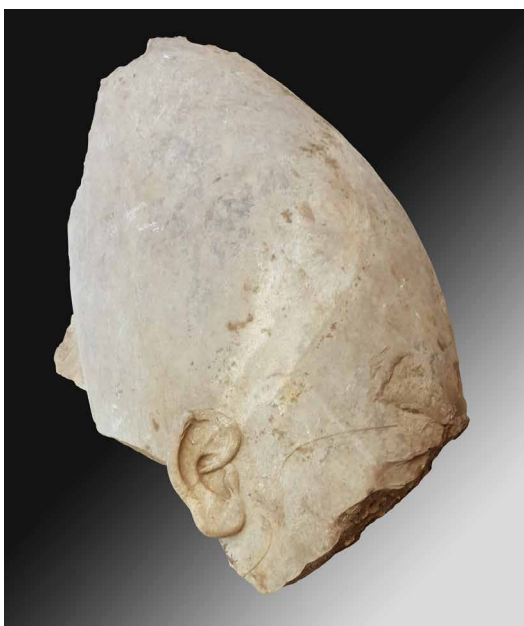


Fig. 6: Fragment of the crown and right ear (Photo: S. Connor).

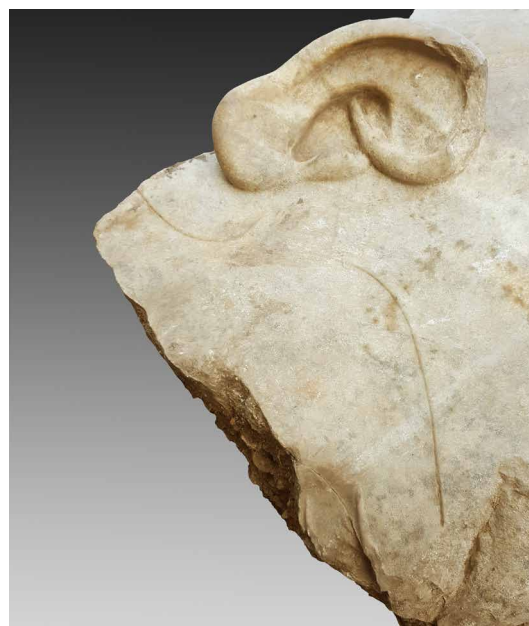


Fig. 7: Fragment of the crown and right ear (Detail; photo: S. Connor).

2.3.2.5



Fig. 8:
Fragment of the
crown and right ear
(Rear view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 9:
Fragment of the beard
(Photo: S. Connor).

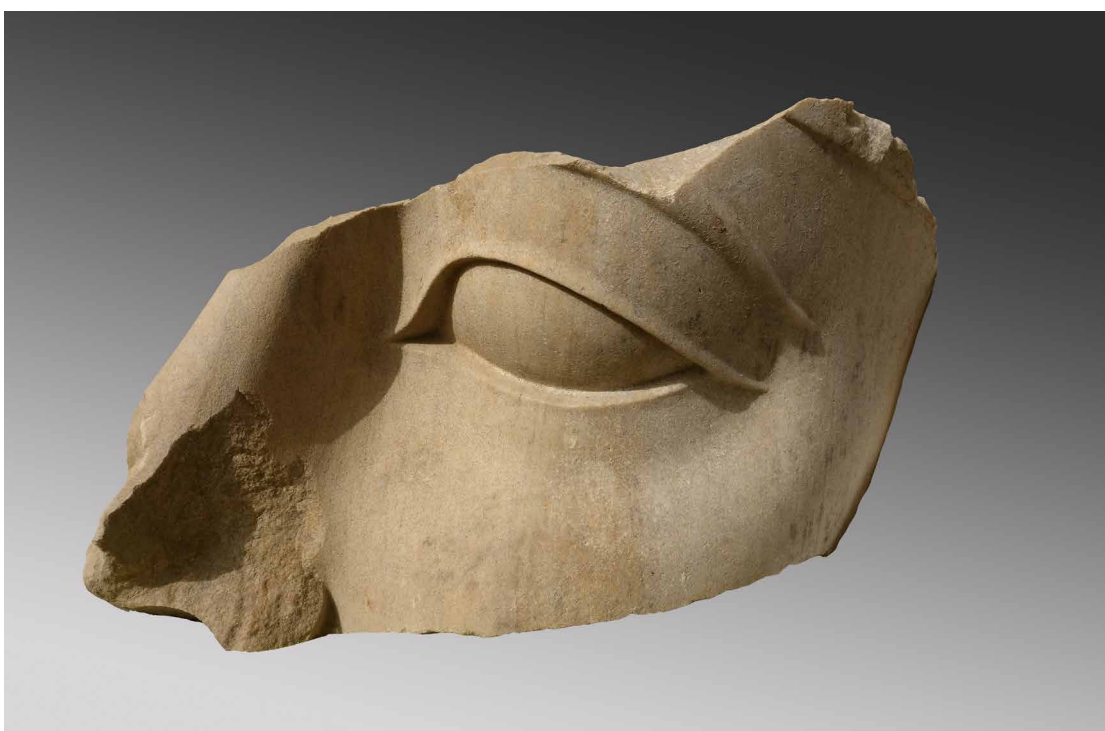


Fig. 10:
Fragment of the face
showing the nose
and left eye
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 11:
Fragment of the
back pillar showing
the Horus name of
the king (Photo: S.
Connor).



Fig. 13:
Fragment of the
crown and upper part
of the back pillar
(Photo: S. Connor)

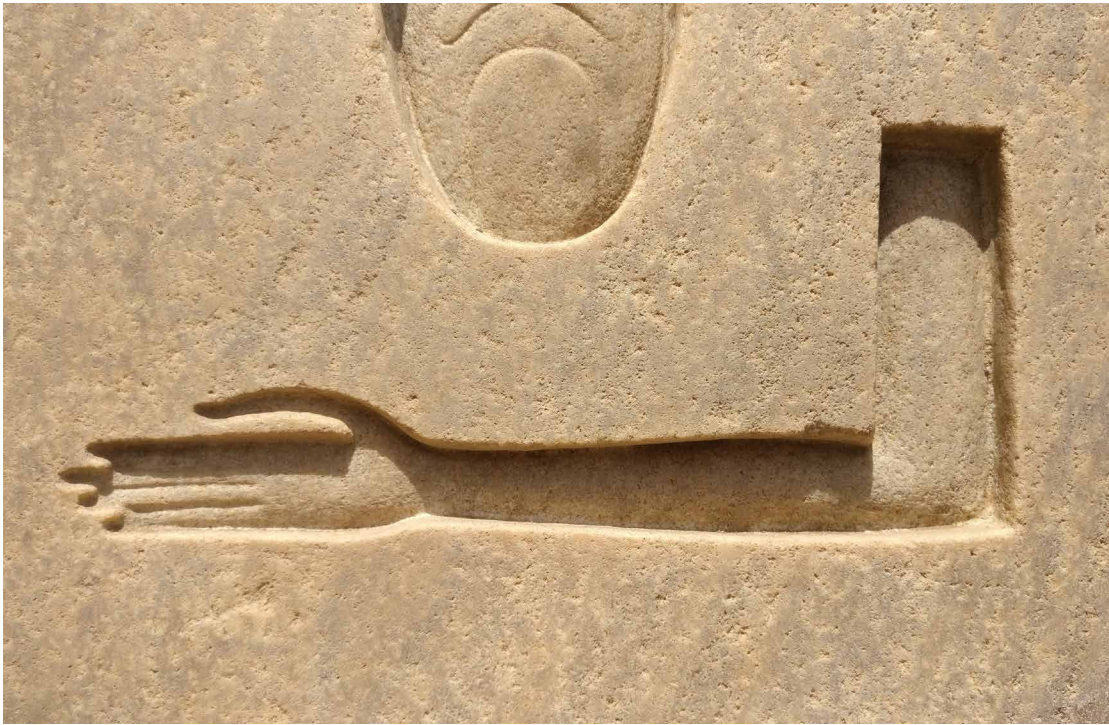


Fig. 12:
Back pillar with the
Horus name (Detail;
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 14: Fragment of the back pillar's upper part, with a figure of Psamtik I kneeling in front of the god Atum (Detail; photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 15: Fragment of the back pillar's upper part, with a figure of Psamtik I kneeling in front of the god Atum (Detail; photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 16: Fragment showing the navel and part of the left forearm, in an unusual posture (Photo: S. Connor).

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Fig. 17:
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue, allowed by the large size of the fragments. The legs and base, however, are reduced to thousands of small chips (Reconstruction: C. Breninek).



Fig. 18:
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue (Side view; reconstruction: C. Breninek).



Fig. 19:
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue (Rear view; reconstruction: C. Breninek).



Fig. 20:
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue (Side view; reconstruction: C. Breninek).

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Fig. 21:
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue and its podium, made of limestone blocks and quartzite slabs (Reconstruction: C. Breninek).



Fig. 22:
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue and its podium, made of limestone blocks and quartzite slabs (Reconstruction: C. Breninek).

2.3.2.5

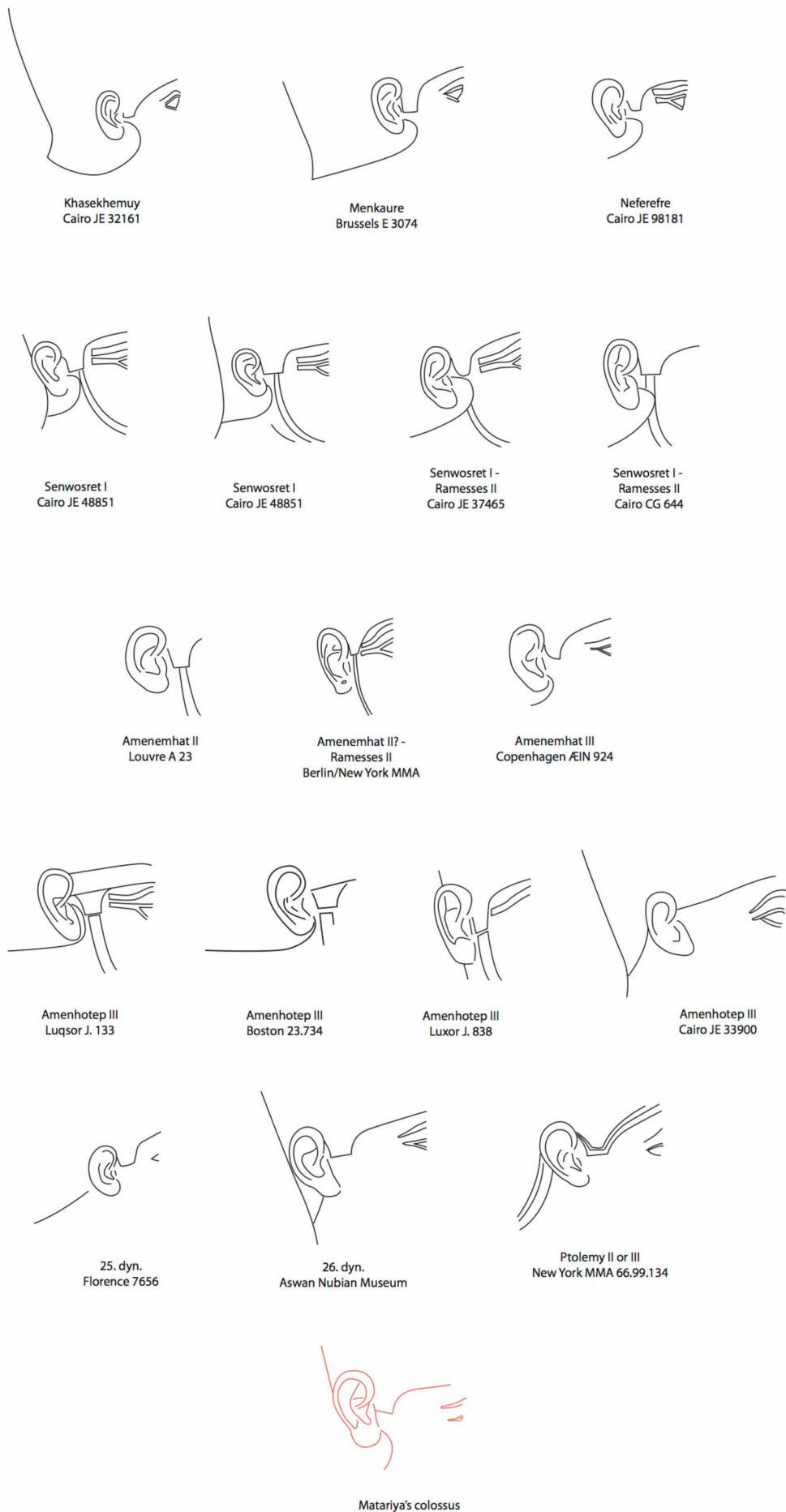


Fig. 23:
Development of the shape of the ear and high crowns sidelocks on statuary, from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period (Drawings: S. Connor).



Fig. 24:
Figure of Atum. Detail from the
Tomb of Pabasa (TT 279), reign of
Psamtik I (Photo: S. Connor).

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Fig. 25: Head of a granodiorite statue of a king named Psamtik (Aswan Museum, before Cairo JE 40052; concerning this head and other fragments of the same statue, see S. BICKEL, 1995, *La statue d'un roi Psammétique reconstituée*, BIFAO 95, 93–102; photo: S. Connor).

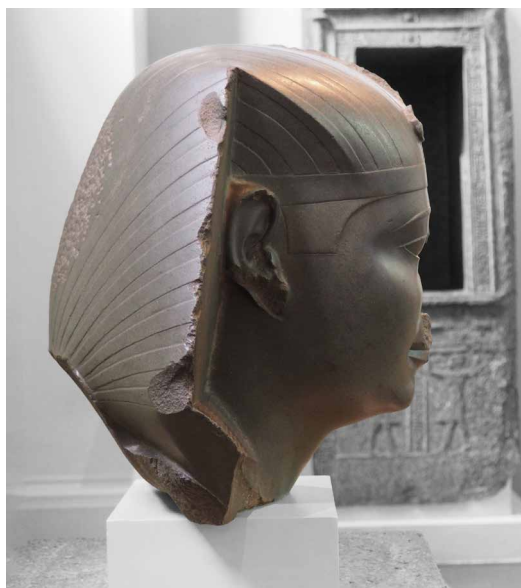


Fig. 26: Profile view of a greywacke head of a king, probably from Nectanebo I or II, adopting a style clearly reminiscent of the 26th Dynasty. London BM EA 97 (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 27: Fragment of a granodiorite head of a 26th dynasty king wearing the khepresh. New York, MMA 1994.198. Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1994 (Photo: Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art).

2.3.2.5



Fig. 28:
Granodiorite kneeling statue of Psamtik I, probably from Heliopolis according to its inscription dedicated to Ra-Horakhty. Copenhagen, National Museum, AAb 211 (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 29:
Torso of a statuette of Psamtik I. Brooklyn Museum 58.95 (After BOTHMER ET AL. 1960, pl. 22, fig. 51).

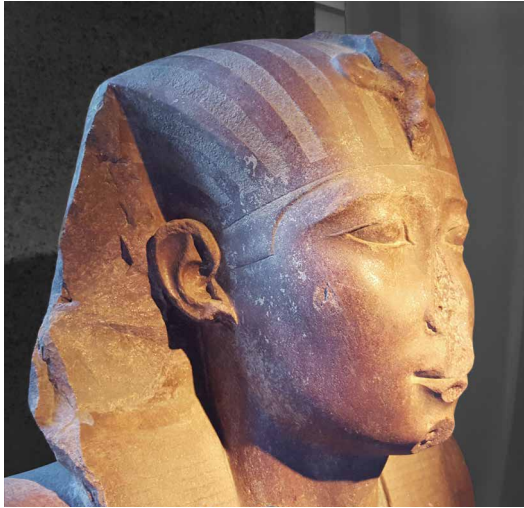


Fig. 30:
Quartzite prostrate statue of 26th Dynasty king (detail). Florence, Museo archeologico [Inv. No. 5625] (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 31:
Bust of a 26th Dynasty king. New York, MMA X.358 (Photo: Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art).



Fig. 32:
Greywacke face of
a 26th (or 30th ?)
Dynasty statue,
from Heliopolis.
Petrie's excavations.
New York, MMA
12.187.31 (Photo:
© The Metropolitan
Museum of Art).



Fig. 33:
Quartzite head of a
26th Dynasty King,
from Heliopolis.
Schiaparelli's
excavations. Turin,
Museo Egizio
[Inv. S. 6299]
(Photo: Pino
Dell'Aquila © Museo
Egizio).

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Private Statuary

2.3.3.1 A Quartzite Head of a Middle Kingdom Official

(Inv. No. U2108-3)

Simon Connor

Dating:	early/mid-12th Dynasty
Material:	Quartzite
Dimensions:	H. 16.6; W. 23.3; D. 15 cm
Find spot:	fill of construction pit for wall between pylon of Ramesses II and base of colossal statue of Psamtik I

This head of a private statue was found during the 2018 spring season in the area of Suq el-Khamis; it was among the quartzite and granite fragments of the colossi of Psamtik I and of Ramesses II, in the pit set in the foundations of a screening wall between the base of Psamtik I and the missing pylon of Ramesses II. In addition, also fragments of 4th century BC private statuary were found in this context.¹

It is a male head, finely carved in a yellowish vein of quartzite (Fig. 1–8). The individual wears a mid-length wig, framing an oval face. The strands of hair are indicated by parallel lines, incised horizontally above the forehead and falling down vertically to the shoulders. This incised pattern produces a vibration of light, which highlights the smoothness of the face that is dominated by the wide-open eyes. The make-up lines marking the eyebrows and surrounding

the eyes are indicated in relief; they both extend to the temples with tapered ends. The eyelids draw a sinuous curve, with very pointed inner canthi. The cheeks are full, delimited by deep depressions under the eyes, as well as subtly modelled nasolabial furrows. The mouth is wide, with thick lips forming a severe pout.

The surface of the head is in relatively good condition. Only the nose and chin are missing; the mouth, eyebrows and ear lobes also show some damage. It is difficult to say whether or not this was intentional. The nose is completely missing; which indeed statistically corresponds quite well to intended mutilations, observable on Egyptian statues (CONNOR 2018). No tool-marks are visible, but blowing the protruding parts of a hard stone statue does not require the use of proper tools; a heavy blunt stone makes the work even easier. However, it may be noted

¹ The fragments of a healing statue are studied by Florence Langermann.

that the break of the neck is clean and almost horizontal. Although it is difficult to be certain, it is not impossible that the neck was sawn through, just below the wig and above the shoulders, in order to separate the head from the trunk. Dating such an action is quite challenging; the archaeological context suggests that the head was already separated from the body at the latest in the last centuries BC. No other fragment of the body has been found or identified so far – but it is not impossible that some of the small fragments of yellow quartzite collected in the same pit and identified as coming from the colossus of Psamtik I actually belonged to the statue of this official. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that there may have been a long gap between the dismemberment of the statue and the burial of the head in the pit. Similarly, several of the statue fragments found in the Cachette of Karnak did not find their match.

Even though the sculpture resembles at first glance features of Late Period private portraits, the head is likely to date from the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, more precisely around the reigns of Senusret I or Amenemhat II, as the following arguments will show.

There are several exact parallels datable to this period for the wig, notably London BM EA 1237 (from Tell Atrib, Delta; EVERS 1929, I, 98), New York MMA 68.101 (reused in the Third Intermediate Period, found at Byblos; FISCHER 1974, 16–17, fig. 14–17), Baltimore WAM 22.217.² Other close versions, although with more rounded outlines, are the wigs on statues New York MMA 33.1.1 (steward Aw, from Lisht; ARNOLD

2015, n. 86), 33.1.2 (Senusret-ankh? from Lisht-South; WILDUNG 2000, 89, cat. 27), Boston MFA 11.1484 (bust of a vizier), Paris Louvre N 870 (director of the treasury Iay; DELANGE 1987, 96–99). A more elaborate variant is the wig worn by the nomarch Ibu on his statues found in Qaw el-Kebir (Turin S. 4410–4414; CONNOR 2016, 41, 89), with undulating incisions for the hair, but a general similar shape.

The sideburns visible on the quartzite head found in Suq el-Khamis are not systematically present on wigs from this time, but have several parallels (New York MMA 33.1.2, Baltimore 22.217, and the heads from Qaw el-Kebir).

The eyebrows and make-up lines extending to the temple are usually thick and carved in relief on statuary from the first half of the Middle Kingdom. The ends of these lines are usually square, but a few examples show pointed ones, as on the head from Matariya: Boston MFA 14.720 (Sennuy), New York MMA 33.1.2 (Senusret-ankh (?), from Lisht-South), 15.3.165 (from Lisht-North), Cairo CG 464 (Weseranuqet, from Elephantine).

The eyes are particularly wide open. Such a wide opening, together with the large and severe mouth, whose corners are turned down, bring us closer to the representations of Amenemhat II (Boston 29.1132, Munich ÄS 7100, Paris Louvre A 23 [FAY 1996 and WENZEL 2011]; see also the head of the female sphinx in Boston 2002.609; FREED/JOSEPHSON 2009) and some statues of Senusret I, perhaps from the end of his reign (Cairo CG 384 and JE 37465, and

² <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/27437/bust-of-a-man-3> (last accessed: 16.11.2021).

Cambridge E. 2.1974; SOUROUZIAN 1989, 93, cat. 43–44; LORAND 2011, 133–141, 142–145, 168–169, cat. A 22, C 49, C 51). The modeling of the cheeks of the Cambridge head is also particularly close to the quartzite head found in Suq el-Khamis. Similar features are, again, observable on the heads of the nomarch Ibu from Qaw el-Kebir, datable to the same period.

The ears are large, naturalistically and delicately detailed, with a particularly long lobe, following the shape of those of the previously cited head. A good comparison is also the female sphinx head in Brooklyn 56.85 (FAY 1996, 28–29, cat. 3, pl. 55–57).

The state of conservation of the piece makes it difficult to reconstruct the original position of the individual. It is unlikely that it was a block statue since the neck seems to have been quite long, while on block statues the chin is very close to the horizontal surface formed by the arms and upper chest. Furthermore, the statue does not seem to have had a back pillar, while stone standing statues from this period usually include a back pillar that reaches the lower part of the wig if it is long (New York MMA 68.101) or even extends high behind the head if the individual is shaved or is wearing a short wig (Baltimore WAM 22.59 [*PM* VIII, 801-410-510]; Elephantine 67; HABACHI 1985, 92, cat. 67, pl. 158–159). Therefore, it is more probable that the statue showed the individual cross-legged or seated on a chair. It would have been approximately 50 cm high in the first case, or 85 cm high in the second one.

The quality of workmanship is particularly refined. Statuary in quartzite is very rare in the first half of the Middle Kingdom. We can cite three royal heads from the Eleventh Dynasty (Bristol H 5038, Edinburgh A. 1965.2, and the mutilated head published in this volume, p. 558–563), a fragmentary seated statue of Amenemhat I from Matariya (Cairo JE 29212; EVERS 1929, II, pl. 2, fig. 34, 22, § 634), and the head of a female sphinx (Boston 2002.609, previously cited, said to be from Matariya), and in private statuary, the bust of Baltimore 22.217 (cf. *supra*). The choice of quartzite may be related to the site itself since the material from Heliopolis shows a particularly large proportion of this stone, probably due to the proximity of the quartzite quarries in Gebel Ahmar, but also maybe because of the solar connotations associated with this stone.

The features of the face are not individualized; they adopt the official portrait of the contemporary king, and the type of wig does not give any clues about the function of this man. The choice of this stone – apparently almost exclusively royal in that time – the high quality of execution, together with the relatively large dimensions of the piece for a non-royal statue, suggest that the represented individual must have been a particularly high official, closely related to the upper circle of power. The discovery of this head among the fragments of much later statues (the colossi of granite, although produced during the Middle Kingdom, have to be considered as representations of Ramesses II) makes it likely

2.3.3.1

that the statue remained on display in a temple courtyard of Heliopolis for several centuries. Like the Cachette of Karnak or those found in other parts of the site of Matariya by Schiaparelli, it seems that the pits dug in a sacred precinct could gather fragments of materials from very distant periods. Further research on parallel situations may help us find out whether their burial in the same *favissa* is due to their

original geographical proximity within the temple, or to other factors.³

A rare testimony of the statuary of the early Middle Kingdom upper elite, this head is another witness to the originality and richness of the sculptural repertoire which once adorned the city of Heliopolis and the courtyards of its temples.



Fig. 1:
Quartzite head of a
Middle Kingdom
official
[Inv. No. U2108-3]
(Front view, photo:
S. Connor).

³ Concerning various hypotheses, see JAMBON 2016.

2.3.3.1



Fig. 2:
Head
[Inv. No. U2108-3]
(3/4 view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 3:
Head
[Inv. No. U2108-3]
(Profile view,
photo: S. Connor).

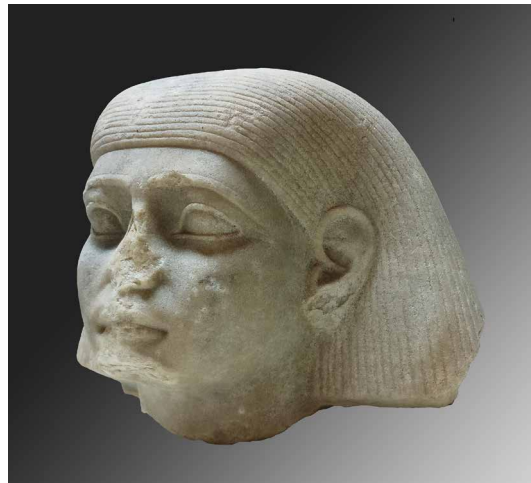


Fig. 4:
Head
[Inv. No. U2108-3]
(3/4 view, photo:
S. Connor).

2.3.3.1



Fig. 5:
Head
[Inv. No. U2108-3]
(Top view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 6:
Head
[nv. no. U2108-3]
(Back view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 7:
Head
[Inv. No. U2108-3]
(Bottom view, with
neck break, photo:
S. Connor).

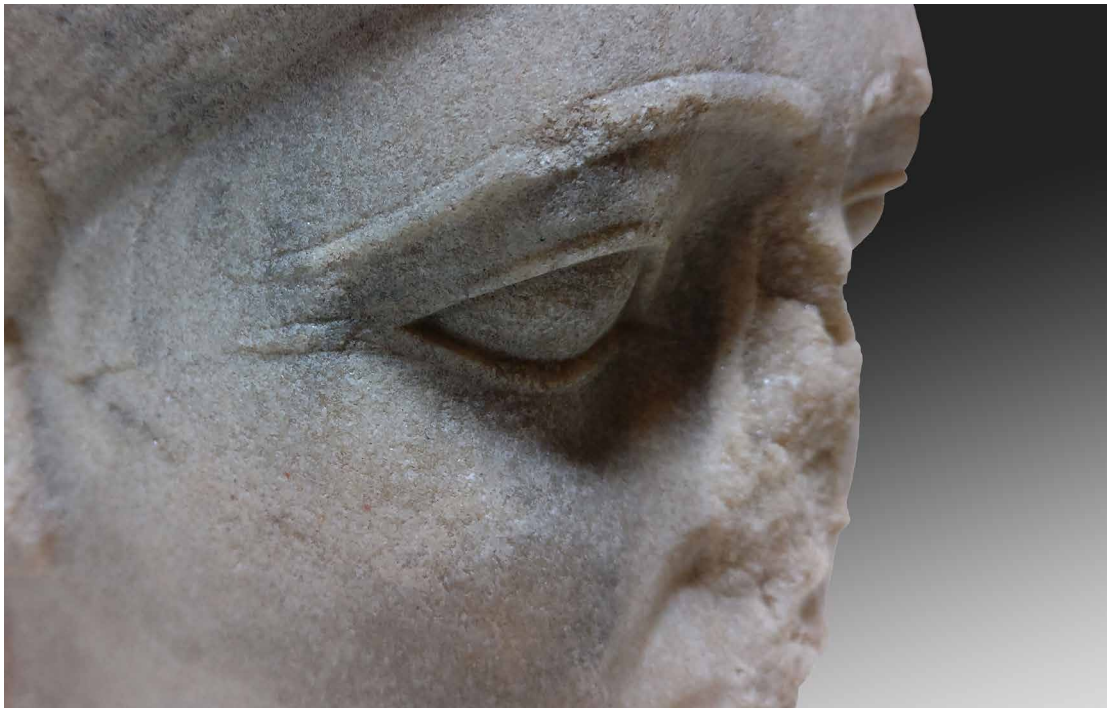


Fig. 8:
Head
[Inv. No. U2108-3]
(Eye detail, photo:
S. Connor).

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Faunal Statuary

2.3.4.1 Fragments of a Monumental Falcon

Simon Connor and Mariana Jung

Dating:	18th Dynasty, reign of Horemhab (c. 1319–1292 BC)
Material:	Quartzite
Estimated original dimensions:	H. 160; W. 60; D. 120 cm

Eleven fragments of a monumental falcon statue in a brownish variety of quartzite were discovered from 2006 to 2012 in Area 200, H24, in Suq el-Khamis.

They are currently kept in the storage of the Ministry of Antiquities in Matariya. All belong to the lower body of a standing figure of a hawk, carved with a great care for details. Of various dimensions, some of them could be joined to form six main parts:

- **A** – Front part of the left wing and part of the upper left thigh (or lower chest) of the bird. Due to the shape of the long feathers, which are pointed downwards and outwards, the fragment can be placed in the lower area. The shorter and rounded feathers on the perpendicular face of the fragment belong to the upper leg. Dimensions: H. 41; W. 30; D. 19 cm (Fig. 3–4).
- **B** – Two joint fragments of the left wing. The pointed extremity of a row of feathers and the beginning of the lower one indicates that the piece belongs to the mid part of the wing. Dimensions: H. 27; W. 22; D. 8 cm (Fig. 5).
- **C** – Fragment of the lower part of the left wing. Probably close to fragments B and D, although no direct join is preserved. H. 23.5; W. 22.5; 10.5 cm (Fig. 6).
- **D** – Fragment of the left wing, with the lower extremity of long feathers. Probably close to fragments A, C and E, although no direct join is preserved. Dimensions of the decorated surface: H. 14; W. 24.2 cm. D. of the fragment: 29 cm (Fig. 7).
- **E** – Extremity of the crossed wings and upper part of the tail, Inv. No. H24-13-3. H. 26; W. 33; D. 36 cm (Fig. 8–10).

- **F** – Right leg of the hawk, with short and rounded feathers for the thigh, a lattice pattern for the skin of the leg and long converging striations for the feather tufts at the back of the leg. The plain and smooth surface at the back of the leg is a remnant of the “negative space” supporting the statue between its base and the bird’s claw and tail. The other flat, perpendicular surface consists of the negative space between the two legs of the bird. This surface was used as a support for the engraving of a cartouche. Although fragmentary, it is still possible to read Horemhab’s throne name: *Dsr-hpr.w-[R^c-stp-n-R^c]* (Fig. 11–13).

The fragment **E** was discovered in a pit of a diameter of about 3 m, in the south-eastern corner of square H24. The pit fill consisted of dark brown hard loam. It cut all layers of the New Kingdom as well as the debris layers of the Roman and Late Roman era. An Ottoman pipe head was also found in this pit. The original position of the falcon sculpture was most probably not within square H24 or its very immediate vicinity, but there is no reason that this group of fragments would have been transported a long way. It seems plausible to suggest an original emplacement within the limits of the frontal segments of the temple of Suq el-Khamis area, pointing to the pre-Ramesside history of this area, as suggested by other remains of sculpture and architecture.¹

The reconstruction of the overall appearance of the falcon can only be partially deduced from

the fragments. Nevertheless, due to the size of the fragments and by comparison with other statues, it can be assumed that it was an upright standing hawk, which probably had a total height of some 1.60 m (base included). The proportions of the falcon make it likely that the space’s width between the two legs was sufficient only for one cartouche; a second one may have been carved above it or on the base between the claws – unless there was only a single cartouche, similarly to the Ramesside falcon statue found in Tell el-Maskhuta (see below). No further inscribed fragments inform us about the identity of the depicted entity – a solar deity being the most likely, seeing the provenance of the statue.

Large-size stone statues of animal deities are quite exceptional before the reign of Amenhotep III. Falcons of such dimensions, in particular, are rarely attested. The monumental ones that flank the main entrances in Edfu temple are a thousand years younger (Fig. 14–15), while most of the numerous falcon statues that have reached us from the Late Period, either in stone or in metal alloys, are of much smaller size. The chronologically closest example in term of size and quality is the quite extraordinary quartzite statue of a king or deity with a human seated body and the head and back of a falcon (Brussels E. 5188). Found by A. Mariette in the temple of Khonsu in Karnak, most likely in a secondary context (it has been re-inscribed for the High Priest Masaharta, son of Pinodjem I), it may have been sculpted for the temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep III.² Such statues of a “falconised” ruler episodically appear in the 18th Dynasty,

¹ See the doorjambs of Senusret I and Senusret III, see FARIS/GELIL/RAUE/SULEIMAN 2008, p. 1–9, pl. 7A.

² Brussels MRAH E. 5188. H. 210; W. 80; D. 95 cm. *PM* II2, 244; VAN RINSVELT 1991; Id. 1993; 322–323.

when the solarisation of the Egyptian king gets intensified (VALBELLE 1997; HARDWICK/RIGGS 2010).

We can also mention the upper part of a granite monumental falcon accidentally found during work in Matariya street in 1964, 1 km south of the obelisk. The fragment, 45 cm high, belonged to a statue that must have reached some 120 to 150 cm high (BAKRY 1967, 59, pl. 16c–d). Although it is difficult to date it from the available photographs, its quality and style seem to fit well in the time of Amenhotep III.

Another large falcon statue from the reign of Amenhotep III is the one found in Gebel Barkal, most likely originally from Soleb, representing Horus of Nekhen (Boston MFA 23.1470), 172 cm high (SIMPSON 1971, 152–164).

Slightly later parallels belong to the reign of Ramesses II. The first one (Cairo JE 64735), found in a secondary context in Tanis, is the colossal statue of the falcon god Hauron, 231 cm high, protecting the figure of Ramesses II under the shape of a child (well-known case of a sculpture-in-the-round reproduction of the king's name *R^c-ms-sw*) (Fig. 16) (SOUROUZIAN 2019, 412–413, no. 263, with complete bibliography). A second one (Cairo JE 36455), more fragmentary, said to have been found in the Fayum, is the lower part of a statue that represented a falcon protecting a mummiform figure of the king (Fig. 17) (SOUROUZIAN 2019, 414–415, no. 264, with complete bibliography). This second statue must have reached some 120 cm high, i.e., a bit less than

the quartzite figure found in Suq el-Khamis. In both cases, a figure of the king sits or stands in front of the bird's legs. A third one (London BM EA 1006) seems to be typologically the closest to the Suq el-Khamis falcon: found in 1883 by E. Naville in Tell el-Maskhuta, it shows a 95 cm high standing falcon in granodiorite, with a single cartouche of Ramesses II against its chest, and a dedication to "Ra-Horakhty, the great god, lord of the sky" on the front part of the base (Fig. 18).³ Also from the reign of Ramesses II, we can mention several hawk statues in sandstone, standing in front of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, on the parapet (Fig. 19).

Other examples of large hawk statues are attested much later, in the 26th and 30th Dynasties: an extremely polished granodiorite statue inscribed for Amasis, found in Buto (MEKKAWI/KHATER 1990, 87–88, pl. 3–4), two greywacke falcons, each protecting a standing figure of Nectanebo II in the praying attitude (Munich ÄS 7152 [*PM* VIII, no. 800–962–900, with complete bibliography] and New York MMA 34.2.1 [ARNOLD 2010, 74–75, cat. 73]) and two limestone statues of similar type and style, uninscribed but probably from the same period (Cairo JE 33262 [GODDIO/FABRE 2015, 66–67] and Paris, Louvre E 11152 [*PM* VIII, no. 800–876–600, with complete bibliography]). Several other large falcons from the last centuries BC were found in Alexandria and in Italy.

At first glance, the engraving of the cartouche between the legs of the quartzite falcon from Heliopolis seems somewhat careless, perhaps hasty, as if it were the result of a repair, re-en-

³ *PM* IV, 53; NAVILLE 1903, 4, pl. 12; VALBELLE 1997, 212–213.

2.3.4.1

graving, perhaps re-inscription of an older statue. Nevertheless, one must resist the temptation to see in any monument bearing the name of Horremhab an usurped work. In the case of this inscribed surface, there is no visible trace of transformation. The untidy appearance of this cartouche is mainly due to the coarse grain of the stone. Despite the fineness of the sculpture and engraving of the feathers' details, the surface of the falcon was indeed left somewhat rough. Clearly, the sculptors did not aim to reach the level of polishing of quartzite statuary from the reign of Amenhotep III, as probably witnessed by the falcon colossus in Brussels. The result was apparently considered satisfying without the

need to obtain the vitrified and glazing aspect of earlier statues, or of Late Period sculptures, obtained by a particular fine polishing. The high quality of this sculpture is, however, undeniable. One cannot but admire the rendering of details and the virtuosity with which the ancient sculptors represented the falcon's feathers in a dizzying array of striations.

The lack of other inscribed fragments from the same monument deprives us from the identification of this falcon deity, a secret now well kept since the remaining fragments are probably buried under the recent buildings that surround the excavated sector.



Fig. 1-2: Proposition of reconstruction and the Fragments numbers of the falcon (Drawing: S. Connor).

2.3.4.1



Fig. 3:
Fragment A, part
of the left wing and
chest of the falcon
(Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
Fragment A, part
of the left wing and
chest of the falcon
(Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 5:
Fragment B, part of
the left wing
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 6:
Fragment C, part of
the left wing
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 7:
Fragment D, part of
the left wing
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 8:
Fragment E, part
of the tail
(Photos: S. Connor).

2.3.4.1



Fig. 9:
Fragment E, part
of the tail
(Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 10:
Fragment E, part
of the tail
(Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 11:
Fragment F, right
leg of the falcon,
with cartouche of
Horemhab (*Dsr-
hpr.w [-R^c stp-n-R^c]*)
(Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 12:
Fragment F, right
leg of the falcon,
with cartouche of
Horemhab (*Dsr-
hpr.w [-R^c stp-n-R^c]*)
(Photos: S. Connor).



Fig. 13:
Fragment F, right
leg of the falcon,
with cartouche of
Horemhab (*Dsr-
hpr.w [-R^c stp-n-R^c]*)
(Photos: S. Connor).

2.3.4.1

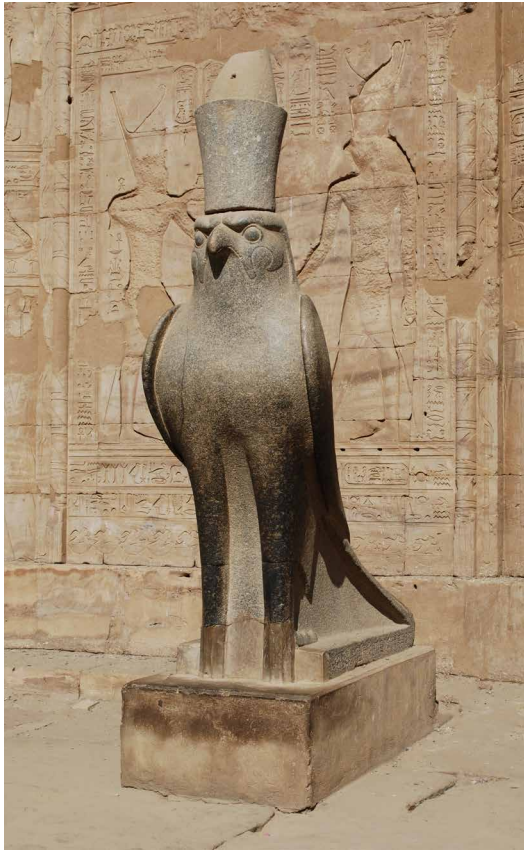


Fig. 14:
Monumental hawks
in Edfu temple
(Photos: S. Connor).

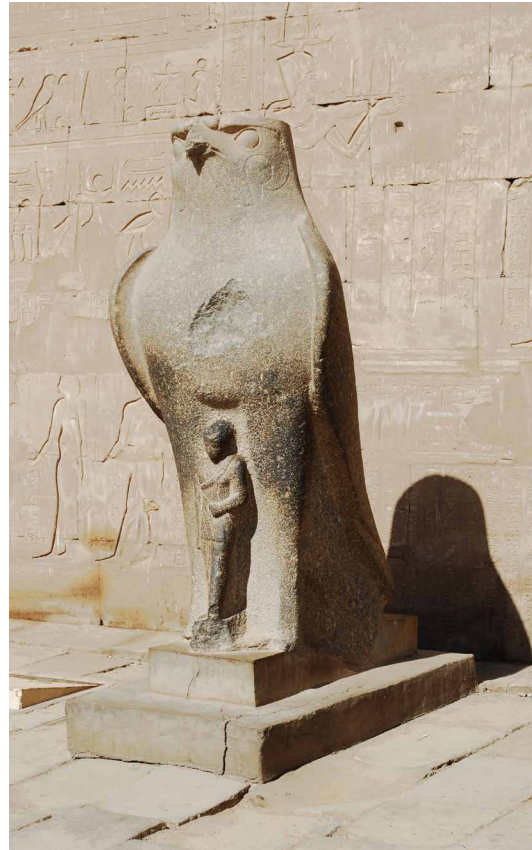


Fig. 15:
Monumental hawks
in Edfu temple
(Photos: S. Connor).

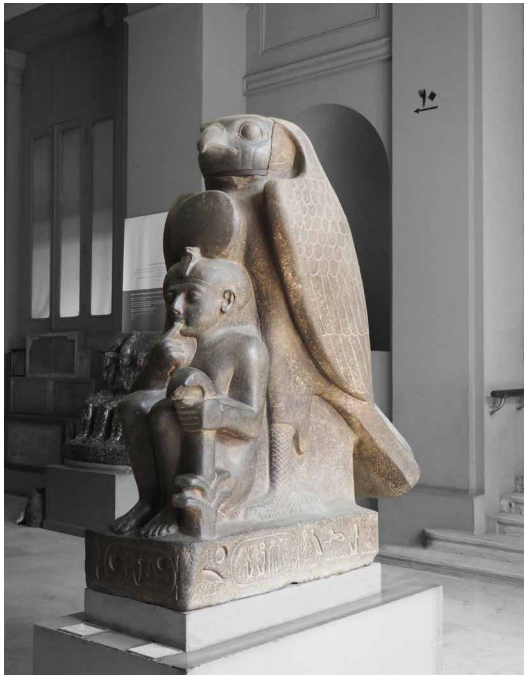


Fig. 16:
Monumental sculpture of Ramesses II's name (Ra-ms-sw) under the protection of the falcon god Hauron, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 64735
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 17:
Ramesses II clothed in a shroud (in the "osiriatic" position) standing between the claws of a falcon deity, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 36455
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 18:
Statue of Ra-Ho-
rakhty protecting
the cartouche of
Ramesses II,
London, British
Museum, EA 1006
(NAVILLE 1903, pl. 12).



Fig. 19:
Statues on the North parapet in
front of the Great Temple of Abu
Simbel (Photo: S. Connor).

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2.3.4.1

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3. Central Sector Area 221

3.1 The Temple of “Atum, Lord of Heliopolis” – Area 221 in Heliopolis

3.2 Area 221: Sculpture

3.2.1 Fragments of Sphinxes from Area 221 (Misraa es-Segun)

3.2.2 Two Ramesside Granite Heads

3.2.3 A Colossal Statue of King Merenptah Prostrating Himself

3.2.4 Miscellanea from Area 221

The Temple of “Atum, Lord of Heliopolis” – Area 221 in Heliopolis

Stephanie Blaschta

Area 221 is situated in the middle of the south half of the temple of Heliopolis, where W. M. F. Petrie discovered the western part of this embankment in 1915. The excavation of Area 221 at Heliopolis was carried out in order to relocate the western section of the “fort bank” (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, pl. I). The archaeological research in this area has revealed the presence of a temple for “Atum, Lord of Heliopolis” (Fig. 1). Moreover, the finds made by the Egyptian-German mission¹ during six excavation-campaigns since 2012 have been beyond expectation.²

The oldest findings in Area 221 date well back to the Predynastic Period (mostly in the form of pottery sherds and small flint flakes from the drillings). Furthermore, small pottery fragments dating to the Old Kingdom have been found in higher layers. The discovery of a fragment of a classical pillar belonging to Senusret I (1971–1926 BC) also indicates the presence of a temple dating to the Middle Kingdom (Fig. 2). A possible interpretation of this is that the *ḥw.t-ḥ.t*³

once stood here, in which case the location of Area 221 would be at the center of Heliopolis.

Apart from a temple of Senusret I, with the results of the latest seasons of excavation it is possible to assume the existence of at least two more temples in this area. One dating to the Ramesside Period during the reigns of Ramesses II/Merenptah⁴ (19th Dynasty) and one from the Late Period belonging to Nectanebo I (30th Dynasty). Since the temple was destroyed between around the 4th – 8th centuries AD,⁵ the findings made here are scattered around the area and in many cases only small fragments were found. Nevertheless, the original position of the temple can be assumed to be parallel to the dromos, and the orientation to be from East to West.

Most of the Late Period finds have been made in the middle of the excavation area. The blocks show the name of Nectanebo I. In a vertical line from the dromos (S-SW to N-NE) many basalt, quartzite and granite blocks have been found.

¹ The excavation is directed by Aiman Ashmawy and Dietrich Raue. The work in this area is done by up to 70 Egyptian local workmen and some specialist workmen from Quft, under the supervision of Rais El-Amir Kamil Saddiq and Ashraf el-Amir. The documentation is done by Egyptian and German archaeologists and students. For reports from the previous excavations in this area, see: <https://www.dainst.org/forschung/projekte/heliopolis/5724> (last accessed: 11.10.2023): ASHMAWY/RAUE/BEIERSDORF 2015, ASHMAWY ET AL. 2016. The findings in this area are currently being studied as the PhD project of S. Blaschta.

² Until 2019 within an area of about 2500 m², 25 half-squares (each 4 × 9m) had been excavated. Furthermore, the excavations have been accompanied by geophysical research done by Tomasz Herbich, and by geomorphological drillings by Morgan De Dapper from the University of Gent. Excavations in this area face many difficulties, two of the most important of which are the mountains of garbage that have to be removed before starting digging. Due to the growing population in Matariya, the area of the temple and especially Area 221 has been used as a modern garbage dump. Before any archaeological research can take place in this area, mountains of garbage, that range to 13 m height must be removed, which is a very time consuming and costly activity. Another problem is the rising ground water table. In order to reach somewhat deeper levels, the work has to be accompanied by the use of water pumps.

³ *ḥw.t-ḥ.t* is the designation of the main temple at Heliopolis. In the Heliopolitan annals of Senusret I, he is mentioned as “seigneurs de la Houtâat, à l’avant de l’Est d’Héliopolis (?)”: POSTEL/RÉGEN 2005, 238–241.

⁴ In Heliopolis there should have been a House of Millions of Years (dating to Ramesses II and Merenptah) which has as yet not been located. Moreover, objects from the building consist of medium sized obelisks, a column with inscriptions related to his victory over the Libyans in his 5th regnal year, a Mnevis-burial chamber, and other objects have been found: RAUE 1999, 94–95; SOUROUZIAN 1989, 55–62.

⁵ The final destruction of the temple can be dated with aid of the pottery and coins (from Constantin I through Justinian I until the early Umayyad Period) to around the 4th – 8th AD.

This can be interpreted as the façade of the former temple. Most of the quartzite blocks belonged to a gate (or maybe two gates) dating to Ramesses II and Nectanebo I.

