

IN THE SHADOW OF OSIRIS:
NON-ROYAL MORTUARY LANDSCAPES AT SOUTH ABYDOS
DURING THE LATE MIDDLE AND NEW KINGDOMS

Kevin M. Cahail

A DISSERTATION

in

Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2014

Supervisor of Dissertation:

Dr. Josef W. Wegner

Associate Professor, Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

Graduate Group Chairperson:

Dr. Paul M. Cobb,

Associate Professor, Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. David P. Silverman, Eckly Brinton Coxe, Jr. Professor of Egyptology, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania

Dr. Betsy M. Bryan, Alexander Badawy Professor of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, Johns Hopkins University

IN THE SHADOW OF OSIRIS: NON-ROYAL MORTUARY LANDSCAPES AT SOUTH ABYDOS
DURING THE LATE MIDDLE, AND NEW KINGDOMS

COPYRIGHT

2014

KEVIN MICHAEL CAHAIL

TO MY WIFE JESSICA:

IN RECOGNITION OF THE PATH WE'VE WALKED TOGETHER, AND
THE OPTIMISM OF WHAT IS YET TO COME.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any work of this nature cannot be created in a vacuum. I am, therefore, indebted to a number of individuals, without whose support I would never have been able to create the following pages.

First and foremost I must attempt to convey my gratitude to my dissertation advisor, Josef Wegner. From the beginning of my doctoral studies at the University of Pennsylvania, to the culmination of this dissertation, he has been a source of unwavering aid and encouragement. In suggesting the topic of this work, he allowed me access to large portions of his archaeological concession at South Abydos. A statement as simple as “thank you” is not enough to express my gratitude for such an opportunity, in which we made amazing discoveries in the field side by side.

This project would never have come to fruition without the help of my dissertation committee: Dr. David P. Silverman, and Dr. Betsy Bryan. I am grateful for Dr. Silverman’s many useful comments on the manuscript, and the various discussions we have had over the years about Egyptian grammar, art, and religion. To Dr. Bryan I must express my gratitude for reading and commenting on this dissertation, and incorporating the defense into her schedule. Thank you both.

The excavations at South Abydos which makeup the core of this work were carried out under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology expedition to Abydos, led by Dr. Josef Wegner. A travel grant from the Museum greatly facilitated my summer 2013 field season, for which I am grateful.

Thanks are also due to the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Egypt for their assistance and cooperation with our three excavations seasons between 2012-2014. Among others, the SCA director during our 2012-2013 season, Mohamed Abdel Fattah, the director and staff of the local Sohag Inspectorate, and our site inspectors, Hazam, Akrum Hanby, Ahmed Ibrahim Abu Ganeb, and Ayman Mohamed Damarany. Our work on site progressed smoothly, thanks to our excavation teams and Gufti overseers, led by Rais Ibrahim Mohamed Ali. Great appreciation is also due to the Egyptian staff of the joint Penn-Yale-IFA excavation house: Ahmed Ragab, Hassan Mutawalli Abdullah, Singab Abd el-Rahman, Lashin Ahmed Lashin, and many others.

Friends and colleagues, both past and present, were often a source of inspiration and assistance. Joshua Jeffers has been a constant friend, and was always available to discuss the finer points of both grammar and archaeology. Jennifer Houser Wegner's assistance in analyzing and drawing a number of Temple Cemetery objects conveys both her academic and artistic prowess better than any mere words I can conjure. Shelby Justl assisted with pottery analysis and drawing during the Summer 2013 field season, reminding me that one person can never carry out every aspect of a project. Paul Verhelst and Matt Olson did an amazing job organizing and analyzing a sizeable portion of the New Kingdom human osteological material from the Temple Cemetery during the Summer 2013, and Winter 2013-2014. I must thank Joshua Roberson for his useful comments on the TC.20 heart amulet, Nick Picardo for access and information on objects from Building E in *Wah-sut*, and Kyoko Yamahana of Tokai University for her very useful comments. For all of their academic assistance, both in the field and at home, I am eternally grateful.

Last, but in no way least, I must thank my family and friends. My friends Danny Woo, John Magee, Dave Romeyn, Axel Atkinson, and Dave Arnold-Fernandez always have the ability to put a smile on my face. To my parents: thank you for kindling the dreams of a young boy who wanted to grow up to be King Tut, but quickly realized becoming an Egyptologist might be slightly easier, and frankly more fun. You both, more so than anyone else, have witnessed all the permutations of my struggle toward the goal of Ph.D. Thank you for your unwavering faith in my abilities and resolve. And finally to my wife, Jessica, who has acted as my registrar and photographer in the field, my proofreader in the library, and a constant sounding board at home for any and all theories and notions I needed to discuss *ad nauseam*. She has, and continues to stand by me through all my work at Penn, and therefore, it is to her that I dedicate this culmination of my doctoral dreams.

ABSTRACT

IN THE SHADOW OF OSIRIS: NON-ROYAL MORTUARY LANDSCAPES AT SOUTH ABYDOS
DURING THE LATE MIDDLE AND NEW KINGDOMS


Kevin M. Cahail

Dr. Josef W. Wegner

The site of South Abydos was home to royal mortuary complexes of both the late Middle, and New Kingdoms, belonging to Senwosret III and Ahmose. Thanks to both recent and past excavations, both of these royal establishments are fairly well understood. Yet, we lack a clear picture of the mortuary practices of the non-royal individuals living and working in the shadow of these institutions. For both periods, the main question is where the tombs of the non-royal citizens might exist. Additionally for the Middle Kingdom is the related issue of how these people commemorated their dead ancestors. Divided into two parts, this dissertation looks at the ways in which non-royal individuals living at South Abydos during these two periods dealt with burial and funerary commemoration. Three seasons of field work in and around the Senwosret III mortuary complex, and the associated town of *Wah-sut*, uncovered a previously unexplored New Kingdom cemetery. We excavated and analyzed the contents of six tombs belonging to this burial ground, which we dubbed the Temple Cemetery due to its proximity to the earlier mortuary temple of Senwosret III. Further exploration of the site revealed numerous Middle Kingdom objects related to both tomb assemblages and funerary commemoration. The discovery of the tomb of Useribre Senebkay in January 2014 revealed numerous inscribed late Middle Kingdom chapel blocks, which had been reused

to construct the Abydene Dynast's burial chamber. While we did not discover any tombs of the late Middle Kingdom, the results of these excavations demonstrate that tombs of this period almost certainly exist in the area. Commemorative objects from within *Wah-sut* evince a complex system of domestic funerary rituals meant to commemorate the recently-deceased, which link this site with contemporary settlements at Lahun and Kom el-Fakhry. New Kingdom vaulted tombs such as that belonging to the scribe Horemheb and the Stable master Rameses testify that South Abydos was still a highly significant burial ground during the late Eighteenth Dynasty, including the burials of individuals with significant wealth. In short, this dissertation presents the previously unpublished results of ongoing archaeological excavation at the site of South Abydos.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xviii
LIST OF TABLES	xviii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xxiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW.....	1
§1.1 Definitions and Conventions	1
1.1.1 Chronology: Defining the “late Middle Kingdom”	2
1.1.2 Local Directions vs. True Compass Directions	4
1.1.3 Royal and Non-Royal	6
1.1.4 Mortuary “Landscapes”	7
§1.2 Abydos.....	7
1.2.1 The Name 	8
1.2.2 Geography of Abydos.....	9
1.2.3 Major Monuments of North Abydos	11
1.2.4 Major Monuments of South Abydos	15
§1.3 The South Abydos Tomb Census (SATC) Project.....	17
1.3.1 Background and Mission of the Project.....	17
1.3.2 Timeline of SATC Excavations.....	19
§1.4 Non-Royal Mortuary Landscapes of South Abydos: Statement of Problems	22
§1.5 Non-Royal Mortuary Landscapes of South Abydos: Structure of Dissertation ..	24
PART ONE: NON-ROYAL MORTUARY LANDSCAPES AT SOUTH ABYDOS IN THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM.....	26
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORY, PERSONAL PIETY, AND THE ABYDENE CULT OF OSIRIS DURING THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM	27
§2.1 Implementation of Royal Ideology during the Twelfth Dynasty.....	28
2.1.1 Defining “King” and “Kingship”.....	28
2.1.2 Royal Power in the Twelfth Dynasty.....	30
§ 2.2 The Late Twelfth Dynasty: Historical Overview	35

	x
2.2.1 Senwosret III and Nubia	35
2.2.2 Amenemhat III and the End of the Twelfth Dynasty.....	38
§2.3 The Early Thirteenth Dynasty and Funerary Evolution.....	41
2.3.1 The Early Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty	41
2.3.2 Changes in Funerary Ideology in the Late Middle Kingdom: An Overview .	44
§2.4 Royal and Non-royal Interaction with the Abydene Cult of Osiris	46
2.4.1 The Osiris and Horus Cycle: Prototypical Egyptian Kingship	47
2.4.2 The Evolution of the Abydene Temple of Osiris.....	54
2.4.3 The “Tomb” of Osiris at Umm el-Gaab.....	56
2.4.4 Ikhnofret and the Osiris Procession	57
2.4.5 The Terrace of the Great God in the Twelfth Dynasty	60
§2.5 The Osirian Complex of Senwosret III at South Abydos: An Overview	63
2.5.1 The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III	64
2.5.2 The Subterranean Tomb of Senwosret III.....	65
2.5.3 The Town of <i>Wah-sut</i>	69
2.5.4 Synthesis	72
§2.6 South Abydene Royal Monuments Following the Reign of Senwosret III	72
2.6.1 “Amenemhat” at South Abydos.....	73
2.6.2 Structures S9 and S10	81
§2.7 Summary and Conclusion.....	89
CHAPTER THREE: NON-ROYAL BURIAL PRACTICES OF THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM	91
§3.1 A Study of Late Middle Kingdom Tombs and Burial Assemblages	91
3.1.1 The Connection between Social Status and Burial Practice	91
3.1.2 Methodology	93
3.1.3 Statement of Problems	96
§3.2 Middle Kingdom Burials at Lahun	97
3.2.1 Lahun: History of Excavation and Geographic Setting	98
3.2.2 Lahun: Cemetery 900.....	98
3.2.3 Lahun: Western Ridge Cemetery and Western Hill	102
3.2.4 Lahun: “The Dome”	104
3.2.5 Haraga	105
§3.3 Middle Kingdom Burials at North Abydos.....	115

	xi
3.3.1 Abydos: Garstang Cemetery E (AGE).....	116
3.3.2 Abydos: Peet Cemeteries X and Z (APX and APZ).....	122
3.3.3 Abydos: Peet and Loat Cemetery D (APD).....	126
3.3.4 Abydos: Peet Cemetery S (APS)	128
§3.4 Middle Kingdom Burials at Buhen.....	130
3.4.1 History of Excavation and Geographic Setting	130
3.4.2 Buhen Cemetery K (BK)	132
§3.5 Middle Kingdom Burials at Mirgissa	135
3.5.1 History of Excavation and Geographic Setting	135
3.5.2 Mirgissa Cemetery Mx-Tc.....	136
§3.6 Mortuary Practice during the Late Middle Kingdom: Results and Trends.....	138
3.6.1 The Five Culture-groups of the Early Middle Kingdom	139
3.6.2 Dissemination of Material Culture from the Royal Residence.....	140
3.6.3 Disappearance of the Office of Nomarch during the Late Middle Kingdom	141
3.6.4 Coffin / Sarcophagus and Funerary Mask Styles.....	144
3.6.5 Tomb Architecture.....	146
3.6.6 Apotropaia and Objects Related to Mothers and Children	149
3.6.7 Shabtis.....	157
§3.7 Conclusions.....	158
§3.8 Register of Tombs Included in the Foregoing Study.....	161
§3.9 Pottery Typologies.....	169
3.9.1 Lahun and Haraga.....	169
3.9.2 North Abydos.....	170
3.9.3 Mirgissa.....	170
3.9.4 Buhen	171
CHAPTER FOUR: TOMB CHAPELS AND MORTUARY EQUIPMENT AT SOUTH ABYDOS DURING THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM.....	172
§ 4.1 Tomb Placement and Funerary Access at South Abydos	175
4.1.1 <i>Wah-sut</i> and Lahun: Town Size and Population.....	175
4.1.2 Topography and Cemetery Placement	180
4.1.3 Summary	187
§ 4.2 Late Middle Kingdom Tomb Chapel Fragments from South Abydos	190
4.2.1 Archaeological Context of Architectural Fragments	190

	xii
4.2.2 Northwest Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN4)	191
4.2.3 Southwest Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS3).....	194
4.2.4 Floor of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RF1).....	197
4.2.5 Southeast Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS1).....	200
4.2.6 South Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS2)	202
4.2.7 North Wall, Outside the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN1)	205
4.2.8 Middle of the North Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN2).....	207
4.2.9 Bottom of the North Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN3)	209
4.2.10 Synthesis	215
§4.3 Late Middle Kingdom Funerary Equipment from South Abydos	227
4.3.1 Faience Hippopotamus Figures.....	227
4.3.2 Apotropaion	230
4.3.3 “Concubine” Figure	232
4.3.4 Other Items of a Funerary Nature	234
4.3.5 Summary and Conclusions	235
§ 4.4 Conclusions.....	236
CHAPTER FIVE: DOMESTIC FUNERARY COMMEMORATION AT SOUTH ABYDOS DURING THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM.....	237
§ 5.1 Funerary Commemoration during the Late Middle Kingdom.....	238
5.1.1 Commemoration at the Tomb-site	239
5.1.2 Commemoration in Memorial Chapels without Burials.....	241
5.1.3 Commemoration in the Home: Domestic Funerary Cult.....	243
5.1.4 Summary	250
§ 5.2 Late Middle Kingdom Commemorative Objects from <i>Wah-sut</i>	250
5.2.1 Non-royal Statuary.....	251
5.2.2 Stelae.....	256
5.2.3 Offering Tables	269
5.2.4 Offering Columns and Dwarf Statues.....	275
5.2.5 Limestone Door Lintel.....	283
5.2.6 Location of Domestic Cult within the Houses of <i>Wah-sut</i>	286
§ 5.3 Conclusions.....	288

PART TWO: NON-ROYAL MORTUARY LANDSCAPES AT SOUTH ABYDOS IN THE EARLY NEW KINGDOM.....	290
CHAPTER SIX: SOUTH ABYDOS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND	291
EARLY NINETEENTH DYNASTIES.....	291
§ 6.1 Theory of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty	292
6.1.1 Middle Kingdom Antecedents of New Kingdom Kingship	292
6.1.2 New Kingdom Ideology of Kingship.....	294
§6.2 The Ahmose Cult and Eighteenth Dynasty Kingship at Abydos.....	296
6.2.1 Ahmose and the Expulsion of the Hyksos	297
6.2.2 The Ahmose Pyramid Complex at South Abydos: Architectural Overview	299
6.2.3 Expression of Royal Ideology in Ahmose's South Abydene Complex.....	301
§6.3 Other Eighteenth Dynasty Royal monuments at Abydos	309
6.3.1 Tetisheri Pyramid and Chapel.....	310
6.3.2 Temples of Thutmosis III.....	311
6.3.3 Royal Structures inside the Osiris Precinct at North Abydos	313
§6.4 Royal Succession at the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty	315
6.4.1 Problems in Royal Succession after Akhenaten	315
6.4.2 Ramesses I and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty	317
§6.5 Nineteenth Dynasty Expression of Royal Ideology: Seti I at Abydos.....	319
6.5.1 Temple Dedicated to Ramesses I.....	320
6.5.2 The Mortuary Temple of Seti I at North Abydos	322
§6.6 The Construction Program of Ramesses II at Abydos.....	323
6.6.1 The Mortuary Temple of Ramesses II	324
6.6.2 The So-Called Portal Temple of Ramesses II.....	326
§6.7 Royal Legitimation in Early Ramesside Mortuary Temples at Abydos.....	331
§6.8 South Abydene Population Centers During the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Dynasties.....	334
6.8.1 New Kingdom Population at South Abydos and the "Ahmose-town" Problem	335
6.8.2 Longevity of <i>Wah-sut</i> and Chronological Span of the New Kingdom Settlement	337
6.8.3 The Name of <i>Wah-sut</i> and the Identification of the 'Ahmose-town'	339
§6.9 Non-royal Funerary Practice at Abydos During the early New Kingdom	341
6.9.1 Terrace of the Great God during the New Kingdom	342

	xiv
6.9.2 Overview of New Kingdom Cemeteries at Abydos	343
§6.10 Summary and Conclusions	348
CHAPTER SEVEN: NEW KINGDOM TOMB ARCHITECTURE AT.....	350
SOUTH ABYDOS.....	350
§7.1 Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt: An Overview	350
7.1.1 Mud-brick Fabrication: Materials and Techniques.....	351
7.1.2 Adobe Arches and Vaults: Styles and Methods.....	355
§7.2 The Non-Royal Cemetery at South Abydos	359
7.2.1 The Temple Cemetery: History of Excavation	360
7.2.2 Temple Cemetery: Location and Layout	361
§7.3 New Kingdom Non-Royal Tomb Architecture at South Abydos: Types.....	365
7.3.1 Architecture Type 1	366
7.3.2 Architecture Type 2	366
7.3.3 Architecture Type 3	367
7.3.4 Architecture Type 4	367
§7.4 New Kingdom Tombs of South Abydos (2012-2013 Excavations): Temple Cemetery	368
7.4.1 Tomb TC.7.....	368
7.4.2 Tomb TC.9.....	371
7.4.3 Tomb TC.10.....	374
7.4.4 Tomb TC.11.....	376
7.4.5 Tomb TC.19.....	379
7.4.6 Tomb TC.20.....	382
§7.5 Summary of Tomb Construction Techniques at South Abydos	386
7.5.1 Mud-bricks of the New Kingdom Tombs at South Abydos: Overview	387
7.5.2 Vault Construction Techniques at South Abydos.....	390
7.5.3 Door Blocking.....	392
§7.6 Possibility of Superstructures in the Temple Cemetery.....	392
7.6.1 Temple Cemetery Superstructures: Direct Evidence.....	393
7.6.2 Superstructure: Circumstantial Evidence.....	395
§7.7 Comparative Analysis of Contemporary Tomb Surface Structures	399
7.7.1 New Kingdom Tombs at North Abydos	399
7.7.2 Cemetery D at Amara West	403

	xv
7.7.3 Aniba.....	405
7.7.4 Deir el-Medina.....	409
7.7.5 Soleb	411
7.7.6 Application of Comparative Analysis to the Temple Cemetery.....	412
§7.8 Summary and Conclusions	416
CHAPTER EIGHT: COFFINS, ARTIFACTS, AND HUMAN REMAINS	422
OF THE NEW KINGDOM TOMBS AT SOUTH ABYDOS	422
§ 8.1 Coffins and Sarcophagi.....	422
8.1.1 Black-type Coffins	423
8.1.2 Yellow-type Coffins.....	431
8.1.3 The Possibility of Daily Life-type Coffins	436
8.1.4 Coffin Eyes and Inlays.....	437
8.1.5 Sandstone Sarcophagi	438
§8.2 Shabtis.....	466
8.2.1 Pottery Shabtis	467
8.2.2 Carved and Painted Wood Shabtis.....	471
8.2.3 Limestone Shabtis	473
8.2.4 Faience Shabti	474
§8.3 Pottery	474
8.3.1 Blue Painted Ware	475
8.3.2 ‘Beer Jars’ and ‘Offering Cups’	477
8.3.3 Open Forms.....	479
8.3.4 Closed Forms	480
8.3.5 Pottery from the TC.20 Embalming Cache.....	481
8.3.6 Foreign Imports.....	486
8.3.7 Jar Stoppers	487
8.3.8 Pottery Synthesis.....	488
§8.4 Non-Pottery Vessels	488
8.4.1 Faience Bowls.....	488
8.4.2 Glass Vessels	492
8.4.3 Stone Vessel.....	493
8.4.4 Unfired Mud Vessels	494
§8.5 Jewelry and Amulets.....	495

	xvi
8.5.1 Scarab Pectorals	495
8.5.2 Anthropomorphized Heart Amulet	498
8.5.3 Beads	500
8.5.4 Faience Finger Ring	502
§8.6 Other Objects	502
8.6.1 Boxes	503
8.6.2 Knobs, Buttons, and Appliqués	504
8.6.3 Gold Leaf	505
8.6.4 Glass Rods	505
§8.7 Human Remains	506
8.7.1 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.7	507
8.7.2 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.9	507
8.7.3 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.10	509
8.7.4 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.11 North Burial Chamber	509
8.7.5 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.11 South Burial Chamber	510
8.7.6 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.19	511
8.7.7 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.20	511
8.7.8 Summary of Human Remains	512
§8.8 Synthesis	514
8.8.1 Overall Date of the Temple Cemetery Tombs	514
8.8.2 Status Levels as Demonstrated by Artifact Assemblages	516
PART THREE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	518
CHAPTER NINE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	519
§9.1 Funerary Landscapes at South Abydos: Restatement of Problems	519
§9.2 Late Middle Kingdom Non-royal Tombs at South Abydos	520
§9.3 Domestic Cult at <i>Wah-sut</i> during the Late Middle Kingdom	527
§9.4 The New Kingdom South Abydene Non-Royal Funerary Landscapes	530
9.4.1 South Abydos and the Temple Cemetery during the New Kingdom	530
9.4.2 New Kingdom Interaction with Middle Kingdom Sites: The “Ahmose-Town”	532
9.4.3 TC.20, Ramesu, and the Nineteenth Dynasty Royal Family	533
9.4.4 Summary	542
§9.5 Future Goals of the SATC Project	543

	xvii
§9.6 Concluding Remarks.....	544
APPENDIX ONE: TEMPLE CEMETERY TOMB ASSEMBLAGES.....	546
TC.7	546
TC.9	547
TC.10	548
TC.11	549
TC.19	550
TC.20	551
APPENDIX TWO: SATC POTTERY CORPUS.....	554
Open Forms:	554
Closed Forms:	556
Jar Stands:	564
INDEX	643

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER TWO:		
2.1	Kings of the Early Thirteenth Dynasty	42
CHAPTER SEVEN:		
7.1	Distances from Temple Cemetery to Various Abydene Landmarks .	363
7.2	Distribution of Structures in the Temple Cemetery by Tomb Type .	365
7.3	Wall Brick Sizes in the Temple Cemetery	387
CHAPTER EIGHT:		
8.1	Distribution of Coffin Fragment Types by Burial Chamber .	423
8.2	Comparison of Turtle Hieroglyphs from the Sarcophagus of Horemheb .	444
8.3	BD 151 Excerpt from Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Sarcophagi .	455
8.4	Distribution of Shabti Types Across the Temple Cemetery .	467
8.5	Various Writings of Rameses' Name and Title from TC.20 Shabtis .	470
8.6	Stature Estimation Equations using Bone Length	506
8.7	Approximate Heights of TC.7 Skeletons	507
8.8	Approximate Heights of TC.9 Skeletons	508
8.9	Approximate Heights of TC.10 Skeletons	509
8.10	Approximate Heights of TC.11north Skeletons	510
8.11	Approximate Heights of TC.11south Skeletons	510
8.12	Approximate Heights of Two TC.20 Female Skeletons	512

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER ONE:		
1.1	Overview Map of Greater Abydos	12
CHAPTER TWO:		
2.1	Stela of Nebipusenwosret (BM 101) Top Register	62
2.2	Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III and Shena Production Area	65
2.3	Plan and Elevation of the Abydene Tomb of Senwosret III	67
2.4	Wah-sut Town Plan Showing Currently Excavated Areas	71
2.5	Lunettes of the Sehetepibre Stela (Cairo CG 20538)	75
2.6	Comparison of Hieratic Signs with pBrooklyn 35.1446 Recto	79
2.7	Plan of S9 and S10 Structures	82
2.8	Comparison of Late Middle Kingdom Pyramids	85
CHAPTER THREE:		
3.1	Sketch Map of Lahun	98
3.2	Canopic Equipment and Walking Stick Pommel from L.905	101
3.3	Plan and Section of the Mastaba and Tomb of Anpy, L.620	103
3.4	Sketch Map of Haraga	106
3.5	Cylinders from HS.620	107
3.6	Offering Formula from the Statue of Senetmut	118
3.7	Ivory Box from AGE.3	121
3.8	T. Peet's Sketch Map of North Abydos Showing his Lettered Cemeteries	123
3.9	Incomplete Hieroglyphs from the APX.3 Wooden Sarcophagus	124
3.10	Plan and Section of APS Mastaba L.	129
3.11	Fortress of Buhen.	131
3.12	Buhen Cemetery K Miniature Mastabas	133
3.13	Plan of Mirgissa	135
3.14	Female Figure (Upper Register) holding Apotropaion from the Tomb 2 at Bersheh	149
3.15	Lahun and Haraga Pottery Corpus	169
3.16	North Abydos and Mirgissa Pottery Coropra	170
3.17	Buhen Pottery Corpus	171
CHAPTER FOUR:		
4.1	Topographic Map of South Abydos	181
4.2	Sketch Map of Lahun Showing the Locations of Major Cemeteries	183
4.3	Map of Mirgissa Showing the Location of the Late Middle Kingdom Cemetery MX-TC	184
4.4	Plan of Buhen Showing the Location of Cemetery K	186
4.5	Reused Block from the Northwest Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN4)	192
4.6	Reused Block from the Southwest Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS3)	195
4.7	Reused Block from the Floor of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RF1)	198
4.8	Reused Block from the Southeast Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS1)	200
4.9	Flute Player from the Tomb of Ukhhotep at Meir (B, No.2), North Wall.	201
4.10	Reused Block from the South Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS2)	203
4.11	Singer and Harper from the Tomb of Khety (Beni Hasan, Tomb 17)	204
4.12	Harpers whose Harps are Shown in Profile	205
4.13	Reused Block from the North Wall, Outside the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN1)	206
4.14	Reused Block from the North Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN2)	207

4.15	Tomb of Ukhhotep, son of Ukhhotep (B, No.4) at Meir, Outer Room, West Wall .	208
4.16	Reused Block from the North Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN3) .	210
4.17	Theoretical Reconstruction of the Abydos Pottery Production Scene from CS9.RN3 .	210
4.18	Pottery Production from the Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Beni Hasan, Tomb 3) .	211
4.19	Two Pottery Kilns from the Tomb of Baqet III, Beni Hasan, Tomb 15 .	213
4.20	Reconstruction of the Harvest Scene on CS9.RN3 .	214
4.21	Harvest and Ploughing Scenes from the Tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan .	214
4.22	Detail of the Chapel of Anpy at Lahun (L.620) .	221
4.23	Fragments of Decoration from the Chapel of Anpy at Lahun (L.620) .	222
4.24	Chapel of Djehuty at Lisht .	224
4.25	Faience Hippopotamus Figure .	228
4.26	Fragment of a Faience Hippopotamus from South Abydos .	229
4.27	Fragments of an Ivory Apotropaion from South Abydos .	231
4.28	Concubine Figure from South Abydos .	233
4.29	Bone Mirror Handle from Wah-sut .	235

CHAPTER FIVE:

5.1	Lahun Painting (Left) and Djhuty-Nefer Receiving Offerings (Right) .	245
5.2	Quartzite Statue of a Late Middle Kingdom Official .	253
5.3	Limestone Pair Statue of Renefiker and Iru .	255
5.4	Female Statue from South Abydos .	256
5.5	Reconstruction of the Lower Portion of SA.11348/SA11559 .	258
5.6	Reconstructed Stela of Khuinutef .	261
5.7	Stela of Senebef, CG 20134 .	262
5.8	Stela of Senebef, Text Blocks b, c, and d .	263
5.9	Senebef's Genealogy from CG 20134 .	263
5.10	Two Stela Fragments from the Senwosret III Mortuary Temple Area .	266
5.11	Three Stela Fragments from South Abydos .	267
5.12	Reconstruction of Stela Fragment SA.15662 .	269
5.13	Offering Table of Nakht .	270
5.14	Part of a Double Offering Table, SA.11002 (92-4-6) .	272
5.15	Offering Table Fragment SA.11133 .	273
5.16	Fragment of an Offering Table from the Senwosret III Mortuary Temple Area .	274
5.17	Fragment of a Pottery Offering Tray (Soul House) .	275
5.18	Offering Columns and Dwarf Stands from Lahun .	278
5.19	Top Portion of an Offering Column from Wah-sut .	279
5.20	Two Examples of Fragmentary Offering Columns from Wah-sut .	279
5.21	Limestone Foot Possibly Belonging to a Dwarf Statue Offering Stand .	280
5.22	Reused Limestone Lintel from the Mayor's House .	285
5.23	Layout of Wah-sut Building B .	287

CHAPTER SIX:

6.1	Scale Comparison of Senwosret III and Ahmose Temples .	302
6.2	Scaled Comparison between the Tombs of Senwosret III and Ahmose .	304
6.3	Northern Temple of Thutmosis III at Abydos .	312
6.4	Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos .	320
6.5	Mortuary Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos .	325
6.6	Shabti of Iimeru from South Abydos .	347
6.7	Limestone Doorjamb of Jema-jb .	348

CHAPTER SEVEN:

7.1	Particle Analysis of Mud-brick Matrix from Amarna and Karnak	352
7.2	Brickmaking in the Tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100)	353
7.3	Direction of Compressive Forces within Incline and Vertical Vaults	357
7.4	Magnetic Survey Map of the Temple Cemetery	361
7.5	Schematic Plans of Tomb Types 1 – 4	367
7.6	Temple Cemetery Tomb 7 Plan and Elevation	370
7.7	Temple Cemetery Tomb 9 Plan and Elevation	373
7.8	Temple Cemetery Tomb 10 Plan and Elevation	375
7.9	Temple Cemetery Tomb 11 Plan and Elevation	378
7.10	Temple Cemetery Tomb 19 Plan	380
7.11	Temple Cemetery Tomb 20 Plan and Elevation	385
7.12	Door Blocking Pattern in TC.10	392
7.13	North Abydos Tomb Y9 (Peet)	104
7.14	Amara West Tomb G112 Plan and Elevation	404
7.15	Isometric Reconstruction of Aniba Tomb SA 34 Pyramid Superstructure	408
7.16	Isometric Reconstruction of Temple Cemetery Tomb 9	415

CHAPTER EIGHT:

8.1	Black-type Coffins from the Tomb Chapel of Nebamun and Ipuky	424
8.2	Reconstructed Coffin Fragments from TC.9	429
8.3	Torso of a Divinity on a Fragment of Black Coffin from TC.9	430
8.4	Polychrome Yellow-Type Coffin Fragments	432
8.5	Yellow-Type Coffin Appliqué Elements	433
8.6	Wooden Appliqué Face and tj.t-Amulet	435
8.7	Coffin Eyes from the Temple Cemetery	437
8.8	Layout of Text Blocks on the Sarcophagus of Horemheb	441
8.9	Epigraphic Copy of Texts on the Sarcophagus of Horemheb	442
8.10	Thoth from the Horemheb Sarcophagus with Eighteen and Twenty Square Grids	459
8.11	Comparison of Proportions on Eighteen Square Grids	461
8.12	Comparison of Proportions on Twenty Square Grids	462
8.13	A Selection of Fired Pottery Shabtis from the Temple Cemetery	468
8.14	Wooden Shabti Fragments from TC.9	471
8.15	Wooden Shabti Fragments from TC.20	472
8.16	Limestone Shabti Fragment from TC.10	474
8.17	Blue Painted Ware Forms from the Temple Cemetery	477
8.18	Cylindrical “Beer Jars” and “Offering Cups” from the Temple Cemetery	478
8.19	South Abydos Tomb Census Pottery Type 11	480
8.20	South Abydos Tomb Census Pottery Type 10	481
8.21	TC.20 Embalming Cache and its Vessels	482
8.22	Mycenaean Stirrup Jar from the Temple Cemetery (SATCP-29)	487
8.23	Faience Bowl Fragments from the Temple Cemetery	489
8.24	Gold Sekhmet Aegis from the Walters Art Museum (57.540)	491
8.25	Travertine Vessel from TC.20	493
8.26	Mud Vessels from the Temple Cemetery	494
8.27	Wooden Scarab Pectoral Frames from the Temple Cemetery	496
8.28	Composite Jasper Anthropomorphized Heart Amulet from TC.20	499
8.29	SATC Bead Corpus	501
8.30	Faience Finger Ring from TC.11south	502
8.31	Painted Wood Box Fragment from TC.11south	503
8.32	Box Knobs and Button (?) from the Temple Cemetery	505

CHAPTER NINE:

9.1	Possible Cemetery Locations at South Abydos by Comparison with Lahun	.	522
9.2	Wadi Allaqi Graffito of the Stable Master Rameses	.	534
9.3	Stela of Suty, OI.11456	.	535

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJA:</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>ASAE:</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>BASOR:</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BD:</i>	The Book of the Dead
<i>BIFAO:</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'institute français d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>Cd'É:</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CT:</i>	Adriaan de Buck, <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i>
<i>GM:</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>IFAO:</i>	Institut français d'archéologie orientale
<i>JAOS:</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE:</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JEA:</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEOL:</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i>
<i>JNES:</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JSSEA:</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>LÄ:</i>	Helck, Otto, and Westendorf, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<i>MDAIK:</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>MMA:</i>	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
<i>PT:</i>	Kurt Sethe, <i>Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte</i>
<i>RdÉ:</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>SAK:</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>TLA:</i>	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html
<i>URK:</i>	K. Sethe, et al., eds. <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i>
<i>WB:</i>	Erman and Grapow, eds. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache</i>

WdO: *Die Welt des Orient: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des
Morgenlandes*

ZÄS: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische sprache und altertumskunde*

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Funerary remains are one of the main lenses through which modern scholars scrutinize the culture of ancient Egypt. Since so much of the artifactual material which has come down to us derives from tomb contexts, understanding the funerary landscapes of Egypt is of paramount importance in the quest to understand this ancient culture.

This dissertation aims to examine the funerary remains and commemorative rituals during the Middle and New Kingdoms at one portion of a single site in Egypt: South Abydos. For much of dynastic history, Abydos was home to the main cult center of Osiris, the divine ruler of the underworld, and god of fertility.¹ Tombs of virtually every stratum of ancient Egyptian society, from the lowliest laborers to the highest royal personages, pepper the site. Though the tombs at North Abydos are much better documented, archaeological work at South Abydos under the direction of J. Wegner, is rapidly demonstrating that South Abydos mirrors many of the same monuments and elements as North Abydos.² Since archaeologists and treasure-hunters alike have focused much attention on North Abydos over the years,³ South Abydos, represents a relatively untapped, and fertile ground for the study of non-royal tomb-building, funerary commemoration, and interaction between royal and non-royal monuments, all in the shadow of the Osiris complex at North Abydos.

§1.1 Definitions and Conventions

¹ See in general, Griffiths 1980, Otto 1966, and O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009.

² These issues appear throughout the following work, but see especially §2.6, §4.1, and §9.2.

³ For the history of excavation at North Abydos, see below §3.3, and Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 136-154.

Any study which aims to examine such large cultural topics as tomb architecture, burial, and post-funeral commemoration must employ a wide range of terms to describe ancient practices within a modern context. The following brief subsections will analyze and define some of the more cogent terms that this work employs.

1.1.1 Chronology: Defining the “late Middle Kingdom”

Though attempts at obtaining an absolute chronology for the entire ancient world are probably doomed to failure, approximate dates do exist, and are useful.⁴ For the sake of convenience and accessibility, this dissertation follows the High Chronology dating scheme of the *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*.⁵

This study looks at funerary archaeology of two distinct periods of Egyptian history: the late Middle Kingdom, and the early New Kingdom. Based upon the groundbreaking studies of J. Bourriau on cultural change,⁶ scholars now generally recognize the existence of contemporary culture groups within the Middle Kingdom. Based upon the interplay between these culture groups, Bourriau posited three chronological divisions in the Middle Kingdom: an early (extending from Nebhepetre Menuhotep II’s reuniting the country in Dynasty Eleven, to the end of Senwosret I’s reign); a middle (from Senwosret II’s accession to the end of Senwosret II’s reign); and a

⁴ See the various interpretations in Åström 1987.

⁵ Shaw 2000, 479-483. For other chronological schema and discussions, see von Beckerath 1997, Ryholt, The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC 1997, and Hornung, Krauss and Warburton, Ancient Egyptian Chronology 2006. Recent results of C-14 analysis, reported by Dee, A Radiocarbon-based Chronology for the Middle Kingdom 2013, and Dee, A Radiocarbon-based Chronology for the New Kingdom 2013, have demonstrated the likelihood that the High Chronology of Shaw is more accurate than the Low Chronology of Hornung *et al.*

⁶ Bourriau, Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom 1991, and Bourriau, Change of Body Position in Egyptian Burials from the Mid XIIth Dynasty Until the Early XVIIIth Dynasty 2001.

late (from Senwosret III's accession to the bifurcation of the country in the Thirteenth Dynasty).⁷ S. Quirke, on the other hand, divided the Middle Kingdom into early and late phases, with the beginning of Senwosret III's reign, again, marking the transition.⁸ D. McCormack extended the definition of the "late Middle Kingdom" to include all the kings of Dynasty Thirteen, intending, as she states, "to emphasize the link in location of the capital as well as the presence of a cultural tradition associated with these new rulers."⁹ This definition contrasts that of Bourriau, who ends the period with the breakdown of a single central authority.¹⁰ Since Bourriau's studies focused mainly on the transition between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, the exact end of the period called the "late Middle Kingdom," and the reasons for this distinction, are still open to some discussion.¹¹

This dissertation aims to examine funerary culture at the single site of Abydos. Since there is no reason to believe, *prime facie*, that the appearance of a second royal house during the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty would change local expression of funerary culture in any appreciable and immediate way, the present study will adopt

⁷ Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 9-10.

⁸ Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* 2004, 7.

⁹ McCormack, *Dynasty XIII Kingship in Ancient Egypt* 2008, 10.

¹⁰ This criterion seems somewhat out of place, given that she bases her other divisions upon notions of cultural change, as opposed to political history. The operative question is what effect, if any, did the breakdown of central authority have upon local culture, and particularly funerary culture, throughout Egypt.

¹¹ For example, the name of a recently discovered Pharaoh Useribre Senebkay of the Abydene Dynasty, which Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period*, c. 1800-1550 BC 1997 dates contemporary with the Sixteenth Dynasty (c. 1650 BCE), appears on an apotropaion from North Abydos (Cairo 9433), see Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 87, 100, Pl. XLIII, Daressy 1903, 43, Pl. XI, and Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittelägyptens* 1965, II: 36. Apotropaia of this type belong, culturally, to the late Middle Kingdom (see below §3.6.6, and 4.32), which according to Bourriau, Quirke, and McCormack's definitions, was already over by the time the Senebkay apotropaion was carved. At Abydos, the cultural phenomenon may have continued longer than in other areas of the country.

McCormack's definition of the late Middle Kingdom. This period, therefore, spans the time from Senwosret III's accession, to the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty (c. 1870 – 1650 BCE).¹²

1.1.2 Local Directions vs. True Compass Directions

In addition to these chronological considerations, a word or two must be included about geographic directions. In our modern society of digital compasses and global positioning satellites, it is easy to believe that when something is said to be in the “north,” that term refers to a physical location, and that all members of the culture share a common definition of that place. This notion stems from our assumption that directional terms refer to absolute and fixed lines upon our planet, and, for most applications in the modern world, this assumption is relatively safe.¹³

Stepping back into the ancient world, however, without the aid of our modern gadgets, the idea of an absolute direction breaks down. In Egypt, the two most readily available visual cues informing the idea of direction were the motion of the celestial bodies (sun, moon, and stars), and the flow of the Nile River.¹⁴ If one possesses the knowledge that the sun rises and sets in generally the same quadrant of the sky each day, whether or not one takes into account the sun's seasonal position, it is possible to

¹² These dates follow the chronology put forth in Shaw 2000, but see also von Beckerath 1997, and Hornung, Krauss and Warburton, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* 2006.

¹³ The difference between magnetic north, and actual north (magnetic declination) probably represents the biggest problem to the idea that “north” is an absolute direction.

¹⁴ The Egyptians linked the motion of the sun, and the flow of the Nile, with ideas of time, expressed in the terms *d.t* (river), and *nḥḥ* (sun). For this concept, see Hornung, *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought* 1992, 64-70.

extrapolate basic cardinal directions from watching its motion across the sky.¹⁵ However, since the Nile river flows very close to north-south for most of its length, it probably served as a more readily available visual reminder of direction.¹⁶

The problem with this system is that the Nile river executes a huge curve north of Thebes, the point of which lies at the modern town of Qena. At a number of points along this Qena bend, the river flows at almost every angle except north (including a small portion where it actually flows south). Anyone using the river at any of these points to orient to what they believed was north, would in fact be entirely incorrect. Indeed, at the site of Abydos, the river flows in a northwest direction, separated from true north by about 55° west.¹⁷

Sadly, even relatively modern archaeologists have used what are called local, or river directions, often without making such known in their publications. For instance, A. Weigall employs only river directions in his entire publication on his excavations at South Abydos.¹⁸ This means that when Weigall's plans indicate that a building is aligned north-south, in reality the building lies on a northeast-southwest orientation.¹⁹

Though it is not entirely clear in every situation whether or not ancient structures and monuments line up with river directions or celestial / geographic direction, it is

¹⁵ For methods of finding north using shadows from the sun, see Evans 1998, 28. Observers can use a similar method with the motion of stars to find true north.

¹⁶ Indeed the Egyptian terms for traveling north and south (*hdy*, *WB.3:354.9-355.1*, and *hntj*, *WB.3:309.3-22*) convey this information through the idea of motion along the Nile, in one or the other direction. These words serve to exemplify ancient conceptions linking upstream with south, and downstream with north.

¹⁷ As measured from the maps in Baines and Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* 1980, 109.

¹⁸ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904.

¹⁹ Compare Weigall's plan of S10 Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, Pl. XXXVII with (river) north arrow, with Wegner's plan of the same building, Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, Fig. 162, whose north arrow points to true north.

important to keep the difference in mind. Unless otherwise noted, the present work makes use of true compass directions, often in deference to published plans which do not.

1.1.3 Royal and Non-Royal

A brief survey of Egyptological literature gives the impression that the meanings of the terms “royal” and “non-royal” have been unanimously agreed upon. Whereas probable definitions of these words are somewhat self-evident – “royal” referring to the king, and “non-royal” referring to everyone else – the words are ambiguous enough to require comment here. The problem lies in labeling individuals closely associated with the king, such as the queen, princes, and his other extended family members. While these individuals were not rulers themselves, they were associated with the pharaoh closely enough to have had access to objects, wealth, and concepts withheld from the rest of society. This problem is a double-edged sword for the present study. On the one hand, if we define “royal” as strictly referring to the king only, then there is a possibility that texts, objects, and beliefs which pertained to the pharaoh may be interfere with our understanding of what is here termed the “non-royal” sphere. On the other hand, attempting to ascertain if individuals related to the king (who may or may not include such relationships in their written titles) ought to be included in this study of cultural expression through funerary objects, by first examining their cultural and funerary artifacts, leads to a dangerous downward spiral of circular logic.

As a result, we will follow the less-dangerous path outlined above, and define “royal” as that which has to do with the king himself. “Non-royal” will refer to all individuals who do not hold the title of pharaoh.

1.1.4 Mortuary “Landscapes”

As its title suggests, this dissertation seeks to discuss mortuary landscapes at the site of South Abydos during the late Middle, and New Kingdoms. While Abydene geography is of great importance to the questions which we raise herein, the term “landscape” here has a different, more conceptual meaning. As the American Heritage College Dictionary defines it, a “landscape” can be “[a]n extensive mental view.”²⁰ In other words, as we intend the word in the present work, a mortuary landscape is an overarching conceptualization of the sum total of artifacts, architecture, and ritual²¹ related to post-mortal preparation, deposition, and commemoration of a deceased individual. This overall picture will also take into account, among other things, the historical framework of the respective periods, possible interactions with royal and divine cult institutions (such as mortuary temples and the temples of state-level gods, such as Osiris), and the impact of local geography.

§1.2 Abydos

Before embarking on a discussion of the funerary landscapes at the site of Abydos, it is prudent to provide some background information on the site itself. The following subsections will discuss the name of the site, its geography and location, the divisions of the site, and its major monuments.

²⁰ The American Heritage College Dictionary 1993, 762, definition 5.

²¹ Pure ritual leaves very little in the way of physical remains, but based upon one theory, physical remains do have a direct connection to ritual. See I. Morris 1992, and Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005.

1.2.1 The Name 3bd.w

The standard dynastic spelling of Abydos consists of the 3*b* chisel sign (U23), the phonetic complement *b* (sign D58), the mountain sign (N26) with the phonetic value *d*w, followed by the quail chick (G43) phonetic compliment *w*, and the city sign (O49) determinative.²² Interestingly, despite numerous attempts by various scholars, both the root meaning behind the word 3*bd.w*, and its origin are still totally unclear.

In a recent article, J. Wegner summarized the arguments, and put forth possible theories to answer these questions of origin and meaning. G. Dreyer linked certain inscriptions on ivory labels from Cemetery U bearing images of elephants with peaked mountains with the possible origin of the Abydos name.²³ J. Kahl later reinterpreted these labels as referring to the town of Elephantine, rather than Abydos.²⁴ Yet, as J. Wegner pointed out, while the labels have elephant images with triple-peaked mountains, the Gebel Tjauti inscriptions have elephants above twin-peaked mountains.²⁵ Wegner suggests that it may be possible to read these latter epigraphs as 3*bw-d*w, “Elephant of the Mountain” / “Elephant Mountain.”²⁶

²² WB:I:9.1, R. Hannig 2006, 1101, and Wegner, From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain? 2007, 464, Fig. 5.

²³ Hence reading 3*bw d*w, “Elephant of the Mountain.” Dreyer 1998, and Wegner, From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain? 2007, 468-469. Confusingly, as J. Wegner points out, Dreyer believed the labels could refer to both a King Elephant, and the origin of the toponym of Abydos. J. Kahl later refuted this idea.

²⁴ Kahl 2003, and Wegner, From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain? 2007, 469.

²⁵ Wegner, From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain? 2007, 470-471.

²⁶ Wegner, From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain? 2007, 471. Wegner’s main thesis here, is that the southern portion of the cliffs of the bay of Abydos has the basic appearance of an elephant, leading the site’s ancient name of “Elephant Mountain,” from 3*bw-d*w to 3*bd.w*.

Since the name Abydos is never written with the elephant determinative during dynastic history,²⁷ the notion that *3bd.w* evolved out of *3bw-dw* rests on the tenuous connection between the phonology of the name with the Tomb U-j ivory tags and Gebel Tjauti inscriptions,²⁸ coupled with Wegner's idea that the mountain itself appears like a recumbent elephant.²⁹ As he states, there are numerous other possibilities for the root meaning of the name:

Does the *3b* element in *3bdw* denote the word *3b(w)* elephant? In view of the fact that it occurs only phonetically, and is not explicitly written using the elephant-hieroglyph, one must hasten to stress that interpretation is not the only possibility. Other root meanings for *3b* might be proposed. For instance, the verb *3b*, "to pause/stop," might potentially be combined with the mountain sign to indicate "place of stopping." The suggestion ... that the cliff-prominence at Abydos was used as a visual means of locating the site might fit with such a reading. Also, the fact that at least from the time of the Old Kingdom, Abydos was the main terminus for the Khargeh oasis desert route, could have given rise to the notion of Abydos as a desert-edge stopping point.³⁰

We are left with a situation in which, lacking well-defined concrete evidence from the earliest period of Egyptian history, no single theory on the meaning of the name seems more correct than another. Despite this, the connection with an elephant, perhaps reflecting the shape of the mountain itself, seems the most plausible until further evidence is unearthed.

1.2.2 Geography of Abydos

The site of Abydos lies on the western bank of the Nile, some 520 km south of modern Cairo, and roughly 11 km southwest of the river at the modern town of el-

²⁷ As Wegner outlines, its spelling with the chisel and mountain signs was already set by its first appearances in the Old Kingdom, Wegner, *From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain?* 2007, 459, 464-466.

²⁸ For the Gebel Tjauti inscriptions in general, see Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert I* 2002.

²⁹ Wegner, *From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain?* 2007, 471.

³⁰ Wegner, *From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain?* 2007, 465.

Balyana. In this part of the country, the Nile river is rotated out of its normal north-south course by about 55° , as it leaves the Qena bend. Indeed the river is at such an angle from north, that during most of the year, as viewed from the low desert at Abydos, the sun seems to rise as well as set all on the river's left bank, never crossing over to right side. In terms of local directions, this means that instead of rising in the east, and setting in the west, the sun seems both to rise and set only in the notional west at Abydos. Though it is still open to debate, it is possible that this geographic peculiarity had some connection with the later New Kingdom ideology of the Solar-Osirian unity, especially as it was expressed at Osiris' main cult center.³¹

Abydos lies within the southern portion a large natural bay, formed by a curvature of the high desert cliffs (Fig. 1.1).³² Lying near the mouth of the eastern of two large wadis which punctuate this bay, is the site of Umm el-Gaab, burial place of Early Dynastic pharaohs.³³ A shallow valley created by prehistoric water runoff from this wadi extends from behind Umm el-Gaab, through the low desert toward the cultivation near the location of the Osiris Temple.³⁴ This valley is the ancient ceremonial route from the temple to the tombs at Umm el-Gaab.³⁵ At the eastern point of the bay, the high desert gebel protrudes out into the low desert. The resulting mountain is a defining

³¹ See Niwinski, The solar-Osirian unity as a principle of the theology of the "State of Amun" in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty 1987-1988, Darnell, The enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian unity: cryptographic compositions in the tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX 2004, and Spalinger, The great dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II: a Solar-Osirian tractate at Abydos 2009.

³² O'Connor, Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris 2009, 23.

³³ By association with Umm el-Gaab, the southern wadi is often called the "Royal Wadi."

³⁴ For rainfall and climates in prehistoric Egypt, see Butzer 1976, 13.

³⁵ Hence, by the late Middle Kingdom there was a royal decree creating a moratorium on tomb construction within this space. See the stela of Neferhotep, Randall-MacIver and Mace, El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901 1902, 93-94, Pl. XXIX.

characteristic of the Abydos landscape,³⁶ perhaps leading Senwosret III to choose it as the location of his cult complex.³⁷ The curvature of the high desert cliffs also serves to divide Abydos into two main areas: North Abydos and South Abydos.³⁸ The monuments which exist within the bay belong to North Abydos, while those at the foot of the cliff point to the southwest are part of South Abydos.

1.2.3 Major Monuments of North Abydos

The monuments of North Abydos makeup the so-called core of the site.³⁹ The original town of Abydos dates to the Archaic Period, and stood near the cultivation at the mouth of the low desert wadi leading out to Umm el-Gaab. From at least the Sixth Dynasty on, the area directly near the town was also home to the temple of Osiris.⁴⁰ Directly to the south of here, midway between the cultivation and the high desert cliffs, was a large Predynastic cemetery, which its excavators called Cemetery U. This was the burial place of the proto-pharaoh Scorpion, owner of tomb “U-j.”⁴¹ Slightly later in time, the burial ground now known as Umm el-Gaab became the first royal cemetery in Egyptian history.⁴² Pharaohs throughout Egyptian history strove to link their funerary

³⁶ Wegner, *From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain?* 2007.

³⁷ Ahmose also placed his Abydene tomb at the foot of his protruding cliff, albeit to the southwest of Senwosret III’s sepulcher.

³⁸ As we stated above, by true compass directions the areas ought to be Northwest Abydos, and Southeast Abydos, but

³⁹ Wegner, *From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain?* 2007, 461.

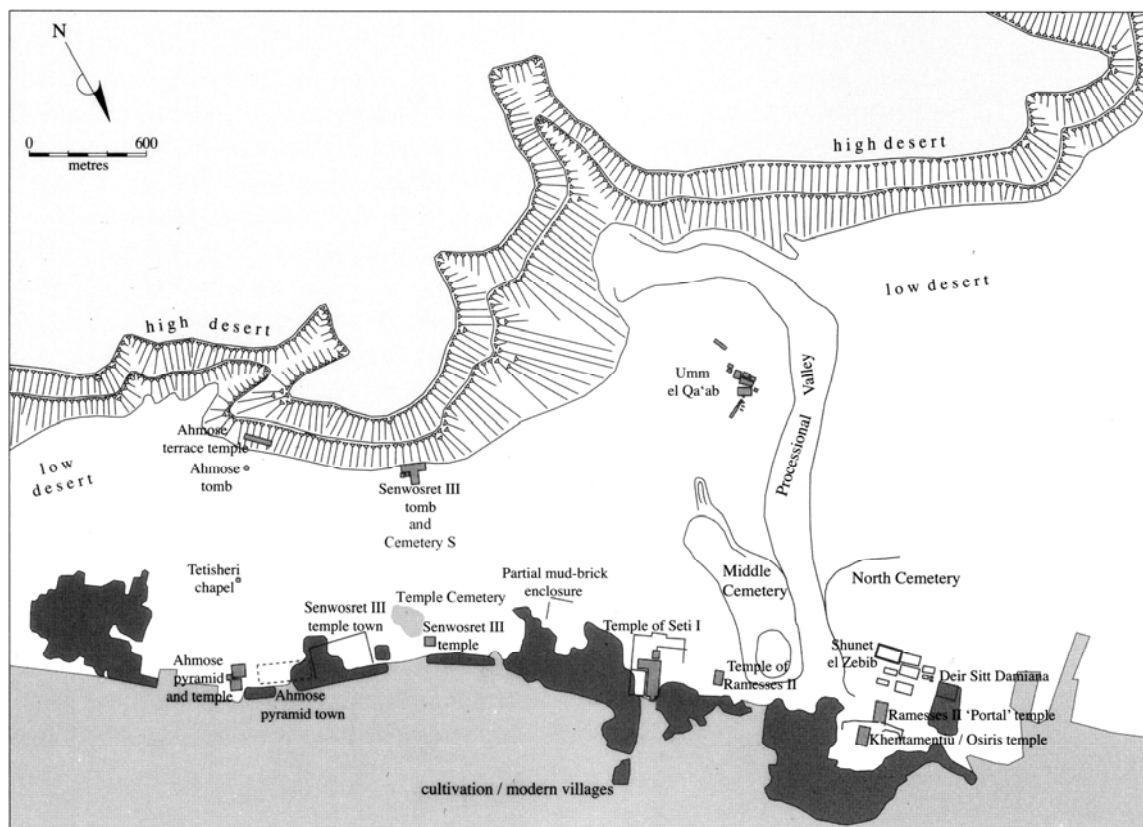
⁴⁰ Kemp, *Abydos* 1975, 29. For the Osiris Temple, see Kemp, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos* 1968, 138-155.

⁴¹ G. Dreyer *et al.* “Umm el-Qaab,” *MDAIK* 49 (1993): 23-62, Dreyer 1998, and G. Dreyer, “Tomb U-j,” in *Before the Pyramids*, edited by Emily Teeter (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2011).

⁴² The Royal Cemetery, known as Umm el-Gaab, was originally excavated and published by E. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d’Abydos Vol. I-II*, (1896), and then reexamined and published by W.M.F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty: Part I-II*, (1900-1901), and *Abydos I*, (1902), and E. Naville, *The Cemeteries of Abydos I*, (1914). The German Archaeological Institute began a reinvestigation of the site in the late 1970’s which continues today under the direction of Günter Dreyer.

cults with that of Osiris, the archetypal king who ruled in death as in life.⁴³ Indeed, theologians reinterpreted one royal tomb at Umm el-Gaab – that of Djer – as a *mahat* structure associated with the god Osiris himself, not only concretizing the god's mythology for those participating in his cult, but also linking that cult directly with those of the dead pharaohs.⁴⁴

Fig. 1.1: Overview Map of Greater Abydos⁴⁵



Associated with these early tombs at Umm el-Gaab are a number of mud-brick enclosures. One of these, that belonging to pharaoh Khasekhemwy, still stands at the

⁴³ For the evidence of this belief in the Pyramid Texts, see J.G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris*, (Leiden: Brill, 1980): 85ff.

⁴⁴ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 89-90.

⁴⁵ After O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, Fig. 3, with additions.

mouth of the shallow desert wadi leading out to the royal necropolis. Though their exact function is still debated, D. O'Connor believes that they were used as commemorative cult sites for at least a short time following the death of a king.⁴⁶ In all cases except that of Khasekhemy, the structures seem to have been razed during the reigns of the succeeding kings, leading to the unavoidable conclusion that they did not serve the longstanding cult of the dead king, which may have taken place at the actual tomb, near the commemorative stelae installed in front of these structures.⁴⁷ In the case of Khasekhemwy, his successors abandoned Abydos in favor of the north, and hence there was no reason to destroy the Abydene enclosure.

Though the kings of the Old Kingdom continued to favor physical burial near the northern capital of Memphis, royal funerary interest in Abydos continued into the Middle Kingdom. Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II and his successor Sankhkare Mentuhotep III both installed royal ka-chapels close to the temple of Osiris-Khentiaementiu, modeling them on earlier Old Kingdom versions.⁴⁸ Unfortunately only fragments of these buildings now remain, but even the knowledge of their very existence demonstrates a conceptual link between the cults of the pharaoh and Osiris.⁴⁹ During the Twelfth Dynasty, Senwosret I ordered the razing of the Old Kingdom Osiris-Khentiaementiu temple, and initiated the construction of a new temple to Osiris in its place.⁵⁰ Senwosret I and his direct

⁴⁶ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 177-181. See also O'Connor, *New Funerary Enclosures (Talbezirke) of the Early Dynastic Period at Abydos* 1989.

⁴⁷ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 179.

⁴⁸ See Brovarski, *Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period: Part 1* 1994, and Brovarski, *Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period: Part 2* 1994.

⁴⁹ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 88. See also Kemp, *Abydos* 1975, Col. 31.

⁵⁰ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 88. See also Kemp, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos* 1968, 151. Based upon his reexamination of Petrie's excavation notes, Kemp does not

successors still preferred pyramid complexes close to the capital *Itji-tawy* for their burial, but the practice of votive dedications within or near the Osiris temple at Abydos linking the royal *ka* with the cult of the god continued.⁵¹

During the New Kingdom, Pharaohs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties continued to link their mortuary cults with the Osiris establishment. Amenhotep I created a *ka* chapel within the Osiris precinct, dedicated to him and his father Ahmose, which Seti I later partly occluded with his own structure.⁵² Outside the Osiris complex, Thutmosis III created at least two small buildings resembling boat-shrines, which served to delimit the sacred wadi area.⁵³ At the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Seti I created a small temple dedicated to his father Ramesses I, and a much larger mortuary temple to highlight his own connection with Osiris.⁵⁴ Not to be outdone, his son Ramesses II created two large temples at the site, one whose purposed was mortuary in nature, and another, called the “Portal Temple,” whose function is still a matter of debate.⁵⁵ All of these kings attempted to link their cults with that of Osiris, through construction at North Abydos

believe that Senwosret I rebuilt the entire temple, but obviously undertook some construction or renovation in the area of the Osiris temple.

⁵¹ Silverman, *The So-Called Portal temple of Ramesses II at Abydos* 1989, 269-277, who believes that even Akhenaten built some type of structure at North Abydos, showing the importance of Osiris to the royal cult even during a time of intense theological proscription.

⁵² O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 112-113.

⁵³ Pouls 1997-1998, and below, §6.3.2.

⁵⁴ See below, §6.5.

⁵⁵ For the Portal Temple, see Silverman, *The So-Called Portal temple of Ramesses II at Abydos* 1989, and for both temples, see below §6.6..