The basalt blocks belong to the *soubassement* of the temple that was dedicated to “Atum, Lord of Heliopolis” (BLASCHTA 2019, 6). They are part of a geographical procession of Nectanebo I and show male fecundity figures kneeling and delivering the goods and products of each nome of Egypt (Fig. 3; BLASCHTA 2019, 9–10). Until the season of spring 2018 only blocks from the Upper Egyptian series were uncovered.⁶ All these objects were excavated south of the quartzite gate. During spring 2019 the first blocks from the Lower Egyptian series were found to the north of the gate (Fig. 4). This arrangement reflects the real geographical situation in Egypt: The Upper Egyptian part of the procession was arranged in the south of the temple and the Lower Egyptian one in its north. Considering the findings thus far, the façade of this temple should have been about 50 m in width. Other inscribed basalt blocks, with horizontal inscriptions, also belonged to the *soubassement*, and their original position is to be reconstructed above the geographical procession. These bear the names “Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, the Great God, Lord of the Main Sanctuary”, as well as “Hathor, Nebet-hetepet”, the main female deity of the Heliopolitan temple.

The remains of the gate dating to Ramesses II and Nectanebo I were made of yellowish-brown quartzite, that was quarried from nearby

Gebel Ahmar (Fig. 5). The gate of Nectanebo I depicts the king being named “with effective monuments in [Heliopolis/house of Ra]” (*šh-mnw m [Jwn.w/pr-Rʿ]*). Blocks with reliefs from the reign of Ramesses II displaying different aspects of the sun were found among the blocks of Nectanebo I. It remains unclear if the two gates stood beside each other during the same period, or whether perhaps the gate of Ramesses II was reused by Nectanebo I. For now, the only evidence of a re-used block by Nectanebo I is one made of granite that has the cartouche of *Nḥt-nb-f* on one side and an older relief with three pairs of legs (according to the proportions probably dating to the New Kingdom) on the other side.

To the east of the façade the finds suggest a building dating to Merenptah. Not only the torso of a statue, but also granite blocks that belonged to a gate made out of granite show the name of this king. In addition to the aforementioned pieces, some in-situ finds should also be noted. In the season of spring 2018 it was possible to document a limestone floor potentially dating to the New Kingdom in three different parts of the excavation area. Moreover, the situation on the most north-eastern squares was very interesting. Here, a limestone floor was found, including a limestone vessel (subsequently inserted into the floor, Fig. 6). Slightly to the north, a granite block from a door slab was situated. Because of the connection to the adjoining limestone floor and the granite block, which is part of a gate of Merenptah, both of these features can be assumed to have belonged to a temple of Merenptah.

⁶ The Upper Egyptian fragments have been published in BLASCHTA 2019, 3–74.

3.1

To the west of the façade an open area in front of the temple can be postulated. Here, in front of the quartzite gate, just a couple of meters away, three fragments of a falcon-frieze (c. 120×80 cm) made of granite were found (Fig. 7).⁷ The frieze depicts falcons with sun discs on their heads. Because the paint of the

falcons was applied directly to the granite instead of having an undercoat paste added beforehand, and also because of its findspot in front of the gate, it seems likely that the frieze had been placed somewhere above the gate at a noteworthy height, and with the destruction of the gate has fallen a couple of meters away from it.

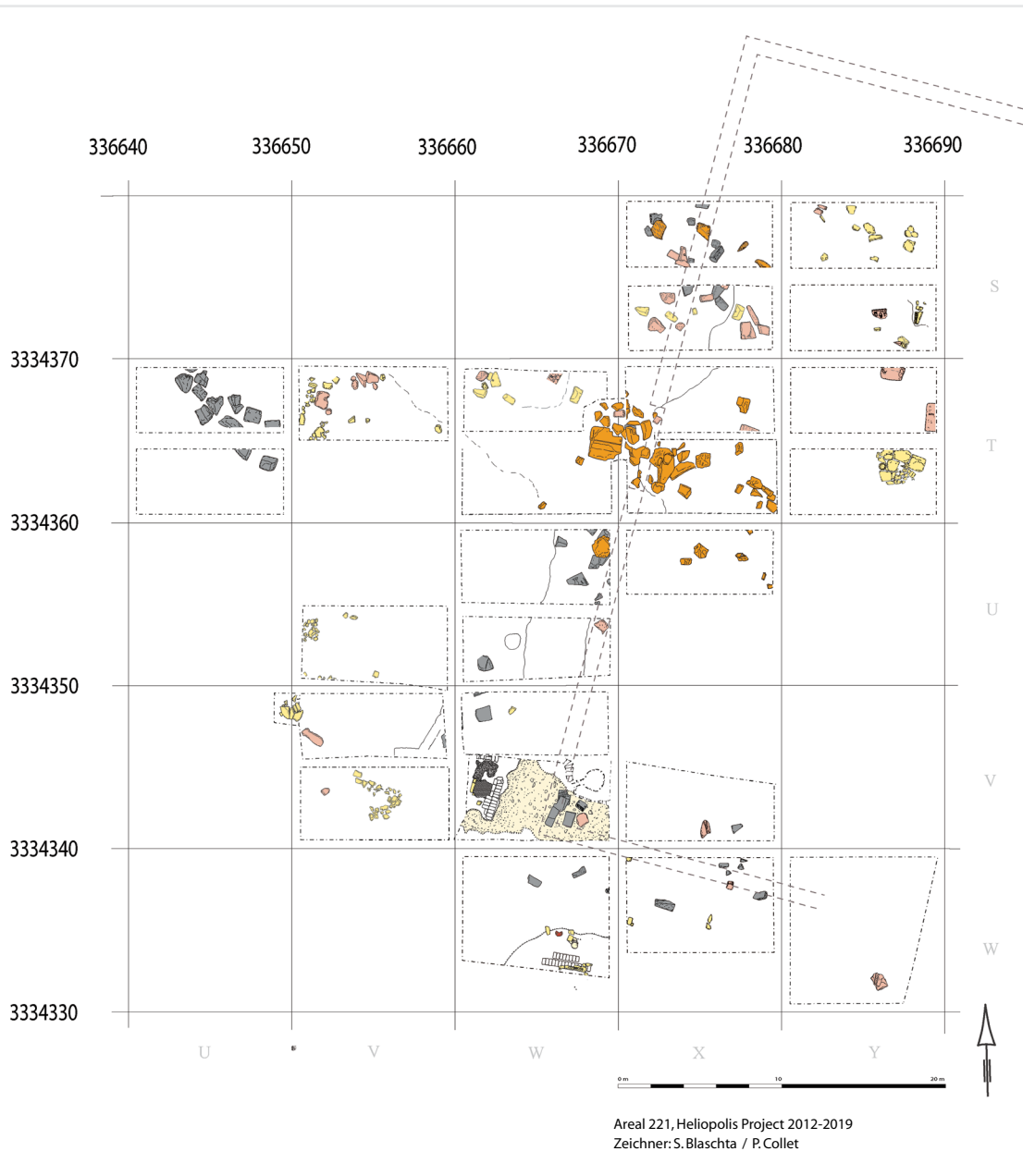


Fig. 1: Plan of Excavation Area 221 with reconstruction of possible temple-plan (S. Blaschta, with preliminary work from P. Collet).

⁷ An example of a frieze with falcons is the one from the gate of the New Year-pavilion dating in the 26th Dynasty from the time of Psamtik I or II, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. 213: <https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/318038/> (last accessed 12.11.2021). Nevertheless, it must be stated, that the object in Heliopolis is clearly larger. One example of a (three times larger) frieze on the facade of a temple, this time with baboons, not falcons, is the frieze on the temple of Abu Simbel.

3.1

Other findings in this open area belong mostly to statuary. There are fragments of a Ramesside sphinx, a larger than life size torso of king Merenptah in a lunging pose (ASHMAWY / RAUE/BEIERSDORF 2015, 8) and two Ramesside heads of a king that are made out of granite

(c. 50×96×100 cm). The heads show a somewhat flat top which indicates the original presence of a crown made from a separate block.⁸ Also befitting an open area are the basalt slabs found to the west of the excavation area that probably once formed part of a pavement (Fig. 8).



Fig. 2: Relief from a pillar of pillared wall dating to Senusret I, Area 221, found during spring 2016 (Photo: P. Collet).



Fig. 3: 1st Upper Egyptian Nome, Area 221 (Photo: M. Wenzel).



Fig. 4: Blocks from the Lower Egyptian Series, Area 221 (Photo: D. Raue).

⁸ For some examples of crowns made from another block, see the southern row from the sphinx alley in the first courtyard of the temple of Ramesses II at Wadi es-Sebua: MASPERO 1911, pl. CXX.



Fig. 5:
Fragments of a gate
of Nectanebo I and
Ramesses II, Area
221 (Photo: D. Raue).



Fig. 6:
Limestone pave-
ment with in-situ
limestone-vessel
and lid, Area 221
(Photo: S. Blaschta).



Fig. 7:
Falcon-frieze
standing in the
El-Matariya Museum,
Area 221 (Photo:
D. Raue).



Fig. 8:
Basalt slabs on the
north-west of the
excavation, Area 221
(Photo: S. Blaschta).

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Area 221: Sculpture

3.2.1 Fragments of Sphinxes from Misraa es-Segun

(Inv. No. OAM 86, U5013-1, OAM 186, U4950-2)

Simon Connor

Several fragments of sphinxes have been excavated in the central area of the archaeological site in Matariya, called Misraa es-Segun; they were among the fragments of quartzite blocks of Nectanebo and those of the granite gate of Merenptah.

The dating of these fragments can only be approximate; their state of preservation hardly allows one to ascertain whether they belonged to the Middle or to the New Kingdom. However, it is unlikely that they date from the Late Period since the modelling of the lion body and paws, in the last centuries BC, is much more naturalistic.

The pieces found in Misraa es-Segun show, on the contrary, a schematized and “geometrized” appearance, which corresponds to the style of the 2nd millennium BC.

The archaeological context in which they were found, together with several blocks dating to the Ramesside Period and the two (sphinx?) heads attributable to Ramesses II (Inv. No. U4936-1 and U5070-6, see p. 207–214), make it likely that all these statues were contemporary with the Ramesside structure whose remains were found in Misraa es-Segun.¹

1. OpenAir Museum Inv. No. 86²

Three granite fragments, all probably belonging to the same sphinx (Fig. 1). The chest and waist can be joined, while the front paws are probably from the same statue, according to its dimensions and the similarity of material.

Dimensions:	a) front paws: 34.5 × 76 × 70 cm b) chest: 60 × 85 × 55 cm c) waist: 56 × 83 × 52 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	140 × 85 × 270 cm
Dating:	Middle–New Kingdom (stylistic criteria: shape of the paws).

¹ For further analysis of these sphinx fragments, see the contribution “A City of Sphinxes” p. 377–390.

² Paws: U4828-2 (ex: 213VX4-2); back: U4807-14 (ex: 213VW5-14); middle: U4855-3 (ex: 213WX-5-3).

2. Inv. No. U5013-1

Granite proper left front paw of a sphinx (Fig. 2–4).

Dimensions:	31 × 44 × 97 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	280 × 170 × 540 cm
Dating:	Middle–New Kingdom (stylistic criteria)

3. OpenAir Museum Inv. No. 186³

Granite proper left front paw of a sphinx (Fig. 5–8).

Dimensions:	49 × 42 × 90 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	310 × 180 × 580 cm
Dating:	Middle–New Kingdom (stylistic criteria)

4. Inv. No. U4868-5 (ex: 213VV-6-5)

Base and lower part of the body of a granite sphinx (Fig. 9–12).

Dimensions:	46 × 58 × 151 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	120 × 58 × 200 cm
Dating:	Middle–New Kingdom (?)

5. Inv. No. U4950-2 (ex: 213TX-4-2):

Quartzite proper left front paw of a sphinx (Fig. 13–17).

Dimensions:	27 × 29 × 54 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	250 × 150 × 420 cm
Dating:	Middle–New Kingdom (stylistic criteria)

³ U5078-32.

3.2.1

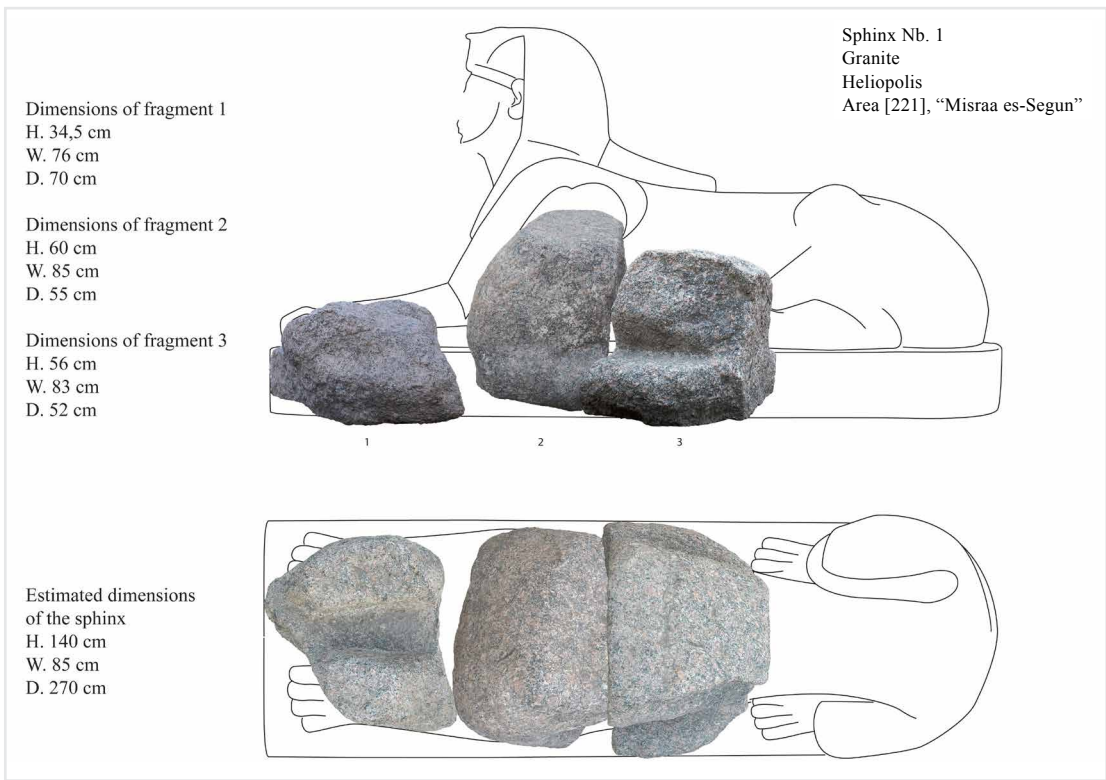


Fig. 1:
Three fragments
of a sphinx
[Inv. No. OAM 86]
(Reconstruction:
S. Connor).

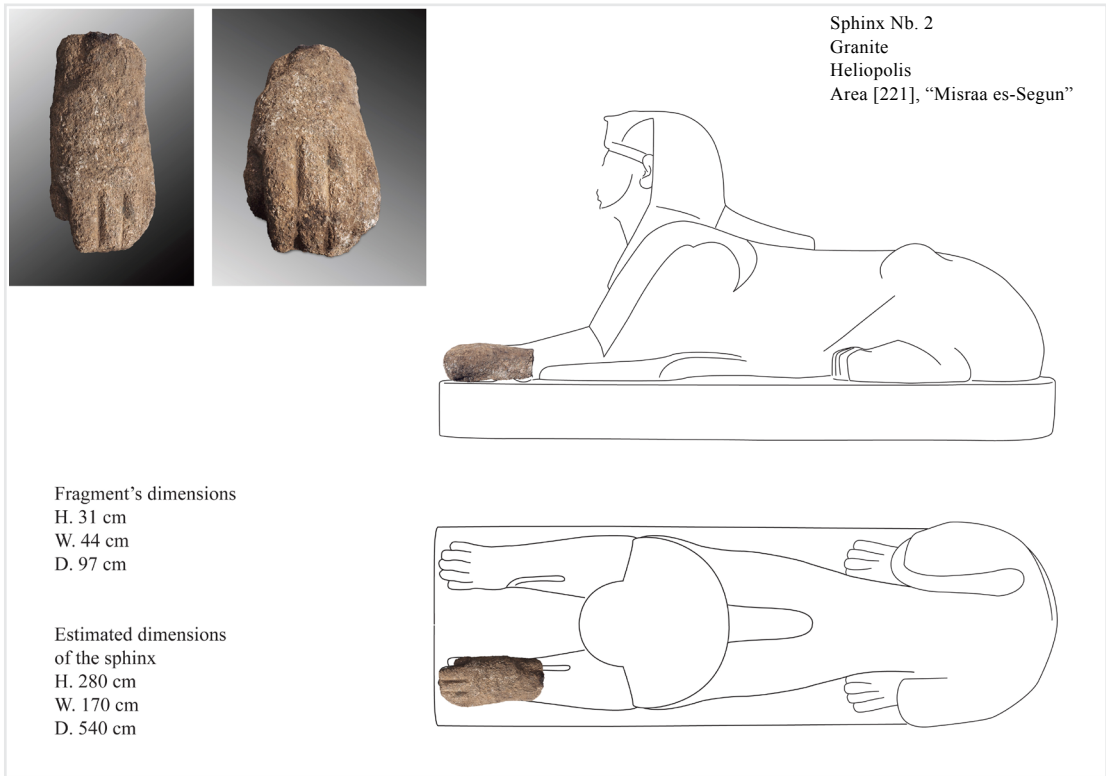


Fig. 2:
Paw of a
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U5013-1]
(Reconstruction:
S. Connor).

3.2.1



Fig. 3:
Paw of a
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U5013-1]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
Paw of a
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U5013-1]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fragment's dimensions
H. 49 cm
W. 42 cm
D. 90 cm

Estimated dimensions
of the sphinx
H. 310 cm
W. 180 cm
D. 580 cm

Sphinx Nb. 3
Granite
Heliopolis
Area [221], "Misraa es-Segun"

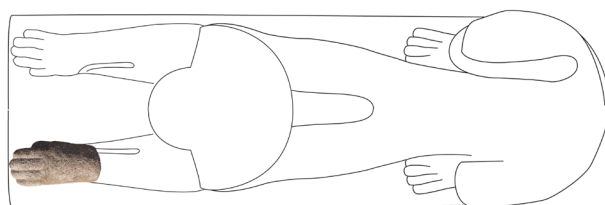
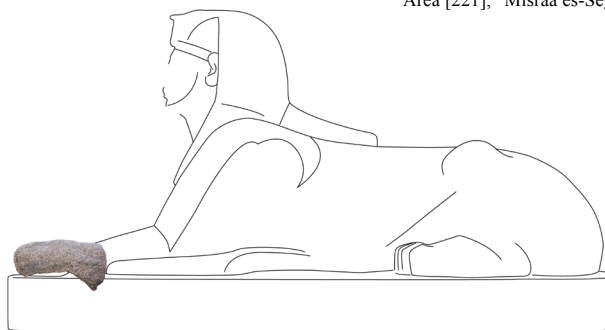


Fig. 5:
Paw of a
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U5078-32]
(Reconstruction:
S. Connor).

3.2.1



Fig. 6:
Paw of a lion or
sphinx [OpenAir
Museum
Inv. No. 186]
(Top view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 7:
Paw of a lion or
sphinx [OpenAir
Museum
Inv. No. 186]
(Left view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 8:
Paw of a lion or
sphinx [OpenAir
Museum
Inv. No. 186]
(Front view; photo:
S. Connor).

Sphinx Nb. 4
Granite
Heliopolis
Area [221], "Misraa es-Segun"



Fragment's dimensions
H. 46 cm
W. 58 cm
D. 151 cm

Estimated dimensions
of the sphinx
H. 120 cm
W. 58 cm
D. 200 cm



Fig. 9:
Body of a lion
or sphinx
[Inv. No. U4868-5]
(Photos and
reconstruction:
S. Connor).

3.2.1



Fig. 10:
Body of a lion
or sphinx
[Inv. No. U4868-5]
(Top view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 11:
Body of a lion
or sphinx
[Inv. No. U4868-5]
(Side view; photo:
S. Connor).

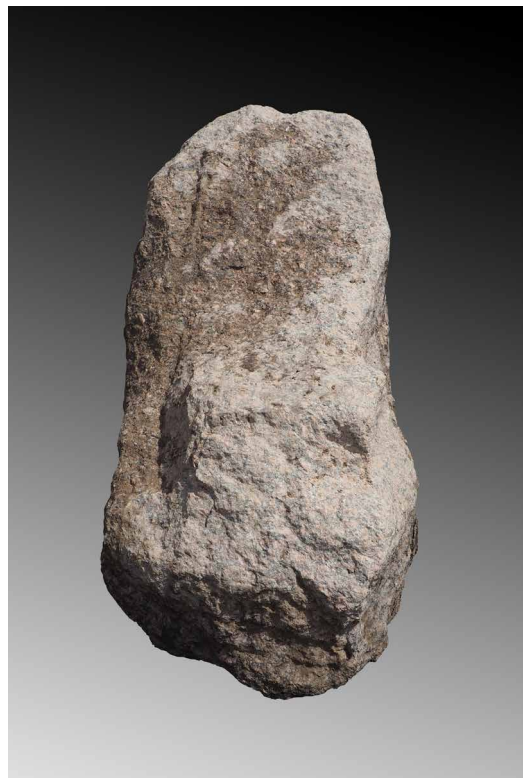

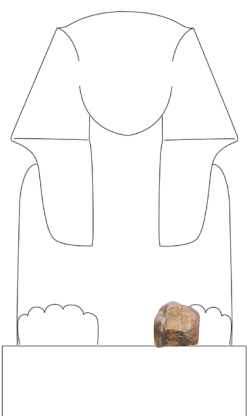


Fig. 12:
Body of a lion
or sphinx
[Inv. No. U4868-5]
(Front view; photo:
S. Connor).





Sphinx Nb. 5
Quartzite
Heliopolis
Area [221], "Misraa es-Segun"

Fragment's dimensions
H. 27 cm
W. 29 cm
D. 54 cm

**Estimated dimensions
of the sphinx**
H. 250 cm
W. 150 cm
D. 420 cm

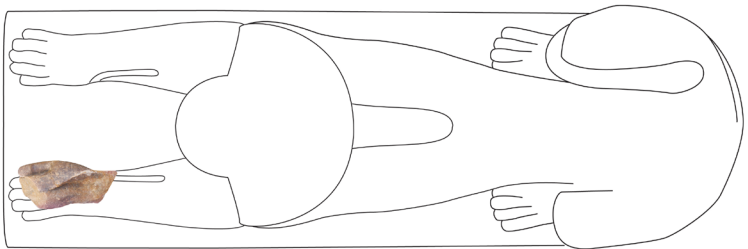


Fig. 13:
Left paw of a quartzite
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U5078-32
and U4950-2]
(Photos and
reconstruction:
S. Connor).

3.2.1



Fig. 14:
Left paw of a quartzite
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U4950-2]
(Right view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 15:
Left paw of a quartzite
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U4950-2]
(Front view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 16:
Left paw of a quartzite
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U4950-2]
(Top view; photo:
S. Connor).

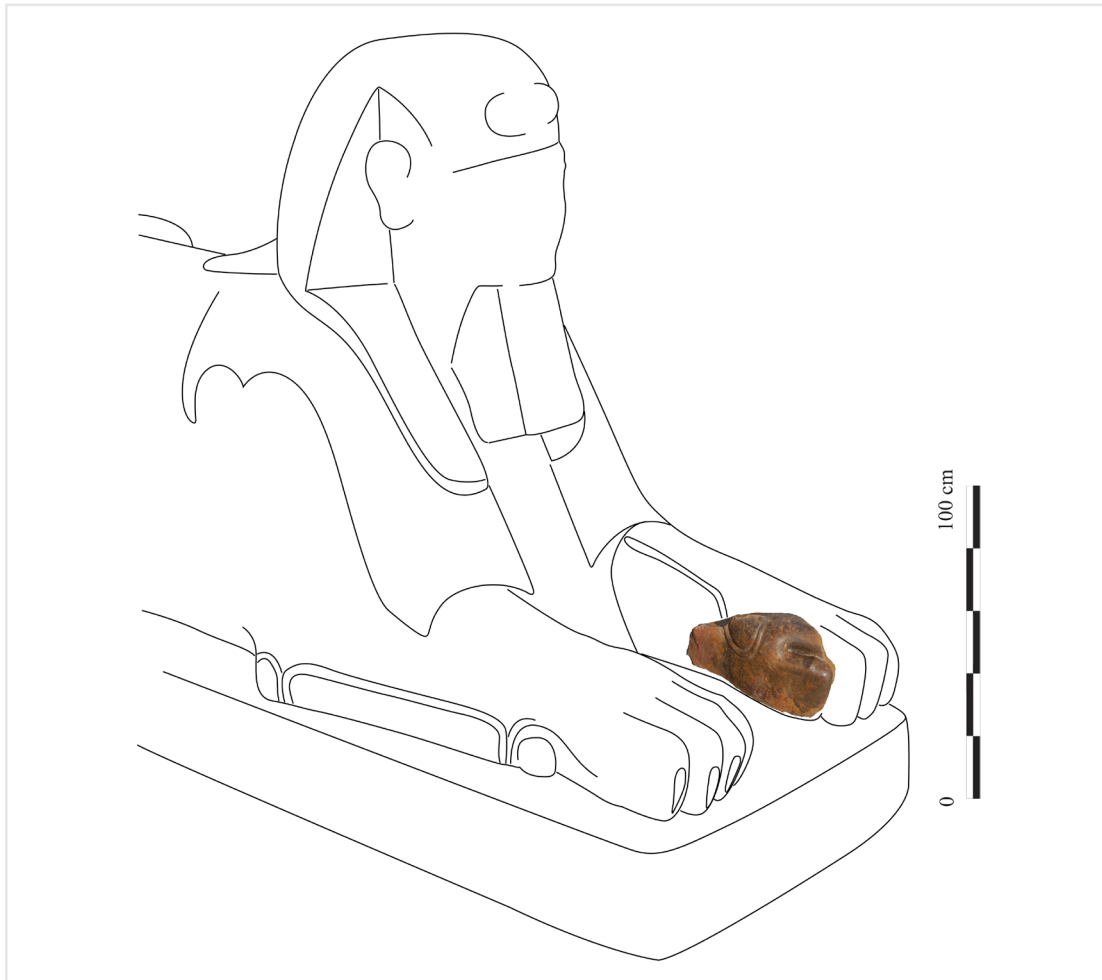


Fig. 17:
Left paw of a quartzite
lion or sphinx
[Inv. No. U4950-2]
(Reconstruction:
S. Connor).

Two Ramesside Granite Heads (Inv. No. U4936-1 and U5070-6) Simon Connor

These two fragments of granite heads of statues were found in the same context as the fragments of sphinxes excavated in Misraa es-Segun (Area 221), among the remains of the temple of Nectanebo and of the monumental gate of Merenptah. The first one (U4936-1, Fig. 1–4)¹, pre-

served from the top of the head until the chin, and whose surface is very eroded, was found in 2016, while the U5070-6, more fragmentary (the forehead is missing, Fig. 5–10) but with a surface in much better condition, was excavated in square 667/437 (South) during the Spring season 2018.

The dimensions of the two fragments are the following:

1) Inv. No. 4936-1:	H. 71; W. 104; D. 102 cm
2) Inv. No. 5070-6:	H. 52; W. 98; 107 cm

They can reasonably be identified as two members of the same group of statues, due to their stylistic similarity and the exact same dimensions of the mouth (20 cm wide) and of the eye (13.5 cm wide).

Their state of preservation does not allow the statuary type to which they once belonged to be ascertained; nevertheless, the absence of slab or back pillar renders improbable a standing or a seated colossus. Most of the preserved Ramesside statues of such a size show a dorsal panel or a back pillar, which reaches the top of the head and covers the rear part of the *nemes*. It is therefore most likely that these fragments belonged to a pair of sphinxes. The position of the break or cut of the heads speaks also in this favour, since it takes place just a bit above the neck, appro-

ximately where the rear of the head would have made a right angle with the back. It would have been therefore the logical area for cutting off the head from the body to obtain approximately rectangular blocks that could be reused in masonry (see below). Seated statues cannot be excluded, but are less likely, since the position of the break, so high on the neck, would be less explainable.

The top of head U5070-6 is flat. Despite the absence of a hole to serve as a mortise, it is probable that a double crown was originally placed above the *nemes*. The original dimensions may be estimated as follows: if sphinxes, they would have measured approximately 255 cm high (c. 380 with the double crown), 150 cm wide and 470 cm long. If seated – which is less probable

¹ Former Inv. No.: 213TV-3-1, from square 665/436 (North).

but not impossible – the colossus would have been one of the biggest found so far in Heliopolis: H. 600 cm (c. 730 with the double crown); W. 220 cm; D. 360 cm.

Head U4936-1 is in a poor state of conservation, due to a long stay in soil full of water and temperature changes, which caused the loss of almost all its original surface and polish. It is nevertheless still possible to recognize, under these conditions, the features of Ramesside style, which are even more recognizable on the other head, whose surface is better preserved: the oval-shaped face, with high cheekbones and rounded cheeks, the protruding eyebrows, the wide almond-shaped eyes, half-closed and looking down, and the characteristic smiling small mouth of Ramesses II, with deeply-cut corners.

When dealing with a (probably) Ramesside colossus, one cannot avoid the question whether it is an original Ramesside statue, or if it was reused from an earlier piece, since a large part of the corpus of this period includes statues originally made for previous kings (especially from the 12th Dynasty and from Amenhotep III), reinscribed and sometimes transformed and adapted, mainly for Ramesses II, Merenptah and Ramesses III.² In the case of these two heads – especially U5070-6 – no element so far allows detecting a transformation of the physiognomy from earlier statues. We have every reason to

believe that these statues are “original” representations of Ramesses II. Very close parallels are the large standard-bearing granite statues found in various sites of the Delta, with a particularly wide face and rounded cheeks.³

The upper part of the head, flattened in order to serve as support for a crown (most probably a double crown) above the *nemes*, follows a tradition which appears during the reign of Amenhotep III⁴ and which becomes particularly common during the Amarna, post-Amarna and Ramesside Periods. Colossal statues of this time may, in some cases, have been conceived from the beginning with this juxtaposition of crowns, while on other cases, the crown has been added later above the top of the head, thanks to a system of tenon and mortise. This is the case for the statues of earlier periods reused by Ramesses II and his successors.⁵ Nevertheless, the addition of a double crown above the *nemes* is not a proof of transformation and reuse of a statue. Indeed, some colossi which show no traces of modification on their features and on their inscription, and have to be considered as original representations of Ramesses II, also show the double crown as a separate piece, fixed above the *nemes*. This may be due to changing plans during the sculpting process of the statue, or when installing it in its architectural setting. Purely practical reasons may also be at the origin of this separate headdress, since this

² Concerning reuse of statues by the Ramesside sovereigns, and particularly those which bear modification of the physiognomy, see SOUROUZIAN 1988, 229–254; ID. 1995, 505–543; CONNOR 2015, 85–109; HILL 2015, 294–299; EATON-KRAUSS 2015, 97–104; GILLI 2016; CONNOR 2022.

³ Alexandria NM 359, Berlin ÄM 10835, Cairo CG 574, 575, 636, 640, JE 44668, as well as the head in display in the open-air museum of Tell Basta. About this statuary type, see SOUROUZIAN 2020, 131–172, with linked bibliography.

⁴ See for example the seated statue of Amenhotep III, reused by Merenptah (New York MMA 22.5.2, SOUROUZIAN 1989, 159, cat. 98, pl. 30a), the head in Hannover 1935.200.112 (KOZLOFF ET AL. 1992, 168–170, cat. 12), or the little head from the Karnak Cachette (LUXOR Museum J. 16, ROMANO ET AL. 1979, 76–77, cat. 98, fig. 57–58).

⁵ See for example the triad of a king seated between Hathor and Isis, modified and reinscribed for Ramesses II, cf. EATON-KRAUSS 1991, 19; VANDERSLEYEN 1997, 285–290; LORAND 2011, 73–87). The torso of Amenhotep II in Cairo CG 615 (SOUROUZIAN 1991, 65) might have been also reused or at least adapted in the Ramesside Period, since a circular unpolished disc with a mortise at the top of the head is visible, which once allowed to add a high crown above the *nemes*.

high crown increases considerably the dimensions and weight of the original block to be carved. This is particularly true for the sphinxes:⁶ sculpting them directly with a double crown from a monolithic block would have caused a considerable loss of material.

Head U5070-6 shows on its upper part four regular tool-marks, 11 cm wide (Fig. 9–10). These traces of the dismantling of the statue were probably made in order to reduce it into construction blocks for new building purposes. Such traces are observable on a wide range of granite fragments found in Matariya, notably in Suq el-Khamis. Similar traces of (interrupted) dismantling can be found, among many other examples from other sites, on the colossi of Marmesha (Cairo JE 37466 and 37467) or on the Middle Kingdom colossus reused by

Ramesses II and Merenptah (Berlin ÄM 7264; New York MMA L.2011.42). Dating the dismantling of Matariya's statues is not easy, in the current state of knowledge of the archaeological context. However, such regular tool marks must have been made with chisels in very hard metal alloys or iron, since copper alloys can hardly produce any kind of tool capable of cutting granite. Although it is not easy to date the development of the common use of iron in Egypt for tools, it does not seem to have predated the mid-1st millennium BC (OGDEN 2000, 166–168). This does not provide a precise indication, but it is likely that the large scale dismantling of Matariya's statues for new building purposes did not occur before the Ptolemaic Period, and may have happened even much later, in the Roman Period or even perhaps on the occasion of the construction of Islamic Cairo.



Fig. 1:
Head of a monumental granite statue [Inv. No. U4936-1] (Side view; photo: S. Connor).

⁶ For example, the two giant granite sphinxes of Amenhotep III now in Saint Petersburg (SOLKIN 2007, 1713–1718), the two limestone sphinxes of Ramesses II from Karnak, Cairo JE 35811 and TR 2.11.24.2 (SOUROUZIAN 2016, 272–274, fig. 20–24), the Ramesside sandstone sphinxes from Karnak (Turin Cat. 1408–1409, CONNOR 2016, 108–111), or, even in smaller dimensions but in more precious material, the little calcite-alabaster sphinx of Tutankhamun from the Luxor Cachette (EL-SAGHIR 1991, 42–43).

3.2.2



Fig. 2:
Head of a monumental granite statue
[Inv. No. U4936-1]
(3/4 view; photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 3:
Head of a monumental granite statue
[Inv. No. U4936-1]
(Front view; photo: S. Connor).

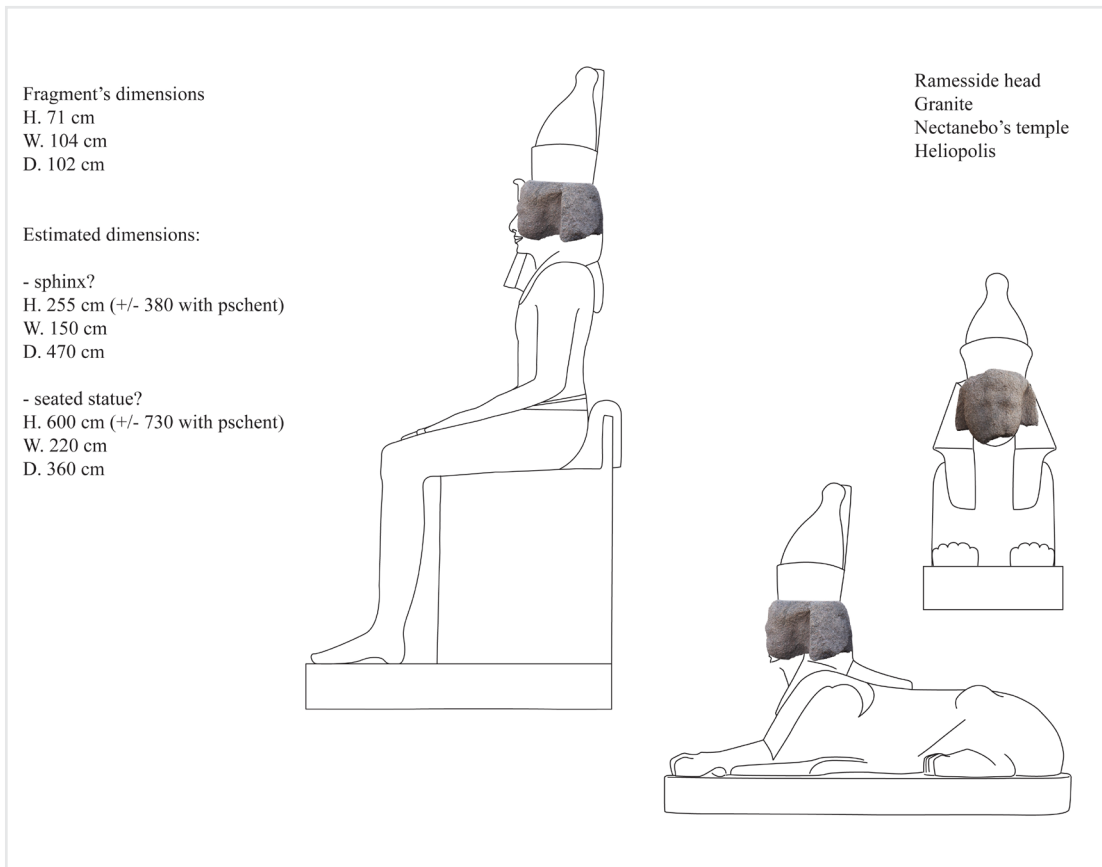


Fig. 4:
Possible original appearance of the statue
[Inv. No. U4936-1]
(Reconstruction: S. Connor).

3.2.2



Fig. 5:
Head of a monumental granite statue
[Inv. No. U5070-6]
(Front view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 6:
Head of a monumental granite statue
[Inv. No. U5070-6]
(Rear view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 7:
Head of a monumental granite statue
[Inv. No. U5070-6]
(Side view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 8:
Head of a monumental granite statue
[Inv. No. U5070-6]
(3/4 view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 9:
Head of a monumental granite statue
[Inv. No. U5070-6]
(Top view, with
several tool marks;
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 10:
Tool marks on head
[Inv. No. U5070-6]
(Photo: S. Connor).

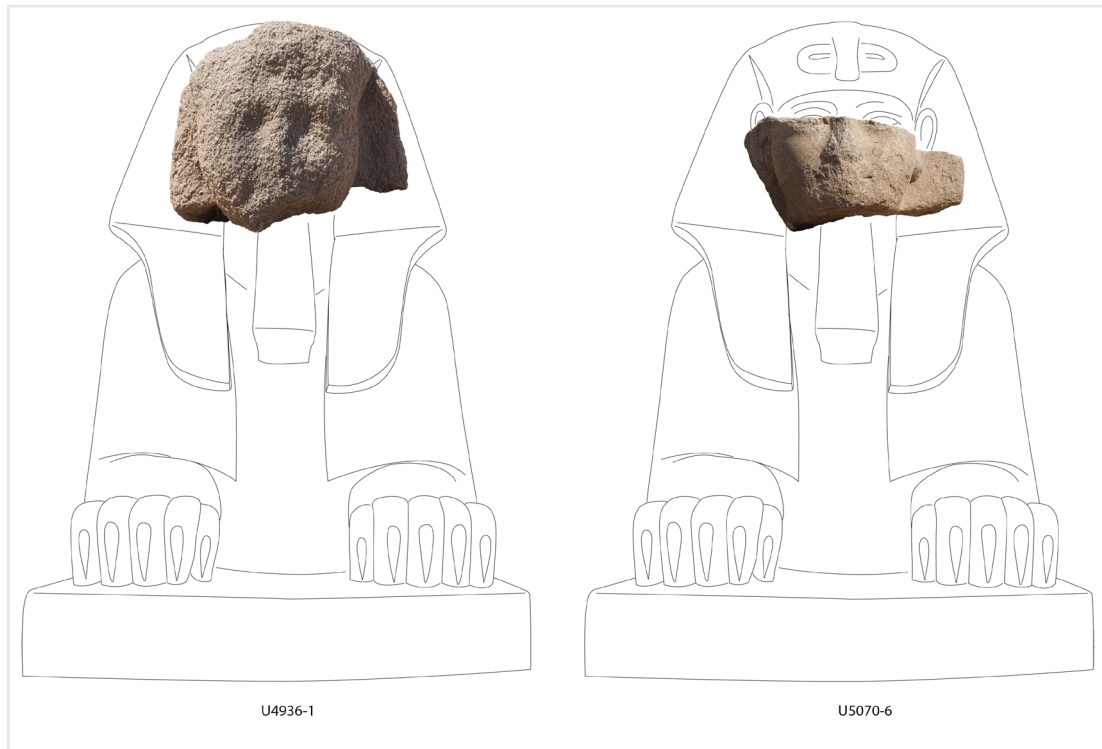


Fig. 11:
Possible original
appearance of the
two statues
(Reconstruction:
S. Connor).

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A Colossal Statue of King Merenptah Prostrating Himself

(Inv. No. U4809-2 & U4855-11)

Simon Connor

Dating:	19th Dynasty, reign of Merenptah (1213–1203 BC)
Material:	Granite
Dimensions:	Torso U4809-2 (ex: 213WY-1-2): H. 120; W. 125; D. 100 cm; rear section of the base U4855-11 (ex: 213WX-5-11): H. 54; W. 81; D. 131 cm
Find spot:	Area 221, squares 668/433 (torso) and 667/433 (fragment of base)

The excavations of 2015 in Area 221, in the middle of the archaeological site of Matariya, brought to light two fragments of a massive granite statue of Merenptah, kneeling on the left knee, his right leg stretched behind him and his arms extended forward, a position which we find in Egyptological literature called “prostrate” (even if this term is perhaps not entirely correct, since the king is not represented flat on his stomach, see Fig. 1a–d and 3a–b). Originally approximately 260 cm high and more than 360 cm long, it is the largest extant statue of a king in this pose. It offers a new glimpse into the exceptional and creative sculptural repertoire which must once have adorned the temenos of ancient Heliopolis.

These two fragments (Fig. 1–2) were discovered in the centre of the temenos of the cultic centre of Heliopolis, in the middle of the area which is today called Misraa es-Segun, west of the obelisk of Senusret I. The excavation of Area 221 was aimed at identifying and studying the

western limits of the “fort bank” or “high sand”, the mud bricks and sand embankment first identified by Schiaparelli and Petrie, in the centre of the temenos.¹ A large number of basalt, quartzite and limestone architectural fragments were found, evidence of a temple dedicated to “Atum, Lord of Heliopolis,” built (or completed or rebuilt) by Nectanebo I (ASHMAWY/RAUE/BEIERSDORF 2015, 13–16; ASHMAWY/RAUE 2016, 4–9).

As commonly attested in Pharaonic history, the statue of Merenptah, some eight hundred years older than this temple, may have been brought to this later structure – unless the temple of the 4th century BC was built to replace a Ramesside structure, as is suggested by the numerous architectural blocks with cartouches of Ramesses II and Merenptah that were found in the area: this location, in the middle of the sacred temenos of Heliopolis, can hardly have been left empty during most of the Pharaonic Period. Another possibility that could explain the presence of

¹ PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 3–4; QUIRKE 2001, 115–119; VERNER 2013, 55–59; SBRIGLIO/UGLIANO 2015, 278–293 (particularly 284–288).

a statue of Merenptah among the remains of a temple of Nectanebo I may be the reuse of ancient sculpture as building blocks in a more recent structure, a practice well known in Pharaonic Egypt.² Although the state of preservation of the surface does not allow us to identify traces of intentional cutting, the shape of both fragments corresponds quite well to construction blocks: the rear part of the base forms a perfect rectangle since the leg is almost completely missing (destroyed?), while the upper part is without all the protruding parts (arms, face, beard). If these two statue fragments were indeed reused as blocks for a building, the statue might have originally stood in any other temple in Heliopolis, in disuse at the time of Nectanebo I.

The two pink granite fragments consist of a torso and head, and the rear part of a base (Fig. 3a–b). Although they have no joining surface, their dimensions, material and shared archaeological context indicate that they were once parts of a single statue. Due to the long period in wet soil, and the variations of temperature throughout the centuries, the whole surface is very eroded. The king wears the *nemes* headdress and a beard.

The wide angle between the torso and the upper arms and lappets of the *nemes* prevent us from reconstructing the position as a standing or seated figure; a kneeling position might have been an option at first glance, but the torso would probably have been more vertical. According to the known statuary repertoire, such an angle

of inclination can only fit with a lunging figure, kneeling on only one knee. The shape of the other fragment confirms this reconstruction: the base appears to have been long and narrow, and only the right leg appears on the preserved part. The foot and knee were directly attached to the base, which means that the lower part of the leg was in a horizontal position, while the left leg must have been placed in front, just under the torso, as suggested by the comparison with other statues in the “prostrate” position (see list on Tab. 1).

The king was shown presenting an object in front of him, but this has not (yet) been found. On this type of statue, the angle of the upper body varies according to the height of the offering; in this case, like in that of the statue of Sety I reused by Osorkon II (Cairo CG 1040 + CG 881 + Philadelphia E 16199), the object must have been quite high, forcing the king to raise his upper body; it may have been a stela or an offering table on a sort of podium or pedestal.³

This statuary type, although relatively rare in the repertoire, clearly relates to a sort of ritual or cultic activity. The king is not only kneeling, but stooping in a submissive attitude in front of the deity. On one small example of a prostrate statue found in Karnak, Ramesses II offers his name, formed by three little figures seated on the hieroglyphic sign *mr*, as a kind of rebus (*R^c-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn*), while on two others, the bases of the statuettes are engraved with persea branches, the leaves of which bear the cartouches

² See, among many other examples, the fragments of Amenhotep III’s monumental sphinxes and jackal statues from Kom el-Hettan, reused as construction blocks for the Temple of Millions of Years of Merenptah in Western Thebes (JARITZ 2003, 235–236).

³ For the statue of Sety I, the object was transformed, probably when the statue was reused for Osorkon II, into a stela. Originally, it seems to have been an offering table or maybe, as suggested by H. Sourouzian, a model of a temple (SOUROUZIAN 2010, 97–105).

of Ramesses.⁴ According to M. MATTHIEW (1930, 31–32) and H. G. FISCHER (1956, 27–42), these statues were a representation of the sovereign performing the submission of his name to the gods, as part of the coronation ceremonies.⁵ The perseba branches might be a reference to the sacred *ished* tree of Heliopolis, on the leaves of which the gods are supposed to write the name of the king (KÁKOSY 1980, col. 182–183).

The first attestations of the half-kneeling or prostrate position in royal statuary are depicted in the Theban tomb of the vizier Rekhmira (TT 100): Rekhmira is supervising the delivery of royal statues to the temple of Amun in Karnak, among which are two figures that represent Thutmose III in the prostrating position, one presenting an offering table and the other with his hands turned down, as a sign of veneration (DAVIES 1943, 37, pl. 36–38). A head in Brussels (MRAH E 2435), stylistically attributable to Thutmose III, is the first fragment known so far of an example of this type of statue (LABOURY 1998, 349–351, 430, cat. A 16; ID. 2009, 413–426). Depictions of sacred barques, on the walls of the temples, show one or two figures of the king in this position, facing the shrine. In sculpture in the round, only a few pieces from the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, and a large one from the Late Period, are known (see Tab. 1).

Despite the crumbling state of conservation of the surface, the cartouche of Merenptah can still be recognized on the proper right shoulder: *B3-n-[R']-mr.y-Imn* (Fig. 4a–b). When dealing with this king, we can of course wonder whether the statue is an original of his reign, or if it was reused from an earlier period. The Ramesside sovereigns, in particular Ramesses II, Merenptah, and Ramesses III, are some of the most prolific re-users of ancient statues and monuments, to such an extent that in many cases, doubt remains concerning the dating of a piece, particularly when the physiognomy of the sculptures was modified in order to correspond better to Ramesside style and the identity of the new “owner”.⁷

In the case of this statue, the absence of a face renders the task difficult. The vertical grooves on the side of the shoulder, although attested earlier, are particularly deep and frequent on large Ramesside statues. The statue shows a striking musculature, with massive shoulders, a feature that reminds us of Amenhotep II’s sculpture,⁸ but which is hardly sufficient to attribute it to this king.

If most of the statues that have come to us with the name of Merenptah are indeed reused from earlier periods, a few others, also in granite and of large dimensions, show no signs of recarving

⁴ Cairo CG 42144, CG 42142 and CG 42143. MATTHIEW 1930, 31–32.

⁵ See also comments of LABOURY 2009, 413–426, particularly 422–424.

⁶ About this statuary type, see SOUROUZIAN 2020, 203–209.

⁷ Concerning reuse of statues by the Ramesside sovereigns, and particularly those which bear modification of the physiognomy, see SOUROUZIAN 1988, 229–254; ID. 1995, 505–543; CONNOR 2015, 85–109; HILL 2015, 294–299; EATON-KRAUSS 2015, 97–104; GILLI 2016; CONNOR 2022.

⁸ Concerning statues attributable to Amenhotep II and reused by Ramesses II, I take the liberty to refer to my article: CONNOR 2017.

and are therefore probably original productions of Merenptah's sculptors (Fig. 4).⁹ They show, like the prostrate colossus of Matariya, a vigorous technique, and a quality of sculpture which is absolutely comparable to the productions of the previous reign.

Although one cannot exclude the option of reuse of a mid-18th Dynasty sculpture, no argument allows us so far – in the absence of other fragments which might give us more indications – to regard the prostrate king of Matariya as a statue of an earlier king adapted for Merenptah. The site of Heliopolis has already provided

us with a large amount of surprises and rare material, and this statue, the largest one belonging to a quite unusual type and perhaps one of the rare original colossi of Merenptah, has for sure to be numbered among that group of exceptional pieces.

⁹ Cairo JE 37481 (SOUROUZIAN 1989, 83–85, pl. 16, cat. 39), JE 37483 (Id. 1989, 79–82, pl. 15, cat. 38), JE 66571 (Id. 1989, 89, 107–108, pl. 19, cat. 61), CG 1240 (Id. 1989, 172–173, pl. 33, cat. 103), Copenhagen NM 345 (Id. 1989, 85–88, pl. 17, cat. 40), probably also the two dyads found in Kafr Matboul (Id. 1989, 75–76, cat. 33–34). Their typology, headdresses, attributes and body proportions exclude a pre-Ramesside dating. If re-used, the original owner would have been Ramesses II, but, according to the known repertoire, Merenptah usually only adds his name on his father's statues, without replacing his father's name or modifying his features. Therefore, they are most likely actual statues of Merenptah, produced during his own reign.

Tab. 1: Preliminary list of statues showing the king in a prostrating position.

	Current location and Inv. No.	Represented king	Dating criteria	Material	Dimensions	Provenance	Object(s) in hands
1	Brussels E 2435	Thutmose III	Style	Granodiorite	H. 10 cm (head)	Unknown	Unknown
2	New York 66.99.28	Amenhotep III	Inscription	Steatite	13.7 × 5.3 × 13 cm	Unknown	Offering table
3	Cairo CG 1040 + Philadelphia E 16199	Sety I (reused by Osorkon II)	Inscription and style	Granodiorite	123 × 44.5 × 116 cm	Tanis	Originally offering table, transformed into a stela
4	Cairo JE 38585 - CG 42142	Ramesses II	Inscription	Steatite	28 × 12 × 75 cm	Karnak, Cachette	Altar
5	Cairo JE 37427 - CG 42143	Ramesses II	Inscription	Limestone + base in greywacke	H. 15; P. 67 cm	Karnak, Cachette	Ram-headed altar
6	Alexandria NM (be- fore Cairo JE 37423 - CG 42144)	Ramesses II	Inscription	Steatite	H. 27.5; P. 39 cm	Karnak, Cachette	Altar with divine figures forming royal name
7	Matariya, open-air museum	Merenptah	Inscription	Granite	260 × 125 × 360– 400 cm	Matariya, “Nectanebo’s temple” area	So far unknown
8	Edinburgh A.1965.1	Ramesses IX	Inscription	Greywacke	20.8 × 12 × 49 cm	Unknown (probably Heliopolis)	Altar with a scarab
9	Florence 5625	Amasis?	Style	Quartzite	73 × 58 × 37 cm	Unknown	Unknown
10	Cairo CG 42197	Osorkon III	Inscription	Limestone	17.5 × 7.5 × 38.5 cm	Karnak, Cachette	Presenting a divine barque

3.2.3



Fig. 1a:
Upper part of the
granite prostrate
statue of Merenptah
(Front view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 1b:
Upper part of the
granite prostrate
statue of Merenptah
(Side view, photo:
S. Connor).

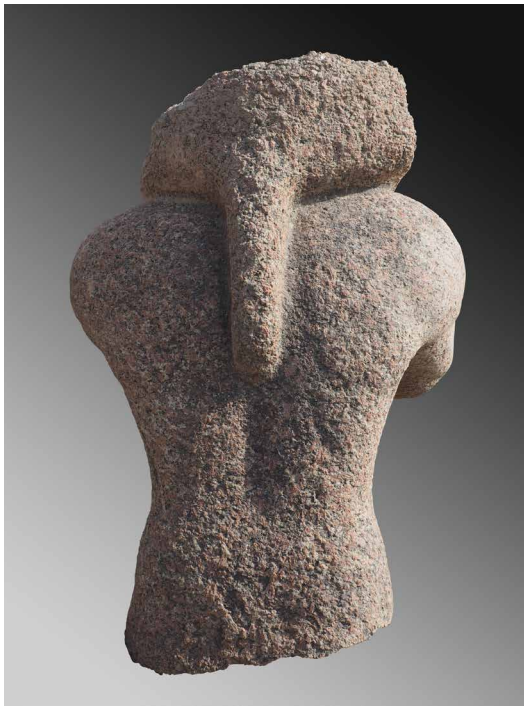


Fig. 1c:
Upper part of the
granite prostrate
statue of Merenptah
(Rear view, photo:
S. Connor).

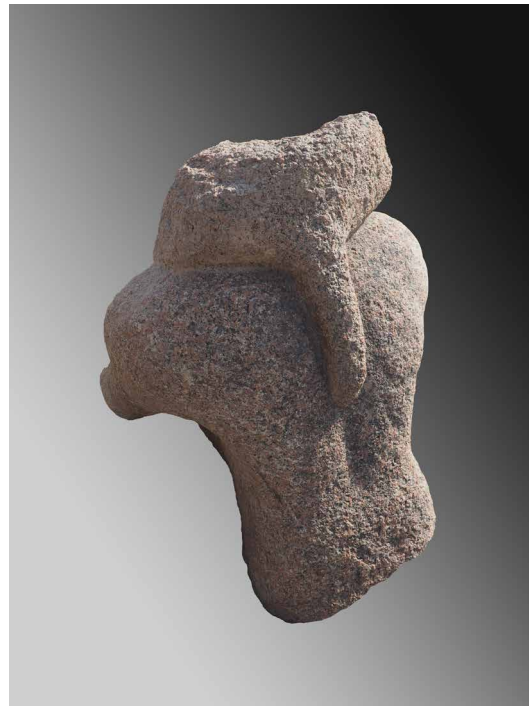


Fig. 1d:
Upper part of the
granite prostrate
statue of Merenptah
(3/4 rear view,
photo: S. Connor).

3.2.3

Fig. 2a:
Rear part of the
base of Merenptah's
granite prostrate
statue (Top view;
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 2b:
Rear part of the
base of Merenptah's
granite prostrate
statue (Side view;
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 2c:
Rear part of the
base of Merenptah's
granite prostrate
statue (Front view;
photo: S. Connor).

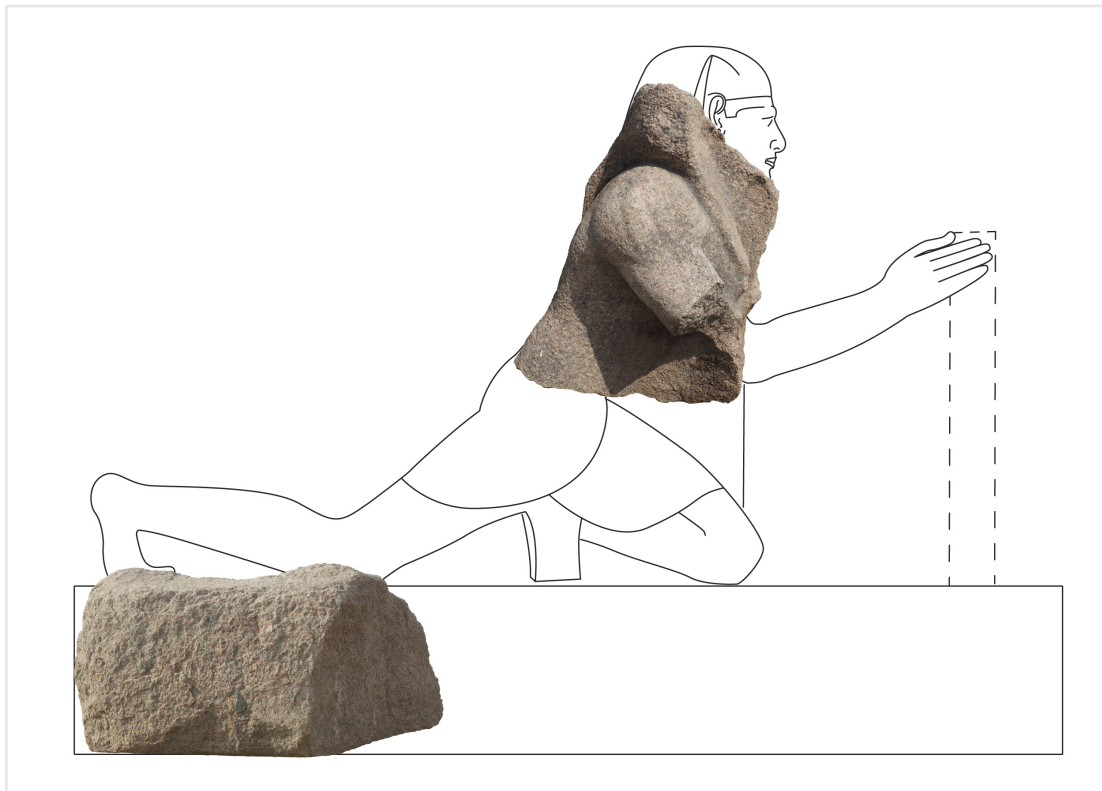


Fig. 3a:
Possible original
appearance of
Merenptah's granite
prostrate statue,
with a stela
(Reconstruction:
S. Connor).

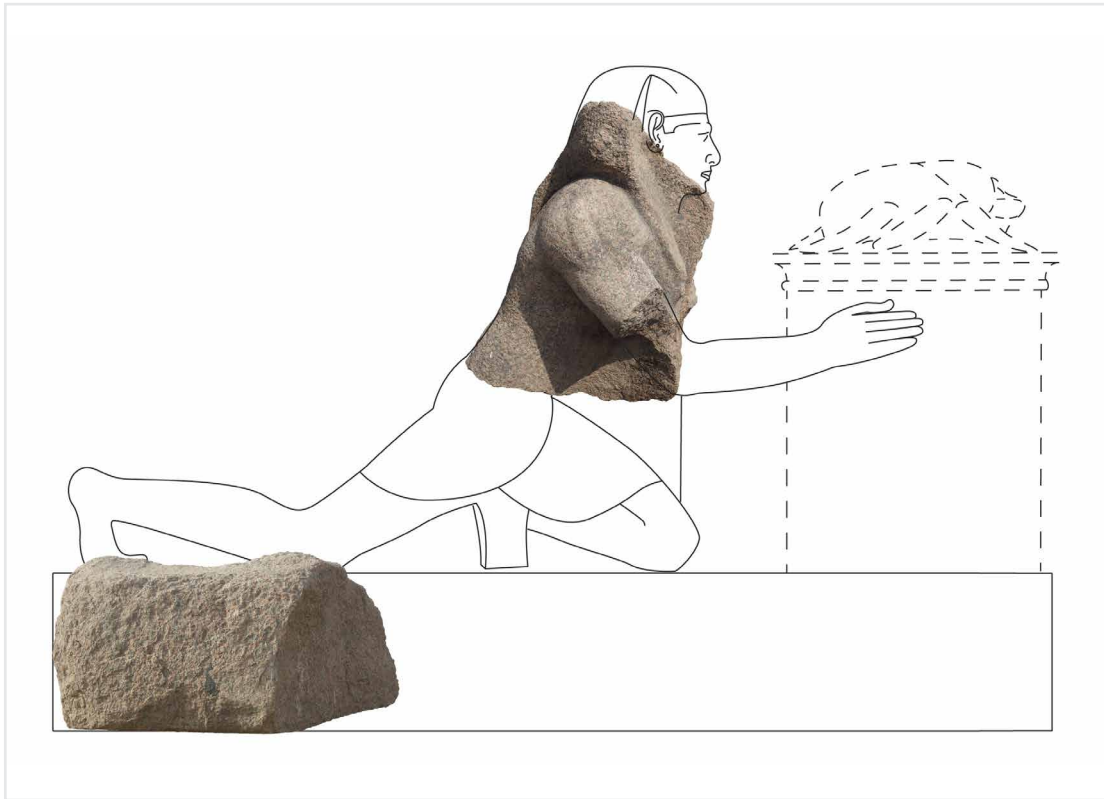


Fig. 3b: Possible original appearance of Merenptah's granite prostrate statue, with an altar (Reconstruction: S. Connor).

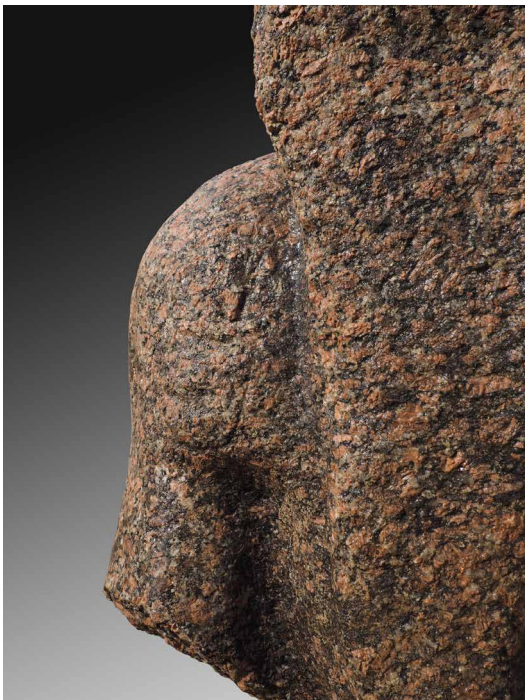


Fig. 4a: Right shoulder of the statue, with the cartouche of Merenptah (Photo: S. Connor).

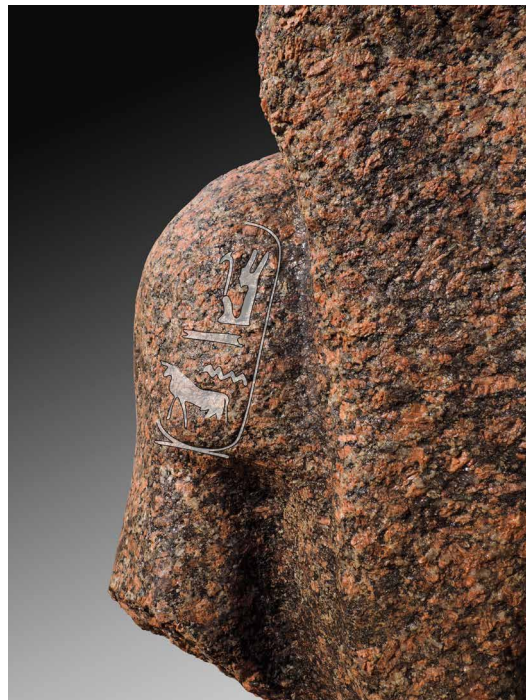


Fig. 4b: Cartouche of Merenptah highlighted on the statue (Photo: S. Connor).

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3.2.3

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Miscellanea from Area 221

Simon Connor

1. Inv. No. U4882-2 (ex 213UW-4-2)

Dimensions:	H. 10.0 × W. 6.0 × D. 10.8 cm
Material:	Limestone
Dating:	New Kingdom or Late Period
Find context:	Area 221, square 666/435

Lower part of a seated statuette (Fig. 1–4). The figure wears a plain sheath dress, long kilt or tunic, covering the legs at least until the ankles. It is difficult, in the present state of preservation, to identify whether the figure is female or male. The proper left fist is placed on the thigh, closed and placed facing down. Such a feature is common during the mid-12th Dynasty and becomes systematic from the end of the Middle Kingdom onwards; before that period, the fist was placed facing up on the thigh (EVERS 1929, 38–39, § 264–265, 274).

The sides of the throne are ornamented with a double frieze, alternating empty squares and

striations. This type of seat decoration is attested throughout most of the pharaonic period, as early as the Old Kingdom (e.g., statue of Pepy I, Brooklyn 39.120) until the Late Period (e.g., statue of Amun and Mut in Paris, Louvre N 3566). However, a pre-New Kingdom can be excluded, due to the detail of the pattern of this frieze. The lateral rear side is predominant and continues on the backrest, a feature that appears in the New Kingdom and continues during the Late Period (EVERS 1929, 53, § 370). In the absence of the upper part of the statue, it is difficult to go further in dating the piece, as well as arguing in favour of a divine, royal or private statuette.

3.2.4



Fig. 1:
Fragment of a seated
limestone statuette.
[Inv. No. U4882-2]
(3/4 view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 2:
Fragment of a seated
limestone statuette.
[Inv. No. U4882-2]
(Side view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 3:
Fragment of a seated
limestone statuette.
[Inv. No. U4882-2]
(Top view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
Fragment of a seated
limestone statuette.
[Inv. No. U4882-2]
(Rear 3/4, photo:
S. Connor).

2. Inv. No. U4883-3 (ex: 213UW-5-3)

Dimensions:	H. 13.7 × W. 16.0 × D. 6.2 cm
Material:	Quartzite (orange)
Find context:	Area 221, square 666/435

Fragment with a polished surface whose undulating modelling suggests that it was once part of a statue (Fig. 5). The preserved part makes it difficult to identify what part it could be: maybe a part from the body of a sphinx?

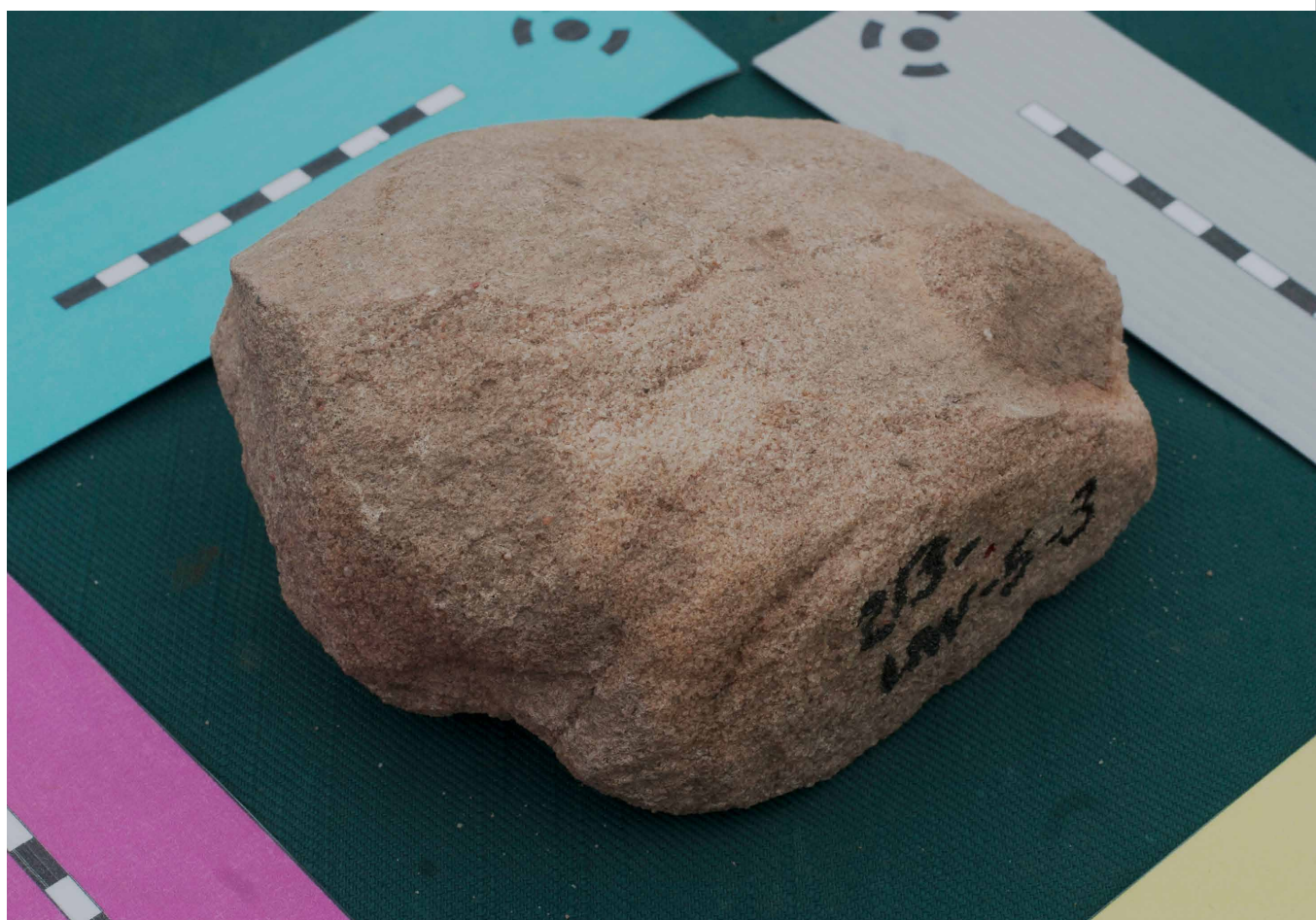


Fig. 5:
Inv. No. U4883-3
(Photo: Th. Graichen).

3. Inv. No. U4864-5 (ex: 213VV-2-5)

Dimensions:	H. 25.5 × W. 14.3 × D. 6.5 cm
Material:	Quartzite (orange/yellow)
Find context:	Area 221, square 665/434

Fragment of a limb of a statue (Fig. 6–7). The vertical concavity on the middle of the polished surface corresponds to the indication of the depression between a bone and a muscle. The angle formed by the protruding edge on one side makes it more likely to be the forearm of a seated statue, but a lower leg cannot be excluded.



Fig. 6:
Inv. No. U4864-5
(Photo: D. Raue).



Fig. 7:
Inv. No. U4864-5
(Photo: D. Raue).

4. Inv. No. U4818-4 (ex: 213VW-15-4)

Dimensions:	H. 11.0 × W. 12.5 × D. 8.3 cm
Material:	Quartzite (orange brown)
Find context:	Area 221, square 666/434

Fragment of a recipient (Fig. 8). It could be a fragment of a statue showing an individual presenting an offering bowl, similar for example to the Middle Kingdom figure of the chamberlain

Shenbu, found in Elephantine (HABACHI 1985, 93–94, cat. 70, pl. 164–165). Dating such a small fragment is, however, very uncertain.



Fig. 8:
Inv. No. U4818-4
(Photo: D. Raue).

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4. Central Sector Area 248

4.1 Introduction to Area 248 – The Amun Temple of Heliopolis

4.2 Area 248: Sculpture

4.2.1 Fragments of a Colossal Statue

4.2.2 Torso of a Male Deity

Introduction to Area 248 – The Amun Temple of Heliopolis

Aiman Ashmawy and Dietrich Raue

The second major temple unit, located east of the temple of Area 200–203 was dedicated to Amun and Mut (Fig. 1). Rescue excavations were carried out during the spring and autumn of 2016 in preparation for modern municipal construction projects.

The sanctuary was thoroughly destroyed by quarrying and reuse of its limestone blocks in more recent periods and no original context features were observed. The debris covered an area of about 90 × 40 metres, containing a small number of brown quartzite and granite chips, and almost no other materials such as basalt or granodiorite.

Nevertheless, the northern sondages yielded at least two fragments of quartzite colossal statuary and another fragment from a smaller representation of a divinity made of the same material (see below). Therefore, it may be reasoned that this temple faced the main processional axis of the precinct with a façade that was embellished with Ramesside colossi, followed by an open space holding statuary representations of deities.

Four well preserved limestone reliefs were discovered in the southern sondages. At least one block undoubtedly belongs to the room with the statue of the goddess Mut, as indicated by the daily ritual that is preserved with a scene of Ramesses II anointing the goddess. It is only in this sanctuary that Ramesses II's birth name is

substituted with Paramessu (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017a, 18–19). This substitution might be a reminder of the king's grandfather Paramessu and might point to additional aspects of the Ramesside ancestor cults. The divinisation of prominent members of the Ramesside dynasties (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017 b, 37–38 with note 20; RAUE 2016–2017, 103) requires further study because this temple currently holds the only known occurrence of this name.

Sufficient epigraphic evidence has survived in the limestone debris layers to ascertain the dedication to the goddess Mut with the epithet: *hnt.yt 'b.wj ntr.w* “president of the horns of the gods”, a well-attested name for Mut in Lower Egyptian contexts of the New Kingdom (LUISELLI 2015). This rare birthname of Ramesses II along with the reference Amun-of-Ramesses was also observed on a block that had been part of the Fatimid/Ayyubid fortification of Cairo,¹ which most likely originated from our Heliopolitan temple. Whether a third identity, for example the divine Ramesses II, received a cult in a separate room unit, remains an open question.

Evidence for a small sun-sanctuary of Ramesses VI was found in the southern-most sondages. This unit was probably added directly to the southern rear wall of the temple. A small quartzite obelisk and a seated depiction of the king, dedicated to

¹ We are grateful to Khaled Mohammed Abu al-Ela and Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl for this information. This and other blocks from consolidation work at the northern section of the fortification of Cairo were transported to the Obelisk Museum at Matariya in 2018.

Osiris were also found (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017a, 18–20). This structure was probably of limited size since no evidence for stone architecture was found further south.²

There is no evidence for later alterations to inscriptions or additions to the main temple building in the Third Intermediate Period or during the Late Period. Likewise, no evidence for earlier buildings or reuse of building materials from the Amarna Period was found.

The temple belonged to the sector of the temple-complex that was annually inundated after the late Roman/early Islamic Periods, and final quarrying activity took place during the

11th/12th centuries. It does not appear in any descriptions by the travellers during the 18th / 19th centuries (e.g. GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 110, fig. 5), or the archaeological maps of the 20th century (PETRIE 1915, 2–3, pl. I; ABD EL-GELIL/SHAKER/RAUE 1996, 136–137). While the Heliopolitan cult of Amun, and even of Khonsu, is well attested in the New Kingdom (RAUE 1999, 113, 293, 312),³ the presence of Mut can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom (POSTEL/RÉGEN 2005, 248; LUISELLI 2015, 115).

² Area 251 follows about 50 m further south, without any indications for stone-built architecture, see ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2021, 12–17.

³ See also the contribution of Klara Dietze in this volume, p. 418–419.

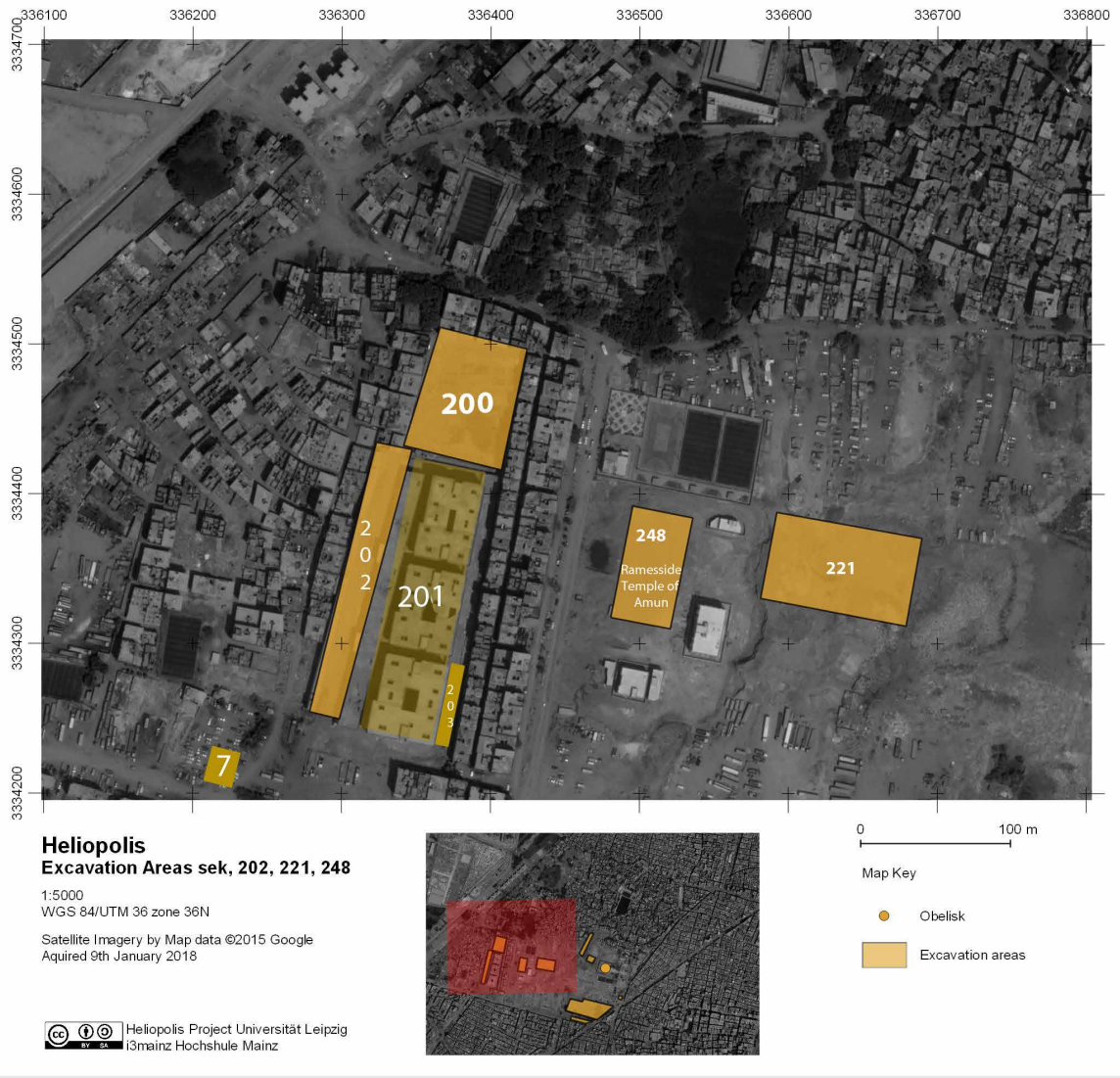


Fig. 1:
 Location of Area 248:
 Temple for Amun
 and Mut.

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Area 248: Sculpture

4.2.1 Fragments of a Colossal Statue (Inv. No. U4313-1 and U4313-2) Simon Connor

Material:	Quartzite
Find spot:	Area 248, section 3

This fragment of a colossal statue was found in 2016 in the area of the Paramessu temple (Area 248: “Youth Club”), together with the torso of a male deity (Inv. No. U4317-5 and several other fragments of statues and reliefs of the Ramesside Period (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017a and 2017b).

Sculpted in a whitish variety of quartzite, the piece belongs to the upper part of a white crown (Fig. 1–5). Its dimensions (H. 67; W. 45; D. 41 cm) allow us to estimate the total height of the crown of this statue at 150 cm; if standing, the statue may therefore have reached 8 meters high.

A fragment of back pillar (?) in the same stone, showing the leg of a falcon hieroglyph, was found in the same context and might belong to the same statue (Inv. No. U4313-2, Fig. 7).

The bulb of the white crown was once topped by a protruding element carved from the same block of stone. Of this element remain only some traces, too little, however, properly to identify its original shape. The presence of an element surmounting a crown excludes a pre-New King-

dom date. The *nemes* and different wigs are frequently topped by the double crown or the *atef*-crown, from the mid-18th Dynasty until the Greco-Roman Period, but such a feature on the top of the white crown remains exceptional, and renders a reconstruction of the original form difficult. Comparisons with other statues may suggest a disk or a scarab, although the latter would have been barely visible from the ground.

Scarabs indeed cover the top of the *nemes* on a series of Ramesside statues: Ramesses II (Cairo JE 41750 / CG 42145, found in the Cachette of Karnak temple), Ramesses III (Cairo JE 69771, found in Heliopolis), Ramesses VI (Cairo JE 27535, from Coptos; on this piece, the scarab is itself topped by a disk), and a Ramesside unfinished bust (Cairo JE 27856 / CG 38104, from Memphis; see Minas 2002, 811–813, pl. 1–2, with complete bibliography for each piece), as well as a kneeling statue of Sety II now in the Matariya Open-Air Museum (EL-SAWI 1990, 337–340, pl. 55–56; RAUE 1999, 374, no. XIX.6-5.2). On the granodiorite head of a standard-bearing royal statue, perhaps another representation of Sety II, found in Matariya

4.2.1

in 2008, a scarab is sculpted on the top of the long wig.¹

A solar disk is another possibility, perhaps more likely (Fig. 6). It is attested on a large number of examples on the top of the white crown in its *atef*-shape, although the top of the white crown has in these cases the shape of an open flower instead of a bulb as here. A disk is also attested above the nemes on several New Kingdom and Late Period statues, notably on a large number of Ramesside statues (among many examples are the colossal statues of Sety II from Karnak, Turin Cat. 1383 and Paris A 24 + Cairo TR 16.2.21.7).² The archaeological context in which this fragment was found makes it likely to belong to that period in particular.

At the moment of its discovery, the surface of the fragment was black in several areas, maybe due to burning. One should be careful before attributing too quickly these traces to a breaking

of the statue or destruction of the temple by fire, but it remains a seductive hypothesis. The rest of the statue, which must have been monumental, has not been found and may therefore have been reused as masonry blocks in a Late Antique or Medieval construction.



Fig. 1:
Upper part of a
quartzite white crown
[Inv. No. U4313-1]
(Front view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 2:
Upper part of a
quartzite white crown
[Inv. No. U4313-1]
(Left side view;
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 3:
Upper part of a
quartzite white crown
[Inv. No. U4313-1]
(From below; photo:
S. Connor).

¹ The fragment was found in Area 200, square K24; publication in preparation.

² SOUROUZIAN 2003, 411; BARBOTIN 2007, 100–102; SOUROUZIAN 2019, 606–607, no. 386.

4.2.1



Fig. 4:
Upper part of a
quartzite white crown
[Inv. No. U4313-1]
(Top view; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 5:
Detail of the protruding
element on top of
the white crown
[Inv. No. U4313-1]
(Photo: S. Connor).

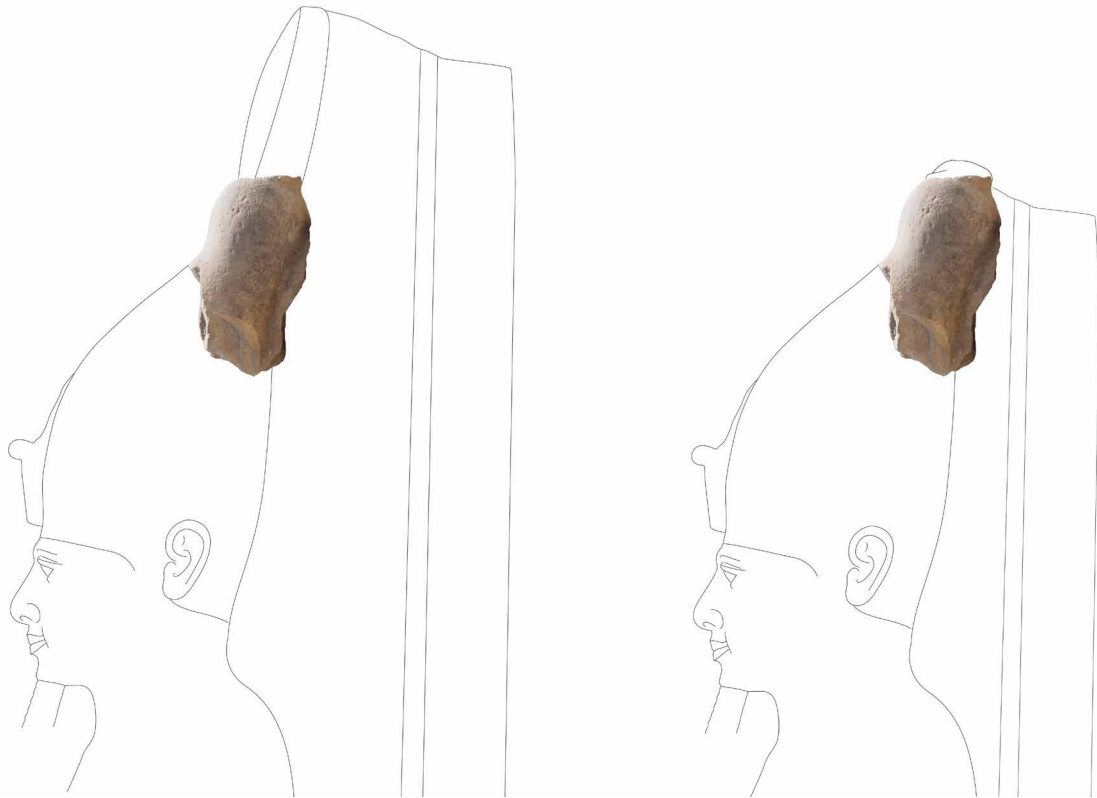


Fig. 6:
Possible original
appearance of the
statue, either with
a sun disc or with a
scarab on top of the
white crown
(Reconstructions:
S. Connor).



Fig. 7:
Fragment of a
quartzite relief
[Inv. No. U4313-2],
perhaps from the
same statue as the
white crown.
(Photo: S. Connor).

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Torso of a Male Deity

(Inv. No. U4317-5)

Simon Connor

Dating:	19th Dynasty
Material:	Quartzite
Dimensions:	H. 24.5 W. 24.3; D. 13.5 cm
Find spot:	Area 248, section 4

This fragment consists of the upper part of a small statue of very high quality, representing a deity, in a yellowish vein of quartzite. The slight inclination of the upper arms suggests that it was originally seated, and the preserved part of a back pillar rises up to the shoulder blades. The figure wears a tripartite wig (which is attested for male and female deities) and a broad collar composed of six rows; the chin was adorned with a false beard, which has been carefully erased.¹ Despite the apparent prominence of the breast, typical of the style of the Ramesside Period, the represented entity is a male.

The dimensions allow us to estimate the total original measurements of the statue as follows: 65–70 cm (without the crown that may have topped the wig).

The elongated torso, smooth treatment of the body and prominent pectoral muscles, with clear indication of the nipples, as well as the presence

of a broad collar ending in a row of pendants are characteristic features of the style of the early Ramesside Period. Close parallels are the statues of the gods Imy-khent-wer (Vienna ÄS 5770; ROGGE 1990, 76–83), Nehebkau (Matariya Museum),² Horus of Hebenu (Cairo JE 89623)³ and Thoth (Cairo TR 7.3.45.1, now in the garden of the Cairo Museum), which can all be dated to the reign of Ramesses II thanks to their inscriptions.

The remaining part of the neck and the traces of the curved beard allow us to assume that the god was human-headed, while the naked torso suggests that he was probably represented wearing a short kilt. Such iconography is attested for representations of several different deities in the New Kingdom. We may be dealing with a representation of the sun god Atum (in which case the tripartite wig may have been covered with a double crown, similar to the slightly older statue found in the Cachette of the Luxor

¹ Concerning the removal of the beard, clearly intentional, see, in this volume, comments regarding the quartzite royal head of the Late Old Kingdom or Early Middle Kingdom (p. 558–563), the two Ramesside granite heads (U4936-1 and 5070-6, p. 220–227), and the limestone bust of Sety II (p. 132–142).

² RAMADAN 1989, 51–61, pl. 1–2; MOUSSA 1994, 479–483; ABD EL-GELIL/SHAKER/RAUE 1996, 138, cat. 17; RAUE 1999, 357; MASSIERA 2015, 25–33.

³ PM VIII, no. 802-106-060; RADWAN 1976; CURTO/ROCCATI 1984, cat. 36.

temple that represents Horemhab offering the *nw*-vases to this deity [EL-SAGHIR 1991, 35–40, figs. 75–89])⁴ or of Khepri (with a scarab covering the wig, similar to that of the Middle Kingdom statue Cairo JE 30168 / CG 38103; MINAS 2002, 812, pl. 1, cat. 1). The unfinished dyad of Ramesses II and a solar (?) deity recently found in Giza indicates that a disc could have originally covered the wig (HAWASS 2011, 124–127). We cannot exclude the possibility of a representation of Ptah-Tatenen, particularly revered in the time of Ramesses II, in which case two feathers, perhaps accompanied by horizontal ram horns and a solar disc, would have been sculpted above the tripartite wig.⁵ Nehebkau is also a candidate for the identification of this statue; although mostly attested as a snake-headed deity, a statue of the god found in Matariya thirty years ago, now on display in the Open-Air Museum, represents him with a human face.⁶ Another parallel from the same period is the statue of the little known god Imy-khent-wer (VIENNA ÄS 5770, see above). The sculptural repertoire produced during the reign of Ramesses II does not lack human-headed male deities represented with a tripartite wig and a beard, and it would be difficult to enlarge on the identification of this statue. The find spot in Heliopolis and the stone chosen for this delicate statuette, quartzite, suggest that it represented a deity linked to the solar cult.

Its mutilation – perhaps committed on two different occasions, first the careful removal of the beard, and later a more brutal destruction of the piece – could have occurred at various moments in Egyptian history, which the archaeological context cannot help to date yet. Seeing the small dimensions of the piece, it is unlikely that it was broken in order to reuse the stone as construction material. Perhaps some act of anti-pagan iconoclasm during the 4th–5th centuries AD is to blame? Unless the removal of the beard, a still unexplained but largely attested practice, corresponds to some ritual performed before burying or destroying the piece in the Pharaonic Period.⁷

⁴ Other Ramesside statues show the god Atum without a crown above the wig, see, e.g., the dyad representing Ramesses II and Atum, found at Tell el-Rataba (PETRIE 1906, pl. 32; SOUROUZIAN 1989, 76).

⁵ See, e.g., the seated dyad of Amenhotep III (reused by Ramesses III) found in Memphis, Cairo JE 30167 / CG 554, BORCHARDT 1925, 101–102; standing statue of Tatenen found in Karnak (Cairo CG 38068, DARESSY 1905–1906, 25, pl. 6).

⁶ Despite the discussions concerning the identification of the individual, either Ramesses II or Nehebkau (see bibl. above), there is very little doubt that the statue might have represented the king. The tripartite wig is not attested for statues of the living pharaoh in the Ramesside Period, while several male deities are represented with such a headdress.

⁷ There are many examples among the statues buried in the Karnak Cachette. Concerning traces of mutilations in the sculptural material found in the Cachette, see JAMBON 2016.

4.2.2



Fig. 1:
Upper part of a
quartzite statue
showing a male deity
[Inv. No. U4317-5]
(Front view, photo:
S. Connor).

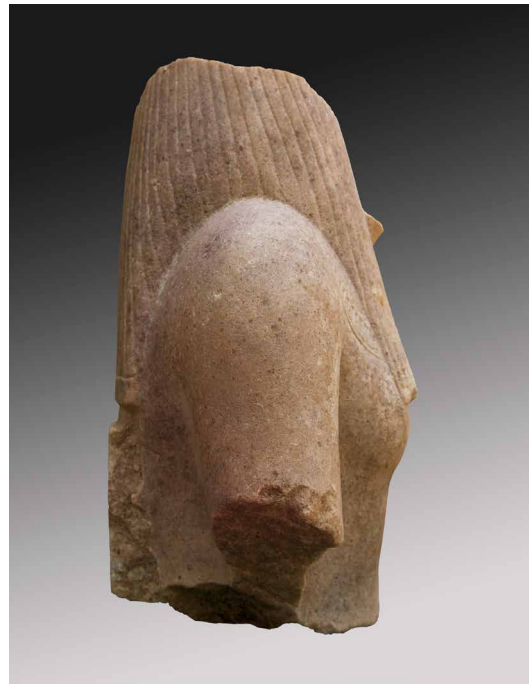


Fig. 2:
Inv. No. U4317-5
(Right side view,
photo: S. Connor).

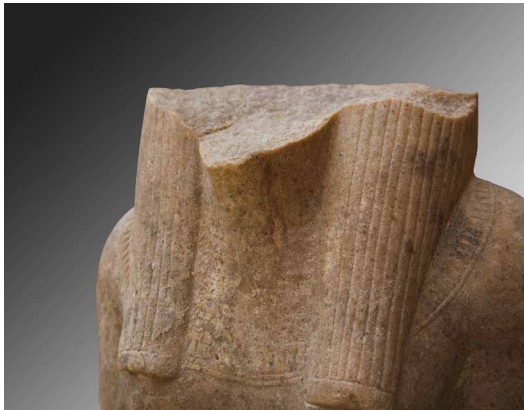


Fig. 3:
Detail of erased beard
[Inv. No. U4317-5]
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
Inv. No. U4317-5
(3/4 view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 5:
Inv. No. U4317-5
(Rear view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 6:
Inv. No. U4317-5
(Top view, photo:
S. Connor).

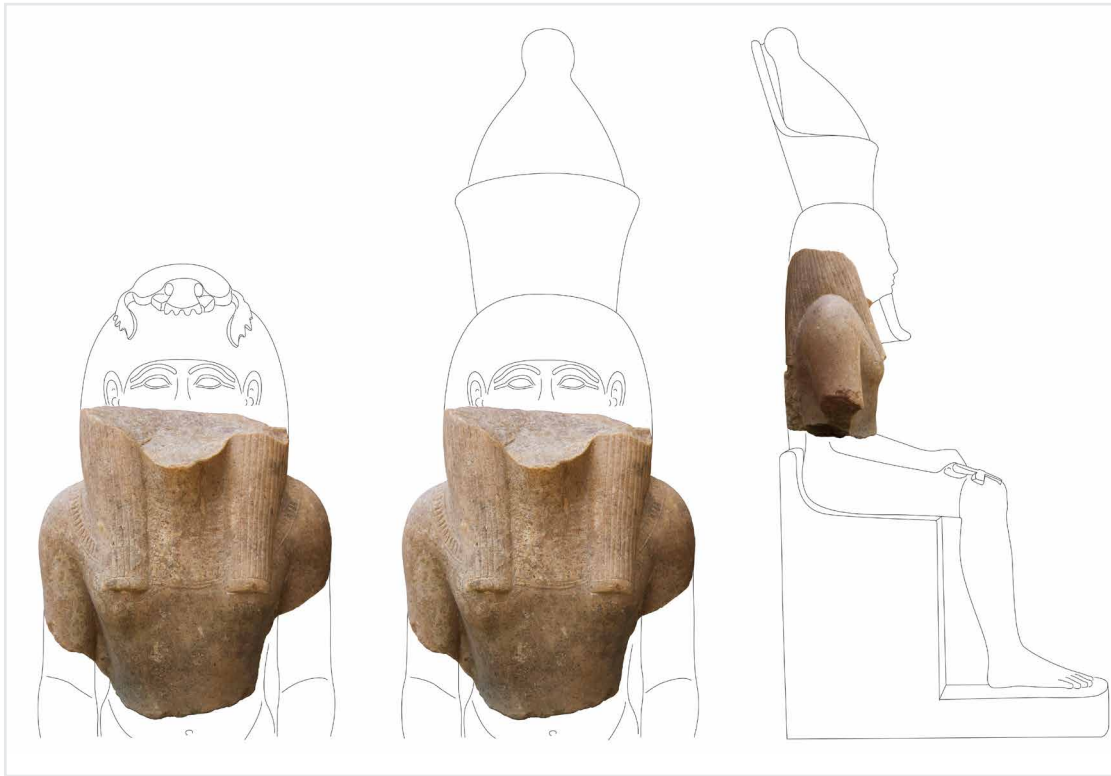


Fig. 7:
Possible original appearance of the
statue, maybe as Atum or Khepri
(Reconstructions: S. Connor).