1.2.4 Major Monuments of South Abydos

Leaving North Abydos, the monuments of South Abydos are no less important or spectacular. Senwosret III was the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty to leave the northern royal necropoleis associated with Itji-tawy, creating his burial place at the site of Abydos instead.⁵⁶ The location he chose was the base of a large projection of the high desert gebel, in the area now known as South Abydos. Here he created a mortuary complex which included his tomb,⁵⁷ a mortuary temple with mud-brick pylon and stone core,⁵⁸ and the large orthogonally arranged town of *Wah-sut-Kha-kau-Re-Maa-Kheru-em-Abdju* (*Wah-sut*).⁵⁹

Following the death of Senwosret III, South Abydos was again the focus of royal mortuary interest in the very early part of the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁶⁰ Two tombs, now called S9 and S10, stand directly to the north of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure.⁶¹ The owner of S9 remains elusive, but during excavations in the Winter 2013-2014 season, J. Wegner and his team discovered fragments of a stela naming a Pharaoh Sobekhotep,

⁵⁶ Senwosret III did create a pyramid complex at Dahshur, for which see D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies* 2002, but he was not buried here. There is every reason to believe from its extensive system of stone blocking, that Senwosret III's Abydene tomb was his actual burial place. For this idea, see Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 392-393 and D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies* 2002, 33-45.

⁵⁷ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 11-28, Pl. XXXVI-XLIV, and Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009. See also below, §2.5.2.

⁵⁸ Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 57-60, Pl. XX-XXI, and Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007. See also below, §2.5.1.

⁵⁹ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 37, Pl. LIII, who believed it was a town associated with the Ahmose complex, and also Wegner, *Excavations at the Town of 'Enduring-are-the-places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos'* 1998, and Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001. See also below, §2.5.3, and §4.1.1.

⁶⁰ Wegner and Cahail, *Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber* 2014, Forthcoming.

⁶¹ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 13-16, Pl. XXXVI-XXXVIII, McCormack, *Borrowed Legacy: Royal Tombs S9 and S10 at South Abydos* 2006, and Wegner and Cahail, *Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber* 2014, Forthcoming.

probably to be identified as Sobekhotep I.⁶² Following the fragmentation of the country during the Second Intermediate Period, a local dynasty, which K. Ryholt called the Abydos Dynasty, used the area directly adjacent to S9 and S10 as the location of their royal necropolis.⁶³ Given that the Turin King List includes the spaces for at least sixteen kings belonging to this dynasty, the tombs of a total of nineteen kings of Egypt may exist in this small portion of South Abydos.

Yet there is potentially one more royal burial at South Abydos not included in this list. To the east of Senwosret III's mortuary complex is another, laid out on exactly the same orientation, and incorporating many of the same features.⁶⁴ This complex belongs to Ahmose I, founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the man responsible for the expulsion of the Hyksos.⁶⁵ Since the king's mummy was among those discovered in the Deir el-Bahari royal mummy cache,⁶⁶ the belief that he was actually buried at Thebes as opposed to Abydos is still prevalent, despite the fact that no Theban tomb bears his name.⁶⁷ Based upon the layout of the Ahmose's tomb and temple, it seems quite

⁶² Wegner and Cahail, *Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber* 2014, Forthcoming. We put forth the theory in this paper that tomb S9 may belong to Sobekhotep I's brother, Sonbef, who was the next king to rule. We also uncovered wood bearing the name Sobekhotep in a cartouche, which the previously unknown king Useribre Senebkay of the Abydos Dynasty had incorporated into his canopic box. For this Dynasty, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 163-166, 202-203, and below §4.2.1.

⁶³ Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 163-166, 202-203, J. Wegner, *Kings of Abydos: Solving an Ancient Egyptian Mystery* 2014, and below §4.2.1.

⁶⁴ For the architecture of this complex, see Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 126-437, and O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 105-110.

⁶⁵ For this king and his Abydene monuments, see Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, and below §5.2.

⁶⁶ Brugsch and Maspero 1881.

⁶⁷ On this interesting question, see recently Dodson, *On the burials and reburials of Ahmose I and Amenhotep I* 2013.

plausible that the later king emulated the structure, format, and orientation of Senwosret III's complex.⁶⁸

Recent excavations have begun redefining our understanding of the foot of the gebel at South Abydos, replacing its identification as a sparse area containing two royal cenotaphs,⁶⁹ with a picture of a rich royal necropolis potentially holding the burials of at least twenty kings of Egypt.⁷⁰ Yet these buildings only tell half the story. In addition to the royal tombs, numerous non-royal tombs, and artifactual material relating to both tombs and funerary commemoration have come to light quite recently. This dissertation examines these data for the first time.

§1.3 The South Abydos Tomb Census (SATC) Project

Beginning in November 2012, the author initiated a new subproject at South Abydos. Dubbed the South Abydos Tomb Census, this program is part of the University of Pennsylvania excavations at South Abydos, which Dr. Josef Wegner has directed since 1996.

1.3.1 Background and Mission of the Project

As its name suggests, the South Abydos Tomb Census (SATC) was conceived to seek, enumerate, excavate, and document all the non-royal tombs and cemetery sites situated near the Khakaure Senwosret III Mortuary Complex at South Abydos. The early

⁶⁸ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 153.

⁶⁹ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 6-9, 392-393, and D. Arnold, *Buried in Two Tombs? Remarks on "Cenotaphs" in the Middle Kingdom* 2007.

⁷⁰ Even though the kings of the Abydos Dynasty did not rule over a unified country, Senebkay still retained the full royal titles of *z3-Rꜥ*, and *nswt-bj.tj* in his tomb decoration.

excavations of D. Randall-MacIver,⁷¹ A. Weigall, and C. Currelly⁷² uncovered most of the royal tombs and monuments at South Abydos in the opening decade of the twentieth century. For almost a century, no further archaeological work was carried out at South Abydos, despite numerous questions remaining about how the site as a whole fit together. With renewed excavations beginning in the late 1990's, J. Wegner began unveiling a much more complex and vibrant picture. His ongoing reanalysis of the Senwosret III tomb and temple have led to a much better understanding of the complex as a whole.⁷³ We now know that the Senwosret III mortuary complex also possessed a large, orthographically arranged town, which bore the name *W3h-sw.t-h3-k3.w-Rc-m3c-hrw-m-3bd.w*, "Enduring are the places of Khakaure, True of voice, in Abydos."⁷⁴ This town seems to have slowly faded, losing its status and much of its population near the end of the Second Intermediate Period,⁷⁵ yet with the construction of the Ahmose pyramid and mortuary complex directly to the east, parts of the town sprang back to life, beginning in the early Eighteenth Dynasty and extending into the Nineteenth.⁷⁶

As is often the case in archaeology, the more one uncovers of the past, the more questions arise. The site of South Abydos is no exception, and during the course of work,

⁷¹ Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901 1902*, working at the mortuary temple of Senwosret III.

⁷² Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904. Weigall discovered the tomb of Senwosret III, and excavated tombs S9 and S10, as well as the two so-called "dummy mastabas" on the eastern side of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure. Currelly excavated and mapped the Senwosret III royal tomb, and excavated a portion of the town of Wah-sut. J. Wegner's excavations at South Abydos center on these structures and the area around them.

⁷³ Though the work is still in progress, see Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007* for the temple, and Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos 2009* for the tomb.

⁷⁴ Wegner, *Excavations at the Town of 'Enduring-are-the-places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos'* 1998, Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations 2001*, Wegner, *External Connections of the Community of Wah-sut During the Late Middle Kingdom 2010*. The present work will employ the towns abbreviated name of Wah-sut.

⁷⁵ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007*, 40-43, and below §4.1.1, and §6.8.2.

⁷⁶ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos 1998*, and below, §6.2.2, and §6.8, and §9.4.2.

a very serious question arose surrounding a lack of certain expected archaeological elements – namely non-royal tombs. South Abydos possesses a late Middle Kingdom royal necropolis, composed of at least three major pharaonic tombs.⁷⁷ It has the remains of a contemporary mortuary temple, dedicated to the memory of Senwosret III. During the New Kingdom, it was home to the Ahmose mortuary cult complex, which existed well into the early Ramesside period.⁷⁸ South Abydos also holds the remains of a large town, containing the numerous houses of the people who worked in and around the Senwosret III mortuary temple and necropolis, with later generations probably living in this area during the New Kingdom. Despite all of these diverse elements, excavations over the past century had failed to uncover any traces of non-royal funerary structures, belonging to either the Middle or New Kingdoms.

Given the size, and population that the town of *Wah-sut* supported over numerous generations during both the Middle and New Kingdoms,⁷⁹ it is almost inconceivable that the local area, measuring over a square kilometer, would be completely devoid of non-royal tombs. Working under the hypothesis that these tombs must have once existed in the area, the SATC project has undertaken both survey and excavation, attempting to define the non-royal funerary landscapes of South Abydos.

1.3.2 Timeline of SATC Excavations

Begun in late 2012, the SATC project has undertaken three excavation seasons, totaling about four months of solid fieldwork. The first season was from 30 November

⁷⁷ The tomb of Senwosret III (see below §2.5.2), and the two tombs known as S9 and S10, which almost certainly belong to the very early Thirteenth Dynasty (see below, §2.6.2).

⁷⁸ Legrain 1917, 161-179, Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 121, and below §7.8.

⁷⁹ For discussions of *Wah-sut*'s size, and population, see below, §2.5.3, and §4.1.1.

2012, until 12 January 2013 (Winter 2012-2013). We began the season by excavating four mud-brick tombs dating to the New Kingdom (TC.7, TC.9, TC.10, and TC.11),⁸⁰ belonging to what we have termed the Temple Cemetery – a small New Kingdom non-royal cemetery near the remains of the much earlier Senwosret III mortuary temple.⁸¹ Following these excavations, we opened new excavation units directly to the south of the town of *Wah-sut*, in an area which was previously unexplored.⁸² A large Middle Kingdom pottery dump took up most of this area, but excavations produced a quartzite statue, and fragments related to Middle Kingdom domestic funerary commemoration.⁸³ Following this, the project moved to an area near the Senwosret III tomb enclosure to reexamine three small structures which A. Weigall originally excavated in 1902.⁸⁴ These buildings (CS.1-CS.3)⁸⁵ were little more than brick-lined pits, with no associated artifacts, and are not included in the present study.⁸⁶ Finally, we excavated a single test unit on the ridge overlooking the Senwosret III tomb enclosure to the west. This unit also produced no finds, but demonstrated that some curious surface topography in the area is likely the result of earlier archaeological work and illicit digging.

The second excavation season (Summer 2013) took place from 9 May, to 16 June 2013. Wishing to gain a better understanding of the Cemetery S tombs which Weigall

⁸⁰ See below, §7.4.1-7.4.4.

⁸¹ See below, §7.2.1.

⁸² The main excavation units were directly south of the second street from the western corner of *Wah-sut*, between Building E and Building G. See Fig. 2.4 below.

⁸³ For the statue, see Cahail, *Their Memory Lives On: Domestic Funerary Commemoration at Wah-sut* 2014, and below, §5.2.1.

⁸⁴ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 16-17.

⁸⁵ The “CS” prefix refers to Cemetery S, the designation of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure and its surrounding area.

⁸⁶ We now believe that these structures (CS.1-CS.3) probably relate to the royal tombs of the Abydos Dynasty (CS.4-CS.9), which the SATC project excavated during the Summer season of 2013. They are not included in this work, since they are royal in nature. Publication of these structures will wait for further work in the area in coming years.

originally excavated, the SATC project reopened three tombs (CS.4, CS.7, and CS.8),⁸⁷ and uncovered two others (CS.5, and CS.6),⁸⁸ which had never been excavated before. Despite the relatively good preservation of the subterranean vaulted mud-brick stairway tombs, we failed to recover chronological diagnostic artifacts.⁸⁹ Following this work, we returned to the Temple Cemetery where we cleared the recently plundered TC.19, and began excavations on a well-preserved tomb labeled TC.20, the tomb of the Scribe Horemheb.⁹⁰ As with all the tombs in the Temple Cemetery, though plundered, this tomb had never been excavated and documented. We excavated two vaulted chambers and the entrance shaft of TC.20, discovering numerous shabtis, amulets, and the inscribed sandstone sarcophagus of the Scribe Horemheb.

Having left our work in the Temple Cemetery unfinished during the Summer 2013 season, we returned for another field season from 22 November 2013 to 12 January 2014. One further vaulted chamber remained unexcavated inside tomb TC.20, which took up the beginning part of this season.⁹¹ Following this, we excavated six further structures in the Temple Cemetery (TC.2, TC.3, the remains of TC.4, TC.5, TC.8, and

⁸⁷ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 16-17.

⁸⁸ Tomb CS.6 contained the reused, monolithic quartzite sarcophagus, which originated in the nearby tomb S10, belonging to Pharaoh Sobekhotep (I) of the Thirteenth Dynasty. See Wegner and Cahail, *Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber* 2014.

⁸⁹ Based upon the discovery of the tomb of Pharaoh Useribre Senebkay during the Winter 2013-2014 season, all of these tombs (CS.1-CS.8) are almost certainly royal tombs belonging to the Abydos Dynasty. See below, §4.2.1. As with CS.1-3, publication of these tombs will take place following future excavations in and around Cemetery S.

⁹⁰ See Cahail, *Beneath the Pyramids of Abydos: New Discoveries at the Senwosret III Mortuary Complex* 2014, and below, §6.4.6.

⁹¹ This chamber contained the inscribed shabti figures belonging to the Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu, but little else. See below, §7.4.6, and §8.2.1.

TC.15).⁹² We then moved to a promising outcrop of rock to the east of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure, called the Eastern Ridge, which contained numerous stone tumulus-tombs. Though these are almost certainly non-royal in nature, we recovered no artifacts or pottery, leaving their date, at least for the moment, entirely unknown.⁹³ Finally, during the last phase of the Winter 2013-2014 season, the project aided in the excavation of tomb CS.9, belonging to the previously unknown Pharaoh Useribre Senebkay.⁹⁴ This royal tomb proved to be the key to understanding tombs CS.4 to CS.8, which the project had excavated during the Summer 2013 season. Since these tombs are, in all probability, royal in nature, they are also not included in this study. On the other hand, the stone burial chamber of Senebkay's tomb was constructed using reused blocks from late Middle Kingdom, decorated, non-royal tomb chapels. These blocks evince the existence of Middle Kingdom tombs in the area, and form the core of the discussion in Chapter Four.

§1.4 Non-Royal Mortuary Landscapes of South Abydos: Statement of Problems

This dissertation aims to examine the topics of tomb placement, tomb architecture, and funerary commemoration at the site of South Abydos during the late Middle, and New Kingdoms. A number of questions have served to drive this enquiry. First and foremost for the late Middle Kingdom is the question of where the citizens of

⁹² Of these structures, TC.4 had been totally destroyed by recent looting, and TC.15 was a Middle Kingdom clay mixing bin. The rest of these tombs will all form part of the eventual publication of the Temple Cemetery, following continued excavations and study in the coming years.

⁹³ Two possible dates for these tumuli are late Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period Pan-grave culture, and late New Kingdom Napatan burials. Further excavation and perhaps C-14 analysis will be required to understand these structures and how they fit into the South Abydene landscape. As such, they are not included in the present study. See below §9.2.

⁹⁴ See J. Wegner, *Kings of Abydos: Solving an Ancient Egyptian Mystery* 2014, and below, §4.2.1.

Wah-sut were buried. Given that the large town's archaeology indicates that it existed for numerous generations, a sizeable number of tombs associated with the town must exist somewhere in the area. Where are these tombs, and what might they have looked like? How did the complexes of Osiris at North Abydos, and Senwosret III at South Abydos, impact non-royal tomb placement during the late Middle Kingdom? Objects from South Abydos and comparable contemporary sites such as Lahun help to answer these questions, and lead to the conclusion that large numbers of late Middle Kingdom tombs probably exist somewhere beneath the South Abydene landscape.

Connected with the problem of tomb placement at South Abydos is a question of funerary commemoration. Where and how did the citizens of *Wah-sut* remember their deceased relatives? How does a corpus of commemorative items discovered within the town of *Wah-sut* itself inform a growing discussion of domestic funerary commemoration during the late Middle Kingdom, and what information do these objects contain regarding rituals of commemoration and post-commemoration disposal? Are there any significant connections between commemoration at South Abydos, and within the votive zone overlooking the Osiris Temple at North Abydos? Close scrutiny of artifactual material leads to the conclusion that domestic funerary cult was actively practiced at *Wah-sut*, and in at least one case, clear connections exist between the northern and southern portions of the site.

Excavations within the Temple Cemetery have revealed a modestly sized New Kingdom cemetery, containing at least twenty mud-brick tombs, yet an associated New Kingdom settlement site is lacking. This section of the dissertation looks at the same

problem of tomb placement and architecture examined for the late Middle Kingdom, albeit from the opposite perspective. Here we have a well-defined cemetery, but lack clear archaeological connections to a local population center. What types of architecture do these tombs display, and what, if anything, can we conclude about their placement on the landscape? How do their artifacts inform our understanding of the cemetery's chronology and date, and how does this date fit into the overall context of Egyptian history. What can the human remains tell us about the lives of the Abydene population during the New Kingdom? These key questions drive the discussion of the individual tombs within the Temple Cemetery, and the broader conclusions which the study reaches.

In essence, and as the dissertation's subtitle states, this work aims to understand the non-royal mortuary landscapes at South Abydos during the late Middle, and New Kingdoms. The questions above touch on many of the key issues involved in this understanding, and serve to bring the basic questions of where, and what, into much sharper focus.

§1.5 Non-Royal Mortuary Landscapes of South Abydos: Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation follows a tripartite structure. Part One looks at the questions of tomb placement and commemoration at South Abydos during the late Middle Kingdom in four chapters. The first two chapters represent the contextualizing groundwork of this study. Chapter Two places South Abydos within its late Middle Kingdom context, while Chapter Three examines tomb architecture and mortuary equipment of the period from a number of comparable type-sites throughout Egypt. Chapter Four describes funerary objects and tomb architecture recently discovered at South Abydos, set within the

framework created in Chapters Two and Three. Finally, Chapter Five explores the topic of domestic funerary commemoration within the town of *Wah-sut* during the late Middle Kingdom. This section looks at a number of unpublished objects from inside the town itself in detail, drawing conclusions about how these fragments inform our understanding of the rituals and practices connected with domestic funerary commemoration.

Part Two moves forward in time to the New Kingdom, in order to examine a group of non-royal tombs known as the Temple Cemetery in the course of three chapters. Chapter Six contextualizes South Abydos into the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, examining the royal monuments surrounding the Temple Cemetery, such as the Ahmose complex, and the New Kingdom temples of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Chapter Seven discusses the location and layout of the Temple Cemetery, and describes the mud-brick architecture of six of its tombs. The discussion then proceeds to compare these structures with others throughout Egypt from the same time period, offering probable reconstructions of their surface architecture. Chapter Eight scrutinizes the objects we recovered from inside these six tombs, including coffins, shabtis, pottery, jewelry, and other artifact classes. Wherever applicable, we include comparable objects in order to arrive at as narrowly defined date as possible for the tombs of the Temple Cemetery.

Part Three contains the dissertation's concluding chapter. This section, Chapter Nine, begins by restating the problems with which this work has dealt. The discussion then moves on to summarize the results of Parts One and Two, looking at specific details from the preceding chapters in order to conceptualize the overarching non-royal funerary landscapes of the late Middle and New Kingdoms at South Abydos.

PART ONE: NON-ROYAL MORTUARY LANDSCAPES AT SOUTH
ABYDOS IN THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORY, PERSONAL PIETY, AND THE ABYDENE CULT OF OSIRIS DURING THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM

From its inception as a royal necropolis and throughout the duration of the Old Kingdom, the heart of Abydos lay at the northern end of the overall site. This area was home to Umm el-Gaab, the Temple of Osiris-Khentiaementiu, the town of Abydos itself, and the Middle Cemetery – burial place of Old Kingdom state officials such as Weni and Djau. As the role and importance of Osiris evolved into the Middle Kingdom, so the site changed to fit these new beliefs with the creation of both royal and non-royal monuments. Perhaps deterred by the cluttered conditions at North Abydos toward the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, or perhaps simply drawn to a natural pyramidal cliff formation to the southeast, Pharaoh Senwosret III claimed South Abydos as the locus for his extensive complex. To date, archaeologists have discovered no Old Kingdom remains in this area, leading to the conclusion that Senwosret III began with a blank slate in his new construction project.

In order to understand Senwosret III's motivation to found his cult place here, an overview of the historical background of the late Middle Kingdom, coupled with an understanding of the nature and background of Osiris and his cult at the site are needed. With the goal of contextualization in mind, the following chapter will analyze the historical and religious foundations upon which Senwosret III placed his monuments.

§2.1 Implementation of Royal Ideology during the Twelfth Dynasty

The pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom realized that the royal ideology of the Old Kingdom was neither culturally cogent, nor viable in the new age they were forming. Partly due to ongoing cultural evolution, and partly due to conscious reinterpretation of old ideologies, the kings of the Middle Kingdom espoused a new and effective understanding of the roles and duties of the Egyptian monarch.

2.1.1 Defining “King” and “Kingship”

The term “king” and its abstraction “kingship” are two of many terms in the study of ancient history whose meanings are often informed by modern cultural values. To the ancient Egyptians, their king was more than what we might call a monarch. The entire Egyptian conception of cosmology was tied up with the roles and duties of their Pharaoh.

These royal roles and duties changed through time, along with the theoretical basis of government the king represented.⁹⁵ As modern observers, our perceptions of these roles are often biased, due to an unbalanced use of the sources available to us. From time to time the situation is also oversimplified in an attempt to reach a solid definition of what is in reality a fluctuating institution spanning thousands of years.⁹⁶ For instance, the Egyptian king appears to be wholly divine if only religious literature is consulted, while secular texts paint a much different, and understandably more complex picture of the ancient definition of kingship. Additionally, a standardized view of royal

⁹⁵ For a selected history of scholarship on the topic of kingship, see Silverman, *The Nature of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 49. See also Baines, *Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation* 1995, 3ff, Frandsen, *Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt* 2008, and Bárta 2013.

⁹⁶ Silverman, *The Nature of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 50f.

responsibilities during the Old Kingdom is in many ways vastly different from those of the New Kingdom. Care must, therefore, be exercised in any attempt to understand the ways in which Egyptian kingship affected culture, and vice versa.

D. Silverman's analysis of the terms the ancients used to refer to their monarch is enlightening, and can serve as a basic framework for a general definition of Egyptian kingship.⁹⁷ The terms belong to two basic categories: those relating to the divine office of the king (*nswt*⁹⁸, *nswt-bj.tj*⁹⁹ with or without the royal name), and those relating to the individual within that office (*hm*,¹⁰⁰ *nb*¹⁰¹). Hence in religious texts, the terms *nswt* and *nswt-bj.tj* are used to refer to the king, but in fact refer specifically to the divine office of kingship.¹⁰² The biographical inscriptions of Ny-ankh-Sekhmet and Kufu-ankh sum up the distinction nicely, as D. Silverman states:

An inscription in the tomb of Ny-ankh-Sekhmet records that the false doors for this tomb chapel were to be produced through the authority (*r-gs*) of the *nswt* itself (*ds.f*) (Urk. I. 38:16). In the inscription of Khufu-ankh a similar situation is recorded. Here, however, not only was the stone structure made under the auspices (*r-gs*) of the *nswt* itself (*ds.f*) the king actually came to see the work: "while his *hm* (physical embodiment) watched through the course of every day."¹⁰³

These texts demonstrate Egyptian culture's conceptualization of "kingship" as a very practical, albeit bifurcated institution. The king was obviously a human being who required sustenance to live, and who eventually died. Yet that human being was capable of inhabiting the divine office of Pharaoh for a time, if so desired and decreed by the

⁹⁷ Silverman, *The Nature of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 64-66. This is only a definition in the most basic sense, and does not take into account the diachronic fluctuations in the office. For a more detailed discussion of these chronological changes, see below §6.1.2, and §6.4.

⁹⁸ WB.I:325.1-329.10, R. Hannig 2006, 455-456.

⁹⁹ WB.I:330.5-332.7, R. Hannig 2006, 456.

¹⁰⁰ WB.III:91.1-92.11, R. Hannig 2006, 566-567.

¹⁰¹ WB.II:230.13, R. Hannig 2006, 423-424.

¹⁰² Silverman, *The Nature of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 65, with references. See also J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, 31-32.

¹⁰³ Silverman, *The Nature of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 65.

divine sphere.¹⁰⁴ The conference of this divine power took place during the coronation ceremony, where the human being took on both a new role, as well as a new name.¹⁰⁵ In such an official capacity he was considered more than merely human.

The distinction between office and individual must be borne in mind within the context of the modern definitions of the terms “king” and “kingship.” Kingship, therefore, refers here to the entire overarching set of rules governing both the office and person of the ruler. The king was a human being inhabiting a divine office, and as such acted in accordance with one or the other aspect within different religious, political, or familial situations.

2.1.2 Royal Power in the Twelfth Dynasty

Despite obvious parallels between Manetho’s Dynasty-founder Menes and Amenemhat I,¹⁰⁶ the pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty were in a dramatically new position of power which forced them to redefine and reshape royal authority instead of simply stepping into the Old Kingdom governmental model. J. Assmann sums up the situation in which the Twelfth Dynasty kings found themselves thusly:

They did not rule with a “literocracy” of educated officials over an illiterate mass, but had to assert themselves against a largely literate and economically and militarily powerful aristocracy of nomarchs, magnates, and patrons with all their wide-ranging clans and adherents. ... The political leadership now had to assert and substantiate its claims to supremacy vis-à-vis the aristocracy and win over the lower strata; it had to expound the rationale behind its aims, legitimize its own position, and provide tangible services in return for the obedience it demanded. These objectives

¹⁰⁴ See for instance Sekhemnankh’s comments about Pharaoh Sahure being given wisdom before birth by the gods, Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reiches* 1933, 39.12-16, and Silverman, *The Nature of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 63. See also Redford 1995, 160-161.

¹⁰⁵ For coronation scenes, see Liszka 2007. Murnane, *The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution* 1995, 189-191 discusses the legitimizing effect of coronation scenes, especially with Hatshepsut and Horemheb. See also Assmann, *Der Mythos des Gottkönigs im alten Ägypten* 2009.

¹⁰⁶ For the extant epitomes and excerpts of Manetho, see Wadell 1980.

could not be achieved by force alone, nor by the impressiveness of monumental architecture, but only by the power of eloquence and explanation.¹⁰⁷

In many ways this new definition of royal power exemplifies the course of the dynasty as a whole, touching all aspects of the Middle Kingdom culture including literature,¹⁰⁸ art,¹⁰⁹ and military activity.¹¹⁰

J. Assmann sees a shift taking place between the Old and Middle Kingdom in the relationship between the king and the gods and the resulting philosophy of governance.¹¹¹ The emphasized authoritative aspect of the king changed from his incarnate divinity to his filiation to the all-powerful gods: from direct theocracy to representational theocracy.¹¹²

The beginning of this evolution appears in the Old Kingdom during the reign of Djedefra, the first king to take the title *z3-rꜥ*, Son of Re,¹¹³ and continues into the reigns of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty as recorded in the post-factual prophecy of the Papyrus Westcar.¹¹⁴ During the Old Kingdom, the Pharaoh was the ultimate authority in the land by virtue of his position as the earthly incarnation of the god Horus.¹¹⁵ The kings of the Twelfth Dynasty did not attempt to resurrect the pure “incarnatory model” of royal

¹⁰⁷ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 118.

¹⁰⁸ See especially Loprieno 1996.

¹⁰⁹ For the changes in sculpture, see Rusmann 1995, and for relief, see Brovarski, *A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of the Old Kingdom* 2008.

¹¹⁰ Spalinger 2008.

¹¹¹ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 119-120, 183-188.

¹¹² Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 183ff.

¹¹³ Dobrev 1993, 196-198.

¹¹⁴ See Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians* 1988, 11 (line 9.7ff) for a transcription of the text, and Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 13-24 for a translation of the text.

¹¹⁵ This idea is demonstrated graphically on the royal serekh stelae from Umm el-Gaab in which the king's name exists within a palace enclosure surmounted by Horus. In the same way the statue of Khafre now in Cairo in which the Horus bird extends his wings around the king's nemes demonstrates that the earthly king inhabits the divine office, and in this position is the incarnation of the god himself. This is what J. Assmann calls the “incarnatory” model of governance. See Silverman, *The Nature of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 66.

power, but instead adapted the representational model begun in the late Old Kingdom which the Nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period perfected.¹¹⁶ In this representational model, the ruling individual (be it Pharaoh or nomarch) acts on behalf of the wishes of a god or gods. The ruler has the authority of the gods, but lacks the prescience and potency of the gods themselves.¹¹⁷

The texts of two different First Intermediate Period nomarchs exemplify this idea of representational theocracy. Khety, son of Tefibi of Asiut, recorded in his tomb that “Thy city-god loves thee, Tefibi’s son, Kheti. He hath presented thee, that he might look to the future in order to restore his temple, in order to raise the ancient walls, the original places of offering...”¹¹⁸ The text implies that it was the god’s forethought which brought Khety to the office of his father in order that he rebuild that god’s temple. Despite the biographical nature of the text, Khety’s work in the local temple of which he boasts was not ultimately his idea.

Ankhtifi, nomarch of the Third Upper Egyptian Nome, records a similar sentiment in his tomb inscriptions. In a quote spoken by Ankhtifi himself, he states “Horus brought me to the nome of Edfu for life, prosperity, health, to re-establish it, and I did (it)...”¹¹⁹ Again it is the god, here specified as Horus himself, who causes the local ruler to act on his behalf. Contrast these statements with those of Nenekhsekhmet who says of Fifth Dynasty Pharaoh Sahure: “When anything goes forth from the mouth of his majesty, it immediately comes to pass. For the god has given to him knowledge of things

¹¹⁶ For Ankhtifi and Moalla, see Aufère 2000 and Breyer 2005.

¹¹⁷ For a discussion of some of these issues, see Silverman, *The Nature of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 71ff.

¹¹⁸ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. I 1906, 186.

¹¹⁹ Grimal 1992, 142.

that are in the body, because he is more august than any god.”¹²⁰ Here the king possesses the prescience of the gods, and as a result is able to act autonomously in order to appease the gods, as opposed to acting in accordance with the instructions of the gods to the same end.

The fall of the centralized authority at the end of the Old Kingdom brought the fallibility and humanity of the pharaohs into sharp focus for the first time. They were not prescient, and, whereas they may from time to time wield the power of the gods, they were far from divine themselves. Hence the royal model morphed into one in which the king lost some of his supposed powers, allowing him to regain his humanity, while at the same time stand for the sum total of divine power behind him. Many of the nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period who gave nominal allegiance to the Herakleopolitan dynasty in the north used this method of representative theocracy to sidestep the tradition of ascribing all power to the king, thus allowing local potentates the ability to rule in accordance with divine authority.

Faced with the task of holding the country of Egypt together under one king, the pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty followed this model of representational theocracy. It set them apart from the old, and for the most part outmoded and ineffectual Herakleopolitan rulers. At the same time it placed them in a less lofty position with reference to the people. The king was still a human being, albeit the bodily son of the god who represented that divinity upon earth. The pharaoh was therefore, in effect, the first human in much the same way that Augustus Caesar employed the title *Princeps* to reflect

¹²⁰ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. I 1906, 109.

his role, not as the supreme ruler of the people, but as the first citizen of Rome. The pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty used representational theocracy as a bridge to connect themselves to the people who were, in reality, the real power-base within Egypt.

The desire to connect to the people has also been linked to the evolution of royal portraiture during the Twelfth Dynasty. There was a move away from the generalized face of the king, toward what scholars have often called a care-worn and bitter visage in the late Twelfth Dynasty.¹²¹ C. Aldred, in his work on Middle Kingdom art, approaches the same conclusion discussed above – namely that the Twelfth Dynasty pharaohs wished to place themselves in between the gods and mortals – from the artistic point of view when he states: “In the Old Kingdom, portrait statuary had been cast in an idealistic mould owing to the special part that it played in the funerary cult; but in the Middle Kingdom, ... there was a tendency to fashion it after a more realistic intention – to make it larger than life, rather than supernatural.”¹²²

With this framework describing the implementation of royal ideology during the Middle Kingdom, we turn now to look at some of the historical events of the period, and how they reflect royal ideology.

¹²¹ W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* 1998, 102.

¹²² Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* 1950, 23.

§ 2.2 The Late Twelfth Dynasty: Historical Overview

The Middle Kingdom lies between the Old Kingdom, the so-called Pyramid Age, and the New Kingdom, often called the Empire period. It was an age when, having found its footing in the Old Kingdom, the polity stretched its legs and not only extended itself into the surrounding territory, but stood fast at home on solid ground. The Twelfth Dynasty lies at the heart of this period, and represents an era of continued cultural evolution – an evolution the following sections will examine in greater detail. Scholars have called this dynasty a time of renaissance or rebirth,¹²³ referring with satisfied glee to the epithet which Amenemhat I appended to his Horus, Nebty, and Golden Horus names: *whm-ms.wt* “one who repeats births.”¹²⁴ With the accession of his great-grandson Senwosret III, Egyptian history entered what is often called the late Middle Kingdom, a time of cultural, religious, and administrative change.

2.2.1 Senwosret III and Nubia

No known monument confirms the parentage of Senwosret III, but scholars generally agree that he was born to Senwosret II and one of his wives Khnemetneferhedjet I.¹²⁵ A statue from Karnak now in Cairo (CG 38579) bears a renewal inscription of Khaneferre Sobekhotep IV which includes the statement that the original figure was fabricated by Khakaure (Senwosret III) and Khakheperre (Senwosret

¹²³ Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt* 2002, 5.

¹²⁴ R. Hannig 2006, 1290b.

¹²⁵ Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 94, Delia 1980, 1-24, and Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 53-54. There is also the possibility that he was a younger brother of Senwosret II as mentioned by D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies* 2002, 117.

II), his father.¹²⁶ Regardless of Senwosret III's parentage, he took the throne after the brief eight year reign of Senwosret II.

Senwosret III's Nubian campaigns hallmark his reign. In accordance with the persona of Middle Kingdom pharaohs as 'strong kings,' Senwosret III pursued a program of both advancing as well as strengthening Egypt's borders. As a result of his efforts, Senwosret III finally accomplished what Amenemhat I had begun.¹²⁷

In order to open the way for military action in Nubia, Senwosret III cut a new channel through the First Cataract.¹²⁸ Two inscriptions at the island of Sehel relate to this act. The first is undated, but the second, which speaks of renewing the canal, bears the date of Senwosret III's eighth regnal year, indicating that the first inscription must predate this.¹²⁹ Having cleared the canal, Senwosret III and his army pushed southward to Semna – the frontier and limit of Senwosret I's conquests. In order to reaffirm Egyptian control over this area, Senwosret III set up the first Semna Stela (Berlin14753), reading:

The southern boundary made in year 8 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakaure, given life for ever and ever, in order to prevent any Nubian from passing it going downstream, either overland or in a boat, or any herds of the Nubians, except a Nubian who comes to trade in Iken [Mirgissa] or on official business. Let every good thing be done with them without ever allowing a boat of the Nubians to pass downstream through Heh.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Delia 1980, 1, 233-235. R. Delia also states that the historic value of this assertion is highly suspect.

¹²⁷ The conquest of Nubia is mentioned in the Instruction of King Amenemhat. See also Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 31. For this idea see also Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. I 1906, 290.

¹²⁸ See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. I 1906, 291, and Delia 1980, 26-28 for the First Sehel Inscription.

¹²⁹ Since the cutting of the channel in the First Sehel Inscription must predate the renewal of the waterway in Year 8. See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. I 1906, 292 and Delia 1980, 24-26 for the Second Sehel Inscription.

¹³⁰ Delia 1980, 33.

Reestablishing the Egyptian frontier at the Second Cataract allowed Senwosret III to found a number of forts in the area, such as Semna, Kumma, Shalfak, and Mirgissa.¹³¹ These forts were not only strongholds protecting Egyptian interests, they were also outposts of Egyptian culture. Goods were imported directly from the Residence to these forts, showing a close connection to the royal power-base. Indeed, the so-called Residence pottery style appears at these outposts before it does at geographically closer, but more provincial centers such as Assiut.¹³²

According to a fragmentary inscription at Asswan, Senwosret III campaigned against Nubia again in either Year 10 or Year 12.¹³³ Just a few years later in Year 16 he again reached Semna, leaving behind two records now called the Second Semna Stela (Berlin 1157) and the Uronarti Stela (Khartoum 451).¹³⁴ In Year 19, Senwosret III sent Ikhnofret to Abydos in order to reinvigorate the Osiris Cult,¹³⁵ while the king himself again traveled south against Nubia.¹³⁶

Year 19 is the highest attested regnal date of Senwosret III, leading many scholars to conclude that Senwosret III died at this time. However, the discovery of a Year 39 control note within the construction debris of the Senwosret III temple at South Abydos has led J. Wegner to propose a lengthy coregency between Senwosret III and Amenemhat

¹³¹ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 172-180 and Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 51-54.

¹³² Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 10-11.

¹³³ K. Lepsius read Year 10 Month 2, while W. Petrie read Year 12. See Delia 1980, 40-42.

¹³⁴ Delia 1980, 42-77.

¹³⁵ Recorded on the Ikhnofret Stela (Berlin 1204), see Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III* 1904 for the original text, and Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 425-427 for a translation.

¹³⁶ The year date for these events comes from the stela of Sasatet (ANOC1.9). Presumably the king would have passed Abydos himself on these numerous campaigns, perhaps affording him time to choose the location of his complex.

III.¹³⁷ His conclusions appear to fit all known data, including the seemingly anomalous attribution of 30+x years to Senwosret III in the Turin King List.¹³⁸ Following his last campaign to Nubia in Year 19, Senwosret III seems to have almost retired, allowing Amenemhat III to take the active reigns of state. Freed from many responsibilities in this way, Senwosret III devoted more time to the creation of his second cult structure at South Abydos.

2.2.2 Amenemhat III and the End of the Twelfth Dynasty

Most scholars believe that Amenemhat III Nimaatra was the son of Senwosret III, though his mother is not known for certain.¹³⁹ The frontier at the Second Cataract set up by Senwosret III seems to have held during his reign, and while one of the pectorals of Mereret depicts Amenemhat III killing Asiatic foreigners, it is impossible to ascertain the historical value of this very traditional theme.¹⁴⁰

Keeping his attention centered at home, Amenemhat III began the construction of his Dahshur pyramid by his second regnal year.¹⁴¹ Yet by Year 15, structural problems resulting from the poor quality of the ground upon which the pyramid stood led to the king abandoning it as his primary burial place.¹⁴² Hence, he began constructing a new

¹³⁷ Wegner, *The Nature and Chronology of the Senwosret III-Amenemhat III Regnal Succession* 1996, 249-279. See also Jansen-Winkel 1997, and for coregency in general, see Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* 1977.

¹³⁸ Wegner, *The Nature and Chronology of the Senwosret III-Amenemhat III Regnal Succession* 1996, 261-262, 279.

¹³⁹ Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 92-95.

¹⁴⁰ For the pectorals of Mereret, see the forthcoming publication Silverman, *The Multiple Messages of Mereret's Pectoral* 2014.

¹⁴¹ Lehner 1997, 179. The Wadi Hammamat inscriptions of Year 2, 3, 19, and 20 corroborate the date. See Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 60, and D. Arnold, *Ausgrabungen im Pyramidenbezirk Amenemhets III. in Dahschur* 2007.

¹⁴² Lehner 1997, 180-181.

pyramid at Hawara, with an elaborate internal mud-brick arch, designed to relieve pressure on the burial chamber.¹⁴³ This chamber was hewn from a solid block of quartzite, and began a tradition in royal funerary practice of including these massive sarcophagus containers in tombs to house and protect the royal body.

The king probably died in his fortieth regnal year, as the Turin King List attests. Foreshadowing the problems in royal succession at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenemhat III seems not to have had a suitable male heir until late in his reign. The king had a number of daughters, two of which – Neferuptah (B) and Sobekneferu – aspired to rule. Contemporary with, or perhaps directly following, the end of Amenemhat III's reign, his daughter Neferuptah's name appears within a cartouche.¹⁴⁴ As A. Dodson and D. Hilton state, "she may have been regarded as a potential female king before her premature death."¹⁴⁵ Sobekneferu on the other hand succeeded in gaining the throne after the reign of Amenemhat IV.¹⁴⁶

Amenemhat IV Maakherura was the son of a woman by the name of Hetepti, and even though Amenemhat IV calls Amenemhat III his father, no inscription yet known

¹⁴³ W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, 16, Pl. IV.

¹⁴⁴ Attested on a black granite offering table (Cairo JE 90190) from her tomb at Hawara, see Farag and Iskander 1971, 7-10, Pl. 7, and Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* 2011, Fig. 7 for a photograph. Her title here is *z3.t-nswt*, not *nswt-hj.tj*. Interestingly her name does not appear inside a cartouche on another offering table from Amenemhat III's complex at Hawara, see W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, 8, 17, Pl V.

¹⁴⁵ Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 98. Their only evidence for this statement is the fact that her name is in a cartouche, since she does not possess any royal titles aside from "king's daughter."

¹⁴⁶ For a summary of Sobekneferu's reign, see B. M. Bryan 1996, 29-30. See also Matzker 1986 for the progression of Amenemhat III to Sobekneferu.

identifies Hetepti as a wife of Amenemhat III.¹⁴⁷ Stelae bearing the names of both kings exist, leading to the possible conclusion that there was a short coregency, perhaps employed here specifically to legitimize an adopted heir.¹⁴⁸ According to the Turin King List, Amenemhat IV ruled for nine years, three months, and twenty-seven days.¹⁴⁹ Despite his short reign, four different inscriptions in the Sinai attest to campaigns into this area, perhaps meant to deal with the ever present Asiatic incursions into the eastern Delta.¹⁵⁰ No indication of the king's tomb has yet been discovered. One of the two pyramids at Mazghuna has been suggested to belong to this monarch, though this conclusion is based only upon stylistic similarities between these pyramids and that of Amenemhat III at Hawara.¹⁵¹

The last ruler of the Twelfth Dynasty was Sobekneferu (or Neferusobek) Sobekkare.¹⁵² As a daughter of Amenemhat III, she asserted her legitimacy through this relationship, not through any connection to Amenemhat IV.¹⁵³ The Turin King List ascribes three years, ten months, and twenty-four days to her reign.¹⁵⁴ During that period she seems to have completed her father's mortuary temple at Hawara, called the Labyrinth.¹⁵⁵ The location of her tomb is still unknown with any certainty.¹⁵⁶ However,

¹⁴⁷ See Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 209-210, 213, and 294-295, with references, and Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 95.

¹⁴⁸ Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 61.

¹⁴⁹ von Beckerath 1997, 210.

¹⁵⁰ Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 61.

¹⁵¹ Lehner 1997, 184.

¹⁵² Manetho (apud Syncellus, quoting Africanus) gives her name as Skemiophris, perhaps indicating that the Sobek element preceded the neferu. Wadell 1980, 68-69.

¹⁵³ Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 95.

¹⁵⁴ von Beckerath 1997, 210.

¹⁵⁵ Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 62.

¹⁵⁶ Upon excavating the North and South pyramids at Mazghuneh, E. McKay attributed the South Pyramid to Sobekneferu, based solely on architecture. This attribution has persisted, despite the lack of concrete

a letter from Harageh (UCL 32778) mentions the toponym Sekhem-Sobekneferu.¹⁵⁷

Since the Senwosret II mortuary temple at Lahun bears the name Sekhem-Senwosret, it is possible that Sekhem-Sobekneferu may refer to her mortuary complex, perhaps somewhere in the vicinity of Harageh.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, a Thirteenth Dynasty stela includes a mention of a *šnꜥ.w* belonging to Sobekneferu, indicating that she possessed a production area which was traditionally linked with a funerary cult.¹⁵⁹ With no suitable successor, it was with Sobekneferu's death that the Twelfth Dynasty came to an end.

§2.3 The Early Thirteenth Dynasty and Funerary Evolution

The complete order of royal succession in the Thirteenth Dynasty is not known for certain. The most important source is the highly fragmentary Turin King List, and despite numerous attempts to reconcile this document with other sources, scholars have yet to come to consensus.¹⁶⁰ Since a full outline of the complex chronological situation is beyond the scope of the present work, the following section will look briefly at some important aspects of the period.

2.3.1 The Early Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty

It has long been recognized that one of the hallmarks of the Thirteenth Dynasty is its irregular royal succession, with numerous families vying for power. An interesting

evidence. See Petrie, Wainwright and MacKay, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* 1912, 37, and Lehner 1997, 184-185.

¹⁵⁷ Grajetzki, *Harageh, an Egyptian burial ground for the rich around 1800 BC* 2004, 54-56.

¹⁵⁸ Horváth 2009, 171-203.

¹⁵⁹ Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 63.

¹⁶⁰ McCormack 2008, 61ff.

feature of the early period of the dynasty is the use of multiple names. A. Dodson and D.

Hilton outline the probable meaning of this practice as understood by K. Ryholt:

A feature of the nomina of a number of the kings of the 13th Dynasty is their length and formulation, a good example being ‘Ameny-Inyotef-Amenemhat’. It is now becoming recognized that such ‘names’ actually contain the name of the king himself, together with that of his father and, in cases such as this, his grandfather as well. We should thus read here: ‘Amenemhat (VI), (son of) Inyotef, ([grand]son of) Ameny (= Amenemhat V)’; this kind of arrangement is known as a ‘filiative nomen’, and is thus of very considerable help in reconstructing the notoriously opaque genealogy of the dynasty.¹⁶¹

Based upon this notion, K. Ryholt’s reconstruction of the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty is as follows:

Table 2.1: Kings of the Early Thirteenth Dynasty¹⁶²

1. (Amenemhat) Sobekhotep I	Sekhemrekhutawy
2. (Amenemhat) Sonbef	Sekhemkare
3. ----	Nerikare
4. Amenemhat V	Sekhemkare
5. (Ameny) Qemau	----
6. (Qemau) Siharnedjheritef	Hotepibre
7. Jewefni	----
8. Amenemhat VI	Sankhibre
9. Nebnun	Semenkare
10. Sewesekhtawy	Sehetepibre

Using the ‘filiative nomen,’ Sobekhotep I and Sonbef are both sons of Amenemhat IV of Dynasty Twelve. Nerikare is problematic, since his nomen is unknown.¹⁶³ With his nomen, Amenemhat V reconnects himself with the early part of the dynasty. His successor Ameny-Qemau demonstrated through the hypocorism “Ameny,” that he was

¹⁶¹ Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 102. K. Ryholt first expressed this idea in Ryholt, *A Reconsideration of Some Royal Nomens of the Thirteenth Dynasty* 1990, and Ryholt, *A Bead of King Ranisonb and a Note on King Qemaw* 1997. See also Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 207-209, and Table 46.

¹⁶² Based on Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 197.

¹⁶³ Leading R. Hannig 2006, 1292 to note that even the existence of this king is uncertain.

the son of Amenemhat V,¹⁶⁴ just as his successor Qemau-Siharnedjheritef displayed his lineage from Qemau.

Yet, if Sobekhotep I and Sonbef were indeed the sons of Amenemhat IV, there is a question of why Sobekneferu ascended the throne after Amenemhat IV's death instead of one of his sons. The fact that Neferuptah's name appeared in a cartouche on her offering table may indicate Amenemhat III's early intention to pass the throne to his daughter.¹⁶⁵ After her death, he then chose a male successor who seems not to have been his son – Amenemhat IV – with whom he had a short coregency.¹⁶⁶ Sobekneferu would potentially have seen this new king as a usurper, or at the very least, less legitimate a king than herself, leading to her reasserting her claim to the throne at his death some nine years later. The scant facts do not support one conclusion clearly over another, but it is tempting to blame the breakdown of the Twelfth Dynasty on Amenemhat III's lack of a male heir, leading to a struggle between his biological daughter and his chosen adoptive heir, Amenemhat IV.¹⁶⁷

The practice of using 'filiative nomina' hints at an attempt at legitimation through genealogy. Though other scholars dispute the exact order of kings in the Thirteenth Dynasty, the basic understanding of problems in royal succession and the need for

¹⁶⁴ Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 207, note 708 pointed out that the owner of Beni Hasan Tomb 2, Newberry, Beni Hasan Part I 1893, 11, is called both Ameney, and Amenemhat.

¹⁶⁵ Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 210 outlines a different possibility in which Amenemhat III chose Neferuptah as the queen to his, as yet unnamed successor. This may explain why she bears a cartouche, but lacks the title of "queen."

¹⁶⁶ See Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* 1977, 13-22, and Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 210-214.

¹⁶⁷ If such a struggle did in fact take place, it seems highly unlikely that the two monarchs (Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu) would have placed their funerary monuments in close proximity to one another, as at Mazghuna, or South Abydos (S9 and S10). The two sons of Amenemhat IV (Sobekhotep I and Sonbef) are more likely to have had reason to associate their funerary monuments, and link them with an earlier king.

legitimacy are well established.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, based upon K. Ryholt's 'filiative nomen,' the order of the first kings of the period is fairly well accepted.

2.3.2 Changes in Funerary Ideology in the Late Middle Kingdom: An Overview

From the reign of Senwosret III through the early Thirteenth Dynasty a number of changes took place in funerary ideology, as represented in material culture and burial goods. Generally speaking, the use of Coffin Texts and tomb models declined, while at the same time there was an increased incidence of birth implements (apotropaia, theophoric rods, etc.) appearing in tombs, especially in the years leading up to the Thirteenth Dynasty.¹⁶⁹ Assuming a direct link between burial goods and funerary ideology,¹⁷⁰ profound reinterpretation of rituals surrounding death and burial took place contemporary with the Dynasty Twelve – Thirteen horizon.

Nowhere is this change more evident than late in the reign of Amenemhat III. His probable daughter Neferuptah (B)¹⁷¹ possessed inscribed vessels, whose birds were originally rendered in their complete form, but were later altered to remove their legs.¹⁷² Hence the practice of employing mutilated hieroglyphs seems to have reappeared very

¹⁶⁸ Quirke, *Royal Power in the 13th Dynasty* 1991, Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997; Franke, *Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches, Teil II* 1988, 245-274, and McCormack 2008, 61ff, and 99ff.

¹⁶⁹ Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 10-16. For apotropaia, see Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittelägyptens* 1965, and below §3.6.6 for complete references. On coffins of the Middle Kingdom, see Willems 1988.

¹⁷⁰ A number of scholars have written on this topic, but see especially I. Morris 1992, and Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005.

¹⁷¹ G. Miniaci maintains that her genealogy is not recorded on any known monument, and the statement that she was a daughter of Amenemhat III is speculative. See Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* 2011, 6. The canopic vessels belonging to Neferuptah are inscribed with Amenemhat III's throne name.

¹⁷² W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, 17. See also Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* 2011, 5, Fig. 7 for Neferuptah's offering table with these mutilated glyphs.

rapidly in the closing years of Amenemhat III's reign, at least in the royal sphere.¹⁷³

Moving forward in time, the tombs of Ameny-Qemau and Awibre Hor produced objects also displaying truncated hieroglyphs, demonstrating the persistence of the practice into the Thirteenth Dynasty.¹⁷⁴

During this period there was also an evolution in coffin design and decoration, in which the traditional rectangular coffin was slowly replaced by the anthropoid form.¹⁷⁵

One of the earliest datable examples of this trend is an anthropoid coffin belonging to an Overseer of the Army, Sepi, who served under Senwosret II and Senwosret III.¹⁷⁶ J.

Bourriau has also demonstrated an evolution in body position within the tomb which may or may not be related to the introduction of anthropoid coffins.¹⁷⁷ Another tomb object –

the shabti – may indeed be related to the fact that anthropoid coffins depicted the

deceased as a wrapped Osiris, since the shabti seems to have been invented during the

late Middle Kingdom.¹⁷⁸ At the very least these two objects (anthropoid coffins and

shabtis) represent changes in the concepts surrounding death and the afterlife during the

late Middle Kingdom. These objects and concepts will be discussed in much greater

detail below in Chapter Three.

¹⁷³ For the practice of mutilating hieroglyphs in the Old Kingdom, see Lacau 1913, and Miniaci, *The Incomplete Hieroglyphs System at the End of the Middle Kingdom* 2010, 113.

¹⁷⁴ Tomb S10 at South Abydos also contained travertine canopic fragments exhibiting this feature. See Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 15, 19.

¹⁷⁵ Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* 2011, 7-9. See also Willems 1988.

¹⁷⁶ Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* 2011, 8.

¹⁷⁷ Bourriau, *Change of Body Position in Egyptian Burials from the Mid XIIth Dynasty Until the Early XVIIIth Dynasty* 2001, 1-20.

¹⁷⁸ Schneider 1977, I: 32ff. See also the shabti of Renseneb, bearing incomplete hieroglyphs, from North Abydos in Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 57-58, Pl. XIII.3 and also Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* 1988, 99-100. See also below, §3.3.2 for the incomplete hieroglyphs on the wooden sarcophagus of Neferet-net-resi from North Abydos.

Suffice it to say here that the late Middle Kingdom, from the reign of Senwosret III into the mid Thirteenth Dynasty, was both a time of political uncertainty, as well as fertile ground for evolving notions of death and funerary practice. The change in ideology affected both the royal, and non-royal spheres. Partly as a result of their short reigns, very few kings completed their tombs, and even fewer have been identified. Those that are known (Awibre Hor is a notable example)¹⁷⁹ continue the tradition of incomplete hieroglyphs.¹⁸⁰ Non-royal burials of the period display great variation, from “court-style” burials in which the deceased bears some of the trappings of royalty, to lower order graves with great variation in both body position and material culture.¹⁸¹ To date, no overarching reason or explanation has been put forth to contextualize the sweeping changes which took place in the early Thirteenth Dynasty.¹⁸²

§2.4 Royal and Non-royal Interaction with the Abydene Cult of Osiris

Despite changes in funerary ritual during the late Middle Kingdom, pharaohs throughout Egyptian history defined their roles and duties through the lens of the Myth of Osiris.¹⁸³ Yet, no such extended myth exists in Egyptian literature.¹⁸⁴ Scholars must

¹⁷⁹ Miniaci, *The Incomplete Hieroglyphs System at the End of the Middle Kingdom* 2010, 114-115.

¹⁸⁰ For the canopic jars of Ameney-Qemau, see Swelim and Dodson 1998.

¹⁸¹ Bourriau, *Change of Body Position in Egyptian Burials from the Mid XIIth Dynasty Until the Early XVIIIth Dynasty* 2001.

¹⁸² Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991 and Grajetzki, *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life and Death for Rich and Poor* 2003, 54-61 both mainly describe the changes, without theorizing as to why these changes took place. See also the comments in Forman and Quirke 1996 on the stages of change from inscribed coffins to papyrus funerary spells.

¹⁸³ As Tobin 1988 outlines, the Greek notion of “Myth” was foreign to Egyptian culture. For all intents and purposes, the story of Osiris was a factual retelling of a portion of the story of creation. See Stewart 2012, 189-199, and also Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 111-113.

¹⁸⁴ The fullest retelling of the whole story appears in Plutarch’s *De Iside et Osiride*, part of his *Moralia*, §§ 351c – 384c. See Babbitt 1936. The earliest extended version is contained in the Great Hymn to Osiris from the stela of Amenmose (Louvre C286), Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1976, 81-86, though this version is not literary in character.

therefore piece together the evolution of the mythology relating to this important god from various sources. In order to understand more fully the reasons behind pharaohs' constructing memorial edifices linked with Osiris at Abydos, the following section will examine the cult and mythology of the god Osiris.

2.4.1 The Osiris and Horus Cycle: Prototypical Egyptian Kingship

According to the first scraps of evidence available to us, Osiris was a god associated with both chthonic regeneration through death, and kingship – two concepts which defined him throughout Egyptian history.¹⁸⁵ In the Pyramid Texts, the name of Osiris is the only divine name appended to that of the Pharaoh, demonstrating a concrete connection between the god and the office of king.¹⁸⁶ J. Griffiths even believed that the anthropomorphic form Osiris takes is a direct result of his association with kingship, and specifically the cult of dead, divine kings.¹⁸⁷

According to the Pyramid Texts, Osiris was the son of Geb and Nut, and therefore part of the divine Ennead.¹⁸⁸ The Turin King List lists the male members of this group in

¹⁸⁵ Griffiths 1980, 3. Hence the cult of Osiris is at its root a form of royal ancestor worship. See also Otto 1966, 26-28.

¹⁸⁶ Griffiths 1980, 44ff. For an interesting study which looks at the possibility of two dialects in the Pyramid Texts, and the resulting division of Solar and Osirian theologies along those dialectical lines, see Sullivan 1994, 47ff. If the results of this study are accurate, the king is only identified as Osiris in Sullivan's Group 2 spells, having dialectical differences from Group 1 spells. Theoretically then, the Group 2 spells may represent an Upper Egyptian dialect, and may reflect Upper Egyptian (perhaps even Abydene) theology related to the king.

¹⁸⁷ Griffiths 1980, 185, 188, and cf. 139ff, and O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 41.

¹⁸⁸ J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt* 1988, 8-9. As J. Allen shows, Osiris is equated with the Duat, which is in turn dependent upon the earth (Geb) and sky (Nut). As such, the "genealogy" of the gods in the Ennead also describes their celestial interconnections. See also the Stela of Amenmose (Louvre C286) translated in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1976, 82. For cosmogony and cosmology, see Lesko, *Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology* 1991, and Conman 2003.

succession as the first kings of Egypt.¹⁸⁹ Hence in his role as his father's royal heir, the

Hymn to Osiris on the stela of Amenmose speaks of the god's kingship on earth:

Geb's heir (in) the kingship of the Two Lands,
 Seeing his worth he gave (it) to him,
 To lead the lands to good fortune.
 He placed this land into his hand,
 Its water, its wind,
 Its plants, all its cattle.
 All that flies, all that alights,
 Its reptiles and its desert game,
 Were given to the son of Nut,
 And the Two Lands are content with it.¹⁹⁰

According to this Eighteenth Dynasty source, the mechanism by which rule was passed was not the death of the predecessor, but rather a system whereby the elder god, seeing the worth of the younger, hands rule along to him.¹⁹¹

Despite the Two Lands being content with Osiris as king, his brother Seth seems to have been less than pleased. Seth finds and murders his brother Osiris, leaving his body upon the ground in a place called variously Nedit or Geheset.¹⁹² Their sisters Isis and Nephthys seek out his body in order to give him a proper burial. Hence Pyramid Text spell 532 (§1255ff) states:

Isis has come, Nephthys has come – one of them from the west, one of them from the east, one of them as a screecher, one of them [as] a kite – and they have found Osiris after his brother Seth threw him down in Nedit, when Osiris Pepi said: You should go away from me,” and his identity of Sokar came into being.
 They will prevent [you] from decomposing, with respect to your identity of Anubis.¹⁹³ They will prevent your decay from oozing to the ground, with respect to your identity of the Nile-Valley

¹⁸⁹ von Beckerath 1997, 207.

¹⁹⁰ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1976, 83.

¹⁹¹ There may be a parallel here to the Twelfth Dynasty practice of coregency, where the elder regent, sensing his age, passes many duties along to his younger heir, though he himself is still holding a portion of the divine office of kingship. See Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* 1977, 1-29.

¹⁹² Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 125-127.

¹⁹³ According to Plutarch, *Moralia* §356f, Anubis was the son of Osiris and Nephthys. See Babbitt 1936, 32ff.

jackal. They will prevent the scent of your corpse from being bad, with respect to your identity of Horus of Shat.¹⁹⁴

At this point, the legendary version of Egypt was without a king. The Turin King List shows that Seth succeeded the brother he murdered, in effect usurping the throne through violence.¹⁹⁵

Despite his death, Osiris magically impregnated his wife Isis. This pivotal scene appears repeatedly in temples, such as that of Seti I at Abydos and the Temple of Hathor at Dendera. Aware of her pregnancy, Isis appeared before the gods in CT Spell 148:

“Oho,” says Atum,
 “your heart is wise, O woman!
 How do you know that this is the god,
 the lord and heir of the Ennead,
 whom you are making within the egg?”

“I am Isis, who is more effective
 and more illustrious than all the gods!
 It is a god in my womb,
 he is the seed of Osiris.”
 Then Atum said, “If you are pregnant, you should hide, young woman,
 that you may bear the one with whom you are pregnant against (i.e., against the will of) the gods!
 For truly he is the seed of Osiris.
 That enemy who killed his father shall not come!
 Otherwise, he will destroy the egg in its infancy.
 The one rich in magic (i.e., Seth) shall be in fear before him.”¹⁹⁶

Isis takes Atum’s advice to heart and hides in the marshes of the delta, a story recounted on the beautiful Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85). From the beginning of his young existence, however, Horus seemed destined for strife, for in the marshes he was stung by a scorpion and almost died, at least according to the Thirtieth Dynasty Metternich

¹⁹⁴ J. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* 2005, 165. As J. Allen states in his note to this section (p. 205), the associations represent word-plays. For other examples of word-play, see Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt* 2002, 124-125, 127-128, 143, 187, 197, 256, and 264.

¹⁹⁵ von Beckerath 1997, 207.

¹⁹⁶ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 131. For CT Spell 148, see Gilula 1971, O’Connell 1982, and Hollander 1982.

Stela.¹⁹⁷ On this same source, Thoth healed the young god through magic, an act which is reminiscent of Hathor healing Horus' eyes in the Late Egyptian "Contendings of Horus and Seth."¹⁹⁸ With the help of the gods, Horus reaches his maturity, and eventually regains his father's office and possessions from Seth.

J. Griffith and other scholars understand the Osiris and Horus myths as separate traditions which were combined at some point before the first attestation of the Pyramid Texts in the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁹⁹ Such an understanding would explain the inconsistent relationship between Horus and Seth. In some Pyramid Text spells (e.g. PT 823a-d), Horus and Seth are brothers, while in other examples Seth is Horus' uncle (e.g. PT 1742a and 1219d).²⁰⁰ The Thirtieth Dynasty mythological cycle recounting Isis bringing up the young Horus has no overt connections with the Osiris myth whatsoever,²⁰¹ and according to J. Assmann, Isis is the "kingmaker" par excellence" in the relevant texts.²⁰²

Furthermore, J. Assmann sees two traditions specifically within sources discussing the battle between Horus and Seth: one in which the two brothers' struggle results in the concept of Egypt as a "united duality," and the second in which the son fights for his place as rightful heir to his murdered father.²⁰³ Even in our earliest sources, these two traditions are inextricably intertwined, yielding texts which appear superficially

¹⁹⁷ J. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 56.

¹⁹⁸ J. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 58-60. For the Hathor scene in the "Contendings," see Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 98-99. In other versions of the Seth / Horus story, it is Thoth who heals his eyes.

¹⁹⁹ Griffiths 1980, 14-17, Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 134f, te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion* 1967, 27-80, Mathieu 2011, and Tillier 2013.

²⁰⁰ Griffiths 1980, 14-15, citing Farina 1923, 206.

²⁰¹ Compare the text of CT 148 in Gilula 1971, in which Horus possesses all his powers seemingly at the point of birth.

²⁰² Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 134.

²⁰³ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 134-141.

contradictory, but in reality represent a blending of ideas into an overarching mythology.²⁰⁴ In J. Assmann's first constellation in which Horus and Seth are brothers, Osiris does not appear in the narrative. J. Assmann outlines this cycle, saying of Horus and Seth:

Their conflict has no motive other than the antagonism of the south and the north, of Upper and Lower Egypt, which might have had a historical basis (Upper Egypt is a primarily nomadic society, Lower Egypt as a primarily agricultural, sedentary one), but perhaps merely springs from the oppositions typical of Egyptian thought. For this conflict, in which Seth rips out one of Horus' eyes and Horus rips off Seth's testicles, is again none other than a prelude that is supposed to explain the present condition: the globality of pharaonic rule and the (inner) peace of the governed spheres are expressed in this icon of conflicting and reconciled brothers as a result of a union and reconciliation. The conflict is always in the past, the present is characterized by the balance of the reconciled opposites and the united portions. Here, Seth is not actually conquered, let alone damned and banished. Rather, the opposition is transcended into a higher unity in which the two brothers in conflict find their justice and their place. In this evidently very old conception, Horus and Seth are incorporated in the king.²⁰⁵

Interestingly, his notion that the struggle of a Horus-king and Seth-king being united in one ruler does have a possible historic precedent.²⁰⁶ During the poorly documented Second Dynasty, some form of political struggle seems to have taken place. There are two indirect sources for this conclusion, one is the location of royal burials at the time, and the second is the names of the kings of Dynasty Two.

The kings of the First Dynasty, whose names appear on stelae and other sources within the royal *serekh* surmounted by Horus, were all buried at the royal cemetery of Umm el-Gaab at Abydos. For some unknown reason, the kings of the early Second Dynasty abandoned the necropolis, possibly in favor of Saqqara.²⁰⁷ The last two kings of

²⁰⁴ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 135.

²⁰⁵ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 135.

²⁰⁶ See Rice 1991, 50-53, Baines, *Origins of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 142-143, Bard, *The Emergence of the Egyptian State* 2000, 85-86, and Wengrow 2006, 248.

²⁰⁷ A seal impression belonging to Hetepsekhemwy, first king of the Second Dynasty, was discovered in the tomb of Qa'a, last king of the First Dynasty. See, Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* 2008, 113.

the Second Dynasty, Peribsen and Khasekhem(wy) returned to Abydos, however, even though in the Third Dynasty the Memphite Necropolis was again the site of royal burial. In and of itself, variability in the location of royal burial is not terribly alarming, especially in light of the fact that the capital remained situated in the north.

The names of the Second Dynasty kings lead to some interesting possibilities. The first king of the period is named Hetepsekhemwy, “The Two Powers are at Peace,” which leads to the question of the identity of the “Two Powers.”²⁰⁸ As stated above, the standard way of writing the royal name was in the *serekh*, surmounted by the falcon of Horus. Yet Pharaoh Peribsen caused that his name be written in a *serekh* with the Seth-animal in place of the Horus falcon,²⁰⁹ leading some scholars to theorize a revolt or conflict of some type took place.²¹⁰ Finally the last king of the Dynasty, and Peribsen’s successor, came to the throne with the Horus name Khasekhem, meaning “The Power Appears.”²¹¹ By the end of his reign, however, the king created the dual Horus-Seth name Khasekhemwy, meaning “The Two Powers Have Appeared,”²¹² which was written in a *serekh* surmounted by both Horus and Seth.²¹³ Though this evidence is less than definitive, it is possible that some form of struggle or contention took place during the Second Dynasty between two factions represented by the animal forms of Horus and

²⁰⁸ See Baines, *Origins of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 142ff, and Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* 2007, 138-139.

²⁰⁹ Bestock 2011, 143-144.

²¹⁰ Rice 1991, 142, Bard, *The Emergence of the Egyptian State* 2000, 85-87.

²¹¹ Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* 2008, 114, or according to Baines, *Origins of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 143, “One who Arises in respect of the Power (Horus).”

²¹² Or as Baines, *Origins of Egyptian Kingship* 1995, 143 translates, “One who Arises in respect of the Two Powers.”

²¹³ For the stela of Peribsen with Seth *serekh*, and seal impressions of Khasekhemwy, see Robins 1997, 36, and Kaplony 1963-1964.

Seth. With the reign of Khasekhemwy the two sides reached a truce, and were united into one royal personage.

Yet it is J. Assmann's second constellation of the Horus and Seth myth that has direct bearing on the ideology of Egyptian kingship, vis-à-vis the Osiris story. In this version, Seth murders his brother Osiris, resulting in his nephew (Osiris' son) Horus avenging the death of his father, and taking his rightful place as Osiris' successor. The conflict here is framed in terms of litigation in the "Hall of Geb" in Heliopolis, a motif that eventually leads to the judgment of the dead scene in the New Kingdom.²¹⁴ The goal for Horus here is "justification" over Seth and his wickedness, as CT Spell 9 states:

Hail, Thoth, in whom is the peace of the gods,
and all the judges who are with you!
Command that they come out to NN
to hear all the good that he says on this day,
for he is this feather that rises in the land of the god,
which Osiris brought to his son Horus,
that he might set it on his head as a sign
of his justification over his enemies.
It is he who crushed the testicles of Seth...²¹⁵

Horus here exemplifies not only the desire of the deceased to reach justification in the journey to the next life, he also typifies one of the main duties of the king – namely to create truth (*maat*) and dispel chaos (*isfet*).²¹⁶

The framework thus created by this mythological cycle is one in which the king on earth is conceived of as the living Horus, son of the previous king. On his death he travels to the underworld to become one with, and rule as Osiris in the *duat*. His son and

²¹⁴ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 135.

²¹⁵ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* 2001, 136. See CT.I:27b – I:30b, and Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* 2007, 191.

²¹⁶ Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* 1970, 22.

heir then becomes the living Horus in turn, charged with, among other things, the proper burial and commemoration of his father.

2.4.2 The Evolution of the Abydene Temple of Osiris

Even though texts throughout Egyptian history call Osiris the Lord of Busiris as well as the Lord of Abydos, it was the latter site which housed his extensive cult complex.²¹⁷ Originally dedicated to Khentiamentiu during the Old Kingdom, the form of the temple of Osiris went through different phases as time progressed, many of which have left very little trace.

W. Petrie excavated the site of what he called the “Osiris Temnos” beginning in 1902.²¹⁸ What confronted him was a tangled mass of buildings and fragments spanning the entire history of ancient Egypt, from Early Dynastic houses and tombs, to temple structures of the Thirtieth Dynasty and later. Though W. Petrie was an archaeologist equal to the task, the published results of these excavations are somewhat less than definitive.²¹⁹ Hence B. Kemp attempted to clarify the murky picture by reanalyzing the temple stratigraphy using W. Petrie’s original notebooks and on-site comparison.²²⁰ His useful article cleared up a number of questions, but the confused nature of the site itself still leaves many unanswered queries.

²¹⁷ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 31

²¹⁸ W. M. Petrie, *Abydos I* 1902, and W. M. Petrie, *Abydos II* 1903

²¹⁹ A small number of issues (for example his attribution of Nubkheperre Intef to the Eleventh Dynasty instead of the Seventeenth), led to some chronological confusion. W. Petrie also believed the area occupied by royal *ka* chapels represented the actual temple of Osiris (followed by B. Kemp), though it is equally possible, given the existence of Eighteenth Dynasty fragments below the Thirtieth Dynasty temple, that the earlier temples existed in this locus.

²²⁰ Kemp, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos* 1968, 138-155.

One of the first issues with understanding the Osiris Temple area is W. Petrie's assumption that the large mud-brick enclosure wall currently surrounding the area (a portion of which is now called the Kom el-Sultan) was originally erected by Senwosret I. This conclusion was based upon the fact that the bricks used in the wall were of the same size as those within Senwosret I's foundation deposits, though he notes that in places the wall overlays Nineteenth Dynasty construction.²²¹ Brick size is now dismissed as a reliable dating criterion due in part to brick reuse, as well as the huge size variation exhibited by bricks of the same period.²²² Thinking that the wall represented the ancient temple enclosure wall, W. Petrie focused his excavation efforts in the center. While it is true that a large gateway does exist in the mud-brick wall leading to the so-called Portal Temple of Ramesses II,²²³ this fact does not necessarily indicate the temple's original axis.

What W. Petrie found within the central portion of this later enclosure were numerous small temples or chapels dedicated to various kings, apparently beginning with Pepi I, and extending through the Thirtieth Dynasty. To the south-east were the remains of the Osiris Temple built by Nectanebo I of the Thirtieth Dynasty. Given the existence of probable New Kingdom remains beneath the Late Period temple, it seems possible that this was the actual location of the Osiris Temple.²²⁴ The remains excavated by W. Petrie, and discussed by B. Kemp are, therefore, small royal *ka*-chapels dedicated to various

²²¹ W. M. Petrie, *Abydos II* 1903, 6.

²²² Kemp, *Soil* (including mud-brick architecture) 2000, 84-88, but especially 85-86.

²²³ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 117-119, Fig. 60.

²²⁴ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 129.

kings, standing along a processional way at the end of which Seti I and Ramesses II constructed the so-called Portal Temple.²²⁵

According to textual and archaeological sources, the actual temple of Osiris was demolished and rebuilt numerous times, most notably by Senwosret I, and probably Thutmosis III.²²⁶ Each successive demolition removed most traces of earlier construction phases, leaving us with an incomplete picture of the site's overall history. Furthermore, during the Ptolemaic period the area surrounding the Kom el-Sultan seems to have been employed as an administrative area, and fort during a siege which took place during the First Theban Revolt under Ptolemy V.²²⁷

2.4.3 The "Tomb" of Osiris at Umm el-Gaab

Moving from the temple area into the desert, the Pre- and Early Dynastic royal cemetery at Umm el-Gaab was of great importance to the workings of the Osiris cult from the Middle Kingdom onwards. During this period at least some of the tombs of the Early Dynastic Pharaohs were excavated. One, that of Djer, was chosen to be the locus for a special structure dedicated to the god Osiris, the divine embodiment of the royal ancestor cult. The tomb was cleared, and a stairway was added allowing easy access.²²⁸

²²⁵ For this temple, see below Chapter Six, (§6.6.1), and Silverman, *The So-Called Portal temple of Ramesses II at Abydos* 1989, and Simpson, *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos* 1995.

²²⁶ Kemp, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos* 1968, 138-155.

²²⁷ Kraemer 2013. See also, O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 127 for a photograph showing round stone ballista stones which littered the site.

²²⁸ Dodson, *The So-Called "Tomb of Osiris" at Abydos* 1997, 37-47.

During the Thirteenth Dynasty a basalt statue of Osiris impregnating Isis, in the form of a bird, was installed.²²⁹

Most literature discussing this structure refers to it as the “Tomb of Osiris,” with or without quotation marks.²³⁰ Yet in the clearest ancient reference to this building, the stela of Ikhnofret, the building dedicated to Osiris is called : *mḥ.t f hn.tt pqr* “his *mahat* before *Poker*.”²³¹ The ancient designation of *pqr* refers to Umm el-Gaab.²³² Based upon the discussion of the term *mḥ.t* below (Chapter Six, §6.6.2) and specifically its usage at Abydos to refer to memorial chapels not containing burials,²³³ the reused tomb of Djer was probably conceptualized as a memorial chapel of Osiris, not as a “tomb” in the modern sense of a place of burial for physical remains of an individual. Nevertheless, the site was the terminus of the procession of Osiris which began at his temple near the cultivation.²³⁴

2.4.4 Ikhnofret and the Osiris Procession

The most complete ancient source for this procession is the stela of Ikhnofret, treasurer under Senwosret III (Berlin 1204).²³⁵ Though it almost certainly came from

²²⁹ Leahy 1977, 424-434.

²³⁰ See Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III* 1904, 28-30, and *passim*, and O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, *passim*.

²³¹ Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III* 1904, 28.

²³² O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 90-91.

²³³ O'Connor, *The "Cenotaphs" of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos* 1985.

²³⁴ For the procession as depicted in the later Temple of Seti I, see David, *A Guide to the Religious Ritual at Abydos* 1981.

²³⁵ Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III* 1904. See also Leprohon 1978 for non-familial relationships between individuals mentioned on this stela.

Abydos, the only indication of this is a label which it carried when it arrived in Berlin from the Drovetti collection in 1837-1838.²³⁶

Senwosret III sent Ikhernofret to Abydos in Year 19, according to the stela of Sasatet who states: “I came to Abydos together with the treasurer Iykhernefret to fashion [a figure? of] Osiris-Khentyamentiu, lord of Abydos, when Khakaure [Senwosret III], living eternally, proceeded to crush vile Kash in regnal year 19.”²³⁷ Though Sasatet’s main task was the reinvigoration of the cult and its equipment, the envoy seems to have been deputized to act on the king’s behalf during the actual procession and festival. Ikhernofret’s list of duties outlines the basic structure of the ritual which reenacted the death, resurrection, and enthronement of the god Osiris.²³⁸

First, the death of the god was alluded to at a place called Nedit. W. Simpson believes Nedit was an actual location at Abydos wherein the death of the god was reenacted.²³⁹ The first clear connection between the toponym and the death of Osiris occurs in the Pyramid Texts of Pepi I (Spell 532):²⁴⁰

Isis has come, Nephthys has come – one of them from the west, one of them from the east, one of them as a screecher, one of them [as] a kite – and they have found Osiris after his brother Seth threw him down in Nedit...²⁴¹

Based on this earlier attestation, it seems more likely that an area along the processional route at Abydos was called Nedit in reference to the mythological location.²⁴²

²³⁶ Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III* 1904, 6.

²³⁷ Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006.

²³⁸ Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III* 1904, 20-32.

²³⁹ Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 427, note 3.

²⁴⁰ WB:II:367.15. The word occurs earlier in the pyramids of Unas (PT. Spell 247), and Teti (PT. Spell 412), though it is not explicitly linked with the place of Osiris’ death in these sources.

²⁴¹ J. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* 2005, 165. See also Spell 576 where Osiris bears the title “he who is in Nedit.”

Once this action took place, the god's body was carried in its sacred bark out to his *mahat* at Poker / Umm el-Gaab. Ikhnofret is silent on what rituals took place within the god's *mahat*, and it is not clear if the building was conceptualized as the god's tomb, or a place with another significance.²⁴³ Assuming that the reused tomb of Djer at Umm el-Gaab is one and the same as the *mahat* of Osiris,²⁴⁴ then this structure and its associated artifacts may be the only clues to understanding these rituals, and the meaning of *mahat* in connection with Osiris. During his excavations in the tomb, E. Amélineau discovered a basalt statue depicting the god Osiris lying upon a bier, which takes the form of twin lions.²⁴⁵ While it is possible that this statue highlights the burial of Osiris in a symbolic tomb, the "Osiris Bed" does not, in fact, allude to this aspect of the myth. Instead the statue depicts the impregnation of Isis, who has alighted upon her dead husband in the form of a bird.²⁴⁶ Far from the concept of laying the dead god to rest in a tomb, Osiris' continued potency and fertility are paramount in this image, again leading to serious doubts about the identification of the Osiris-*mahat* as a "tomb."

Indeed in the much later Seti I temple, R. David reconstructed the order of the rites as 1) Preparation, 2) (destroyed), 3) Conception of Horus, 4) (destroyed), 5) Erecting the Djed-pillar, 6) Accession of King, 7) Granting of jubilees, and 8) Making Seti I king of the dead.²⁴⁷ If these later rites reflect the earlier Middle Kingdom tradition, then the *mahat* of Osiris was not conceptualized as the locus of final burial. Given that the union

²⁴² Pyramid Texts Spell 478 also names the location of Osiris' murder as Gehesty.

²⁴³ Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 427.

²⁴⁴ As stated by O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 89-91.

²⁴⁵ Amélineau 1899, 109-115, Pl. II-IV. The object is now in Cairo, JE 32090. The bier is identical in form to those included in the tomb of Tutankhamun, see Reeves 1990, 146-149. For the date of the object, see Leahy 1977.

²⁴⁶ Leahy 1977, 424-434.

²⁴⁷ Adapted from David, *A Guide to the Religious Ritual at Abydos* 1981, 147.

of Isis and Osiris takes place here, the *mahat* probably represents a tomb only in the fact that this is the location where Osiris' body was reunited for the first time, and resurrected in order to allow in impregnation of Isis. As such it is still a point of regeneration, not of burial.

Following the union of Osiris and Isis, the rejuvenated god is placed in a second boat, identified by Ikhnofret (Line 23) as the *Neshmet*-bark.²⁴⁸ The procession then began its journey back up the royal wadi to the north, terminating again at the Osiris temple. Ikhnofret boasts of his role at the end of the procession, stating: "And I followed the god into his temple, his purification done, his throne widened. I untied the knot within the temple [as he came to rest among] his ... and among his entourage."²⁴⁹ Thus the procession ended with the image of the god placed back in his sealed shrine.

2.4.5 The Terrace of the Great God in the Twelfth Dynasty

The procession of Osiris was of such importance to both royal and non-royal individuals that the space around the temple and processional way housed innumerable commemorative monuments. Many of these structures became the focus of A. Mariette and his team, who dug out and collected the beautiful stelae they contained. Thankfully, a small group of chapels dating to the earliest phase of the practice survived intact below the floor of the so-called Portal Temple of Ramesses II. These structures were excavated

²⁴⁸ WB:II:339.15-17. The *Neshmet*-bark does not appear in the Pyramid Texts, but does occur in the Coffin Texts, for instance CT:V:227. The name also occurs in names, such as Dedetneshmet from South Abydos (below, §5.2.2).

²⁴⁹ Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 427-427. As a representative of the king, Ikhnofret here acts as the high priest of the god.

by D. O'Connor and the Penn-Yale Expedition to Abydos beginning in 1967.²⁵⁰

Concurrently, W. Simpson produced a study of the stela either known, or suspected to have come from North Abydos (the Abydos North Offering Chapel or ANOC list).²⁵¹

These *mahat* –chapels were often positioned in such a way so as to allow the images and statues of the deceased inside them to look out and take part in the festival of Osiris.²⁵² Though its exact provenance is not known, the stela of Nebipusenwosret (BM 101) makes this idea quite concrete. Images of the deceased appear at the top of the false-door shaped stela, along with a central depiction of two eyes (Fig. 2.1), all accompanied by the following captions:

LEFT SIDE: May the sight of the keeper of the diadem, follower of the palace, Nebipusenwosret be opened so that he witness Osiris when he is justified in the presence of the two enneads when he rests in his palace, his heart being glad forever.

RIGHT SIDE: May the sight of the keeper of the diadem, follower of the palace, Nebipusenwosret be opened so that he witness Wepwawet in his beautiful procession, having come in peace to his palace of happiness, the priesthood of the temple being in gladness.

CENTRAL SECTION: Witnessing the beauty of Khakaure (Senwosret III), true of voice, the good god. Beloved of Osiris-Wenenefer, lord of Abydos; beloved of Wepwawet lord of the necropolis.²⁵³

In all three of these texts, the ability of the images of the deceased to see the gods in question is of paramount importance. Hence, these chapels served to allow the dead to take part in the festival, while at the same time visitors at the actual festivities might read the offering spells aloud, thus ensuring the deceased's continued existence in

²⁵⁰ O'Connor, *The "Cenotaphs" of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos* 1985.

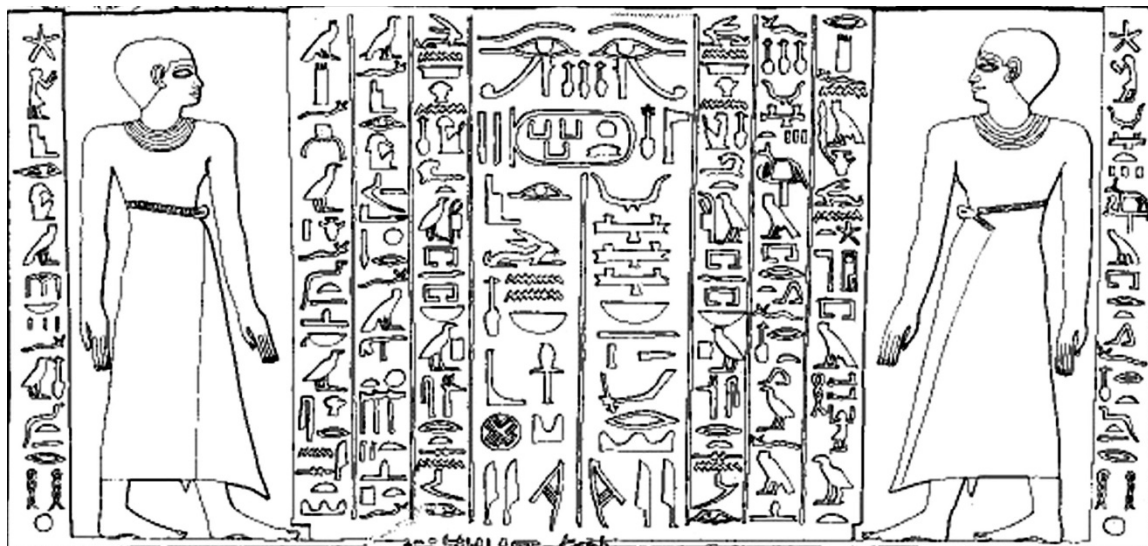
²⁵¹ Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, and the follow-up article *El-Rabi'i* 1977. See also the reviews of this work by J. D. Cooney 1974, Spaul 1975, de Meulenaere 1977, Silverman, review of: *The Terrace of the Great God*, by William Kelly Simpson 1977, and de Vries 1977. See also Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich* (20. - 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) 1984.

²⁵² See also below, §7.7.5.

²⁵³ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 395-396.

perpetuity.²⁵⁴ Such an “appeal to the living” asking for offerings appears on the stela of Sehetepibre (Cairo 20538).

Fig. 2.1: Stela of Nebipusenwosret (BM 101) Top Register²⁵⁵



As with the stela of Sehetepibre, the orientation of the images of Nebipusenwosret upon this stela are significant clues which may shed light upon its original location.²⁵⁶ Two standing depictions of Nebipusenwosret exist on either side of the top register of the stela. The figure on the left faces right, and the text behind him indicates that he worships Osiris, while the figure on the right faces left, and the text refers to him worshipping Wepwawet. The texts before each of the figures indicate that “he sees the beauty” of the respective gods, and this information suggests that the orientation of these

²⁵⁴ For the “appeal to the living,” see Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies, and related studies* 1992, 155-190, and Silverman, *The Appeal of Sobek-hotep* 2002.

²⁵⁵ After www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00876/AN00876025_001_1.jpg, accessed 24 February 2014.

²⁵⁶ See below, §2.6.1. For orientation, see Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs: Part 1: Reversals* 1977, and Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne: quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaoniques* 1986. For the stela, BM 101, see Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 395-398 with references.

figures means that the stela was intended to stand in such a way that the Osiris Temple was to the right, and Umm el-Gaab, the domain of Wepwawet, was on the left.²⁵⁷ Perhaps not surprisingly, the Terrace of the Great God²⁵⁸ which overlooked the processional wadi is precisely in this location. Furthermore, the central text of this register states Nebipusenwosret's desire to see the beauties of Khakaure.²⁵⁹ If the stela were originally erected in a chapel on the Terrace with the Osiris temple to the right, and Umm el-Gaab to the left, the face of the stela (and the two eyes thereon) would have faced directly southeast toward the Senwosret III complex.²⁶⁰

The Terrace of the Great God sat at the center of Osirian activity. Its position afforded non-royal individuals the opportunity to create monuments which would assure their ability to link their cults with that of Osiris.

§2.5 The Osirian Complex of Senwosret III at South Abydos: An Overview

Late in his reign and following the construction of a large pyramid complex at Dahshur, Senwosret III chose to create a funerary complex at South Abydos. This complex consisted of a mortuary temple, a novel subterranean tomb form incorporating both archaic and modern features, and a state-planned town to house the numerous workers required to build and maintain his cult.

²⁵⁷ See the comments on location and orientation in Silverman, *Middle Kingdom tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery* 2000, 268.

²⁵⁸ For discussion of this name, see Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, 10-13.

²⁵⁹ For a translation of the text, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies* 1988, 122-124.

²⁶⁰ For the significance of these texts on the Senwosret III complex, see Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 395-398. By these same notions of orientation, the text of the *Sehetepibre* mentioning the cults of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III faces directly toward South Abydos. See §2.6.1.

2.5.1 The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III

A little more than two kilometers southeast of the Osiris Temple precinct, along the edge of the desert near the cultivation, lies a mortuary temple dedicated to the cult of Senwosret III Khakaure. The first excavation of this temple took place under the direction of D. Randall-MacIver in 1900.²⁶¹ Beginning in 1994, J. Wegner began a systematic reexamination of the temple's archaeology, including for the first time the area around the temple.²⁶² Based upon sphragistic analysis uncovered during these renewed excavations, the name of the structure seems to have been *nfr-k3*, a moniker which may represent an abbreviated form which has omitted its basilophorus element.²⁶³ To the east of the main temple structure lies the *šn^c.w-(z-n-wsr.t)*, the production area associated with the main temple.²⁶⁴

The main approach to the temple is up a ramp in the north.²⁶⁵ This ramp passes through the enclosure wall, and leads up through a pylon. Behind the pylon the temple is divided into three sections. The central columned portion (Central Block) is constructed from white limestone, and represents the religious heart of the building.

²⁶¹ Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 57ff.

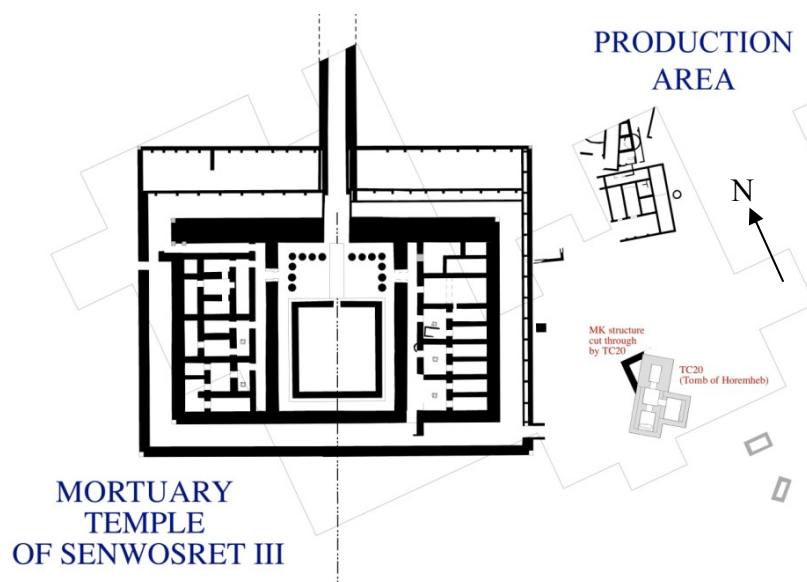
²⁶² Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III: A Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos* 1996.

²⁶³ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 33-35.

²⁶⁴ V. Smith excavated this structure in 2004, see V. Smith 2010, 11-12.

²⁶⁵ For the basic structure of the Senwosret III temple, see Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 51-54, and *passim*.

Fig. 2.2: Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III and Shena Production Area



To the west lies a number of chambers (West Block) grouped into three distinct suites (Units A, B, and C). These suites were probably the living and working spaces for the main temple personnel. To the east (East Block) another group of parallel rooms have been tentatively linked with a stamp seal reading *htm.jn.w htp.w-ntr* (*H^c-k3.w-r^c*), “Storehouse of Incoming Deliveries and Divine Offerings of Khakaure.”²⁶⁶ The long rooms in the southeast corner of this block clearly resemble storage magazines. As such the three blocks of the temple structure contain all the elements necessary for the proper functioning of the temple.

2.5.2 The Subterranean Tomb of Senwosret III

About one kilometer southeast of the mortuary temple of Senwosret III lies his subterranean tomb. Discovered in 1902 by A. Weigall, and partially excavated the next season by C. Currelly, the tomb measures around one hundred and seventy meters

²⁶⁶ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 51.

long.²⁶⁷ It lies partially beneath a natural outcropping of the high desert gebel which was called the *Mountain of Anubis*, based upon sigillographic evidence from the site.²⁶⁸ J. Wegner is currently systematically excavating the entire structure down to floor level.

The tomb contains four notional sections. Section I contains the sloping entrance passage and vertical shaft, opening into the so-called Osiris Tomb. Exhibiting a “T-shaped” layout, two side-chambers flank the central room with pole-roof decoration executed in fine white limestone lining blocks. Workmen carved both of these chambers out of the living rock, and finished their walls to almost perfect smoothness. According to Di. Arnold, the pole-roof element at the center of this section represents an “Osiris tomb,” and is a direct copy of elements from the Saqqara Step-Pyramid of Djoser.²⁶⁹ Since this central pole-roof chamber was lined with limestone blocks, when it was completed it would have completely covered the continuation of the tomb into Section II.²⁷⁰

The second section of the tomb is a long passageway terminating in twin shaft-chambers.²⁷¹ Large rectangular holes were cut into the limestone lining blocks of both of these chambers during construction. Though it is still not clear what purpose these chambers served, it is possible that the holes were used to support wooden scaffolding which could have held the massive blocking stones used to plug the descending passage to the burial chamber. When the tomb was completed, the original continuation of the

²⁶⁷ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904.

²⁶⁸ Wegner and Abu el-Yazid, *The Mountain-of-Anubis: Necropolis Seals in the Senwosret III Tomb Enclosure at Abydos* 2006, 399-415.

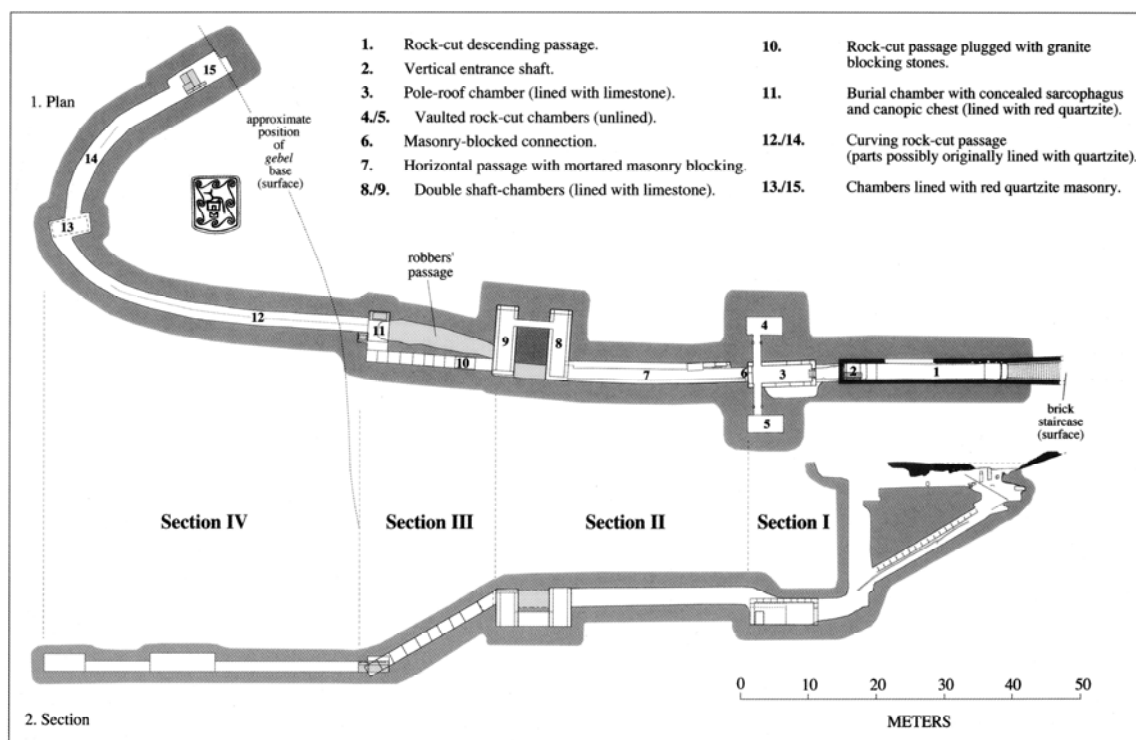
²⁶⁹ D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies* 2002, 383-394.

²⁷⁰ This simple fact also indicates that the lining of this portion of the tomb must have been completed following the king's burial. J. Wegner, personal communication.

²⁷¹ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 123-125.

horizontal passage through both of these chambers was blocked and hidden. The only theoretical means of progressing into, or out of, the tomb was to descend into these deep chambers which were connected by a small doorway.

Fig. 2.3: Plan and Elevation of the Abydene Tomb of Senwosret III ²⁷²



A descending passage originally connected the second shaft-chamber with the burial, but following the royal interment this passage had massive granite blockings stones set in place. Robbers tunneled beneath the blocks, and eventually gained access to the rest of the tomb below.²⁷³ The first area they encountered was a small, square chamber which currently contains the king's granite sarcophagus. Unlike Senwosret III's sarcophagus within his Dahshur pyramid, the lid of the example at South Abydos is

²⁷² Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 116.

²⁷³ Excavations in 2013-2014 revealed that the robbers' passage does, in fact, connect the upper portions of the tomb to the lower. Before this area was cleared, this did not seem to be the case.

dovetailed into the body of the sarcophagus, making it impossible to lift the lid directly off the sarcophagus.²⁷⁴

Based upon the location of the king's sarcophagus inside the tomb's central chamber, C. Currelly concluded that this chamber was the original location of the king's burial.²⁷⁵ Yet excavations inside this chamber during Winter 2013-2014 have begun to cast some serious doubt on this conclusion. C. Currelly theorized that the canopic box and sarcophagus were originally set into niches in the walls, which were then covered with slabs of quartzite.²⁷⁶ With the entire chamber currently emptied of its rock chips, there is, in fact, no evidence to corroborate Currelly's theory.²⁷⁷ The result of these excavations is the unavoidable conclusion that the central chamber cannot have been the king's burial chamber, increasing the viability that the tomb's final room may indeed represent the royal resting place.

Finally, Section four of the tomb is a long curving passage which winds its way to the southwest. This passage passes through a small quartzite-lined chamber, and terminates in a much larger, matching chamber which faces local east toward the notional location of the rising sun.²⁷⁸ At the end of the 2013-2014 Winter excavation season, we had excavated the first few meters of this curving passage. The architects of the tomb

²⁷⁴ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 127.

²⁷⁵ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 26.

²⁷⁶ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 26.

²⁷⁷ The "niches" in the walls appear to have been cut hastily at a later date. Even if the room had been lined in quartzite slabs, aside from the logistic question of how this could have been done after the king's burial, the space inside the chamber would have been so small as to have been virtually impassable.

²⁷⁸ If this chamber proves to be the burial chamber, then the king's coffin sat in the position of most potent solar rebirth: the rising sun at the eastern horizon. For this concept, see Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* 1999.

seem to have run into a layer of much softer stone. This layer forms the floor of the curving passage, which is almost 2 m high.

In many ways this structure is unique. It is the first subterranean royal tomb lacking a built superstructure, and therefore stands as the precursor to the tombs of the Valley of the Kings. In his study of the tomb's architecture, J. Wegner has demonstrated the likely probability that the tomb represents a three dimensional model of the underworld, akin to the description in the later Book of the Hidden Chamber (Amduat).²⁷⁹ According to this conclusion, the outer portions of the tomb (Section I and II) lined in white limestone represent the Osirian, while the inner portions (Section III and IV) lined in red quartzite hold Solar connotations.²⁸⁰ Senwosret III therefore represented himself as both Osiris and Re in his subterranean tomb at South Abydos, reinforcing the Osirian character of the entire complex.

2.5.3 The Town of *Wah-sut*

The construction of Senwosret III's temple and tomb, followed by the daily upkeep of his cult, would have required a sizeable workforce. Thus as part of his South Abydos complex, Senwosret III founded a town to house the bureaucracy and employees such a complex required. A number of textual sources (including seal impressions from the site, pBrooklyn 35.1446, and the Ramesseum Onomasticon) record the name of this town as *W3ḥ-sw.t-Ḥꜥ-k3.w-rꜥ-m3ꜥ-ḥr.w-m-3bdw* "Enduring are the Places of Khakaure,

²⁷⁹ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 131ff. For the idea of the Amduat tomb, see also Rößler-Köhler, *Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich*, Teil I: Ein, Gottesbegräbnis' des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat, 4. und 5. Stunde 1999 and Gestermann 1999. Reidentifying the final room as the burial chamber may alter this theory slightly, but should not entirely nullify it. Further excavation and study will be required on this topic.

²⁸⁰ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 133, Fig. 21.

True of Voice, in Abydos.”²⁸¹ Based upon sigillographic and ceramic analysis, the town existed at least into the Seventeenth Dynasty,²⁸² and the existence of Eighteenth Dynasty material culture may indicate that the town was either continually inhabited, or possibly partly re-founded by Ahmose.²⁸³

The administrative center of *Wah-sut* was the mansion, Building A in the southwest corner of the town. Sphragistic analysis has proven that the main portion of this building was home to the mayor (*ḥ3.tj-ꜥ*),²⁸⁴ while the smaller suite of rooms in its northwest corner was associated with female activity, and was probably used by the king's daughter Reniseneb during the terminal phase of the building's use.²⁸⁵ Directly to the south of the *pr ḥ3.tj-ꜥ* stood an administrative gatehouse, called the *ꜥrr.jt n.t pr ḥ3.tj-ꜥ n W3ḥ-sw.t-Ḥꜥ-k3.w-rꜥ-m3ꜥ-ḥr.w-m-3bdw* “Administrative gatehouse of the residence of the mayor of *Wah-sut*-Khakaure-Justified-in-Abydos.”²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 26-32. Many sources employ the shortened form of *W3ḥ-sw.t* which has been adopted herein.

²⁸² Wegner, *Excavations at the Town of 'Enduring-are-the-places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos'* 1998, 37-41.

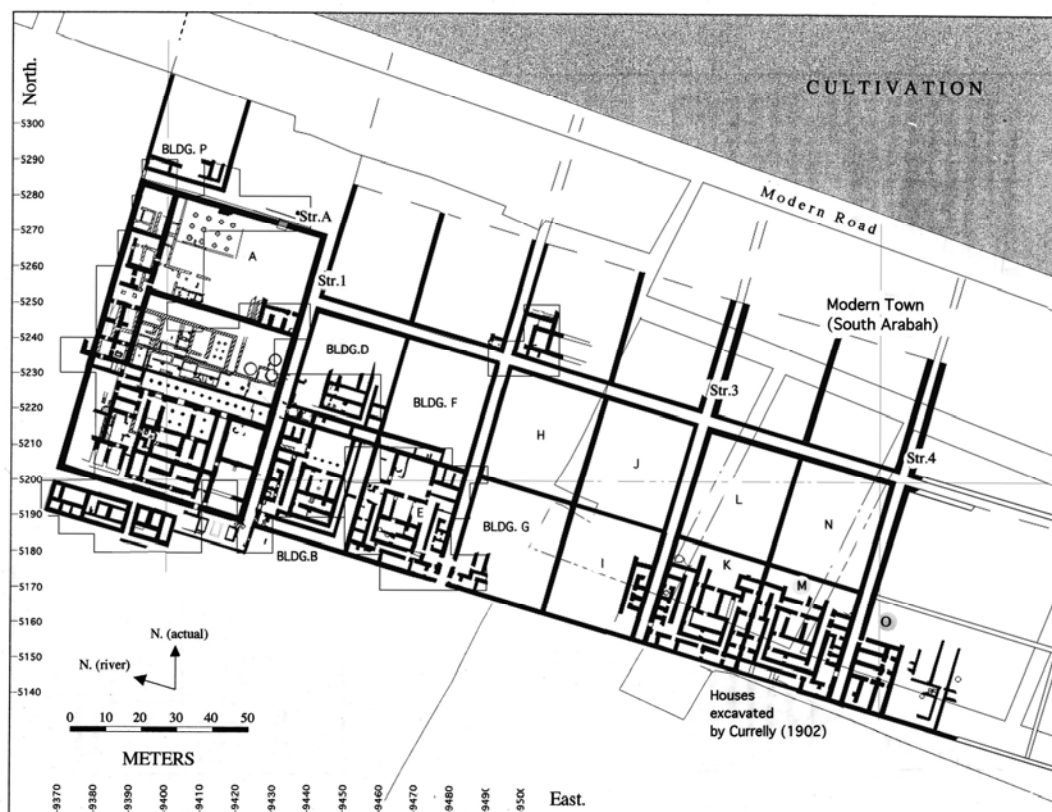
²⁸³ See below Chapter Six, (§6.8). Based upon its appearance in the tomb of Rekhmire, the town may have kept its name *Wah-sut* into the New Kingdom.

²⁸⁴ Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 287. For his reconstructed sequence of the mayors of *Wah-sut*, see Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 340-343.

²⁸⁵ This is the area in which a decorated birth-brick was discovered. See. Wegner, *A Decorated Birth-Brick from South Abydos* 2009, 485-491.

²⁸⁶ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 326.

Fig. 2.4: *Wah-sut* Town Plan Showing Currently Excavated Areas²⁸⁷



Due to its proximity to the cultivation and the modern town of South Arabah (el-Arabah el-Madfuna), the full extent of the Middle Kingdom town is not known. During his 1902 season at South Abydos, C. Currelly excavated three “mansions” midway between the Senwosret III temple and the Ahmose complex, which dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty by their pottery and artifacts, and he called them the ‘Ahmose Town.’²⁸⁸ Based upon his understanding of their location and internal layout, J. Wegner has demonstrated that they originally belonged to the Middle Kingdom town of *Wah-*

²⁸⁷ Based upon Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations 2001*, Fig. 2, with additions.

²⁸⁸ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 37-38, and Pl. LIII. See also below Chapter Four (§4.1), and Chapter Five (§5.7).

sut.²⁸⁹ The New Kingdom pottery and objects which C. Currelly observed represent later reoccupation phases which coincide with the Ahmose complex of the Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁹⁰

2.5.4 Synthesis

The South Abydene complex created by Senwosret III consists of three main parts: a temple dedicated to his cult, a tomb structure situated in the natural setting of the desert, and a town to house the individuals required to maintain the complex and his memory. These are the same elements contained within the Osiris complex at North Abydos. In his role as Senwosret-Osiris, the Southern complex mirrors the Northern, in both layout and ideology.

§2.6 South Abydene Royal Monuments Following the Reign of Senwosret III

Very little is definitively known about late Middle Kingdom royal monuments at South Abydos in the period following Senwosret III. Textual and architectural sources intimate that some form of funerary structures belonging to successors of Senwosret III and the Twelfth Dynasty exist at the site. The following sections will examine this evidence in greater detail.

²⁸⁹ Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 304-305.

²⁹⁰ For a fuller discussion of the town's later chronology and the "Ahmose-Town" problem, see below, §5.8.1.

2.6.1 “Amenemhat” at South Abydos

A handful of textual references demonstrate that other late Middle Kingdom funerary establishments existed at the site of South Abydos. J. Wegner has collected and analyzed these sources, and his results indicate that, at the very least, a second temple institution dedicated to Amenemhat III probably lay in the vicinity of the Senwosret III temple.²⁹¹

The most overt reference to both kings on a single monument comes from the four-sided stela²⁹² of Sehetepibre (CG 20538), which according to the text was set up in his Abydene *m^ch^c.t*.²⁹³ A portion of the text of Side II reads:

*jr.j-p^c.t h3.tj-^c htm.tj-bj.tj jm.j-r^c-gs-pr shtp(jb)r^c m3^c-hrw dd^cf
mr nsw.t pw mr.w ntr^cf nj.wtj ²¹ pw w^cb.w n(.w) wsjr hnt.j-jmn.tjw m 3bdw hw.t-ntr wnw.t n.t ntr
pn w^cb.w n.w nsw.t-bj.tj ²²(n.j-m3^c.t-r^c)| ^cnh d.t r nh^ch nsw.t-bj.tj (h3-k3.w-r^c)| m3^c-hrw hwt-ntr
wnw.t=sn jm.jw nj.t tn rmt(.t) ²³nb(.t) n.t 3bd.w sw3.tj=sn hr mj^ch^c.t tn m-hd(.t) m-hntj(.t) m mrr=tn
nsw.t=tn hz(z)=tn ntr.w=tn nj.tjw mn ms.w=tn hr ?(Sign N23 with plural strokes)=tn mr.w=tn ^cnh
smh.w=tn m.t dd=tn*

The Hereditary Noble, Mayor, Royal Seal-bearer, Overseer of the Workhouse, Sehetep(ib)re, Justified. He says:

(Oh) one whom the King loves, one whom his local god loves, the Wab-priests of Osiris-Khentiaentiu in the Temple of Abydos, the Hour-priests of this god, the Wab-priests of the temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Nimaatra)| living forever and eternity and the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Khakaure)| justified, their Hour-priests who are in this town, all the people of Abydos who shall pass by this maHa.t-chapel in going downstream and upstream: if you love your King and praise your city gods, may your children endure upon your places (?), may you love life and forget death; then you will say... (offering formula follows).

A list of individuals the deceased entreats to make offerings on his behalf includes not only the Wab-priests and Hour-priests of the Temple of Osiris, but also the Wab-priests

²⁹¹ Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 43-46, 26-32.

²⁹² For four-sided stelae, see Silverman, Searching for Ancient Egypt 1997, 278-279, with references.

²⁹³ Lange and Schäfer, Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, 145-150. For mention of the *m^ch^c.t* see Side II, line 1-2. The bulk of the stela contains what Poesner called the “Loyalist Instruction, see Parkinson, Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt 2002, 318-319 for references.

and Hour-priests of the temple (*hw.t-ntr*) of Amenemhat III and Senwosret III.²⁹⁴ The fact that the text refers only to a single temple is somewhat problematic. J. Wegner has shown that, even though the Senwosret III mortuary temple at South Abydos includes the cartouche of Amenemhat III, the building was probably not the locus of a developed cult dedicated to the latter king.²⁹⁵ As a result, he believes the text of the Sehetepibre stela indicates the existence of two temples, one dedicated to Senwosret III and the other to Amenemhat III, both at South Abydos.

Given the importance of orientation to the Egyptians,²⁹⁶ a brief look at the rest of the stela is useful. A. Mariette's workmen discovered the object outside the Osiris enclosure of the Kom el-Sultan, in a supposed "tomb,"²⁹⁷ though the text itself identifies the structure as a *m^ch^c.t*.²⁹⁸ No indication of its original orientation is given, so we must rely on the texts themselves. The lunettes of the two large faces of this stela bear depictions of an Osiride figure labeled "Khentiamentiou, Lord of Abydos."²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴ The *hw.t-ntr* element in both cases has been transposed with the names of the god and kings, leading the Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae n.d. to understand the term with the following as *wnw.t-hw.t-ntr*. This conclusion seems unlikely given that *hw.t-ntr* is singular, meaning *wnw.t-sn* refers to the two kings rather than two temples.

²⁹⁵ Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 43.

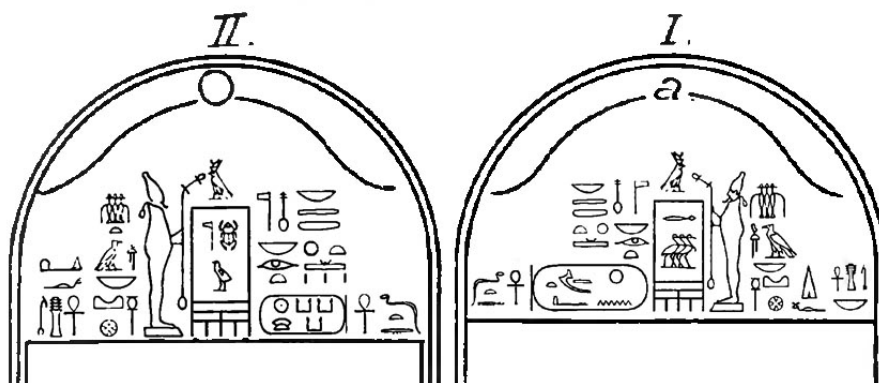
²⁹⁶ Numerous scholars have discussed this issue, see for example Schäfer, Principles of Egyptian Art 1974, 159-198, Fischer, The Orientation of Hieroglyphs: Part 1: Reversals 1977, Robins 1997, 72-74, and Silverman, Middle Kingdom tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery 2000.

²⁹⁷ Lange and Schäfer, Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, 145, and Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, V: Upper Egypt: Sites 1962, 45.

²⁹⁸ W Simpson, The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13 1974, 11, and above §2.4.5.

²⁹⁹ The figure is almost certainly to be understood as Osiris, but the text does not actually list this name.

Fig. 2.5: Lunettes of the Sehetepibre Stela (Cairo CG 20538) ³⁰⁰



On Side I, the figure looks left toward the Horus and Throne Names of Amenemhat III Nimaatre. On the opposing Side II, an identical image of Khentiamentiu looks right toward the Horus and Throne names of Senwosret III Khakaure. Therefore, both Osiride figures face the same direction. The two narrow sides, Side III and IV contain the name and titles of the deceased, along with a short caption.³⁰¹ That on Side III indicates that Sehetepibre desired to worship Wepwawet during his festival, while Side IV records his desire to worship Osiris-Khentiamentiu during his festival.³⁰² If the stela were oriented in such a way that Side IV mentioning Osiris faced his temple to the northeast, then the Osiride figures would also both face into the temple, the text referring to the kings on Side II would face South Abydos, and Side III referring to Wepwawet would face Umm el-Gaab. Though this orientation is conjectural, it is identical to the stela of Nebipusenwosret. By orienting the stela in this way, vis-à-vis the Osiris Temple

³⁰⁰ After Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, II: 146, 148.

³⁰¹ On both short sides, the name of the deceased Sehetepibre has been placed in a cartouche, perhaps in confusion with the throne name of Amenemhat I.

³⁰² Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, II: 150. For a translation of the stela, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1973, 125-129, and for the fragment of the Loyalist Instruction from this stela, see Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 172-174, and Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt* 2002, 318-319 for editions and references to the other sources of the complete text.

and Umm el-Gaab, the text of both stelae relating to Senwosret III and Amenemhat III face directly toward South Abydos.³⁰³ Both stelae are circumstantial evidence that Amenemhat III possessed a cult location in the area of South Abydos.

Another interpretation of this monument is perhaps possible. Beginning in the Old Kingdom, kings set up royal *ka* chapels within the Osiris precinct.³⁰⁴ Though very little of these buildings exist, W. Petrie recovered fragments belonging to many Middle Kingdom pharaohs, from Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II through to Amenemhat III, including a red quartzite statue of Senwosret III.³⁰⁵ The texts of the better-preserved New Kingdom chapels indicate that a king often dedicated a chapel to his predecessor, and both kings would be represented in the images – the younger as the reigning king and the elder as an Osirinized king.³⁰⁶ In the text of the Sehetepibre stela, the names of the two kings have different epithets. Senwosret III is said to be *m3ꜥ-hrw* “true of voice,”³⁰⁷ while Amenemhat III is *ꜥnh d.t r nhꜥ* “living forever and eternity.”³⁰⁸ The wording of the text intimates that only one such temple belonged to both kings. At the point in which the stela was carved, this single cult building was dedicated to the deceased Senwosret III

³⁰³ For a similar situation at Saqqara, see Silverman, Middle Kingdom tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery 2000.

³⁰⁴ O'Connor, Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris 2009, 32-33, 88-89.

³⁰⁵ W. M. Petrie, Abydos II 1903, 33-34, Pl. XXVIII. See also O'Connor, Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris 2009, 88-89. Two similar statues once stood in the Senwosret III Mortuary Temple in South Abydos, the front texts of which are apparently identical, Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 188-191.

³⁰⁶ For instance the chapel of Ahmose and Amenhotep I W. M. Petrie, Abydos I 1902, Pl. LXII-LXIII, and that belonging to Ramesses I near the temple of his son. See below Chapter Six, §6.5.1.

³⁰⁷ For this epithet, see Anthes 1954, and Geßler-Löhr 1990.

³⁰⁸ Lange and Schäfer, Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, 149, Line 22.

and the living Amenemhat III in exactly the same way that the later Ahmose – Amunhoetp I chapel was.³⁰⁹

Furthermore, the Sehetepibre text includes only one town name, Abydos itself. The text lists the priests of Osiris in Abydos-town, those of the two kings in “this town,” and all the people of Abydos-town. This situation is somewhat problematic, given that the known mortuary temple of Senwosret III is over a kilometer to the southeast, directly next to the town of *Wah-sut*. It seems highly unlikely that the priests servicing the mortuary temple of Senwosret III would have lived in the town of Abydos rather than *Wah-sut*. Based upon these clues, it may be possible to suggest that the single temple Sehetepibre referred to is in reality an unidentified *ka*-chapel within the Osiris precinct which was dedicated to both kings simultaneously. Such a possibility explains why only one building is mentioned in the text; why the only town is that of Abydos itself which existed near the Osiris Temple at the northern portion of the site; and why the images and texts of the stela have particular orientations.³¹⁰ With the text naming both kings facing South Abydos, and the royal titulary on Side I and II positioned closest to the Osiris Temple, the stela may be referring to both a *ka*-chapel at North Abydos, and funerary temples of the kings at South Abydos.

Three other textual sources mention structures or institutions linked with the name Amenemhat in the Abydene area.³¹¹ Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 recto contains a list of

³⁰⁹ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 44, and note 140.

³¹⁰ It is perhaps also worthy of note that the side of the stela containing both names together, Side II, faced directly toward South Abydos. In this way the text may be referring to a building within the Osiris Precinct, while at the same time acknowledging royal monuments at South Abydos.

³¹¹ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 44.

individuals who had been caught attempting to avoid state corvée labor. The document spans from Amenemhat III Year 10, Month 2 Peret, Day (6-x),³¹² to Amenemhat III Year 31, Month 3 Shomu, Day 9.³¹³ Line 12 records the case of the Son of Ite, Nakhti of *hn.w(?)-(jmn-m-ḥ3.t)| ʿnh d.t r nhḥ*, dated to Amenemhat III Year 10, Month 2 Peret, Day 10-14.³¹⁴ Similarly, Line 24 lists the case of the Son of Djebaef, Senetbakh also of *hn.w(?)-(jmn-m-ḥ3.t)| ʿnh d.t r nhḥ*, dated to Amenemhat III Year 10, Month 2 Peret, Day 23.³¹⁵ The place names in this entire list indicate where the individual was assigned to work.

W. Hayes notes his uncertainty of the reading *hn.w*, which appears to be a bird sign with raised wings in the original hieratic.³¹⁶ In another source, the *Ramesseum Onomasticon* (Line 210), A. Gardiner transcribed the same place name as *b3(?) (jmn-m-ḥ3.t)| m3ʿ-hr.w*.³¹⁷ There are a number of problems with these readings. First, the lemma *hn.w* “resting place, storehouse,” is only attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty on, making its appearance referring to a late Middle Kingdom institution problematic.³¹⁸ A. Gardiner’s suggested *b3 (?) (jmn-m-ḥ3.t)|* lends no information on the nature of the structure or place, and is, therefore, unhelpful. As a result, it is possible to suggest a new reading which relates to what is known about temple administration at South Abydos.

³¹² The first day entry is damaged. Line 8 is dated to Year 10, Month 2 Peret, Day 6, hence lines 1-7 must date to Day (6-x).

³¹³ Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* 1955, 42-43.

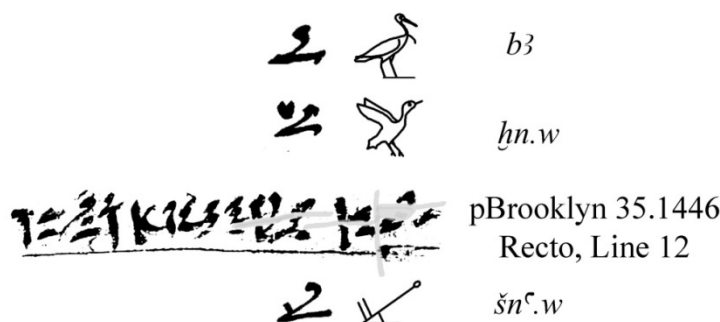
³¹⁴ Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* 1955, 20, 26.

³¹⁵ Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* 1955, 20, 26.

³¹⁶ W. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* 1955, 32.

³¹⁷ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* 1947, 6-23, and Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 30.

³¹⁸ WB, III:288.12-15. The possibly related word *hn.t* (R. Hannig 2006, 1893), “resting place” occurs only once during the Middle Kingdom, on stela Cairo CG 20396, Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, 393-394. It is not written with the flying bird (G41), has a feminine .t, and has a kneeling man determinative. It is therefore quite different from the Brooklyn Museum lemma.