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5. Enclosure Walls of Heliopolis

5.1 The Late Period Enclosure Wall of Heliopolis

5.2 Area 005: Pottery

5.2.1 Pottery of the Late Period from Area 005

The Late Period Enclosure Wall of Heliopolis

Max Johann Beiersdorf

1. History of Research

While the enclosure walls of the great temple precinct of Ra-Horakhty have been documented by different fieldwork missions within the Heliopolitan region, they have thus far been discussed only sporadically and have not been the focus of individual scientific research. As part of the Napoleonic Expedition to Egypt during the years 1798–1801, the temple complex was recorded and the first ground plan published in the *Description de l'Égypte*. This plan (Fig. 1) indicates that at the beginning of the 19th century

visited Heliopolis and created an updated plan of the temple precinct.¹ The plan of the French Expedition and Ravioli's plan provide important information regarding the course of the temple enclosure, as well as the temple entries, wherein five gates have been documented.

In 1851, the Scottish geologist Leonard Horner conducted a geological investigation within the area in and around the temple district. In the course of his work he came across the archaeological remains of the enclosure wall in the southern part of the temple precinct. As a result, the extent of the temenos has been estimated to be approximately 1408 × 1006 m. The wall thickness was measured to 18.30–19.80 m (HORNER 1855, 123).

The first systematic archaeological investigation of the temple precinct and its building structures was carried out by William Matthew Flinders Petrie in spring 1912.² While the enclosure walls did not form a focus of their investigation, the study provided important insights into the dimensions and chronology of the walls. Petrie was the first to realize that there were two enclosure walls (Fig. 2), wherein the inner wall had to be older than the outer one. Based on a comparison with the enclosure walls of the Ptah temple complex at Memphis, Petrie proposed that the inner wall dates to the reign of Ramesses II and that the outer wall was

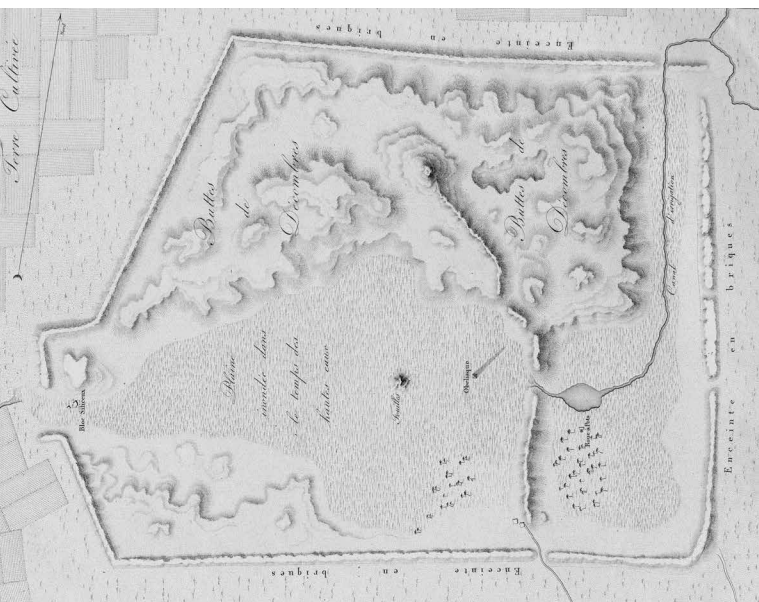


Fig. 1:
Plan of the temple
precinct of Heliopolis
(JOMARD 1822,
pl. 26.1).

the walls were preserved in an almost complete state. Later, probably during his expedition to Egypt in the years 1840 and 1841, the Italian historian and military officer Camillo Ravioli

¹ Regarding his expedition to Egypt, see RAVIOLI 1870. Ravioli's plan of the Heliopolitan temple complex is published by RAUE 1999, pl. 5.

² The excavations under Petrie and MacKay were carried out from 21st March–18th April 1912 (see PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 1).

built shortly after, probably under Ramesses III (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 3).

While several other excavations were carried out at the Heliopolitan temple complex during the first and early second half of the 20th century, the two enclosure walls have not been part of any detailed scientific research.³ Under the direction of Abd el-Aziz Saleh extensive investigations were carried out by the Ministry of State for Antiquities (MSA) in the entire temple precinct from 1976 onwards.⁴ Saleh's work not only provided important insights into the western section of the temenos, particularly a gate dating to the New Kingdom,⁵ but also on the construction of the outer wall.⁶ He states: "The outer surfaces seem to have a little wavy plain, as being laid in alternately slight concave and convex sec-

tions" (SALEH 1983, 57). He proposed that this technical characteristic might provide "increased solidity to the whole mass of the building" (*ibid.*).

A more detailed study of the northern part of the enclosure wall was directed by Mohammed Abd el-Gelil (MSA) from 1984 onwards (ABD EL-GELIL/SHAKER/RAUE 1996, 137–138; RAUE 1999, 482–483). In 1995, the same part of the enclosure wall was reinvestigated by Hani Abu al-Azam, Dietrich Raue and Atef Tawfiq. They were able to confirm that the temple was surrounded by two parallel walls, the inner wall had bastions⁷ and the outer one was built in an undulating construction technique.⁸ In terms of dating, the authors stated that the inner wall has the constructive features of New Kingdom (Ramesside) fortress walls, while the outer wall



Fig. 2:
Plan of the southern part of the temple precinct (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, pl. 1).

³ In 1916, several tombs were unearthed in the southwestern part of the temple area under the direction of the Italian Egyptologist Alexandre Barsanti. However, the investigation did not lead to new insights regarding the enclosure walls. For more details, see DARESSY 1916, 193–212; BARSANTI 1916, 213–220. An overview of the individual excavations can be found in RAUE 1999, 471–480.

⁴ An overview of all individual studies of the MSA, including a list of the digging areas can be found in ABD EL-GELIL/SHAKER/RAUE 1996, 136–146.

⁵ SALEH 1981, pl. VI; ID. 1983, 46–54, fig. 16 and pl. II.

⁶ On a section of about 120 m in length, the wall thickness varies between 10.30 m and 17.40 m (SALEH 1981, 53 and pl. II). In some parts the wall was preserved up to a height of 3.40 m. The mud bricks have a size of 38–42 × 19–20 × 10–13 cm (ID. 1981, 54).

⁷ The inner wall has a thickness of 10.40 m and is reinforced with bastions. They are 6.70 m long and protrude 2.10 m. The distance between the bastions is 17.70 m (ABU AL-AZAM/RAUE/TAWFIQ 1995, 41).

⁸ The term "undulating walls" derives from the latin word *unda*, which means wave or wavy. It is used for enclosure walls which consist of alternating wall sections of concave and convex shaped layers of bricks.

more closely resembles the temple walls of the Late Period and Ptolemaic era (ABU AL-AZAM/RAUE/TAWFIQ 1995, 41–42).

Since 2012 the sun temple of Heliopolis is being excavated by an Egyptian-German joint mission under the direction of Dr. Aiman Ashmawy (Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities) and Prof. Dr. Dietrich Raue (DAI Cairo). As part of a dissertation at the Brandenburg University of Technology in Cottbus-Senftenberg, a systematic architectural documentation of the excavated parts of the undulating enclosure wall of the Ra-Horakhty temple at Heliopolis was conducted during the excavations of 2014

and 2015 (Fig. 3).⁹ At the time of its reinvestigation, the southern enclosure wall was preserved to a height of approximately 3 m and to a length of approximately 100 m.¹⁰ A section of approximately 60 m has been cleaned and documented by drawing to scale 1:20. In the course of the architectural building survey, the entire section was captured in frontal view (Area 005) and in partial cross-sections (squares 241 AL / 241 BL), which served to investigate the connection between the individual segments. Compared with other walls of the same type crucial insights into the construction and static function of the Heliopolitan walls could be gained.



Fig. 3:
Concave
segment of the
undulating enclosure
wall of the southern
part of the temple
precinct (Area 005);
Photo: D. Raue.

⁹ The dissertation is entitled “Die undulierenden Lehmsteinmauern der pharaonischen Spätzeit Ägyptens” and was part of the DFG Research Group 1913 “Cultural and Technical Values of Historical Buildings” from 2014–2017. The work was funded by the DFG and the Division of Building Archaeology of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI).

¹⁰ The wall is covered by a 30 cm thick layer of concrete and is below the current street level. Noteworthy is the fact that the modern street “Sh. Mostorod” exactly follows the course of the ancient enclosure wall.

2. Characterization

2.1. Location and Dimension

As stated previously, the temple area of Heliopolis is enclosed by two parallel mud brick walls, which were built separately from each other. The outer dimension of the outer wall measures approximately 1185 m (E-W) to 915 m (N-S).¹¹ In addition, the whole temple area is divided into two almost equal parts **by an internal double wall**, which has an East-West orientation. Within the investigated area at the southern enclosure, the gap between both walls is around 2.5 m. Whether this observation can be transferred to the whole enclosure in general is not evident.¹²

The course of the enclosure walls of the northern, eastern and southern area can be reconstructed on the basis of published site plans of previous excavations, as well as by the building survey of parts of the southern wall.¹³ The western section is nearly entirely unexplored, so that many questions regarding its course, dimension and especially the position of the gates remain unsolved. Indeed, most of the temple precinct, its internal architectural structure as well as its enclosure walls have not been preserved until

now, mostly due to ancient stone robbery, extensive modern building activities and rising groundwater levels.¹⁴

Within his excavation report, Abdel-Aziz SALEH (1983, 45–61) recorded a wall that adjoins the gate of Ramesses III and for that reason he attributed it to a “fort complex” of the same king. Several structural details, as described by him, leave no doubt that this wall is in fact part of the undulating enclosure wall of the temple complex. Primarily, it is the undulating construction technique which has been used for the erection of the wall that supports this assumption (ID. 1983, 57). This is further reinforced by the characteristic slope on the outer face of the wall, as well as the brick format of $38\text{--}42 \times 19\text{--}20 \times 10\text{--}13$ cm (ID. 1983, 54). The presence of round apertures or holes in the facade and their regular distance of 3 headers coincides with the archaeological record of the southern enclosure wall, as documented in 2014 and 2015 (Fig. 3; ID. 1983, 56–57).¹⁵ After Saleh, the overall thickness of the brick wall is between 17.20 m and 17.60 m (ID. 1983, 47). This leads to the assumption that the convex segments have a thickness of 17.20 m, while the concave segments are 17.60 m thick. Indeed, the concave segments are on each side of the wall

¹¹ Until the present, varying information concerning the overall extent of the temple area is published. LEONARD HORNER (1855, 123) mentioned a total dimension of 1540×1100 yards. DIETER ARNOLD (1992, 204) gives a total dimension of 1000×900 m. While ALAN JEFFREY SPENCER (1979, 67–69) and ROSANNA PIRELLI (1999, 58–61) listed many of the undulating walls, no data was given for the dimension of the temple precinct of Heliopolis. The given dimension of 1185×915 m is based on the map, which shows the reconstruction of the temenos published in PETRIE/MACKAY 1915 and which was overlaid on a Base Map of the U.S. Army Map Service. The map has been georeferenced and reprojected by Eva Tachatou and Kai-Christian Bruhn (Hochschule Mainz).

¹² The investigation of the northern enclosure walls was conducted by the MSA from 1984 onwards and revealed a gap between the inner wall and the outer wall of 0.8 m, see ABU AL-AZAM/RAUE/TAWFIQ 1995, 44 and 42, fig. 6.

¹³ The overall length of the enclosure wall can be reconstructed to a total sum of 3650 m. The building survey in 2014 and 2015 documented the southern wall over a length of 60 m, which corresponds to 1.64 % of the overall length.

¹⁴ The construction of the Suq el-Khamis and the high groundwater level prevent further archaeological investigations in this area. The only findings of this part of the temple precinct were revealed by Petrie during his excavation in a few weeks of spring 1912. The author comment neither on the overall extent nor on the dimensions of the two walls; he describes only the northwestern section of the perimeter wall as being 1670 feet (509 m) long and 44–48 feet thick (13.41–14.36 m), PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 2.

¹⁵ Round holes in the façade of undulating walls are known from many other sites, such as Karnak, Elephantine (Fig. 7) or El-Kab. They provide evidence that with wooden beams were set into the brickwork to absorb transversal loads.

one header wider than the convex ones, which can be supported by evidence from other sites in Egypt.¹⁶ Since one header measures about 20–21 cm the difference of 40 cm in Saleh’s statement regarding the wall thickness can be explained by this constructive feature of the undulating walls (Fig. 4).¹⁷ Since these measurements could not be verified during the architectural investigation in 2014 and 2015, Saleh’s are the only available data. As a result, the thickness of the undulating wall of 17.20–17.60 m recognized at its western course might be taken as an indication for the reconstruction of the wall thickness in general.

The original height of the undulating wall has not been preserved at any point.¹⁹ This is the case with almost every wall of this type. The undulating enclosure wall of the Amun-Ra temple at Karnak forms one of the very few cases where the original height of 21 m is preserved.²⁰ Taking into account the thickness of 12.55 m in the widest parts, the ratio of wall thickness to wall height is 1:1.67. Transferring this ratio to the Heliopolitan wall would result in a reconstructed wall height of 29.39 m. Although these dimensions seem very plausible from a statistical point of view, this is not certain, so that the calculation ought to be treated with caution.



Fig. 4: The wall of the so called “fort complex” excavated by Saleh in 1978 which is the equivalent of the undulating enclosure wall in the western part of the temple precinct (SALEH 1983, pl. XLVI B).

¹⁶ Regarding the enclosure wall of the Amun-Ra temple at Karnak, see GOLVIN ET AL. 1990, 921, pl. IV, 922, pl. V, 924, fig. 6. For the enclosure wall of the Khnum temple on Elephantine Island, see HONROTH ET AL. 1909, 39.

¹⁷ SALEH 1983, pl. XLVI B shows the masonry openings in the convex segment as well as the small step in the masonry between the two segments.

¹⁸ On the one hand, HORNER (1855, 123) measured a wall thickness of 18.30–19.80 m. Petrie (in PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 3) quantified the thickness of the outer enclosure in the western course only to 44–48 feet (13.41–14.63 m). SALEH (1983, 53–54), on the other hand, mentioned a thickness of 10.30 to 17.40 m for the undulating wall at the western gate from the time of Ramses III, but in the same contribution he states that the same part of the wall is between 17.20 and 17.60 m thick (Id. 1983, 47).

¹⁹ During his investigations in 1851, HORNER 1855, 123 mentioned a wall height of 4–4.9 m. Petrie (in PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 2) stated that “at its best parts it is about 17 feet high, almost entirely banked up with ruins of houses and town rubbish”. During the investigations in 2014 and 2015, the preserved height of the southern enclosure wall was between 2 and 3 m.

²⁰ Traces of the undulating wall have been preserved on the large pylon to the west as well as the east gate, both of which were built under Nectanebo I in the 4th century BC, see GOLVIN/HEGAZY 1993, 149–150.

2.2. Dating

Regarding the dating of the Heliopolitan enclosure walls, various degrees of information can be found in the research literature. As mentioned earlier, Petrie and MacKay suggested that both walls were built during the New Kingdom; the inner one under King Ramesses II and the outer under Ramesses III (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 3).²¹ Due to the fact that the wall described by Saleh adjoins the gate of Ramesses III, he dates the undulating wall to the same period in time (SALEH 1983, 58–59). Raue argued that the inner wall was built under Ramesses II and the outer one very likely during the Late Period, considering previous buildings from the time of the New Kingdom (RAUE 1999, 85). According to recent findings, the inner wall does not date to the New Kingdom but to the Late Period and is probably consistent with the construction of a new wall under King Amasis.

Based on the study of ceramics from a destruction layer of the construction pit of the southern temenos carried out by Marie-Kristin Schröder in 2012, the outer enclosure wall can be dated to the latter decades of the Late Period.²²

Indeed, this dating not only coincides with a majority of undulating walls known from other sites in Egypt, but indicates that the Heliopo-

litan temple complex in general and its enclosure in particular were part of a monumental building program initiated by the Egyptian rulers of the 30th Dynasty.²³

2.3. Construction Technique

The most characteristic feature of the outer Heliopolitan temple enclosure wall is that it is built in undulating construction technique, as known from walls at Karnak, Dendera, El-Kab and others.²⁴ In contrast to traditional mud brick walls undulating ones comprise alternating concave and convex wall segments, which provide a characteristic wavy appearance. Undulating walls are to be found throughout the country from the Delta region in the north to the southern border. Even in the western oasis near Kharga and Dakhla, walls of this type have been traced.²⁵

With regard to the outer wall of the Ra-Horakhty temple at Heliopolis the concave segments show a length of 19.70 m with a thickness of 17.60 m (Fig. 5). The height of the concave bending is about 60 cm. The convex segments have a length of 12.20 m and a thickness of 17.20 m. The rise of the convex curvature is about 20 cm. As the investigations in 2014 and 2015 have shown, the joint between the two segments is not continuous, but extends from the facade only

²¹ Papyrus Harris I mentions that Ramesses III renewed the walls of the temple at Heliopolis, see ERICHSEN 1933, I, 25.7. However, the verb used, *srwd*, may be read as renewal or refurbishment, not new construction, which indicates that Ramesses III repaired the existing inner wall.

²² There might be another option at hand. The inner enclosure wall shows within the mud bricks residual material of New Kingdom pottery. The layers close by that wall date to the late 26th Dynasty. It therefore cannot be excluded that certain sections of this large wall were erected later than the 19th – 20th Dynasty. It ought to be mentioned that a mudbrick wall that was erected in year 42 of Amasis (e.g., 528 BC) is said to measure 30 cubits in width, see CORTEGGIANI 1979, 132–134 and 148–149. This would coincide with the width of the inner enclosure in the southern double wall that measures 14–15 m and that is connected to a late 26th Dynasty stratum in Area 234. These recent objections to earlier datings are owed to Dietrich Raue. However, it must be stated that for a secure dating of the two walls, more investigations are needed.

²³ Although a precise dating for many of the undulating walls is still lacking, some of these have been quite well investigated. For instance, the undulating walls of the Amun-Ra temple at Karnak and those of the Mut and Month precinct belong to the 30th Dynasty.

²⁴ For a list of other undulating walls, see BEIERSDORF 2016, 90; PIRELLI 1999, 58–61; GOLVIN ET AL. 1990, 944–946; SPENCER 1979, 76–77, 82.

²⁵ A map showing the geographical distribution of the undulating walls can be found in BEIERSDORF 2016, 89, fig. 1.

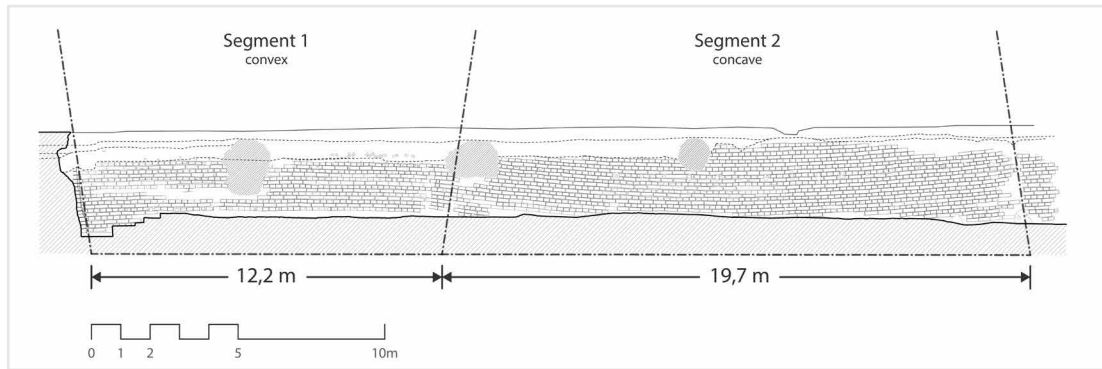


Fig. 5: Convex (segment 1) and concave (segment 2) parts of the undulating wall as documented in 2014 and 2015 (Drawing: M. J. Beiersdorf & L. Dimova).

2–3 m into the masonry. From a depth of 3 m, it appears as though the bricks of the concave and convex segments form a masonry bond. This observation of the wall in Heliopolis corresponds with the undulating wall of the temple of Khnum on Elephantine Island, which was studied by Otto Rubensohn and Walther Honroth in the years 1907–1909.²⁶ While Honroth believed there was a clear joint between all segments (HONROTH ET AL. 1909, 42), Rubensohn stated that one concave and one convex segment were built as a double segment (ID. 1909, 36). This latter observation could be confirmed by evidence from Heliopolis.

In terms of the building material, it can be stated that mud bricks of various qualities were used for the construction of the wall. The average size of these is approximately 42 × 21 × 12 cm. The bricks have been set in layers of stretchers and headers into the façade by using mortar. Only at the very end of each segment are there modifications. The corner of a concave segment is made up of double layers of headers and stretchers, and there are smaller bricks of half the size of a header to fill smaller gaps in the masonry (Fig. 6). The reason for this technique might be to ensure the stability of the corners, and the smaller bricks were used to adjust the

length of the inclined wall. This feature had already been observed by Honroth when he investigated the undulating wall of the temple of Khnum on Elephantine Island (Fig. 7). The inner masonry bond was made of headers without the use of mortar, which initially caused constructive disadvantages on the one hand, but it might also have brought significant time benefits on the other hand.



Fig. 6: Irregularities in the masonry bond at the end of a concave segment documented at the undulating wall in Heliopolis in 2014/15 (Drawing: M. J. Beiersdorf).



Fig. 7: The same irregularities have been documented by Walther Honroth at the temple of Khnum on Elephantine Island at the beginning of 20th century (HONROTH/RUBENSOHN/ZUCKER 1909, pl. VIII).

²⁶ For a description of the temple wall, see HONROTH ET AL. 1909, 35–43.

3. Technology vs. Symbolism – Interpretations on the Function of the Undulating Walls

While there has been no dedicated study of the entire corpus of undulating walls from Egypt, there have been several technical explanations for the undulating shape of these walls in the past.²⁷

Auguste Choisy (1841–1909), a French engineer and historian of architecture, noted that the wavy shape of the walls prevented the panels from shifting. In addition, the organization of a construction site could be crucially optimized by this technique (CHOISY 1904, 34–37). During the excavation on Elephantine Island between 1907–1909, Walter Honroth investigated the undulating enclosure wall of the temple of Khnum and proposed that the concave segments were raised up first and were followed by the convex segments in a second step. In his opinion the undulation results from the slope of the lateral walls of the segments (HONROTH ET AL. 1909, 39–42). The technical interpretation of the undulating building technique was followed by scientists who did not have a specific technical background, like the English archaeologist William M. F. Petrie. He postulated a technical solution for the undulating

shape of the walls by arguing that construction in sections helped to limit the weakness inherent to the scaling of wall faces.²⁸ All in all, structural assessment of the undulating building technique was a major theme of research from the late 19th to the middle of the 20th century.²⁹

This stance changed significantly after 1962, when Paul Barguet, a French Egyptologist, established his theory that the characteristic undulating form is to be seen as an allusion to the primeval ocean *nwn*, out of which the Egyptian cosmos arose (BARGUET 1962, 32). With Barguet's theory the meaning of the undulating walls shifted from technical to a more religious and symbolical function of the walls. Since then, scientific interest has mainly been focused on the ancient perception of the building as Barguet's theory became widely accepted.³⁰

In the course of the investigation of the Amun-Ra precinct at Karnak by the “Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak” (CFEETK) in the years 1990–1993 the undulating enclosure wall there has been studied in more detail. Based on an architectural building survey, the investigation revealed many constructive features of the wall that make a pure symbolical interpretation of the undulation

²⁷ A summary of the research history on this subject can be found in BEIERSDORF 2016, 75–86 and PIRELLI 1999, 55–66.

²⁸ In the course of the investigation of the Osiris temple at Abydos, PETRIE (1903, 6–7) mentioned the enclosure wall which consisted of “towers of brickwork in concave foundations, and then connecting walls between, formed in straight courses”. He referred to undulating walls in his book “Egyptian Architecture”, but his remarks on this technique were very general, see PETRIE 1938, 10–12. Despite the fact that he investigated the temple at Naukratis during 1884 and 1885 and the Ra-Horakhty temple at Heliopolis in 1912, Petrie made no mention of the undulating walls. The existence of undulating walls at Naukratis was discovered in March 2019 by a team from the British Museum directed by Alexandra Villing. The results are currently in the process of publication and have been thankfully shared by Alan Jeffrey Spencer.

²⁹ In the first half of the 20th century, Somers Clarke investigated the city and temple enclosure of El-Kab, which is made of alternating concave and horizontal as well of concave and convex sections, see CLARKE 1921, 74. In his opinion the undulating technique should prevent the brick wall from cracking due to the drying and shrinking process of the unfired mud bricks, see CLARKE/ENGELBACH 1990, 210. During 1932–1934, Jean-Louis Fougerousse investigated the enclosure wall of the temple at Tanis and was convinced that this technique was used to prevent the bricks from contracting and expanding, see FOUGEROUSSE 1935, 33.

³⁰ A symbolical interpretation of the undulating walls, as Barguet proposed, has been stated by various Egyptologists. In 1979, A. J. Spencer published in his book “Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt” a list of undulating walls and commented that this technique does not have any structural benefit. Instead, it is to be seen as symbol for the ocean *nwn*, as Barguet already stated, see SPENCER 1979, 114–115. In a more recent study, the Italian Egyptologist Rosanna Pirelli focused on the technical aspects of the undulating walls and came to the conclusion that they did not provide any structural benefit, but rather had a symbolical function, see PIRELLI 1999, 67–78. Along with her interpretation she summarized all contributions on that topic and published a list of all undulating walls known so far (ID. 1999, 55–67).

unlikely. Instead, GOLVIN ET AL. (1990, 927–928) argued that building a wall in sections of concave and convex shape has simultaneously economical and structural benefits.³¹

4. Undulation for Economic Reasons

Assuming that the rulers of the Late Period were anxious to protect the most important temples of the country as quickly as possible through the construction of high walls, then this required certain conditions. The choice of the building material was crucial and had far-reaching consequences, not only for the entire construction process, but also on the socio-cultural framework of a major construction program. Compared to stone, clay as a building material had the advantage that it was available along the Nile throughout the country and therefore was in close proximity to most temples. To acquire the raw material did not require any elaborate expeditions that might have to be protected by military units. Instead, the unfired bricks could be made almost anywhere by anyone along the Nile Valley. Another advantage of mud bricks is that their production is achievable in two ways: centralized and decentralized. It can be assumed that the building material for royal building projects like temple enclosure walls came mainly

from larger, centrally controlled brick factories. In addition, the population also participated in the production of bricks, as we know for example from the Demotic Papyrus Zenon from the 3rd century BC.³²

The written sources not only testify to the involvement of individuals in the production of mud bricks for royal construction projects, but also provide concrete numbers on the amount of bricks produced per capita per month. This allowed the mud brick production in ancient Egypt to be quantified and applied to major construction projects. In order to calculate how long the production of mud bricks took for the undulating enclosure wall in Heliopolis it is necessary to have a detailed knowledge of the construction volume and the number of bricks needed. A conservative estimate of the original wall height of 21 m results in a reconstructed building volume of approximately 1.7 million m³ (Fig. 8).³³ At a wall height of 29 m, it would have been 2.3 million m³.³⁴ The brick size of 42 × 21 × 12 cm and a total volume of the wall of 1.7 million m³ leads to a total sum of approximately 161 million bricks. To produce this vast amount of bricks, 500 workers would need approximately 1,610 days, if one assumes that a squad of five workers can produce 1,000 mud bricks per day.³⁵ As a result, 1,000 workers would need 805 days and 10,000 workers only 80.5

³¹ For a more recent contribution on this topic, see also GOYON ET AL. 2004, 117–123.

³² Papyrus Zenon 4, pl. 4 refers to a man and a woman, who agree to produce 20,000 bricks during one month, see SPIEGELBERG 1929, 12. The text is stored in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo; however, an inventory number was unknown at the time when Spiegelberg published his translation, see ID. 1929, 11, note 6.

³³ This calculation is based on the assumption that the temple area was separated by an undulating wall with a length of about 925 m into a northern and a southern part, see RAUE 1999, 85. Without separation wall, the volume would be 1.3 million m³.

³⁴ Both values do not consider the slope of the wall. Without a separation wall the volume would be 1.8 million m³ at a height of 29 m.

³⁵ Kemp estimates that a group of 3 modern brick makers can produce 4,000 to 6,000 bricks per day, although he does not mention the size of the bricks, see Kemp 2000, 83. As Kemp says, the amount of bricks depends on the size. The total amount per day is higher when the bricks are smaller. Spencer, however, says that a team of 4 brickmakers is able to produce 3,000 bricks per day (SPENCER 1979, 4). GOYON ET AL. 2004, 107–108 calculate that a group of 4 workers can produce 3,000 bricks per day with the size of 30 × 14 × 7 cm, which results in 2.2 m³ in volume per capita per day. The calculation of 1,000 bricks per day is based on the assumption that 1 person can produce 200 bricks of the size of 42 × 21 × 12 cm per day, which is equivalent to 2.1 m³ in volume per day.

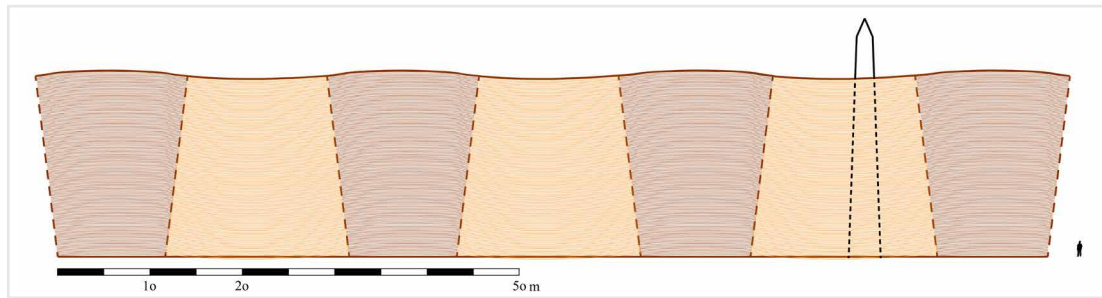


Fig. 8: Reconstruction of the undulating enclosure wall of the Ra-Horakhte temple at Heliopolis at an estimated height of 20m (Drawing: M. J. Beiersdorf).

days. This means that even the enormous amount of 161 million mud bricks could theoretically be produced by 7,000 workers within 115 days or a single flood period. This calculation refers only to the time needed for the production of bricks and leaves many other relevant factors aside which had an impact on the realization of such major construction projects, such as the space required for drying the bricks, or the supply and delivery of the necessary raw materials.

Basically, it may be stated that transport, loading and distribution at the construction site were comparatively easy. The combination of mud brick architecture and the undulating design resulted in substantial benefits regarding the building-process. By omitting mortar inside the wall, the bricks could simply be laid together and stacked vertically. Building in this way is of course much faster, because the bricks did not have to be individually mortared or placed in a mortar bed. Since most of the bricks were laid as headers, this process went even faster than in the case of a masonry bond. In addition, no specialized workers were required for this work, as these activities could also be carried out by unskilled workers under supervision. It is therefore self-evident that this in turn resulted in economic benefits.

5. Fundamental Challenges in Building Monumental Mud Brick Architecture

Large-scale construction sites require certain economic, administrative and logistical conditions to ensure an efficient working process. To realize a monumental building program throughout the country, like Ramesses II did in the New Kingdom or Psamtik I conducted at the beginning of the Late Period, required enormous financial resources. Therefore, technical solutions which minimized the costs might have been of great importance, especially during the 4th century BC when Egypt was in constant conflict with the Persian Empire. For this reason, the range of the building program and the choice of construction material depended on financial capabilities.

Apart from the economic benefits, undulating walls had to deal with certain challenges which are characteristic of monumental mud brick architecture, first and foremost, in terms of accurate load transfer. One of the biggest problems in building with clay is the shrinkage of the unfired mud bricks during their drying process. If we assume that unfired bricks have a certain

amount of residual moisture at the time of their installation, then this moisture is subsequently reduced over a longer period of time. During this process of drying, the bricks lose volume. In case of monumental brick architecture, the shrinking effect can lead to significant subsidence in the brickwork. One way to avoid this problem might be the abandonment of mortar within the interior of the wall. Thus, less moisture was brought into the masonry and significantly reduced the risk of subsidence.

6. Undulation for Static Reasons

As the architectural building surveys of the undulating enclosure walls of the Ra-Horakhty temple at Heliopolis and the Amun-Ra temple in Karnak have shown, the inner masonry was constructed without any mortar. At first glance the abandonment of mortar brought constructive disadvantages, but in combination with the undulating construction technique it would have resulted in significant structural and structural-physical advantages.

Considering Hölscher's and Honroth's proposal that the walls were built in individual sections, then the abandonment of mortar initially had a significant disadvantage, because its function as a binder is to bond bricks together. Once the binder is missing the connection between the individual bricks is weakened substantially. The higher the wall, the greater the forces acting on the corners of the wall, and the greater the danger of the corners subsiding. To prevent this danger there are basically two solutions:

- 1) Due to the inclination of the outer walls, the permanent load in the corners is reduced
- 2) Due to the concave shape, the permanent load is directed towards the middle of the segment

Both methods were applied to the undulating walls, with the result that the permanent load at the corners of the wall was reduced and bricks simultaneously drifted toward the center of the segment. In this way the stability of the concave segments was significantly increased despite the absence of mortar.

From a static point of view, it makes little sense to analyze the concave and convex segments separately. Much more decisive is how the forces in combination with both segments develop over a longer period of time. From an engineering-theoretical perspective, the interaction of concave and convex wall segments forms a load state, which is called prestressing (Fig. 9). Due to the slope of the walls and its concavity, as mentioned before, the permanent load is directed towards the middle of the concave segments. Between the concave wall sections are the convex segments, which are somewhat reminiscent of wedges in shape. Assuming the convex segments were erected solitarily, they would inevitably collapse because the smaller sides tend to tilt outwards. This effect is even greater because of the convex shape of the wall in a longitudinal direction. Thus, they exert a lateral pressure on the adjacent concave segments. If subsidence were to occur due to small imperfections during the construction process or due to volume losses in the masonry, this would simply be suppressed by the effect of the prestress.

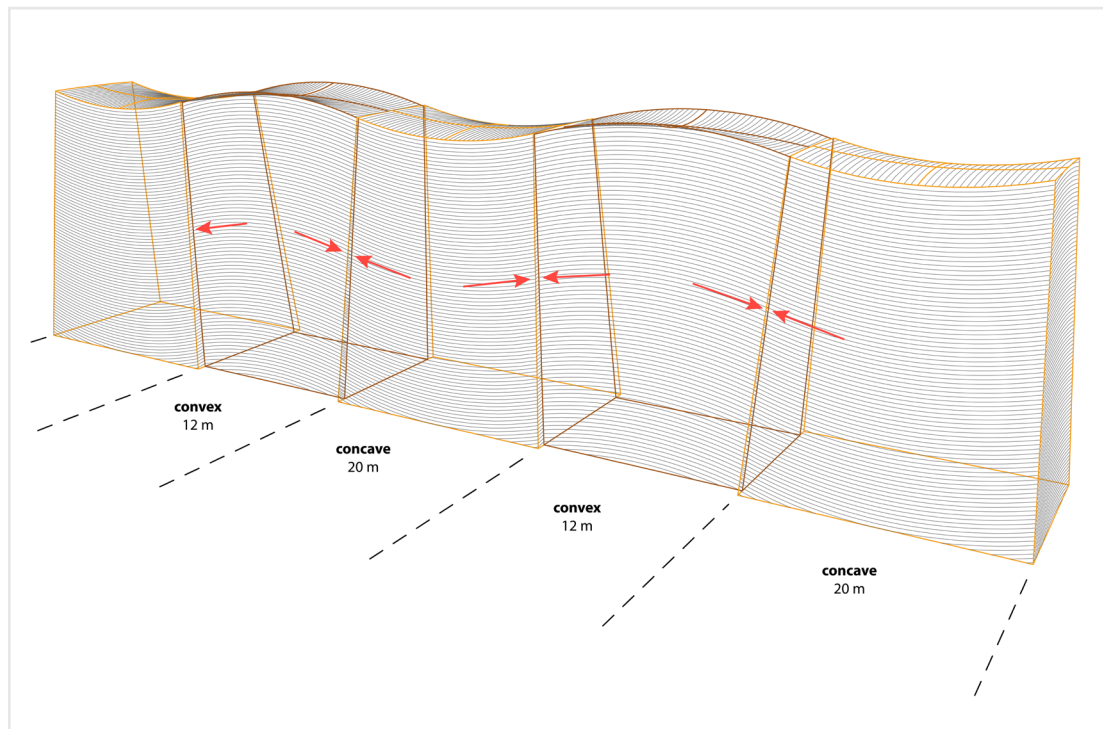


Fig. 9: The effect of prestressing is caused by the lateral pressure of the convex segments and the permanent load resulting to the center of the concave segments (Drawing: M. J. Beiersdorf).

7. Conclusion

As is common practice in antiquity to legitimize royal power, the most important temples of the country have been equipped with new property, buildings and manpower. Especially, during times of political unrest and uncertainty, the symbolic power of monumental buildings was applied as a means to strengthen the national and international reputation of the king. To minimize certain economic, administrative and logistical efforts in the mass production of mud bricks, that not only included enormous human and material resources, but also spatial and temporal capacities, a technical solution was devised. As a result, the construction of large enclosure walls in general, and of those built with a new building technique in particular, required a comprehensive knowledge of the fundamental principles of structural analysis on the one

hand, and their implementation in constructive solutions on the other hand. Therefore, the undulating construction technique can be interpreted as a technological solution to realize and optimize monumental building projects in a short period of time.

Indeed, recent investigations indicate that the function of this technique might have shifted over time. Pierre Zignani demonstrated that the undulating enclosure wall of the temple of Hathor at Dendera was originally built in horizontal courses and then altered by the addition of undulating brickwork to the faces (ZIGNANI 2001, 431–432). Regarding this record, Neil Spencer stated that “Examples of a ‘skin’ of brickwork in pan bedded courses being added to existing walls with bricks laid in level courses suggest such an appearance became important in itself” (SPENCER 2006, 50).

Nevertheless, due to the undulating construction technique the temple of Heliopolis, being the largest religious complex in ancient Egypt, could be equipped with a new wall of enormous dimensions within one or two flood periods. In

the 4th century BC, a time when the Persian Empire was inexorably on the rise, this technological advance was of immense importance to the kings of the 30th Dynasty.

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Area 005: Pottery

5.2.1 Pottery of the Late Period from Area 005

Marie-Kristin Schröder

In Autumn 2012 the excavations in Mata-riya/Heliopolis continued.¹ The investigation of the southern temenos (in the eastern part of the temple precinct) was the main focus of the work. The outer enclosure wall of the temple of Heliopolis consists of two walls in close proximity (only a 3.20 m gap between them). These walls each have a base width of 15 m (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, pl. I). After the cleaning of a trench dug by the SCA (see ABD EL-GELIL/SHAKER/RAUE 1996), the faces of both walls were documented. The outer temenos was built in segments and is an example of the so-called “undulating wall construction” (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2013, 3). This is characteristic for the Late Period and is studied separately.²

In one of the trenches, the archaeological excavations located the foundation pit of the younger temenos perimeter wall and here, a high amount of stratified broken pottery was found.³ This material forms the focus of the study presented here. The sherds have been analysed and categorized into three main types, of which *Type 1* is closed and the *Types 2* and *3* are open forms (see below Tab. 1 with Pl. 1). Apart from a

certain amount of older Pharaonic pottery, most of the pottery seemed to be dated to the Late Period (RAUE, pers. com.). The older material was probably redeposited when the foundation pit of the outer temenos wall was dug and back-filled. Some of the pottery fragments discussed in this study could also be found in the gaps between bricks and within the mudbrick material itself.

Closed Forms

Type 1

The most common form found in the foundation pit of the perimeter wall was *Type 1*, a so-called “neckless slender jar”⁴ (*sausage jar*, s. Fig. 1 and Pl. 1.1–9). This is a tall cylindrical jar with straight body and no neck and shoulder, made of Nile Silt B.⁵ The rim is slightly drawn inwards with a thickened lip, while the base shows a distinct knob. The rim diameters show two different size ranges: from 6–8 cm and 15–16 cm. The vessels are manufactured in a combination of the coiling technique and turning on the potter’s wheel (BUDKA 2010, 193).

¹ Participants were Aiman Ashmawy, Wagida Abd el-Aziz Mohammed, Hosni Badia Hosni, Amr Ismail Ahmed, Ezzad el-Maghuri Mohammed, Heba Ali Osman, Mona Ahmed Hussein, Tamer Ahmed Mohammed, Sabah Abd el-Halim Ahmed, Nadja Gouda Anany, and the restorers Heba Mohammed Ahmed, Noha Abd el-Rahman Mohammed, Ahmed Mohammed Ibrahim, Sahar Ramadan Mohammed; on behalf of the University of Leipzig: Dietrich Raue, Christopher Breninek, Pieter Johannes Collet, Morgan De Dapper, Dieter Fritsch, Tomasz Herbich, Wassim Moussa, Asja Müller, Jakub Ordutowski, Mohammed Abd el-Wahab Othman, and the author of this contribution.

² According to SPENCER 1979, undulating walls as temenos walls are known since the 21st Dynasty. The investigation of the temenos is undertaken by Max Johann Beiersdorf (see his contribution in this volume, p. 249–263).

³ The foundation pit is visible in the eastern section of square 241AQ.

⁴ ASTON 1996, 76 (Group 29: “Neckless Slender Jars”, fig. 221a–b).

⁵ The fabrics were analysed following the Vienna System (BOURRIAU/NORDSTRÖM 1993).

Two different sub-types can be distinguished. First, *Type 1a* has 149 examples (Pl. 1.1–5) and is characterised by a concentric groove on the exterior surface below the rim. Second, *Type 1b*, which does not show this groove, has 22 examples (Pl. 1.6–8).⁶ W. M. F. Petrie reproduced an example of this vessel form in a drawing in his publication of his Heliopolis excavations (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, pl. X.11). He dated the jar in plate X.11 in the broad time period between the 19th and the 26th Dynasty, but did not refer to this particular vessel in the text part. Petrie's chronological evaluation is challenged by D. A. Aston (1996, 31 with pl. 58–60), who claims a dating for the jars nos. 6–11 in the Persian Period.

From western Thebes in Upper Egypt, closely related jars to Heliopolis *Type 1* were published⁷ and dated to the Saïte Period after D. A. Aston (1996, 76; ID. 2003, 152).⁸ A further comparison was found in the tomb of Tia and Tia in Saqqara, where chambers A and B had a secondary use in the Late Period (ASTON 1997, pl. 125, 200). One jar bears a close resemblance to *Type 1* at Heliopolis, although the base lacks the distinct knob as well as the thickened rim. This particular jar was dated by comparisons from Mendes/Tell el-Rub'a (WILSON 1982), where another vessel comparable to *Type 1* is listed and vaguely dated as "late" (ALLEN 1982, pl. XIV.1). S. J. Allen stated that pottery types of the Late Period are generally long and elongated in shape with almost straight necks and rounded bases with

the characteristic knob (ID. 1982, 19). Another case of a reused New Kingdom tomb is certain in the tomb of Maya and Meryt, where a complete slender jar including the characteristic knob at the base was found, dating to the Saïte Period as was the case in the tomb of Tia and Tia (ASTON/ASTON 2010, 128 with fig. 31.311).⁹

In addition, in the context of the mortuary temple of Sety I in western Thebes, three pits within the perimeter wall in the north-western area contained more than 500 vessels. According to K. Myśliwiec, these vessels are characteristic for the Late Period and among them were numerous vessels of the Heliopolis *Type 1* (MYŚLIWIEC 1987, 54–56 with fig. 352–354).

Although the overall shape of the presented jars to *Type 1* at Heliopolis is similar, the distinct internal ledge of the rim is missing for most of the parallels and the orifice is mainly drawn inwards and not rather straight as in the Heliopolis assemblage. This difference could point either to a different workshop or a slightly different dating, further finds might clarify this interesting feature.

The function of these tall jars is uncertain and can vary. Within the context of the foundation trench for the temenos, it could be assumed that the builders used them as storage jars for water while constructing the wall. Alternatively, J. Budka suggests a pottery deposition of these vessels in a ritual context, based on certain

⁶ During work in the Matariya store-rooms, several complete vessels of *Type 1* were found (see Fig. 1).

⁷ See BUDKA 2006, 92, fig. 6a; ID. 2010, 212–213; fig. 80.810–811. Also compare SEILER 2003, 365, fig. 19.2.

⁸ The dating of the afore-mentioned Heliopolis jar – published in PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, pl. X.11 – in the Persian Period was revised by Aston in 2012 (pers. com.) and changed to the Saïte Period.

⁹ Also, at the tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara, slender jars were found and can be added to the parallels dating to the Saïte Period (ASTON 2005, pl. 130).

features in Western Thebes. Furthermore, the pits in the mortuary temple of Sety I in Qurna, can be connected with the process of the mummification, because they contained embalming material (BUDKA 2006, 85–103; MYŚLIEWIEC 1987, 54). However, the context of the jars within the temenos construction at Heliopolis suggests a primary use within the provision and diet of the craftsmen.

Open Forms

Type 2

A further type from the recent excavations at Heliopolis, *Type 2*, has 53 examples (Pl. 1.10–13). These are only known as rim sherds and have a characteristic lip that bends slightly inwards. This type was also manufactured on the potter's wheel, with the wheel-marks clearly visible. No comparison was found for *Type 2* at other sites.

Type 3

A bowl with a characteristic knob on the rounded base is designated as *Type 3* (Pl. 1.14). This form is likewise shown in W. M. F. Petrie's Heliopolis publication (PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, pl. X.8). In the recent excavations at Heliopolis, 77 base sherds of this type of bowl were documented.¹⁰

Conclusion

The tall jars of Heliopolis *Type 1* can be dated to the Saïte Period (26th Dynasty, c. 664–525 BC; BECKERATH 1997, 192). Given that *Types 2* and 3

were found in the same context as *Type 1*, a Saïte date can also be proposed for them. Taking into consideration the archaeological context of these Late Period vessel fragments found in between the temenos walls, one can assume that these vessels belong to the construction phase or the



Fig. 1: Photo of a reconstructed jar of *Type 1* from the store-room at Matariya (Photo: D. Raue).

¹⁰ However, it is possible that a number of these bases are actually fragments of the large slender jars of *Type 1*. But the fragment 241AQ-2-1-5 is very likely the base of a bowl.

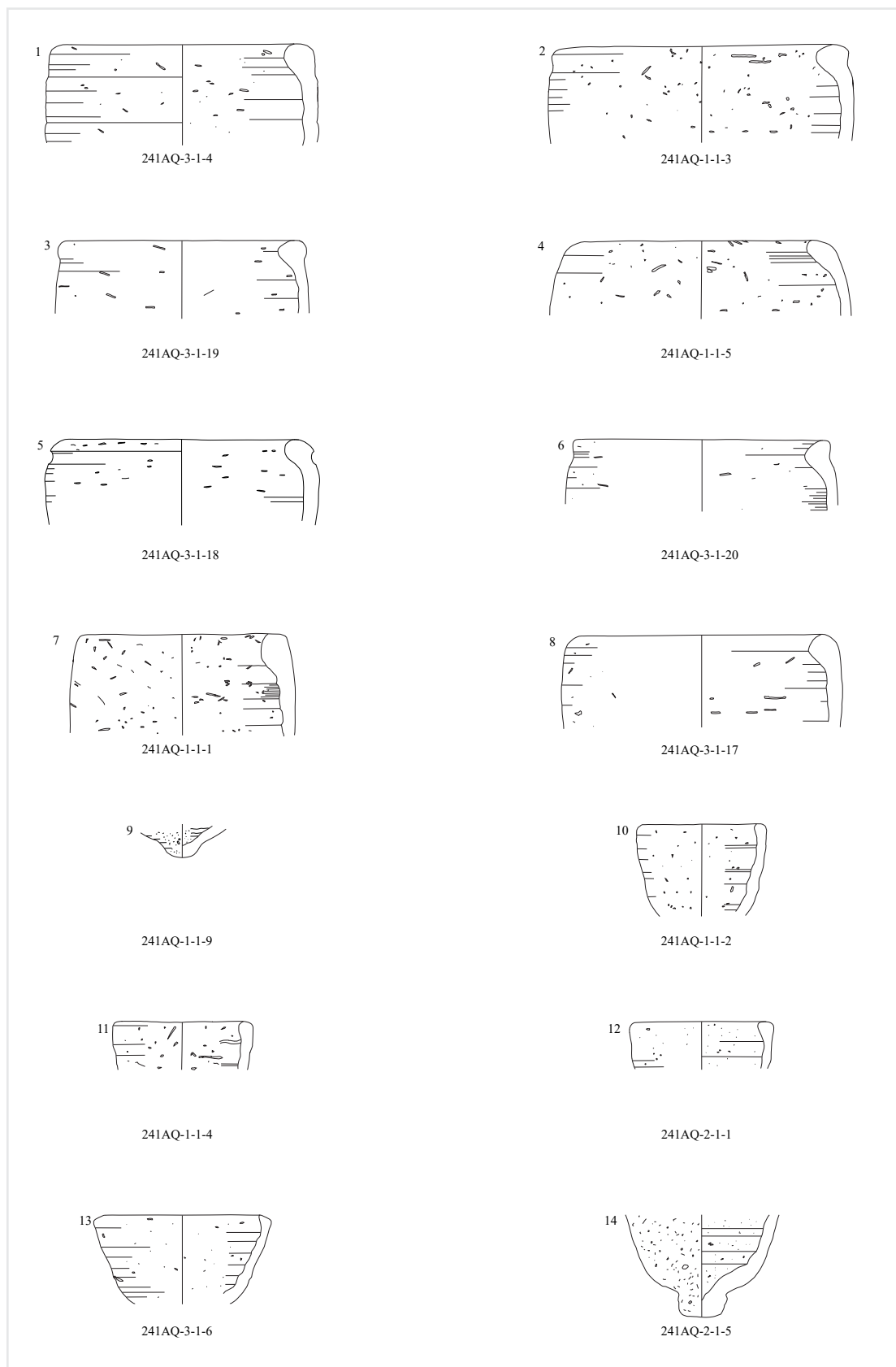
5.2.1

earlier use-phase of the inner wall and offers a terminus ante quem for the outer, undulating enclosure wall. The find circumstances suggest a function of these vessels within the context of the supply for the craftsmen, especially for the many large jars of *Type 1*, which were supposedly used for water storage. One could assume, that the smaller open forms were used as dishes,

maybe in order to hand out or consume the content of the storage jars. The ceramic assemblage is particularly limited in the type range. The high number of similar vessels in Western Thebes e.g., suggests a central pottery supply, in the case of the temple of Heliopolis in order to build the outer temenos wall, which was a large construction project.

Tab. 1: Pottery fragments from context 241AQ shown in the plate.

find no.	fabric	interior surface	exterior surface	dia. rim	dia. base	max. height
241AQ-1-1-1	Nile B	white wash	white wash	6.1	-	7.0
241AQ-1-1-2	Nile B	uncoated	uncoated	3.8	-	6.1
241AQ-1-1-3	Nile B	uncoated	uncoated	8.6	-	6.3
241AQ-1-1-4	Nile B	uncoated	uncoated	4.1	-	3.2
241AQ-1-1-5	Nile B	uncoated	uncoated	7.2	-	5.4
241AQ-1-1-9	Nile B	uncoated	red wash?	-	5.1	2.2
241AQ-2-1-1	Nile B	uncoated	uncoated	9.4	-	3.1
241AQ-2-1-5	Nile B	uncoated	uncoated	-	7.6	6.7
241AQ-3-1-4	Nile B	uncoated	white wash	15.2	-	6.6
241AQ-3-1-6	Nile B	uncoated	uncoated	10.0	-	5.8
241AQ-3-1-17	Nile B	uncoated	uncoated	16.0	-	6.1
241AQ-3-1-18	Nile B	uncoated	white wash	15.0	-	5.5
241AQ-3-1-19	Nile B	uncoated	uncoated	15.0	-	4.9
241AQ-3-1-20	Nile B	uncoated	white wash	16.0	-	4.6



Pl. 1:
Heliopolis, *Type 1a* (1–5); *Type 1b* (6–8); *Type 1* (9); *Type 2* (10–13); *Type 3* (14); scale: 1:4 (Drawings: M.-K. Schröder).

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6. Industrial and Domestic Quarters: Areas 231–234

6.1 Introduction to Areas 231–234: Economic Precinct of the 8th–2nd Century BC

6.2 Temple Inventory

6.2.1 A Little Human-handed Sphinx of Merenptah

Introduction to Areas 231–234: Economic Precinct of the 8th–2nd Century BC

Klara Dietze

Between 2015 and 2021, an economic precinct from the 8th to the 2nd century BC was excavated on the south-eastern fringe of the main temenos in Area 232 (Fig. 1)¹, and extending into neighbouring Areas 233 and 234 (ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2022, 13–24). The topography of the precinct is characterised by a mud-brick enclosure wall from the 18th Dynasty, which according to recent research, might be identified with the flood protection structure (*sbtj n(.j) wmt.t*), built in the 47th regnal year of Thutmose III (DIETZE 2020). During the spring of 2015, we had the opportunity to conduct rescue excavations further north in Area 231, and managed to document the wall section of the embankment.²

Only individual material from the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods were observed in the archaeological features of Area 232. However, from the early Saïte Period onwards, several buildings as well as mud-brick silos make up the architectural features of this area. The open courtyard of the site was covered by massive ash layers, pottery associated with the baking industry, and a considerable amount of cattle bones with traces of the slaughtering process.

By the late Saïte or early Persian Period, a comprehensive expansion of the district is evident. This stratum contained a series of buildings associated with the industrial production of bread and beer. The district, clearly associated with the renaissance of the Heliopolitan temenos during the Late Period, was used for the production of perishable goods necessary for the daily sacrificial needs of the main temple, and thus may be identified as one of its *pr-šn^c*-workshops. The extent to which the stratigraphical sequence can be attributed to political upheavals of this period remains the subject of ongoing research.

However, the remaining Late Period structures appear to have been revived in the period from the 30th Dynasty to the Mid-Ptolemaic Era in the middle of the 2nd century BC. This revival is indicated by the presence of large-scale kitchen and bakery areas containing ceramic ovens, as the focus of the site's use seems to be the continuation of baked-goods production. Since there is no evidence of royal building activities within the main temenos during the Ptolemaic Period, the Ptolemaic activities in the area can no longer be associated with a flourishing temple economy. Rather, activity

¹ The excavation and research project in Area 232 is part of the recently submitted dissertation by the author, and is funded by the Gerda Henkel Foundation. For recent results of the work connected to the site, see DIETZE/UGLIANO 2022 and ASHMAWY/DIETZE 2020.

² For a preliminary report on the excavations in Area 231, see ASHMAWY/BEIERSDORF/RAUE 2015, 3–4.

should be understood - besides the equipment of still selectively performed sacrificial cults - in the context of Hellenistic residential culture, which can be traced in two other areas in the main temenos (Areas 200 and 221).

Excavations in Areas 232 and 234 not only provide unique insights into the work processes of the Late Period temple economy at the Heliopolitan temenos, they also provide important insights into historical events throughout the middle and late 1st millennium BC – all of

which sheds new light on developments within the cult district during this time. Furthermore, a number of features from Area 232 have yielded information on votive and depositional practices from the end of the New Kingdom to the early Persian Period. According to the current state of knowledge, this evidence primarily refers to the Thutmoside embankment, the inner side of which was successively built over from the 26th Dynasty at the latest, but was still most likely understood as a sacred liminal space.



Fig. 1:
Economic precinct of the 8th–2nd centuries BC. Areal view, April 8, 2019 (Caligari Entertainment München / drone flight by I-FLY-EGYPT, Pilot: Mohamed Ali).

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Temple Inventory

6.2.1 A Little Human-handed Sphinx of Merenptah

(Inv. No. U3082-4 & U3125-2)

Simon Connor

Two fragments of a little sphinx were found during the Spring Seasons 2017 (Inv. No. U3082-4) and 2018 (Inv. No. U3125-2) in the sector called “army camp”, Area 232 of the site of Matariya in layers dating to the Late Period and early Ptolemaic Era. This zone lays on the south-eastern limit of the mud-brick structure that Schiaparelli identified as a “struttura circolare” or “tempio del sole”, and Petrie as the “High Sand” or “Hyksos fortress”,¹ and which is today considered by the excavators of the site as a kind of embankment of the New Kingdom. In the Late Period, this part of the site was occupied by a workshop area and a stable.²

Both fragments of this little sphinx were unearthed in the upper levels of the stratigraphy, which correspond to the last phases of back-filling of that area in the 1st millennium BC. They were discovered in two distinct units of the area, distant almost 30 m from each other. In the current state of the excavations, these pieces cannot yet be associated to any known structure. In the surrounding areas, the New Kingdom levels are much deeper; it is not impossible, therefore, that the fragments of this little sphinx were formerly placed in pits or *favissae*, like probably the objects found appro-

ximately in the same area by Schiaparelli in 1903–1906.

The piece, made of greenish serpentinite, shows the front part of a human handed sphinx, holding an altar. The two fragments (Fig. 1–9) can be joined and the dimensions of the resulting object are the following: H. 7.3; W. 6.5; D. 10.9 cm. A reconstruction of the appearance of the whole piece, which can be produced thanks to comparison with complete similar pieces, allows estimating its original dimensions as follow: H. 13.5; W. 6.5; D. 22.5 cm. Two cartouches are still partially visible on the front face of the altar hold by the sphinx, as well as one cartouche on each of the shoulders (Fig. 10). Though all four are fragmentary and seemingly carelessly inscribed, the identity of the king can be recognized as Merenptah:

[B3-n-R^c-mr.y-'lmm]-mr.y-ntr

Mr.y-n-[Pth]-h^tp-hr-M3^c.t

Although attested in the 6th Dynasty, in the beginning of the 18th Dynasty and in the 26th Dynasty, the type of human-arms sphinxes is mostly characteristic of the late 18th and 19th Dynasties, both in sculpture in the round (cf.

¹ PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 3–4; QUIRKE 2001, 115–119; VERNER 2013, 55–59; SBRIGLIO/UGLIANO 2015, 278–293 (particularly 284–288).

² See contribution of Dietze, Chapter 6.1 and <https://www.dainst.org/forschung/projekte/heliopolis/5724>.

Tab. 1) and in two-dimensional art.³ This type of sphinx, much less common than the traditional sphinx, adopts a variant of the classical recumbent shape, but with the front paws replaced by human arms, conferring to the king's ability to act, while keeping the wild strength of the solar animal. The human arm holding a vase is itself a hieroglyph expressing the offering action (*hnk*)⁴; we are thus in front of clear case where three-dimensional images and writing are one and the same thing. This shape is in fact a kind of mix between a sphinx and a kneeling statue, a mix which associates the functions of both statuary types, in order to fulfil the functions of guardians in the same time as representations of the king acting as a ritualist.

When dealing with statues of larger dimensions, one can expect them to have been installed in a more or less permanent architectural surrounding, although none of these human-handed sphinxes has been found in its original setting. Nevertheless, the sphinx of the post-Amarnian period in Karnak was apparently displayed, at least in the Late Period, in front of the colonnade of Taharqa, where it probably once flanked with another similar sphinx the procession way (Fig. 12). Similarly, G. Legrain interpreted the two elevated bases at the end of the slope of the embankment at Karnak, in front of the first Pylon, as supports for human-handed sphinxes; he therefore installed on the south base a human-handed sphinx that he found in the Cachette, and that still stands there today (Fig. 13a–b).

The dimensions fit indeed well, but it is difficult to ascertain that this was indeed its original position.

According to the list of Tab. 1, it seems that large dimensions human-handed sphinxes were intended to form pairs and to be placed in strategic positions on the pathways of the processions, at least at some point of their history (the two sphinxes of Amenhotep III, no. 4–5, in Montu Temple; no. 8 and apparently its missing twin before the colonnade of Taharqa in Amun Temple; no. 10 and probably 11 in the Amun Temple, as well as 18 and 19; perhaps no. 16 and its missing twin if its current location after the slope of the embankment of of the Amun Temple is accurate; perhaps no. 14 and 15 in Memphis).

In the case of the smaller pieces (nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 18, and the little Merenptah found in Matariya), most of them in more fragile or precious materials (steatite, calcite-alabaster, faïence, copper alloy, serpentinite), one can hardly suggest a display in such an architectural setting. Under the base of the Matariya piece, a 2.5 cm deep cylindrical hole has been drilled (Fig. 6), most probably as a mortise in order to fix the statuette to another object with a tenon. The faïence sphinx of Amenhotep III (Tab. 1, no. 3) has the same characteristic and its mortise still contains some remains of a calcite-alabaster tenon. We therefore probably deal with a ritual object, which was fixed to a base, a stick, or a sacred barque.

³ See, e.g., the axe of Ahmose (Cairo CG 52645, Vernier 1927, pl. 43), today in Luxor Museum; or the reliefs which show Akhenaten as a sphinx presenting offerings to the sun disc (Paris Louvre E 15589 and Hannover, Kestner Museum Inv. 1964.3 and 1926.195, WARMENBOL 2006, 226–229, cat. 82–84).

⁴ TEFNIN 1979a, 234–237; Id. 1979b, 75–77; LABOURY 1998, 431.

Ritual objects are usually quite rarely preserved and are mainly known from bas-reliefs in temples and tombs. We must keep in mind the difficulty to make the distinction in Egyptian iconography between the inclusion of elements which have to be considered as signs or symbols, and the depiction of actual objects, which were really part of the temple equipment. Nevertheless, it is tempting to associate these small sphinxes with the representations of the sacred barques, as we can see them in the hypostyle hall of Karnak (Fig. 15) or in the solar court of Sety I's temple in Qurna (Fig. 16–17). In these scenes, behind the front protome of the barque, several small-size figures stand, some of them facing the direction of the procession (two vertical goddesses figures, one sphinx standing on a standard), while the following ones are turned toward the shrine in the middle of the barque (a royal figure holding a fan, a royal figure kneeling,

and a human-handed sphinx presenting a vase).⁵ Nevertheless, one might expect perhaps more a metal figure as an adorning element of the sacred barque; if all the represented figures on the barque were in stone, the weight of the barque would have been considerable.⁶ The same argument may be suggested for a mounting on a stick: the weight of the whole sphinx in stone, probably a few kilograms, might have been a bit too heavy for an ensign.

Another possibility would be the insertion of the sphinx into a base, perhaps for a piece like the base for a model of a temple forecourt, now in Brooklyn Museum.⁷ Even if found in Tell el-Yahudiya, in the Delta, this famous object may have originally stood in Heliopolis, since its decorated sides show several figures of Sety I in the prostrating position, presenting offerings to the solar god of Heliopolis.

⁵ Such a human-handed sphinx is attested on the sacred barque of Amun as early as the reign of Hatshepsut (Red Chapel, scene of the *Opet*-Festival, fifth station of the barque, cf. SCHWALLER DE LUBICZ 1982, 188, fig. 109; KARLSHAUSEN 2009, cat. 7a, pl. 3–4). It appears then almost systematically (numerous attestations, cf. KARLSHAUSEN 2009).

⁶ Some of the metal or wooden sphinxes or statuettes of the king in an offering attitude, which are today in museum collections, may have been such adorning figures of the barque (e.g.: the standing sphinx of the British Museum EA 64556, bronze, H. 13 cm, cf. WARMENBOL 2006, 216–217, cat. 61; the kneeling statue of Thutmose III in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1995.21, bronze, H. 13.1 cm, cf. HILL 2007, 2–3, 202, cat. 8, fig. 1, 87; the kneeling Tutankhamen, Penn. Museum E 14259, bronze, H. 20.6 cm, cf. HILL 2007, 25, 203, cat. 9, fig. 12).

⁷ Brooklyn 49.183, quartzite, 24.1 × 111.8 × 86.4 cm (BADAWY 1972, 1–20; WARMENBOL 2006, 116–117, 187–188, cat. 15).

Tab. 1: List of sculptures in the round showing a sphinx with human arms.⁸

	Current location and Inv. No.	Represented king	Dating criteria	Material	Dimensions	Provenance	Object(s) in hands
1	Edinburgh NMS 1984.405	Merenra	Inscription	Steatite	3.2 × 1.8 × 5.7 cm	Heliopolis (according to the inscription)	nw-vases
2	Alexandria Nat. Mus. JE 36722-CG 42033	Amenhotep I	Style	Calcite-alabaster	22 × 25 × 43.5 cm	Karnak, Cachette	Vase
3	New York MMA 1972.125	Amenhotep III	Inscription	Faïence	13.7 × 7 × 25 cm	Unknown	<i>nw</i> -vases
4 5	Alexandria NM - 25792 + Karnak North 839	Amenhotep III (two sphinxes, with added name of Merenptah)	Inscription	Granodiorite	[Colossal]	Karnak-North	Offering table
6	Luxor Museum	Tutankhamen	Inscription	Calcite-alabaster	37 × 17.8 × 56.4 cm	Luxor Temple, Cachette	Altar
7	Luxor Museum J. 49 = Karnak OR 292	Tutankhamen	Style	Calcite-alabaster	53 × 38 × 95 cm	Karnak, Mut Temple, west side of the 1st courtyard	(missing)
8	Karnak, Amun Temple, courtyard between 1st and 2nd pylons	Tutankhamen - Horemhab	Style	Indurated limestone	[a bit smaller than "life-size"]	Karnak, Amun Temple	Cylindrical vase (Fig. 12)
9	Cairo JE 36811	Ramesses II	Inscription	Limestone	87 × 47 × 172 cm	Karnak, Cachette	Ram-headed vase
10	Cairo TR 2.11.24.2 (probably twin of JE 36811)	Ramesses II	Inscription	Limestone	88 × 50 × 100 cm	Probably Karnak, Cachette	Ram-headed vase
11	Cairo CG 42146	Ramesses II	Inscription	Limestone	19 × 10 × 37 cm	Karnak, Cachette	Ram-headed vase
12	Cairo SR G/328	Ramesses II	Inscription	Quartzite	[a bit smaller than "life-size"]	Tell el-Maskhuta	(missing)
13	Cairo, east of Bab el-Nasr, reused in a reconstructed postern	Ramesses II	Inscription	Quartzite	[a bit smaller than "life-size"]	Cairo, east of Bab el-Nasr, reused in a postern	Offering table (Fig. 14)
14	Cairo JE 27849 – CG 1211	Ramesses II	Inscription	Quartzite	60 × 54 × 154 cm	Mit Rahina, east temple	Vase

⁸ This list is the result of a preliminary research conducted for the publication of the little human-handed sphinx from Matariya, and cannot be considered as a definite and exhaustive list.

Tab. 1 (continued)

15	Mit Rahina, Museum, Inv. No. 26	Ramesses II	Inscription	Quartzite	[a bit smaller than "life-size"]		(missing)
16	Alexandria 20307	Sety II	Inscription	Alabaster/ calcite	40 × 17.5 × 48 cm	Unknown	Statue of the god Ptah
17	Alexandria 20308	Sety II	Inscription	Alabaster/ calcite	36 × 14 × 52.5 cm	Unknown	Offering table
18	Karnak, Amun Temple, down the slope of the landing stage	New Kingdom (?)	Style	Sandstone	[a bit smaller than "life-size"]	Karnak, Amun Temple, down the slope of the landing stage	Vase
19	Split, palace of Diocletian	25th Dyn. (?)	Style	Granodiorite	100 × 65 × 246 cm	Split, palace of Diocletian	Vase
20	Berlin, ÄM 7972	Shepenupet II	Inscription	Granodiorite	46 × 25 × 82 cm	Karnak, sacred lake of Amun	Ram-headed vase
21	Cairo CG 42201	Shepenupet II	Inscription	Granodiorite	42.3 × 24.6 × 50.5 cm	Karnak, Cachette	Ram-headed vase
22	Paris, Louvre E 3914	Siamun	Inscription	Copper alloy	4.7 × 10.3 cm	Unknown (Tanis?)	Offering table
23	Paris, Louvre N 515	Apries	Inscription	Copper alloy	19.5 × 12.8 × 45 cm	Unknown	Probably vase



Fig. 1:
Fragment
of Merenptah's
human-handed sphinx
[Inv. No. U3082-4]
(Front view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 2:
Fragment
of Merenptah's
human-handed sphinx
[Inv. No. U3082-4
and U3125-2]
(Front view, photo-
montage: S. Connor).

6.2.1

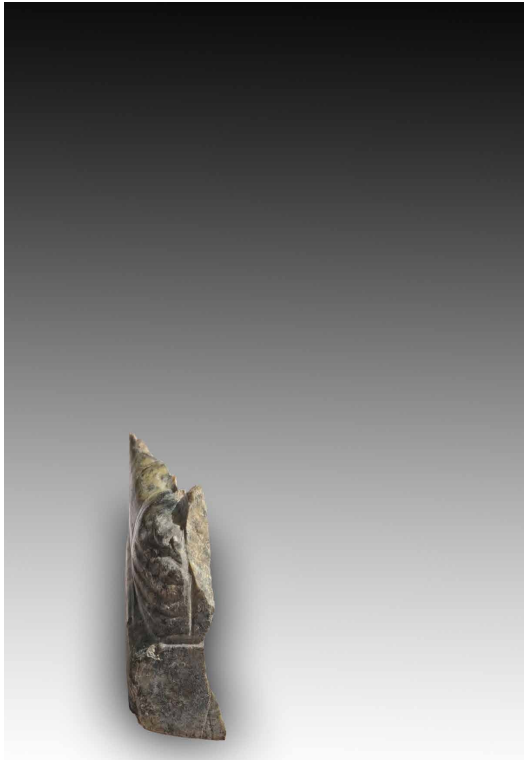


Fig. 3:
Fragment
of Merenptah's
human-handed sphinx
[Inv. No. U3125-2]
(Front view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 4:
Fragment
of Merenptah's
human-handed sphinx
[Inv. No. U3082-4]
(3/4 view, photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 5:
Fragment
of Merenptah's
human-handed sphinx
[Inv. No. U3082-4
and U3125-2]
(right profile view,
photomontage:
S. Connor).



Fig. 6:
Fragment
of Merenptah's
human-handed sphinx
[Inv. No. U3082-4]
(Right profile view,
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 7:
Fragment
of Merenptah's
human-handed sphinx
[Inv. No. U3125-2]
(Right profile view,
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 8:
Fragment
of Merenptah's
human-handed sphinx
[Inv. No. U3082-4]
(Left profile view,
photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 9:
Fragment
of Merenptah's
human-handed sphinx
[Inv. No. U3082-4]
(Bottom view,
photo: S. Connor).

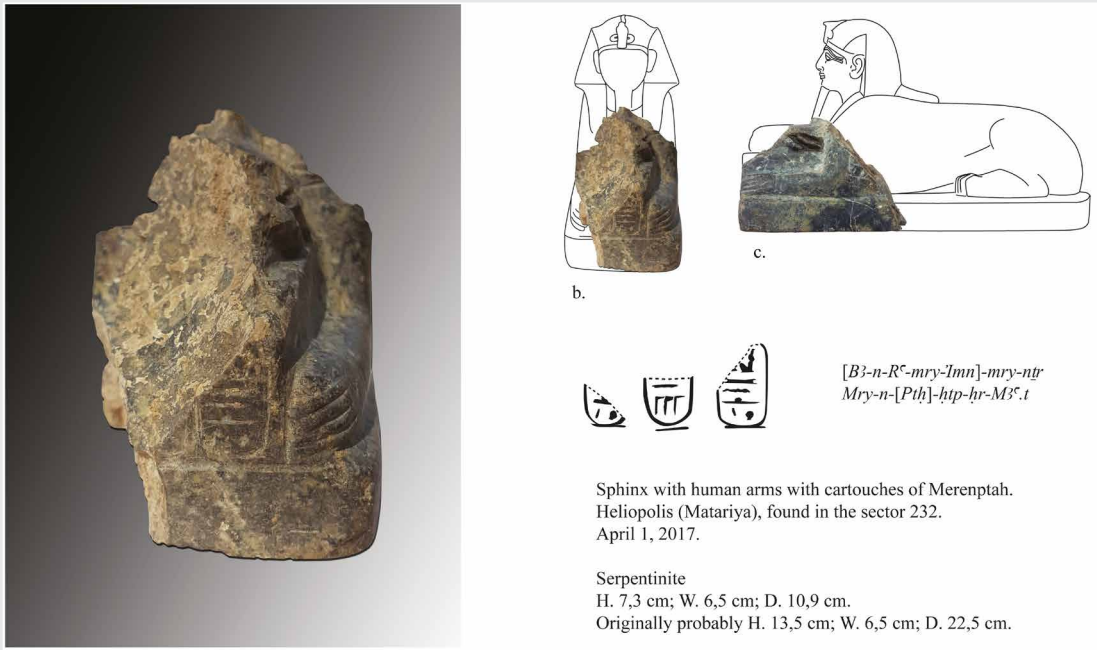


Fig. 10: Fragment of Merenptah's human-handed sphinx [Inv. No. U3082-4] (Photos and reconstruction: S. Connor).



Fig. 11: Human-handed sphinx of Ramesses II from Memphis, Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1211 (Photo: S. Connor).

6.2.1



Fig. 12:
Human-handed
sphinx of Tutankhamun, Ay or Horemheb, Karnak (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 13:
Human-handed
sphinx of Sety II,
Karnak (Photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 14:
Human-handed
sphinx of Ramesses II,
from Cairo, Bab el-Nasr, now: Matariya
Open Air Museum
(Photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 15:
Karnak, hypostyle
hall, north wall
(Photo: S. Connor).

6.2.1

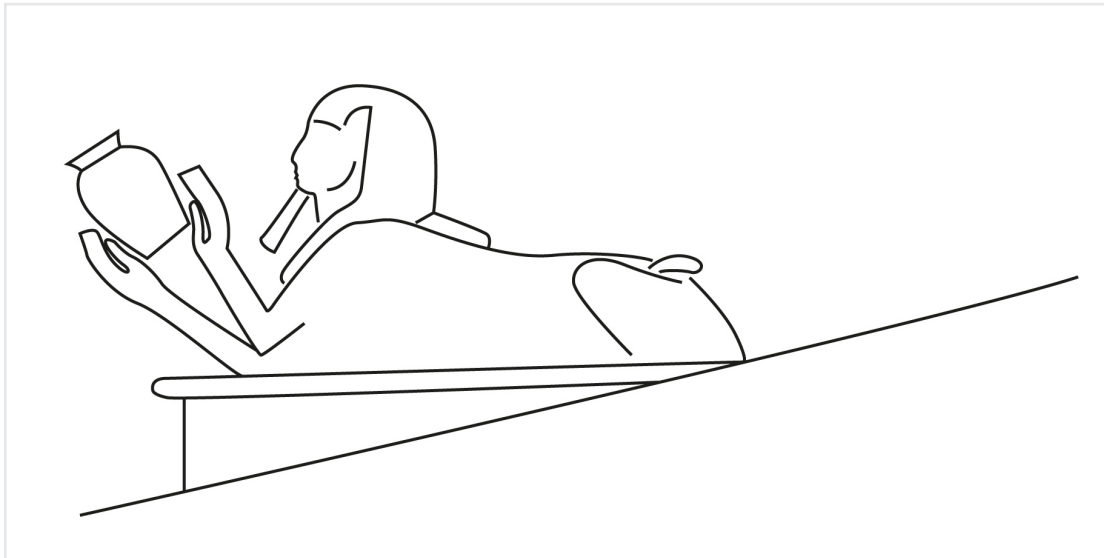


Fig. 16:
Karnak, hypostyle
hall, north wall
(Detail; photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 17:
Qurna, temple of
Sety I, solar court,
north wall (Photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 18:
Qurna, temple of Sety
I, solar court, north
wall (Detail, photo:
S. Connor).

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7. Industrial and Domestic Quarters: Areas 251

7.1 Introduction to Area 251 – A Monumental Enclosure Wall from the New Kingdom, a Cemetery and Houses of the Late 2nd Millennium BC and a Predynastic Brewery

7.2 Various Finds

7.2.1 A Glimpse into the History of Ramesside Hieratic in Heliopolis

Introduction to Area 251 – A Monumental Enclosure Wall from the New Kingdom, a Cemetery and Houses of the Late 2nd Millennium BC and a Predynastic Brewery

Aiman Ashmawy / Simon Connor / Dietrich Raue

During the spring and autumn seasons of 2019, an area south-west of the Heliopolis temenos was excavated as part of a preventive exploration before municipal construction works.¹ This area is located 230 m south-east of the Ramesside temple of Suq el-Khamis (Area 200), 190 m south of the temple of Amun and Mut built by Ramesses II (Area 248), and 430 m west of the obelisk of Senusret I (Fig. 1-3). The excavated area covers about 825 m². The earliest drawings of the site date to the early to mid-19th century with the publication of the *Description de l'Égypte* and the work of Joseph Hekekyan. Both publications suggest that this area was devoid of lake deposits, which indicates that the stratigraphy in this area, and in the vicinity of the enclosure wall, was preserved at a higher level than in the centre of the temenos. Yet, despite this fact, no traces of stone temples have been found in this sector.

A Massive Wall

The excavated area is intersected by a massive straight mudbrick wall running north to south, and pottery found in its foundations suggest that

its construction probably started in the mid-18th Dynasty (Fig. 4–5). The wall was at least 4 m wide, but probably much more. The function of the delimited areas to the west and east of this wall is yet to be determined.

The wall was then subject to several phases of development:

- At the end of the Ramesside Period, a large amount of waste was dumped against its western side, forming a layer up to 3 m high and densely filled with pottery (Fig. 6).
- Around the 11th century BC, a partial demolition of the wall may have taken place when housing and production structures were built on its remaining upper part.
- During the 26th Dynasty, this massive wall underwent a reconstruction phase, resulting in a thickness of 8 m, according to the residual pottery found in the brick matrix (Fig. 7–8). This structure may have been part of a set of new enclosure walls built in 528 BC around the main temple by Amasis, which are mentioned on a stela of a priest called Djed-atum-iuef-ankh.²

¹ Previous excavations in this area during 2018 were directed by Tamer Ahmed Mahmud, Amr Ismail Ibrahim and Mahmud Tharwat Abu el-Fadl. For a preliminary publication of the area: see ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2021.

² CORTEGGIANI 1979, 134, 149, note 1. Djed-atum-iuef-ankh specifies that he “supervised the foundation of the mud-brick Wall of Khenemibra (Amasis)”, and that this wall had a thickness of 30 cubits, i.e., approximately 15 m. The wall found in Area 251 is only half this thickness and therefore could not be this main wall. However, it may have been part of the same building project. Djed-atum-iuef-ankh also mentions in his stela a “Wall of Wahibra (Psamtik I or Apries)”, close to which he built a limestone temple for the god Sokar (CORTEGGIANI 1979, 134, 150, note n). Nevertheless, the pottery found in the wall foundation trench (type J2) seems to date to a later period within the 26th Dynasty, which would fit better with the reign of Amasis or Apries than with that of Psamtik I.

The upper levels of the wall, and stratigraphy in the surrounding area are not preserved, perhaps in part because of agricultural work in recent centuries. It is not known how long this wall was used, or what the nature of the occupation of

this part of Heliopolis was in the centuries following the 26th Dynasty. Only the remains of three longitudinal industrial ovens, dated to the 5th century BC according to associated pottery, were excavated 15 m south-east of the wall (Fig. 9).

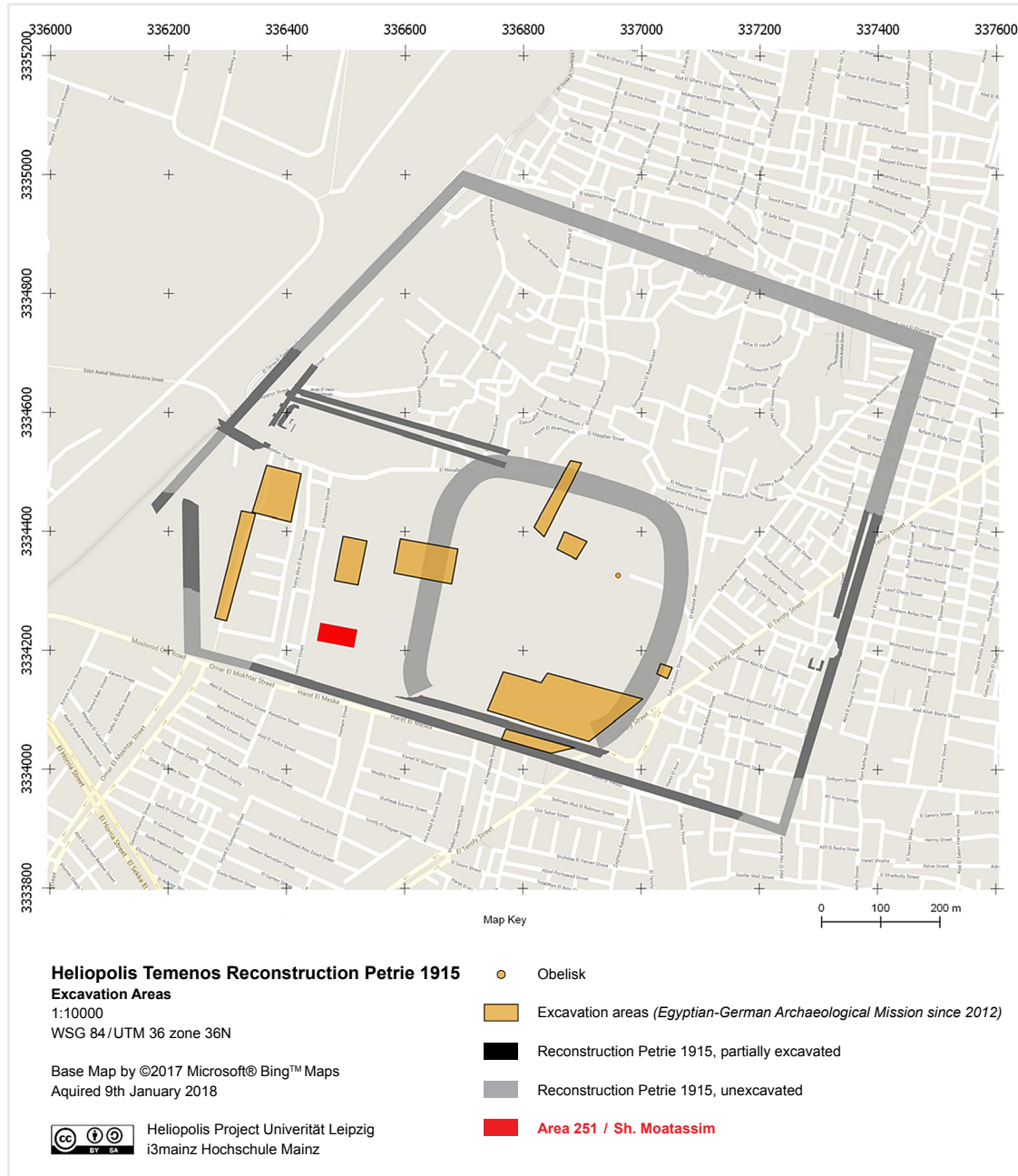


Fig. 1: Map of the archaeological area of the precinct of Heliopolis. Area 251 is highlighted red (Map by © 2017 Microsoft ® Bing ® Maps, 2018).

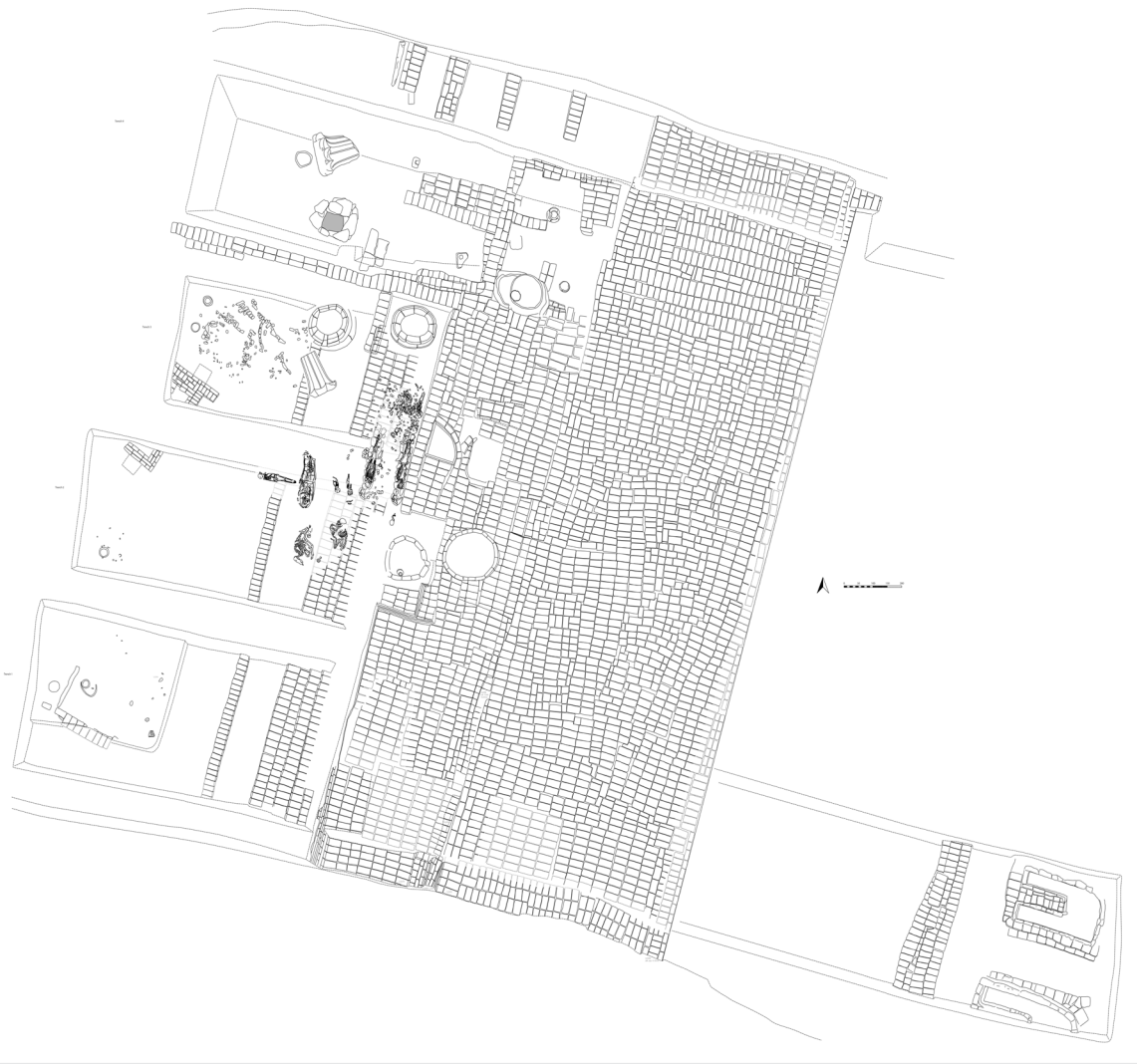


Fig. 2:
Map of Area 251
(Drawing: S. Connor,
E. El-Keshky, M.
Tawfik, R. Ali Ra-
madan, A. El-Naggar
and F. Langermann).

Apart from these ovens, the area east of the wall was poorly preserved and could not be properly excavated. However, the area to the west yielded traces of several successive occupation layers.



Fig. 3: View of Area 251 in September 2019, with the pumping system allowing us to excavate 2 m deep trenches west of the large wall (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 4: The southern part of the mid-18th Dynasty wall and its podium (eastern face). The foundation trench is filled with white limestone chips. The flooded area covers the remaining predynastic layers, which are still visible in the southern profile (Photo: S. Connor).

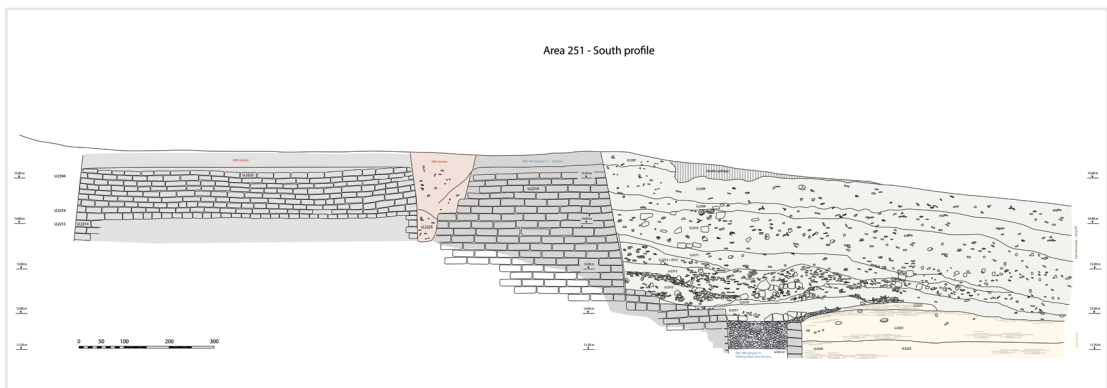


Fig. 5: Southern section of the excavated area, showing the predynastic layer in yellow, cut by the mid-18th Dynasty foundation trench (blue) and covered by the late Ramesside/early Third Intermediate Period succession of dump layers (green). (Drawing: S. Connor, E. El-Keshky, M. Tawfik and R. Ali Ramadan).



Fig. 6: Eastern section of the excavated area, showing the podium of the mid-18th Dynasty wall. The wall itself is only well-preserved in its southern part, where the level of dumping from the late Ramesside/early Third Intermediate Period is also the highest (Drawing: S. Connor, E. El-Keshky, M. Tawfik, R. Ali Ramadan, A. El-Naggar and F. Langermann).

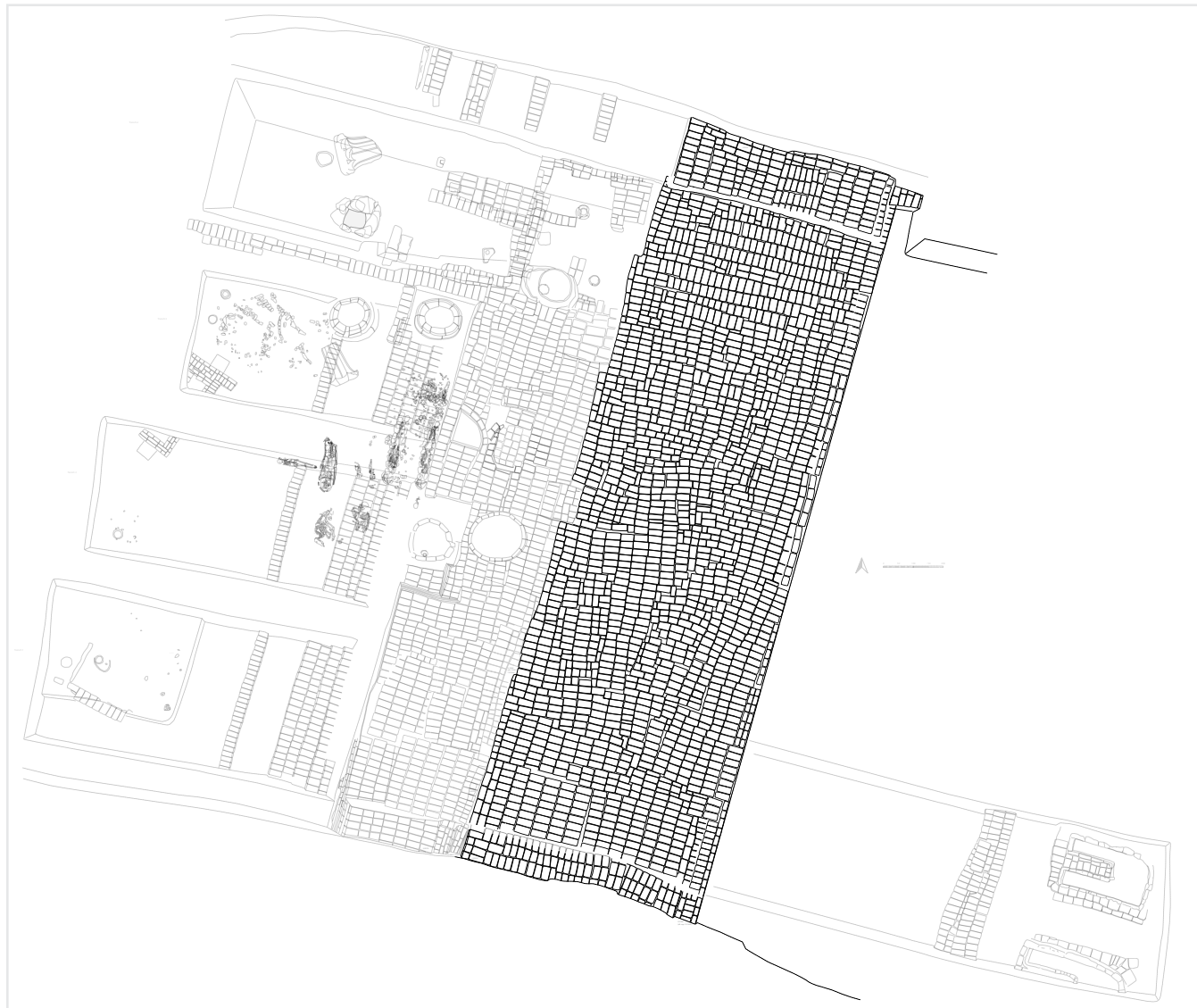


Fig. 7: Area 251 with the reconstructed wall of 26th Dynasty highlighted dark grey (Drawing: S. Connor, E. El-Keshky, M. Tawfik, R. Ali Ramadan, A. El-Naggar and F. Langermann).



Fig. 8:
The 26th Dynasty
wall, seen from the
north-east
(Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 9:
The 5th century
kilns, seen from the
south-east
(Photo: S. Connor).