Fig. 2.6: Comparison of Hieratic Signs with pBrooklyn 35.1446 Recto ³¹⁹

Moving away from its identification as a bird sign, the plow sign (U13) has the same basic form, including the tick, as that in pBrooklyn. W. Hayes stated of his interpretation:

The reading *Hnw-Imn-m-h3t*, “Resting-place-of (King-) Amenemhet,” for the place-name of Lines 12 and 24 is offered with reservations. The name written in this general fashion occurs elsewhere only in the Ramesseum Onomasticon (No. 210) where the bird-sign preceding the cartouche (read by Gardiner as “*B3(?)*”) is badly damaged. In our papyrus the hieratic sign in both instances has a prominent tick over its back, suggesting some form of the flying or alighting duck, and what appears to be an additional sign below it.³²⁰

Understanding the sign in question as the plow yields a translation of Line 12a-d: “The son of Ite, Nakhti, belonging to the production area (*šn̄.w*)³²¹ of (Amenemhat)|, may he live forever; Amenemhat III Year 10, Month 2 Peret, Day 10-14.”

During his excavations at South Abydos, J. Wegner uncovered a production area to the local south of the Senwosret III mortuary temple which was identified sigillographically as the *šn̄.w-(z-n-wsr.t)*.³²² This structure, the first such building ever

³¹⁹ For the hieratic signs, see Möller 1909, 20, 21 (both from pGolen, and 44 (from pPrisse). The forms from other papyri corroborate the proposed reading.

³²⁰ Hayes, A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum 1955, 32.

³²¹ The reading may or may not be *pr-šn̄.w* since the *pr* sign acts as a determinative for the lemma *šn̄.w* (WB. IV:507.12-508-25). The small blob below sign U13 in pBrooklyn could be a very small and poorly written *pr* sign, though it is difficult to be certain due to the damage sustained by the papyrus in this area.

³²² Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 287-293. See also V. Smith 2010.

excavated and documented, served as the locus of production for bread and beer, among other things, associated with the mortuary temple of Senwosret III.³²³ Since pBrooklyn 35.1446 is a list of individuals who attempted to avoid their state corvée duty, the identification of the location from which these individuals fled as the “production area of (Amenemhat)|, may he live forever,” seems much more suitable and logical than the “resting place of (Amenemhat)|, may he live forever.”

J. Wegner has demonstrated that, given the geographical ordering of the place names in the Ramesseum Onomasticon, the *šn^c.w (jmn-m-ḥ3.t)|* should lie to the local south of *Wah-sut*.³²⁴ Furthermore it may or may not be connected with the *ḥw.t-wr.t (jmn-m-ḥ3.t)|* situated near the nome capital of This which is mentioned in the Tomb of Rekhmire.³²⁵ Since the two attestations of the *šn^c.w (jmn-m-ḥ3.t)|* in pBrooklyn are dated to Amenemhat III Year 10, the epithet *ḥnh d.t r nhḥ* which follows the place name probably indicates that the *šn^c.w (jmn-m-ḥ3.t)|* refers to Amenemhat III himself.³²⁶ By the time the Ramesseum Onomasticon was written in the Thirteenth Dynasty, the epithet following the *šn^c.w (jmn-m-ḥ3.t)|* had changed from *ḥnh d.t r nhḥ* to *m3^c-ḥr.w*, demonstrating that Amenemhat III had probably died.³²⁷ If the *šn^c.w (jmn-m-ḥ3.t)|* is the production area appended to the *ḥw.t-wr.t (jmn-m-ḥ3.t)|*, then the situation would be identical to that under Senwosret III where his mortuary temple (*nfr-k3*) is served by a production area (*šn^c.w-(z-n-wsr.t)|*).³²⁸

³²³ V. Smith 2010.

³²⁴ Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 29-32, 43-46.

³²⁵ Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 31-44.

³²⁶ J Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 44.

³²⁷ Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 30.

³²⁸ Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 33-35.

Archaeologically, various clues also point to a late Twelfth Dynasty establishment existing to the north of *Wah-sut*. During the 1950's, local villagers discovered a late Middle Kingdom naos in the area around the Senwosret III mortuary temple.³²⁹ In addition to this piece, J. Wegner discusses another related object:

During the 1980s an inscribed offering table with the titulary of Amenemhat III was found along the edge of the cultivation approximately 400 m. to the local north of the Senwosret III complex. The provenance of this object lies close to where the irregular hilly terrain that commences just to the local north of the Senwosret III temple levels out again to form a nearly flat low desert margin. Although this area is heavily encumbered by modern rubbish of the adjacent town, diagnostic Middle Kingdom pottery occurs on the surface in this same area, along with abundant indications of decayed brick architecture.³³⁰

To these scraps of evidence may also be added the existence of an unfinished Twelfth Dynasty tomb to the local south of the Senwosret III tomb.³³¹ While the positions of these archaeological fragments runs contrary to the geographic ordering present in the Ramesseum Onomasticon, the remains to the north of the Senwosret III temple may actually represent institutions dedicated to other as yet unidentified kings wishing to connect themselves with Amenemhat III.

2.6.2 Structures S9 and S10

Two enigmatic tomb structures, S9 and S10, standing on the local north side of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure may also relate to the late Middle Kingdom remains mentioned above. E. Amélineau was the first to excavate within S9, but according to A. Weigall, his attempt was “frustrated by the fact that the sand immediately ran in on the

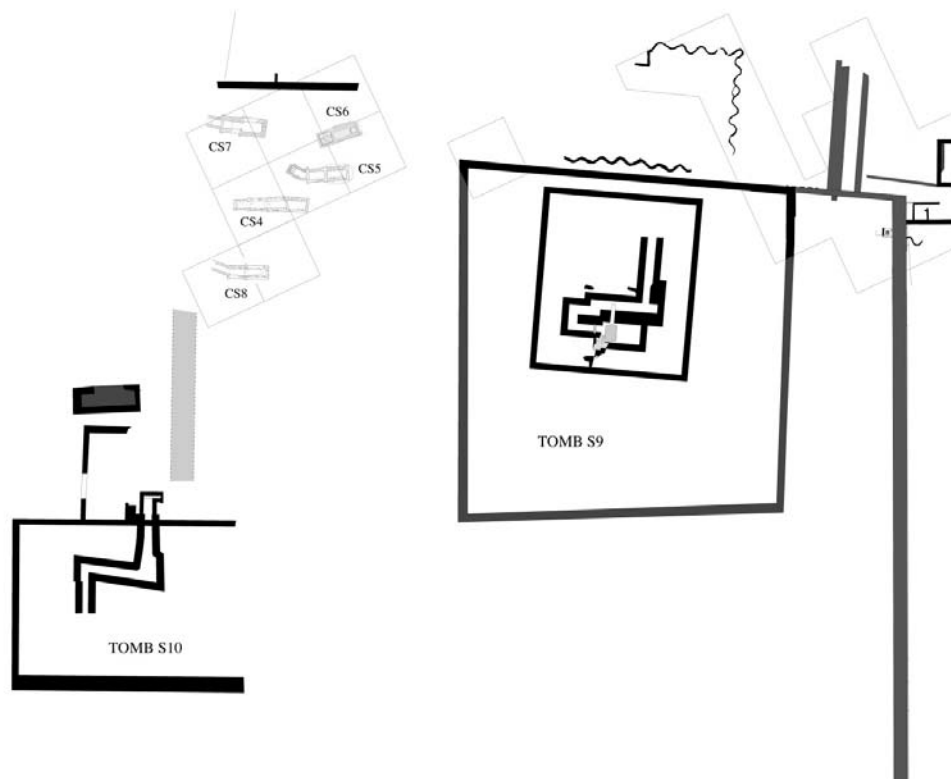
³²⁹ J Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 45. The object is now in the second courtyard of the Seti I temple.

³³⁰ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 44. The present location of the offering table is unknown, and hence the existence of the Amenemhat III titulary is based upon the SCA Inspector Mr. Muhammed Abd el-Megally's memory of the object.

³³¹ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 20, Pl. LXI.

parts laid bare by his men.”³³² A. Weigall himself was the next archaeologist to undertake clearance of both S9 and S10 beginning in 1901-1902, enjoying more success than E. Amélineau. Much more recently, D. McCormack undertook renewed excavations of S9 as part of her doctoral dissertation.³³³

Fig. 2.7: Plan of Tombs S9 and S10



The winding internal passages of both tombs were built within pits using white limestone slabs, while the burial chambers consist of monolithic blocks of quartzite with one or two-part lids.³³⁴ Quartzite portcullis stones block the passages at key points, and when A. Weigall excavated the buildings he found that they had been lowered, indicating

³³² Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 11, 13.

³³³ McCormack 2008. J. Wegner reopened excavations in and around S10 beginning in Winter 2013-2014.

³³⁴ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 13-16. See also (Wegner and Cahail, *Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber* 2014).

that a burial had probably taken place.³³⁵ When the two buildings had been entered, sometime late in, or following the Second Intermediate Period, robbers attacked from above.³³⁶ Instead of attempting to remove the quartzite portcullis stones, they destroyed the tops of the buildings, and removed the passage roofing.³³⁷ By the time A. Weigall examined the buildings, virtually nothing of the original burials remained.³³⁸ Yet the engaged position of the blocking stones, coupled with the existence of travertine canopic jar fragments bearing incomplete hieroglyphs, and the reused wood bearing Sobekhotep's cartouche within the tomb of Useribre Senebkay, leads to the conclusion that burials did exist within these structures, dating to the late Middle Kingdom.³³⁹

The conclusion that these buildings belonged to royalty stems from a number of different data, but the sarcophagus chambers of both structures are a clear indication of royal status. Carved from single blocks of hard red-brown quartzite, the form was introduced by Amenemhat III at his Hawara pyramid.³⁴⁰ The South Abydos examples are also formally identical to those within the Mazghuna North and South Pyramids,³⁴¹ and

³³⁵ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 13. It is perhaps worth noting that the blocking stones of the Mazghuna pyramids were not engaged.

³³⁶ The burial equipment of Sobekhotep (I) was reused by Useribre Senebkay, indicating that S10 was opened c. 1650 BCE, in the late Second Intermediate Period.

³³⁷ It is also possible that the buildings were not complete at the time of burial. Robbery through the top of the incomplete superstructure would then have been easier than breaking the massive quartzite blocking stones.

³³⁸ D. McCormick believes that gilded cartonnage she discovered outside the front of S9 derives from the Thirteenth Dynasty royal burial. What is much more likely, is that this material actually derives from the tombs of Cemetery S, which belong to the kings of the Abydos Dynasty of the late Second Intermediate Period.

³³⁹ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 15, 19. Further excavation within S10 may reveal more fragments of these jars, possibly producing a royal name. For the incomplete hieroglyphs, see Miniaci, *The Incomplete Hieroglyphs System at the End of the Middle Kingdom* 2010.

³⁴⁰ W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, 16.

³⁴¹ Petrie, Wainwright and MacKay, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* 1912, 46, 53, Edwards 1982, 236, Fakhry 1969, 232-233, and Lehner 1997, 184-185.

that of Ameny-Qemau at Dahshur.³⁴² The stone of the S10 sarcophagus chamber originated at the Gebel Ahmar quartzite quarry near Memphis, based upon the presence of chert in the matrix.³⁴³ As such these sarcophagus chambers must be understood within the Memphite royal tradition of the late Middle Kingdom, probably dating to the period between Amenemhat III and Ameny-Qemau.³⁴⁴

The internal passage and chamber layout of S9 and S10 also fit directly into royal funerary practice during the horizon between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. Beginning with Amenemhat III's Hawara pyramid and extending to the pyramid of Khendjer at Saqqara, the internal passages of these structures curve back upon themselves in a rectilinear spiral pattern (Fig. 2.8).³⁴⁵ Based partly on this internal structure, coupled with the huge amount of fragmentary, high quality limestone atop the structures, it seems quite likely that S9 and S10 were originally intended as pyramids.³⁴⁶

³⁴² Swelim and Dodson 1998, Lehner 1997, 185, and Wegner and Cahail, *Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber* 2014.

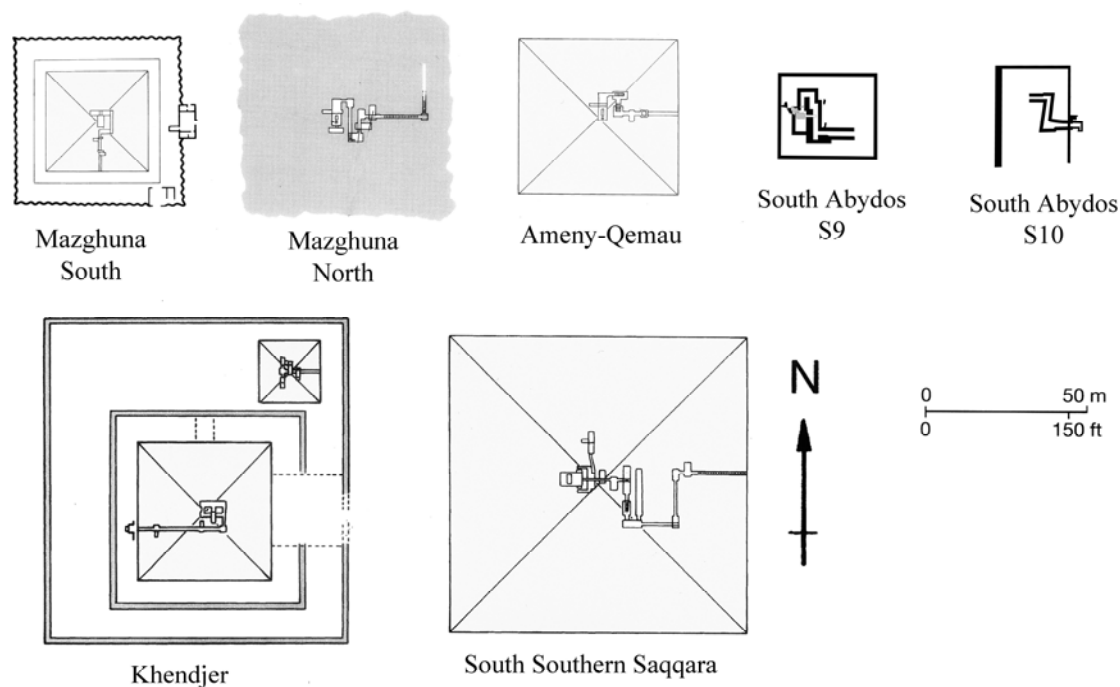
³⁴³ For quartzite and its quarries, see Aston, Harrell and Shaw, *Stone* 2000, 53-54. See also the quartzite identification methodology in Knox, et al. 2009.

³⁴⁴ Ameny-Qemau is almost certainly identical with Amenemhat, second king of the Thirteenth Dynasty in the Turin King List. See Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 170-171, and also Dodson and Swelim, *On the Pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its Canopic Equipment* 1998, 319-334. K. Ryholt places Ameny-Qemau as the fifth king of the dynasty, separated from Amenemhat IV by about a decade.

³⁴⁵ The passages of Senwosret III's Dahshur pyramid turn in such a way that the burial chamber is beside the entrance passage, and hence this may represent an early stage in this type of architecture. For plans of these pyramids, see Lehner 1997, 177-187, and D. Arnold, *Die Pyramiden des Mittleren Reiches* 2011.

³⁴⁶ It is not clear if they were completely finished.

Fig. 2.8: Comparison of Late Middle Kingdom Pyramids³⁴⁷



A number of features are readily apparent from these plans. Firstly, the sizes of the pyramids display great variation, with the S9 and S10 structures at the smaller end of the spectrum,³⁴⁸ and the South Southern Saqqara pyramid at the larger end. The entrances to S9 and S10 lie on their eastern (local) faces, as with Mazghuna North, Ameny-Qemau, and South Southern Saqqara. The pyramids at Mazghuna South and that of Khendjer (main pyramid) have entrances in the south and west respectively. The internal layouts also vary between the different structures. The pyramids at South Southern Saqqara and Mazghuna North have the most complex layouts, while that of Ameny-Qemau is the simplest, and architecturally closest to S9 and S10. Indeed, in all three of these structures (S9, S10, and Ameny-Qemau), the eastern entrance gives access

³⁴⁷ Most plans are after Lehner 1997, 177-178. For South Abydos S9 and S10, local or river north has been used.

³⁴⁸ Due to incomplete excavation, it is still not entirely clear how large these structures were.

to a passage which turns to the north, then to the west, and finally to the south where it terminates in a monolithic quartzite sarcophagus chamber. Stylistically then, S9 and S10 are most closely related to the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau.³⁴⁹

The question still remains to whom S9 and S10 belonged. D. McCormack wishes to link them stylistically to the pyramid of Khendjer, and hence dates them to the middle Thirteenth Dynasty kings Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV.³⁵⁰ Since the S9 enclosure wall links with and continues the lower enclosure of the Senwosret III tomb, and given that J. Wegner has concluded that this enclosure wall was purposefully removed soon after the completion of the tomb, a date closer to the Dynasty Twelve – Thirteen horizon seems preferable.³⁵¹ The architectural similarity between S9, S10, and the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau is striking, from the size of the structures, to their internal layout, to their use of monolithic sarcophagus chambers of almost identical proportions. Hence, within the period following Amenemhat III, extending to the reign of Ameny-Qemau, the most likely candidates include Amenemhat IV, Sobekneferu, Sobekhotep I, and Sonbef. Indeed, excavations in Winter 2013-2014 produced a stela fragment with the partial cartouche of Sobekhotep, and reused wood from the tomb of Useribre Senebkay also bore this name, pointing to Sobekhotep I as the most likely owner of S10.

³⁴⁹ Both S10 and Ameny-Qemau contained canopic jar fragments with mutilated hieroglyphs as well. See Swelim and Dodson 1998.

³⁵⁰ D. McCormack, forthcoming. Her conclusion is also based upon the supposed discovery of a seal impression belonging to a vizier of Sobekhotep IV within or near the “dummy mastaba” in 1901, as Weigall reports in Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 18. The seal impression was lost, and despite careful excavation within undisturbed strata in this same location during 2010, no further examples of this seal were recovered. Given the distance between S9/S10, and the “dummy mastaba,” coupled with the fact that only one seal impression was reported, the attribution of these structures to the reign of Sobekhotep IV is tenuous at best.

³⁵¹ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 377-381, Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 108-111.

S9 and S10 are directly next to each other, a technique of placement which other kings throughout dynastic history employed to link themselves with previous monarchs.³⁵² Given the possible problems with dynastic succession following Amenemhat III, attributing S9 and S10 to Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu is perhaps unlikely since these two monarchs do not interact anywhere else. The fact that Neferuptah (B) possessed a cartouche before the appearance of Amenemhat IV lends credence to the notion that Amenemhat IV was not genetically related to the dynastic family, and was furthermore not the originally chosen successor. His insertion into the dynastic progression trumped Sobekneferu's claim to the throne, leading her to seize power at the end of the dynasty. As such, Sobekneferu does not portray herself as the next legitimate king in line after Amenemhat IV, rather she links herself with her father Amenemhat III. Sobekneferu would have no reason to place her funerary monument directly next to that of Amenemhat IV if she believed her legitimacy was connected to her father, instead of the previous king.³⁵³

The close geographic association between S9 and S10, as well as the almost identical scale and layout of the buildings themselves, fit the first two kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty quite well. The use of 'filiative nomina' demonstrates the desire of the fledgling dynasty to connect itself to the family of earlier kings as a form of legitimation. Both Amenemhat Sobekhotep I³⁵⁴ and Amenemhat Sonbef were the sons of

³⁵² E.g. the pyramids of Giza, the pyramids of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty, and Ahmose at South Abydos placing his pyramid parallel to that of Senwosret III.

³⁵³ The only other funerary monuments attributed to Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu are the North and South pyramids of Mazghuna, but with no textual or artifactual information whatsoever to corroborate this attribution, it is essentially just a guess.

³⁵⁴ Sobekhotep I is known to have had a small chapel at Abydos in the area between the Seti I and Ramesses II temples. See. Bresciani 1979, 1-20.

Amenemhat IV, who were perhaps temporarily pushed out of the royal succession by Sobekneferu. Both brothers linked themselves with Amenemhat IV through their names, thereby connecting ideologically with the strong kings of the late Twelfth Dynasty. It seems likely, then, that they would link their tombs physically with that of Senwosret III at South Abydos as a means of dynastic legitimation. Furthermore, the late Middle Kingdom remains J. Wegner identified just to the north of the Senwosret III temple may in fact represent a mortuary temple associated with Sobekhotep I and Sonbef.³⁵⁵ If this is the case, and given that Sobekhotep I possessed what appears to be a *ka*-chapel at North Abydos, then this king and his direct successor emulated the model begun by Senwosret III directly, while at the same time physically linking to it.

K. Ryholt attributes three years to Sobekhotep I, and three and one half years to Sonbef. Based upon the conclusion that quarrying and carving the CS.6 / S10 sarcophagus chamber would have taken three to five years,³⁵⁶ it may seem implausible that S9 and S10 belonged to these two pharaohs. A number of scenarios could explain this discrepancy, but the most likely is that the deceased pharaoh's successor completed his predecessor's tomb.³⁵⁷ With the scant information currently available, these two individuals seem the most likely owners of S9 and S10. Renewed excavation may uncover additional fragments of inscribed canopics or other diagnostic objects.

³⁵⁵ The existence of an offering table belonging to Amenemhat III would then fit in with Sobekhotep I and Sonbef's desire to link themselves with these strong kings (Senwosret III and Amenemhat III). The possible temple and production area of Amenemhat III would lie to the local south, as indicated by pBrooklyn and the Ramesseum Onomasticon.

³⁵⁶ Wegner and Cahail, *Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber* 2014. These figures are based upon experimental archaeology cutting red granite. Although the two stones have the same mohs hardness, granite's matrix is much more concretized than quartzite, hence the range from three to five years.

³⁵⁷ There are numerous examples of this taking place in dynastic history, including Amenemhat finishing Senwosret III's complex, Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007.

§2.7 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has looked briefly at the historical context in which funerary practice at South Abydos flourished. The late Middle Kingdom was a time of change, both politically as well as culturally. A rise in the importance of the cult of Osiris perhaps betrays an overall reinterpretation of death and the underworld which touched all parts of society, both royal and non-royal.

It was within this cultural milieu that Senwosret III Khakaure chose to construct his second funerary complex at South Abydos. Modeled on the Osiris establishment at North Abydos, his construction linked him with the god of the underworld both explicitly in his temple, as well as implicitly in his “Amduat-type” tomb.

Based upon textual analysis from papyri and stelae, the existence of other late Middle Kingdom royal monuments in the Abydene area is highly probable. The *ḥw.t-wr.t* and *šn̄.w* of Amenemhat (III) still await discovery, possibly to the local south of *Wah-sut*. The two tombs known as S9 and S10 have all the hallmarks of belonging to this period as well, and may perhaps represent burials of the early Thirteenth Dynasty kings Sobekhotep I and Sonbef. The decorative and textual orientation of Abydene stelae further hints at connections between the Osiris complex, and those of Senwosret III, and possibly Amenemhat III, at South Abydos.

With this information in mind, we turn now in Chapter Three to analyze burial practices of the late Middle Kingdom in much greater detail. This section will then form the basis of Chapter Four, looking at the types of burials we should expect associated

with *Wah-sut*, and Chapter Five, an archaeological enquiry into the known methods of commemorating the dead during the late Middle Kingdom at South Abydos.

CHAPTER THREE: NON-ROYAL BURIAL PRACTICES OF THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM

In order to understand the potential funerary monuments at South Abydos discussed below in Chapters Four and Five more fully, the present chapter will survey burial practices throughout Egypt during the late Middle Kingdom, and specifically the reign of Senwosret III and directly following. A small number of representative sites and their associated cemeteries have been chosen based upon a number of criteria. The sections below will first examine individual tombs and burial assemblages, before moving on to an analysis of burial trends during the late Middle Kingdom.

§3.1 A Study of Late Middle Kingdom Tombs and Burial Assemblages

Any study of Middle Kingdom burial practices is hampered by a number of seemingly insurmountable problems revolving around preservation and archaeological documentation.³⁵⁸ The following study is no different, and in order to avoid these and other pitfalls, we will set forth a working methodology in the following sections.

3.1.1 The Connection between Social Status and Burial Practice

In recent years a number of archaeologists have posited different versions of a theory which states that death ritual is a mirror for unwritten models of societal behavior and structure.³⁵⁹ In other words the holistic study of the material remains of mortuary

³⁵⁸ Two seminal studies on change in Middle Kingdom funerary culture are Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 3-20, and Bourriau, *Change of Body Position in Egyptian Burials from the Mid XIIth Dynasty Until the Early XVIIIth Dynasty* 2001, 1-20.

³⁵⁹ I. Morris 1992, 1-30, with references. See also Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 13, and Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 3.

rituals of a specific group, in a specific time period, can yield clues about the social practices and beliefs of that group. This theory rests upon the assumption that a reflexive correlation exists between the mortuary beliefs which a specific segment of a population held, and their expression of those beliefs. This model of cultural expression is one of the basic tenets upon which the following chapter is based – namely that the study of tomb assemblages of a certain stratum of society should have similarities across that society.³⁶⁰

In the parameters of this study, social status is the primary defining characteristic, allowing comparison of funerary expression across the geographic range of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.³⁶¹ Generally speaking, high ranking officials constructed larger and more elaborate tombs than the people they oversaw.³⁶² At the base of the social pyramid, poor individuals may only have been able to afford a surface burial consisting of a shallow pit or grave, with their body wrapped in cloth or reed matting.³⁶³ As such, there does exist a basic practical correspondence between broad categories of ancient social standing and expression of funerary practice. Yet the very fact that all levels of society hoped for burial and eventual resurrection into the next life does indicate a continuity of culture and funerary belief.

³⁶⁰ In other words, funerary expression within social groups should be fairly homogeneous.

³⁶¹ This difficult topic has been treated extensively by Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005.

³⁶² A good example would be the site of Assiut, where mid to late 12th Dynasty nomarchal tombs occupied the higher gebel face, while smaller tombs belonging to lower status individuals exist directly below them (especially near the northwestern summit). See Zitman 2010, 327, and *passim*.

³⁶³ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 44-45; 60 See also Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 83; 212.

This study aims to look at individuals similar to those living within *Wah-sut*.³⁶⁴

Like the town of Lahun, different house sizes within the town probably represent some variation of wealth or social standing among its residents.³⁶⁵ The towns at Lahun, Buhen, and Mirgissa all represent royal outposts with the same types of hierarchy, from elite and sub-elite down to the poorer strata.³⁶⁶ Therefore, the cemeteries of these towns, along with those at North Abydos, represent the funerary expression of comparable populations, containing the same ranges of social stratification. Slight nuances in social status certainly existed within these groups, but as a cross section of contemporary Egyptian society, these differences likely existed within *Wah-sut*, just as they did at Lahun, Buhen, Mirgissa, and North Abydos.³⁶⁷

3.1.2 Methodology

The following study examines four archaeological areas, included on the basis of their connection with known Middle Kingdom settlements. The cemetery sites are Lahun (including Haraga), North Abydos, Buhen, and Mirgissa. Cemeteries belonging to the late Middle Kingdom – defined as the period from Senwosret III until the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty – have taken precedence over all others. Dating of these cemeteries

³⁶⁴ See Wegner, Excavations at the Town of 'Enduring-are-the-places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos' 1998, Wegner, The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations 2001, and Wegner, External Connections of the Community of Wah-sut During the Late Middle Kingdom 2010.

³⁶⁵ O'Connor, The Elite Houses of Kahun 1997, Quirke, Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape 2005, 55-87; Wegner, The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations 2001, and Picardo, Egypt's Well-to-Do: Elite Mansions in the Town of Wah-Sut 2006.

³⁶⁶ For Buhen, see Emery 1979, and for Mirgissa, see Vercoutter, Mirgissa I 1970.

³⁶⁷ North Abydos is of course the only "organic" settlement included in the study. Its cemeteries are also affected by their proximity to the Osiris cult. Despite these facts, there is no reason to assume that these cemeteries represent a different cross section of Egyptian society of the late Middle Kingdom.

has been accomplished through diagnostic pottery forms where information is available.³⁶⁸

Geographically, the cemeteries we have chosen cover an area which extends from the Residence at *Jt-t3.wj* down to the Second Cataract forts of Buhen and Mirgissa. With his creation of these institutions, Senwosret III brought an area which was until then considered foreign into the homeland of Egypt.³⁶⁹ By the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, permanent local populations began to supplant rotating garrisons, necessitating the creation of cemeteries to serve these fortress towns.³⁷⁰ Hence, geography and chronology are intertwined at the Second Cataract, and the cemeteries at these sites date to the same time period as the main existence of *Wah-sut* at South Abydos.

The chronology of the North Cemetery at Abydos is much broader. Yet, because of its geographic relation to South Abydos, it should represent the closest reflection of burials connected with *Wah-sut*, and may even contain tombs belonging to the residents of the southern city itself.³⁷¹ The striking similarities between the towns of *Wah-sut* and Lahun far to the north, betray cogent lines of cultural expression which almost certainly extended to funerary culture.³⁷²

Even though limiting the present corpus to the sites mentioned above assures that all the tombs belong to the same basic sector of society, it also allows for a further avenue

³⁶⁸ The most easily recognized chronological progression is in the vessel index of hemispherical cups. See Do. Arnold, *Keramikbearbeitung in Daschur 1976-1981* 1982, 60-62, Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 233, with additional references.

³⁶⁹ Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 52-54, and Delia 1980, 24-107

³⁷⁰ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 168-180

³⁷¹ For instance, see below §5.2.2.

³⁷² For comparisons between these two towns, see Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 281-308, and Horváth 2009, 171-203.

of inquiry. With associated Middle Kingdom population centers defined archaeologically at these sites, they hold the potential to inform a discussion of burial placement and access, vis-à-vis the towns where the people lived.³⁷³ These themes have a direct connection to the mechanisms of funerary commemoration discussed below in Chapter Five.

The aims of this study are simple: to gain an understanding of the tomb architecture, coffin styles, and objects placed within late Middle Kingdom tombs. These data will then lead to a fuller understanding of the potential placement, architecture, and artifacts of Middle Kingdom tombs associated with *Wah-sut*. In fulfilling these aims, the study will examine a number of specific tombs from each of the four type-sites. Individual burials have been chosen on the basis of the completeness of their artifact assemblages, the clarity of their archaeological and chronological contexts,³⁷⁴ and the preservation of their architecture. A total of sixty-seven tombs compose the corpus of this study.

The description of the individual burials will follow a standardized rubric: tomb architecture and measurements described from surface features down, number of burials and coffin types, and other artifacts recovered from the sepulcher. At the end of the chapter (§3.8), a tomb register will appear with the information in table format for easy reference, along with pottery typologies (§3.9) extracted from the original excavation publications.

³⁷³ This portion of the study appears below in Chapter Four (§4.1).

³⁷⁴ Tombs that were reused at later periods have been excluded.

3.1.3 Statement of Problems

As the saying goes, hindsight is twenty-twenty. In archaeology, the practices of an earlier age may seem barbaric when compared to modern excavation techniques, leading many a scholar to lament that certain discoveries were made when they were.³⁷⁵ This is the case with many Middle Kingdom cemeteries: most of them were excavated during the golden era of Egyptian archaeology from the late Nineteenth, into the early Twentieth Centuries. In realistic terms, this situation is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, given the antiquities trade prevalent at the time, the fact that they were excavated when they were is a downright boon to modern scholarship.³⁷⁶ On the other hand, since the excavators of the period were mainly looking for spectacular objects and intact tombs, many of the poorer or disturbed tombs were not sufficiently documented. Even fewer of these structures were included in the final site publications. Incomplete records are the greatest hindrance to modern reinvestigation of these burials.

Ancient preservation is the second issue for which there is no remedy. At the site of Lahun for instance, many Middle Kingdom tombs were robbed, cleaned out, and reused during later periods.³⁷⁷ Other tombs in Haraga were dug so deeply that they were flooded from a rising water-table at the time of excavation.³⁷⁸ In some of these tombs objects remained for the excavators, but their original contexts were entirely lost due to

³⁷⁵ Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 5. See also the comments in Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 33f.

³⁷⁶ In general, see Fagan 1975, *passim*.

³⁷⁷ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, *Lahun* 1923, 24

³⁷⁸ Engelbach, *Harageh* 1923, 2

the action of repeated robbery.³⁷⁹ As a result there are many burials throughout Egypt where the only certain information is that they originally belonged generally to the Middle Kingdom. Sadly these burials are virtually useless in solving the aims of this study.

These problems result in a small corpus of tombs available to scholarship, which may or may not accurately reflect the full breadth of funerary practice during the late Middle Kingdom. The present study hopes to mitigate accidents of preservation by choosing intact tombs wherever possible from these diverse sites. Furthermore, with the intention of looking at basic overarching trends in funerary practice, reliance on statistical analysis will be kept to a minimum.

§3.2 Middle Kingdom Burials at Lahun

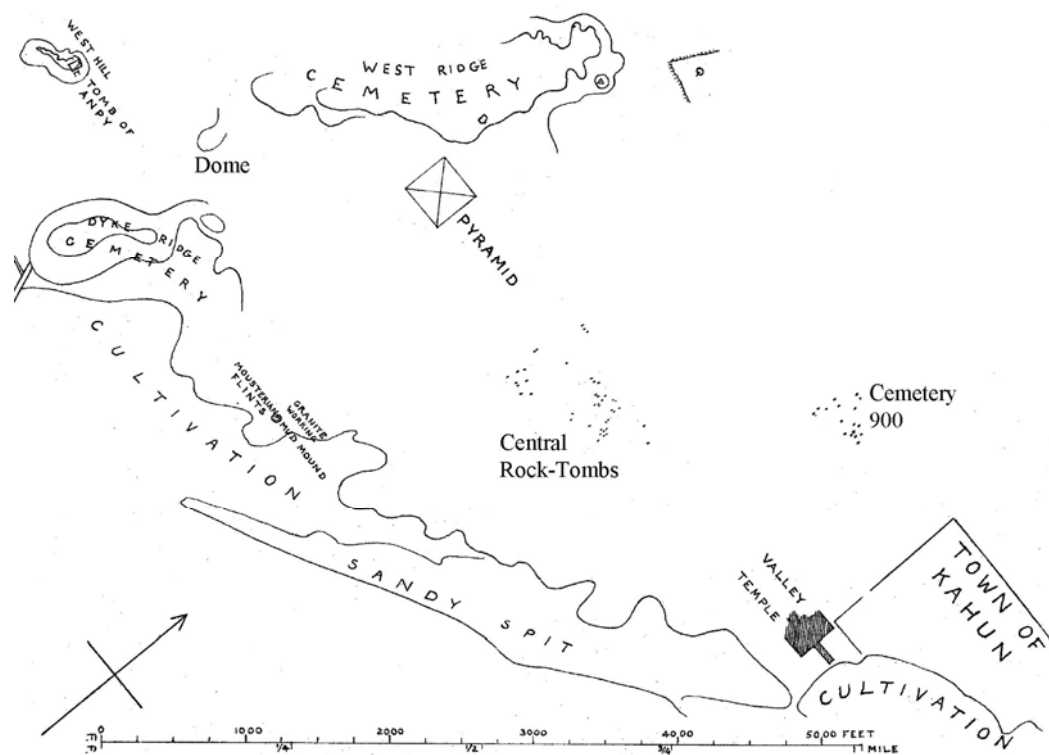
The following examination of specific late Middle Kingdom cemetery sites begins with Lahun, near the assumed location of the royal Residence city of *Jt-t3.wj*.³⁸⁰ In addition to the various small cemeteries surrounding the Pyramid of Senwosret II, we have also included the cemetery groups at Haraga due to their proximity to the ancient town of Lahun.³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ Prompting G. Brunton Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 24 to state of the Lahun private cemeteries: “Much pillaging had occurred, and there were very few discoveries of value, taken singly: but collectively the finds have proved of considerable interest.”

³⁸⁰ For comments regarding the date when Amenehmat I founded *Jt-t3.wj*, see Do. Arnold, Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes 1991, 14-16. See also Silverman, Middle Kingdom tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery 2000, 267.

³⁸¹ Richards, Society and Death in Ancient Egypt 2005, 93, and below §3.2.5.

Fig. 3.1: Sketch Map of Lahun³⁸²



3.2.1 Lahun: History of Excavation and Geographic Setting

W. Petrie was the first to excavate the monuments of Lahun systematically³⁸³ beginning in 1889, including the Middle Kingdom town and its surrounding cemeteries.³⁸⁴ His labor was rewarded with the numerous treasures, including the Kahun Papyrus Archive.³⁸⁵ While W. Petrie was working in the town, G. Brunton excavated around one hundred and fifty tombs dating from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period in

³⁸² After Petrie, Brunton and Murray, *Lahun* 1923, Pl. II.

³⁸³ W. Petrie called the town Kahun, W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, though this seems to have been a mistake on his part. The ancient town is called Lahun in the present work.

³⁸⁴ W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, W. M. Petrie, Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob 1891 Brunton 1920, and Petrie, Brunton and Murray, *Lahun* 1923.

³⁸⁵ F. L. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* 1898. Borchardt purchased other papyrus documents from the site, eventually returning to excavate and recover more. These documents are now in Berlin, see Luft 2006.

the surrounding area.³⁸⁶ The Middle Kingdom tombs belong to three main areas – Cemetery 900, the Central Rock-Cut Tombs,³⁸⁷ and the Western Cemetery.³⁸⁸ In addition, the small natural hill which G. Brunton calls the Dome contained a number of tomb shafts, one chamber of which was intact.

3.2.2 Lahun: Cemetery 900

To the northwest of Lahun is a small collection of tombs which G. Brunton called Cemetery 900. All of the tombs were of the shaft type, but only one possessed a surface structure. Tomb number L.905³⁸⁹ included a brick and gravel mastaba roughly nineteen feet long (c. 5.8 m).³⁹⁰ G. Brunton theorized that all nineteen shafts of Cemetery 900 belonged to a related family or group of people, with the mastaba of L.905 serving as a communal cult-locus for the entire group.³⁹¹ Stela fragments recovered from outside the mastaba recorded the name Senwosret without cartouche, perhaps an owner of one of the Cemetery 900 shafts.³⁹²

Tomb L.905's entrance shaft was rectangular (1.3 m by 2.7 m) and twenty six feet deep (7.92 m), at the bottom of which was a sloping entrance chamber with ledged walls,

³⁸⁶ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. XLVIII-XLVIIIa.

³⁸⁷ Sadly the Central Rock-Cut Tombs were all utterly destroyed, and as a result have been excluded from this study. See Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 24.

³⁸⁸ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923. G. Brunton's excavations also included the cemetery of Bashkatib, containing tombs from Dynasty One through Dynasty Three.

³⁸⁹ In this work, letters designating the cemetery site have been appended to the tomb numbers in order to reduce confusion. Hence L refers to Lahun, H to Haraga, A to Abydos, B to Buhen, and M to Mirgissa. Secondary letters represent lettered cemeteries within these sites when indicated by the original excavator, hence BK.38 refers to Buhen, Cemetery K, tomb 38, and AGE to Abydos, Garstang cemetery E.

³⁹⁰ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 30.

³⁹¹ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 30.

³⁹² Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. XXXVI.2-12.

followed by the burial chamber opening south under the mastaba.³⁹³ The chamber was oriented north-south, measuring 2.79 m by 2.65 m, and 3.47 m high. A single male skull of advanced age was the only skeletal remain reported. A sarcophagus in the center of the burial chamber was built of limestone slabs, with an arched lid and raised ends reminiscent of a *pr-nw* shape.³⁹⁴ To the east of the burial chamber was a canopic niche, measuring 0.81 m by 0.64 m, and 0.69 m high. The floor of the burial chamber, and the walls of the canopic niche were lined with limestone slabs.³⁹⁵

A number of interesting objects derived from this tomb, despite the fact that it was plundered. Two travertine canopic jar-stoppers in the form of human heads, and fragments of the jars themselves were recovered.³⁹⁶ The wigs of the heads were painted blue, and one of the jar fragments still retained a red ink inscription naming Qebhsenuet (Fig. 3.2). The head of a wooden staff,³⁹⁷ and a small copper chisel were also recovered, along with conical beads belonging to a flail.³⁹⁸

³⁹³ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 30-31; Pl. XLVIIIa

³⁹⁴ Ricke 1944, 27ff.

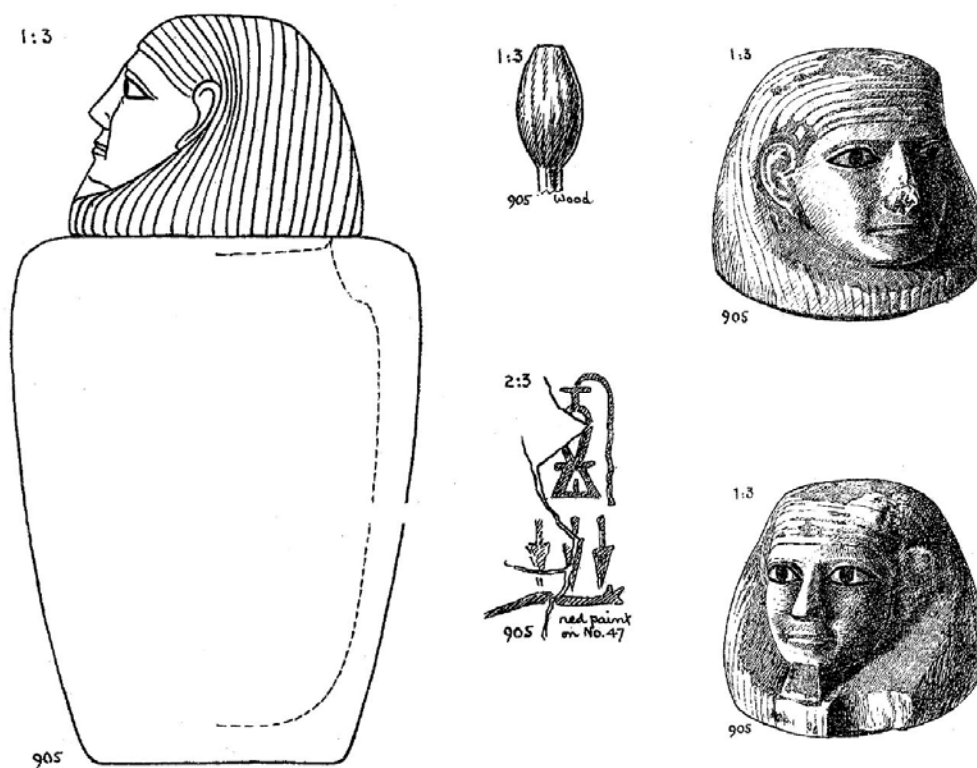
³⁹⁵ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 30.

³⁹⁶ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 30, and Pl. LXVII.47-48, and LXIX.14-15.

³⁹⁷ Perhaps akin to those discovered at Bersha, Freed, et al. 2009, 142, Fig. 100.

³⁹⁸ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 30-31, and Pl. LXVII.49 and 60. The existence of a flail in the tomb places the group in the category of Court-type burial, in which the deceased took on trappings usually held by royalty, probably in an attempt to identify more closely with Osiris. This tomb type will be discussed in greater detail below in §3.7, but see Grajetzki, *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life and Death for Rich and Poor* 2003, 54-57, and 138, n.2 for extensive references.

Fig. 3.2: Canopic Equipment and Walking Stick Pommel from L.905³⁹⁹



To the east of the L.905 mastaba is shaft tomb L.906. It is just slightly smaller than tomb L.905, with a 6.76 m deep shaft terminating in a small entrance chamber.⁴⁰⁰ Interestingly, G. Brunton seems to indicate that this area originally had a stela and offering table:

In the west wall of the first room was a shallow recess 34 ins. high evidently for a stela, as the fine altar of offerings had been placed on the ledge in front of it. This was made for Khenemes-khred, who was “born of the *nebt-pr* Ab” and also “born of the *nebt-pr* Nefert.” It is curious to find a woman using two names in this way, though double names were not uncommon.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁹ After Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. LXVII, and LXIX.

⁴⁰⁰ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 31. What G. Brunton refers to as the “first room” of the tomb seems to be the bottom part of the tomb shaft. In tomb 905 this area had ledges on the east and west, and a floor sloping down toward the burial chamber. 906 had a ledge-feature on the west along with the stela niche, and its floor was level.

⁴⁰¹ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 31. The offering table is pictured on Pl. XXXVI.1.

Skeletal remains were scattered, but belonged supposedly to a young male.⁴⁰² G. Brunton does not mention a sarcophagus, but plaster ears and an obsidian inlaid eye probably belonged to the painted mummy mask mentioned in the tomb register.⁴⁰³ The burial chamber of L.906 contained a wooden staff, the head of a wooden *ka*-statue, some gold leaf, and a limestone model canopic box carved in a *pr-nw* form which was painted red.⁴⁰⁴

3.2.3 Lahun: Western Ridge Cemetery and Western Hill

The mastaba and tomb of the Royal Architect Anpy was uncovered in the Western Hill Cemetery, over 1.5 km from the town of Lahun.⁴⁰⁵ Though the burial itself was almost totally robbed, the tomb is important architecturally. At the top of the hill lies the rectangular mud-brick mastaba, oriented north-south. Below it, down the slope to the east, an elaborate offering chapel was carved into the rock, extending partly beneath the mastaba (Fig. 3.3).⁴⁰⁶ This chapel has two small side-chambers to the north, one containing the beginnings of an abandoned shaft. In the center of the chapel courtyard, a deep shaft spans the distance from the northern to the southern wall of the chapel.⁴⁰⁷ To the west of this feature, a colonnade of four square columns fronts a doorway which leads

⁴⁰² Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 31. Based upon the stela, G. Brunton believed these to be the remains of Khenems-khered.

⁴⁰³ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. XLVIII A.

⁴⁰⁴ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 31, and Pl. LXIX.13.

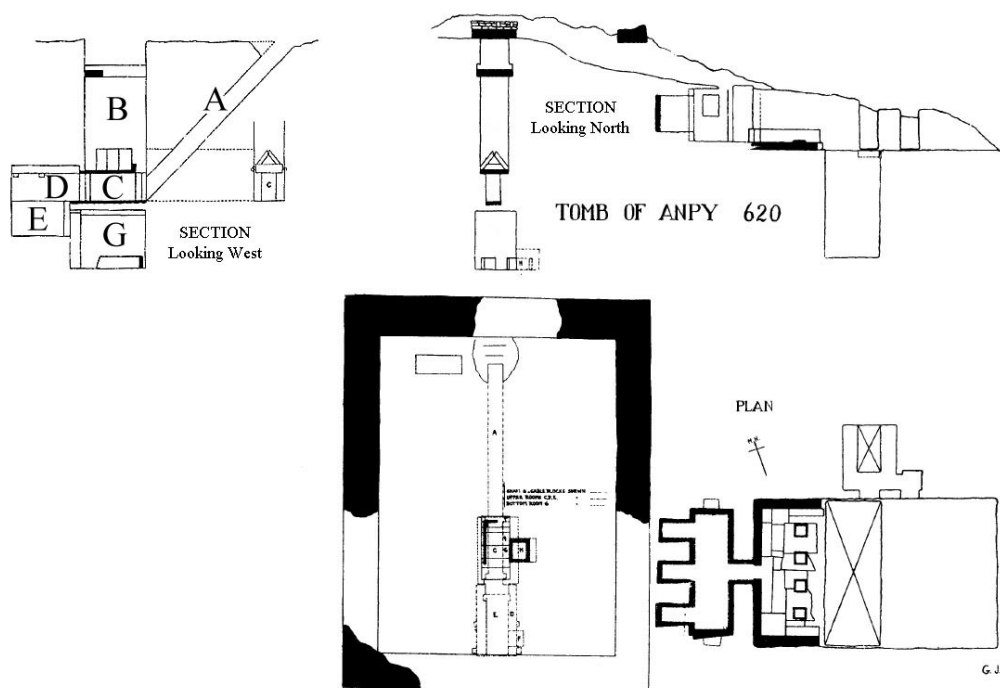
⁴⁰⁵ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 26-28

⁴⁰⁶ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 27. The chapel was originally decorated and inscribed (Pl. XXVIII to XXXI). Two statues of Anpy were found here, while a stela referring to him was found within the town of Lahun, possible evidence of domestic cult.

⁴⁰⁷ W. Petrie added a note to G. Brunton's description, believing that this shaft was meant to restrict access to the chapel, since it seems to have served no other purpose. Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 26.

to a room containing three niches in its western wall, and two smaller ones to the north and south, respectively.⁴⁰⁸

Fig. 3.3: Plan and Section of the Mastaba and Tomb of Anpy, L.620⁴⁰⁹



Below the mastaba is a complex suite of rooms with two entrances.⁴¹⁰ A vertical shaft descends directly down to the first chamber (C), which is also the terminus of the sloping passage (A). Chamber C connects with D to the south, with the first of two burial chambers (E) below the floor. Behind the north wall of Chamber E lay the larger, and perhaps primary burial chamber (G). Both burial chambers (E and G) also possessed smaller canopic niches in their eastern walls. Fragments of a stone sarcophagus built from slabs were noticed within Chamber G. As with tomb L.905, this tomb contained

⁴⁰⁸ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 26. The tripartite design of this chapel may be similar to the tripartite rooms within houses in Lahun, thought to represent domestic cult emplacements by O'Connor, *The Elite Houses of Kahun* 1997, 399-400. See also below, Chapter Four.

⁴⁰⁹ After Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. XXVII.

⁴¹⁰ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 27, for G. Brunton's description.

beads belonging to a flail, indicating the existence of a Court-type burial. G. Brunton also lists “shells: cowries: draughtsmen: model corngrinder: wood girdle-tie,” as representing the tomb assemblage.⁴¹¹

3.2.4 Lahun: “The Dome”

Petrie and this team uncovered a handful of tombs around a large natural rock formation at the extreme west of the site, which they called “The Dome.” Most all of these had been completely plundered, and reused during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.⁴¹² One tomb however contained the intact burial of a Middle Kingdom couple.⁴¹³

No indication of any surface feature was observed associated with a small shaft, measuring about 1 m square, and 2.5 m deep. At the bottom of the shaft was a small room with four burial niches in its north wall. Three of these contained burials of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, but one still held a rectangular wooden Middle Kingdom sarcophagus belonging to an *jr.j-ṣ.t*⁴¹⁴ by the name of Ankh-mesu. Inside the partly rotted case were two skeletons, male and female, with “heads north, extended and supine, the man on the east.”⁴¹⁵

G. Brunton does not include the texts of the sarcophagus in the plates, but he made the following statement about their order:

⁴¹¹ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. XLVIII.

⁴¹² Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 32.

⁴¹³ As G. Brunton notes Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 33 “This was the only complete Middle Kingdom burial found at Lahun.”

⁴¹⁴ For this title, see Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom 1982, 57, Title 452, and Quirke, Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC 2004, 64ff, and passim.

⁴¹⁵ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 33.

The horizontal bands give the usual *nyswt dj htp* formula to Anubis on the west side, and Osiris on the east, with the name of Ankh-mesu, devoted to Nephthys on the north, and Isis (?) on the south. The two vertical columns at the north and south ends name Ankh-mesu devoted to Nut and the Ennead of the Gods; the four vertical columns on the west beginning from the north, give the names of (1) Shu (?), (2) Tef[nut], (3) and (4) illegible; the east side has Imsthy in (1), to the south; the other three are illegible.⁴¹⁶

Based upon G. Brunton's description, the coffin seems to conform to H. Willems coffin subtype IVaa.⁴¹⁷ Besides the coffin itself and the single offering vessel (Type 38N4), no other burial goods were included with the couple.

3.2.5 Haraga

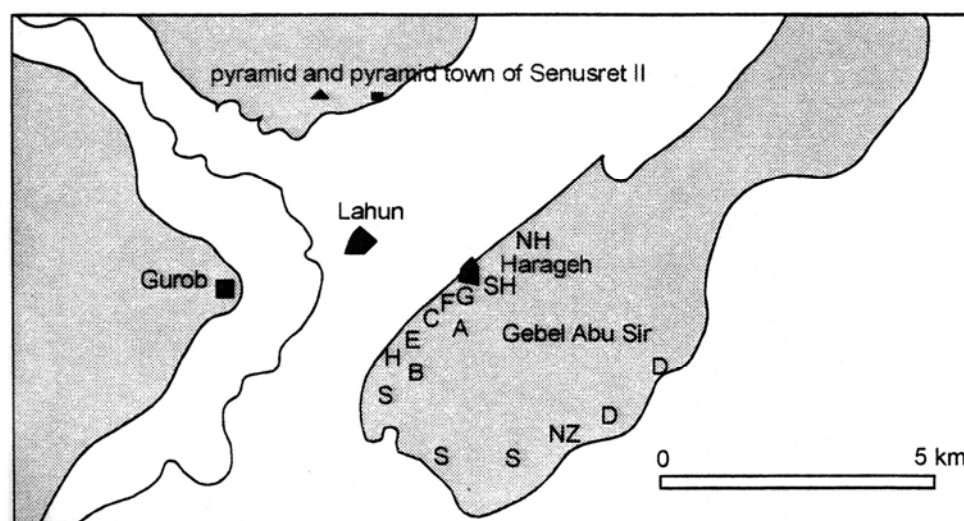
R. Engelbach, who discovered and excavated the cemeteries at Haraga beginning in 1913, was the first to theorize that this cemetery served the Middle Kingdom town of Lahun.⁴¹⁸ Despite great doubt about his conclusion during the intervening years, J. Richards has indicated that scholars are now more willing to accept his attribution, since no other major cemetery belonging to Lahun has come to light.⁴¹⁹ The following section will look at tombs from Haraga cemeteries S, B, and A, all of which Engelbach dated to the late Middle Kingdom.

⁴¹⁶ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 33.

⁴¹⁷ For the coffin type, see Willems 1988, 138. See also Bourriau, Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom 1991, 9, where she indicates a date in the early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty for this type.

⁴¹⁸ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 9.

⁴¹⁹ Richards, Society and Death in Ancient Egypt 2005, 93. Indeed, only a handful of tombs dating to the Middle Kingdom were found in the area around Lahun. Given the fact that the town must have had a sizeable population, the question remains as to where they are all buried. The extensive cemeteries of Haraga provide a possible solution to this problem.

Fig. 3.4: Sketch Map of Haraga⁴²⁰

3.2.5.1 Haraga Cemetery S (HS)

Cemetery S lies along the south-western face of the Gebel Abusir (Fig. 3.4). R. Engelbach dated the tombs in this area from Senwosret III to after Amenemhat III.⁴²¹ The present subsection will concentrate on two tombs of Cemetery S: HS.324, and HS.620.

The artifact assemblage of Tomb HS.324 includes deep hemispherical cups (type 7n), diagnostic of a date within the early Thirteenth Dynasty.⁴²² The tomb followed a shaft and chamber layout, with no preserved surface elements. The shaft was about 4 m deep, with one chamber to the north, and two small sarcophagus chambers cut to the

⁴²⁰ Grajetzki, *Harageh, an Egyptian burial ground for the rich around 1800 BC* 2004, 9.

⁴²¹ Engelbach, *Harageh* 1923, 2, and Pl. 2. R. Engelbach did not include a plan of Cemetery S, and hence, the relative positions of these tombs are unknown.

⁴²² Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 106-108, who dates R. Engelbach's types 7j/7m to the Twelfth, and types 7n/7s to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

south. The tomb contained two travertine kohl jars, and fragments of ivory clappers, though their original contexts are not reported.⁴²³

Tomb HS.620 consisted of a 3.5 m deep shaft with two square chambers, one to the north and the other to the south.⁴²⁴ Six

Fig. 3.5: Cylinders from HS.620

bodies were originally interred therein,

three male and three female, though

there is no information on their coffins.

The existence of a shallow hemispherical



cup (type 7j₂) serves to date this sepulcher within the Twelfth Dynasty,⁴²⁵ and the

discovery of two royal name cylinders (Fig. 3.5) further refines the date. One bears the

twin throne names of Khakaure (Senwosret III) and Nimaatre (Amenemhat III), perhaps

created during their coregency. The second is fragmentary and again has a double

cartouche, one of which bears the final two hieroglyphs belonging to the throne-name of

Amenemhat III. These seals give the tomb a *terminus a quo*, which, coupled with the

pottery, probably yields a date in the very late Twelfth Dynasty (between the coregency

of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, and the very early Thirteenth Dynasty). The tomb

⁴²³ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LX.

⁴²⁴ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 9-10, believed that since many tombs had only one chamber in the south, while others had chambers to the north and south, the southern was probably excavated first. He theorized this was done so that the head of the deceased would be closest to the shaft, allowing rites to be performed more easily at the time of burial.

⁴²⁵ Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 106-108

also contained an offering table, but R. Engelbach includes neither a description nor an image of this object, and it is unknown if it was made of stone or pottery.⁴²⁶

3.2.5.2 Haraga Cemetery B (HB)

Three tombs of Cemetery B comprise this section: HB.244, HB.262, and HB.336. The cemetery is situated on the north face of the Gebel Abusir, just north of Cemetery S, and directly across the thin strip of cultivation from the town of Lahun (Fig. 3.4).

Tomb HB.244 lies in the southwest corner of the cemetery. Like HS.620, a 4 m deep shaft leads to two roughly square chambers, one to the north and the other to the south. R. Engelbach reported the burial of two bodies in the tomb, one male and one female, both with traces of white painted wooden coffins.⁴²⁷ As we noted above, hemispherical cup type 7n with a white rim demonstrates the probability of an early Thirteenth Dynasty date. In addition to beads, excavations found a faience hawk amulet, an Eye of Horus, a copper pin, a degraded basket containing clothing, the top of a stick, and a scarab with an (apotropaic) *nefer* hieroglyph.⁴²⁸

Tomb HB.262, a 3.3 m deep shaft tomb with a single chamber to the south, contained one male and three female bodies,⁴²⁹ and Thirteenth Dynasty hemispherical cups of type 7n₂. The most interesting objects were two standing wooden *ka*-statues, one

⁴²⁶ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 3. Pottery “offering trays” occur within these tomb contexts (cf. Tomb HB.336 and HS.337), and probably fell into open shafts from the surface during robbery. These objects were first described in W. M. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* 1907, 14-20, and see more recently Leclère 2001, who proposes a date range from the First Intermediate Period through the Middle Kingdom.

⁴²⁷ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LIX.

⁴²⁸ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LIX. For the scarab see Pl. XX.50. Numerous, securely-dated, late Middle Kingdom seal impressions from *Wah-sut* display this same type of apotropaic use of single hieroglyphs. See J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 304-313.

⁴²⁹ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LX.

male and one female.⁴³⁰ The male figure is bald, and wears a long kilt tied above his navel, that extends down past his knees. His left arm is raised and holds a long staff, while his right arm hangs at his side, his hand balled into a fist. The base upon which this statue stands is uninscribed. In contrast, the female figure stands with her feet together and her arms at her sides. She wears a tripartite, Hathor-style wig, with twin laplet curls over her breasts.⁴³¹ The base of this statue has a short offering formula reading:

ḥtp-dj-nsw.t [wsj]r nb dd.w ntr ʕ nb [3b]d.w dj=f pr.t-hrw[...] n k3 n kmṯt mʕ.t-hrw

A royal offering of [Osir]is, Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Lord of [Aby]dos, that he might give an invocation offering [consisting of...] to the ka of Kemet, True of Voice.⁴³²

Since both statues lack personal titles, it is impossible to ascertain the social status of either individual. W. Grajetzki believes that these statues originally stood in close proximity to the coffin of the owner, continuing an “early Middle Kingdom tradition, when it was common to place wooden statues^{sic} of the tomb owner next (or in) to the coffin in burials of the ruling class.”⁴³³ Indeed, the tomb of Djehutynakht at Bersha contained similar statuettes, albeit of an early Middle Kingdom style.⁴³⁴ According to Schneider, these *ka*-statues of the deceased evolved into prototypical shabtis during the course of the Middle Kingdom, eventually taking on both the role of overseer controlling the other tomb models, as well as magically providing food-sustenance for the

⁴³⁰ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 12, 29, Pl. I, and XVIII. See also Grajetzki, Harageh, an Egyptian burial ground for the rich around 1800 BC 2004, 37-38.