A Cemetery and Industrial Activity During the Third Intermediate Period

The solid podium and the lower part of the massive New Kingdom mud-brick wall disappeared from view towards the end of the Ramesside Period or at the transition to the Third Intermediate Period (at least at its western side, we are lacking of information concerning the eastern side). A thick layer of waste, densely filled with pottery, covered the base of the wall, as well as the New Kingdom walking level, extending about 10m to the east on a gentle slope. This layer of waste reached a height of about 3 m and contained a large quantity of blue-ware pottery from the 18th and 19th Dynasties. The remains of several thousand “beer jars” were also found of a peculiar type in that they were all pierced prior to firing with a hole at the foot, the function of which is yet to be determined. A number of architectural and sculptural fragments were also dumped in this layer, including the shoulder of a

Middle Kingdom quartzite sphinx; a relief from the early reign of Akhenaten showing the king as a sphinx with human arms (see p. 368–376); and two complete granite palmiform capitals (Fig. 6) with additional fragments of at least a third one, the dating of which is still under debate. Similar (re)inscribed capitals with the name of Ramesses II and later rulers, have been found at Tanis or Herakleopolis Magna. But their similarity to capitals from 5th Dynasty funerary temples suggests that they might be Old Kingdom elements reused in a Ramesside temple, which was dismantled approximately when the dumping activity took place around the 11th century BC. The homogeneity of the pottery material in this layer abutting the western side of the wall suggests that the dumping activity was relatively rapid. The surface of this area, as well as the upper part of the partially demolished wall subsequently underwent successive occupations during the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 10–11). These occupation levels overlap throughout more than three metres of stratigraphy.



Fig. 10: The late Ramesside/early Third Intermediate Period urban installation seen from the south (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 11: An oven/stack of baking plates in the middle of the house of the late Ramesside/early Third Intermediate Period (Photo: S. Connor).

A series of structures from the early Third Intermediate Period directly cover the partially demolished massive wall and the late Ramesside/early Third Intermediate Period dump layer. They consist of production and storage facilities, including a kiln, a well, several silos, and rooms made of thin mud-brick walls. At about the same time a cemetery was established on the southern side of these structures against the western face of what remained of the old massive wall (Fig. 12–14). Fourteen modest burials were preserved, as well as those of two calves. The individuals included four children, two elderly and several young adults, of both genders, who were all buried directly into the ground; only one individual had a pottery coffin.³ The only grave goods found were scarabs on the finger of some individuals, a necklace with an *udjat*-amulet,

and a modest bead necklace around the neck of a child.

Ramesside architectural stone elements (Fig. 15) along with several structures (dwellings?) from this period were found within this layer and the above layers. Unfortunately, these are very poorly preserved, but include ornate lintels that may have originated from the Heliopolis necropolis, currently under present-day Ayn Shams (see p. 489–494).

Based on the ceramic evidence, the upper occupation levels date to the 25th Dynasty. The whole stratigraphy was disturbed during reconstruction of the massive mud-brick wall and the digging of its foundations during the 26th Dynasty.

³ Another pottery coffin was found in the western extension of this cemetery during preceding excavations by the SCA in Autumn 2018.

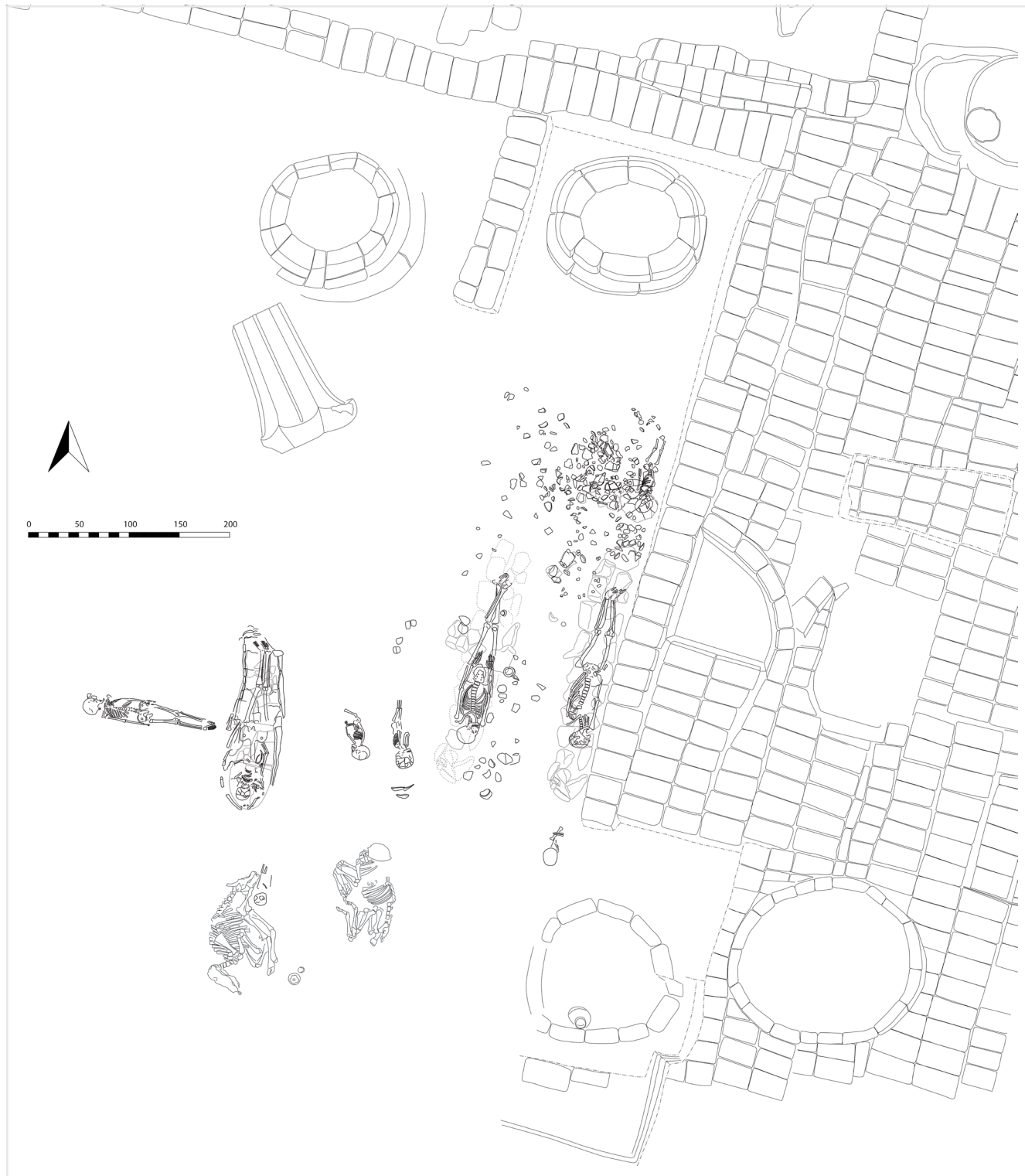


Fig. 12:
Map of the late Ramesside/early
Third Intermediate Period cemetery
(Drawing: S. Connor and
F. Langermann).



Fig. 13–14: The late Ramesside/early Third Intermediate Period cemetery (details); Photos: S. Connor and F. Langermann.



Fig. 15: The late Ramesside/early Third Intermediate Period "house", including Ramesside reliefs reused as thresholds (Photo: S. Connor).

A Predynastic Brewery

During the construction of the massive New Kingdom wall, the entire surrounding area must have been levelled to a fairly great depth, as no traces of Middle or Old Kingdom occupation have been preserved in this sector. Instead, the late Ramesside/early Third Inter-

mediate Period dump layer covered a very well-preserved Predynastic occupation. This early level is more than a meter deep and filled with several thousand flint tools and ceramic sherds that belong to the Buto–Maadi culture. A few mud-brick walls were uncovered, as well as fire pits and a brewery installation (Fig. 16-18).



Fig. 16: Upper level of the Predynastic occupation in Trench 1, south-west of the wall (Photo: S. Connor).



Fig. 17: Predynastic brewery installation in Trench 3, west of the wall (Photo: G. Pizzato).

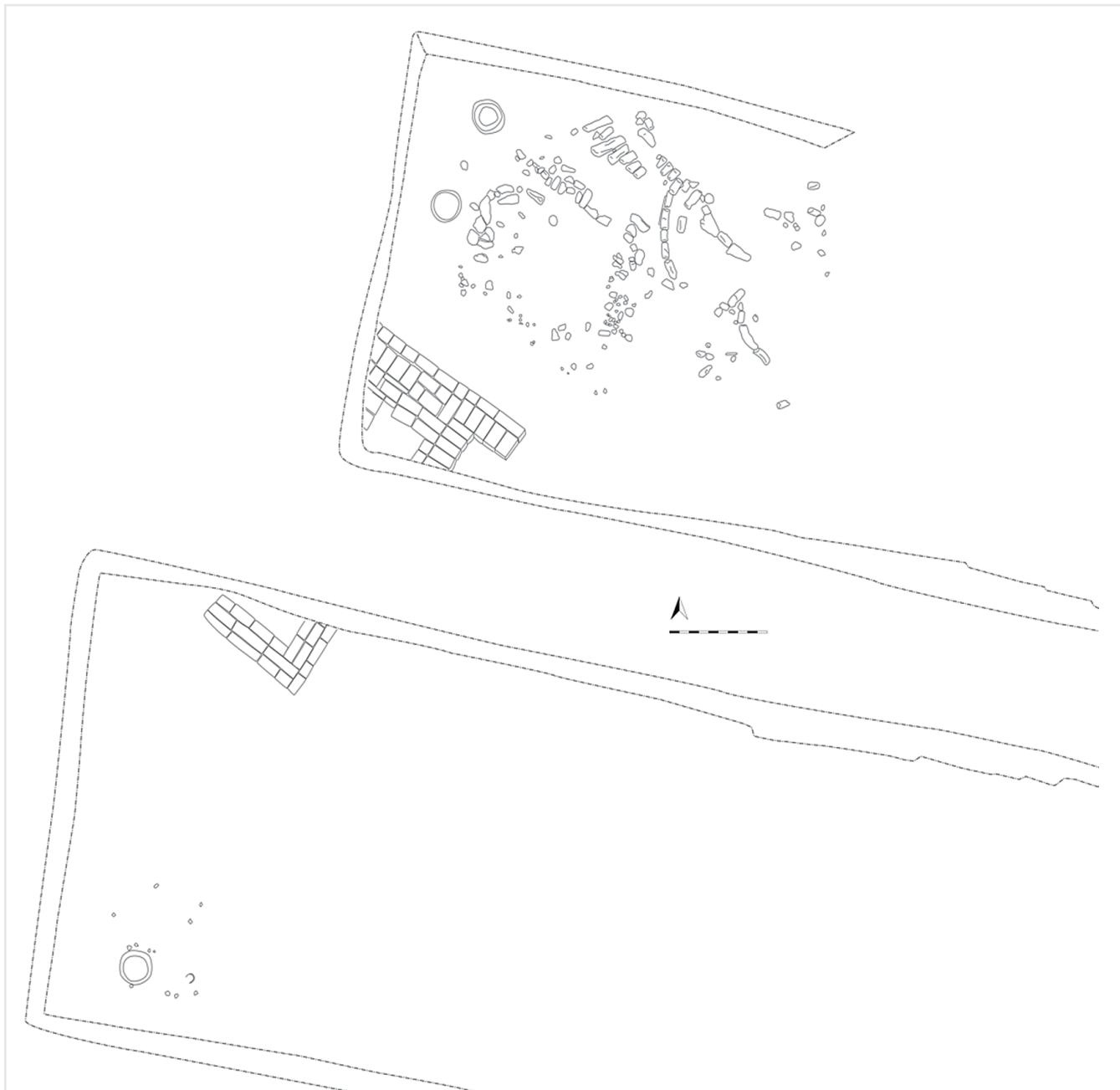


Fig. 18:
Predynastic brewery installation,
mudbrick walls and firepits detail in
Trenches 2 and 3, west of the wall
(Drawing: S. Connor, F. Langermann
and G. Pizzato).

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Various Finds

7.2.1 Ostrakon (Inv. No. U2314-1.1)

A Glimpse into the History of Ramesside Hieratic in Heliopolis

Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert

Technical Details:

Excavation no.:	U2314-1.1 (Fig. 1–2)
Material:	Mixed clay, red-brown, with broad grey core (Memphite G6b / Aston H5; BOURRIAU/SMITH/NICHOLSON 2000, 19, colour plate 2.9), with white slip on the outside
Type of pottery:	jar (max. diam.: 40 cm, Fig. 3)
Dimensions:	H. 15.8 cm; W. 11.7 cm; Th. 1.1–1.4 cm
Condition:	Broken on all sides; faint traces of red dots on the outside next to a single word in Hieratic; inside left uninscribed
Provenance:	Area 251, debris layers west of NK enclosure wall
Date of discovery:	28.8.2019
Date:	Probably Ramesside according to its type/fabric of pottery and associated finds

Ancient Iunu alias Heliopolis and its main temple precinct of Atum-Ra-Horakhty must have contained huge amounts of religious manuscripts in its temple libraries covering a broad range of genres, next to substantial archives with documentary evidence of its management. Scholars working on e.g., Late Period ritual, magical, medical and zoological treatises in hieratic and housed in the Brooklyn Museum of Art in New York were working on the assumption that those manuscripts from the so-called

Wilbour Lot had a definite Heliopolitan background in terms of their material manufacturing as well as in terms of their inscription by local priests. This Egyptological myth has only recently been demystified by J. F. Quack and the present writer and it was particularly Quack who was able to establish a long-distance join between a Wilbour fragment in Brooklyn and another one in the Berlin papyrus collection.¹ Instead, those manuscripts can now firmly be attributed to Elephantine, and with some degree

¹ See his remarks on this issue in his review of GOYON 2012 (QUACK 2013, 256–272, part. 256 for some details).

7.2.1

of certainty even more precisely to the local Khnum temple and its *pr-nḥ* or “House-of-Life” plus attached *pr-mdꜣ.t* – “House-of-Books”.

As Quack notes in his review, “die für Helio-
polis kaum gegebenen Erhaltungsmöglich-
keiten empfindlicher organischer Materi-
alien” will have been responsible for the
disappearance of hieratic manuscripts, let alone hiero-

glyphic and demotic texts, on papyrus and
wooden objects, not to mention leather rolls or
textiles. This tremendous loss of written culture
on portable but transitory materials, covering
a period of more than 2.500 years, cannot be
fathomed with any degree of reliability, but it
may once have been on a par with the contents
of the later Alexandrian Library in Hellenistic
times.

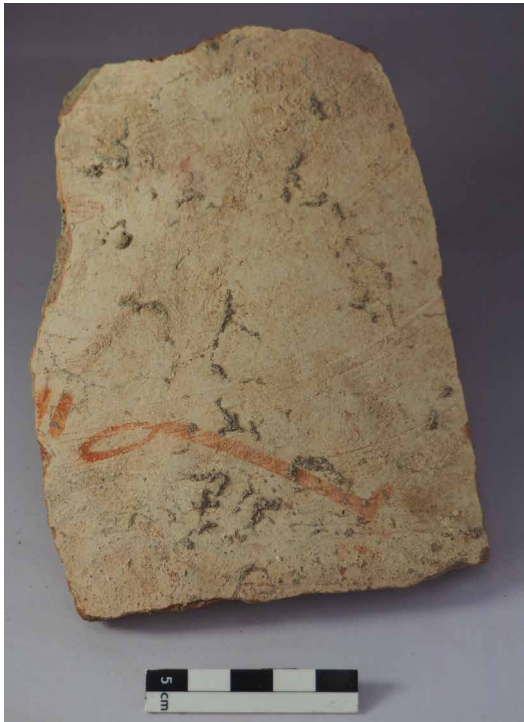


Fig. 1:
Jar docket
[Inv. No. U2314-
1.1]; obverse (Photo:
S. Connor).

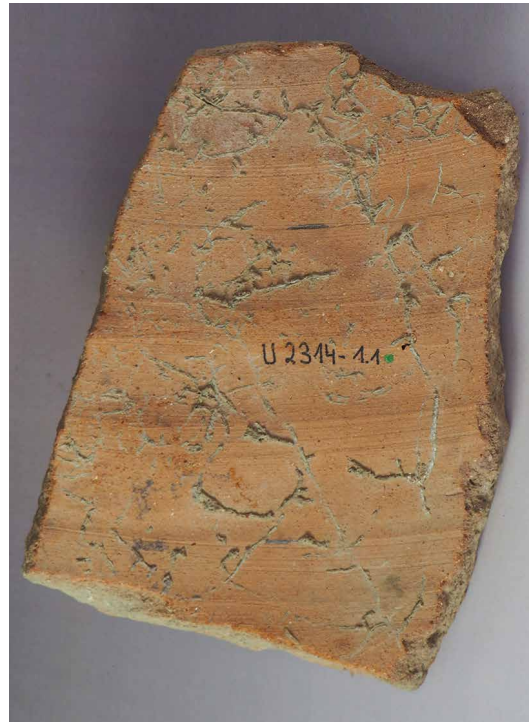



Fig. 2:
Jar docket
[Inv. No. U2314-
1.1]; reverse (Photo:
S. Connor).



Fig. 3:
Inv. No. U2314-1.1,
scale 1:4 (Drawing:
P. J. Collet).

Thus, it should come as a big surprise to find a piece of pottery inscribed in red ink on the outside or obverse, executed in a fine hieratic hand, if any assessment on the degree of training of its ancient writer may be allowed due to the sheer number of just three signs, with two of them appearing even twice. Their transcription can only be this:

[...] 
 ky /kjj [...]
 “another [...]”

The adjective *ky* may either stand on its own, be followed by a suffix pronoun, whereas the by far most frequent usage of *ky* and its feminine and plural derivatives is preceding nouns; see *GEG*, § 98, for details. Since there is not even a shred of any other hieratic text on the sherd to be discerned, any reconstruction of what may have followed *ky* remains a moot point.² There are some spots where red dots seem to have been put on the surface, and if so, this might attach a more or less literary character to the entire inscription. A closer look at the breaks reveals their ancient origins.

As for the paleography of the signs, none of them is diagnostic enough so as to fix it more precisely in terms of chronology. That said, it is the very type of pottery and its stratigraphic context that should be applied in order to define a *terminus*

ante quem non, as opposed to the paleography of the signs.

So much for the sheer textual evidence on the outside of the piece. This very evidence of hieratic from the soil of the Atum-temple precinct in Heliopolis, however, deserves a bit more attention when it comes to the issue of its physical preservation in a geomorphological context which quite unexpectedly did not do any harm to the ochre of its red inscription. A damp soil may not have been the only reason for the disappearance of inscribed and highly sensitive writing materials such as papyrus, leather, linen or wood. Richard Parkinson reminds us also of the possibility of “rodents” such as worms, termites or ants who may have added their share of destruction as well.

What do we know about the durability of ancient Egyptian ink in humid areas or when, in a worst-case scenario, it was even exposed to rainfalls? Asked this way, a meanwhile famous passage in one of the *Late Ramesside Letters* comes to mind which may clarify the preservation of the Heliopolis ink inscription here discussed. In his extensive letter to his son on pBM EA 10236 from year 10 of the Renaissance Period at the end of the 20th Dynasty, the scribe Djehutimose i.a. mentions an incident of heavy rainfall affecting a bunch of manuscripts without expunging their ink:³

² One is reminded of the documentary limestone ostrakon DeM 10011, first published by GRANDET 2006, 93. Carrying nothing but the brief inscription *ky jnr šrj* – “(just) another little stone”, Grandet is certainly right in attributing a humoristic intention to the ancient writer, perhaps making fun of his colleague(s). As for the possibility of any further text having been deleted due to the influence of salt embedded in the fabric of the pottery and surfacing over time, this issue needs further investigation.

³ Transcription in ČERNÝ 1939, 18.13–15 corresponding to ll. 20.1 in the original; cf. the transcription in WENTE 1990, 190–192, no. 313 (LRL No. 9), which I quote here.

hr m-dj n3 zh.w j.hw t3 p.t r.r=w
m t3 ˙.t n zh3 Hr-šrj p3y=j <jtj>
jw=k jn=w r-bl
jw=n gm=w r-dd bwpwy ft

Now as for the documents upon which the rain poured
 in the house of the scribe Horsheri my <(grand)father>,
 you brought them out,
 and we discovered that they had not become erased.

This episode is compared by R. A. Caminos to personal experience when in the 1950ies dealing with a moist lump of papyri “immersed in sewer water for about a fortnight in the flooded vault of a London bank, [which] had become a solid lump the size of a large cake of toilet soap, thoroughly dry and quite hard when it came into my hands” (in: BIERBRIER 1986, 45 and note 15). Remembering the Djehutimose-passage, Caminos then goes on by recounting a simple test he made: “two loose written-on fragments that I steeped in a glass of clean cold water showed not the slightest sign of damage or deterioration or change of any kind after 28 hours of continuous immersion”.⁴

What does this experiment tell us about the disappearance of vulnerable manuscripts like papyri in the Heliopolitan soil? Its humid condition alone would not have done any harm to the ink of hieratic – or hieroglyphic and de-

motic – texts on papyri in the first degree, instead, it will have simply destroyed the fibers they were written on.⁵ You cannot simply wash away ancient Egyptian ink from its surface, you have to do it in tandem with scratching, and this is the way palimpsests will have come about, but systematic studies and observations attesting to this assumption are still in their infancy.⁶

Summing up this glimpse into the history of hieratic writing(s) in ancient Heliopolis, we can only speculate about the sheer amount of cursive texts that have gone lost on this spot since antiquity. The tiny little word *ky*, in any case, fully attests to the validity of the observation of the scribe Djehutimose and to Ricardo Caminos’ experiment. And it is for this very reason, why this seemingly unattractive sherd is of utmost importance for the history of cursive writing in ancient Heliopolis in general.

⁴ To Prof. Parkinson we also owe the following reference on the restoration work on the blank papyrus pBM EA 79709 mounted between glass and labelled as such: “Oct-Nov. 1967 This blank fragment of ancient papyrus was allowed to remain immersed in distilled water for twenty-one days without breaking down”.

⁵ Geomorphological conditions that may have been different from the ones in Tanis when W. M. Flinders Petrie discovered the so-called Tanis papyri, published in GRIFFITH/PETRIE 1889 – Parkinson once again reminds us of their having been carbonized which circumstance will have contributed to their “preservation” and – if only limited – readability, only to be enhanced by means of technical devices.

⁶ See LEACH/TAIT 2000, 242, 244–245 on their restoration treatment in the 20th century AD, as well as LEACH 2006, 225–241, with detailed information on every single manuscript. – On reuse of ostraca in Deir el-Medina, see DONKER van HEEL/HARING 2003, 4 with a list of examples in note 3.

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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 DANES 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

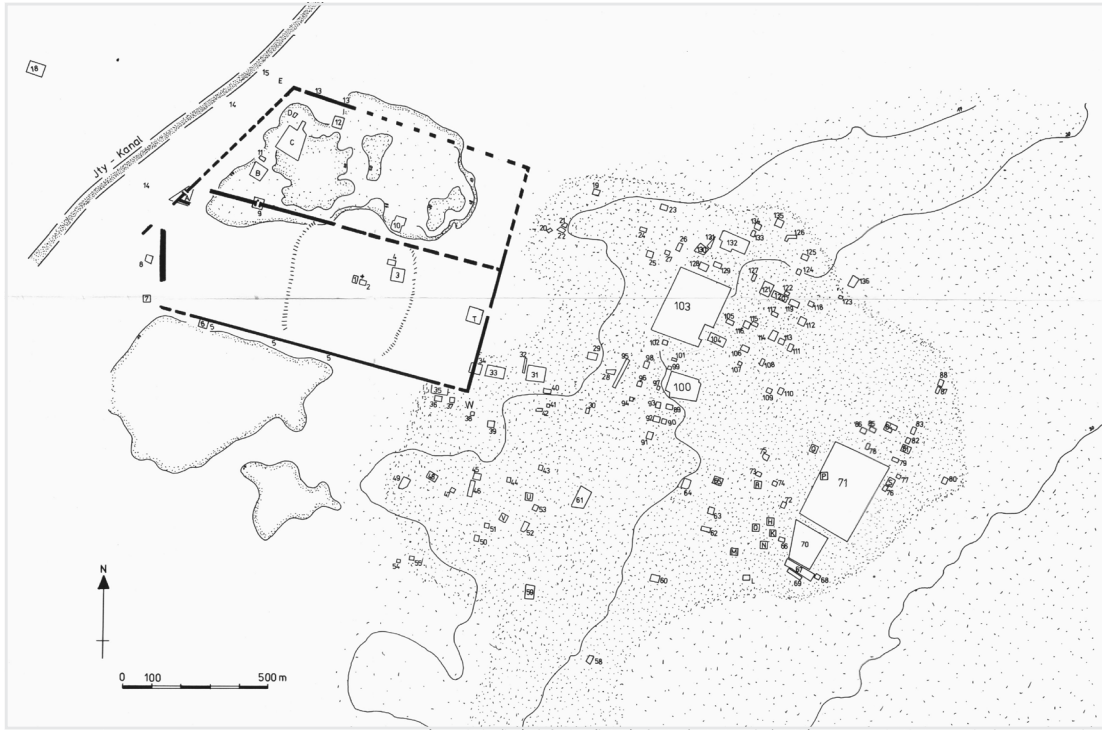


Fig. 1: Heliopolitan find places with the temenos precinct in the northwest and the necropolis eastwards to the temenos (RAUE 1999, pl. 4, key *ibid.*, Appendix 1, 483–485).

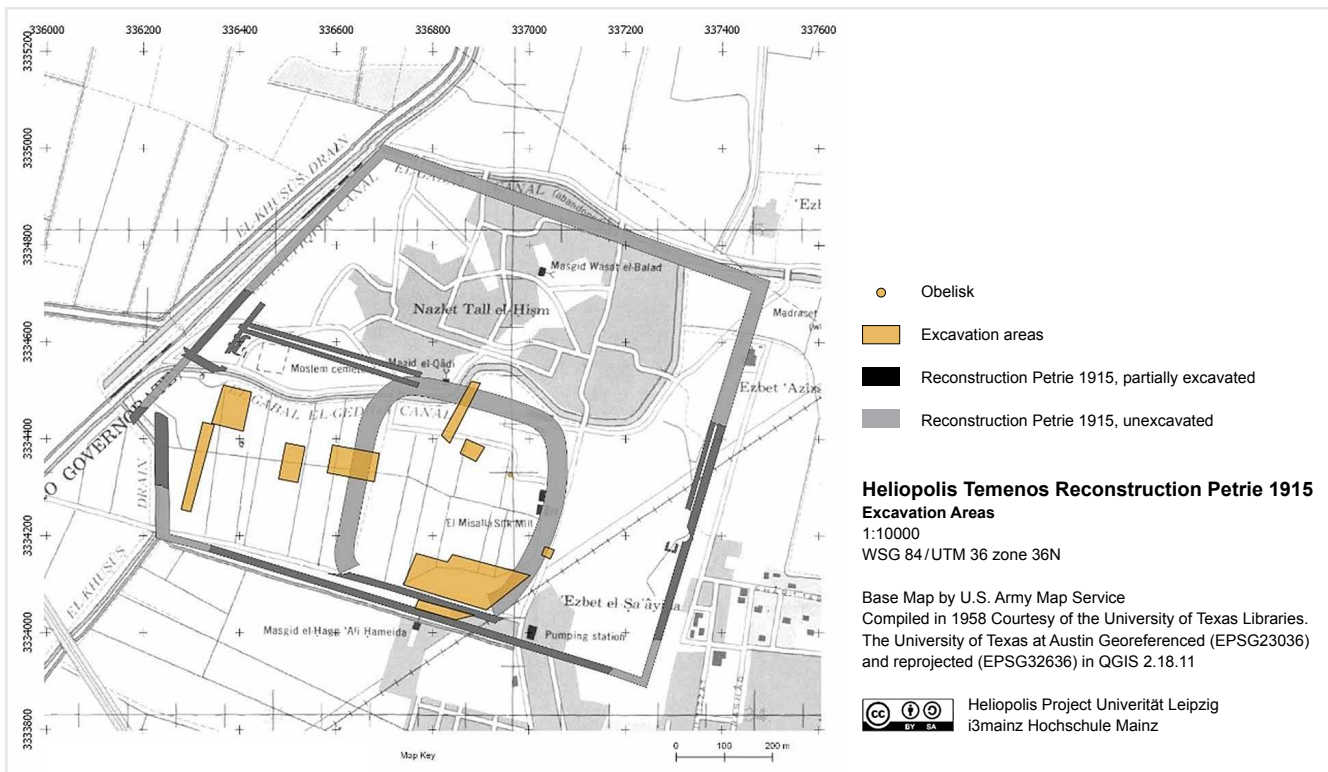


Fig. 2: Areas of excavation of the Heliopolis Project (Courtesy: Heliopolis Project/Universität Leipzig/i3mainz Hochschule Mainz).

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.

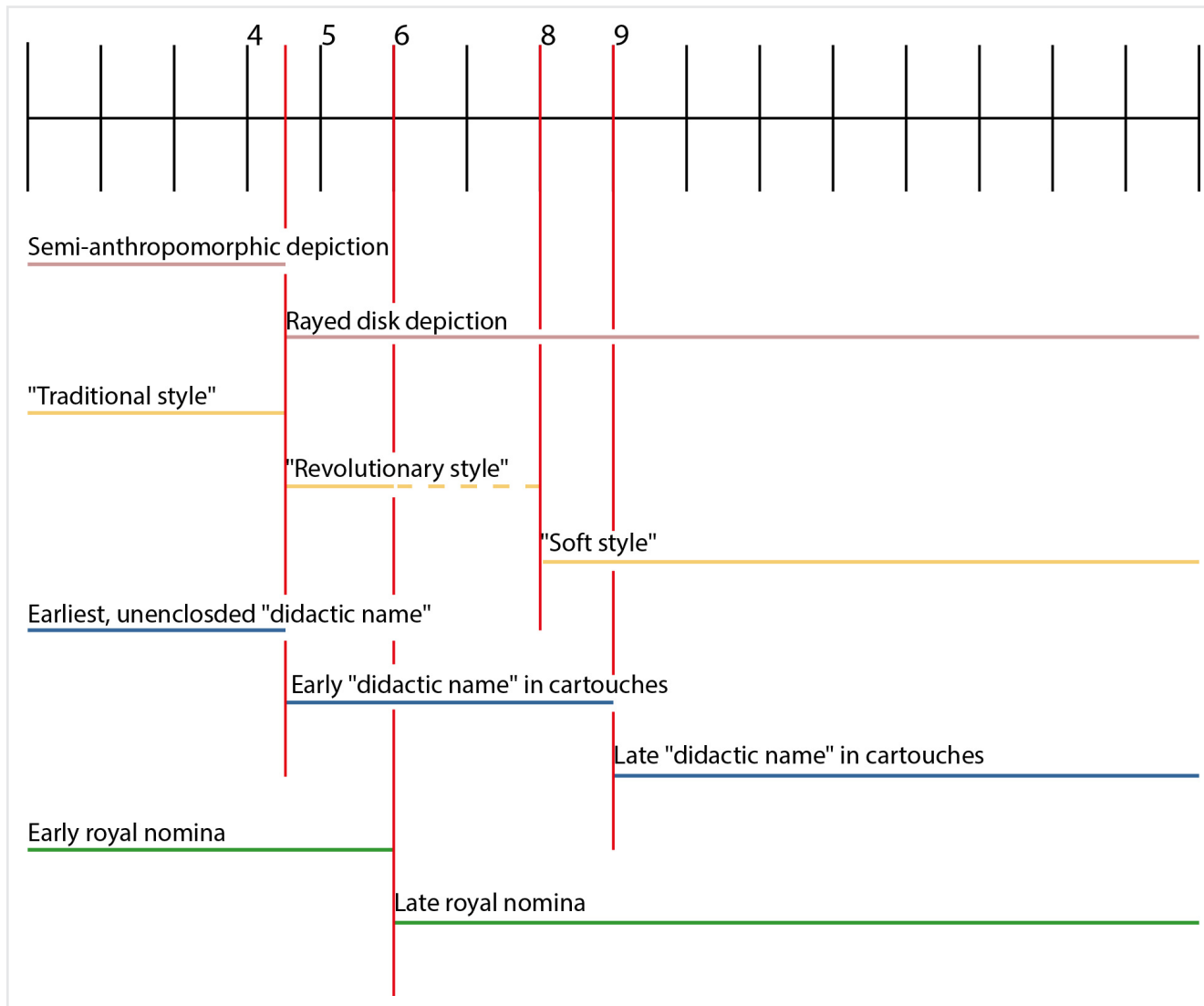


Fig. a:
Timetable of regnal
years of Akhenaten
with selected
landmarks.

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 Vergnieux coined the term “proto-amarnien”

(VERGNIEUX 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 (VERGNIEUX 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.


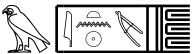






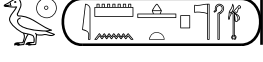

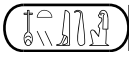
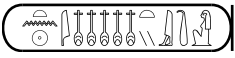
³¹ See HELCK 1958, 1966.9 (line counting according to stele K), 1969.25, 1974.38–39. Her modified name is attested in the inscriptions of the later set of boundary stela from the 6th year, e.g. on stele S, see Id., 1982.4, 1983.11.

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-R^c* 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-R^c* name, *ꜥh-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-R^c* 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






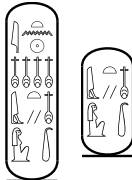




Cartouches: Nefertiti

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.

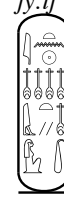
object	transcribed cartouche	reconstructed	dating in regnal years
 <p>AM_006: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	[...].tj	Indistinct 	1–17
 <p>AM_007: Relief fragment, limestone (Photo: S. Connor)</p>	[...]	Indistinct 	1–17
 <p>AM_008: Fragment of altar/statue base, silicified sandstone (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 (Gaboldes 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 *bmbn* ʕ, 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 DANTES 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 |III, *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 *ḥꜣ*-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>ḥḥ Hr [...]</p>	<p>ḥḥ-Hr-šḥ.tj ḥḥj-m-šḥ.t</p> 	<p>4 (1st half) – (8)/9</p>
	<p>left: [...] ḥj m' [...]</p>	<p>ḥḥ-Hr-šḥ.tj ḥḥj-m-šḥ.t m rn=f šw n.tj m Jtn</p>	<p>4 (1st half) – (8)/9</p>
	<p>right: [...] m šw n.t <j> m Jtn'</p>	<p>m rn=f m šw n.tj m Jtn</p> 	
	<p>[...] n [...] (?) Jtn-ḥḥ [...] nb-Jtn nb-p.t 'nb'- <t3> [...] m ḥ.t-ḥ'J <tn> [...]</p>	<p>m rn=f m šw n.tj m Jtn</p> 	<p>4 (1st half) – (8)/9</p>

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

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

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

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)

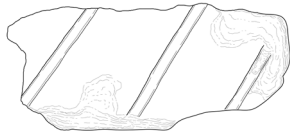
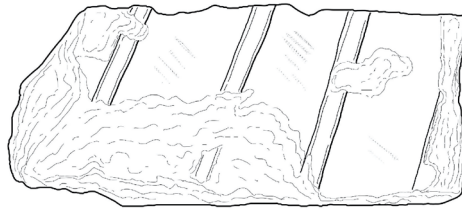


AM_020: Relief fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)



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

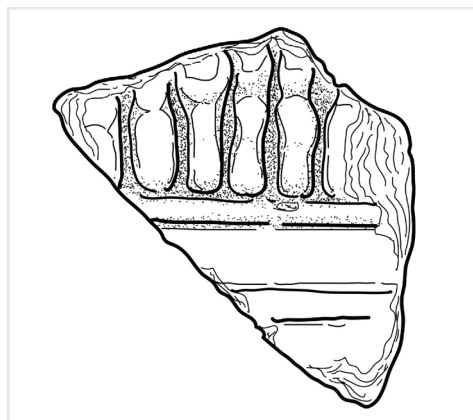
late 4th–17th



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).

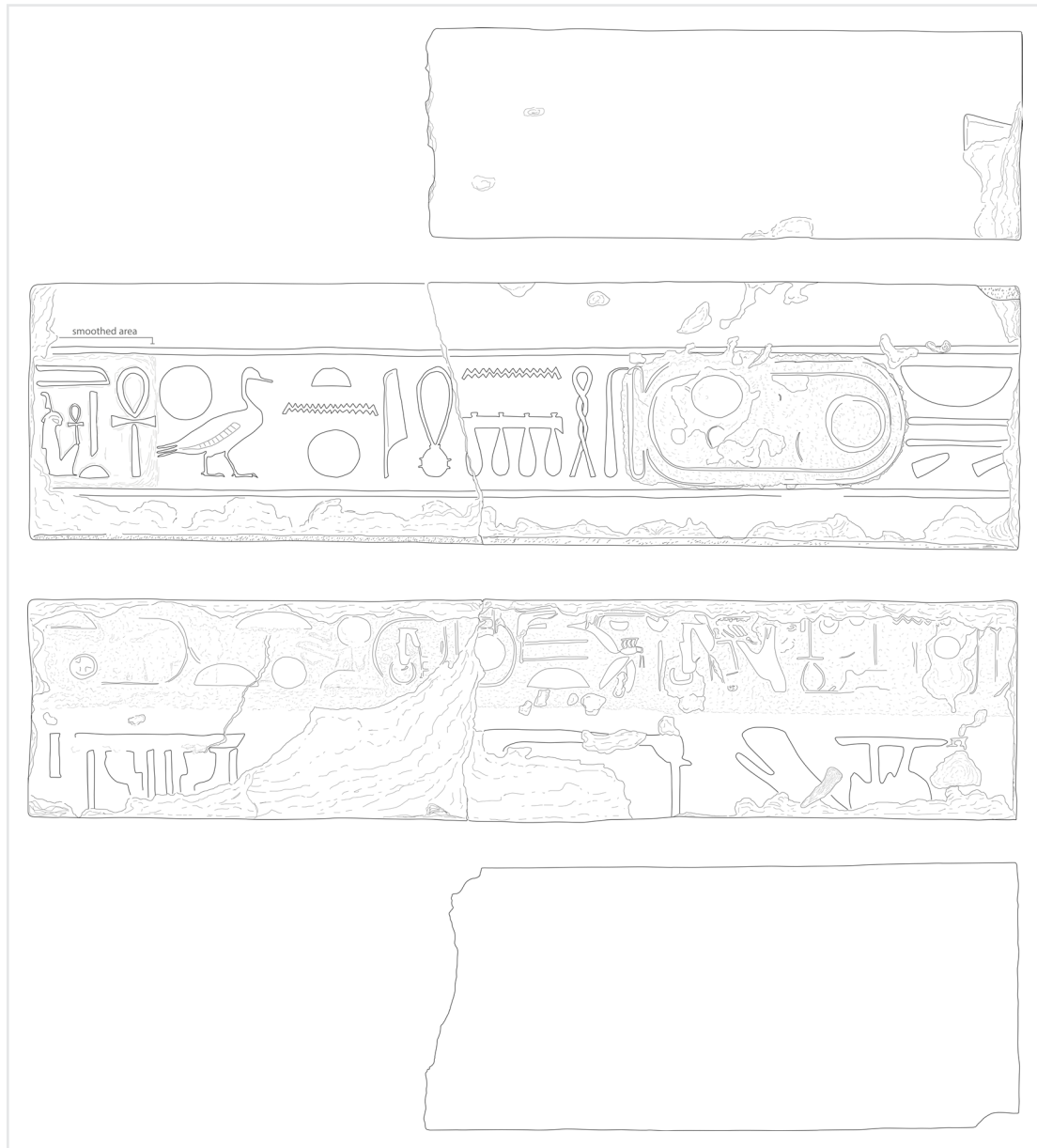


Fig. 5:
AM_002 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).

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)

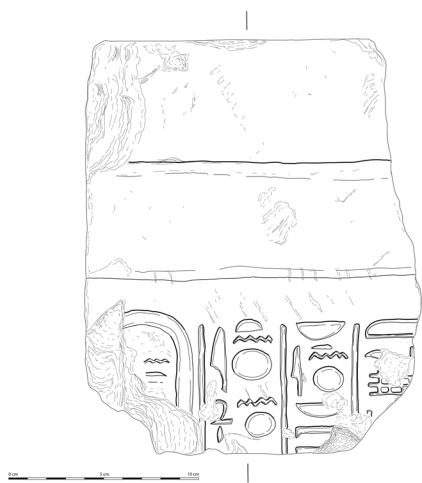


Fig. 17:
AM_013 (Digital drawing: P. Collet).

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)

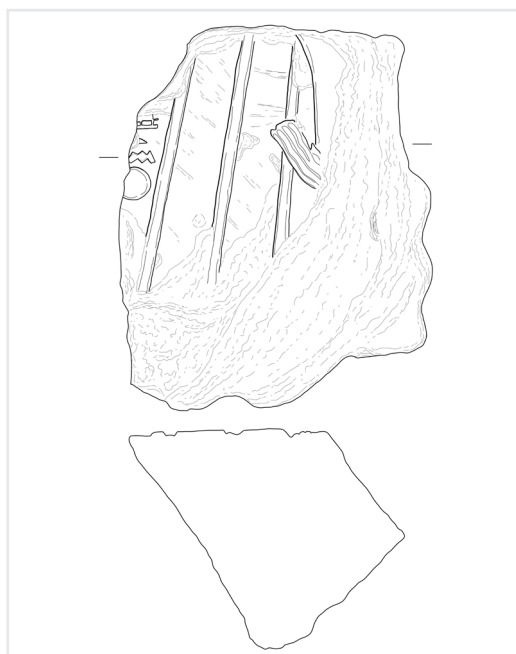


Fig. 24:
AM_019 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).



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

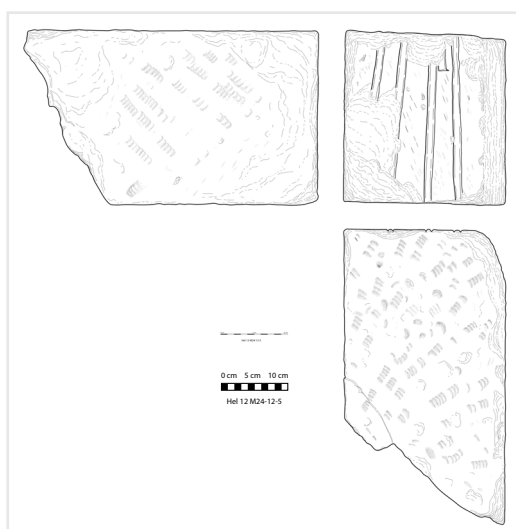


Fig. 26:
AM_20 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).

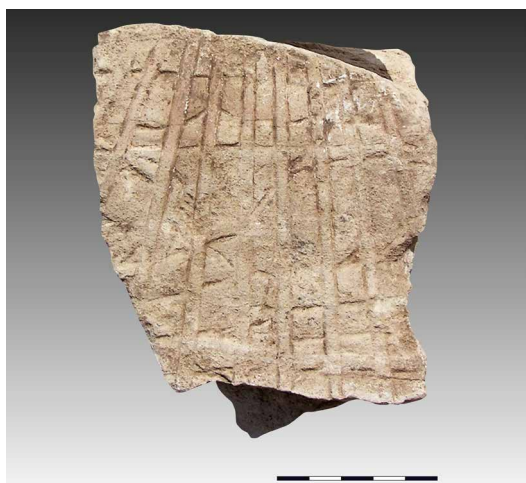


Fig. 27:
AM_021: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

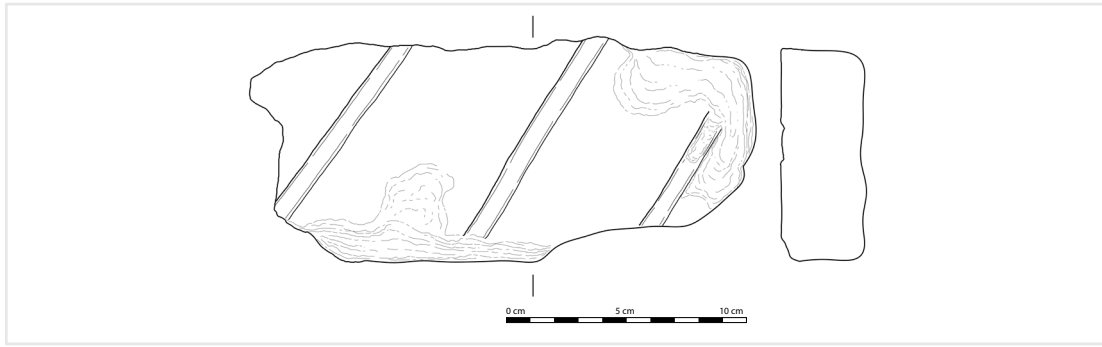


Fig. 28:
AM_022: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Digital drawing:
P. Collet).

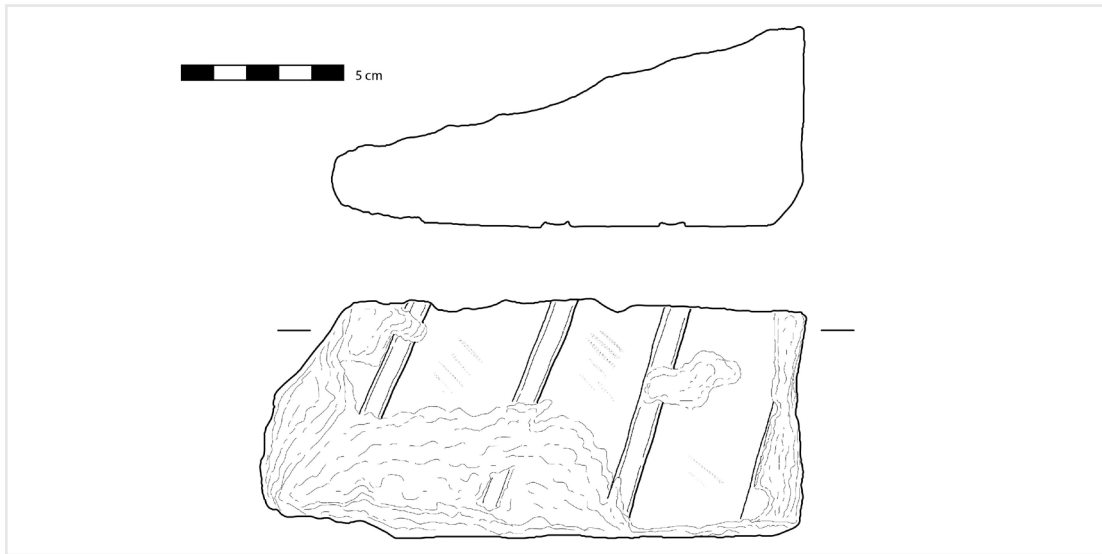


Fig. 29:
AM_023: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Digital drawing:
P. Collet).



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



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

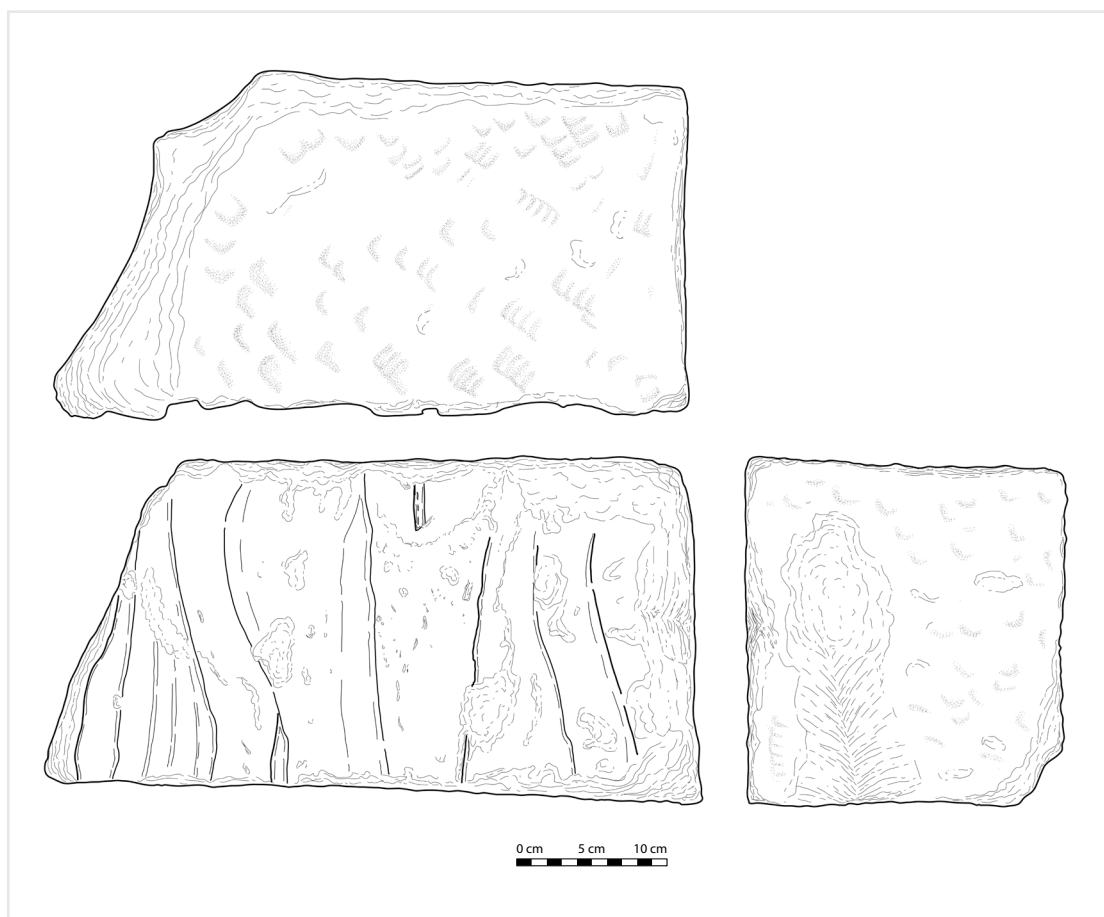


Fig. 32:
AM_025 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).



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

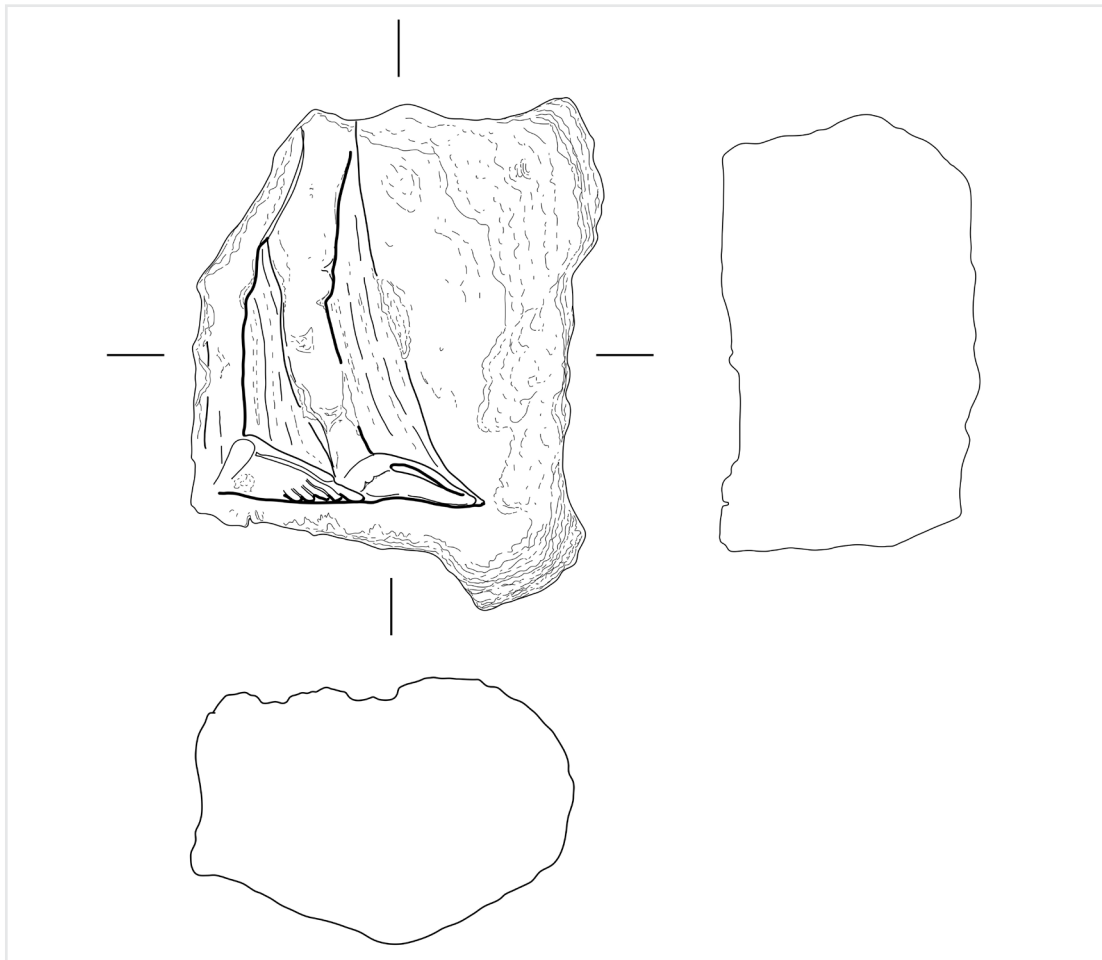


Fig. 34:
AM_026 (Digital
drawing: P. Collet).

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)

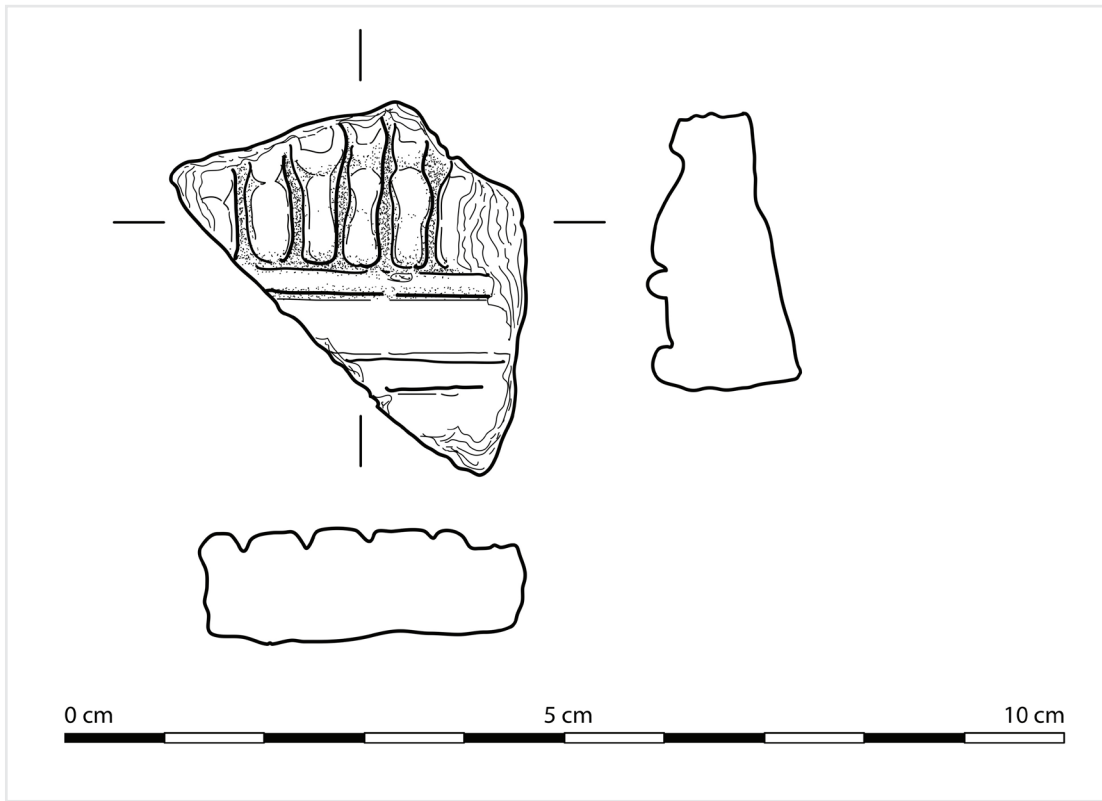


Fig. 39:
AM_031: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Digital Drawing:
P. Collet)

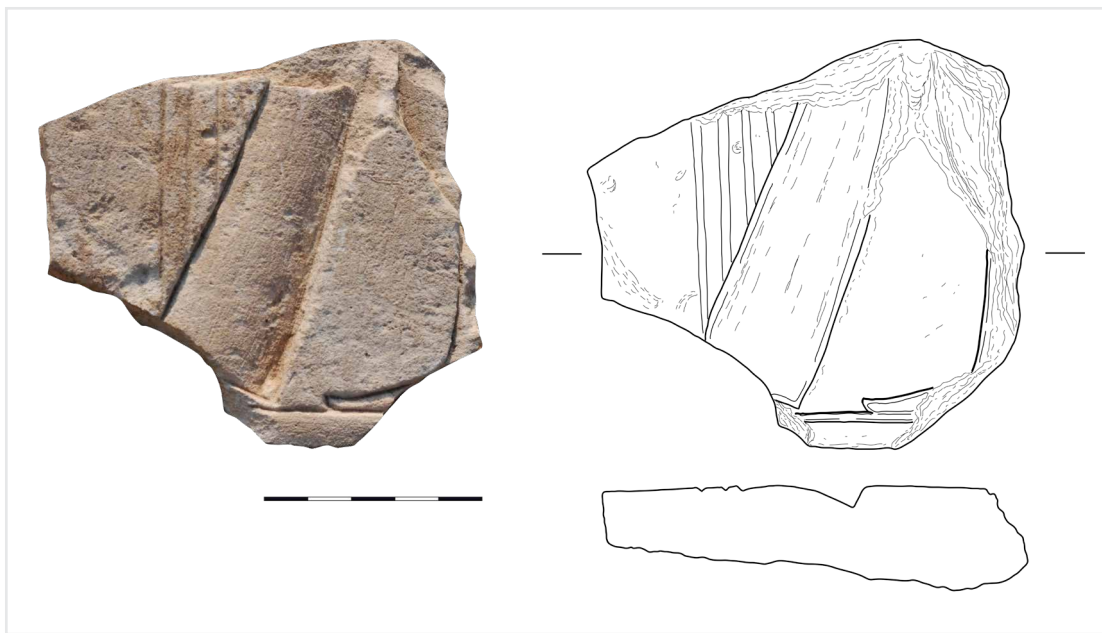


Fig. 40:
AM_032: Relief
fragment, limestone
(Photo: D. Raue)

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

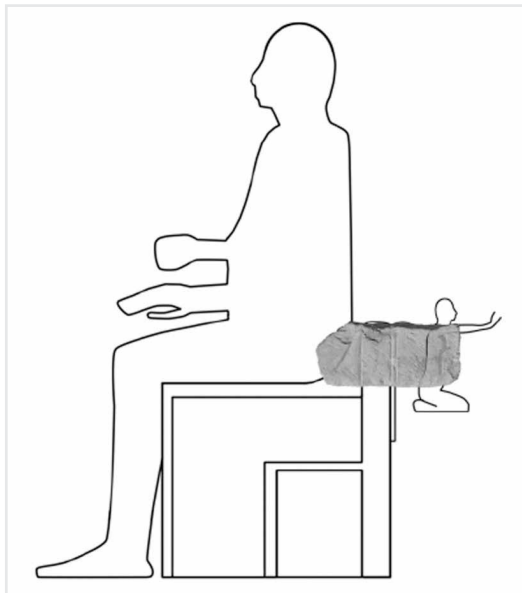


Fig. 1:
Block L24-14-5.
Reconstruction
of scene.

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.

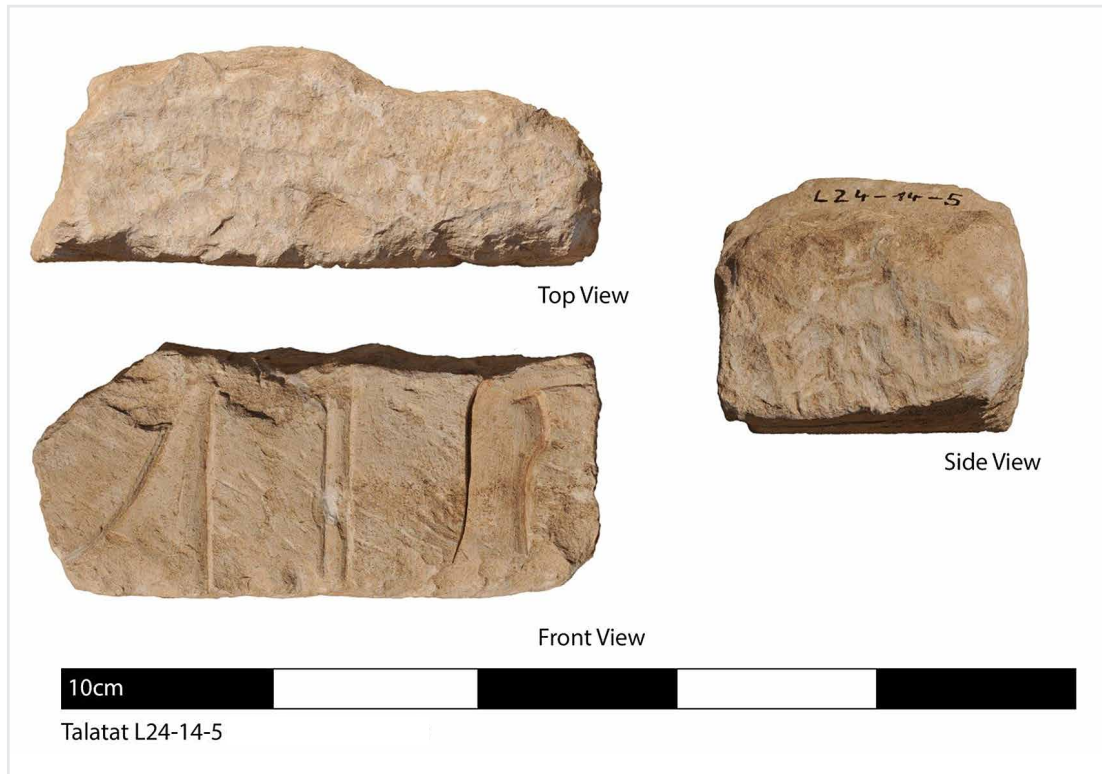


Fig. 2:
Block L24-14-5
(Photos: C. Breninek).

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 docketts 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.

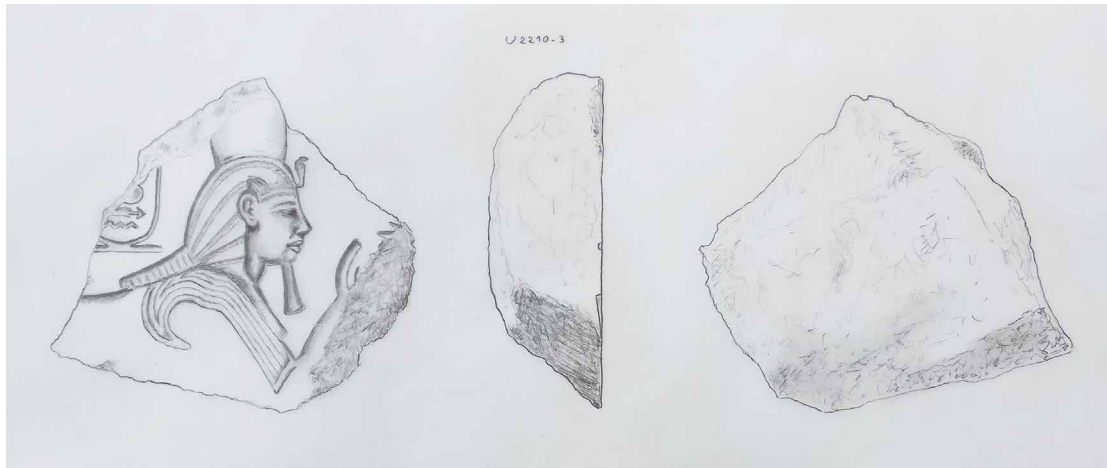


Fig. 2:
Relief
[Inv. No. U2210-3]
(Drawing: S. Connor).

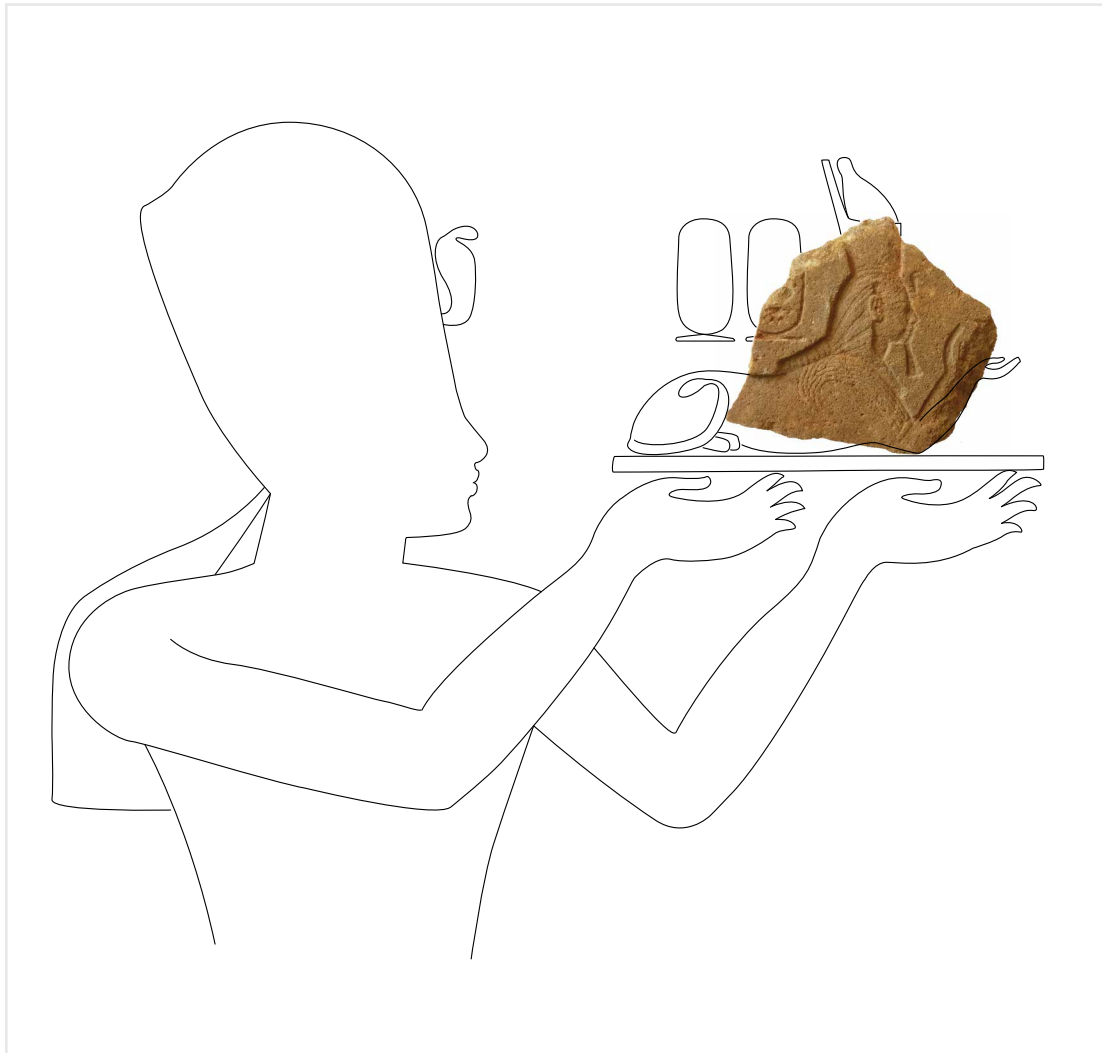


Fig. 3:
Suggestion of reconstruction of the scene to which the relief belonged (Drawing: S. Connor).



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 “Baw 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 “Baw 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 “Baw 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

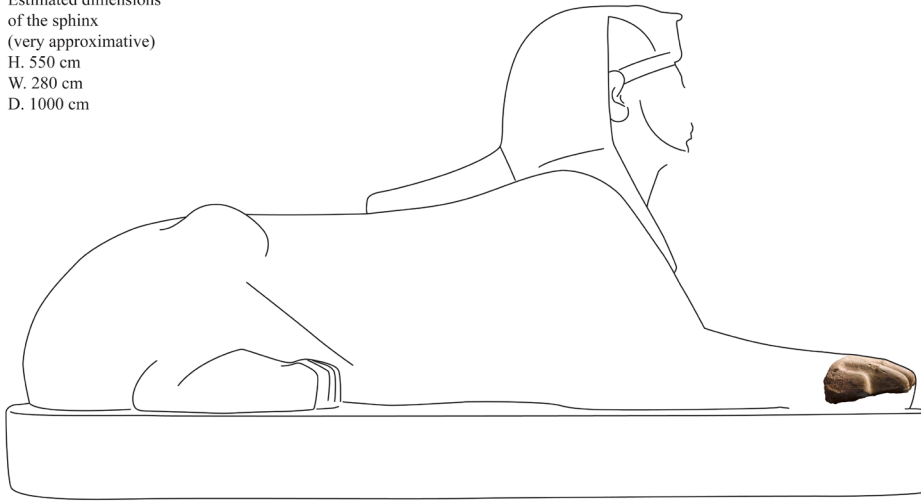


Fig. 3: Possible original appearance of the sphinx (or lion) to which the paw S. 2700 once belonged (Side view; reconstruction: S. Connor).



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

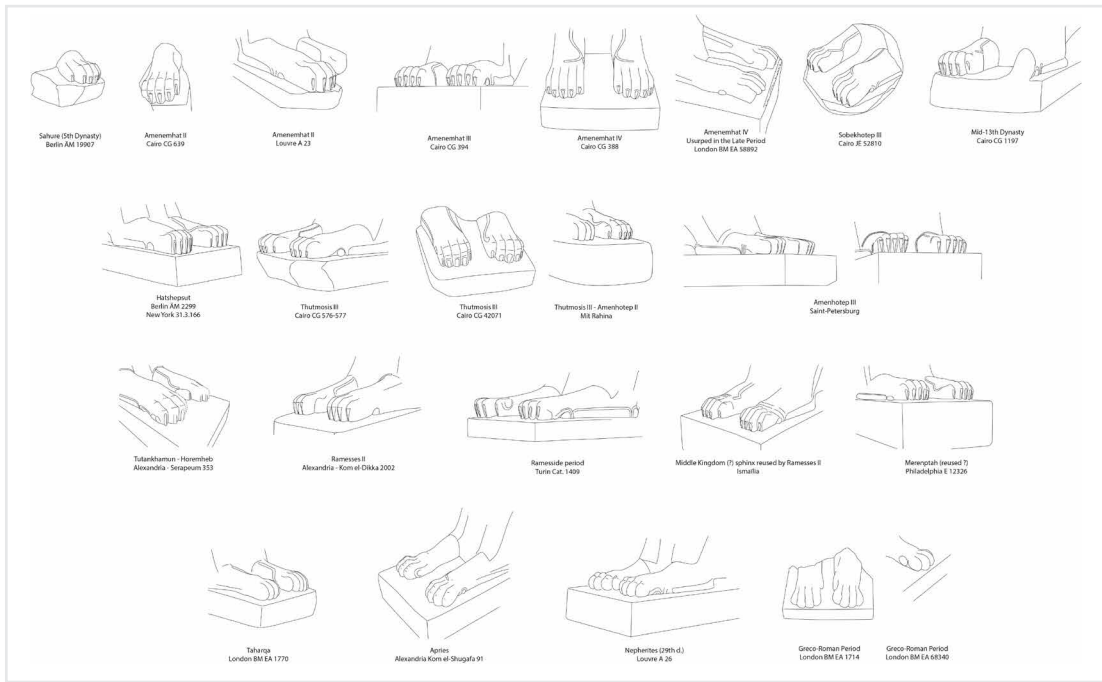


Fig. 5: Development of the shape of lion paws from the 5th Dynasty to the Greco-Roman period. (Drawing: S. Connor).



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 “PfoStendekoration”.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 SEIDLMEYER [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 (SEIDLMEYER 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 (𓄠, Y1), the usual determinative of the *nb.w-mk.t*, might be reconstructed from the remains of the signs below the basket (𓄡, V31). Another option is provided by the reading of *mkhꜣ*, “neglecting”:⁶⁸ Therefore, the arm (𓄢, D36), the basket (𓄡, V31) and, to the right, the papyrus shrub (𓄣, 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 (𓄤, 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 (𓄦, 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 (𓄤, 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 (𓄢, D36) and basket (𓄡, 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 (𓄧, D37) for the transcription of *dj*.

- i) Only a few traces are preserved below the basket (𓄡, 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-Rc</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), *Hc-m-Wꜣs.t-nḥt* (244–245), *Hc-Hꜣpj* (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 (Mrnpt. – 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-ntr</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 *Rzj* (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.

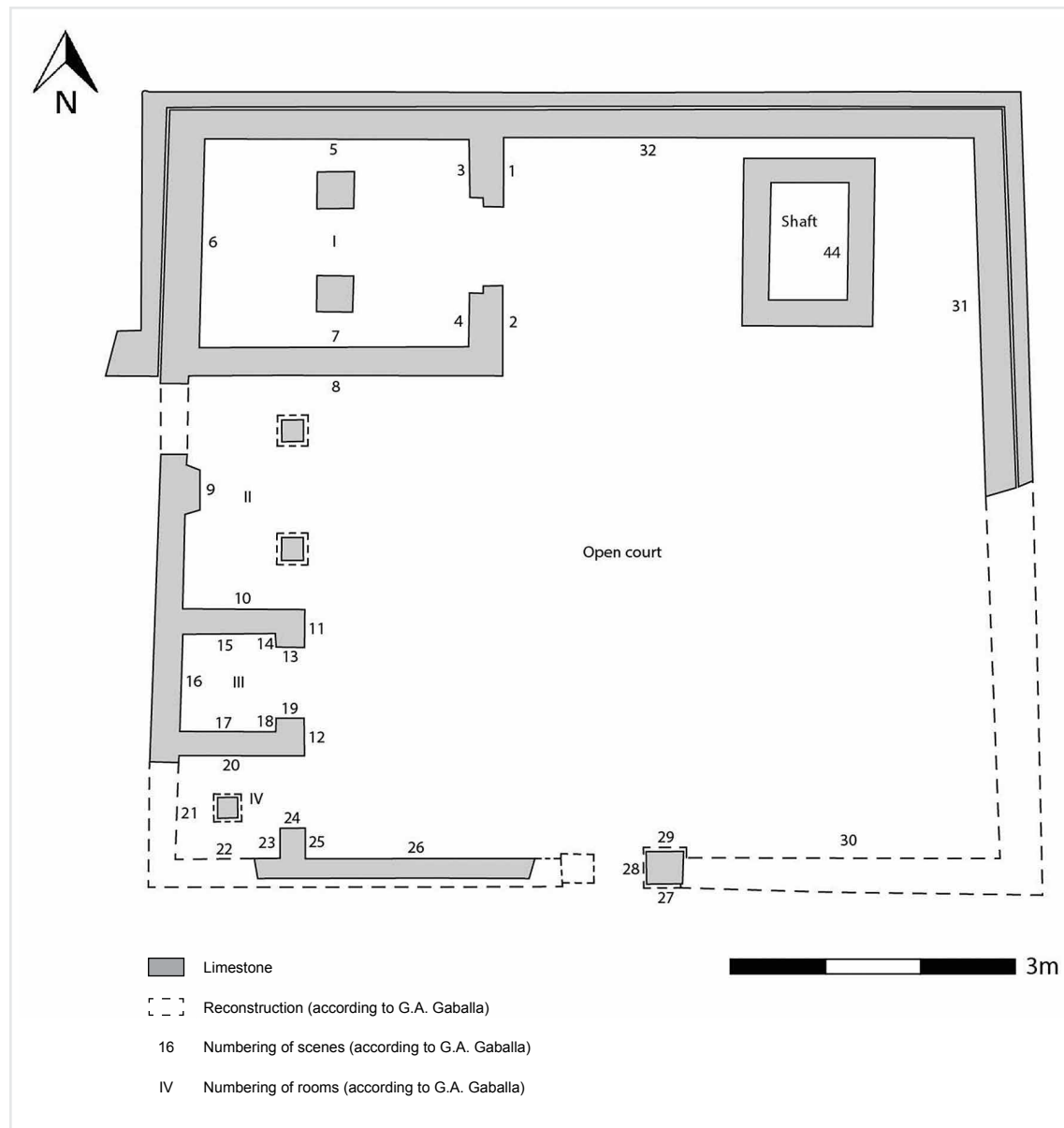
¹⁰⁸ The completely preserved middle chamber (TR 17.6.25.2) as well as fragments of the surrounding chambers and part of the south wall of the open courtyard are also part of the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. They still await a complete publication. See GABALLA 1977, 5 and GABALLA 1972,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

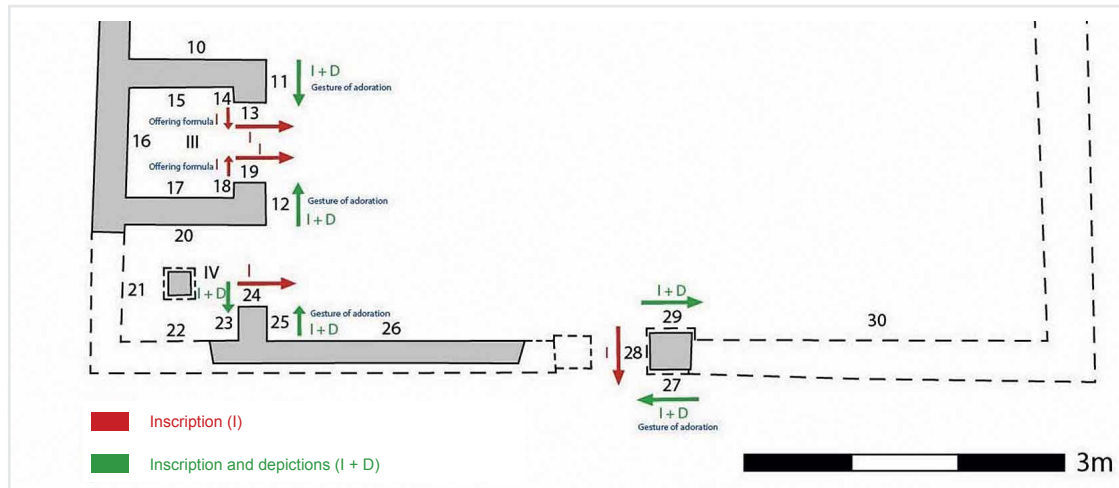
However, the tomb of *M*s provides a useful parallel in regards to the architectural reconstruction of the Heliopolitan fragment. Therefore, the same four rooms as in the Memphite tomb with the

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).



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).

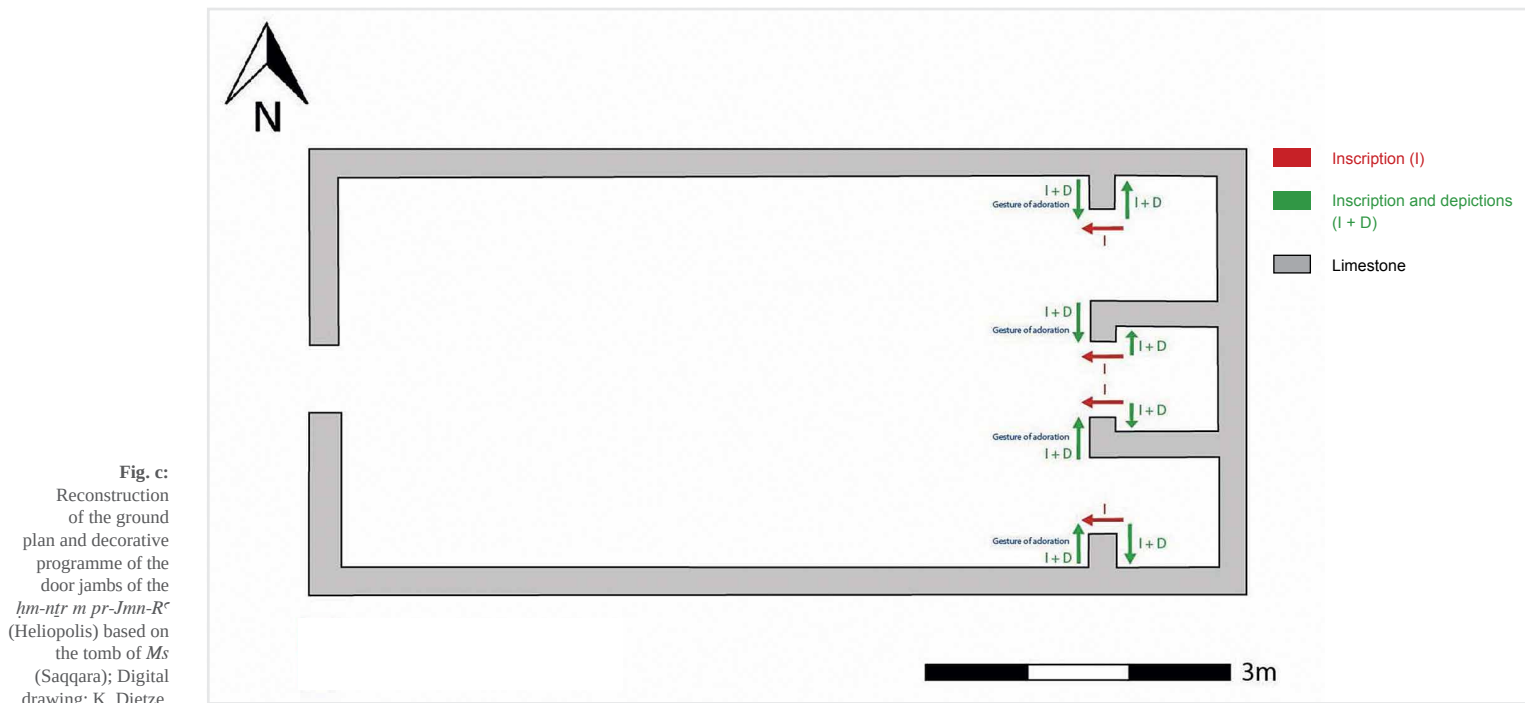
¹¹⁶ See GABALLA 1977, 12, pl. 23.

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 (𐀀, A28), the rabbit (𐀃, E34) and the quail chick (𐀆, 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 *Rzjz*. 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.

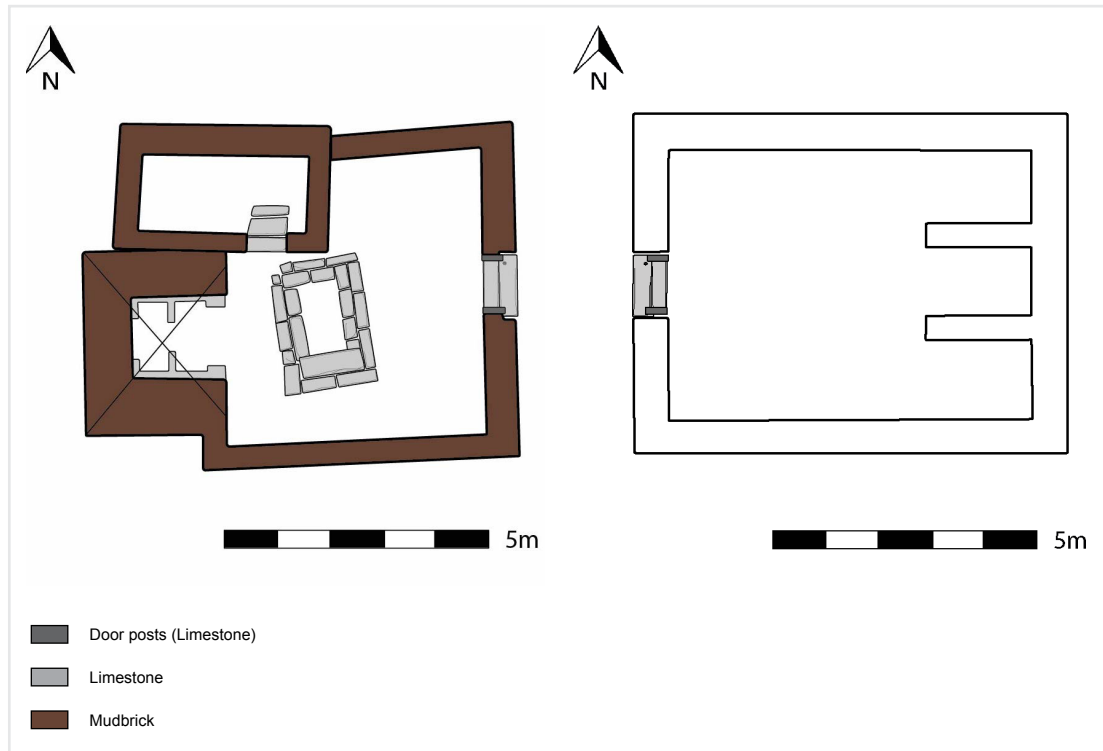


Fig. e: Left: Ground plan of the tomb of *Jnj-wj3* (Saqqara); right: Reconstruction of the Heliopolitan tomb on the basis of the ground plan of the tomb of *Jnj-wj3* (Saqqara); Digital drawings: K. Dietze.

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 woman 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

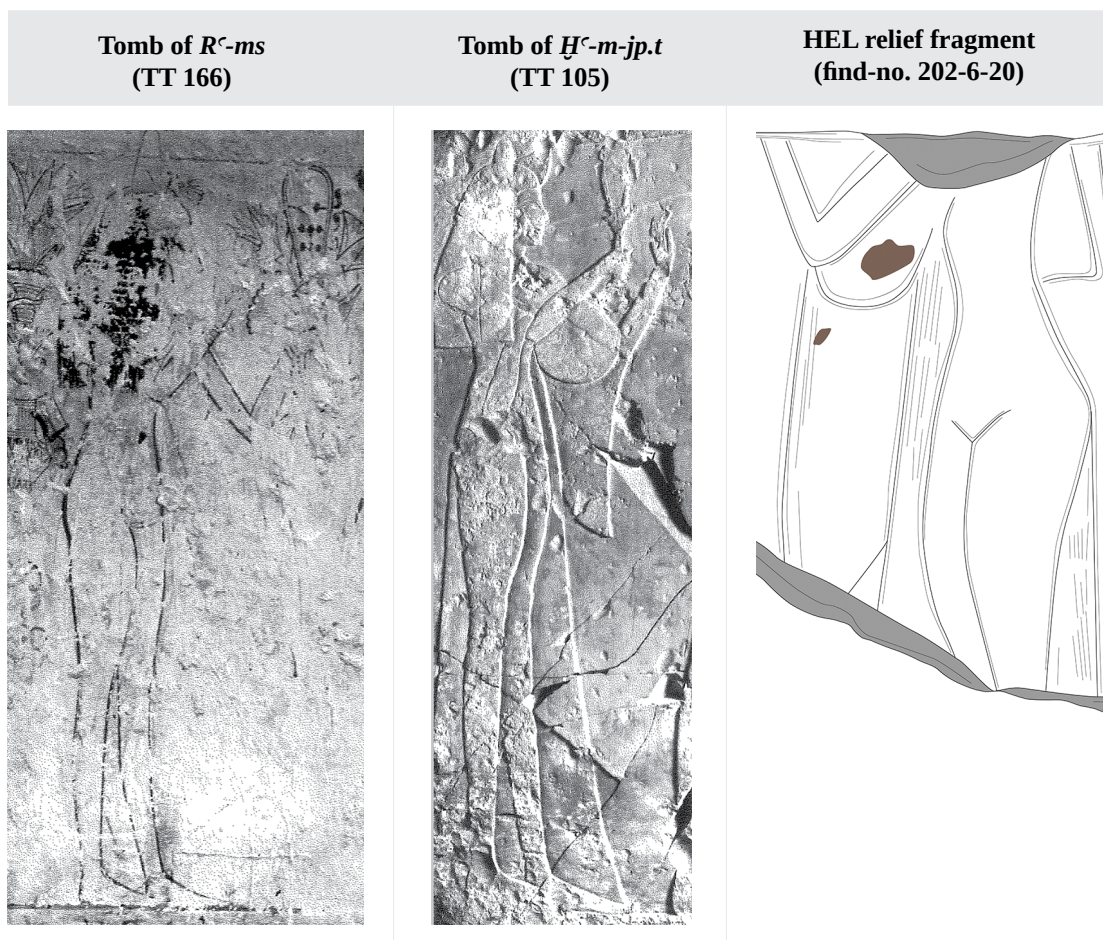


Fig. f: Comparison of selected representations of female figures in or from tombs of the New Kingdom (Photos: HOFMANN/SEYFRIED 1995, pl. 12, fig. b (detail); HOFMANN 2004, 60, fig. 78 (detail); Digital drawing: K. Dietze).

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*.ꜣr: 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*ꜣꜣꜣ (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*ꜣꜣꜣ: 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.

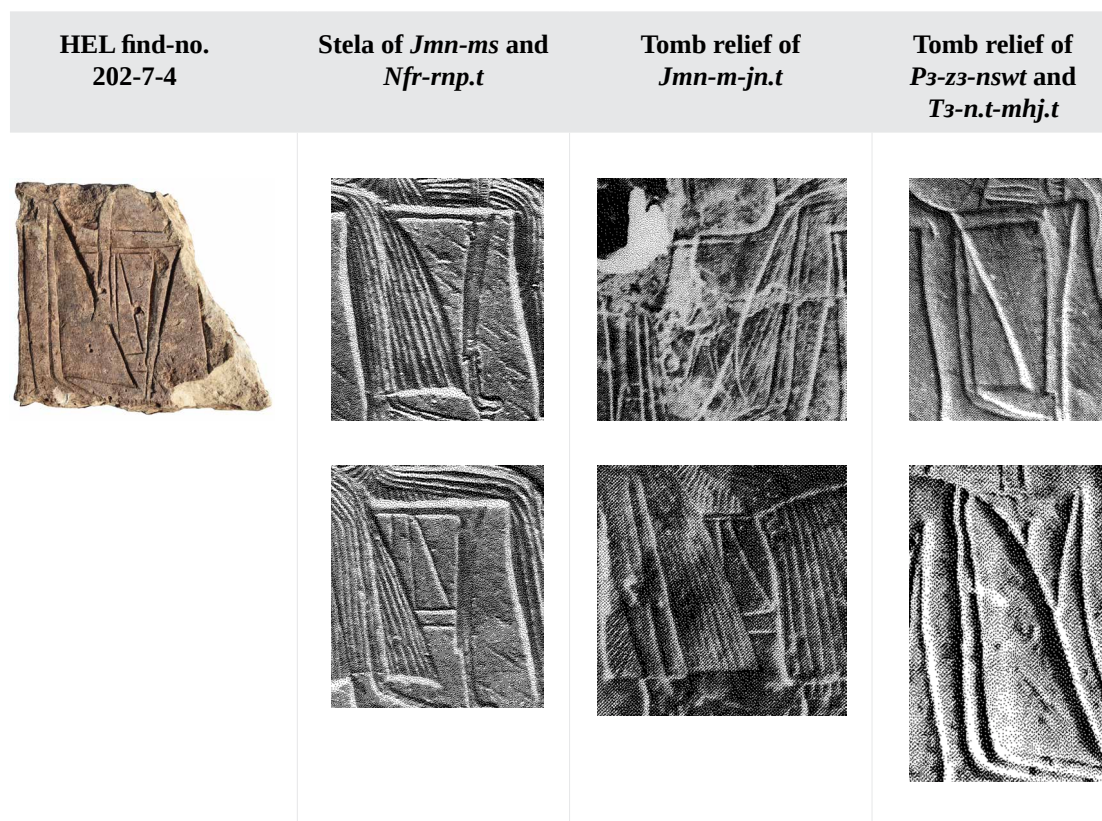


Fig. g:
Depictions of female lower legs in offering scenes of the 20th Dynasty (Photos: K. Dietze; PÖRTNER 1908, 6, no. 20, pl. 6; GOHARY 1991, pl. 56–58, no. 2–4; HÖLBL 1985, 23–29, pl. 9 and 11).

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 *Rj3* 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 ($R^c j^z$), in the cult chamber (P^z-sr) or in the court and in the rear chambers at the same time (H^c), 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 H^c 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 H^c 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: H^c 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 discolorations 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 *šw.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 𐎃 (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; HORNUNG 1995, 105–115) as to put it in Hornung’s words, a “Jenseitsglauben ohne Jenseits” (HORNUNG 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 HORNUNG 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 HORNUNG 1997, 67–70.

²⁴³ On the “Fortleben im Tempel”, see HORNUNG 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.

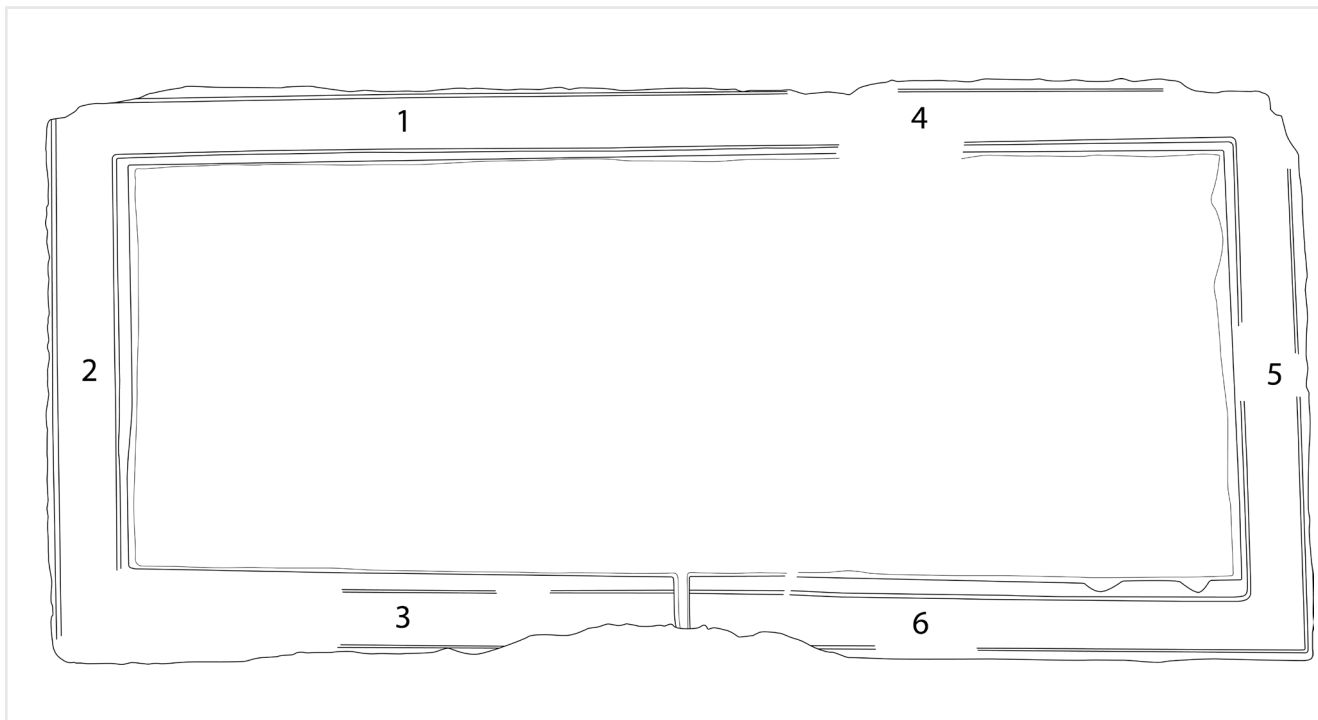

















Fig. i:
The inscription of find-no. 202-3-9,
divided into six chapters (Digital
drawing: K. Dietze).