⁴³¹ For brief discussion of the hairstyle of this piece, see Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, Vol. I 1953, 216.

⁴³² Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. XVIII. For the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* formula, see C. J. Bennett 1941, Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* 1968, and Satzinger 1997.

⁴³³ Grajetzki, Harageh, an Egyptian burial ground for the rich around 1800 BC 2004, 38.

⁴³⁴ Freed, et al. 2009, 147-149, and Fig. 111-112, and cf. p.50-52. See also below §3.5.2 for an example from Mirgissa.

deceased.⁴³⁵ The inclusion of a short offering spell upon the statue of Kemetet reinforces this sustaining role through the invocation offering.⁴³⁶ In summary, while these wooden statues may seem to be a holdover from the early Middle Kingdom, they are in reality an archaic form employed to represent a newer ideology which eventually culminated in the form of the late Middle Kingdom shabti.⁴³⁷

Tomb HB.336 was a large tomb with a central shaft about 6.3 m deep, with two chambers to the north and two to the south, stacked one atop the other. Both of the south chambers also possessed canopic niches, carved into the east wall of the lower, and south wall of the upper. The tomb contents were disturbed, and the remains of only one female body were recorded with no mention of coffin type or material.⁴³⁸ Shallow hemispherical cups of type 7j₂ in the south chambers point to the late Twelfth Dynasty or directly after. The tomb contained a travertine lidded kohl jar with exterior lotus decoration, copper tweezers, a gold shell pendant, an electrum cylinder amulet with chevron decoration,⁴³⁹ four decorative scarabs, and a pottery offering tray.⁴⁴⁰ As elsewhere in the cemetery, it is probable that the offering table originated above ground, but fell into the shaft, perhaps during or following, robbery.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁵ Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*, Vol. I-III 1977, 19-24.

⁴³⁶ For funerary liturgy in general, see Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien 2002-2010*.

⁴³⁷ Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*, Vol. I-III 1977, 19-24.

⁴³⁸ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LX.

⁴³⁹ Jansen 1992, 157-165 examined this piece, and concluded that it contains two copper beads. By context, he believed amulet cases of this type connect with women.

⁴⁴⁰ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LX. For the scarabs, see Pl. XX.60-63.

⁴⁴¹ W. M. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* 1907, 14-15, for their position above the tombs at the site of Rifeh. See also below §5.2.3 for a fragmentary soul house from within Building E at Wah-sut.

3.2.5.3 Haraga Cemetery A (HA)

Rounding out the examination of Haraga, four tombs from Cemetery A are included in this section: HA.47, HA.48, HA.72, and HA.124. Like Cemetery B, this subsection of the site lies upon the northern scarp of the Gebel Abusir facing Lahun, just north of Cemetery B. R. Engelbach dated the one hundred and three shaft tombs to the period between Senwosret II and Amenemhat III, on the basis of royal name seals and scarabs he found within the tombs.⁴⁴²

The shaft of Tomb HA.47 was 4.3 m deep, with one small sarcophagus chamber to the south measuring 1.3 m by 2.4 m.⁴⁴³ Engelbach found only fragments of the coffin, and did not record any indication of skeletal remains. The hemispherical cups were of the Twelfth Dynasty style 7j₂. R. Engelbach also uncovered an unworked scarab and the fingers from an ivory clapper from this tomb.⁴⁴⁴

Tomb HA.48 was a much larger and deeper tomb. The shaft dropped 7.8 m before opening into three chambers, one to the north and two to the south. Three female bodies are recorded in the tomb register, though no coffin fragments remained. Hemispherical cups of both Twelfth (7j₂) and Thirteenth Dynasty (7n/7n₂) existed within the tomb, therefore spanning the horizon between the two dynasties. In addition to two

⁴⁴² These objects represent only a *terminus a quo* for the construction and use of the tombs. For the complicated issue regarding the value of scarabs as dating criteria, see Ward, *Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context* 1987, Ben-Tor, *The Historical Implications of Middle Kingdom Scarabs Found in Palestine Bearing Private Names and Titles of Officials* 1994, and Ben-Tor, Allen and Allen, *Seals and Kings: Review of "The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period,"* by Kim Ryholt 1999.

⁴⁴³ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LVIII.

⁴⁴⁴ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LVIII

travertine vessels (types 16 and 68) and a lid to a third (type 73), R. Engelbach recovered a painted limestone figure of a hippopotamus.⁴⁴⁵

Tomb HA.72 had a slightly unorthodox design. At the bottom of a 6.6 m shaft, two chambers were at the north, and one to the south. Inside the south chamber, however, was another 2.2 m deep shaft terminating in a room to the south which measured 1 m wide, and 2.2 m deep. According to R. Engelbach, the chamber “appeared to be untouched, having perhaps been under the coffins in the chamber above.”⁴⁴⁶ While the three upper chambers had suffered complete robbery, the burial of a child at the bottom of this secondary shaft remained fairly intact. The burial chamber included Twelfth Dynasty hemispherical cups of type 7j₂.

R. Engelbach estimated the child’s age at 10 years.⁴⁴⁷ Its body was originally wrapped in linen, and placed in a rectangular wooden coffin which had almost totally disintegrated. To the east of the coffin (or possibly inside it) lay five travertine vessels. The group consisted of two kohl jars (types 35 and 53), a round-bottomed lug handled jar with lid (type 54), and two narrow-waisted vases resembling hieroglyph W1 (𓏏) (types 72 and 73 with lid).⁴⁴⁸ Upon the child’s body were a great many beads and amulets, including five fish amulets (three of gold), cowries, and gold decorated shells.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁵ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LVIII. This piece supposedly went to UCL, but it does not appear in the Petrie Museum catalogue of objects from Haraga.

⁴⁴⁶ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 14.

⁴⁴⁷ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 14-15

⁴⁴⁸ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 14; Pl. XLVII. For Middle Kingdom stone vessels of this type, see also Aston 1994, 105, Type 36.

⁴⁴⁹ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 14, and Pl. XXII.5. See also Andrews 1994, 67, Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* 1971, 141-142

According to pWestcar, the fish amulet was called a *nh3.w*.⁴⁵⁰ In his brief article on this object, A. Blackman links the word with a tomb scene from the tomb of Ukhhotep at Meir in which a young girl wears a side lock, from which dangles a fish amulet.⁴⁵¹ C. Aldred indicates that the amulet was perhaps a form of protection against drowning, but there does not seem to be any evidence to corroborate this conclusion.⁴⁵² The fact that all references to this type of object connect it with young girls may indicate that the body in tomb HA.72 was that of a girl.

Tomb HA. 124 was a shaft tomb with a single burial chamber at its south end, containing a canopic niche in the eastern wall.⁴⁵³ R. Engelbach believed that the chamber had originally contained the bodies of a male and a female, both probably robbed. Despite the plundering, the tomb yielded a great many objects. The presence of hemispherical cups of type 7j₂, suggests a date within the Twelfth Dynasty.

R. Engelbach recovered a painted stela with cavetto cornice from inside the burial chamber,⁴⁵⁴ though he was reticent to link any stela with the tomb in which it was found. He does indicate, however, that all the stelae found in the cemetery probably originated in now missing surface structures.⁴⁵⁵ Due to its context within the tomb, the stela does, in

⁴⁵⁰ Blackman, *Philological Notes* 1925, 212-213. See also WB, II:306.7. The lemma only occurs in pWestcar, 5.16, 5.21, 6.2, 6.5, and 6.9, for a translation of which see Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 13-24. In the story the fish amulet is said to be made of turquoise, as A. Blackman points out, it may have been gold or silver, inlaid in turquoise. See also for instance Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* 1971, 141-142, and Pl. 77 (inlaid gold), and 78 (gold example from Haraga).

⁴⁵¹ Blackman, *Philological Notes* 1925, 213; Fig. 1, and also Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part I: The Tomb of Ukh-hotep's son Senbi* 1914, 9, 17.

⁴⁵² Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* 1971, 141-142, citing A. Blackman.

⁴⁵³ Engelbach, *Harageh* 1923, 15-16, Pl. XIII (plan). See also Grajetzki, *Harageh, an Egyptian burial ground for the rich around 1800 BC* 2004, 31-33.

⁴⁵⁴ Engelbach, *Harageh* 1923, 15.

⁴⁵⁵ Engelbach, *Harageh* 1923, 3.

all likelihood, belong to the burial.⁴⁵⁶ On it, the Lady of the House Iytenhab, daughter of Hedj, sits facing right, and looks toward an offering table with objects. Her eldest daughter Imues kneels on the floor, and looks left, holding her young son Renefseneb.⁴⁵⁷ The vertical sections of the cavetto cornice are painted in a repeating pattern of three colors. On the left of center, the pattern repeats blue-red-green, while on the right, it is reversed (green-red-blue) so that the two sides of the stela are symmetrical.⁴⁵⁸

R. Engelbach uncovered a great deal of inlaid silver jewelry from HA.124, including a fragmentary pectoral bearing a cartouche of Kha-keper-re (Senwosret II).⁴⁵⁹ He linked its design and craftsmanship to pieces discovered at the site of Riqqa, believing them to be of the same workshop, but of lower quality than the beautiful pectorals discovered at Dahshur and Lisht.⁴⁶⁰ At the very least, the significant use of silver indicates the high status of the owner.⁴⁶¹

R. Engelbach also recovered numerous objects related to personal grooming and beauty from the tomb. These included bronze or copper razors, three mirrors with papyrus column handles, and cosmetic grinders and spoons. Finally, a full set of

⁴⁵⁶ Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 94, calls it the “most securely provenance stela” from the cemetery.

⁴⁵⁷ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 28, and Pl. LXIII. The stela is currently in Copenhagen.

⁴⁵⁸ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. LXXIII. The stela is not perfectly symmetrical. There are twenty-eight sections of color. Fifteen follow the left pattern, and thirteen the right.

⁴⁵⁹ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 15 uses this evidence to date the tomb to the reign of Senwosret II. While the object was probably made during his short seven year reign, the piece is merely a *terminus a quo*, and a date sometime in the reign of Senwosret III or later is more likely.

⁴⁶⁰ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 15. For pectorals of the Middle Kingdom, see A. Wilkinson 1971, 83ff, and Silverman, *Pectorals, Seals, and Seal Cases* (?), Forthcoming.

⁴⁶¹ In her study on class as represented in Middle Kingdom tombs, Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 111, places silver atop the “Egyptian” wealth index. The Tod Treasure contained silver ingots with Amenemhat II’s name stamped in them, indicating that silver was being imported during the Middle Kingdom, probably from Asia. Up to this point, it had been rarer than gold. See, Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* 1971, 32-33, and Andrews 1994, 105-106.

travertine vessels, twenty-two of which R. Engelbach included in photographic reproduction, derived from the tomb, though their exact contexts are not recorded.⁴⁶² As with all the rest of the tombs in this area, virtually all the wood had long since rotted away, resulting in R. Engelbach finding no traces of the coffins, or the canopic box and jars.⁴⁶³

§3.3 Middle Kingdom Burials at North Abydos

Of all the sites chosen for this study, North Abydos is the only one which lacks archaeological definition of its associated town. Early excavations under A. Mariette and W. Petrie showed that the town of Abydos existed surrounding the Osiris temple precinct. Referring to the Kom el-Sultan, B. Kemp states that “[s]tratified occupation debris going back to the AR (Old Kingdom) can be seen here, in places cut back to an almost vertical face,” but that *sebbakhin* had removed most of the town remains in the surrounding area.⁴⁶⁴ Based upon these remains coupled with numerous references, the Middle Kingdom town of Abydos surrounded the location of the Osiris Temple, beneath the modern town of Beni Mansoor.

Since the cemeteries of North Abydos were all excavated at different times, often by different archaeologists, the history of their research will appear with their respective cemeteries.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶² Engelbach, Harageh 1923, Pl. XVI.

⁴⁶³ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 16.

⁴⁶⁴ Kemp, Abydos 1975, col. 29.

⁴⁶⁵ For an overview, see Snape 1986, 25-68, and Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 136-172

3.3.1 Abydos: Garstang Cemetery E (AGE)

J. Garstang, working for the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, began excavations at North Abydos in 1899.⁴⁶⁶ As he records, the area chosen for these excavations was “A strip of eight or ten acres in area, bounded on the south by this valley (the royal wadi), marked off on the north by the Shuna, and so westward.”⁴⁶⁷ During the same year, A. Mace began excavating the area directly to the south of J. Garstang’s on behalf of the EEF (Mace D).⁴⁶⁸ Both men discovered tombs of the late Middle Kingdom, but those found by J. Garstang spanned the horizon between the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty. Of more than three hundred and fifty graves excavated during the season, he discovered five intact examples. We will discuss four of these tombs (AGE.30, AGE.45, AGE.3, and AGE.230) in the following section.⁴⁶⁹

Tomb AGE.30 was in the southern central portion of Garstang E. It is a straight shaft tomb 6 m deep with a burial chamber in the south. The shaft of this tomb was cut at the base of what J. Garstang called an Old Kingdom mastaba.⁴⁷⁰ As a result, the construction broke through into the descending passage of the earlier mastaba, which may have contributed to the AGE.30 burial chamber surviving relatively intact. The body, whose sex is not given, was positioned on its right side with its head facing west. In front of the face, and presumably inside the decayed coffin, was a copper mirror with


⁴⁶⁶ Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 142-144.

⁴⁶⁷ Garstang 1901, 2.

⁴⁶⁸ Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901 1902*, and Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 139-142. J. Garstang returned and continued excavations in Cemetery E in 1906, though this work was never published, see Snape 1986, 51.

⁴⁶⁹ Garstang 1901, 25-26. Tombs AGE.30 and AGE.45 date to the Twelfth Dynasty, and AGE.3, and AGE.230 to the Thirteenth.

⁴⁷⁰ Garstang 1901, 4, and Pl. XXX.

wooden handle in the form of a papyrus stalk.⁴⁷¹ Near this lay the travertine waisted-cylinder beaker (),⁴⁷² along with a blue anhydrite kohl jar and wooden kohl stick.⁴⁷³ A great deal of beads fashioned from semi-precious stones (amethyst, carnelian) decorated the body. The excavators also found a Horus amulet, a fish pendant akin to that from Haraga,⁴⁷⁴ and other small bird amulets.

Tomb AGE.45 was some 30 m directly north of AGE.30. J. Garstang records that this tomb had a shaft leading down to a single room to the north, and he identified four bodies therein, the easternmost having been broken up and scattered. The other three from east to west were a child of unknown sex, an adult woman, and another child (possibly male).⁴⁷⁵ All three undisturbed bodies were positioned with heads in the north, facing east.

As with the child's body in AGE.30, the easternmost cadaver here had a linen wrapped mirror placed in front of its face, along with a serpentine kohl pot. The adult woman did not have a mirror, but near her face was placed a kohl pot and grinding palette. The westernmost child, which J. Garstang believed may have been male, had two waisted-beakers, one of serpentine and the other of limestone.⁴⁷⁶ In his left hand he also held an uninscribed amethyst scarab. All three bodies wore semi-precious stone beaded necklaces and bracelets which included a gold disc and electrum pendant.

⁴⁷¹ Garstang 1901, Pl. I and XVI.

⁴⁷² Aston 1994, 105, Type 36.

⁴⁷³ Garstang 1901, 25.

⁴⁷⁴ See above, §3.2.5.3.

⁴⁷⁵ Garstang 1901, 25.

⁴⁷⁶ Garstang 1901, Pl. I.2, left side.

Within the juncture between the shaft and the northern chamber, J. Garstang also found a stone statue of a seated female.⁴⁷⁷ A somewhat garbled offering spell is inscribed beginning on the left side of the figure's chair, wrapping around her legs to the right side of the chair, and ending on the back pillar (Fig. 3.6).

Fig. 3.6: Offering Formula from the Statue of Senetmut ⁴⁷⁸



A royal offering of Osiris, Great God, Lord of Abydos, that he might give an invocation offering of bread and beer, cattle, fowl, and linen; Honored One⁴⁷⁹ before Ptah-Sokar, to the *ka* of Senetmut, daughter of Hotep, True of Voice.

Perhaps in a situation similar to the stela of Iytenhab from Haraga,⁴⁸⁰ the fact that Senetmut's statue was discovered at the bottom of the shaft, along with a second uninscribed pair statue,⁴⁸¹ may indicate that its original position was within a surface chapel above the tomb shaft.

⁴⁷⁷ Garstang 1901, 25, Pl. III and XV. The figure looks somewhat androgynous, but the hint of a tight fitting dress and the female name indicate it was intended to depict a woman, perhaps the female burial within AGE.45.

⁴⁷⁸ Garstang 1901, Pl. XV.

⁴⁷⁹ The phrase "Honored one before Ptah-Sokar" has been inserted into the offering spell at this point. It does not relate to the rest of the text, it switches gender away from the female owner of the statue, and is, therefore, perhaps a scribal or copyist error. For the *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula in general, see C. J. Bennett 1941, Barta, Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel 1968, and Satzinger 1997.

⁴⁸⁰ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 15, and above §3.2.5.3.

⁴⁸¹ Garstang 1901, 25, Pl. III

Moving forward in time to the Thirteenth Dynasty, AGE.3 is a complex group of three parallel shafts and multiple burial chambers lying about 40 m east of AGE.45. Of the preservation J. Garstang states:

Two of this row of three pits were undisturbed, one wholly, the other below its upper chamber. In the one were two chambers superposed both north and south; in the other, to the east, which was very deep, were four at each end, or eight in all. There were thus a number of burials found in them intact, and of these four are selected to illustrate their types.⁴⁸²

According to this statement there were at least twelve undisturbed burials distributed between two shafts of AGE.3, four of which he discussed and published.

The first chamber, AGE.3-3, was on the north side at the bottom of the eastern shaft. It contained two bodies, but J. Garstang disregards one as “uninstructive.”⁴⁸³ The main burial was that of an adult, who lay partly on its left side with head to the north, within a completely decayed wooden coffin.⁴⁸⁴ Above the head lay a bronze mirror and grinding palette, in front of the face was a travertine high-shouldered vase, and outside the coffin to the north were two stone kohl pots.⁴⁸⁵ The body was adorned with spherical green glazed beads.

The next two burials J. Garstang discusses were both of children.⁴⁸⁶ The first was also positioned in such a way as to face to the local east, while the position of the second is not indicated. Both burials were supplied with spherical bead necklaces, kohl vessels and grinding palettes. In addition to these items, the first child also had a mirror wrapped

⁴⁸² Garstang 1901, 25.

⁴⁸³ Garstang 1901, 25.

⁴⁸⁴ The same orientation was observed in AGE.45. The normal orientation with the body facing west (as in AGE.30), seems to have been abandoned in favor of placing the body in such a way that it faces the Osiris Temple at North Abydos, to the local east of Garstang E.

⁴⁸⁵ Garstang 1901, 25, Pl. X 25, Pl. X.

⁴⁸⁶ Garstang 1901, 26. The first was in a southern chamber of the second shaft, but he does not indicate the location of the second.

in linen placed in front of its face, a faience walking stick pommel with lotus decoration,⁴⁸⁷ a small faience zoomorphic figure (possibly a lion or a dog or a crude hippopotamus), and a scarab within its left hand.⁴⁸⁸

The fourth burial of the series was more complex than the other three. J. Garstang identified the body as that of a boy, and described the assemblage thus:

As well as some beads and small objects of similar character, at the head were two weights, the one of 1 lb. 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz., the other of 2 oz. (av.). In addition there were two *spatula*, the one of bone, the other of slate; and a disc of gold, on which lay grains of kohl. The coffin was of wood, painted with a rectilinear pattern in blue and green and white; the inside of it was also stuccoed. The body was further dressed with a layer of stucco, and before the face was the plaster face which appears in the centre of the bottom row in the photograph of Pl. XIV.⁴⁸⁹

Bodies in this group testify to better preservative methods than those in many of the other tombs in the area. Though it is unclear from his description if mummification was practiced on these bodies, the cadaver was wrapped in cloth, and covered with a layer of plaster -- perhaps a protective measure. A molded and painted plaster mask was then placed over the body.⁴⁹⁰ The wooden sarcophagus was rectangular in shape, and its painted decoration would probably have included the names of the deceased, as well as other gods such as the Four Sons of Horus.⁴⁹¹

Finally, J. Garstang recovered an interesting item from within AGE.3, though its context was disturbed. He found part of a cylindrical ivory box decorated with images of

⁴⁸⁷ For walking sticks in general, see Hassan 1976, as well as Fischer, Review: Stöcke und Stäbe in Pharaonischen Ägypten 1978, and Fischer, Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt 1979.

⁴⁸⁸ Garstang 1901, 26, Pl. IV, X, XI, XIV, and XVI.

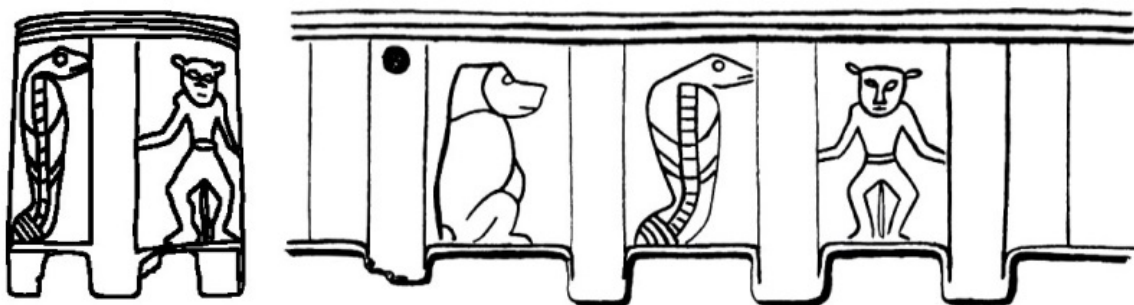
⁴⁸⁹ Garstang 1901, 26.

⁴⁹⁰ See also below, Buhen Cemetery K, and Mirgissa Cemetery Mx-Tc for similar masks.

⁴⁹¹ The coffin may be of H. Willem's Type IVaa. See above §3.2.4.

apotropaic entities (Fig. 3.7).⁴⁹² The frontal zoomorphic dwarf figure is almost certainly the entity named *ḥ3* who appears on contemporary apotropaia.⁴⁹³

Fig. 3.7: Ivory Box from AGE.3⁴⁹⁴



A handful of these small jars are known.⁴⁹⁵ H. Altenmüller indicates the probable importance of this type of object when he states:

Im Zauber für Mutter und Kind werden auch Salben angewendet, die in kleinen Behältern aus Knochen oder Elfenbein aufbewahrt und unter den Schutz der gleichen, auf den Apotropaia auftretenden Dämonen gestellt werden.⁴⁹⁶

It is therefore significant, given the connection between these object types and children, that tomb AGE.3 contained at least two sub-adults. Interestingly, at least four other tombs in this cemetery contained ivory apotropaia (AGE.5, AGE.10, AGE.172, and AGE.350), demonstrating the fairly widespread use of this object type during the transition between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹² Garstang 1901, 26, Pl. IV.

⁴⁹³ Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittelägyptens* 1965, 152-156, and Leitz 2002-2003, II: 183-184.

⁴⁹⁴ After Garstang 1901, Pl. IV and XI Pl. IV and XI.

⁴⁹⁵ Müller 1964, 69, where H. Altenmüller references six other examples.

⁴⁹⁶ Müller 1964, 69. For a fuller discussion of the Spells for Mother and Child, see below §3.6.6.

⁴⁹⁷ Garstang 1901, 10, Pl. XIV and XVII. See also Roberson 2009, 436 with references, and Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 11-12.

AGE.230 seemed to follow the trend of the rest of the burials J. Garstang outlines.

The body was covered in plaster, which was then painted with a “geometrical pattern in green and blue upon white.”⁴⁹⁸ This body was also decorated with an electrum shell pendant upon an electrum necklace wire. Lying upon the body was a bronze mirror and knife.⁴⁹⁹ Inside the left hand were two scarabs with apotropaic hieroglyphs.⁵⁰⁰ The body was inside a wooden coffin which J. Garstang indicates was painted with polychrome hieroglyphs.⁵⁰¹

3.3.2 Abydos: Peet Cemeteries X and Z (APX and APZ)

T. Peet oversaw excavations at North Abydos for the EEF during three seasons from 1910-1912.⁵⁰² Two of the areas in which he worked, designated Peet Cemetery X and Peet Cemetery Z, are worthy of note here. We will cover two representative tombs, APX.3 and APZ.2a, in this section.

⁴⁹⁸ Garstang 1901, 26. The material he describes sounds like degraded cartonnage. As such, the outer sarcophagus of these burials would have been wood, with the body either wrapped in cartonnage, or more probably a cartonnage mummy mask placed over the body which extended down its front, as at examples from Mirgissa. See Rigault-Déon 2012.

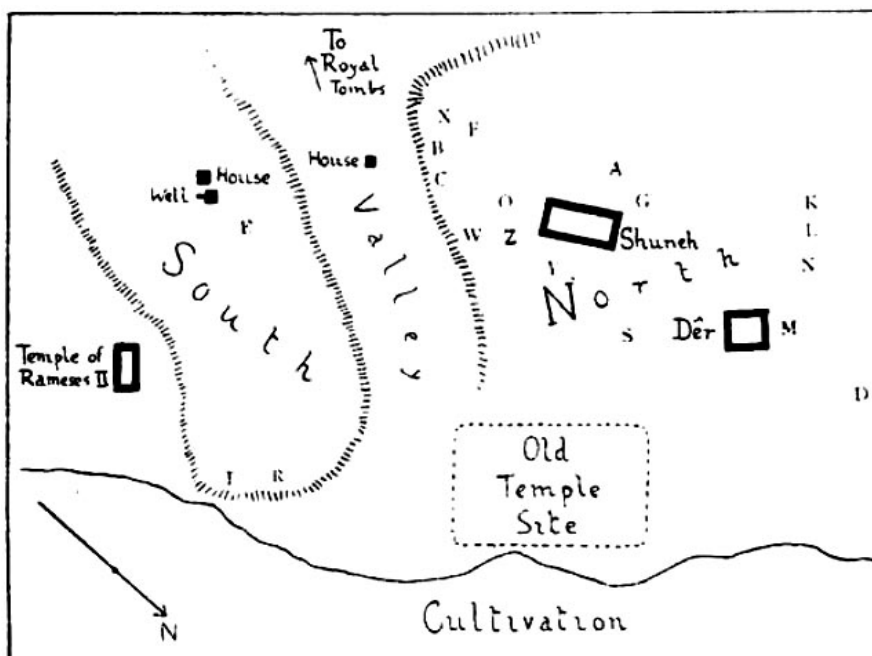
⁴⁹⁹ Garstang 1901, Pl. XVI.

⁵⁰⁰ Garstang 1901, Pl. X.

⁵⁰¹ Garstang 1901, Pl. 26. Sadly he does not include a transcription of the text. He also indicates that the body position was “as usual,” though with variation in position facing east and west within this cemetery, it is not at all clear which way the individual faced.

⁵⁰² Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, ix.

Fig. 3.8: T. Peet's Sketch Map of North Abydos Showing his Lettered Cemeteries⁵⁰³



Peet Cemetery X lies south of Garstang Cemetery E along the edge of the hill overlooking the royal wadi.⁵⁰⁴ The tombs in this area were shaft and chamber types, similar to other structures in the area. Peet Cemetery Z on the other hand lay to the north, near the southeast corner of the Shunet el-Zebib. Both areas contained tombs dating to the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties. Despite the fact that robbers had looted tomb APX.3 heavily, it did contain some pottery and fragments of a wooden coffin bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions.⁵⁰⁵ The situation was the same with APZ.2a, though this tomb also included an inlaid mask eye.⁵⁰⁶ What makes these tombs special however

⁵⁰³ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, xiv.

⁵⁰⁴ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, xiv. The modern designations for these cemeteries give a false sense that they are distinct separated areas, when in reality Garstang E probably melds directly into Peet F and X.

⁵⁰⁵ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 61.

⁵⁰⁶ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 62.

is the fact that the hieroglyphs written on their coffin fragments are of the incomplete type characteristic of the late Twelfth through Thirteenth Dynasties.⁵⁰⁷

Fig. 3.9: Incomplete Hieroglyphs from the APX.3 Wooden Sarcophagus⁵⁰⁸



The sarcophagus fragments found in APX.3 were of wood with a white background. The incomplete hieroglyphs were first painted in black outline, and then filled in with a light blue color.⁵⁰⁹ The object originally belonged to the King's Ornament(?)⁵¹⁰ Nefret-net-resi.⁵¹¹ For some reason, the coffin then became the property

⁵⁰⁷ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 61-62, Pl. XIII.4, XIII.1, XXXVI, and Fig. 88-89. For incomplete hieroglyphs, see Miniaci, *The Incomplete Hieroglyphs System at the End of the Middle Kingdom* 2010.

⁵⁰⁸ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, Pl. XXXVI.

⁵⁰⁹ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 61.

⁵¹⁰ Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* 1982, 143, Title 1233, and also Reiser 1972. The reading of this group is not certain. It may perhaps be *hm-nsw.t*, but the name Nefret-net-resi appears to be feminine, arguing perhaps for the title *hkr.t-nsw.t*. Also worthy of note is the reversal of the *sw* sign in almost all cases. This has led to a reversal in text direction in the columns, and almost retrograde orientation in the horizontal lines. Since the *sw* sign is the only one reversed, the reason for this is unclear. The only possibility, as outlined in Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs: Part 1: Reversals* 1977, 9-16, and 106-108, is that the orientation of the title was reversed to concord with either the deceased, or possibly an unknown royal personage. Since the title is reversed on both side of the sarcophagus, orientation with the deceased inside seems unlikely. For reversals, see also Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne: quatre leçons su la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaoniques* 1986, 51-104.

of a certain *bt.w n mn(.w)* Shepherd of the Fortress (?),⁵¹² Sobekhotep, who had his name written in hieratic atop that of the previous owner.⁵¹³

The practice of including incomplete hieroglyphs on funerary objects reappeared at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty during the reign of Amenemhat III, though its exact meaning still eludes scholarship.⁵¹⁴ During this period, the practice is only attested for the royal family, but as time progressed it spread to the upper class as well.⁵¹⁵ Since Sobekhotep's rare title does not appear to be of the highest status, it is impossible to know how he came to possess what was originally an elite coffin. At the very least the fact that incomplete hieroglyphs appear in the North Cemetery demonstrates trends in coffin design during the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹¹ For the name *nfr.t-rs*, see Ranke 1935, 299.16. In his discussion of the texts, Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 122-123 does not translate the palimpsest name.

⁵¹² This is a rare title. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* 1982, 93, includes title 781 which he renders as "*btw*," "orderly," following Engelbach, *Steles and Tables of Offerings of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfu* 1922, 116. R. Engelbach's stela belongs to a *bt.w n mn[.w] hrj* "Orderly of the Fortress (?), Hori," and seemingly represents the only other known attestation of this title. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index* 1985, 64, and Hannig (GHW, 281b) link *bt.w* with WB, I.483.6 *b.t*, meaning "shepherd."

⁵¹³ T. Peet understood the original name simply as "... iri" without title, nor does he translate Sobekhotep's title.

⁵¹⁴ Miniaci, *The Incomplete Hieroglyphs System at the End of the Middle Kingdom* 2010, 116. The standard explanation is that the animal hieroglyphs were incomplete in order to render them magically ineffective. By the Seventeenth Dynasty (ibid. 128ff), objects appear with both complete and incomplete hieroglyphs side by side, perhaps indicating that even the Egyptians were unsure of the importance of this practice.

⁵¹⁵ Miniaci, *The Incomplete Hieroglyphs System at the End of the Middle Kingdom* 2010, 119-120. He also indicates that the practice started at the royal residence, and was not widespread until the late Thirteenth Dynasty. With royal activity during the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty at South Abydos (S9 and S10, where A. Weigall found canopic fragments with the same incomplete script), this sarcophagus may be one of the earliest attestations of the practice in Upper Egypt.

⁵¹⁶ See also Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* 2011, 7-9.

3.3.3 Abydos: Peet and Loat Cemetery D (APD)

Peet and Loat Cemetery D is the most northern extension of the North Cemetery excavated. The results of work in this area were split up between two publications.⁵¹⁷ Three tombs are included below, APD.75, the group APD.109-111, and APD.241.

Probably representing a lower cost alternative to the extensive shaft tombs common to the North Cemetery, APD.75 was the interment of a man and woman in a surface burial or grave.⁵¹⁸ This type of funerary deposition consists of a simple pit dug into the sand, into which are placed the remains and burial goods, and then covered up. Both bodies lay upon their backs in wooden coffins, with their heads to the north and the woman on the east side of the man.⁵¹⁹ The only burial goods T. Peet records are beads of both faience and carnelian which originally composed bracelets for her wrists.⁵²⁰

Three closely associated shafts, APD.109 – APD.111, existed to the south of a mud-brick mastaba. Despite extensive damage to this surface structure, T. Peet was able to reconstruct its original form. The exterior of the mastaba was almost square, with a slight batter to the walls.⁵²¹ A doorway pierced the local-eastern face (river directions), opening into a small room inside the structure. The local-western wall inside this room was fitted with a niche which originally held a double stela dedicated to Si-Onuris (*z3-jn.t-ḥr.t*) and Onuris-nakht (*jn.t-ḥr.t-nḥ.t*), whose parents were Sobekneferu and

⁵¹⁷ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 48-53, Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 23-28.

⁵¹⁸ Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 83

⁵¹⁹ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 49.

⁵²⁰ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 49

⁵²¹ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 24. See also his description of the Peet Cemetery S mastabas in Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 85.

Dedetsobek.⁵²² Within the chamber he also found a triad statue belonging to the Lady of the House Dedetnub, with her standing between two men (her sons?) named Kemau and Neferpesed, both of whom held the title *jr.j-ꜥ.t*.⁵²³ Dedetnub's name also occurred on the stela of Si-Onuris and Onuris-nakht, though her relation to them is not stated.⁵²⁴ The stela and statue therefore form a commemorative group which may originally have also contained an offering table, now sadly lost.

The three shafts associated with this mastaba had a total of eight burial chambers situated to the north and south of the shafts.⁵²⁵ Of these chambers, T. Peet believed that only one body remained untouched.⁵²⁶ The skeleton lay on its left side facing east, with its head to the north. The individual was buried with a grinding palette and a small faience vessel placed behind the head. The other chambers in the tomb group contained similar items, but also included a copper mirror.⁵²⁷

The south chamber of tomb APD.241 contained two bodies.⁵²⁸ The wooden sarcophagus for one had rotted away completely. A small travertine kohl pot lay near the head, and close to the individual's left hand was a copper mirror. Beads, a gold shell, and blue lotus amulet decorated the body.⁵²⁹ The second burial within this chamber included a seemingly uninscribed limestone sarcophagus whose lid was a low arch, with raised

⁵²² Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 35-36. Due to a buildup of salts in the stone, the stela disintegrated after excavation.

⁵²³ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 24, 38, and Pl. IX.4

⁵²⁴ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 36

⁵²⁵ Shaft APD.111 had two chambers to both the north and south. Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 24.

⁵²⁶ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 24

⁵²⁷ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 24.

⁵²⁸ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 26. The shaft tomb also had a chamber to the north.

⁵²⁹ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 26

portions at the two short ends resembling a *pr-nw*.⁵³⁰ In addition, placed near the feet of the body was a roughly formed limestone shabti, representing an early attestation of the form.⁵³¹

3.3.4 Abydos: Peet Cemetery S (APS)

In concluding the look at North Abydos, we turn to Peet Cemetery S, which lies midway between the Kom el-Sultan and the Shunet el-Zebib. In this section of the cemetery, Mastaba L and its associated shafts APS.23 (unfinished), APS.25, and APS.26, represent a similar layout as that of APD.109-111.⁵³² Mastaba L is roughly square measuring 3.5 m by 3.2 m. A doorway in the local-eastern wall leads to an internal chamber which measured 1.42 m by 0.8 m, and whose axis runs local-north/south.⁵³³ In the local-western wall of the mastaba chamber was a niche for a now missing stela, while the original mud flooring surface which existed inside this structure remained intact.⁵³⁴

Shaft APS.25 contained six bodies in four chambers.⁵³⁵ These four chambers extended off the central shaft, one atop the other, with two to the local-north, and two to the local-south.⁵³⁶ The two chambers on the north contained one male and one female.⁵³⁷ Each of the two south chambers contained one body, though T. Peet does not indicate

⁵³⁰ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 26. T. Peet does not state that it was uninscribed, rather his lack of statement that it was inscribed suggests that it was not. No photograph of the object appears in the publication.

⁵³¹ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 26, and Pl. IX.12. The tomb group was given to Miss. Mary R. Cabot, and was displayed for a time in the Brattleboro Public Library. The current whereabouts is unknown, having never entered the library's collection, (J. Carbone, personal communication).

⁵³² See above §3.3.3.

⁵³³ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 39, Fig. 8 and 12.

⁵³⁴ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 39.

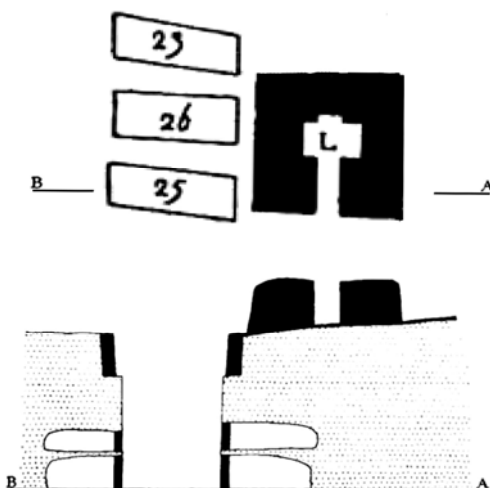
⁵³⁵ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 41.

⁵³⁶ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 39, Fig. 12, and below Fig. 3.10.

⁵³⁷ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 41. The female was in the upper north chamber, laying on her right side, and the male was in the lower chamber, lying upon his back.

their sex or position.⁵³⁸ The only object T. Peet records from these burials is a carnelian hippopotamus-head amulet which was placed at the neck of the body within the upper southern chamber. Once these four individuals had been laid to rest, the shaft seems to have been filled in, with the subsequent burial of an adult and infant taking place at the top of the shaft.⁵³⁹ Though this burial was disturbed, T. Peet recorded that the infant's bones lay within the adult's coffin near the pelvis.⁵⁴⁰ The baby was buried with carnelian and faience beads, as well as a silver disc with a hole in the middle.⁵⁴¹ Near the head of the adult were placed two pottery vessels.⁵⁴²

Fig. 3.10: Plan and Section of APS Mastaba L⁵⁴³



⁵³⁸ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 41.

⁵³⁹ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 41.

⁵⁴⁰ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 41.

⁵⁴¹ Hence, the trappings of this burial are similar to the child buried in AGE.45. For a possible connection between these discs and the *Zäubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, see below §3.6.6.

⁵⁴² See §3.9.2, Tomb group APS.25.

⁵⁴³ After Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 30 and 39.

§3.4 Middle Kingdom Burials at Buhen

We turn now to look at two fortress towns and their associated late Middle Kingdom cemeteries. Based upon the work of Do. Arnold and J. Bourriau, it appears that the residence style of pottery enters the archaeological record in these Nubian outposts before appearing at sites like Thebes and Assiut.⁵⁴⁴ This fact indicates that there was a close connection between these sites and the Egyptian capital, similar to that between towns like Lahun or *Wah-sut* and the royal house.

3.4.1 History of Excavation and Geographic Setting

The site of Buhen was situated on the west bank of the Nile within the area known as the Second Cataract.⁵⁴⁵ D. Randall-MacIver and C. Woolley first explored the area in 1909 and 1910.⁵⁴⁶ Among other locations, they cleared Cemetery K (late Middle Kingdom into Second Intermediate Period), situated between the inner fort and outer enclosure wall (Fig. 3.11).⁵⁴⁷ After a hiatus, the Egypt Exploration Society took up renewed excavations at the site under the direction of W. Emery, who published his memoir in 1979.⁵⁴⁸ W. Emery's work did much to further our knowledge of the various construction phases of the fort. For instance, he demonstrated that the outer enclosure

⁵⁴⁴ See D. Arnold, *Pottery* 1988, 143-146, and Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 7, and below, §3.6.2, for further discussion of this idea.

⁵⁴⁵ For a map, see Baines and Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* 1980, 178, 186.

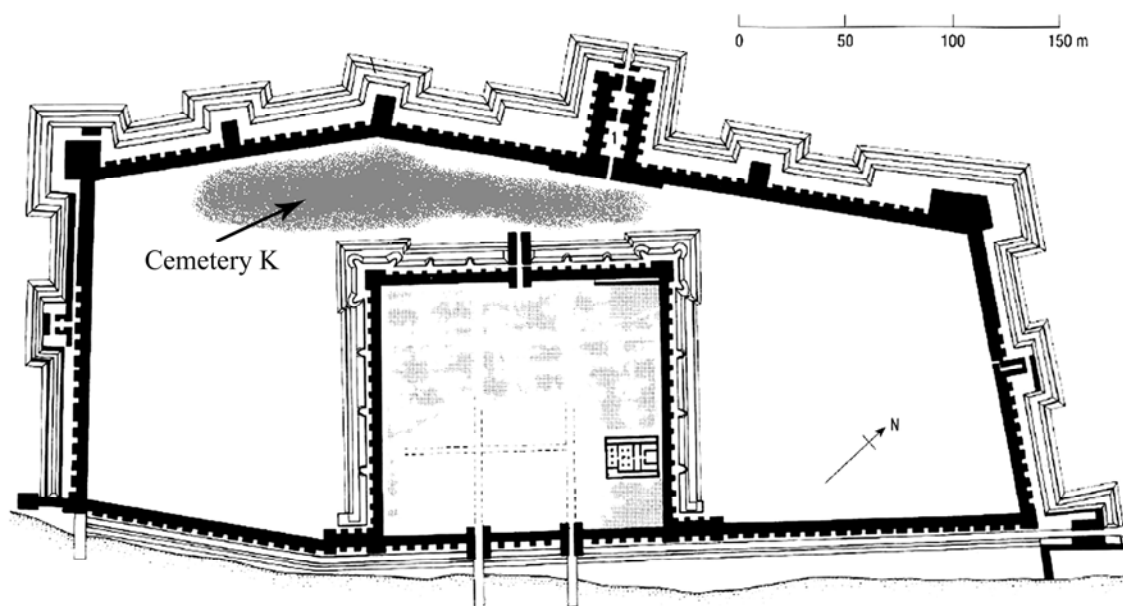
⁵⁴⁶ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen* 1911.

⁵⁴⁷ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen* 1911, 185-216

⁵⁴⁸ Emery 1979.

wall was built first to protect construction on the inner fortifications.⁵⁴⁹ Yet D. Randall-MacIver and C. Woolley excavated all the Middle Kingdom tombs.

Fig. 3.11: Fortress of Buhen ⁵⁵⁰



In his study on scarab typology, D. O'Connor pointed out that Cemetery K at Buhen, which the excavators originally thought dated to the late Twelfth Dynasty, in actuality dates to the early Thirteenth Dynasty and later.⁵⁵¹ With no burials of the earlier period, it seems probable that the military garrisons of the Twelfth Dynasty were rotating, with no need of a permanent cemetery to serve the community.⁵⁵² Possessing a long-term population beginning in the Thirteenth Dynasty, Buhen required a convenient cemetery to serve its people. Hence the space outside of the inner fort and town, but inside the outer

⁵⁴⁹ Emery 1979.

⁵⁵⁰ After Emery 1979.

⁵⁵¹ O'Connor, *The Chronology of Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* 1985, 14-15.

⁵⁵² For this idea, see O'Connor, *The Chronology of Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* 1985, 15, with references.

enclosure wall, proved to be the most convenient and best protected location for their burial ground.

3.4.2 Buhen Cemetery K (BK)

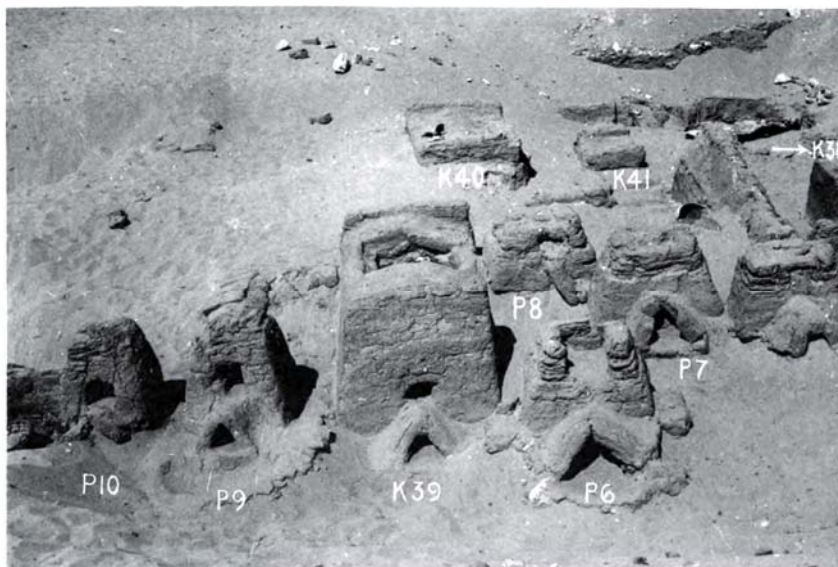
Within this cemetery, tombs BK8-45 represent the late Middle Kingdom tombs of the site.⁵⁵³ On the whole, they are of two types: the stairway or “dromos” type, and the vertical shaft type (which includes shallow surface burials).⁵⁵⁴ Stairway tombs (BK8-12; 16-18; 24-38; and 45) consisted of a surface chapel, inside of which was a vault covering the descending stairway. At the bottom of this stairway, the tomb opened out into a large main chamber, off of which were cut smaller burial chambers. Shaft tombs (BK13-15; 19-23; and 39-44) were also closed at the top by means of a brick vault, and were of two styles. The first is identical to the stairway type, with a shaft in place of the stairway. The second style is a simple vertical shaft, at the bottom of which is the burial, without separate chambers. These shafts could be quite shallow, vaulted on the surface by small mud-brick structures, and marked with miniature mastabas containing sockets for diminutive stelae.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³ Tombs K1-K7 existed outside the wall, and were discovered and named before the rest of Cemetery K. They are better understood as being part of Cemetery J, but the excavators were reticent to change their designation in the middle of excavations. See Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 185-186.

⁵⁵⁴ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 185-216. Unlike simple pits in the sand, these rectangular holes were cut into the local bedrock, like shafts.

⁵⁵⁵ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, Pl. 80-82. Similar miniature mastabas have been discovered at North Abydos as well, see Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, Fig. 76-77.

Fig. 3.12: Buhen Cemetery K Miniature Mastabas⁵⁵⁶



One of the most striking features of the stairway tombs is the number of burials they were meant to hold. The vast majority of tombs consist of a main chamber which sometimes contains a central stone column, with subsidiary burial chambers. Though in two tombs (BK8 and BK12) small secondary suites were created,⁵⁵⁷ in all other examples the side chambers communicated as directly as possible with the central room. Though the skeletal remains were often badly disturbed, BK10 contained a remarkable seventeen bodies,⁵⁵⁸ BK32 held fourteen,⁵⁵⁹ and a number of others held more than six each. Though it is impossible to tell from the remains, such a pattern of burial is consistent with the burials of an extended family, or individuals related through some other means.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁶ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, Pl. 82.

⁵⁵⁷ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 200, 203 (with figures)

⁵⁵⁸ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 202-203

⁵⁵⁹ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 210-211

⁵⁶⁰ The same seems to hold true of the New Kingdom Temple Cemetery tombs discussed below in Chapter Six. For the interesting topic of “tomb-sharing,” see Polz, *Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole* 1990, 301ff., and Shirley 2010, 290-294.

The excavators give very little information on the types of coffins employed by the inhabitants of Cemetery K, mainly due to the decayed state of these objects. They mention wood as the material in seven tombs (BK10, BK17, BK24, BK29, BK31, BK44 and BK45, and pottery in one (BK38). The coffins in BK10, Chamber C were the only ones preserved well enough to allow them to indicate that they were “painted blue with black lines.”⁵⁶¹

Though badly damaged, many bodies also possessed plaster death-masks. These masks were painted or gilded, and some had inlaid stone and obsidian eyes.⁵⁶² On the whole, the artifact assemblages of Buhen Cemetery K were fairly sparse, and included travertine vessels, bronze and copper mirrors, jewelry bearing the royal name Amenemhat III,⁵⁶³ and numerous beads. Of all the tombs, BK45 was perhaps the richest, and contained more than eleven individuals.⁵⁶⁴ The faces of the plaster masks in this tomb were all gilded with inlaid eyes, and painted texts on the portion of the masks which extended down to the chest.⁵⁶⁵ Other objects included a decayed box, inlaid with ivory, which contained an obsidian kohl jar (E10897) with gold bound rim and two hematite kohl sticks, an ivory clapper (E10892), a bronze mirror (E10893), and a travertine vessel in the form of a trussed duck (E10894).⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶¹ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 203 203.

⁵⁶² Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209-210, and 215. Plaster masks of this type were also popular at Mirgissa, see. Vercoutter, Mirgissa III 1976, and Rigault-Déon 2012.

⁵⁶³ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 185, 201, 204. Tomb BK.8 contained a scarab ring bezel, and tomb BK.13 had a barrel bead, both inscribed *nj-m3^c.t-R^c* (Amenemhat III).

⁵⁶⁴ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 216.

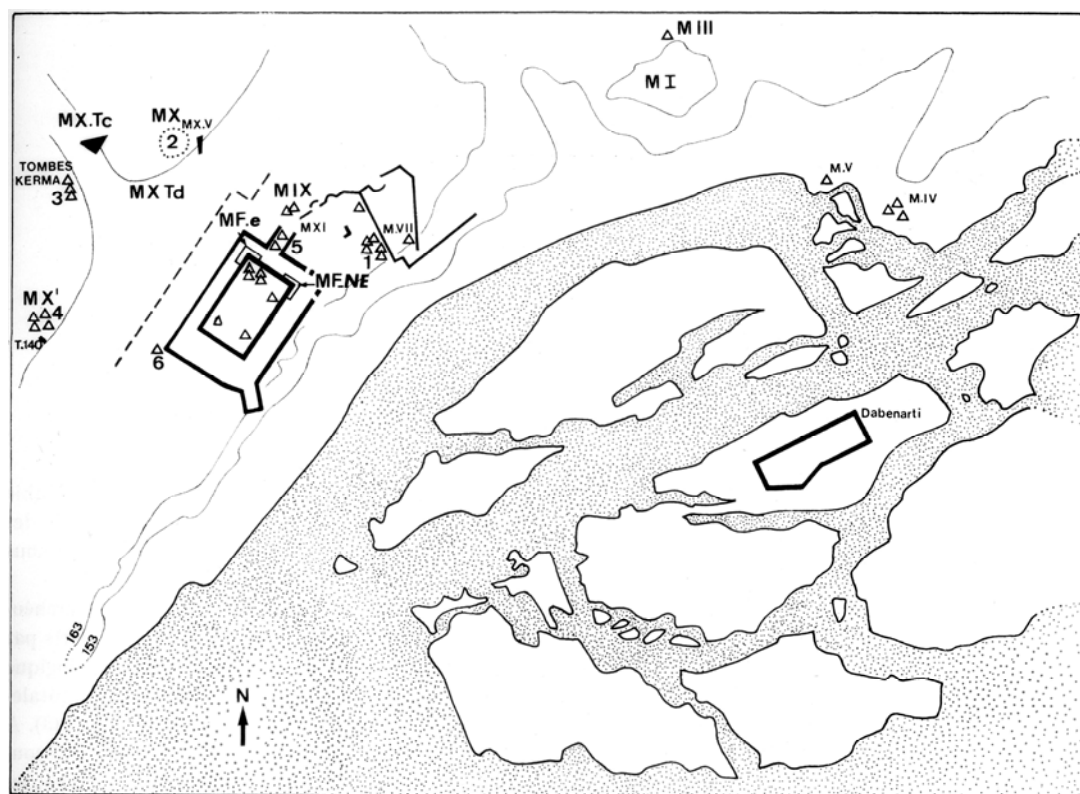
⁵⁶⁵ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 215.

⁵⁶⁶ Similar vessels appear in royal contexts at South Abydos, in the Senwosret III tomb as well as structure S9. See Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, Pl. XXXIX - XL.

§3.5 Middle Kingdom Burials at Mirgissa

We turn now to look at the Second Cataract fort of Mirgissa. Though not as well-appointed as those of Buhen, the burials and artifact assemblages display a very similar character.

Fig. 3.13: Plan of Mirgissa⁵⁶⁷



3.5.1 History of Excavation and Geographic Setting

The fortress of Mirgissa stood on the west bank of the Nile at the Second Cataract in Nubia some 15 km south of Buhen.⁵⁶⁸ Like the other cataract forts, Mirgissa was

⁵⁶⁷ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 10, Fig. 1.

⁵⁶⁸ For an overview map, see Baines and Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* 1980, 178, 186.

composed of an inner fortified town, surrounded by an exterior wall (Fig. 3.13).⁵⁶⁹ J.

Vercoutter excavated the fort and town of Mirgissa during the 1960's.⁵⁷⁰ Of the three large cemeteries he uncovered, that designated Mx-Tc is of the greatest importance to the present study. Using pottery, J. Vercoutter dated this burial ground to a period from the terminal phase of the Twelfth Dynasty, into the Thirteenth.⁵⁷¹

3.5.2 Mirgissa Cemetery Mx-Tc

Cemetery Mx-Tc rests in a low desert wadi to the northwest of the fort (Fig. 3.13). Unlike residents of Buhen, those of Mirgissa founded their burial ground in a location well outside the fortification walls. One hundred and nineteen tombs make up the group, consisting of both simple rectangular pits, as well as shaft and chamber type tombs.⁵⁷² On the whole, burial goods consisted of pottery vessels and beads. Bodies were placed in rectangular wooden coffins, most of which had totally disintegrated. Cartonnage mummy masks also adorned many individuals, and they often extended down the body.⁵⁷³ We will look at four tombs (Mx-Tc.3, 64, 101, and 118), which encapsulate general burial trends at the site.

Mx-Tc.3 was a single rectangular pit burial of an adult oriented roughly north-south.⁵⁷⁴ Though looted, the tomb was of interest for containing three hemispherical bowls, two of the shallow Twelfth Dynasty type, and one of the deeper Thirteenth

⁵⁶⁹ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa I* 1970.

⁵⁷⁰ Published in three volumes: Vercoutter, *Mirgissa I* 1970, Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, and Vercoutter, *Mirgissa III* 1976. Volume II (1975) deals with the cemeteries.

⁵⁷¹ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa III* 1976, 272.

⁵⁷² Despite both types existing at the site, the simple pit type tomb predominates.

⁵⁷³ For a typology of these masks, see Vercoutter, *Mirgissa III* 1976, and Rigault-Déon 2012.

⁵⁷⁴ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 230-231.

Dynasty style.⁵⁷⁵ These vessels sat on the ledge of the shallow pit, outside the coffin.

Near the head of the corpse, excavators found a shallow dish, which they called a libation-cup, as well as a low-flaring vase.⁵⁷⁶

Mx-Tc.64 was the intact pit tomb of an adult which was oriented east-west.⁵⁷⁷

Within the rectangular depression lay a wooden coffin smeared with a brownish substance, with the head in the east. Outside the coffin and to the east were three pottery offering cups.⁵⁷⁸ A well-preserved funerary mask was still intact, extending from the head down to the pelvis.⁵⁷⁹ The mask has a large *wesekh*-type collar and wig, and below the collar, a band of light blue hieroglyphs upon a white background runs down the front of the mask.⁵⁸⁰ No other burial goods existed in this tomb.

Mx-Tc.101 was the intact tomb of an adult, oriented roughly northeast - southwest.⁵⁸¹ A white stucco (gypsum plaster?) originally covered the now decayed wood coffin. At the head of the coffin near the east corner was a bag-shaped pottery vessel with impressed cord decoration, and a shallow hemispherical cup placed atop it.⁵⁸² Directly west of the skull inside the coffin was an uninscribed standing female statue

⁵⁷⁵ For the date range of these forms, see Schiestl and Seiler 2012, 84-110, and Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 106-108.

⁵⁷⁶ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 230-231.

⁵⁷⁷ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 255-257. Unlike Lahun and Abydos, body orientation at Mirgissa was not rigorously north-south.

⁵⁷⁸ This form is also employed as a lid to other, larger vessels, and hence Schiestl and Seiler 2012, 802-803. The type is common from the late Middle Kingdom through the New Kingdom, and they are identical to SATCP-02. See below §7.3, and Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 234, 236, Type 9.

⁵⁷⁹ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 255-257, Fig. 23.

⁵⁸⁰ The text is not transcribed, and seems badly damaged in the photograph.

⁵⁸¹ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 272, Fig. 36.

⁵⁸² For these types, see Schiestl and Seiler 2012, 534-535 (Type II.E.1.a.2), and 96-99 (Type I.A.11.a). According to Schiestl and Seiler, type II.E.1.a.2 only occurs in cemetery contexts, and its date range is very late Dynasty 12, into Dynasty 13.

carved from limestone.⁵⁸³ This figure leans against a back-pillar with its feet together and arms at its side. The woman wears a tripartite wig, and tight-fitting sheath dress. Her deeply nipped waist is reminiscent of that found in early Thirteenth Dynasty statuary.⁵⁸⁴

Finally Mx-Tc.118 was also an intact simple pit tomb belonging to an adult.⁵⁸⁵ The coffin was constructed of wood, had a mud or clay coating overall, and was painted yellow. Two bag-shaped pottery vessels were found near the head,⁵⁸⁶ and a small flat-bottomed conical cup was inside the sarcophagus.⁵⁸⁷ Lying upon the skeleton's tibia were 40 disc beads made from ostrich shell, which had probably originally been strung together as an anklet.⁵⁸⁸ Around the neck of the body was a single copper (?)⁵⁸⁹ shell pendant.⁵⁹⁰

§3.6 Mortuary Practice during the Late Middle Kingdom: Results and Trends

As scholarship furthers the study of the Middle Kingdom, it is becoming clear that a certain amount of cultural change took place between the beginning and end of the

⁵⁸³ Vercoutter, Mirgissa II 1975, Fig. 36.

⁵⁸⁴ For instance see Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* 1950, Pl. 80, Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* 1988, Cat. 37 and 56, and . The form is also quite similar to the pair statue of Iru and Renefiker from Wah-sut, discussed below in Chapter Four.

⁵⁸⁵ Vercoutter, Mirgissa II 1975, 278-279.

⁵⁸⁶ For this form, see Schiestl and Seiler 2012, 404-405 (Type II.A.8.c).

⁵⁸⁷ Compare with Schiestl and Seiler 2012, 124-125 (Type I.C.2). The form only appears in tomb contexts, and G. Jéquier and S. Allen have linked this form with the *dšr.t* offering and purification cup from the *fries d'objets* of Middle Kingdom coffins, see Jéquier 1921, 308-315, and S. J. Allen, *Pyramid Ware* 2012, 192-193.

⁵⁸⁸ Vercoutter, Mirgissa II 1975, 279. For anklets in the Middle Kingdom, see A. Wilkinson 1971, 61-62.

⁵⁸⁹ Vercoutter, Mirgissa II 1975, 279. The excavator was unable to identify the metal specifically.

⁵⁹⁰ Vercoutter, Mirgissa II 1975, 278, Fig. 42

Twelfth Dynasty.⁵⁹¹ The section below will summarize the findings from the study above, and contextualize them into current understanding of cultural change in the late Middle Kingdom.

3.6.1 The Five Culture-groups of the Early Middle Kingdom

In an article on the evolution of burial customs during the Middle Kingdom, J. Bourriau outlined the existence of five regions or culture groups within Egypt following the Old Kingdom.⁵⁹² According to her work, similarities in material culture clustered in the areas of “the Delta, the Memphis-Fayum region, Middle Egypt (to Asyut), Upper Egypt, and Aswan.”⁵⁹³ Furthermore, she extended the uniqueness of each area to encompass tombs and funerary monuments, leading her to the conclusion that studies of Middle Kingdom funerary culture must be separated into five distinct groups based upon geography.

It would seem, however, that these distinctions are only valid for the early Middle Kingdom, and not for the latter half of the period. J. Bourriau herself sums up the complexity of the situation in the following way:

Centres within these regions – places like Asyut, Aswan, Bersheh, Beni Hasan, and Gebelein – were immemorially ancient Nome capitals or cult centers, inheritors of local traditions going back perhaps even beyond the Unification under Menes. In addition to these places there were three significant urban centres: the Residence, *Ḥt-Bwy*, probably to be identified with Lisht; Thebes, the centre of the administration of the Southern part of Egypt and the heartland of the XI and XII Dynasties; and finally Abydos, centre of pilgrimage, the burial place of Osiris. Much of the history of the first part of the Middle Kingdom, up till the end of the reign of Senwosret III, can be seen in terms of interplay between on the one hand these three cities, dominated by the activities

⁵⁹¹ The seminal studies are Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, and in connection with the nomarchs, Cruz-Uribe, *The Fall of the Middle Kingdom* 1987, and Franke, *The Career of Khnumhotep III* 1991, and more recently the comments in Picardo, *Middle Kingdom History, Politics, and Social Organization* 2009, 37, and below §3.6.3.

⁵⁹² Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 5.

⁵⁹³ Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 5.

of the King and his officials, and on the other the provincial centres controlled by dynasties of Nomarchs and their dependents.⁵⁹⁴

An early indication of the cultural change that these provincial loci represented may be visible in the so-called Second Style of art of the late Old Kingdom, and its dissemination and persistence well into the Twelfth Dynasty.⁵⁹⁵

3.6.2 Dissemination of Material Culture from the Royal Residence

In her discussion of the pottery styles associated with the pyramid of Senwosret I, Do. Arnold outlines the probability that the so-called Residence Pottery Style, originating in the second half of Senwosret I's reign, spread throughout the country during the succeeding years.⁵⁹⁶ The archaeological attestations of this dissemination reveals an interesting pattern of chronological progression, as J. Bourriau outlines:

Given the different ceramic traditions prevailing in Egypt in the early XII Dynasty, it is possible to chart the spread of this "Residence" pottery tradition as it reached the rest of Egypt and Nubia. It is significant that it arrives in Nubia before it appears at Thebes and becomes dominant throughout the country only in the late XII Dynasty. Until then the degree to which it is present on a provincial site can be used as one indication of the strength of contacts between that site and the Residence.⁵⁹⁷

The fact that the style appears in Nubia at an early date serves to demonstrate that its dissemination was intertwined with official royal exportation of supplies to Nubian outposts.

⁵⁹⁴ J Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 6.

⁵⁹⁵ See Russmann 1995, 277-278, and also Brovarski, *A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of the Old Kingdom* 2008. Russman sees the second style in three dimensional art as a new mode of expression during the Sixth Dynasty, while Brovarski believes that there is a traceable progression in relief depiction resulting in the same stylistic features. Both scholars believe that the style influence later Middle Kingdom art.

⁵⁹⁶ D. Arnold, *Pottery* 1988, 143-146.

⁵⁹⁷ Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 7.

The results of pottery analysis from in and around the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at Abydos demonstrate that the corpus follows the Residence Style.⁵⁹⁸ Given the official nature of this building, this result is hardly surprising, but as J. Bourriau hints it may also be due to the fact that by the reign of Senwosret III, the Residence Style had begun to appear throughout Egypt. M. Zitman's study of the Necropolis of Assiut corroborates this conclusion using hemispherical cup vessel indices. His study demonstrates that by the reigns of Amenmhat II – Senwosret III the Residence Style had supplanted the early Middle Kingdom regional styles in the provinces.⁵⁹⁹

Based upon these studies, the conclusion that pottery styles innovated at the Residence of *Jt-t3.wj* had supplanted local styles by the late Middle Kingdom seems almost certain. To what extent this idea can be extended to cover the realm of burial goods is a somewhat more difficult issue. H. Willems has demonstrated that patterns and styles of coffin decoration which appear first near the royal Residence also become standard throughout the country shortly thereafter, evincing a similar pattern in funerary goods to that of pottery.⁶⁰⁰ There seems to be, at the very least, a parallel dissemination of pottery and coffins from the royal capital to the provinces.

3.6.3 Disappearance of the Office of Nomarch during the Late Middle Kingdom

Another area of culture which demonstrated change was the governmental status of the local elite. During the late Old Kingdom, the Egyptian government went through a

⁵⁹⁸ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 231.

⁵⁹⁹ Zitman 2010, 351-352.

⁶⁰⁰ Willems 1988. See also Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 7. It is probably not insignificant that many forms of the "Residence-style" are those employed in tombs and funerary settings. See S. J. Allen, *Funerary Pottery in the Middle Kingdom: Archaism or Revival?* 2009, and S. J. Allen, *Pyramid Ware* 2012, as well as the comments above, §3.5.2.

process of decentralization which shifted power to a bureaucratic network of nomarchs ruling over the various districts of Egypt.⁶⁰¹ This decentralization led to petty rulers establishing tombs near their seats of power, instead of near the monument of their king at the royal Residence.⁶⁰² Hence the Memphite court cemetery fell out of use in favor of pseudo-dynastic nomarchal cemeteries throughout Egypt.⁶⁰³

With the fall of the pharaonic house at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, these nomarchs began coopting the idea of divinely patronized rule from the well-established royal model.⁶⁰⁴ Taken at face value, the pessimistic nature of the texts of this period (such as the autobiography of Ankhtifi) points to an almost feudal society where civil war and strife were common.⁶⁰⁵ Though the nomarchal biographies may record a certain level of fact, their negative portrayal of conditions served to clarify the necessity of their own existence.⁶⁰⁶ Despite pseudo-pharaonic regional overlords during the First Intermediate Period (Herakleopolitan or Theban), the Nomarchs portrayed these rulers in their biographies as individuals unable to dispel chaos from the country, a task which therefore fell to the local Nomarch.

⁶⁰¹ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 46-52. Malek 1986, 97 outlines the progression of Nomarchal titles from *jmj-r* in Dynasty Five to *hr.j-tp-3* in Dynasty Six. See also N. Kanawati 1977, and recently the study of Nomarchs during the Old Kingdom by Martinet 2011, with references.

⁶⁰² The largest, and perhaps the longest-lived, are the tombs of the nomarchs at Qau el-Kebir, for which see W. M. Petrie, *Antaeopolis: The Tombs of Qau* 1930, Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 100-102, and Martelli re 2008. For connections between Qau and Wah-sut, see Wegner, *External Connections of the Community of Wah-sut During the Late Middle Kingdom* 2010.

⁶⁰³ For instance the sites of Beni Hasan and Bersheh contain rock-cut and decorated nomarchal tombs. See Franke, *The Career of Khnumhotep III* 1991, Brovarski, *Bersheh Reports* 1992, and the new interpretations in Gesterma n, *Die Datierung der Nomarchen von Hermopolis aus dem fr hen Mittleren Reich - eine Phantomdebatte?* 2008. For an overview of the site see Kanawati and Woods 2010.

⁶⁰⁴ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 93ff, where he discusses the Nomarch Ankhtifi whose tomb at Mo'alla records that Horus ordained him to rule over his territory. This concept is discussed in Chapter Two above in reference to the ideology of Middle Kingdom kingship.

⁶⁰⁵ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 93. For the most part the biographies of the Nomarchs reflect this mood, but it is still debatable whether this reflects the reality of the time, or is merely a literary trope.

⁶⁰⁶ See especially Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 100-105, and above  2.1.2.

Having seized the pharaonic prerogative of dispelling chaos within their biographies, the Nomarchs appeared to be a potential threat to the reestablished centralized government of the early Middle Kingdom. While the title of *ḥr.j-tp-ꜣ* slowly disappeared from the textual record, archaeologically the grandiose tombs of the Nomarchs cease much more abruptly.⁶⁰⁷ This situation led some early scholars to the conclusion that Senwosret III actively obliterated the office of Nomarch during his reign.⁶⁰⁸ E. Cruz-Urbe outlined a much slower, phased process, in which the king refused to appoint new Nomarchs, instead replace these titleholders with local mayors (*ḥꜣt.j-ꜣ*).⁶⁰⁹

D. Franke demonstrated that by the reign of Senwosret III, there were only a handful of Nomarchs left, and therefore this group could not have constituted an imminent threat to royal power.⁶¹⁰ His reconstruction of Khnumhotep III's life elucidates the possible scenario in which the king brought high ranking provincial officials to the Residence where they were schooled, and eventually bestowed with courtly responsibilities and titles. If D. Franke's identification of the Dashur mastaba (De Morgan No.2) as belonging to Khnumhotep III (following G. Jéquier) is correct, then the process of decentralization that began in the Old Kingdom came full circle in the late

⁶⁰⁷ Willems 1988, 61-62, and the comments regarding the date of the last tomb at Qau el-Kebir in Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* 2006, 100-102.

⁶⁰⁸ Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* 1913.

⁶⁰⁹ Cruz-Urbe, *The Fall of the Middle Kingdom* 1987, 107-111.

⁶¹⁰ Franke, *The Career of Khnumhotep III* 1991, 53. This point throws doubt on the assertion that the office of Nomarch was actively persecuted by the kings of the Middle Kingdom at all. As D. Franke states, it is more probable that the phasing out of the Nomarch title reflects cultural changes rather than any premeditated alteration of governmental structure.

Middle Kingdom through a gradual process of recentralization.⁶¹¹ With a reinvigoration of the idea of a royal court-cemetery,⁶¹² provincial cemetery sites no longer contained massive tombs of the super elite.⁶¹³ As a result, almost all the tombs of the present survey seem to belong to the so-called middle class, and not the elite.⁶¹⁴ The mastaba of Anpy at Lahun on the other hand represents the last vestiges of the elite class building large tombs, but even in this case his monument is in close proximity to that of his king, rather than at a provincial site.

3.6.4 Coffin / Sarcophagus and Funerary Mask Styles

For the most part, due to the depth of the shafts and high moisture content of Middle Kingdom tombs surveyed above, the preservation of wooden artifacts was poor. Yet in most cases the excavators noted the existence of the decayed remains of rectangular wooden coffins. Generally speaking, the only certain trend the sixty-seven tombs of this study demonstrate is that rectangular wooden coffins were routinely employed during the late Middle Kingdom.

A handful of fragments hint at the decoration of these coffins. The best preserved was that inside the Dome Tomb at Lahun, which belongs to H. Willems' subtype IVaa.⁶¹⁵ Texts of this coffin mention the deceased in the company of the Four

⁶¹¹ Franke, *The Career of Khnumhotep III* 1991, 60-62. For the texts, see J. Allen, *L'inscription historique de Khnoumhotep à Dahchour* 2009.

⁶¹² Perhaps the most famous of these court-cemeteries is that of Khufu at Giza, Reisner 1942, *passim*.

⁶¹³ For instance Bersha, Beni Hassan, and Meir, see Newberry, *El Bersheh Part I* 1893, Newberry, *El Bersheh Part II* 1893, Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part I* 1893, Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part II* 1893, Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part I: The Tomb of Ukh-hotep's son Senbi* 1914, Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part II: The Tomb-chape of Senbi's Son Ukh-hotp* 1915, and Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part III: The Tomb-chapel of Ukh-hotp Son of Ukh-hotp and Mersi* 1915.

⁶¹⁴ Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005.

⁶¹⁵ Willems 1988, 138, and above §3.2.4.

Sons of Horus and the Heliopolitan Enead.⁶¹⁶ The layout and decoration of this coffin is similar to that of Nefret-net-resi, reused by Sobekhotep from APX.3 (Fig. 3.9).⁶¹⁷ Both coffins have bands of text running horizontally at the top of the trough, and vertically on its sides, with a white background. The main difference between the two is the use of incomplete hieroglyphs on the latter example. Wooden coffins at Haraga and Mirgissa seem to have been painted or plastered white on their exteriors, as in tombs HB.244,⁶¹⁸ Mx-Tc.101,⁶¹⁹ and possibly Mx-Tc.64.⁶²⁰ Those at Buhen were all badly decayed, but the coloration of some fragments led the excavators to the conclusion that they had been painted blue with black lines,⁶²¹ though this coloration may have been merely one of the bands of decoration, rather than being representative of the overall color scheme.

Funerary masks were attested at Lahun (L.906), Abydos (AGE.3 and APZ.2a), Buhen (passim), and Mirgissa (passim).⁶²² The best preserved examples were from Mirgissa, and were fabricated using a type of cartonnage or plaster.⁶²³ Some of those at Buhen included gilding on the face, and originally many of them were inscribed with offering formulae naming the deceased, though few remained intact enough to allow transcription of these texts.⁶²⁴ Examples at Lahun and Abydos employed inlaid stone and obsidian eyes. From the tomb sample presented here, the standard coffin assemblage of the late Middle Kingdom consisted of a body wrapped in linen, wearing a plaster or

⁶¹⁶ Willems 1988, 138

⁶¹⁷ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 61, and above §3.3.2.

⁶¹⁸ See above §3.2.5.2, and Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, Pl. LIX.

⁶¹⁹ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 272, Fig. 36, and above §3.5.2.

⁶²⁰ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 255-257, and above §3.5.2.

⁶²¹ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 203, and above §3.4.2.

⁶²² Those from Mirgissa represent the styles of the Middle Kingdom well, see Rigault-Déon 2012.

⁶²³ Rigault-Déon 2012, 30-31

⁶²⁴ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 201, 203, and 215.

cartonnage mummy mask which often extended down the front of the body to the pelvic area.⁶²⁵ The body was then placed inside a rectangular wooden coffin similar to H. Willems' subtype IVaa.⁶²⁶ Objects such as mirrors, kohl jars, grinding palettes, and jewelry were then arranged around the body within the coffin.⁶²⁷ Mirrors in particular seem to have been placed somewhat logically before the face of the deceased, along with makeup vessels.

3.6.5 Tomb Architecture

Middle Kingdom tomb architecture at the sites discussed above consisted of two parts: the surface structure and the subterranean tomb.⁶²⁸ As a result of their exposure to the elements, those with mud-brick superstructures tended to erode severely, either disappearing completely or leaving only scant traces of their structures.⁶²⁹ Of the tombs discussed herein, the preservation of those at North Abydos and Buhen was good enough to bear close scrutiny.

Peet Cemetery S and Cemetery D exhibited the remains of numerous large mastaba structures. For the most part these were square buildings whose walls had a slight batter, and presumably a flat or slightly arched top. The brick exteriors of these structures were originally plastered with a layer of mud, and whitewashed.⁶³⁰ Entrance

⁶²⁵ Doxey 2009.

⁶²⁶ Willems 1988, 138, Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 9, and above §3.2.4.

⁶²⁷ Compare the examples in Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* 1988, 142-145, 160-162.

⁶²⁸ Spencer 1979, 39-43.

⁶²⁹ Especially at Haraga, Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 3.

⁶³⁰ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 37-38. Mastaba A of Cemetery S was built up against B, preserving the mud plaster and whitewash on Mastaba B.

was through a doorway in the local-eastern wall,⁶³¹ which led to an internal room which would probably have originally been roofed either by a corbel or true vault. On the west wall a niche held the main commemorative stela, which in the case of Cemetery D APD.109-111, held the names of numerous members of at least one, and possibly two families.⁶³² Near the stela there would have been an offering table, and votive statues of the deceased.⁶³³ Larger buildings of this type seem to have been shared by members of one or multiple families, especially at Abydos.

In addition to large mastabas, tomb cover buildings, and small mud-brick pedestals served to mark tombs.⁶³⁴ At Buhen, mud-brick structures similar to a mastaba or chapel which also contained commemorative stelae surmounted tomb entrances.⁶³⁵ On the other end of the spectrum, so-called mini-mastabas exist at both Buhen and North Abydos.⁶³⁶ Resembling small pedestals or mastabas, these narrow markers had battered sides and flat tops. At their base was in many cases a small stela which was protected from the elements by a frame of mud-brick.⁶³⁷

The second portion of the tomb was the subterranean shaft and burial chamber or chambers. At Haraga and North Abydos, tomb builders excavated straight shafts down

⁶³¹ In some cases the doorjambs were made out of inscribed stone. For example perhaps Garstang 1901, Pl. VII, the doorjamb of Amenemhat-Renefsenneb, which was found within the shaft of tomb AGE.236, but may have originally derived from a surface mastaba.

⁶³² Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 24, Pl. XIII.2

⁶³³ As in the APD.109-111 mastaba which contained a stela and triad statue. The original position of these statues within the chamber is not clear, both in the case of tomb-site commemoration, as well as in domestic cult. See below §5.1.

⁶³⁴ See Fig. 3.12 above.

⁶³⁵ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen* 1911, Pl. 80.

⁶³⁶ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen* 1911, Pl. 81-82.

⁶³⁷ For instance see Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 163, Fig. 76-77.

into the limestone bedrock.⁶³⁸ Small chambers designed to hold one or two coffins extended from the north and south walls of the shaft, in some cases stacked one atop the other. At Buhen on the other hand, the majority of tombs consisted of a stairway down into the rock which opened into a large central chamber, often with a stone column. Other smaller burial chambers and suites, on the same elevation, communicated with this main room.

The simplest form of burial is the surface burial, in which the family placed the sarcophagus of their loved one in a shallow pit near the surface, such as at Abydos tomb APD.75. Pit tombs were the standard at Mirgissa. This type lies somewhere in between a true surface burial and a shaft tomb: pit tombs are not as deep as shaft tombs, but deeper than surface burials. At Mirgissa, tomb builders cut a rectangular pit resembling a very shallow shaft into the hard desert subsurface. They then placed the coffin of the deceased directly into this shaft.

Following a burial, workers sealed the subterranean portion of a tomb, and in the case of pit and surface burials, this was accomplished by simply backfilling the pit. In the case of shaft and chamber tombs which were meant to be reopened to allow additional burials, builders used mud-brick, and walled up each smaller chamber and sealed it with mud. At the site of North Abydos, a mud-brick vault covered the top of the shaft in at least two cases (APS.570 and APS.571).⁶³⁹ Such a vault would keep sand and

⁶³⁸ Many of these shafts at Abydos also had a collar of mud-brick at their top, which rested upon either bedrock or compacted *tafla*. These collars served to hold back sand and debris from falling into the tomb.

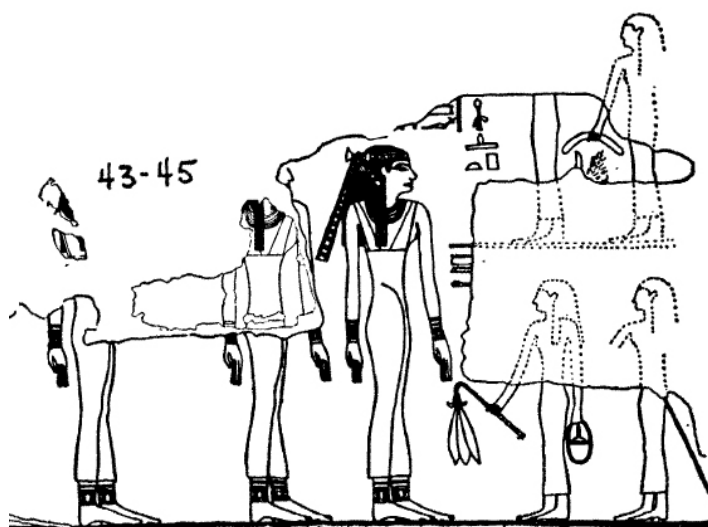
⁶³⁹ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 41, Pl. VI.6.

debris out of the tomb, and facilitate reopening to allow for subsequent interment, though it would not have offered much protection against tomb robbery.

3.6.6 Apotropaia and Objects Related to Mothers and Children

Coinciding with a change in funerary theology is the proliferation of birth-related implements in tomb contexts. The best known objects belonging to this category are the ivory apotropaia, also called magical wands or knives. H. Altenmüller's groundbreaking

Fig. 3.14: Female Figure (Upper Register) holding Apotropaion from the Tomb 2 at Bersheh⁶⁴⁰



work on this class of object demonstrated the connection between the apotropaia and human birth, set within the frame story of the birth of the sun god Re.⁶⁴¹ More recently, J. Roberson has demonstrated the possibility that in at least one case, the apotropaia have

⁶⁴⁰ W. S. Smith, *Paintings of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom at Bersheh* 1951, 323, Fig. 1

⁶⁴¹ Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittellägyptens* 1965, 178-179, Altenmüller, *Ein Zaubermesser aus Tübingen* 1983, 30-45, and Altenmüller, *Ein Zaubermesser des mittleren Reiches* 1986, 1-27.

iconographic connections to representations of the underworld in New Kingdom royal funerary texts.⁶⁴²

Though ivory apotropaia were probably used during actual human birth rituals,⁶⁴³ the few excavated examples seem to derive from funerary loci.⁶⁴⁴ One of the very rare depictions of this object exists in the tomb of Djehutyhotep (Tomb 2) at Bersheh, showing a woman holding the apotropaion by its middle, perhaps engaged in some unknown ritual (Fig. 3.14).⁶⁴⁵ Interestingly there may be an oblique reference to an apotropaion within the so-called *Meruti* spells of the Coffin Texts (Spells 440-450).⁶⁴⁶ Spell 440 states the following:

O Tebteb et Tjetjet, ces deux favorites de la noble-compagnie (?) de Rê, qui maintiennent en santé Rê, votre requête est votre affaire, votre plaisir est votre affaire.
O ces deux Amies de Rê, vous qui avez écarté le dieu de son trône, les forces vitales de N. sont preserves de l'Épuisement. Votre plaisir est votre affaire. Que le couteau de Mout soit mis en la possession de N. contre vous!⁶⁴⁷

Throughout the *Meruti* spells, these entities are meant to be avoided due to their ability to remove a man's soul from him in the necropolis,⁶⁴⁸ but the text of Spell 440 also hints at their protective abilities for Re, as well as the notion that the *dm.t-Mw.t* "knife of Mut / Knife of (my) mother" has the ability to control them.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴² Roberson 2009, 427-445.

⁶⁴³ Wegner, A Decorated Birth-Brick from South Abydos 2009, 480-485, and also Pinch 2006, 130-131.

⁶⁴⁴ For instance the fragments (MMA 08.200.19) from the shaft of Tomb 5001 at Lisht in D. Arnold, The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I 1992, 69-70, and Pl. 82-83.

⁶⁴⁵ The other known depictions of an apotropaion exist on the Middle Kingdom coffin of Ahanakht in the *Frise des Objets*, Terrace 1969, Pl. XV, in the Tomb of Rekhmire, TT100, N. d. Davies 1943, Pl. 37, and the Amduat Hours One, Three and Four, Hornung, The Egyptian Amduat 2007, 17 (figure 63), 78 (figure 204), and 111 (figure 312).

⁶⁴⁶ For these spells, see Guglielmi 1991, *passim*.

⁶⁴⁷ Barguet 1986, 333-334.

⁶⁴⁸ CT, V:297a. For a translation, see Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts 2004, II, 78.

⁶⁴⁹ Given the connotations between the apotropaia and childbirth, the connection with Mut / mother is interesting here, and may be an indication that an apotropaion is meant, rather than some other form of

It may seem counterintuitive that negative entities might be capable of protection, yet the ancient Egyptian understanding of these creatures helps to elucidate the ideology.⁶⁵⁰ Though there is still some confusion among modern scholars as to the category into which these entities fall (divine, semi-divine, effective spirit, condemned souls),⁶⁵¹ it would seem that the Egyptian authors of the CT encoded a clearer notion of their position. CT Spell 277 (CT IV 19b-f) records a list of different entities:

As for any god, any goddess, any spirit [Ax], or any dead, male or female, who shall open (?) his mouth against me this day, he shall fall to the execution-blocks, (to) the magic which is in my body, the sore flames which are on my mouth.⁶⁵²

It seems plausible that the order in which the entities appear in this spell betrays an ancient notion of hierarchy.⁶⁵³ The *ntr.w* are at the top of this stratification, followed by the *3h.w*, and finally the *mt.w* at the bottom.⁶⁵⁴ According to this hierarchy then, entities akin to the *Meruti* belong to the native Egyptian category or class of *3h.w*. CT Spell 335 (CT IV 262b-272c) makes the link between these entities and the term *3h.w* clearer:

I know the names of the seven spirits [Ax.w] who are in the following of the Lord of the Nomes, whose seats Anubis made on that day of ‘Come Thence!’ As for the chief of this company, his name is ‘The Great One is not driven away’. (The names of the seven spirits are) dHdH, Aqdqd, ‘Bull who was not put to his burning’, ‘Black-faced who is in his hour’, ‘Bloody one who is pre-

knife. Many of the entities depicted on apotropaia hold the knife determinative, and a knife is used to remove sickness from the body in Erman 1901, 19.

⁶⁵⁰ A great many scholars employ the loaded term “demon” to describe these entities, which conveys a distinctly negative connotation to the modern observer. As the CT spells cited here demonstrate, the ancient Egyptians did not ascribe the same notions of positive and negative to these entities, instead defining them by their possession of power which could be used for various purposes. In general, see Frandsen, *On the Origin of the Notion of Evil in Ancient Egypt* 2000.




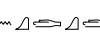
⁶⁵¹ See for instance te Velde, *Dämonen* 1975, Pinch 2006, 33-46 with references, and Kousoulis 2011.

⁶⁵² Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* 2004, I.208. See also CT I: 207, and VI: 93 for comparanda.

⁶⁵³ The introduction of the Turin King List reinforces the notion of hierarchy in this excerpt. See below Friedman, *On the Meaning of AKH (3h) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts* 1981, 18, and below. For a slightly different interpretation, see Englund 1978, 205ff.

⁶⁵⁴ te Velde, *Dämonen* 1975, col. 982.

eminent in the Mansion of Red Linen', Radiant-faced who comes out after having turned back',
'He who sees in the night what he shall bring by day',⁶⁵⁵

The names of these seven *ḥ.w* appear both with and without divine determinatives (e.g. coffin M8C: *dhḥ* ; Sq1C: ; B9C^a: *nqdd* ; L1N4: ), indicating that such determinatives are not reliable evidence for divine status.⁶⁵⁶ Spell 335 demonstrates that a category of entities existed within the CT whose names appear formally identical to names of gods, but according to other ancient sources belonged rather to the category of *ḥ.w*, as opposed to that of *ntr.w*. The validity of this former category continues throughout Egyptian history, hence *ḥ* becomes *ihy* "ghost" in Demotic,⁶⁵⁷ and finally the Bohairic Coptic ⲓϥ "demon."⁶⁵⁸

F. Friedman has pointed out that *ḥ* was understood as a type of "effective power" which "originates from out of the circuit of the heavens and the underworld and through ritual can extend to man."⁶⁵⁹ The gods held the greatest portion of this effective power, but through the process of justification the deceased hoped to gain as much of it as possible.⁶⁶⁰ In essence, beings who were thought to be *ḥ* possessed varying degrees of this effective power. In explicating this concept F. Friedman adduced the list of *ḥ.w* who precede the human kings of Egypt in the Turin King List:

These *ḥw*, Followers of Horus (*ḥw ḥmsw Hr*), figure in the Turin Papyrus as the successors of the gods and the forerunners of the mortal kings of the 1st Dynasty. The Egyptians perceived these *ḥw* as representing an empowered state of being intermediary between the divine and the human.

⁶⁵⁵ Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* 2004, I.264.

⁶⁵⁶ See Frandsen, *Faeces of the Creator, or the Temptations of the Dead* 2011, 60, and Shalomi-Hen 2000.

⁶⁵⁷ Erichsen 1954, 42.

⁶⁵⁸ Crum 1939, 89a-b. See also Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* 1976, 50 for Subakhmimic ⲓϥ.

⁶⁵⁹ Friedman, *On the Meaning of AKH (Ax) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts* 1981, 17. This power is also strongly associated with light, and hence connected to the creator sun-god. See also Englund 1978, 14-20.

⁶⁶⁰ Friedman, *On the Meaning of AKH (Ax) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts* 1981, 18 indicates that gaining *ḥ* allows the deceased "to be immortalized in and by the creator's light." In this immortalization the deceased also becomes initiated into knowledge, and thereby power.

And *ḥw* apart from this historical context, continue to fall within this category. Whether as demiurges or demons, their power mediates between and arises from the two spheres just as from the heavens and the underworld.⁶⁶¹

This notion of *ḥ* power possessed by entities standing between humans and gods carries no sense of good and evil, or right and wrong.⁶⁶² These entities can be controlled by other powerful entities (including the deceased) through the use of the proper spells, names, and in the case of CT Spell 440, an implement called the “knife of Mut.”⁶⁶³ With the late Middle Kingdom, greater emphasis was placed upon gaining *ḥ* and controlling these entities during the journey to the underworld. Stela and both domestic and tomb-side commemorative assemblages allowed the deceased to gain as much *ḥ* as possible.⁶⁶⁴ The inclusion of apotropaia in tomb contexts gave the deceased the means of controlling these potentially harmful beings.

In addition to apotropaia and the related objects bearing depictions of powerful *ḥ.w*, amulets were also included with the bodies of children which may have had played a similar role. At Abydos, tombs AGE.45, AGE.3, and APS.25 belonged to children, and all three contained discs made out of either gold, or in one case a material the excavator called silver. The child buried in AGE.45 held an amethyst scarab in its left hand, the tomb AGE.3 included a small box or jar made out of ivory bearing images of apotropaic entities, and the baby buried in APS.25 was adorned with carnelian beads. All of these

⁶⁶¹ Friedman, *On the Meaning of AKH (Ax) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts* 1981, 18.

⁶⁶² See Frandsen, *On the Origin of the Notion of Evil in Ancient Egypt* 2000, 9-34.

⁶⁶³ In other words, if the deceased is seen as an enemy by the *ḥ.w*, then the *ḥ.w* will protect Re and harm the deceased (negative outcome). On the other hand if the deceased controls the entities, then they will protect the deceased like they protect Re (positive outcome).

⁶⁶⁴ See Friedman, *On the Meaning of AKH (Ax) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts* 1981; and also Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies, and related studies* 1992.

objects, save the ivory box, appear in the same spell belonging to a collection of utterances meant for the protection of mothers and children:⁶⁶⁵

Spell for a knot
for a child, a fledgling:
Are you hot in the nest?
Are you burning in the Bush?
Your mother is not with you?
There is no sister there <to> fan (you)?
There is no nurse to offer protection?⁶⁶⁶
Let there be brought to me a pellet of gold,
40 beads of cornelian, and a seal-stone
(with) a crocodile and hand (on it),
to fell, to drive off his Demon of Desire, to warm the limbs,
to fell these male and female enemies from the West.
You shall break out! This is a protection
ONE SHALL SAY THIS SPELL OVER THE PELLETT OF GOLD,
THE 40 BEADS OF CORNELIAN AND THE SEAL-STONE,
(WITH) THE CROCODILE AND THE HAND.
TO BE STRUNG ON A STRIP OF FINE LINEN;
MADE INTO AN AMULET;
PLACED ON THE NECK OF THE CHILD.
GOOD.⁶⁶⁷

The spell was intended to protect a child from a fever, and its opening lines are almost certainly an allusion to Horus-the-child having been stung by a scorpion.⁶⁶⁸ Three objects are required to make the spell effective: a “pellet” of gold, a string of carnelian beads, and a seal which ideally bore the image of a crocodile and a hand.⁶⁶⁹ The child in AGE.45 held an uninscribed amethyst scarab in its hand, and wore a necklace of

⁶⁶⁵ Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind, Spell P, originally published by Erman 1901; and see now Yamazaki 2003.

⁶⁶⁶ Silverman, Interrogative Constructions with JN and JN-JW in Old and Middle Egyptian 1980, 42, dealt with these questions.

⁶⁶⁷ Parkinson, Voices from Ancient Egypt 1991, 129-130. The papyrus dates to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, but the text was composed in the Middle Kingdom.

⁶⁶⁸ The story is recounted on the Metternich Stela, see J. Allen, The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt 2005, 49-63.

⁶⁶⁹ Scarabs of the New Kingdom have been found with these images on their base, as mentioned by Parkinson, Voices from Ancient Egypt 1991, 129. A Middle Kingdom scarab bearing the throne name of Amenemhat III now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is decorated on the back with twin Taweret images flanking *ḥꜣ/Bes*, and on the base is an image of the king lassoing and harpooning a hippopotamus from a papyrus skiff. The apotropaic images link the scarab with the protection of the child, and the object may have functioned in accordance with the Zaubersprüche spells.

carnelian, amethyst, and faience beads. The baby in APS.25 wore a necklace of carnelian beads, and the infant in AGE.3 wore a necklace of carnelian, faience, and mud beads and held a scarab with scroll pattern in its left hand. Two of three of these burials therefore included both the carnelian beads and the seal. Like the apotropaia, these amulets are specifically stated to protect the child from “his Demon of Desire, ... these male and female enemies from the west,”⁶⁷⁰ in other words malevolent dead.⁶⁷¹

The final object mentioned in the spell is a *pds.t n.t nbw* which R. Parkinson translates as “pellet of gold.” The word *pds.t* only occurs eight times, all of which are confined to medical texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind* (pEbers 57.16; 63.11; 64.3; 66.5; 86.13; pHearst X.12, pBerlin 3027 R:2.3 and R:2.6).⁶⁷² R. Parkinson’s translation of “pellet” is based on pEbers 86.13 and pHearst X.12 in which the *pds.t* seems to be a type of pill. In pEbers 57.16, 63.11, and 64.3, the *pds.t* is an unknown ailment of the eye.⁶⁷³ Based upon the word’s hieroglyphic determinative of a sand kernel (N33), a round object of some sort is intended.⁶⁷⁴ The burials at North Abydos may prove the key to understanding the *pds.t*, at least in the context of the *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*. All three burials of children cited above which contain the carnelian beads and seal-stone required of Spell P also included disks made of gold or silver.⁶⁷⁵ It seems highly probable, therefore, that the gold and silver discs these children received as tomb goods are one and the same as the *pds.t n.t*

⁶⁷⁰ Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt* 1991, 129-130.

⁶⁷¹ For this concept in the Letters to the Dead, see Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* 1928, and Wente 1990, 211-220.

⁶⁷² *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* n.d..

⁶⁷³ Nunn 1996, 199.

⁶⁷⁴ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* 1994, 490

⁶⁷⁵ The Egyptians considered silver a type of gold, as its name *ḥd* with gold determinative (white gold) suggests, Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* 1971, 32.

nbw of Zaubersprüche Spell P. Presumably then, the existence of these objects in close proximity to the children's bodies indicates that their apotropaic properties would continue to protect the children after death, and during their transition into the next life.⁶⁷⁶

The inclusion of apotropaia and other birth implements within burials of the late Middle Kingdom may also represent the concept of *pars pro toto*, in which a physical object takes the place of numerous textual spells, thus rendering the inclusion of extensive Coffin Texts in the tomb obsolete.⁶⁷⁷ J. Bourriau tends to see the shift from Coffin Text to birth implements as a cultural one, in which the reinterpretation of death as a rebirth into the next world, itself based upon much earlier ideology, caused the inclusion of domestic implements in funerary contexts.⁶⁷⁸ If J. Roberson's understanding of BM 18175 (dating to the reign of Senwosret III) as iconographically representing the underworld is correct,⁶⁷⁹ then the class of object may have much deeper connections to the both the earlier CT corpus which they supplant, as well as to an evolving

⁶⁷⁶ Spell P is clearly meant to assist a living child in overcoming illness. It is possible that the children who were buried with these disk amulets discussed above died of their illnesses, but it is equally possible that the amulets were created specifically to protect the children in their transition to the afterlife. In at least one case the burial of an infant within Wah-sut included a single bead (J. Wegner, Personal Communication).

⁶⁷⁷ See also Silverman, *The Origin of Book of the Dead* Spell 159 Forthcoming.

⁶⁷⁸ Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 13-14. She assumes that the apotropaia found within the town of Lahun represent domestic uses of such objects, but without published stratigraphy of these finds, this assumption may or may not be accurate. Two fragments of the same ivory apotropaion have been discovered at Wah-sut, one in the area of the Senwosret III Mortuary temple, and the other near the Mayor's house. Since the two fragments fit together, it is impossible to ascertain their original context.

⁶⁷⁹ Augmenting J. Roberson's conclusions, it is interesting that a large number of apotropaia contain a central image of a winged griffin with a human head placed between the wings. This image has great similarity to that of Sokar, who rises from between the wings of a snake in the Fifth Hour of the Amduat, for which see Hornung, *The Egyptian Amduat* 2007, 168.

conceptualization of the geography and inhabitants of the underworld which eventually flowered in the New Kingdom Books of the Underworld.⁶⁸⁰

3.6.7 Shabtis

Only one tomb surveyed above, APD.241, included a shabti.⁶⁸¹ It was roughly carved from limestone, and left uninscribed. Pottery dates the tomb to the late Middle Kingdom, so the shabti represents an early version of this object type.⁶⁸² Since, out of the sixty-seven tombs we included in this study, tomb APD.241 was the only one to possess a shabti, the statistical likelihood of shabtis appearing regularly in late Middle Kingdom burials at South Abydos is low.⁶⁸³

On the other hand, two other tombs, HB.262⁶⁸⁴ and Mx-Tc.101 included statues of the deceased, which in the case of Mx-Tc.101 was placed within the coffin itself.⁶⁸⁵ As we outlined above, scholars see these images of the tomb owner as proto-shabtis, based upon their role in sustaining the *ka* of the deceased in the afterlife.⁶⁸⁶ Still, their extremely rare appearance within these late Middle Kingdom tombs seems to demonstrate that the ideology and practice of including mummiform figures within the burial had not yet gained widespread acceptance.

⁶⁸⁰ Roberson 2009, 427-445.

⁶⁸¹ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 26.

⁶⁸² Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes* 1977, Vol. I, 19-24.

⁶⁸³ Wegner, *A Group of Miniature Royal Sarcophagi from South Abydos* 2010, 364-366.

⁶⁸⁴ Engelbach, *Harageh* 1923, Pl. XL.

⁶⁸⁵ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 272, Fig. 36.

⁶⁸⁶ See above §3.2.5.2.

§3.7 Conclusions

Material culture and funerary practice seem to have undergone parallel evolution during the Middle Kingdom. In the early stage, regionality which arose following the collapse of the Old Kingdom fostered local pottery styles, as well as local funerary expression. With the Twelfth Dynasty, a loose program of recentralization of power, and dissemination of Residence pottery and coffin styles superseded local tradition, thus eradicating the five culture-groups of the early Middle Kingdom. By the reign of Senwosret III, funerary practices seem to have become much more homogeneous.⁶⁸⁷ As J. Bourriau suggests, “the late Middle Kingdom saw a simplification in burial customs, which made burials and/or commemorations less costly, and so a ‘goodly burial in the west’, with its promise of eternal life, available to many more individuals.”⁶⁸⁸ An increase in the number of monuments associated with funerary practice skews modern perceptions, since the preponderance of information now comes from a comparatively lower stratum of society than earlier. This situation is what J. Richards calls the “tomb problem” in Egyptian archaeology: “a preoccupation with the monumental graves of elite individuals at the expense of accessing the entire range of mortuary behavior in Egyptian Cemeteries...”⁶⁸⁹

While this “tomb problem” complicates broad diachronically comparative studies of mortuary practice across all strata of non-royal society, it has had less impact upon the present discussion. The predominant aim of the tomb study above was to understand the

⁶⁸⁷ As the above study seems to demonstrate. New excavations and publication of old work may alter views of this process.

⁶⁸⁸ Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, 15-16.

⁶⁸⁹ Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 49.

burial practices of precisely the group of people J. Bourriau mentioned, those living in the late Middle Kingdom with the means to produce monuments dedicated to the continued existence of themselves and their families. No comparison is made to other periods, and as such the tombs represent a closed unit of late Middle Kingdom funerary practice.

The preceding study has corroborated J. Bourriau's conclusion that burials of the late Middle Kingdom tended to be simpler, and include comparatively few burial goods. Tombs from the Abydene North Cemetery are all fairly homogenous, regularly including the same stone vessel forms, hand-mirrors, and jewelry.⁶⁹⁰ In certain cases, those responsible for the burial altered the funerary repertoire to include amulets or other apotropaic objects, as in the burials of children discussed above. Especially in the cemeteries near the royal Residence city of *Jt-t3.wj*, some tombs exhibit objects belonging to so-called Court-type burials.⁶⁹¹ In these burials, funerary objects such as the crook and flail, staves, maces, bows, daggers, and scepters served to link the deceased more concretely with Osiris.⁶⁹² Therefore, burials of the late Middle Kingdom seem to follow one of two theological paths. With Court-type burials the deceased is Osirized, and thus hopes to take his or her place alongside the ruler of the underworld.⁶⁹³ Tombs including objects of "daily-life" and apotropaic amulets and wands demonstrate the belief that a journey would be taken, fraught with dangers and malevolent *3h.w* intent on harming the individual. Since both of these ideologies exist within the earlier funerary

⁶⁹⁰ These object types are often called "daily-life" objects. Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* 2011, 2-4, links these objects with "luggage lists" from the Lahun Papyri, and theorizes that they represent objects that the upper class would have taken with them during a journey.

⁶⁹¹ Two examples are the tomb of Senebtysy at Lisht (non-royal) and the burial of Awibre Hor at Dashur (royal). Mace and Winlock 1916, *passim*, and de Morgan 1895, 46-74.

⁶⁹² Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* 2011, 2.

⁶⁹³ Grajetzki, *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt* 2003, 54-58.

literature, especially the so-called Book of Two Ways,⁶⁹⁴ it is probable that the two burial types represent two methods of expressing the same conceptualization of the transition from life to eternal existence in the underworld.

⁶⁹⁴ Hermesen 1991, and Lesko 1972.

[illegible]

Info				Tomb Architecture				Human Remains	Coffins	Pottery	Other
	A	H	H	H	H	H	H	2, m/f	white painted wood		copper pin, dom fruit, basket with clothing, top of staff, faience hawk amulet, faience Eye of Horus, scarab
	GE	S	S	B	B	B	B	n/s			2 wooden statuettes,
	3	620	324	336	244			1	none		copper tweezers, gold shell, electrum cylinder amulet, 4 scarabs, pottery "soul house" / offering table
	Shaft	Shaft	Shaft	Shaft	Shaft	Shaft	Shaft	4, m/ f/f/f			fragments of ivory clappers
	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s	n/s			offering table, inscribed cylinder of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III
	12+	2	3	4	2						stone flask, mirror, grinding palette, 2 stone kohl pots, faience bead necklace
	none	none	none	none	none	none	none				carnelian, mud and faience necklace, mirror, 2 stone kohl pots, grinding palette, staff pommel, faience animal figure, scarab with scroll
4, child	1, adult	6, 3m, 3f									2 (?) kohl pots, grinding palette, faience necklace
	n/s	n/s									2 weights, 2 cosmetic spoons, gold disc, plaster mask, cylindrical ivory box
wood, painted	wood, decayed										
	2 small vessels of unknown type	7j2, 10p, 41c, 67s, 90r	2a3 f4, 5w2 y, 7n, 10w, 38f, 48q, 49n, 56h, 57j, 58h2, 67o p, 68l	5w2 x y, 6k, 7j2, 41k, 49s z, 58h, 59b, 67n s, 68a	7n2, 38b c, 33q, 7n white rim, 67s						

[illegible]

[illegible]

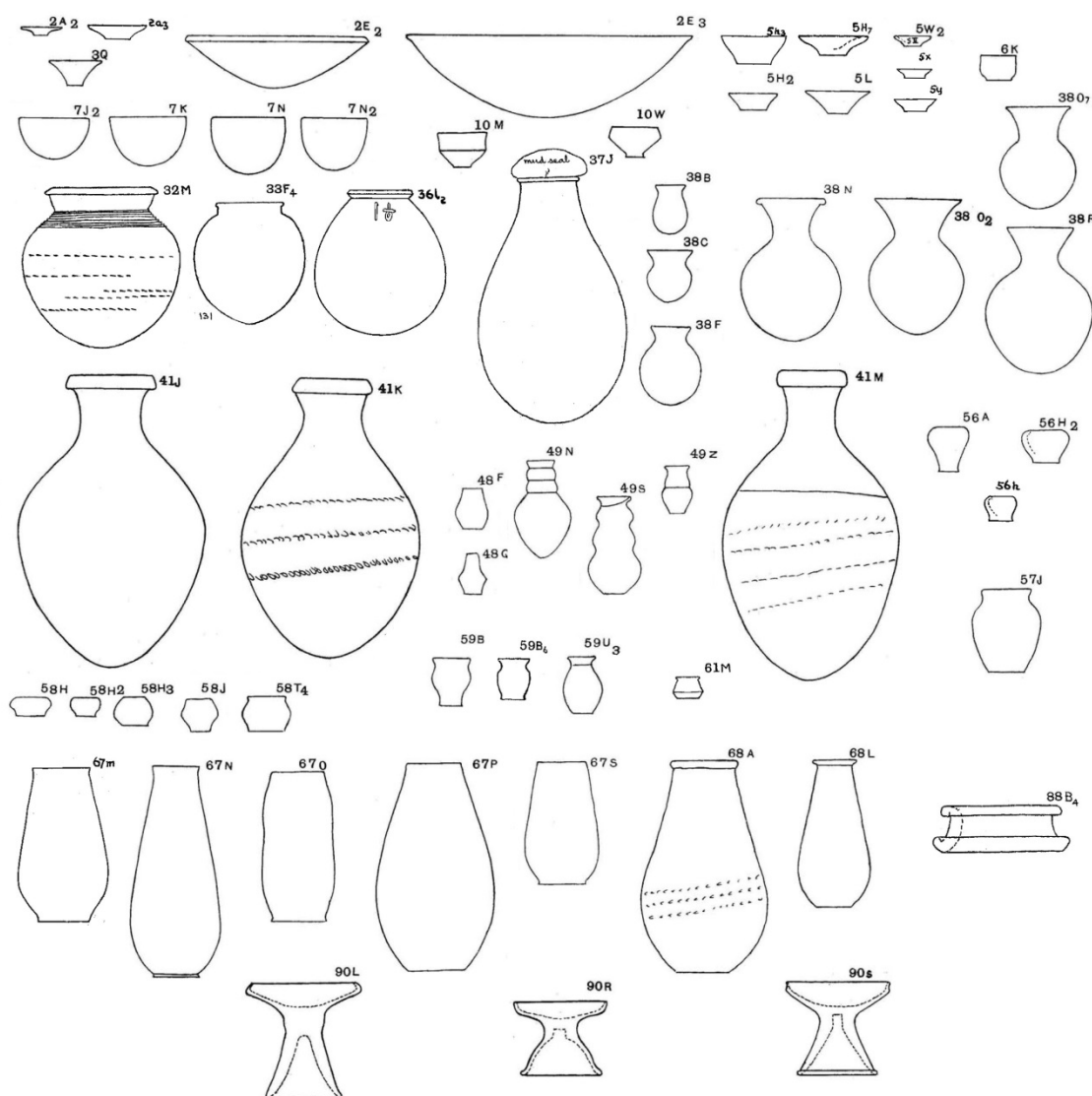
[illegible]

Info				Tomb Architecture				Human Remains		Coffins	Pottery	Other
M	M	M	M	B	B	B	B	B	B			infant burial
TC	TC	TC	TC	K	K	K	K	K	K			
118	101	64	3	45	44	43	42	41	40			
Pit	Pit	Pit	Pit	Stair	vaulted pit							
n/s	ne/sw	e/w	n/s	e/w	e/w							
1	1	1	1	7								
none	none	none	none	vault								
1	1	1	1	10+	7			1				
n/s	ne/sw	e/w	n/s	e/w	e/w							
wood, decayed	wood, decayed	wood, decayed		wood	wood							
Type Ib, Ic, IIIa, VIIIa	Type III, V	Type VIIIa	Type V, VI, VIIIc	Te-Y, II	Te-Y							
												kohl pots, copper mirror, copper tweezers, sandstone stela
												kohl pot, gilded masks, mirrors, ivory box inlays, duck vessel, copper bowl, silver snakes, ivory and wood fragments, gold rimmed obsidian kohl pot, hematite kohl sticks, axe-head
												plaster mask
												Limestone statue of standing female
												ostrich shell bead bracelet, copper shell pendant,

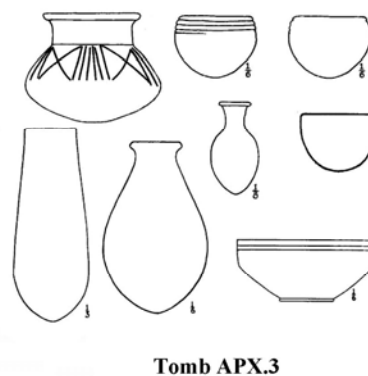
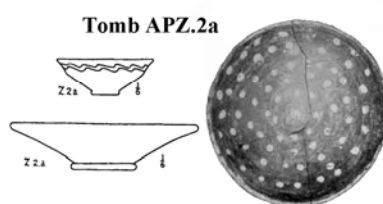
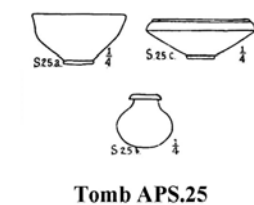
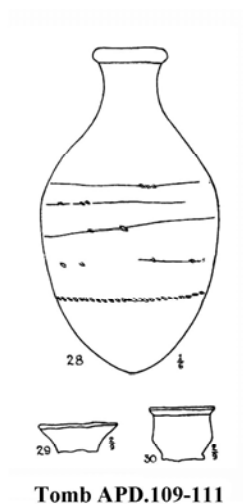
§3.9 Pottery Typologies

The following sections contain drawings of the pottery types belonging to the tombs of this study, based upon the original archaeological monographs. For the forms belonging to individual tombs, see the tomb register above.

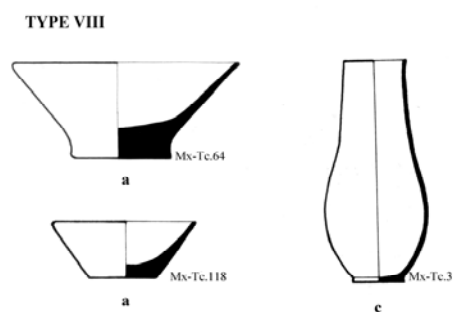
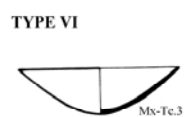
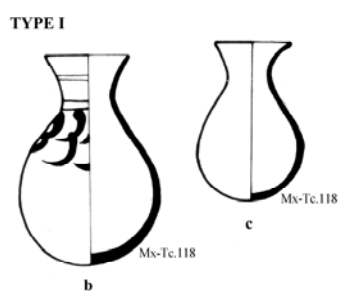
3.9.1 Lahun and Haraga



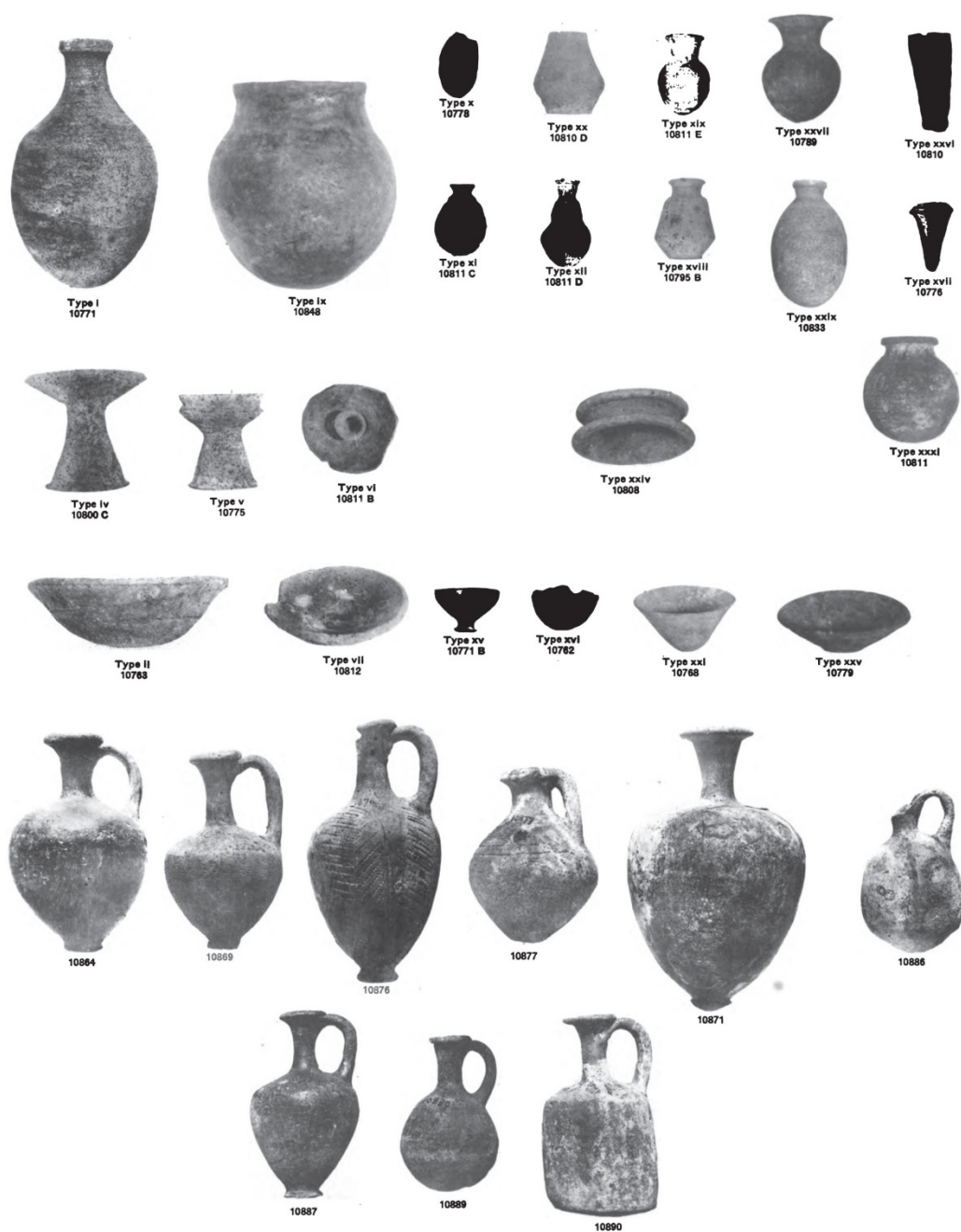
3.9.2 North Abydos



3.9.3 Mirgissa



3.9.4 Buhen



CHAPTER FOUR: TOMB CHAPELS AND MORTUARY EQUIPMENT AT SOUTH ABYDOS DURING THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM

The archaeological remains of the town of *Wah-sut* at South Abydos afford modern scholarship a rare window into ancient Egyptian culture and society during the late Middle Kingdom. Armed with the results of the tomb study in Chapter Three, the following sections aim to explore evidence of tomb placement, architecture, and object assemblages at South Abydos.

Given the large size of *Wah-sut*'s population, it is odd that no tombs of the late Middle Kingdom have been identified at South Abydos to date. Any number of theoretical explanations lead to plausible reasons for this lack of tombs. One possibility is that due to the sanctity of North Abydos, and its connection to the cult of Osiris, all the South Abydene residents chose to be buried at North Abydos. While this conclusion is certainly possible in some cases, evidence exists which makes it untenable for all the burials associated with the town. At the very least, the sheer number of people living in *Wah-sut* over its history of about one hundred and fifty years is a serious obstacle to the hypothesis that they all chose burial at North Abydos. In other words, the cemeteries at North Abydos thus far excavated do not account for the number of tombs required to serve both the town of Abydos and *Wah-sut* during the duration of the Middle Kingdom.

At the same time, the distance of more than three kilometers between *Wah-sut* and North Abydos makes a strong connection between the two sites difficult at best. While it is true that this distance is not insurmountable, for many of the lower status individuals living in *Wah-sut*, burial in a higher status cemetery so far removed from the town would

have been a great hardship, both logistically as well as financially. In addition, the sanctity of the fledgling royal necropolis at South Abydos, containing the tombs of Senwosret III, and two early Thirteenth Dynasty kings, all of which linked their cults with Osiris, would have rivaled the importance of the Osiris cult at North Abydos.⁶⁹⁶ Royal funerary monuments throughout Egypt all attracted subsidiary burials belonging to courtiers, wishing to link their funerary cults with that of the king. Standing less than a kilometer away from *Wah-sut*, and in full view from the town, the desert near the new royal necropolis would have been the most ideal location for a local cemetery serving the inhabitants of *Wah-sut*.

With this hypothesis in mind, we conducted informal surface surveys in and around the Senwosret III complex during the winter 2012-2013 season in preparation of a long-term program of survey and excavation which will include various geophysical techniques.⁶⁹⁷ Surface features such as rectilinear depressions, limestone pebbles and boulders hint at some type of subsurface activity, but in all of these areas there was a startling lack of surface pottery. Yet, as R. Engelbach discovered, surface features and pottery are not always reliable indicators of subterranean features. Of Haraga, R.

Engelbach states:

Up to the moment of starting the digging, I was rather doubtful of the existence of anything like an extensive necropolis, as, at Kafr Ammar, Atfih, Riqqeh and other sites where I have worked, the cemeteries have been plentifully besprinkled with scraps of pottery, chips, etc. The reason for their absence here seems to be that modern plunderers had not touched the site, and the anciently robbed graves were nearly all large shafts which, as I point out below, were plundered without bringing the pottery to the surface. The poorer graves were mostly untouched.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁶ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 96-100.

⁶⁹⁷ Such as magnetometry, ground penetrating radar (GPR), topographic mapping, and Lidar.

⁶⁹⁸ Engelbach, *Harageh* 1923, 3.

The appearance of the low desert surface at South Abydos is therefore quite similar to that at Haraga before R. Engelbach began his excavations. For the most part, the terrain between the Senwosret III tomb and temple is culturally sterile, as it had been at Haraga. However, Engelbach's work demonstrates that this dearth of pottery does not necessarily mean that the area lacks a cemetery. On the contrary, the large proportion of limestone pebbles and boulders points to some type of subsurface activity. Geophysical remote sensing in coming field seasons will, in all probability, reveal areas worthy of further excavation.

Despite our lack of physical tombs, a significant number of fragments and objects of a funerary nature have surfaced during excavations in and around *Wah-sut*. Whereas some objects such as stelae and statues from inside the town derive from domestic cult emplacements, others such as apotropaia and faience hippo statues, which appear to have come from tomb contexts, would be out of place in the domestic setting. Reused decorated architectural elements from South Abydos, taken from late Middle Kingdom tomb chapels are strictly funerary in character, and evince the existence of an extensive non-royal necropolis. Taken together, these objects stand as evidence to indicate strongly that a cemetery belonging to *Wah-sut* exists undiscovered at South Abydos.

Having explored a representative sample of late Middle Kingdom tombs and funerary customs in the preceding chapter, the following pages will apply these findings to *Wah-sut*. Discussion in the initial sections will revolve around the probable locations and types of tombs and burial goods we should expect in a cemetery associated with

Wah-sut. The latter half of the chapter will then look at the archaeological evidence for tomb structures, and burial assemblages, at South Abydos.

§ 4.1 Tomb Placement and Funerary Access at South Abydos

A number of factors affected the placement of tombs in ancient Egypt. These factors include things such as geography, ease of access, safety, and the locations of important royal and divine monuments. In an attempt to understand the most likely locations of late Middle Kingdom tombs at South Abydos, this section will compare *Wah-sut* to Lahun, North Abydos, Buhen, and Mirgissa, looking specifically at the connections between settlement and cemetery locations.