	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</i> (<i>z</i>) ^{d)} (<i>j</i>) <i>h.t nb(.t)</i> 'nfr(.t) w ^c <i>b.(t)</i> ' ' <i>pr.t-hrw</i> <i>k3 zpd.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>w^cb^{-c}.wj</i> ^{j)} <i>m pr-R^c</i> ^{k)} [<i>Mr</i>]. <i>y</i> -[<i>R^c</i>] ^{l)} <i>m3^c-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</i> <i>R^c-Hr-[zhtj]</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> '[<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>w^cb^{-c}.wj</i> [<i>m</i>] <i>pr-R^c</i> <i>Mr</i> <.y> - <i>R^c</i> <i>m3^c-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 *hṯp* has to be read bidirectionally. At the same time, it replaces the *hṯp*-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-Rʿ*, 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-Rʿ*, 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-Rʿ* 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 *jrp* for “wine” can be supposed here.²⁵¹
- g) As in the case of the preceding appeal, comparable inscriptions suggest the reconstruction of the word *jrt.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 jrp jrt.t*), Baltimore inv. no. 22.91 (lower area of the left text column: *pr.t-hrw k3 3pd.w kbh.w jrp jrt.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 jrp jrt.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 *h₁tp-dj-nswt* is subject to this examination. On the slab, it is twice attested in the particular spelling of *h₁tp-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-Ḥr-ꜣḫ.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-Ḥr-ꜣḫ.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: *ḥtp.w; ḏfꜣ.t*), 15 (keyword: *jḫ.t nb.t*), 2 (keyword: *pr.t-ḥrw*), 274 (keyword: *ḳbh.w*), 127 (keyword: *ḥnm.w snṯr*), 158 (keyword: *md.t; wrḫ.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 sntr</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-W^s.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^hz 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, *ḥnh*-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 *ḥnh*-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 *mꜣ^c-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 *mꜣ^c-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).

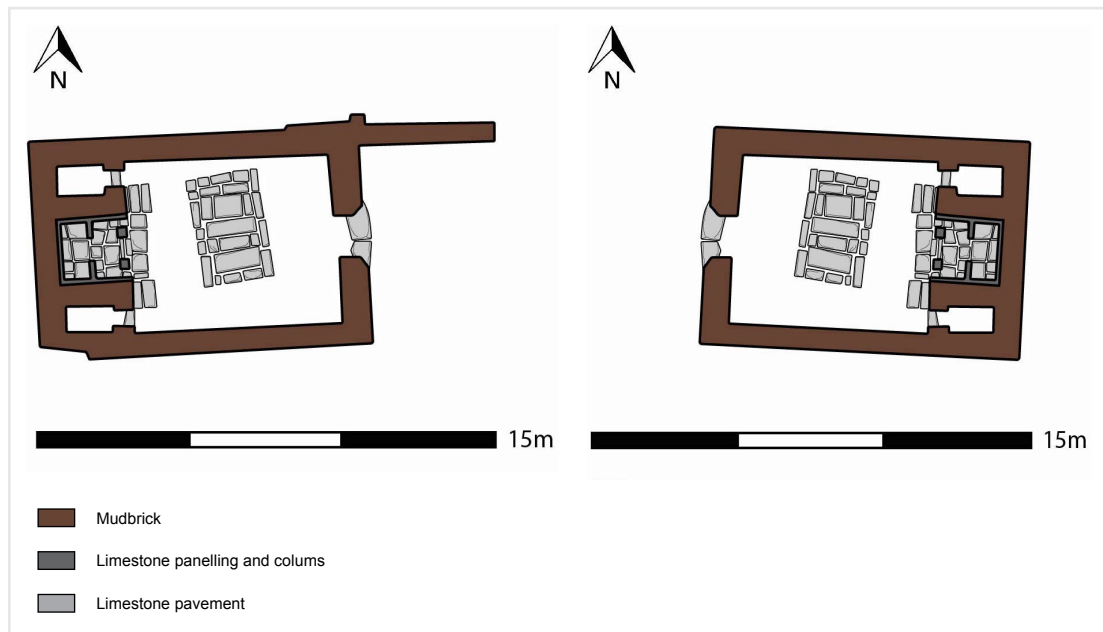


Fig. j:
left: Ground plan of the tomb of *P3-sr* (Saqqara);
right: Reconstruction of the ground plan of the tomb of *Mr.y-Rc* (Heliopolis) based on the comparison with the ground plan of the tomb of *P3-sr* (Saqqara); Digital drawings: K. Dietze).

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.

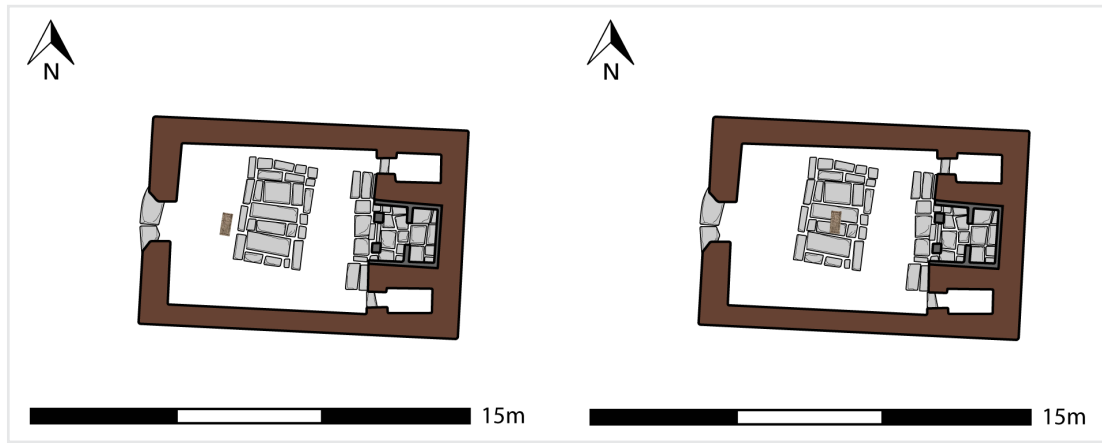


Fig. k:
left, option I: placement in front of the burial shaft;
right, option II: placement on top of the burial shaft (Digital drawings: K. Dietze).

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

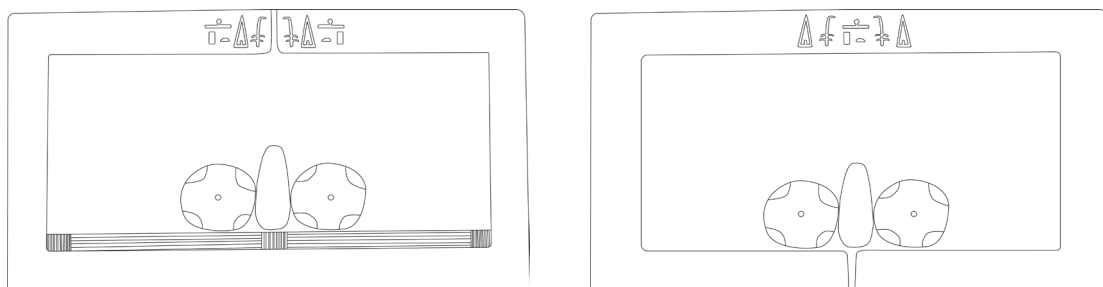


Fig. l:
left, Type 1:
Spout/channel at the top, above the depictions and inscription;
right, Type 2:
Spout/channel at the bottom, below depictions and inscription (Digital drawings: K. Dietze).

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.

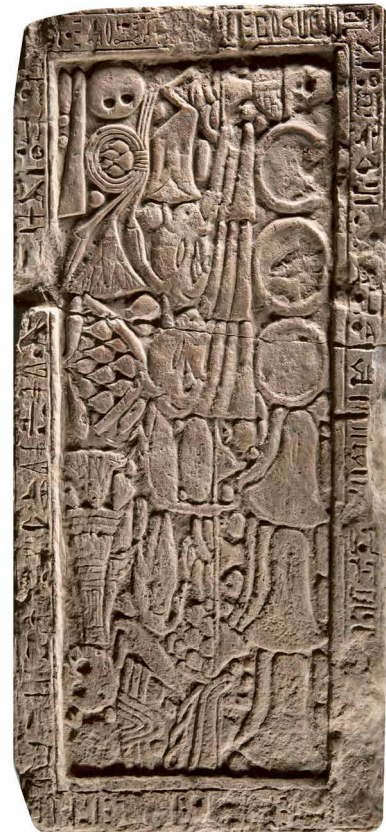


Fig. m:
Proposed orientation
of the offering slab
in the tomb (Photo:
M. Wenzel).

³¹² A clear representation thereof: the depictions of water as a stream of *ꜥh*-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).

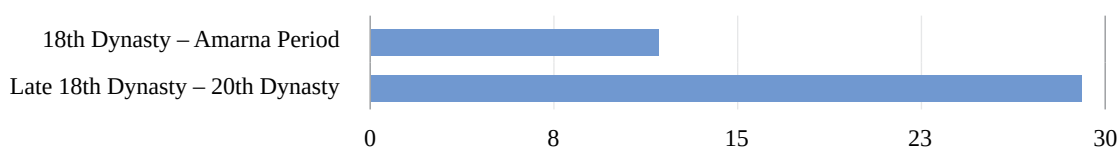


Fig. n: Number of evident tomb owners from Ain Shams.

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://cartel.fr/louvre.fr/cartel/fr/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 (?)						
$w^c b^c . wj m$ <i>Hw.t-^c s.t Jwn.w</i>	<i>Nb-mz^c . t-R^c</i>	RAUE 1999, 209.	Heliopolis						
$(X) + w^c b^c . wj$									
$wb^c z-nswt w^c b^c . wj$	<i>^c nn</i>	RAUE 1999, 167–168.	Heliopolis						
$wb^c z-nswt w^c b^c . wj$	<i>R^c-mss-wsr-ph.tj (1)</i>	RAUE 1999, 230.	Heliopolis						
$wb^c z-nswt w^c b^c . wj$	<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						
$wb^c z-nswt w^c b^c . wj n(j) ^c . t$	<i>R^c-mss-nht/Rwd-n-j-Tj</i>	RAUE 1999, 231.	Heliopolis						
$wr-mz.w w^c b^c . wj m pr-R^c$	<i>Mr.y-Jtm</i>	RAUE 1999, 202–205.	Heliopolis (among others)						
$wr-mz.w w^c b^c . wj m pr-R^c$	<i>Zs-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	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
bell-shaped breads	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
šw.t-cakes	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
oval flatbreads	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
small and elongated breads	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
round flatbreads with two depressions	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
2. Meat and poultry									
hps-foreleg of an ox	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
cut of meat	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
plucked ducks	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
feathered ducks	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
3. Fruits and vegetables									
pomegranate	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
cut pomegranate with ripe cores	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
uncut figs	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
gashed sycamore figs	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
gourd/Egyptian cucumber	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
dates (in a basket)	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
(wine) grapes (in a basket)	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
individual berries (undetermined)	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
4. Plant- and flower bouquets									
nh-bouquet	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
flower bouquet of Amun	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
lettuce	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

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).

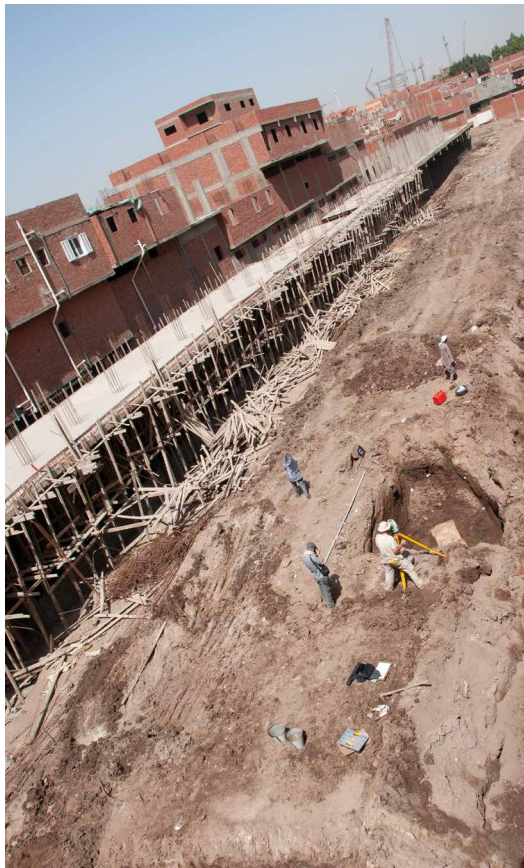


Fig. 4: Excavation in Area 202 (spring 2016); view of residential houses (Photo: D. Raue).



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).

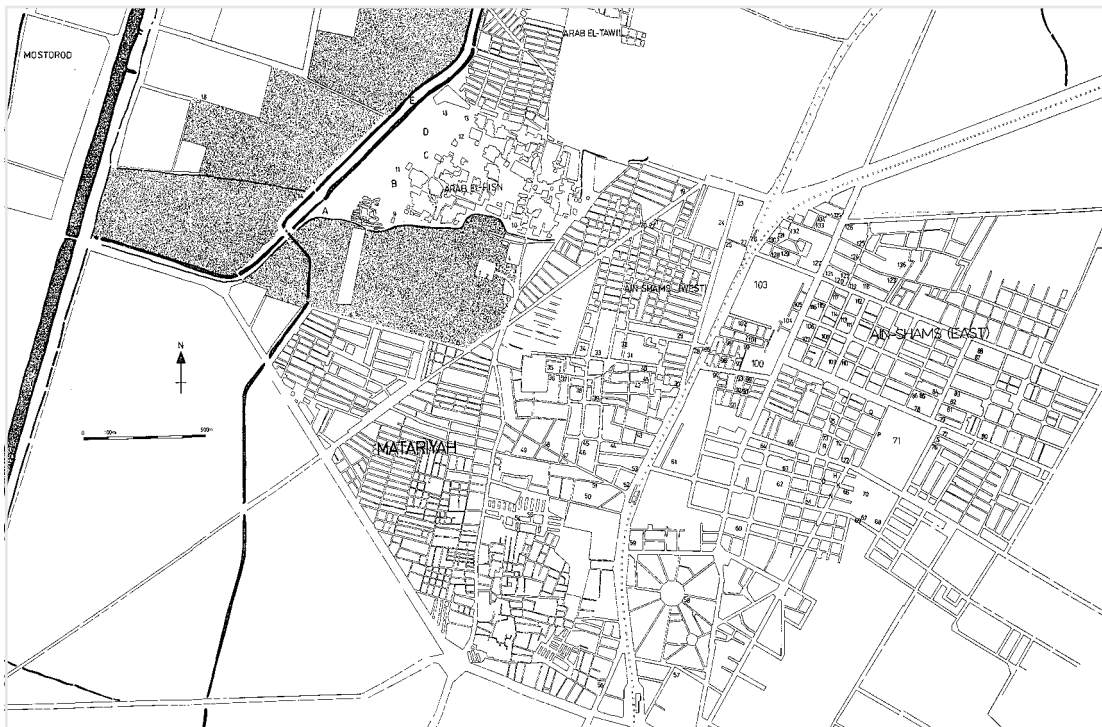


Fig. 7: Find places in the districts Matariyah, Ain Shams, Arab el-Hisn and Arab el-Tawil (RAUE 1999, pl. 3, key *ibid.*, Appendix 1, p. 483–485).

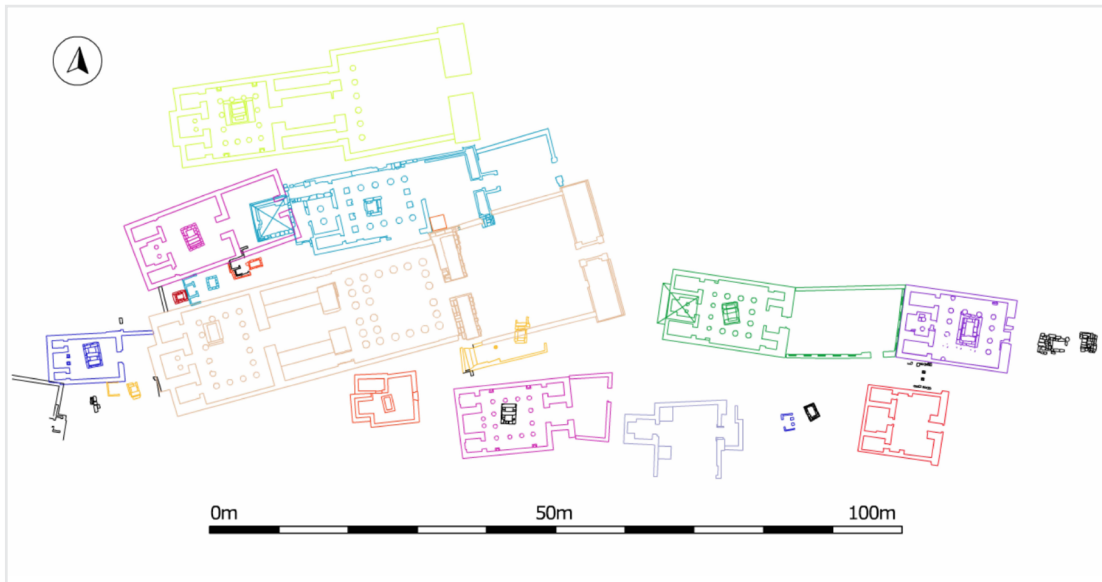


Fig. 8: Plan of the Memphite necropolis in Saqqara (area of excavation of the Dutch-Italian Mission (<http://www.saqqara.nl/excavations/tombs>; last accessed: 09.10.2017).



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).

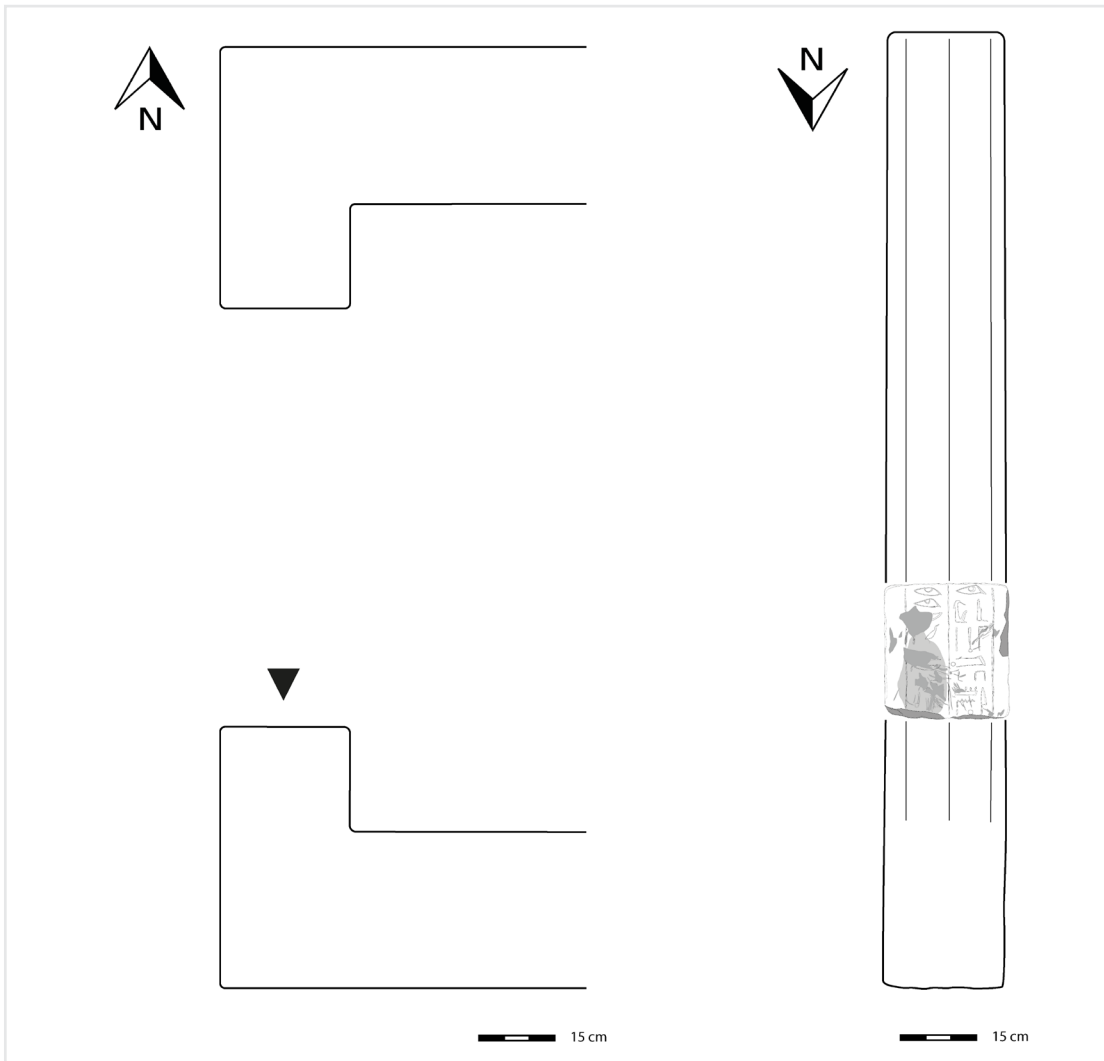


Fig. 14:
Reconstruction of the
original location of
find-no. 202-4-3
(Drawing: K. Dietze).



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).

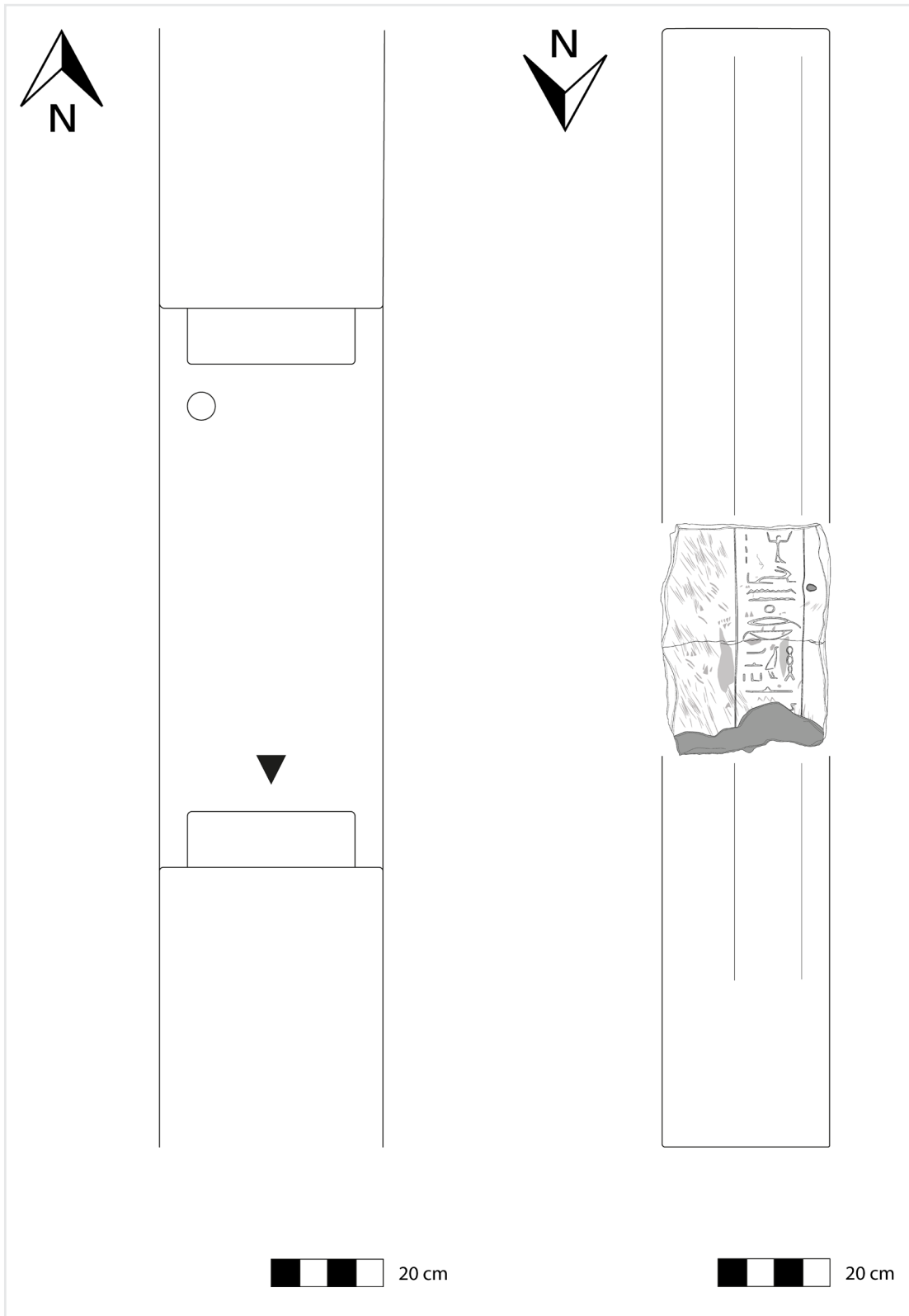


Fig. 17:
Reconstruction of the
original location of
find-no. 203-1-1
(Drawing: K. Dietze).



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).

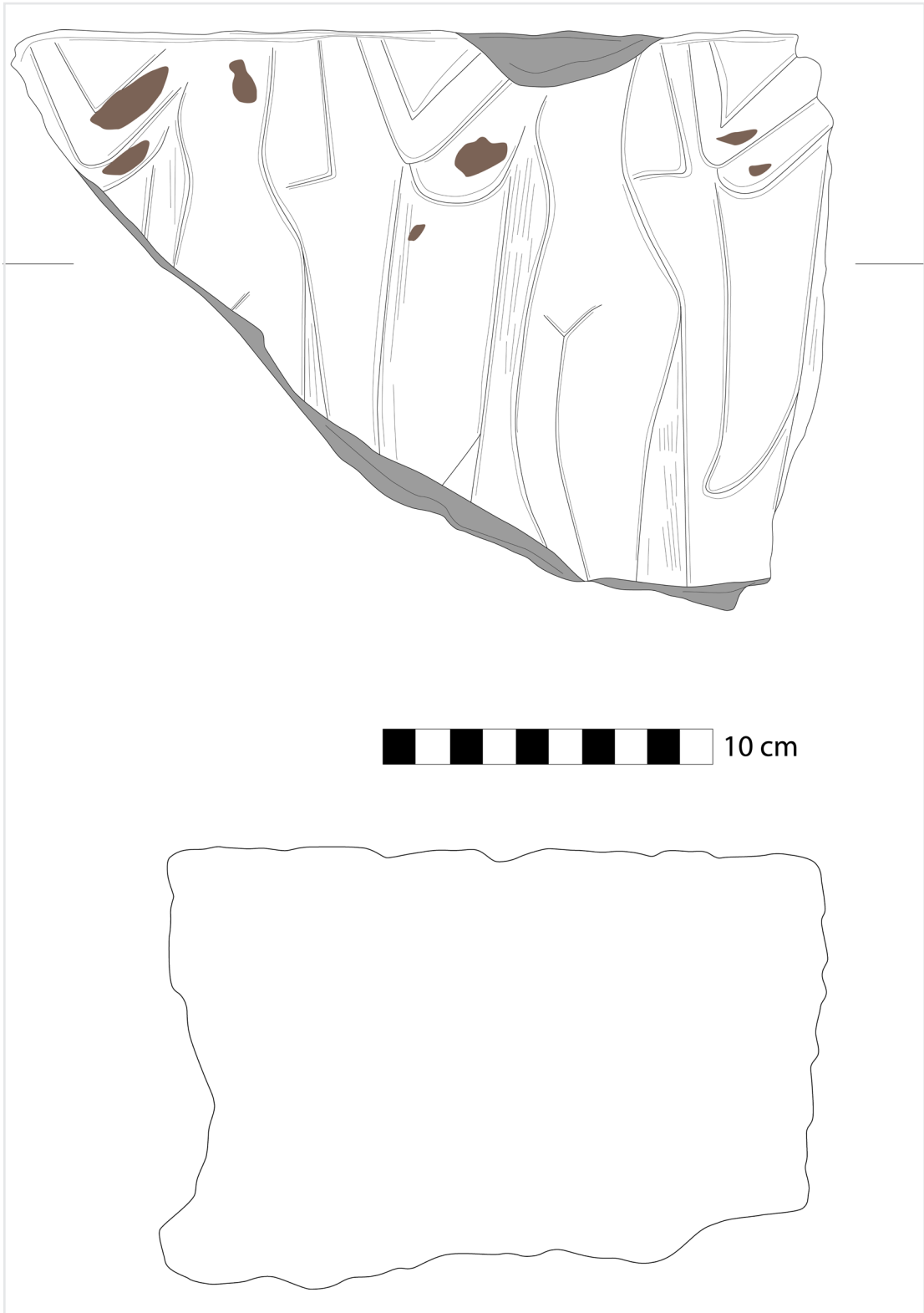


Fig. 20:
Digital drawing of
find-no. 202-6-20
(by P. Collet &
K. Dietze).



Fig. 21:
Freestanding stela in
the forecourt of the
tomb of *Ti3* and *Ti3*
with scene of adora-
tion in two registers
(Photo: K. Dietze).

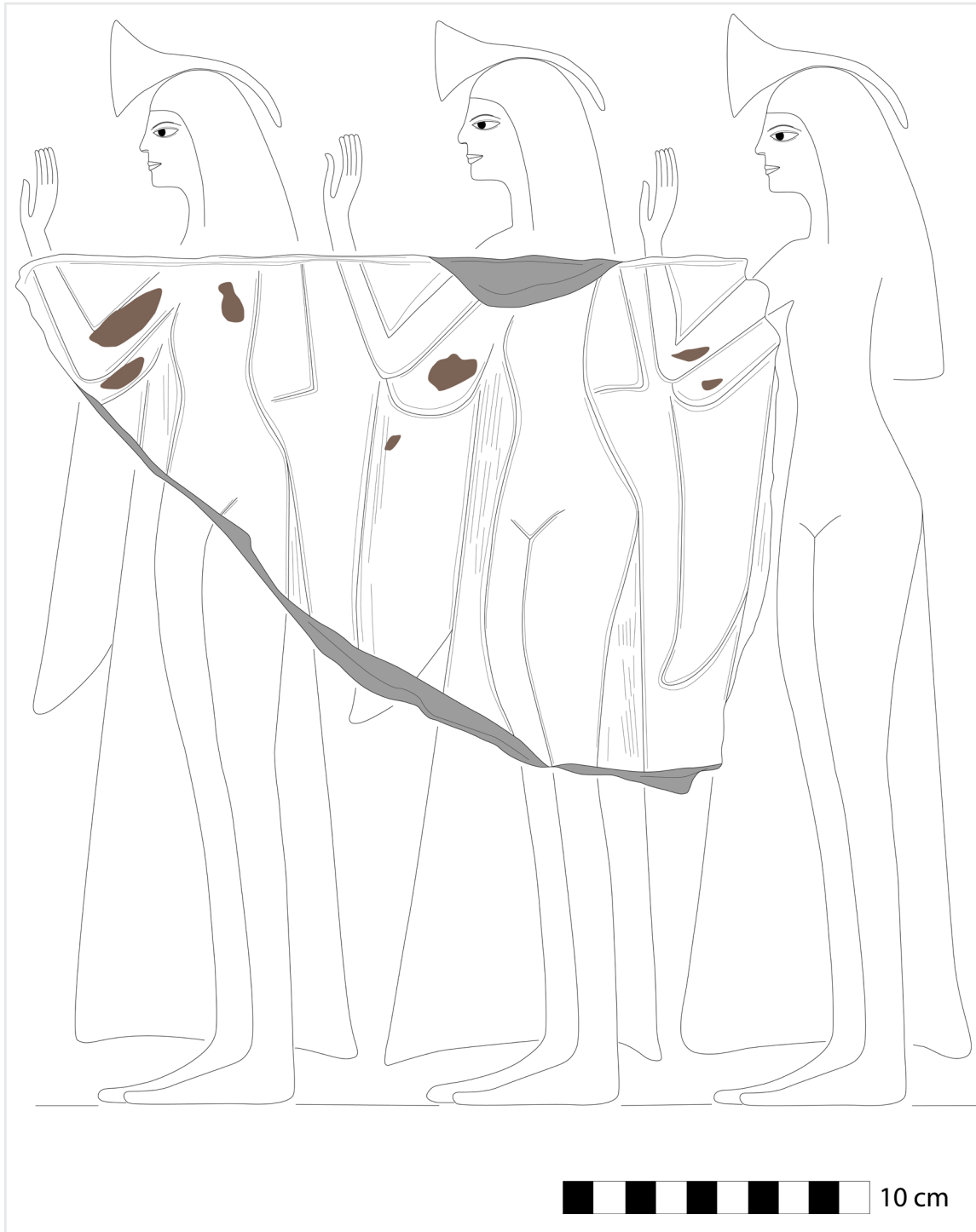


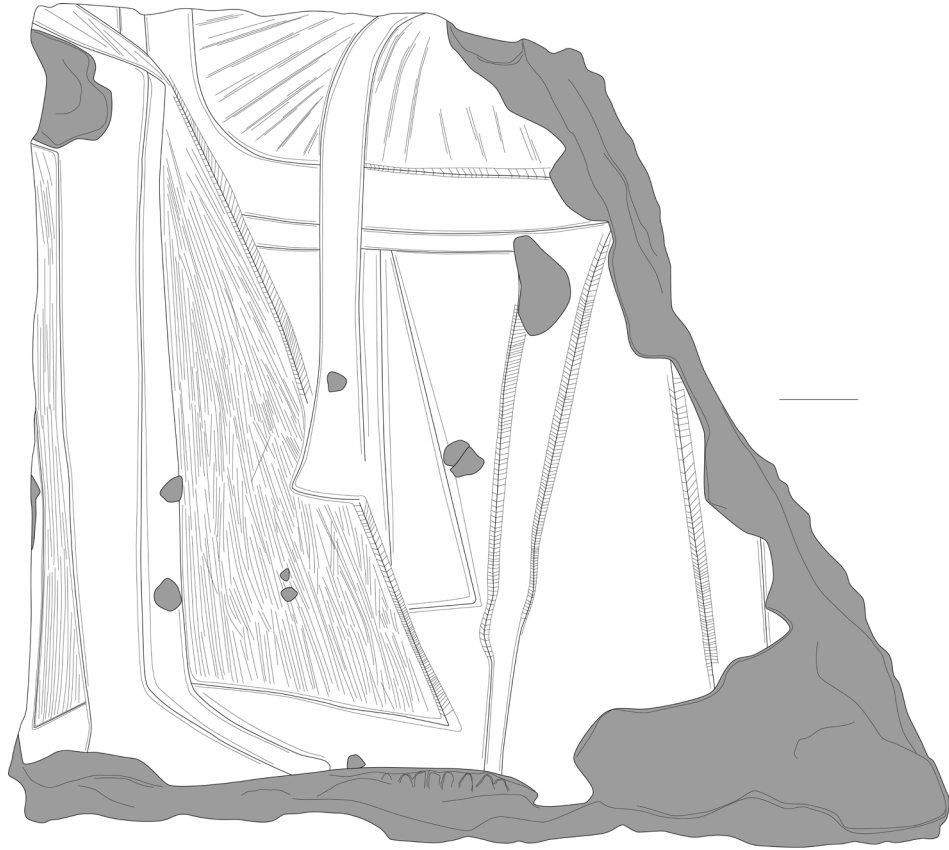
Fig. 22:
Scenic reconstruction
of find-no. 202-6-20
(Drawing: K. Dietze).



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

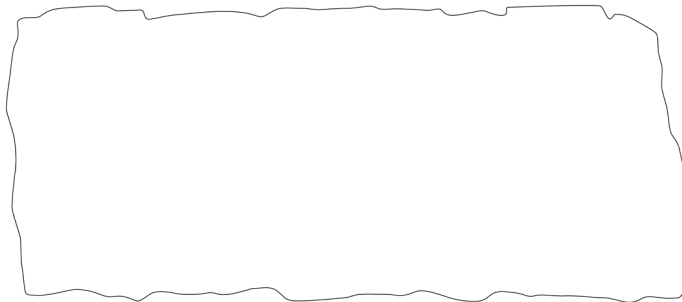


Fig. 25:
Digital drawing of
find-no. 202-7-4
(by P. Collet &
K. Dietze).



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).

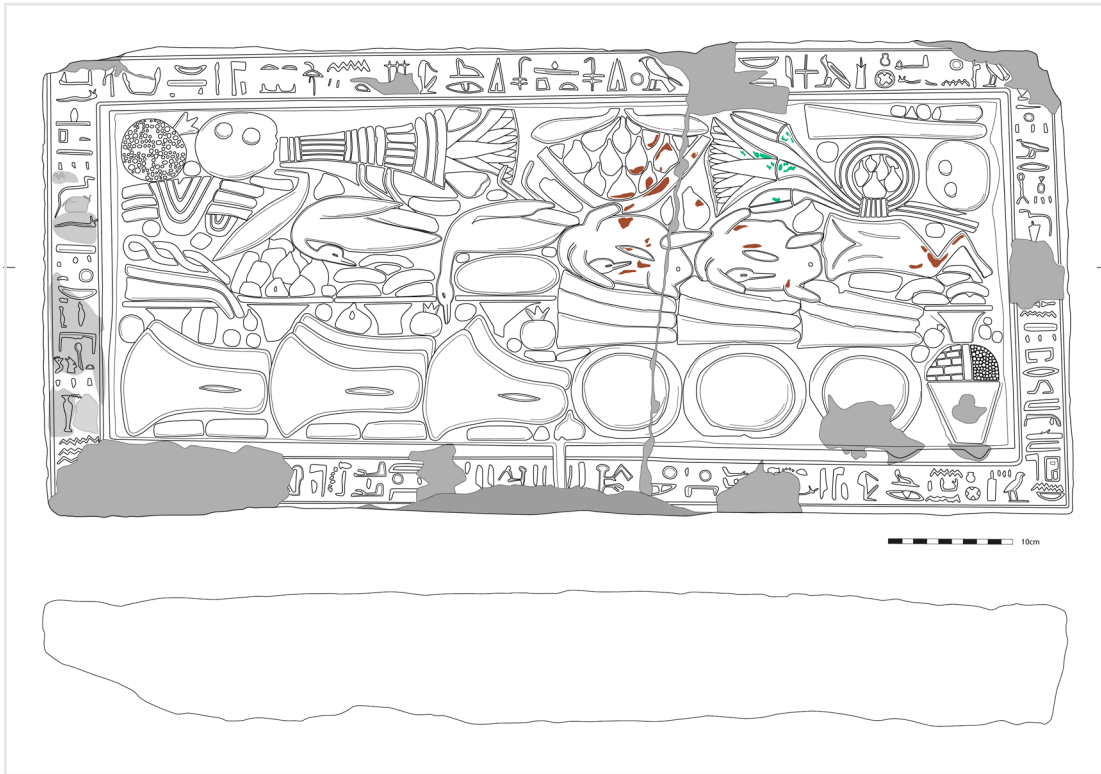


Fig. 31:
Digital drawing of
find-no. 202-3-9
(by P. Collet &
K. Dietze).

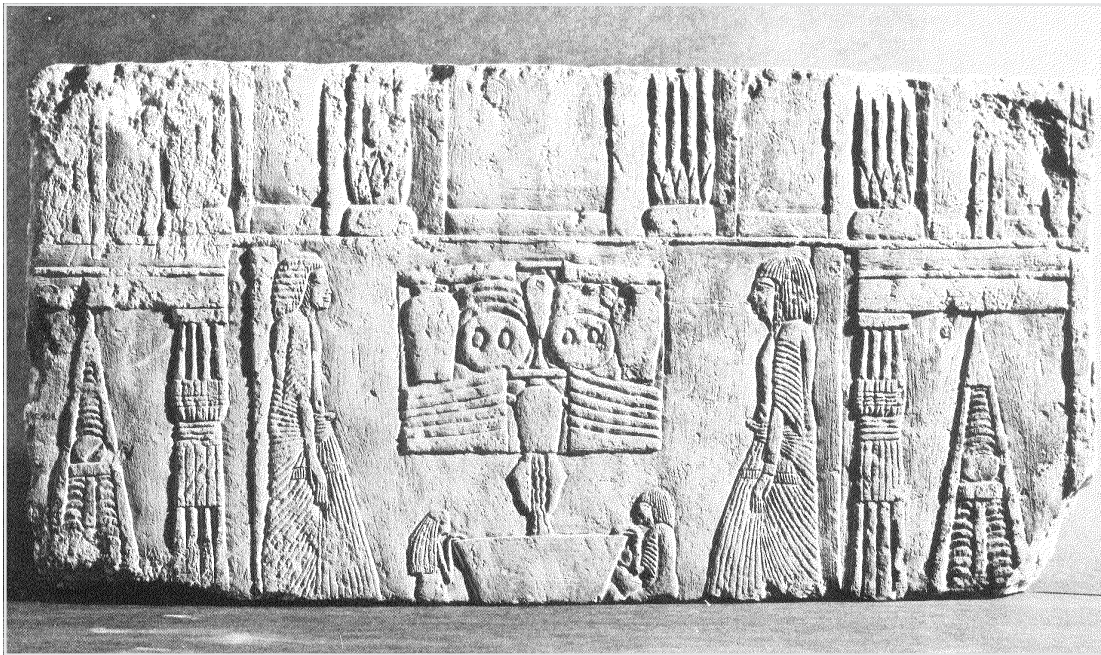


Fig. 32:
Relief fragment
London UC 408
(STEWART 1976,
pl. 53).



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).

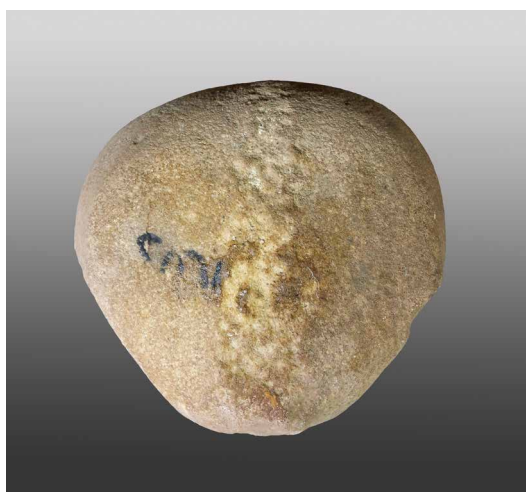


Fig. 5:
Head Reg. no. 2861,
with remains of the
erased uraeus (Top
view, photo:
S. Connor).



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.

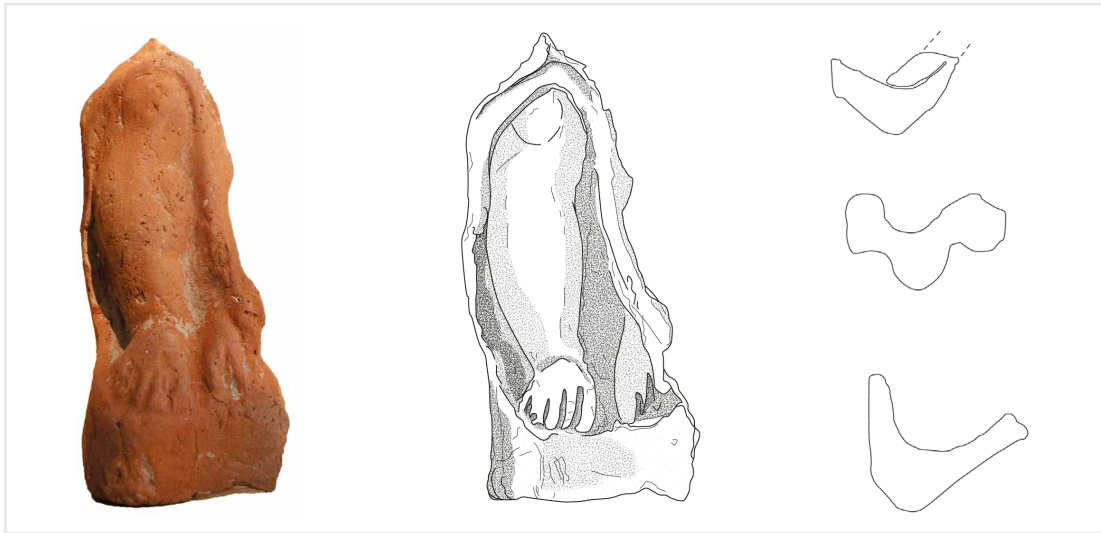


Fig. 1:
Inv. No. 200-L21-2-4,
front (© Heliopolis
Project Cairo/Leipzig;
rendering by
P. Collet).



Fig. 2:
Inv. No. 200-L21-2-4,
right side (© Heliopolis
Project Cairo/
Leipzig; rendering by
P. Collet).

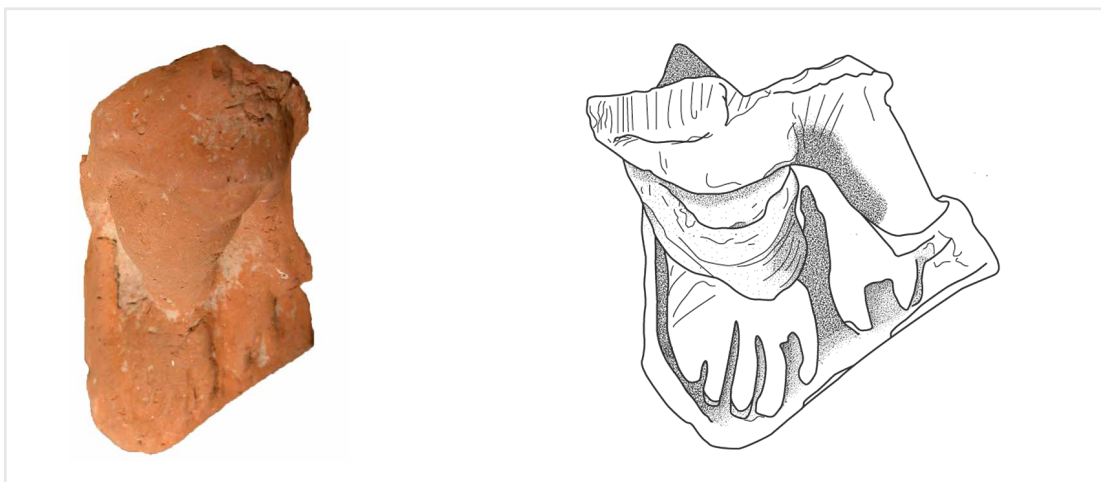


Fig. 3:
Inv. No. 200-L21-2-4,
top view (© Heliopolis
Project Cairo/
Leipzig; rendering by
P. Collet).

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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