4.1.1 *Wah-sut* and Lahun: Town Size and Population

Wah-sut and Lahun are both state-founded, orthogonally arranged towns of the Middle Kingdom. They both consist of regular blocks of houses whose layouts follow internally consistent plans.⁶⁹⁹ Lahun served the mortuary complex of Senwosret II, while *Wah-sut* held a similar position for that of Senwosret III. Of all other sites in Egypt, Lahun is the closest parallel to the layout, size, and purpose of *Wah-sut*.⁷⁰⁰ Hence, comparisons between the two sites should prove mutually enlightening.

One of the first questions affecting any discussion of cemetery location at South Abydos, concerns the potential population size of *Wah-sut*. Its preserved portion measures approximately 270 m in an east-west direction parallel to the line of modern cultivation. Assuming a square layout akin to Lahun, the overall area of *Wah-sut* would

⁶⁹⁹ Quirke, *Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape* 2005, 43.

⁷⁰⁰ See J Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 25, Fig. 10.

be 74,000 m².⁷⁰¹ In comparing *Wah-sut* and Lahun, J. Wegner calculated the percentage of high and low status dwellings in order to arrive at a hypothetical area for the town:

If we assume the Lahun lower town originally constituted a square ca. 280 m on an edge, the ten elite residences represent 26,000/76,000 m² or 34% of the total area. Including the upper town as well, the elite residences constitute 26,000 of a total likely settlement area of 105,000 m² (i.e.: ca. 25%). Hence, the situation at Lahun is such that elite residences constitute approximately ¼ to 1/3 of the entire settlement area. The thirteen known elite residences at *Wah-sut* cover a total area of 18,000 m². Assuming a similar ratio between elite and lower status housing, this would hypothetically yield a figure of some 36,000 – 54,000 m² devoted to lower status housing. Hence the elite residences might be estimated to represent ¼ to 1/3 of the area of a settlement covering a total area of ca. 54,000 to 72,000 m².⁷⁰²

According to J. Wegner's conclusions, *Wah-sut*'s area was slightly smaller than that of Lahun, yet the percentage of high and low status residences was probably the same. With the same proportion of housing size, the two towns should, theoretically, have had comparable population densities.

In his study of towns in ancient Egypt, B. Kemp discussed the potential population size of Lahun.⁷⁰³ He followed two different lines of reasoning to arrive at his conclusions.⁷⁰⁴ In the first method, he attempted to compare the sizes of granaries within the elite houses of Lahun with volumes of annual rations required per person.⁷⁰⁵ Unfortunately, owing to the archaeological preservation at the town, Petrie did not record the full heights of Lahun's granaries.⁷⁰⁶ Though Kemp used the heights of similar

⁷⁰¹ Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 287.

⁷⁰² Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 287. He adds a caveat that he bases these conclusions upon the assumption that the two towns served the same purposes, which does indeed seem to be the case.

⁷⁰³ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 153-158.

⁷⁰⁴ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 155. Kemp seems to favor the lower number of 3000 people, at which he arrived through examination of the Petrie Papyri, thus casting some doubt on the value of the estimate of 10,000 persons, arrived at through grain silo size estimation.

⁷⁰⁵ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 153-154. For another discussion of ration sizes and caloric intake required *per capita*, see Nunn 1996, 18-20.

⁷⁰⁶ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 153. Kemp measured the granary length and width from Petrie's plan of the town. See W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, Pl. XIV.

structures from Nubian Fortress towns, variation in potential granary size has a profound effect upon the resulting population size calculations.⁷⁰⁷ Kemp's conclusions, based upon granary size, yielded a population range between 5,273 and 9,092 people.⁷⁰⁸

Following a secondary methodology, B. Kemp concluded from papyrus records that six people normally lived in each of the smaller houses.⁷⁰⁹ Multiplying this result by the number of houses in the town placed the population of Lahun at slightly less than 3,000 persons. Based upon these two methods, we are left with a wide population range (from roughly 3,000 to 9,000). Further analysis of B. Kemp's conclusions and methodologies, therefore, may be useful.

Due to the incomplete preservation of the Lahun granaries, Kemp's first method relies upon too much of an assumption to be completely reliable.⁷¹⁰ His second method, on the other hand, employing original contemporary papyri, has the potential for yielding a much more dependable figure. The documents in question (Petrie Papyrus I.3-I.6) give an enumeration of the inhabitants of one house at two different points in time.⁷¹¹ The first (I.5, lines 16-24) lists the homeowner Hori, his wife, their son Sneferu, Hori's mother, and four of Hori's sisters, totaling eight persons.⁷¹² At a later date, subsequent to

⁷⁰⁷ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 153. In other words, this method relies on an accurate estimation of granary volume, when in fact it is impossible to achieve this volume without employing guesswork and comparison.

⁷⁰⁸ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 154, Table 1.

⁷⁰⁹ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 157-158. These records appear in the Petrie Papyri, see originally F. L. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* 1898, 22, and Collier and Quirke 2002, pUC32126.

⁷¹⁰ The main assumption being the height of the granaries, and the resulting volume, upon which the entire calculation is based.

⁷¹¹ F. L. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* 1898, 19-25, Pl. IX. The document does not record the span of time, but Kemp assumed it was very short, Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 158, Fig. 55.

⁷¹² F. L. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* 1898, 22, Pl. IX.

Hori's death (I.3, lines 1-16), census was taken again, yielding eight individuals including Sneferu, his mother, grandmother, three aunts, a *w3b.t n.t gs-j3b.j*,⁷¹³ and one *nmh.yt* woman.⁷¹⁴ Therefore, at two different times, census documents record eight individuals living in a single house.⁷¹⁵ The area of a medium sized houses in Lahun is from 135-168 m², or an average of 151 m².⁷¹⁶ Assuming eight individuals lived in a house of this size yields a population density of 0.05 persons per square meter.⁷¹⁷ Multiplying this density by the area of Lahun occupied by lower status housing yields a population of 3,450 persons, to which must be added those individuals living in the higher status areas of the town.⁷¹⁸

Given the strong similarities between Lahun and *Wah-sut*, we can apply the Lahun population density to the town at South Abydos. Using the area which J. Wegner calculated for the size of the lower status housing at *Wah-sut* (34,000 – 54,000 m²), multiplied by the Lahun population density of the same status housing yields a population figure for this area of *Wah-sut* of between 1,800 and 2,700 persons. As with Lahun, these figures do not take into account the individuals living within the high status housing. Assuming the same eight people per household for the high status houses adds a fairly

⁷¹³ This place name in the eastern delta also appears in Collier and Quirke 2002, pUC32126.

⁷¹⁴ F. L. Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob 1898, 20, Pl. IX. In his study, Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993 seems to have disregarded the two women not genetically related to the family, in order to arrive at a house population of six rather than eight.

⁷¹⁵ Contra Kemp's number of six, Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 155.

⁷¹⁶ Quirke, *Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape* 2005, 75-76.

⁷¹⁷ This population density figure is corroborated by multiplying B. Kemp's assumed 440 houses by eight residents (= 3520 persons), divided by the area of the portion of Lahun containing only small and middle sized houses (69,000 m²), yielding a population density of 0.05 persons per square meter. In other words, the population density figure is exactly the same when calculated using the assumed size of the entire town, as it is when calculated within only one house.

⁷¹⁸ Multiplying the overall area of Lahun (105,000 m²), as reported by Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 287, by the population density of 0.05 yields 5,250 persons. The higher status houses, however, take up much more area than the lower, thus skewing the population figures. The overall number of people living in the town is probably lower than 5,250.

negligible one hundred and thirty six people to the total population.⁷¹⁹ Therefore, at any one time, we may propose that the population of *Wah-sut* ranged from roughly 2,000 to 3,000 people.

Extending these numbers diachronically will, in theory, yield the overall population figure over the life of *Wah-sut*. According to J. Wegner, the Senwosret III mortuary cult and economic structure of *Wah-sut* seem to have persisted for roughly one hundred and fifty years, ending at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁷²⁰ Assuming an average life expectancy of thirty six years during the dynastic period,⁷²¹ at least four generations of the population existed from the *Wah-sut*'s foundation to abandonment.⁷²² Employing a divergent methodology, a total of six consecutive Mayors of *Wah-sut* are known historically, pointing to the likelihood that the town existed for six generations.⁷²³ For the sake of simplicity, taking the average of the population range (2,000 to 3,000) multiplied by the median of five generations yields a rough figure of 12,000 individuals who lived at *Wah-sut* between its founding and abandonment.⁷²⁴ Assuming that most of these individuals lived and died at the site leads to the unavoidable conclusion that a significant number of tombs must exist connected with the population center of *Wah-sut*.⁷²⁵

⁷¹⁹ We arrived at this number by multiplying 8 persons by the 17 preserved high status houses at Wah-sut.

⁷²⁰ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 40-43.

⁷²¹ Masali and Chiarelli 1972, 164-165.

⁷²² The low number of four generations was calculated by dividing 150 by 36. This does not take into consideration generational overlap, so the actual number should be higher.

⁷²³ J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 335-343.

⁷²⁴ $2,386 * 5 = 11,930$.

⁷²⁵ Some of these burials would have belonged to poorer individuals buried in surface graves which may have eroded. Other individuals were perhaps buried at North Abydos. Even with these caveats, tombs belonging to a significant population must still lie undiscovered at South Abydos.

4.1.2 Topography and Cemetery Placement

The high desert cliffs the site of South Abydos are in many ways unremarkable when compared with the rest of the country. A distinct line demarcates the green cultivation from the low desert sands. Approximately one and a half kilometers to the southwest, the limestone cliffs of the high desert plateau stand roughly two hundred meters high.⁷²⁶ The ancient Egyptians called a projection of this limestone plateau the *Mountain of Anubis*, and it was at the base of this high desert outcrop that Senwosret III chose to place his tomb.⁷²⁷

The difference in surface elevation from the modern line of cultivation to the base of the gebel is about 38 m over a horizontal distance of 1.5 km, indicating a rise of 2.5 cm/m (or 25% grade).⁷²⁸ The depth of bedrock at the mouth of the Senwosret III tomb is roughly 6.75 m,⁷²⁹ and similarly at the mouth of the Ahmose tomb it is around 5 m.⁷³⁰ On the other hand, W. Petrie reported that during the excavation of the Osireion near the cultivation, the diggers went through 41 feet (12.49 m) of sand before reaching that buildings floor slabs.⁷³¹ Subtracting these two values from the surface elevations reveals that the bedrock seems to have a steeper rise of 2.9 cm/m (or 29% grade) from the cultivation to the base of the high desert. What this means is that the material overlaying

⁷²⁶ J. Wegner, personal communication.

⁷²⁷ Wegner and Abu el-Yazid, *The Mountain-of-Anubis: Necropolis Seals in the Senwosret III Tomb Enclosure at Abydos* 2006, 419-435; and Wegner, *From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain?* 2007, 471-474.

⁷²⁸ See the topographic map below, Fig. 4.1.

⁷²⁹ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, Fig. 7.

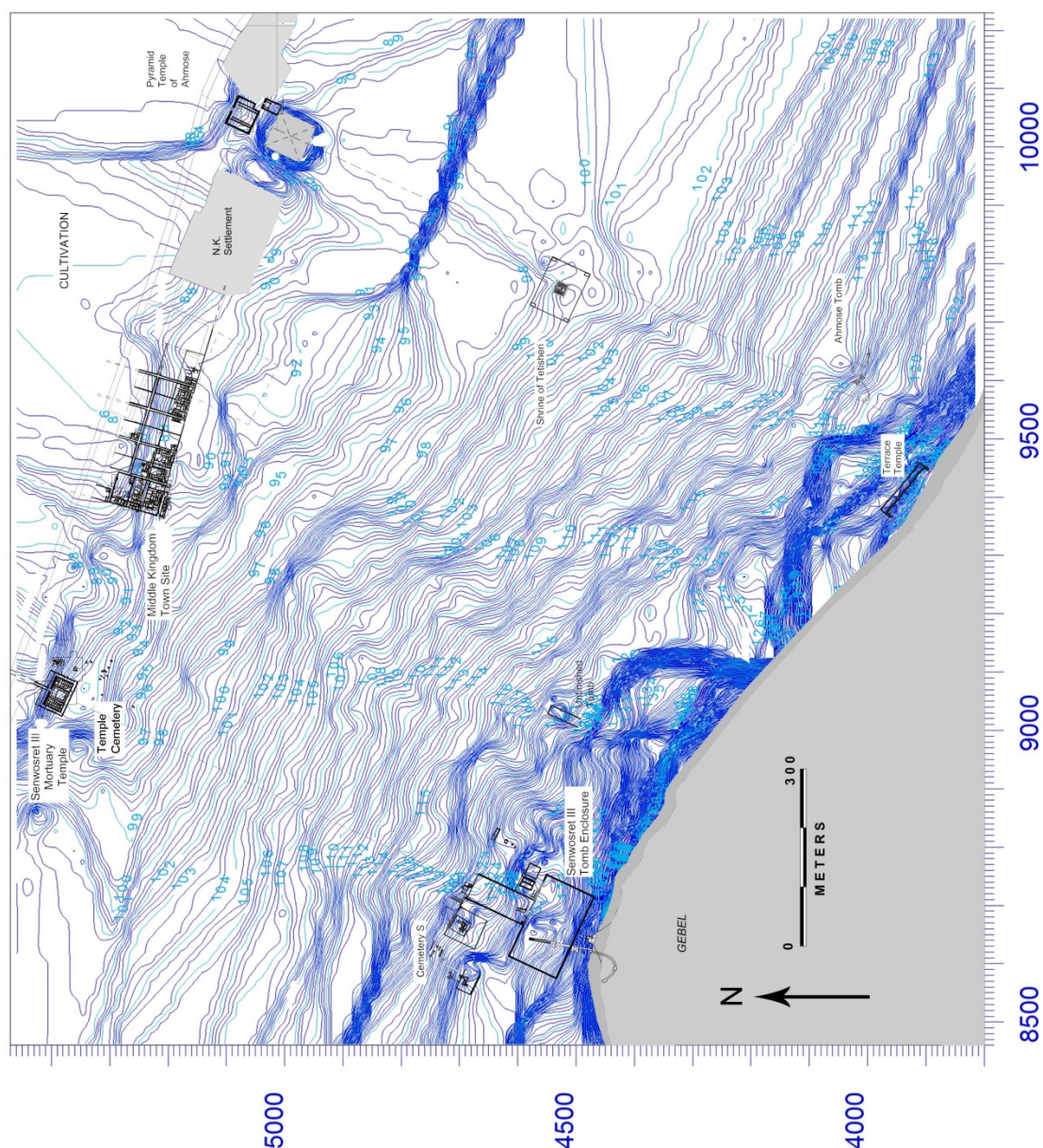
⁷³⁰ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, Pl. XLIX.

⁷³¹ Murray 1904, Preface.

the bedrock is deeper near the cultivation than it is at the foot of the high desert gebel.

Shaft tomb construction in solid bedrock would, therefore, be easier closer to the gebel.

Fig. 4.1: Topographic Map of South Abydos⁷³²



⁷³² This map was created jointly under J. Wegner's South Abydos Project and S. Harvey's Ahmose Temple Project. The tight bands between the Ahmose and Tetisheri pyramids overlay a modern Islamic cemetery, where survey was impeded due to numerous walls and graves.

Surface topography in the area between the Senwosret III mortuary temple and Tomb may hint at bedrock formations below. Shallow wadis exist to both the east and west of Senwosret III's tomb, demonstrating the locations of prehistoric water flow and erosion. In between these two shallow wadis stands the *Mountain of Anubis*.⁷³³ Directly north northeast of this area, the surface topography shows a series of terraced drop-offs running in a line from south to north toward the cultivation. This topographic feature coincides with the point of the *Mountain of Anubis*, hinting that a spur of bedrock juts north into the low desert at this point. Theoretically, these terraces of higher bedrock represent highly plausible cemetery locations.⁷³⁴

The topography of South Abydos is similar to that of other sites. At Lahun, shaft tombs exist in small groups in diverse areas near the town. Examination of modern satellite imagery indicates that all of these locations seem to have been chosen because of specific advantages offered by their natural terrain.⁷³⁵ Cemetery 900 lies atop a small plateau, with shallow wadis to the east and west. The same situation holds true for the central rock-cut tombs, every pit of which lies atop a rise in the landscape. Likewise the Western Hill, West Ridge, and Dome burial locations are all associated with rock prominences.⁷³⁶ From these facts we can conclude that the residents of Lahun actively sought out locations where the bedrock was higher than surrounding areas, knowing that tombs dug into rock were more permanent than those lying in *tafla* alone.

⁷³³ J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 17ff, and J. Wegner, *From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain?* 2007.

⁷³⁴ This area also exhibits a high proportion of limestone pebbles and surface boulders, perhaps indicative of ancient bedrock excavation in the area.

⁷³⁵ Using Google Earth.

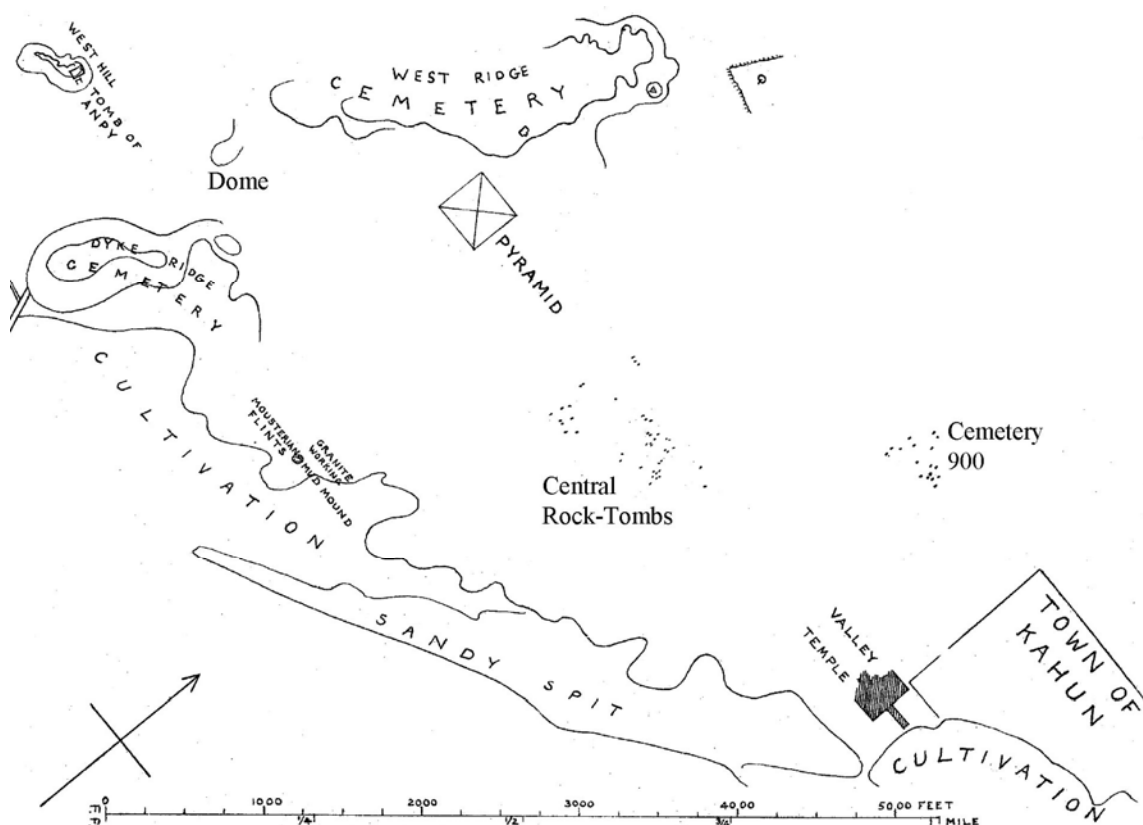
⁷³⁶ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, *Lahun* 1923, and above §3.2

Various distances separate the cemeteries of Lahun from the town itself.

Cemetery 900 was the closest at 300 m from the northwest corner of the town (Fig. 4.2).

The rock-cut tombs are midway between the temple and pyramid, lying some 685 m away from Lahun. The Western Hill, Dome, and Western Ridge cemeteries were the farthest away at over a kilometer and a half.

Fig. 4.2: Sketch Map of Lahun Showing the Locations of Major Cemeteries⁷³⁷



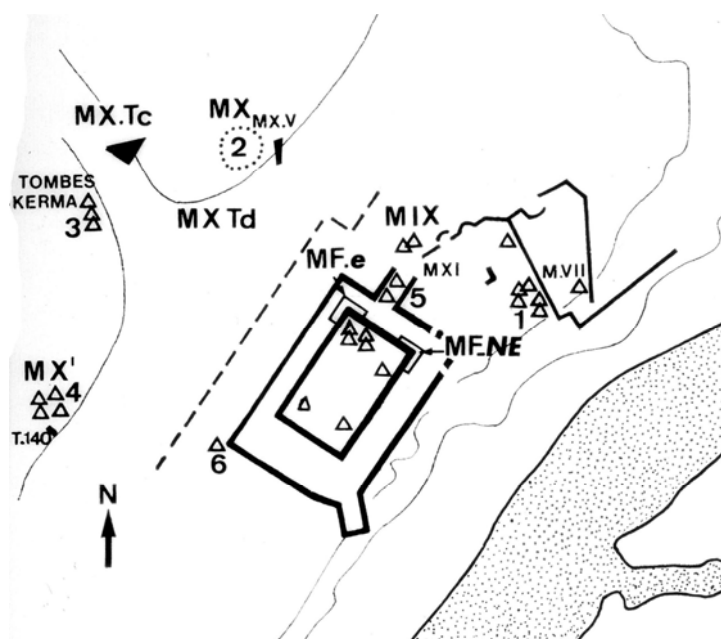
Similarly, the cemeteries of Haraga honeycomb a natural outcrop of bedrock called the Gebel Abusir.⁷³⁸ Here, as with Lahun, the higher ground both afforded the ancient Egyptians better stone in which to build their tombs, and, by placing them higher

⁷³⁷ After Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. II.

⁷³⁸ Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 1.

up they were safer from the yearly inundation. Working with the assumption that Haraga served the town of Lahun, at least in part, the distance between the town and the Gebel Abusir is an impressive 5.5 km. In this case, ease of access was secondary to the suitability of the substrate at the location, perhaps coupled with the traditional nature of the cemetery.⁷³⁹

Fig. 4.3: Map of Mirgissa Showing the Location of the Late Middle Kingdom Cemetery MX-TC



Tomb builders at Mirgissa also seem to have chosen locations where they had easy access to suitable stone. In this case, the tombs of the late Middle Kingdom were situated in the mouth of a desert wadi (Fig. 4.3). For the most part these tombs took the form of shallow rectangular pits.⁷⁴⁰ As J. Vercoutter outlines, a prehistoric process of erosion in this wadi led to two outcomes.⁷⁴¹ The first is that the surface conglomerate

⁷³⁹ Despite the distance, the cemetery's location on a large prominence would have made it visible most of the time from the town of Lahun.

⁷⁴⁰ See Chapter Three, §3.5.

⁷⁴¹ Vercoutter, *Mirgissa II* 1975, 229.

was stripped off the base layer of sandstone, and the second is what he calls a hydrothermal process in which a diorite layer was transformed into a softer, more friable stone. The result was that the location of Cemetery MX-TC had easily accessible, easily carved stone which was perfectly suited to both shallow pits, as well as to larger shaft and chamber tombs. Situated just slightly more than 200 m to the northwest of the fort allowed easy access, and afforded a certain level of safety to the cemetery.

North Abydos followed slightly different principles in tomb placement. In the early Middle Kingdom, an area to the north of the Middle Cemetery, overlooking the low desert wadi leading to Umm el-Gaab became the prime location for tombs.⁷⁴² Because of the sanctity of the site⁷⁴³ and its connection with the yearly Osiris festival, tomb-builders here dealt with the poor desert substrate by augmenting the tombs with mud-brick collars and lining.⁷⁴⁴ In addition to a desire to associate with the Osiris cult, ease of access for the living to the tombs of the dead seems to be one of the primary driving criteria for tomb placement. The center of the North Cemetery is some 700 m away from the town of Abydos, which is roughly similar to the distance between the central rock-cut tombs and town of Lahun. Those wishing to be buried in the North Cemetery endured the imperfect geology in order to link their tombs with the cult of Osiris, and to assure ease of access for their relatives living close by.

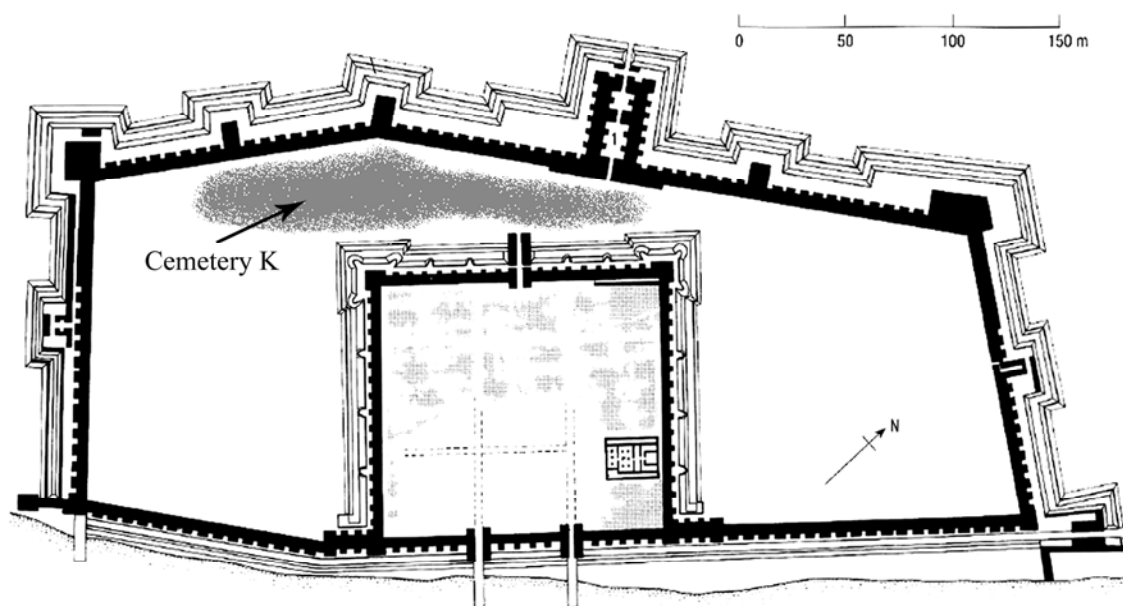
⁷⁴² Richards, *Honoring the Ancestors at Abydos* 2010, 147.

⁷⁴³ Richards, *Honoring the Ancestors at Abydos* 2010, 146-146, Fig. 8 discusses the case of a First Intermediate Period low-status burial of a woman, which was placed directly next to an Old Kingdom tomb chapel, perhaps in order to link with the older cult structure.

⁷⁴⁴ For instance tomb APS.25 in Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 39 and a reused tomb in Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, Pl. XX.9.

The location of Buhen's late Middle Kingdom cemetery seems to be the exception to the general rule that cemeteries of this period were founded in areas of favorable geography at a minimum of 200 m away from habitation structures. In this case, the inhabitants placed their cemetery between the inner and outer fortification walls. The tombs were, therefore, only 25 m outside the fort's inner curtain wall and the habitations therein (Fig. 4.4).

Fig. 4.4: Plan of Buhen Showing the Location of Cemetery K ⁷⁴⁵



The proximity of the tombs to the town poses an interesting question, which connects with the discussion of funerary access: Why was Buhen's Cemetery K placed so close to the town? One simple explanation is that ease of access to the cemetery may have been a contributing factor. Yet given Buhen's role as a fortified military outpost, it

⁷⁴⁵ After Emery 1979.

would seem logical that the primary driving force behind cemetery placement was the safety of the tombs.⁷⁴⁶

Unlike the tombs at Mirgissa, those at Buhen were designed to hold numerous burials of individuals who probably belonged to related family units.⁷⁴⁷ In order to accommodate this practice, the tombs themselves must have remained both easily accessible, and well-marked.⁷⁴⁸ Both of these features contribute to the insecurity of the tombs. By placing Cemetery K between Buhen's two enclosure walls, the fort's outer curtain wall would have restricted access to the burial ground to only those who had a reason to be inside the fort. This safety measure would have protected the tombs from pillaging during any potential siege or battle. Cemetery K, therefore, lies in a position which allowed the living easy access to the tombs, which remained protected within the fort's outer curtain wall.

4.1.3 Summary

Tombs belonging to thousands of *Wah-sut*'s residents are still unidentified archeologically. The sections above have examined a number of different factors to shed light on where these tombs might lie. Comparison with the sites of Lahun, Haraga,

⁷⁴⁶ The tombs of Mirgissa were, on the whole, less well-appointed than those at Buhen. They were also of a pit type meant to be covered and forgotten once burial had taken place. The tombs of Buhen were multi-chambered structures meant to be opened repeatedly for numerous burials. This ease of access required of the tomb may have dictated the placement of these structures within the confines of the fortress.

⁷⁴⁷ Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, 185-216. Randall-MacIver and Woolley believed that the outer wall dated to a period after the cemetery, hence the cemetery followed the rule of being placed outside the town walls, as opposed to inside them. Emery 1979, however, indicates that the outer curtain wall was built first, as a means of protecting the construction of the actual fort inside. The wall was later fortified and partially rebuilt during the New Kingdom. Cemetery K was, therefore, always inside the outer enclosure wall of the fort, against the opinion of Randall-MacIver and Woolley.

⁷⁴⁸ In addition to the mini-mastabas, the larger "dromos" style tombs had stela above their descending stairs. See for example, see Tomb K27, Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Buhen 1911, II: Pl. 78.

Mirgissa, and Buhen demonstrates that the primary motivating factors in tomb placement included quality of the local substrate, the safety of the tomb once completed, connection with an existing state-level cult, and the ease of access to the tomb for burial and cult activities.

The low desert at South Abydos is heavily encumbered with wind-blown sand, surmounting a thick layer of compacted marl *tafla*. Two possible high desert limestone spurs exist running northward from the *Mountain of Anubis*. One is an area of steep topography which lies directly to the west of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure. This area is heavily pitted on the surface, but almost no pottery remains to hint at the existence of a cemetery.⁷⁴⁹ The second area is a series of shallow terraces running directly across the axis of the Senwosret III tomb and mortuary temple, beginning to the east of the complex. This area is also littered with limestone pebbles and boulders, perhaps indicating subterranean excavation in the past. It is also in a location comparable to that of the central rock-cut tombs at Lahun, both in terms of distance from *Wah-sut*, as well as physical orientation.

Di. Arnold has pointed out that one factor impinging upon tomb placement near royal funerary monuments was the location of construction and stone-dressing areas.⁷⁵⁰

He sums up his observation from the pyramid of Senwosret I:

⁷⁴⁹ Excavation of one of these pits took place in the winter of 2012-2013 as part of the SATC project. These excavations demonstrated that, at least in this case, some of the surface pits are probably the result of past excavations searching for tombs in the area. On the other hand, Weigall in Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 16, indicates the existence of at least one tomb in this general area, though he fails to record its location.

⁷⁵⁰ D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I* 1992, 97-100, Pl. 101.

One conclusion that can be drawn from the complex arrangement of the work area is that the pyramid was beset on all sides by roads, ramps, dressing stations, and storage areas. It would have been practically impossible to construct a large tomb during those first twenty years of the reign of Senwosret I when the main construction work was carried out.⁷⁵¹

Even though Senwosret III's tomb did not include a pyramid, it did have a large T-shaped enclosure, and there was still a great necessity for dressed stone (limestone, granite, and quartzite).⁷⁵² Two areas at South Abydos contain a large proportion of quartzite debris. The first exists approximately 100 m directly south of the Senwosret III mortuary temple, centered on the location of the much later tomb TC.19.⁷⁵³ The second lies some 200 m to the west of the Senwosret III lower tomb enclosure.⁷⁵⁴ Both of these areas contain a high proportion of quartzite chips and diorite pounder fragments, with small amounts of red granite. The area to the east of the tomb enclosure is clear of this debris, perhaps indicating that construction areas only existed to the north and west of the tomb enclosure. This would have left the eastern area free during this period, allowing the construction of non-royal tombs.⁷⁵⁵

Having identified one probable cemetery location at South Abydos, in the following section we will turn to look at a number of objects which corroborate the probability that an extensive undiscovered cemetery does indeed exist at South Abydos.

⁷⁵¹ D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I* 1992, 100.

⁷⁵² Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009.

⁷⁵³ For this tomb see below, Chapters Six and Seven. The fact that the quartzite debris field predates the New Kingdom is demonstrated by the fact that TC.19's builders employed quartzite debris as vault chinking, as opposed to limestone which appears in all other Temple Cemetery Tombs. See also Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III: A Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos* 1996, 296.

⁷⁵⁴ Personal observation.

⁷⁵⁵ Additionally, the two royal tombs S9 and S10 were built to the west of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure, perhaps indicating that the eastern area was encumbered with non-royal tombs.

§ 4.2 Late Middle Kingdom Tomb Chapel Fragments from South Abydos

In recent years, archaeological work at South Abydos has uncovered two types of objects which relate directly to Middle Kingdom burials in the area. The first is a group of inscribed architectural fragments whose artistic style is datable to the late Twelfth Dynasty.⁷⁵⁶ The second category is an assemblage of small objects which are very similar to the types of items included in late Middle Kingdom tomb contexts.⁷⁵⁷ The present and following section (§4.2 and §4.3) will examine these two object categories, both of which point directly to the existence of an extensive late Middle Kingdom cemetery at South Abydos.

4.2.1 Archaeological Context of Architectural Fragments

During excavations in the Winter 2013-2014 season, we uncovered the tomb of a previously unknown Pharaoh by the name of Useribre Senebkay,⁷⁵⁸ who reigned over the Abydene area during the late Second Intermediate Period.⁷⁵⁹ This tomb, part of Cemetery S near the Senwosret III tomb enclosure and just north of tomb S10,⁷⁶⁰ is a mud-brick, multi-chambered structure with a stone burial chamber. The engineers responsible for building this tomb reused a number of dressed limestone blocks from

⁷⁵⁶ See in particular §4.2.4 below.

⁷⁵⁷ See above, Chapter Three.

⁷⁵⁸ The Turin King List (col. 11, lines 16-17) indicates the first two kings of a dynastic group were named “*wsr*-[...]-*R*”. Senebkay would therefore be the first or second king of this group. See von Beckerath 1997, 213, and Ryholt 1997, 165, 392.

⁷⁵⁹ Based upon the Turin King List and stelae from Abydos, Ryholt 1997, 163-166, 202-203, 264-265, 304, 392 theorized the existence of an Abydos Dynasty concurrent with the Fifteenth (Hyksos) Dynasty at Avaris and the Sixteenth (Theban) Dynasty. Ryholt believed the dynasty only lasted some twenty years (p. 202-203), despite the fact that the Turin King List, von Beckerath 1997, 213, records 13 regnal years for the last five of sixteen kings. This would require the first eleven kings to have ruled for only 7 years, which seems highly unlikely. See also McCormack, *Dynasty XIII Kingship in Ancient Egypt* 2008, 38, 40, 51, 76 n.288, 439, and 449.

⁷⁶⁰ See above §2.5 and §2.6.

earlier structures, probably deriving from the immediate area near the late Middle Kingdom tombs S9 and S10.⁷⁶¹ Nine of these reused blocks bear incised decoration, and a few still have traces of their original texts. In all cases before installation into the tomb walls, workers both chiseled out the figures, and smoothed down the block faces in order to obliterate most of the original decoration.⁷⁶² Once they finished constructing the chamber, plasterers covered all the block faces with a layer of gypsum plaster, before artists painted figural and textual decoration on the walls.⁷⁶³ On blocks with no painted decoration, we removed the plaster to reveal as much of the abraded original images as possible.

4.2.2 Northwest Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN4) ⁷⁶⁴

Set into the wall in the northwest corner of Senebkay's tomb (bearing the tomb number CS.9), was a block depicting three individuals and a short text (Fig. 4.5). The scene measures 60 cm wide, and 37cm high.

⁷⁶¹ Indeed, the king's burial assemblage made extensive use of reused materials, including a cedar coffin belonging to Pharaoh Sobekhotep (I), the probable owner of tomb S10, which was cut apart to fashion Senebkay's canopic box. See below §4.2.10.

⁷⁶² Presumably Senebkay ordered the recycling of this material instead of quarrying new limestone, since the reused blocks are of pure white limestone. The local stone of the Abydene high desert, visible within the Senwosret III tomb, contains a high proportion of flint nodules, and is generally of lower quality than that of the reused blocks. This fact also points to the conclusion that the stone used to create the late Middle Kingdom tomb chapels to which these blocks belonged was probably imported to the site, though the origin of this stone remains unknown.

⁷⁶³ These paintings will be published at a later date. The decoration included the titulary of Useribre Senebkay, four standing goddesses (Isis, Nepthys, Neith, and Hathor), an image of a canopic box, and winged sun-discs.

⁷⁶⁴ The designation CS9.RN4 indicates that the stone is: Tomb CS.9, Reused block, North Wall, Number 4. For the other blocks in this sequence, S stands for South Wall, and F stands for Floor.

Fig. 4.5: Reused Block from the Northwest Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN4)⁷⁶⁵

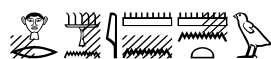


In addition to smoothing the entire block's surface, workers seem to have chiseled out most of the defining features of the standing male on the left. In front of this figure, and also facing right, stands a young boy with his left arm crossed over his chest. In the lower portion of the scene is an offering table, to the right of which stands another adult male figure who faces left.⁷⁶⁶ Both standing adult male figures appear to be the same height.

The short text between the two adult males contains a dedicatory statement, followed by two sets of names and titles:

⁷⁶⁵ After the epigraphic copy of J. Houser Wegner.

⁷⁶⁶ Neither the boy nor the male on the right exhibit the same chisel marks that the male on the left does.



jn z3=f s^cnh rn=f
hr.j-h3w.t-n-Jmn Mntw
/// jr.j [p]^c.t Snb=f nb-jm3h

It is his son who perpetuates his name,
 The Overseer of the Offering Tables of Amun,⁷⁶⁷ Montu,
 ///⁷⁶⁸ The Noble, Senebef,⁷⁶⁹ Possessor of Honor.

The hieroglyphs here face to the left, and therefore, seemingly accord with the figure on the right.⁷⁷⁰ Neither name (Montu nor Senebef) includes a determinative, perhaps leading to the conclusion that the standing figures themselves act as the determinatives for their names.⁷⁷¹ Assuming that the title *nb-jm3h* indicates that Senebef is the deceased individual whose name his son Montu is perpetuating,⁷⁷² the question remains as to why the name and title of Senebef were not reversed to accord with his figure?⁷⁷³ The

⁷⁶⁷ WB.II:226.18. For the base title *hr.j-h3w.t*, see Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom 1982, 116, Title 973, which he reads *hry wdhw*. According to the TLA, the full title *hr.j-h3w.t-n-Jmn* appears on the stela Cairo JE 52453, belonging to Ay, which is dated to the Second Intermediate Period. For this piece, see most recently Ganley 2004.

⁷⁶⁸ There is a line or a scratch on the block in this area, but it is entirely unclear if it is part of the inscription.

⁷⁶⁹ Though the titles do not match, it may be worth noting a stela belonging to a Senebef from North Abydos, whose nephew Khuinutef lived in Wah-sut. See the discussion below, §4.4.2. For the name, see Ranke 1935, 314.5.

⁷⁷⁰ Fischer, The Orientation of Hieroglyphs: Part 1: Reversals 1977, 15-16.

⁷⁷¹ Fischer, The Orientation of Hieroglyphs: Part 1: Reversals 1977, 3-4.

⁷⁷² WB, I:81.18 indicates that the title is used “als Beiwort der Verstorbenen.” See also R. Hannig 2006, 251ff.

⁷⁷³ The identity of the small boy is seemingly not listed in this text. It is possible that his name was originally carved behind or in front of the figure’s head, in an area which is now worn smooth. The situation is perhaps similar to that at Beni Hassan, Newberry, Beni Hasan Part II 1893, Pl. XXXII, where three smaller figures stand behind the much larger deceased Bakt I, each with a small epigraph. A handful of Abydene stelae, Simpson, The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13 1974, Pl. 17 (ANOC 8.2), and Pl. 27 (ANOC 17.2), also exhibit images of diminutive individuals (ANOC 17.2 is a dwarf), beneath the chair of the deceased, in a position often held by a beloved pet.

participial statement (*jn z3ꜣf sꜥnh rnꜣf*) serves to emphasize the actor, *z3ꜣf*.⁷⁷⁴ What follows the statement are two names which lend more information to the preceding construction. Though these proper nouns are somewhat separated from *z3ꜣf* and *rnꜣf*, it is quite possible that the names should be understood as standing in grammatical apposition to the more general terms (*z3* and the suffix pronoun *ꜣf* appended to both *z3* and *rn*).⁷⁷⁵ This idea is perhaps corroborated by the order in which the proper names occur, with Montu before Senebef, in the same way that *z3ꜣf* precedes *rnꜣf*. Understanding the text this way yields the more complete sense of: “It is his son, the Overseer of the Offering Tables of Amun, Montu, who perpetuates his name, the Nobleman Senebef, Possessor of Honor.” Senebef’s name is not an epigraph referring directly to his image, but is rather an essential part of the speech which his son Montu makes before his father and his table of offerings. The orientation of Senebef’s name, therefore, follows that of the rest of the text, connecting to the image of Montu on the right of the scene.

4.2.3 Southwest Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS3)

Hieroglyphic orientation plays a role in another scene appearing on a block in the lower southwest corner of the CS.9 burial chamber (Fig. 4.6). The original scene measures 30 cm wide, and 40 cm high. On the left is a man, seated upon a wooden chair with animal paw feet,⁷⁷⁶ who holds a vessel to his face with his left hand. Before him

⁷⁷⁴ For this construction, see J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, 332-334.

⁷⁷⁵ For apposition in general, see J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, 40.

⁷⁷⁶ Killen 1994.

stands a small offering table, to the right of which a woman kneels with her right arm crossed over her left breast, and her left arm in front of her holding an object.⁷⁷⁷

Fig. 4.6: Reused Block from the Southwest Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS3)⁷⁷⁸



There are two distinct texts. The first, whose signs point to the right, and thus accord with the seated male figure on the left, is an offering spell naming the deceased. The signs of the second text are reversed, demonstrating their connection to the kneeling female at the right. As with the other reused blocks, the surface of this stone had been smoothed before a layer of plaster covered the texts and images. Though there is some

⁷⁷⁷ See Dominicus 1994, 5-9.

⁷⁷⁸ After the original epigraphic copy by J. Houser Wegner, and the author's own hand-copy.

damage to both figures, and neither of their faces remain, the chiseling was not as extensive as that which the left figure of CS9.RN4 exhibits (Fig. 4.5).

The offering text⁷⁷⁹ at the top of the block reads thus:



*htp-dj-nswt wsjr nb dd.w dj=f[/////mr///]
 ʕnh n k3 n hr(.j)-[pr] jb(=j)-jʕ(.w) m3ʕ-hrw jr.n [////] ʕw(?) m3ʕ-hrw*

A royal offering of Osiris, Lord of Busiris, that he may give [...] ⁷⁸⁰
 [...] to the *ka* of the Overseer of the House, ⁷⁸¹ Ibi-iau, ⁷⁸² true of voice, born of [...], ⁷⁸³ true of voice.

Aside from the somewhat enigmatic, and damaged section at the end of the first line, the text is a fairly straightforward offering formula, which records the name of the deceased and that of his father.

⁷⁷⁹ For the *htp-dj-nswt* formula in general, see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* 1994, 170-173, Hoch 1996, 283-285, and J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, 357-359. Smither 1939, followed by C. J. Bennett 1941, attempted to date these formulae within the Middle Kingdom by their spellings, but Franke, *The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas - A Challenge* 2003 rejected their conclusions. More recently, A. Ilin-Tomich 2011 has collected a catalogue of 479 dated monuments, concluding that datable changes do occur to the *htp-dj-nswt* formula during the late Middle Kingdom.

⁷⁸⁰ The fact that the second line begins with what appears to be an ʕnh, may indicate that the missing piece of text at the end of the first line could conclude with *h.t nb.t nfr.t wʕb.t ʕnh.t ntr* or the like, though the *ntr* element, and *.t* ending are missing. See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* 1994, 170, A. Ilin-Tomich 2011, 26, and Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* 1968. What appear to be traces of a *mr* sign at the end of the first line is inexplicable.

⁷⁸¹ For this common title, see Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* 1982, 116, Title 977. He translates the title as “Majordomo; Domestic.” For the title *hr.j-pr* in conjunction with specific areas of an estate, see Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* 2004, 26, 36, 46-47, 58, 67, and 73

⁷⁸² For the name, see Ranke 1935, I:19.4

⁷⁸³ Perhaps read *dj* instead of ʕ. Based upon the author’s hand-copy, it is quite possible that this name ought to be read *dd.wt-Mnw*. If this is the case, then the individual pictured is perhaps the son of the man depicted on the block discussed below (§4.2.4). This fact would point to at least two related buildings from which these blocks originally came.

To the right of the seated man is a kneeling woman and the following textual caption:



hkr.t-nswt-w^c.tjt nh.t
 [/] *m³.t-hrw*

Sole Lady-in-Waiting,⁷⁸⁴ Nekhet,⁷⁸⁵
 [...],⁷⁸⁶ true of voice.

The text, as it is preserved, does not include the familial relation between the two individuals, but both are said to be “true of voice.” Given Nekhet’s position facing Ibi-iau, she may be his daughter or sister, giving offerings to the deceased, as opposed to his wife. On block CS9.RF1 (Fig. 4.7), the man’s wife stands behind him, not in front of him.

4.2.4 Floor of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RF1)

The floor of the CS.9 burial chamber was also paved with numerous reused blocks. Directly in its center was a rectangular slab, bearing the image of a seated man,

⁷⁸⁴ For the title, see Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* 1982, 143, Title 1234, and Jones 2000, 795-796, Title 2900. See also the brief discussion in Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period* 2000, 31, and Nord, *hkr.t-nswt* = “king’s concubine”? 1970.

⁷⁸⁵ For this name, see Ranke 1935, I: 207.12.

⁷⁸⁶ This sign is almost totally obliterated, and does not yield much sense. Falling between the name and the epithet *m³.t-hrw*, it is possibly part of the name. It is too small to be a filiation and name.

and a standing woman (Fig. 4.7). Like all the other blocks, Senebkay's workmen had smoothed the face of the stone before applying a thin coating of white plaster.⁷⁸⁷

Fig. 4.7: Reused Block from the Floor of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RF1)



There are two areas of text at the top of this block, referring to the two individuals pictured below, who both face left. The texts read thus:

⁷⁸⁷ The block was laid face up in the floor. The original carved face was flatter and smoother than the back of the block, so despite the need to sand down the decoration and plaster the face, the process was easier than smoothing the rough back of the stone.



jr.j-p^c.t h3.tj-^c htm.tj-bj.tj
dd.wt-Mnw m3^c-hrw

The Noble⁷⁸⁹, Mayor,⁷⁹⁰ Lower Egyptian
 Seabearer,⁷⁹¹
 Dedut-Min,⁷⁹² True of Voice.

*hm.t=f nb.t-pr 3b.t//*⁷⁸⁸ [*m3^c(.t)-hrw*]

His wife, lady of the house,
 Abet, True of Voice.

The corpulent Dedut-Min sits upon a wooden chair with animal paw feet. He wears a long garment, extending up to his mid-torso, which men of status seemed to favor in the late Twelfth Dynasty.⁷⁹³ With his right arm he holds a lotus to his face, and in his left hand he clutches a folded object, which H. Fischer calls a handkerchief.⁷⁹⁴ Dedut-Min's wife Abet stands behind his chair, with her right arm extended, resting on his shoulders in a loving embrace. In her left hand, which hangs at her side, she holds a drooping object with may be either a handkerchief or a lotus. To the left of the deceased couple is an offering table with numerous items piled upon it. As with the two blocks discussed

⁷⁸⁸ There are traces of a long horizontal sign here which may be X4 (𓆎). This reading would fit with the name *3b.t* in Ranke 1935, I: 1.18.

⁷⁸⁹ For bibliographic references to this title, see Jones 2000, 315, Title 1157.

⁷⁹⁰ For this title, see Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom 1982, 104-105, Title 864, and Fischer, Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index 1985, 66 for the translation of "Mayor."

⁷⁹¹ For this title, see Fischer, *Varia Nova* 1996, 50-52, Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom 1982, 170-171, Titles 1472-1476a, and the comments in Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* 2004, 12. Here the title is written with the red crown as opposed to the bee, a peculiarity which appears in Ward's Title 1476a, and regularly in Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos, as documented in Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, III: 76-77.

⁷⁹² For this name, see Ranke 1935, I:402.18, and cf. I:403.12. It is not clear why this masculine name has a feminine *t* ending.

⁷⁹³ Robins 1997, 118, and Fig. 131-132.

⁷⁹⁴ Fischer, *An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues* 1975, 14.

above (CS9.RN4 and CS9.RS3), the entire scene fits on a single block in such a way that the image of the deceased does not cross a seam.

4.2.5 Southeast Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS1)

Beneath the painted titulary of Useribre Senebkay in the southeast corner of his burial chamber, we uncovered a reused late Middle Kingdom block with two registers and a vertical border on the right side. The original scene measures 50 cm wide, and 34 cm high. Senebkay's tomb-builders had placed the block into the wall in such a way that the original image was upside-down.⁷⁹⁵

Fig. 4.8: Reused Block from the Southeast Corner of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS1)⁷⁹⁶

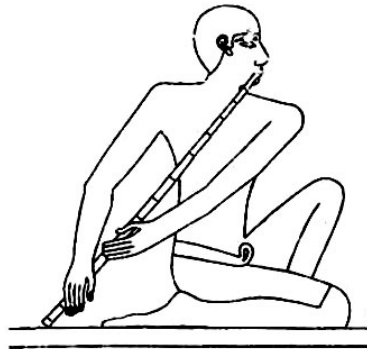


⁷⁹⁵ Demonstrating that the tomb-builders did not intend to incorporate the regenerative efficacy of the earlier scenes into Senebkay's tomb in any visible way. Indeed, it may have been them who chiseled out the images of the deceased in order to render them ineffective once the blocks were incorporated into CS.9.

⁷⁹⁶ After the epigraphic copy by J. Houser Wegner.

Due to surface smoothing, the block retains no indications of text. Four figures kneel in the upper register, seemingly two pairs in an alternating pattern of female, male, female, and male. The leftmost holds her hands up, in a gesture of clapping.⁷⁹⁷ Based upon similar scenes in the roughly contemporary tombs at Beni Hasan and Meir, there is a strong possibility that this register originally depicted musicians.⁷⁹⁸ The man next to the woman on the left holds a long, thin object, which extends down to his left side. At Meir, a man in a very similar position, depicted in the tomb of Ukhhotep, is in fact playing a long flute (Fig. 4.9).⁷⁹⁹ On block CS9.RS1, the woman to the right of the flutist kneels with her right arm crossed over her left breast with two projecting lines, while holding a handkerchief in her left. Too little of the rightmost figure in the scene remains to allow any definitive identification.

Fig. 4.9: Flute Player from the Tomb of Ukhhotep at Meir (B, No.2), North Wall⁸⁰⁰



⁷⁹⁷ See for instance the musicians in the tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan, Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part I* 1893, Pl. XII. For the gestures of musicians, see Dominicus 1994, 167ff. See also below, §4.2.6.

⁷⁹⁸ Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part II* 1893, and Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part II: The Tomb-chapel of Senbi's Son Ukh-hotp* 1915.

⁷⁹⁹ Blackman dated this tomb, Meir B, No. 2, to the reign of Senwosret I. See Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part I: The Tomb of Ukh-hotep's son Senbi* 1914, 8, and Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part II: The Tomb-chapel of Senbi's Son Ukh-hotp* 1915, *passim*.

⁸⁰⁰ Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part II: The Tomb-chapel of Senbi's Son Ukh-hotp* 1915, Pl. III.

In the lower register of this block, four men stand facing left, with their right hands over their left breasts, holding handkerchiefs in their left hands.⁸⁰¹ Between the two registers is a band which may originally have held a text,⁸⁰² while on the right side of the block is a terminal border, consisting of alternating empty spaces, and areas with four horizontal lines.⁸⁰³

4.2.6 South Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS2)

As with the preceding block, this architectural fragment was upside-down within the CS.9 burial chamber wall. The block itself measures 75 cm wide, by 34 cm high, and has two registers of decoration, which are separated by a band of text.⁸⁰⁴ Many of the figures show signs of being defaced by chisel, but traces of their original outlines remain. The text is illegible, but the band has two vertical strokes in the center, dividing it in two.

Both the top and the bottom registers have six figures, in two sets of three, facing each other. They direct their gaze toward the center of the scene, demarcated by twin border lines within the horizontal text band between the upper and lower registers. All six figures in the top register appear to be kneeling females. In the bottom register, the figures on the left are standing males who appear to carry objects, while on the right, not enough remains to indicate in what type of activity the standing females engage.

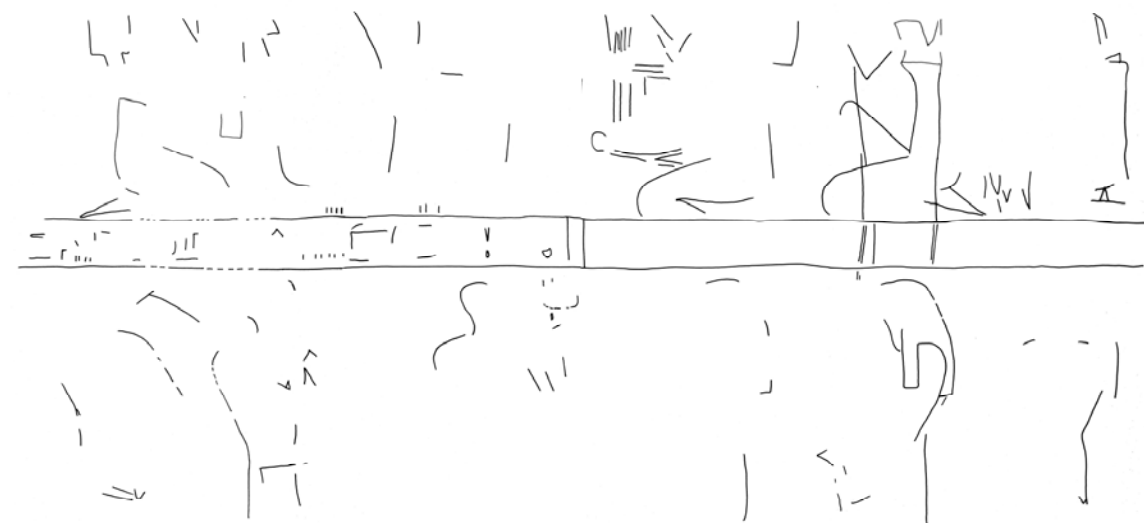
⁸⁰¹ The straightness of their back and the lack of any indication of feet below the buttocks argues that these figures are in a standing position, rather than kneeling.

⁸⁰² Based upon the existence of traces of text in this area on the three other blocks following this layout from tomb CS.9 (§4.2.6-§4.2.8).

⁸⁰³ This pattern is very common, especially in stelae of the period, as in Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, Pl. 11 (ANOC 4.4), Pl. 15 (ANOC 6.3), and Pl. 24 (ANOC 15.2).

⁸⁰⁴ The band and figures are the same size and scale as on block CS9.RS1, and could conceivably be part of the same scene.

Fig. 4.10: Reused Block from the South Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RS2)



Of all the figures, two kneeling women in the upper right of the scene are the only ones preserved well enough to allow identification and reconstruction. The first woman (upper right, third from right, facing left) kneels with both knees flat on the floor. She holds some type of apparatus in front of her, which extends upward, at least to her head. To her right is another kneeling woman whose left knee is on the ground, but whose right is pulled up in such a way that her right foot is flat on the ground. Her right elbow is preserved, showing that her bent right arm was raised. Her left arm does not cross her torso, indicating that its position was either up, or to the back of the figure.

Close parallels to these two figures come from Tomb 17 at Beni Hasan (Fig. 4.11). The apparatus that the woman holds on the South Abydos block is a harp, seen in profile.⁸⁰⁵ When depicted in this way, the Egyptian harp often exhibits a curved or curled

⁸⁰⁵ According to Krah 1991, the Egyptians depicted harps either frontally, or in profile. The Khety depiction is frontal, while the South Abydos example is profile. See also Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* 1974, 95-103, and below Fig. 4.12.

protuberance at its front, which appears on other contemporary and later sources (Fig.

4.12).⁸⁰⁶

Fig. 4.11: Singer and Harper from the Tomb of Khety (Beni Hasan, Tomb 17)⁸⁰⁷



Though the image on CS9.RS2 is highly effaced, the round protuberance, and the lines representing the harp's strings show up clearly. Furthermore, the preserved location of the arm of the woman to the right of the harpist matches that of the figure in Beni Hasan, identified as a singer.⁸⁰⁸ In parallel to block CS9.RS1 above (§4.2.5), the top register of this scene, therefore, contains a depiction of musicians,⁸⁰⁹ and as Kanawati and Woods outline, at Beni Hasan, “[s]cenes of musicians...are prominently depicted and placed near the tomb owner and his wife.”⁸¹⁰ Based upon this parallel, it is possible that

⁸⁰⁶ Krah 1991. For a scene in which artisans build a harp from the tomb of Ankhtifi at Moalla, see Vasiljević 1997.

⁸⁰⁷ After Newberry, Beni Hasan Part II 1893, Pl. XVI, from the south wall, but see also Pl. XIV for an identical image from the north wall of the same tomb. See also Shedid 1994, Fig. 62 for a photograph of this scene, and also Kanawati and Woods 2010, 68, Fig. 50-51.

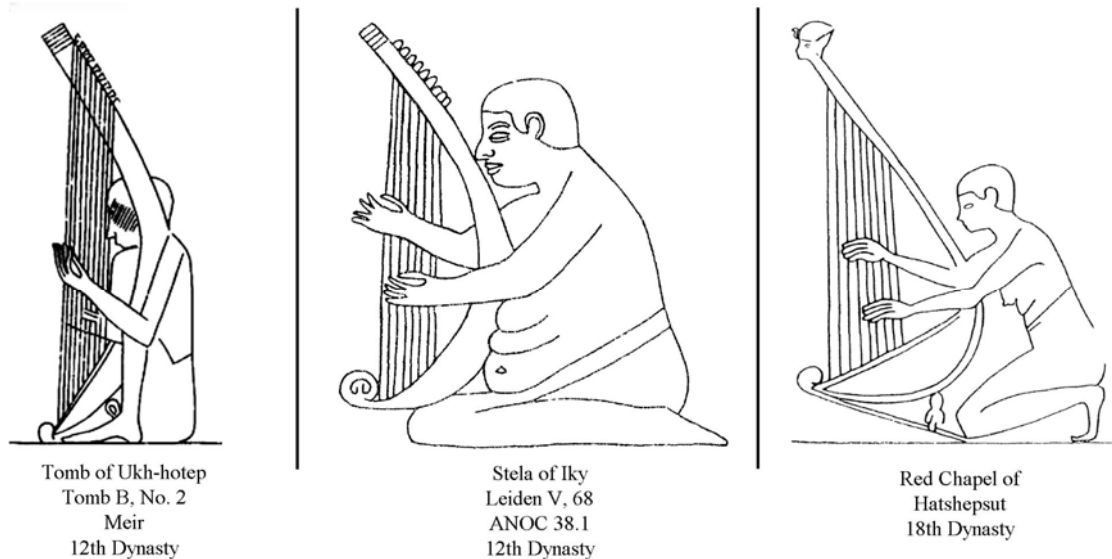
⁸⁰⁸ For the definitive hand positions of singers, see Schlott 1996.

⁸⁰⁹ The scales of these two blocks are the same, and indeed even the height of the central text band appears identical. It is, therefore, not outside the realm of possibility that the two blocks were originally placed side by side, creating a longer scene of five or more musicians in a line. However, since no other evidence links these two fragments together, their potential association must remain speculative.

⁸¹⁰ Kanawati and Woods 2010, 68. The same situation holds true at Meir.

an image of the deceased once existed near, and probably below,⁸¹¹ the images on this block.

Fig. 4.12: Harpers whose Harps are Shown in Profile ⁸¹²



4.2.7 North Wall, Outside the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN1)

Visible only on the outside of the CS.9 burial chamber was the edge of a block protruding from the wall which bore a small scene. As a result of its position, only about half of it was visible, which measured 47 cm high, and 13 cm wide. The rest of the scene to the right was inside the thickness of the burial chamber wall.⁸¹³ Whoever was

⁸¹¹ Scenes of musicians at Beni Hasan and Meir exist in the registers above the much larger image of the tomb owner. See for instance Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part II: The Tomb-chapel of Senbi's Son Ukh-hotp* 1915, Pl. III and XV, and Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part II* 1893, Pl. XIV and XVI.

⁸¹² Left image after Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part II: The Tomb-chapel of Senbi's Son Ukh-hotp* 1915, Pl. XV. Center and Right images after Schlott 1996, Fig. 10 and 12.

⁸¹³ The fact that this block was decorated on its short end indicates that the bulk of the block existed in the wall of the building of which it was a part. The block is 70 cm wide, leading to the conclusion that the building's walls were at least this thick. The top of the block near the decorated face also had a butterfly tenon, meant to secure two blocks. This method of joinery was also employed at Lisht, in the tomb of Djehuty, D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, 53. For this type of joinery in wood, see Gale, et al. 2000, 365-366, and Killen 1994, 15. For two examples of late Middle Kingdom

responsible for removing the blocks in preparation for reuse was careful to chisel away the faces of the individuals, but left the texts incompletely removed for some reason.

Two portions of inscription still exist on this block: one behind the kneeling figure of a man, and another in the band separating the upper and lower registers of kneeling figures. Both captions appear to be names, while the text in the band also includes the information

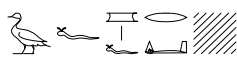
 z3ꜣmrꜣrdj[...], “His Beloved Son, Redi[...].”⁸¹⁴

Fig. 4.13: Reused Block from the North Wall, Outside the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN1)⁸¹⁵



wooden tenons from Lahun now in the Petrie Museum, see W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, Pl. IX.29.

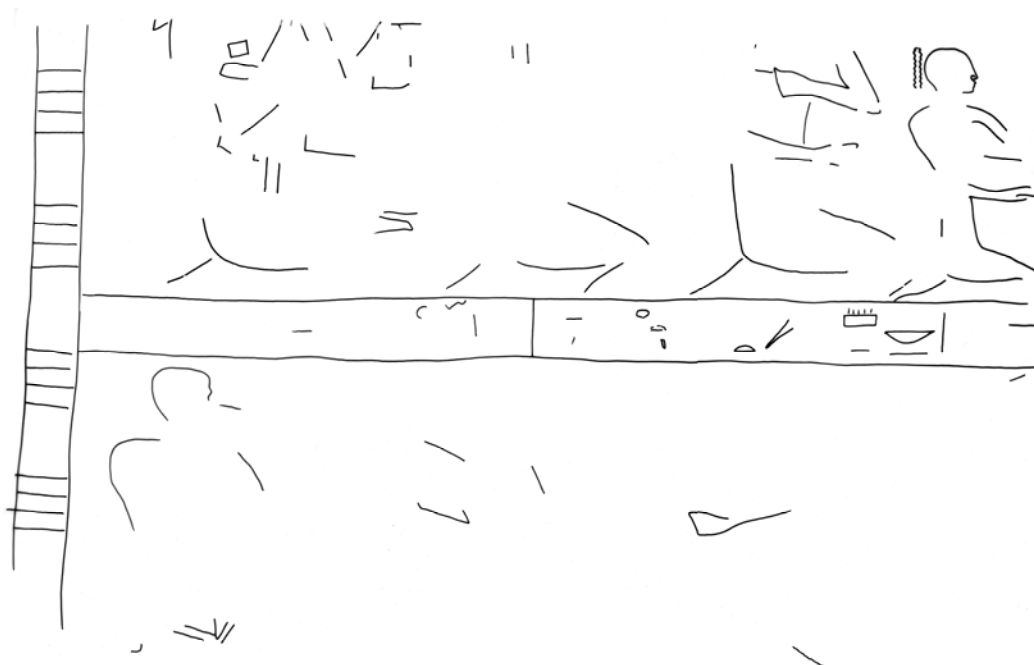
⁸¹⁴ As with contemporary stelae, the ꜣ here refers to the deceased owner of the tomb. For a further discussion of this type of scene, see below §4.2.8.

⁸¹⁵ After the original epigraphic copy by J. Houser Wegner.

4.2.8 Middle of the North Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN2)

The decoration on this block is very similar to that of the previous fragment discussed above (CS9.RN1). Set upside-down into the north wall of the CS.9 burial chamber, this block was the birth name of Senebkay upon it.⁸¹⁶ The remaining carved Middle Kingdom scene measures 50 cm wide, by 32 cm high. In most cases, as with all the other reused blocks from CS.9, workmen had gouged out the heads and portions of the bodies of the figures with a chisel, before covering the block with a thin coating of plaster.

Fig. 4.14: Reused Block from the North Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN2) 817



This block has two registers of figural decoration, separated by a band of text,⁸¹⁸ with a border on the left.⁸¹⁹ The upper register depicts four kneeling individuals who face

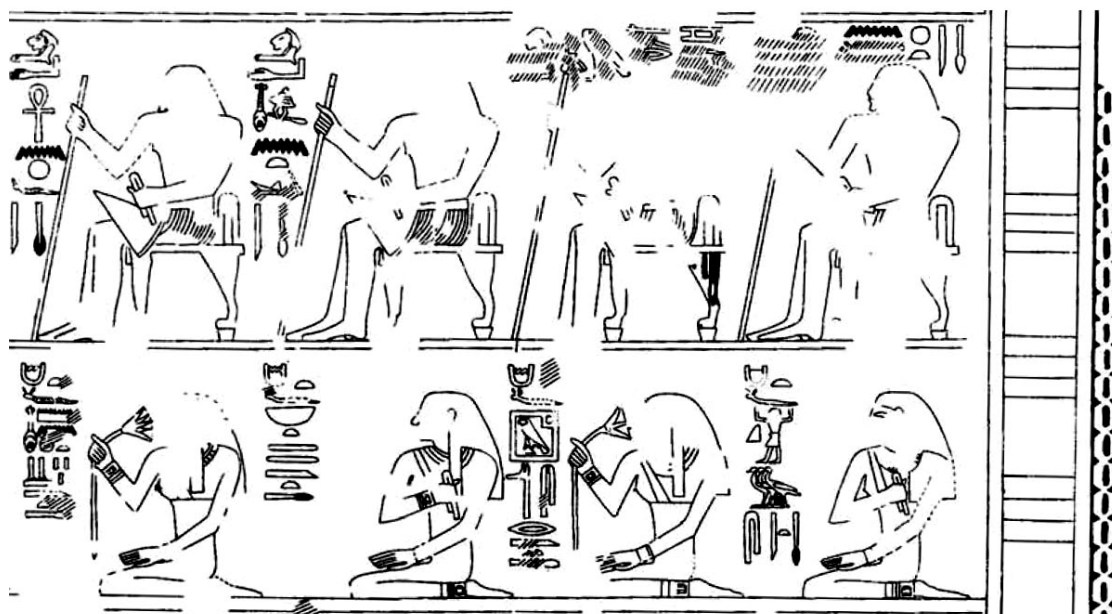
⁸¹⁶ As a result, it was impossible to remove the plaster from the central portion of the block.

⁸¹⁷ The painted cartouche has been left out of this epigraphic drawing to highlight the Middle Kingdom remains.

right. The rightmost of these figures is a child who appears to wear a side-lock.⁸²⁰ The lower register retains traces of three figures, who appear to be kneeling as well, though the surface plaster occludes their figures to a greater degree than those in the upper register.

Even though registers of individuals related to a deceased tomb owner appear regularly on late Middle Kingdom stelae,⁸²¹ the motif also exists in the tomb chapel of Ukhhotep, son of Ukhhotep (B, No. 4) at Meir (Fig. 4.15).⁸²²

Fig. 4.15: Tomb of Ukhhotep, son of Ukhhotep (B, No.4) at Meir, Outer Room, West Wall⁸²³



⁸¹⁸ Only two signs below and left of the child are legible (*nb .. mn.... t*).

⁸¹⁹ For an identical layout and border, see above §4.2.5, Fig. 4.8.

⁸²⁰ The side-lock appears slightly displaced to the rear of the child's head, but due to the damage the block sustained, coupled with the smaller stature of the figure, a side-lock is the most likely explanation for this image.

⁸²¹ For example, Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, Pl. 3 (ANOC 1.6), and *passim*. Often these individuals were members of the tomb owner's family.

⁸²² Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part III: The Tomb-chapel of Ukh-hotp Son of Ukh-hotp and Mersi* 1915, Pl. X and XI.

⁸²³ After Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part III: The Tomb-chapel of Ukh-hotp Son of Ukh-hotp and Mersi* 1915, Pl. X and XI.

In this tomb chapel, individuals related to the deceased sit or kneel in registers, all facing the same direction. The scene is bounded on both sides by a border, formally identical to that on the South Abydos blocks, with the addition of a chain-motif on the outside. In both the Meir and South Abydos scenes, the individuals represent the relatives of the deceased tomb owner.⁸²⁴

4.2.9 Bottom of the North Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN3)

The decoration of the last reused block from the CS.9 burial chamber is much more complex than that of the previous ones. This block measures 70 cm wide, and 45 cm tall, and the scenes in three registers extend all the way to its edges, indicating that it was originally part of a much larger scene. The bottom edge of the block serves as the ground-line for the lowest of the three registers. The top register is only a scant trace, again indicating that the block belonged to a much larger scene. All the figures on the fragment are engaged in either agriculture or production, representing what are often called scenes of “daily-life.”⁸²⁵

At least three distinct scenes exist on the block, with one in the upper register, and two in the lower. In the upper register, the scene records the production of pottery vessels. In the lower register, at the left is a representation of a man ploughing, and to the right of is a scene of the harvest.

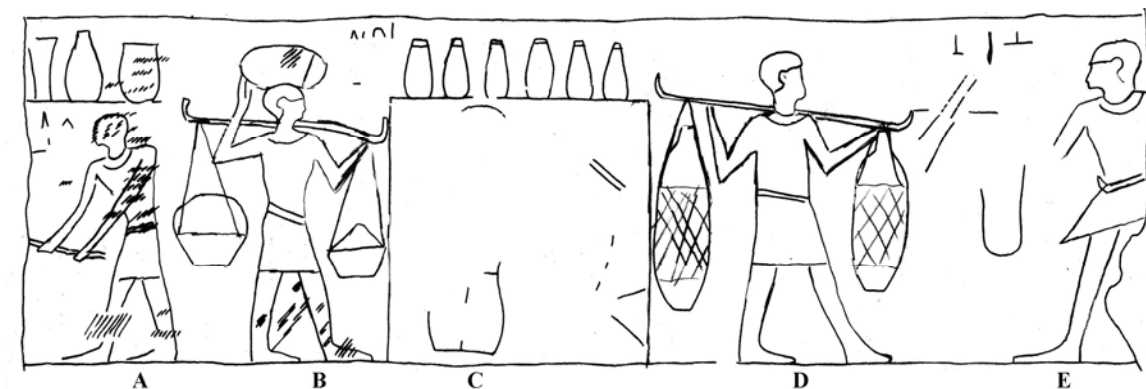
⁸²⁴ Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part III: The Tomb-chapel of Ukh-hotp Son of Ukh-hotp and Mersi* 1915, 16ff. In the case of Ukh-hotp, these individuals are his nomarchal predecessors, including his direct ancestors and family.

⁸²⁵ For the traditional view, and the more recent challenge to it, see Kamrin, *Monument and Microcosm: The 12th Dynasty Tomb Chapel of Khnumotep II at Beni Hasan* 1992, 59-64. See also and more recently McFarlane and Mourad 2012, *passim*. The full breadth of this important question is beyond the scope of the present work. The existence of these scenes does, however, demonstrate that the reused blocks were once part of a tomb chapel.

Fig. 4.16: Reused Block from the North Wall of the CS.9 Burial Chamber (CS9.RN3)⁸²⁶



Fig. 4.17: Theoretical Reconstruction of the Abydos Pottery Production Scene from CS9.RN3



The pottery workshop in the upper register has a number of different processes represented. On the whole, the action moves from left to right, reinforced by the fact that the man bringing clay (B), and the one removing the finished vessels (D) both face right (Fig. 4.17). Figure B represents the beginning of the process. Across his shoulders this

⁸²⁶ After the original epigraphic copy by J. Houser Wegner.

man carries a yoke, holding two containers of raw clay.⁸²⁷ The indistinct figure in front of the kiln (C) is probably the potter himself, fashioning a vessel.⁸²⁸ At the far left, above figure A, is a series of pottery vessels placed outside to dry before firing.⁸²⁹ These vessels rest upon their own secondary ground-line. To the right of the scene, figure D carries two completed pottery vessels in rope slings attached to a wooden yoke.⁸³⁰ Finally, another individual (E) stands at the right, and though it is not clear what his role in the scene is, he may be an overseer or the man responsible for taking delivery of the finished pottery vessels.

The man below the drying vessels (A) on the left of the block faces away from the rest of the scene, holding an implement handle in his hands. It is possible that this figure belongs to an entirely different scene to the left, now lost. However, a comparable image from the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan may be of help here (Fig. 4.18).

Fig. 4.18: Pottery Production from the Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Beni Hasan, Tomb 3)⁸³¹



⁸²⁷ Workmen in the tomb of Rekhmire who are fabricating bricks carry the mud and clay in the same shaped vessels. See D. Arnold, *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery: Fascicle 1* 1993, 11, Fig. 1, and below Fig. 6.2.

⁸²⁸ The remaining lines are not extensive enough to reconstruct this portion of the scene. For the various ways in which the Egyptians formed vessels, see D. Arnold, *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery: Fascicle 1* 1993, 15-83.

⁸²⁹ D. Arnold, *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery: Fascicle 1* 1993, 84.

⁸³⁰ See Fig. 4.19 below for a comparable figure from Beni Hasan.

⁸³¹ After Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part I* 1893, Pl. XXIX.

Directly to the right of the two men engaged in pottery production is a small scene of men chopping wood with axes. The position and shape of the axe in these men's hands is quite similar to figure A from the Abydos block. J. Kamrin grouped the men chopping wood with the scene to the right of boatbuilding.⁸³² The caption above the former scene, *zw*3, possibly meaning "beam (of wood)" does not definitively link the trees with the boatmaking or the pottery production scenes.⁸³³ Both operations in this register (boat building, and firing pottery) potentially make use of wood; boats were made from the substance, and it was potentially the fuel used to fire pottery. Indeed the woodcutters may appear between the two scenes because the larger pieces of wood went to the boatbuilders, while the smaller scraps went to the kiln for pottery firing. At any rate, from what little information remains on the South Abydos block, figure A appears to be engaged in chopping wood, a pursuit which is potentially related to the production of pottery.

The identification of the large square in the center of the register as a kiln is based on the pottery vessels indicated atop the structure. A comparable scene from the tomb of Baqet III at Beni Hasan (Fig. 4.19) shows two men unloading pottery vessels from a kiln, before handing them off to another man carrying them in rope slings.⁸³⁴ The artist here, as with the individual responsible for creating the scene on the South Abydos block, has

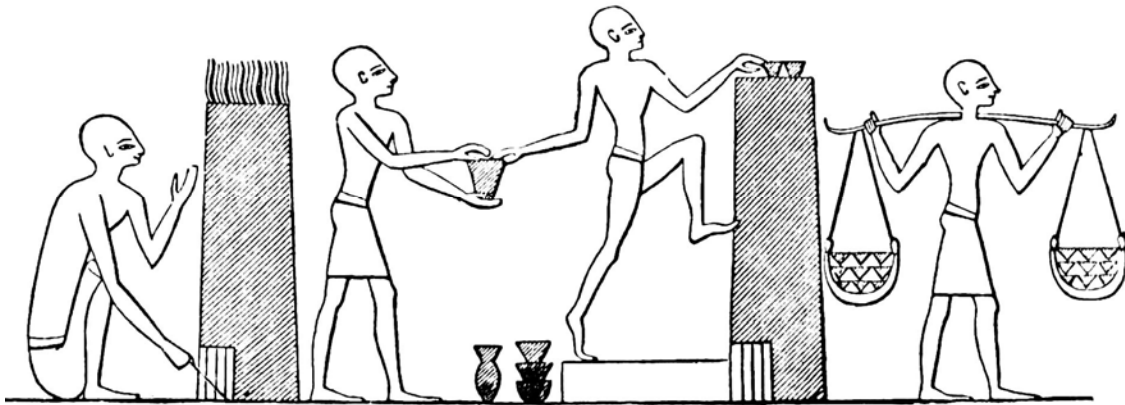
⁸³² Kamrin, *Monument and Microcosm: The 12th Dynasty Tomb Chapel of Khnumotep II at Beni Hasan* 1992, 93-95. See also Kamrin, *Cosmos of Khnumhotep* 1999, 62-63, though the sections are virtually identical.

⁸³³ Though the word is not in the WB, see Meeks 1981, 78.3380, who translates "un meuble(?)," citing Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period: an economic study of the village of necropolis workmen at Thebes* 1975. The *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* n.d. links the word with *z3w* (WB.III:419.14-17), hence the translation of "beam (of wood)."

⁸³⁴ In Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part II* 1893, Pl. VII, the kiln on the left bears the caption *qrr*, "firing (pottery)," making the purpose of the structure clear.

shown the fired pottery vessels, understood to be inside the kiln, at the top edge of the structure.⁸³⁵ This method of depiction follows a principle common to Egyptian art, in which objects thought to be inside or atop other objects are shown directly above their containers.⁸³⁶ In accordance with this idea, the six narrow-necked vessels atop the square behind figure C on the South Abydos block, are actually meant to be inside the structure, which must be a kiln.

Fig. 4.19: Two Pottery Kilns from the Tomb of Baqet III, Beni Hasan, Tomb 15⁸³⁷



The lower register of the South Abydos block from CS.9 (Fig. 4.20) seems to have two scenes apparent: 1) ploughing to the left (figure A), and 2) harvesting in the center and right (figures B-F, and possibly G). As with the other scenes, a good parallel comes from the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (Tomb 3)(Fig. 4.21).⁸³⁸ This

⁸³⁵ The same holds true for the kiln in the tomb of Khnumhotep II, shown above in Fig. 4.18.

⁸³⁶ Bread loaves atop an offering table, which stand on end in traditional depiction, is a good example. For the principle in general, see Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* 1974, 166-172.

⁸³⁷ After J. G. Wilkinson 1876, II, 192. The paint in the original scene is now somewhat smudged and details are difficult to see, but clearly two small vessels are atop the kiln. The tomb of Amenemhat (Beni Hasan, Tomb 2) has an almost identical scene, see Kanawati and Woods 2010, Photograph 121.

⁸³⁸ Kamrin, *Monument and Microcosm: The 12th Dynasty Tomb Chapel of Khnumotep II at Beni Hasan* 1992, 106-109, and Newberry, *El Bersheh Part I* 1893, Pl. XXIX.

scene is much more extensive than the Abydos version, and though it takes up two registers of the tombs western wall, the major constituents are the same in both.

Fig. 4.20: Reconstruction of the Harvest Scene on CS9.RN3

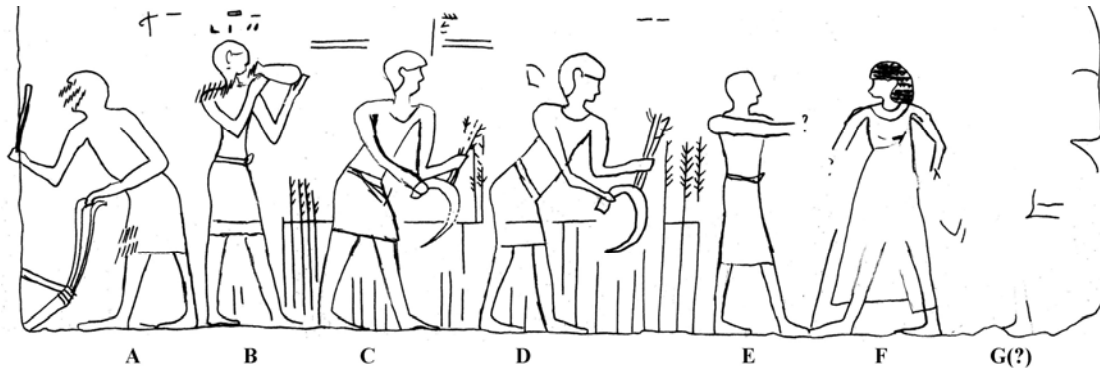
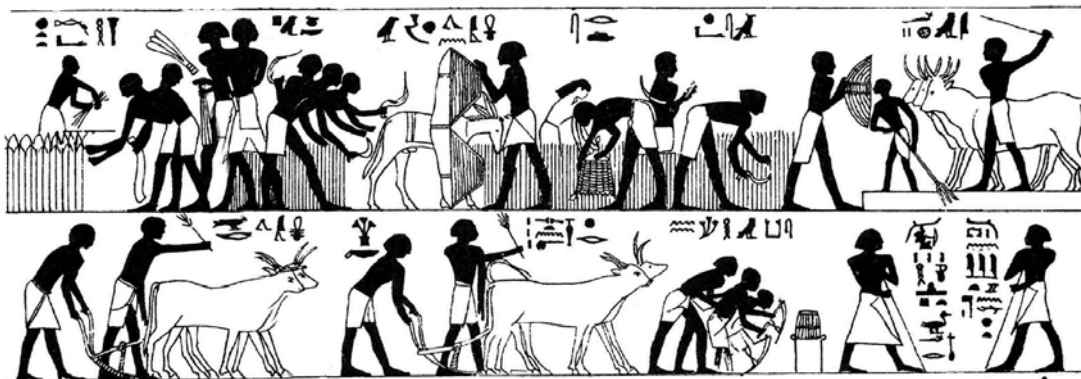


Fig. 4.21: Harvest and Ploughing Scenes from the Tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan⁸³⁹



In the top register at Beni Hasan, numerous men harvest *mh^c.w* flax (left)⁸⁴⁰ and two types of grain (center).⁸⁴¹ At the right is a threshing scene, where cattle trample the freshly harvested grain. In the lower register are two teams of men and oxen ploughing a

⁸³⁹ After Newberry, *El Bersheh Part I* 1893, Pl. XXIX.

⁸⁴⁰ R. Hannig 2006, 1113.

⁸⁴¹ Kamrin, *Monument and Microcosm: The 12th Dynasty Tomb Chapel of Khnumotep II at Beni Hasan* 1992, 106. According to R. Hannig 2006, 43, the term *sh^c* refers to cutting, but the second caption, *rd^s* or *r ds* remains unclear. R. Hannig 2006, 2797-2798 indicates that *ds* refers to flint, a sharp stone perhaps composing part of the sickles. For the standard terms referring to grain (wheat, emmer, etc.) in the Middle Kingdom, see J. Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri* 2002, 142.

field.⁸⁴² Finally, at the extreme right of the scene stand two officials, named in their epigraphs as the “General, Khnumhotep’s son Nefer,”⁸⁴³ and the “Steward of the Marshland, Netjer-nakht.”⁸⁴⁴

The reused block from CS.9 is a truncated version of this scene. One man (A) rather than two on the Khnumhotep block, drives his cattle (on the adjoining block, now missing) with a goad, holding onto the plough with his left hand.⁸⁴⁵ Figure B holds a vessel to his mouth, drinking,⁸⁴⁶ while figures C and D cut grain with their sickles. On the far right, two men stand facing each other (E and F). The man on the right (F) wears a plaited wig, and a long garment tied well above his waist, indicating that he is probably an official, and perhaps the tomb owner himself.⁸⁴⁷ Figures E and F mirror the two officials Nefer and Netjer-nakht from the Khnumhotep II scene perfectly. Too little remains of figure G to allow a positive identification, but it is possible that a smaller figure, perhaps a child, stands behind the official (F).

4.2.10 Synthesis

Though Useribre Senebkay probably had a hand in causing the destruction of late Middle Kingdom chapels at Abydos, the fact that he incorporated some of their blocks

⁸⁴² Kamrin, *Monument and Microcosm: The 12th Dynasty Tomb Chapel of Khnumotep II at Beni Hasan* 1992, 108.

⁸⁴³ For the title, see Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* 1982, 29, Title 205.

⁸⁴⁴ For the title, which appears to be a *hapax legomenon*, see Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* 1982, 26, Title 176.

⁸⁴⁵ In the Khnumhotep II version of this scene above, one man drives the cattle, while the other holds the plough with both hands. It is difficult to believe that one man could do both jobs at the same time, and hence the artist of the Abydos block has taken some liberties in order to truncate the size of the scene.

⁸⁴⁶ For a New Kingdom Theban harvest scene in which one of the reapers drinks from a vessel, see J. G. Wilkinson 1876, 419.

⁸⁴⁷ Robins 1997, 118, and Fig. 131-132, and above §4.2.4.

into his tomb served to preserve hints of what they may have looked like. As a result, the corpus of tomb scenes we have discussed above contains invaluable information about funerary practice at South Abydos during the late Middle Kingdom.

One of the most important questions about these blocks is from where they derive. The style of the artwork on the blocks themselves attest a date in the late Middle Kingdom, but this is where their information stops. Given that Senebkay's sphere of influence probably did not extend much further than the Thinite Nome, and the difficulty of transporting stone, the blocks almost certainly originated at either North Abydos, or South Abydos.

During our excavations inside tomb CS.9, we discovered two large, and numerous very small fragments of a monumental stela.⁸⁴⁸ From the pattern of destruction, it seems likely that the Senebkay reused the stela as a roofing block over his stone burial chamber.⁸⁴⁹ Though damage precludes an extended translation of these fragments at this time, the stela has a number of very interesting features. The top portion contains an offering formula which includes the name of Khentiamentiu, Lord of Abydos, determined by a seated Osiris holding a flail. The epithet *nb t3 dsr* at the beginning of line two indicates the probability that Anubis was included in the list of gods. The owner of the stela may have been named Meru, and bore the titles of *jr.j-p^c.t*, *h3.tj-^c*, and *smr-w^c.tj*, as well as two others which appear to be otherwise unattested. One of these which seems to

⁸⁴⁸ Publication of this stela will await further study. We are hopeful that excavations during upcoming field seasons will uncover the rest of the piece, allowing a full translation.

⁸⁴⁹ The stone was either purposefully broken by robbers attempting to enter the burial chamber (albeit long after the burial had been plundered), or it broke due to the weight of sand and material above.

read *ḥ3.t-ḥq3.w-nw-w3tw3.t*⁸⁵⁰ “the Foremost of the Rulers of Wa(t)wat,” includes *w3* signs (V4) with bifurcated ends, a feature common on late First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom stelae, especially from the Theban area.⁸⁵¹ Additionally, there is a broken reference to the *ḥq3.w W3s.t* “Rulers of the Theban Nome,” perhaps indicating a pre-unification date. In short, it seems likely that the stela dates to the early Middle Kingdom, perhaps close to the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II. Since South Abydos contains no early Middle Kingdom remains at all, it seems logical to assume that the stela was originally set up at North Abydos. If Senebkay brought this object to South Abydos from the northern portion of the site, it is possible that the other reused blocks derive from this location as well.

On the other hand, it seems equally plausible that the reused blocks discussed in the sections above derive from tomb chapels erected at South Abydos. The tomb study which appears in Chapter Three above discusses the tomb chapels which archaeologists have discovered at North Abydos. In none of the documented cases were the tomb chapels lined in decorated stone, nor were they large enough to have accommodated such an element. While chapels of the Old Kingdom in the Middle Cemetery exhibit decorated stone lining,⁸⁵² the reused blocks from tomb CS.9 date stylistically to the late Middle Kingdom, precluding these buildings from being the source of the blocks.

Furthermore, there are no demonstrable connections between the individuals depicted on the blocks and any known monument from North Abydos. None of the titled

⁸⁵⁰ The toponym Wawat is spelled here with an extra *t*.

⁸⁵¹ See for instance Robins 1997, 83-87, Fig. 80, 83, and 85.

⁸⁵² The closest parallel is the late Fifth to early Sixth Dynasty limestone-lined chapel in the Middle Cemetery. See below, and Richards, *Honoring the Ancestors at Abydos* 2010.

names recorded upon the CS.9 blocks appear in the North Abydos stela corpus.⁸⁵³ Since many of the individuals on the blocks possess titles of higher than average status, it is probable that these governmental officials desired to connect their funerary cults with that of their king. Based upon the clothing style which Dedut-Min wears (Fig. 4.7), the reused blocks are contemporaneous with the Senwosret III complex, and it is, therefore, highly probable that the structures originally stood at South Abydos. Indeed, the Senwosret III tomb enclosure area remained an important royal cemetery into the early Thirteenth Dynasty and beyond.⁸⁵⁴ As with Lahun,⁸⁵⁵ and Lisht,⁸⁵⁶ the area around Senwosret III's tomb probably served as a court cemetery.

In addition, the pattern of reuse which the tomb of Useribre Senebkay and its contents demonstrates, corroborates that the reused blocks originated close to Cemetery S. Senebkay's canopic box incorporated wooden planks which still bore the cartouche of Sobekhotep (I), the owner of tomb S10.⁸⁵⁷ The distance between S10 and CS.9 is only a matter of a few meters, pointing to the fact that Senebkay exploited the nearby late Middle Kingdom monuments as a source for his burial assemblage. All of the limestone Senebkay used in the construction of his burial chamber, including both the carved and

⁸⁵³ Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, and Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974. Some of the names without titles do appear in this corpus, but it is impossible to ascertain if these are the same individuals without titles and / or familial relations.

⁸⁵⁴ Ending with the royal tombs of the Abydos Dynasty in Cemetery S, adjacent to tombs S9 and S10. The tomb of Senebkay is one of the earliest of these structures, indicating that the late Middle Kingdom chapels survived for roughly two hundred years before being dismantled and reused.

⁸⁵⁵ For Lahun, see above §3.2.

⁸⁵⁶ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008.

⁸⁵⁷ See Wegner and Cahail, *Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber* 2014, Forthcoming, and Wegner 2014, Forthcoming. Excavations in 2014 revealed a stela with part of this king's cartouche directly in front of tomb S10, corroborating this identification.

blank slabs, was of the same fine type, probably from Tura.⁸⁵⁸ During the Second Intermediate Period with numerous polities in the Nile Valley,⁸⁵⁹ Senebkay and the Abydos Dynasty would not have had easy access to this type of stone, leading to the decision to disassemble and reuse local buildings. Huge amounts of Tura-type fine limestone exist in and around the Senwosret III temple and tomb, as well as within the tomb structures S9 and S10 directly adjacent to Cemetery S. Hence, this location afforded the local dynast a ready supply of high-quality, easily accessed material with which to build his tomb as quickly and cheaply as possible. With so much stone available to his builders, Senebkay targeted the small, easily moveable blocks belonging to private chapels in the immediate area, which were almost certainly defunct by that point.⁸⁶⁰

Assuming, for the moment, that the blocks derive from buildings at South Abydos, the next, and perhaps most important question, is from what kind of building do they derive? In general, the images on the blocks are of three types: 1) scenes of the deceased receiving offerings from other individuals (CS9.RF1, CS9.RN4, CS9.RS3); 2) scenes of kneeling family members and other individuals related to the deceased (CS9.RN1, CS9.RN2, CS9.RS1 lower register); and 3) scenes of actions and events of daily-life such as music and farming (CS9.RN3, CS9.RS1 top register, CS9.RS2).

⁸⁵⁸ The Tura quarries produced the highest quality limestone in Egypt, with those at Thebes a cheaper but less desirable alternative. The local Abydene limestone is friable, buff-tan in color, and filled with flint nodules. For limestone, see Aston, Harrell and Shaw, *Stone* 2000, 40-42.

⁸⁵⁹ Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, *passim*.

⁸⁶⁰ It is also possible that this practice served a dual purpose. If the chapels and tombs originally stood in what is now Cemetery S (the Abydene Dynasty necropolis), clearing them away would have opened up area for Senebkay's tomb, as well as provided material for its construction. This would, unfortunately, mean that the late Middle Kingdom tomb shafts exist among and below the tombs of the Abydene Dynasty.

Scenes of types one and two (deceased receiving offerings and kneeling family members) appear on late Middle Kingdom funerary stelae, especially those from Abydos, making them definitively funerary in character.⁸⁶¹ The closest parallels for the so-called daily-life scenes of type three appear in funerary scenes in offering chapels directly linked with physical tombs, such as those at Meir,⁸⁶² Beni-Hasan,⁸⁶³ and Lisht.⁸⁶⁴ Based upon these correspondences, the conclusion that these blocks originally belonged to above-ground tomb chapels associated with subterranean burial shafts and chambers seems almost certain.

Of the late Middle Kingdom tombs examined above in Chapter Three, only those at Lahun and North Abydos retained any indication of surface structures which were large enough to house cult equipment.⁸⁶⁵ In the case of Mastaba L in North Abydos Cemetery S (Peet), the mud-brick surface structure probably contained a funerary stela, set in a niche above an offering table, with associated dedicatory statues.⁸⁶⁶ Given the dimensions of the space inside the small mastaba (1.42 m x 0.80 m),⁸⁶⁷ it would have been impossible for large decorated stones to line the interior space. As a result, the decorated chapels of South Abydos must have followed a different layout.

⁸⁶¹ See Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, and below §4.4.2 (SA.1034).

⁸⁶² Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part I: The Tomb of Ukh-hotep's son Senbi* 1914, Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part II: The Tomb-chapel of Senbi's Son Ukh-hotp* 1915, and Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part III: The Tomb-chapel of Ukh-hotp Son of Ukh-hotp and Mersi* 1915.

⁸⁶³ Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part I* 1893, Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part II* 1893, and Kanawati and Woods 2010.

⁸⁶⁴ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008.

⁸⁶⁵ See in particular above §3.2.3 (L.620), and §3.3.4 (APS.23-26, and Mastaba L).

⁸⁶⁶ See above, §3.6.5.

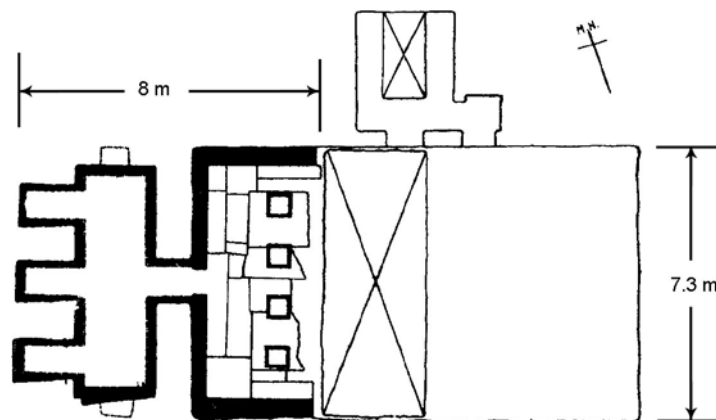
⁸⁶⁷ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 39.

The Middle Kingdom tomb of Anpy at Lahun, possessed both a large mud-brick mastaba, as well as an associated, albeit separated, funerary chapel.⁸⁶⁸ G. Brunton described this latter structure with these words:

In the side of the hill, east of [the mastaba], the funeral chapel was partly built and partly excavated, the rock faces being covered with blocks of fine white limestone, painted and sculptured. This chapel consisted of a main portion, and an annex on the north. An entrance hall with a row of four square pillars led to the principal chamber, which had three recesses opening out of it on the west, and a niche in each of the north and south walls. In the first were the beginnings of a shaft, only a foot deep. There may have been other constructions, but all that remains is the excavation in the rock slope, and a few built blocks around the pillared hall.⁸⁶⁹

The chapel measured roughly 7.3 m wide, and 8 m from entrance to its back wall.⁸⁷⁰ The floor and walls were covered with slabs of fine white limestone, which were then carved and painted with both textual and figural decoration, similar to the Abydos blocks.

Fig. 4.22: Detail of the Chapel of Anpy at Lahun (L.620)⁸⁷¹



Though later robbers almost totally destroyed the chapel's decoration, Petrie and his team recovered small fragments of the smashed lining blocks.⁸⁷² As with the wall

⁸⁶⁸ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 26.

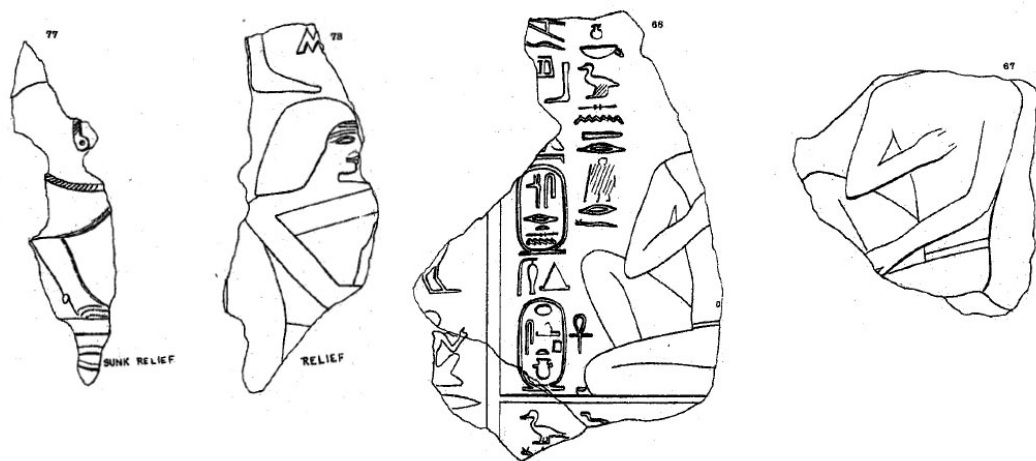
⁸⁶⁹ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 26. For the layout of the entire tomb, see Fig. 3.3 above, and for the chapel only, Fig. 4.22 below.

⁸⁷⁰ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. XXVII. By comparison, Mastaba L at North Abydos measured 3.5 m x 3.2 m in external dimensions, Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 39.

⁸⁷¹ After Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. XXVII.

decoration in the tombs at Beni-Hasan and Meir, that of the South Abydos blocks contains textual and figural references to the deceased receiving offerings, images of kneeling family members, and at least one fragment bearing an image of an ox, possibly engaged in ploughing (Fig. 4.23, left). Though without any original architectural context for the South Abydos blocks, it is difficult to suggest the exact shape of the chapel building. It is almost certain, however, given the similarity in the decorative programs in the tomb chapels at Meir, Beni Hasan, Lahun, and the South Abydos blocks, that these reused stones originally derived from tomb chapels of the late Middle Kingdom.

Fig. 4.23: Fragments of Decoration from the Chapel of Anpy at Lahun (L.620)⁸⁷³



The Middle Kingdom tombs at Lisht also possess above-ground, stone-lined, decorated chapels.⁸⁷⁴ For the most part, excavators discovered the chapels of the pyramid

⁸⁷² Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 26-27, and Pl. XXVIII-XXXI. Most of the fragments came from the large shaft fronting the chapel structure. The purpose of this shaft eluded its excavators, and is still somewhat unclear. Petrie himself believed it was meant to limit access to the chapel, which is possible, but seems unlikely, especially given the second smaller shaft within the north side-chamber.

⁸⁷³ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, Pl. XXX-XXXI.

⁸⁷⁴ D. Arnold, Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht 2008.

cemetery in various state of destruction and decay.⁸⁷⁵ One chapel, that of a man named Djehuty, was preserved well enough that a reconstruction of its architecture is possible.⁸⁷⁶ The structure's dating is somewhat speculative. As Di. Arnold surmises, since the walls of Djehuty's chapel abut those of Tombs A and D, it must be later than these two.⁸⁷⁷ In turn, The walls of Tomb D abut those of Tomb C, which he dates to the early part of Senwosret I's reign.⁸⁷⁸ Due to the close proximity of Djehuty's tomb with the Senwosret I pyramid, Arnold concludes that the pyramid was probably complete when Djehuty's tomb was begun, placing the tomb's construction in the reign of Amenemhat II or later.⁸⁷⁹

The surface structure above Djehuty's tomb measured 14.2 m north-south, and 12.8 m east-west (Fig. 4.24).⁸⁸⁰ Di. Arnold states that the structure, "built of brick, had the exterior appearance of a square mastaba but was actually a small funerary chapel... with a cross-shaped interior room."⁸⁸¹ Limestone slabs lined the interior walls of the chapel, and though they were mainly smashed into tiny fragments, excavators could identify scenes of offering bearers, standing female figures, and inscriptions relating to

⁸⁷⁵ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, e.g. 18, 40, 59. As a result of this destruction, reconstruction of complete relief decoration programs is speculative.

⁸⁷⁶ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, 52-54, Fig. 12, Pl. 93, 95-100.

⁸⁷⁷ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, 52.

⁸⁷⁸ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, 55.

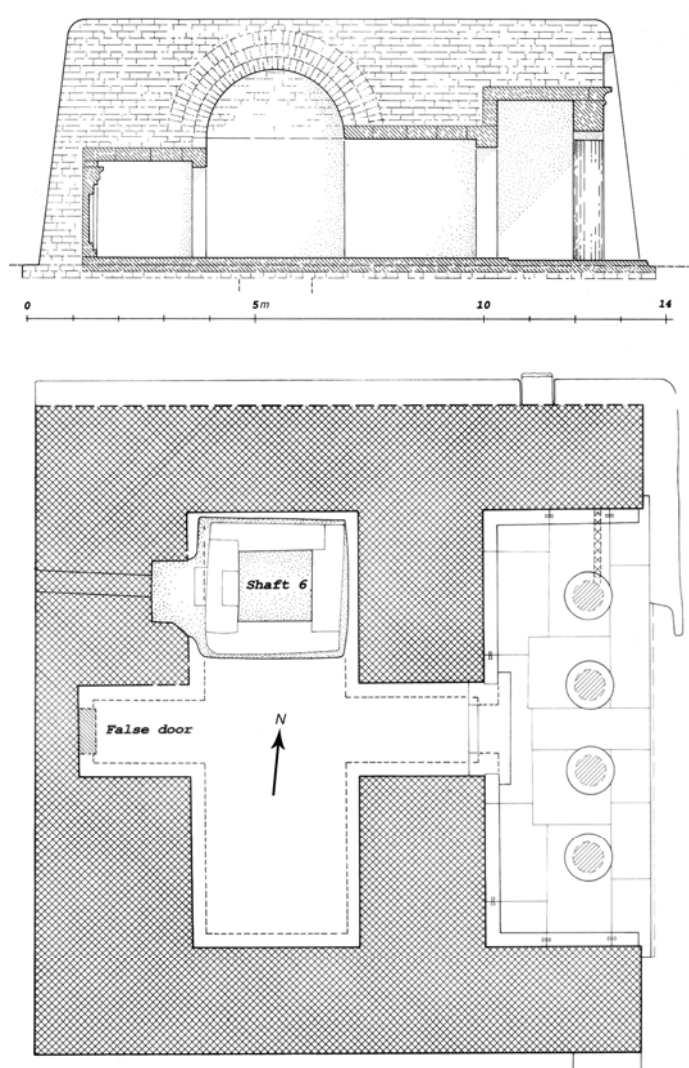
⁸⁷⁹ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, 52. Arnold only relates the relative dating of the tombs, and does not actually name Amenemhat II, though this conclusion is based upon the logic of his argument. This structure is, therefore, earlier than those at South Abydos, but based upon the similarities of the lining blocks, they are probably fairly comparable. The name Senwosret appears in the tomb's decoration, enclosed in a cartouche, but may refer to Senwosret I, II, or perhaps even III.

⁸⁸⁰ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, 53.

⁸⁸¹ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, 53.

the deceased.⁸⁸² Originally, a false door stood at the back of the chapel, inside its own niche, with the shaft running down to Djehuty's burial in the floor to the north.⁸⁸³

Fig. 4.24: Chapel of Djehuty at Lisht⁸⁸⁴



⁸⁸² D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, 53-54, Pl. 98-99.

⁸⁸³ It is worth noting that we also recovered a large Middle Kingdom stela from inside the tomb of Senebkay. It was broken in half, with numerous pieces missing, and may have been reused as a roofing block in CS.9. It is quite possible, however, that this stela originally stood inside a decorated offering chapel at South Abydos, similar in appearance and structure to that of Djehuty at Lisht.

⁸⁸⁴ After D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008, Fig. 12, and Pl. 96.

Both the Djehuty and Anpy offering chapels possessed a columned portico, fronting a chapel consisting of a transverse hall, opening to a single or multiple offering niches. Unlike Djehuty's structure, Anpy's mastaba, which covered the entrance to his tomb, was at a higher elevation than that of his chapel. This separation was due to the topography of the Dome area. Djehuty's tomb, on the other hand, could be reached through a shaft below the floor inside his offering chapel, which itself took the form of a mastaba. Based upon these two comparable structures, it seems likely that the offering chapels at South Abydos probably consisted of a mud-brick mastaba, containing a cruciform offering chapel, fronted by a columned portico, and lined with decorated stone blocks. Indeed, in addition to the reused decorated lining blocks from CS.9, excavations near tomb S10 in 2013-2014 produced the remains of rough faceted limestone columns which may derive from these non-royal tomb chapels.

Internal evidence from the Abydene reused blocks themselves may shed some light on the minimum number of tomb chapels in the area. Of the eight reused decorated blocks from the tomb of Useribre Senebkay, three bear the images and names of probable tomb owners: Senebef (CS9.RN4), Ibi-iau (CS9.RS3),⁸⁸⁵ and Dedut-Min (CS9.RF1). This situation leads to the probable conclusion that the eight blocks derive from a minimum of three different funerary chapels. In one case, that of Dedut-Min, the deceased's wife who is named in the text accompanies him, receiving offerings.⁸⁸⁶ Therefore at the very least, these chapels represent the probable burials of four

⁸⁸⁵ As we stated above (§4.2.3), Ibi-iau may be the son of Dedut-Min. Even if this is the case, since Ibi-iau appears as a deceased individual receiving offerings in his own right, the two blocks almost certainly derive from two different chapels or buildings.

⁸⁸⁶ See above, §4.2.4, and Fig. 4.7.

individuals.⁸⁸⁷ Assuming that the other relations depicted in the scenes eventually also chose South Abydos as their place of burial, the eight blocks represent the potential for a sizeable number of well-appointed tombs.⁸⁸⁸

With so little information, it is difficult to say much about the people depicted on these blocks. Their names do not appear on any other sources from either *Wah-sut* or North Abydos.⁸⁸⁹ Though based upon an *argumentum ex silentio*, it is possible that these people were not residents of South Abydos. Given their higher status titles, coupled with the notion that they may have lived elsewhere, leads to the notion that the tombs of these individuals may be part of a Senwosret III court cemetery.

These eight pieces of stone from South Abydos are the only remains uncovered to date, which bear witness to late Middle Kingdom, non-royal tomb architecture in the vicinity of the Senwosret III complex. Although their decoration is of great historical interest, their original contexts have been entirely lost. As a result, any possible reconstruction of these buildings must remain conjectural. At the very least, their existence serves to demonstrate that shaft tombs almost certainly lay undiscovered beneath the sands of South Abydos. If they were indeed part of a court cemetery, then their most likely original location is directly to the north of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure. During SATC excavations in this portion of Cemetery S in Summer 2013, we found scant remains of a wall running perpendicular to the tomb enclosure axis. The area

⁸⁸⁷ Namely Senebef, Ibi-iau, Dedut-Min, and his wife Abet.

⁸⁸⁸ At least twenty-three individuals appear upon these blocks who are not engaged in any activity or craft. The text on block CS9.RN1 indicates that one of these kneeling individuals is the son of the deceased.

⁸⁸⁹ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 299-361, and Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908. For a fuller discussion of this idea, see §9.2.

directly to the north of this has a number of anomalous surface features, perhaps indicating the presence of subsurface activity in the area.⁸⁹⁰

§4.3 Late Middle Kingdom Funerary Equipment from South Abydos

We move now to look at small objects discovered in and around the town of *Wah-sut*. Many of these objects belong to the category of late Middle Kingdom tomb artifacts, and like the reused blocks discussed above, stand as evidence of late Middle Kingdom tombs at South Abydos.⁸⁹¹ These items belong to five categories: faience hippopotamus figures, ivory apotropaia, nude female figures, mirrors and makeup vessels, and objects possibly associated with court-type burials.⁸⁹²

4.3.1 Faience Hippopotamus Figures

During recent years, excavations have uncovered pieces of two faience hippopotamus figures in and around the town of *Wah-sut*. The first, SA.15087, was badly damaged but appears to represent the head and upper back of a standing figure (Fig. 4.25). Two motifs still remain of its surface decoration: an open water lily and circle with seven dots surrounding it. Both of these patterns also appear on a standing faience hippopotamus figure now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 17.9.1, more commonly known as “William”)⁸⁹³ from the tomb of Senbi at Meir. They also

⁸⁹⁰ See also below §9.2.

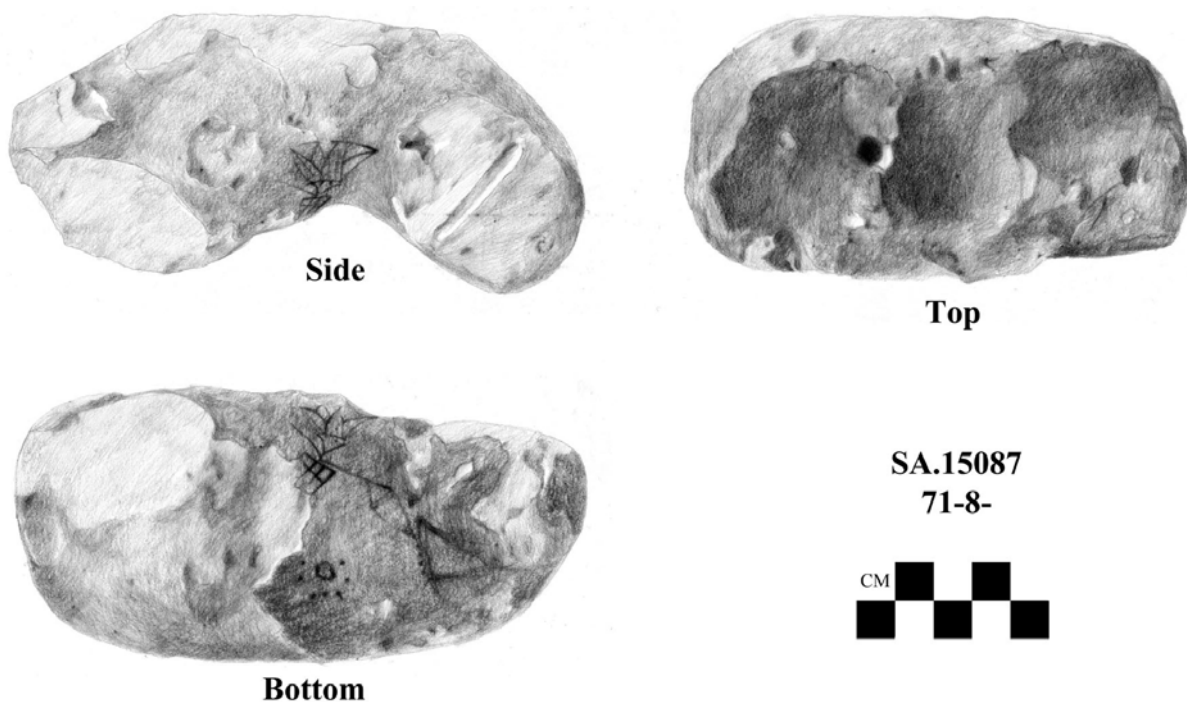
⁸⁹¹ See in general Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1978, 303-338, and passim, Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* 1988, David, *The Two Brothers: Death and the Afterlife in Middle Kingdom Egypt* 2007, and Doxey 2009.

⁸⁹² Grajetzki, *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life and Death for Rich and Poor* 2003, 54-61.

⁸⁹³ Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1978, 226-227, Fig. 142.

appear on a seated hippopotamus of the early Middle Kingdom from Abydos now in the G. Ortiz collection.⁸⁹⁴

Fig. 4.25: Faience Hippopotamus Figure⁸⁹⁵



The second of the two figures (SA.30121) is more fragmentary than the first. This piece was discovered in the western half of the *ḥrr.wt* directly to the south of the Mayor's house (Building A).⁸⁹⁶ This figure is also of the standing type, but its legs, head, and upper back are all missing (Fig. 4.26). Only one decorative motif still remains on the animal's right rear flank. The image is shaped like a four-pointed star within a

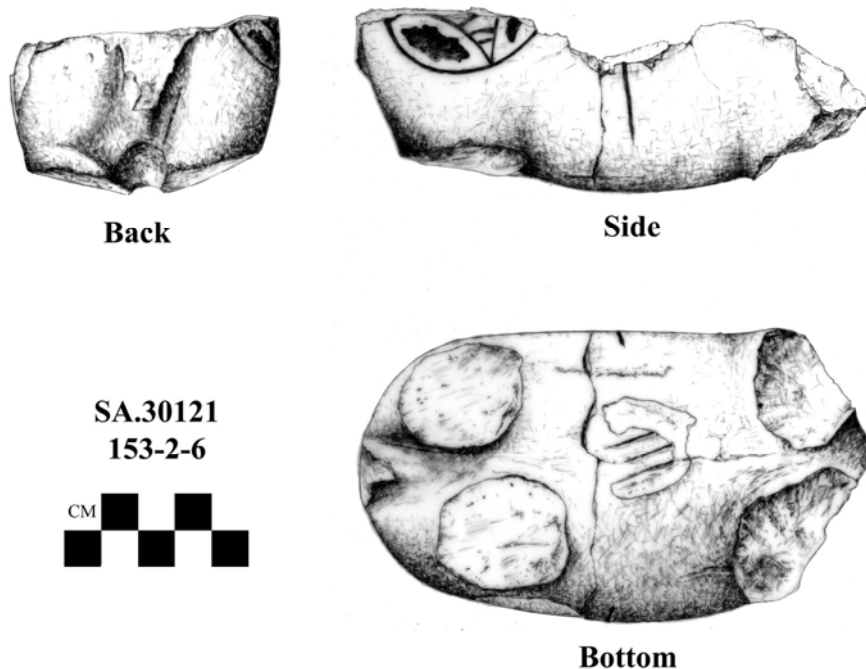
⁸⁹⁴ Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience* 1998, 148, 238, Catalogue # 143.

⁸⁹⁵ Original drawing by Stardust Atkeson.

⁸⁹⁶ J. Wegner, personal communication.

circle. An identical image appears on the right rear flank of the G. Ortiz hippopotamus mentioned above.⁸⁹⁷

Fig. 4.26: Fragment of a Faience Hippopotamus from South Abydos⁸⁹⁸



More than sixty of these hippopotamus statuettes are known to exist, about half of which are currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁸⁹⁹ As W. Hayes indicates, “the thirty-three examples in the Metropolitan Museum are, for the most part, from well-dated burials of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Thebes, Meir, and el Lisht.”⁹⁰⁰ Though F. Friedman theorizes that the statues may have been “enjoyed as household objects before assuming a funerary function,” the vast majority of examples derive from tomb

⁸⁹⁷ This position is the same one on which that a lily-pad appears on other examples. The circle with four pointed star also appears on a New Kingdom ostrakon along with other plants, and may represent a seed-pod or other part of the lotus plant. For the ostrakon, see R. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art* 1992, 60, Fig. 3.

⁸⁹⁸ Original drawing by Krisztian Vertes.

⁸⁹⁹ Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1978, 226. See also Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* 1976, 127-128.

⁹⁰⁰ Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1978, 226.

contexts. As such their existence at *Wah-sut* points to a probable cemetery in the vicinity.

The precise meaning of these figures is still shrouded in uncertainty. The hippopotamus represents both Taweret, a positive apotropaic goddess,⁹⁰¹ as well as the chaotic strength of Seth.⁹⁰² Scholars tend to highlight one or the other of these aspects in discussing hippopotamus figures, yet none of the faience statuettes yet discovered bear any markings unequivocally linking them with either theoretical meaning. F. Friedman notes that due to possible ancient breakage, the chaotic nature of these animals was rendered harmless before they were placed in tombs, but in such a situation there seems no positive reason to include them in the tomb in the first place.⁹⁰³

4.3.2 Apotropaion

If one accepts the connection between hippopotamus figures and the apotropaic qualities of Taweret, then a fragmentary apotropaion discovered in two widely separated South Abydene contexts may represent related apotropaic ideology of a funerary nature (Fig. 4.27).⁹⁰⁴ The top portion of an apotropaion came to light in the surface layers of the Senwosret III mortuary temple.⁹⁰⁵ The lower fragment which joins perfectly with the upper derived from the upper strata of the Mayor's house in *Wah-sut*. Since the two

⁹⁰¹ See the short history of Taweret in Weingarten 1991, 4-6, with references.

⁹⁰² te Velde, Seth: God of Confusion 1967.

⁹⁰³ Friedman, Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience 1998, 238. The meaning of these objects is beyond the scope of the present discussion, but the existence of these tomb-goods at South Abydos does, at the very least, point to tombs in the area of *Wah-sut*. For the notion that the statues were ritually killed by the deceased in the guise of Horus, see Behrmann 1996.

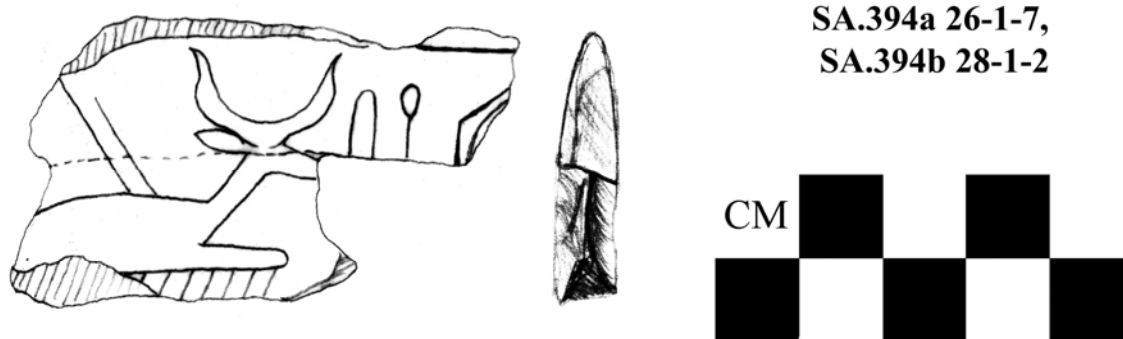
⁹⁰⁴ The majority of these implements were fabricated from hippopotamus ivory, deriving from the curved lower teeth of the animal. By their very material, they connect to hippopotami.

⁹⁰⁵ J. Wegner, personal communication.

locations are separated by almost 375 m, and both pieces derived from loci near the surface, it is likely that they both originally belonged to a single burial lying somewhere between the two find-spots, and robbers brought the fragments to the surface.⁹⁰⁶

SA.394a-b bears a single depiction of a horned animal resting upon a hatched area with two lines projecting from its back. A similar bovine entity appears on at least eight other apotropaia (Berlin 6710; Mus. Royaux E.293; Mus. Royaux E.7664; Cairo 9439; UCL ODU 36/8;⁹⁰⁷ UCL 16382; Ashmolean E3953, and Philadelphia UMP E 2914⁹⁰⁸). The figure on the Berlin, UCL 16382, and Ashmolean examples has plain horns like those on the South Abydos apotropaion. On the two Mus. Royaux, Cairo, and UCL ODU 36/8 pieces, a sun-disc exists between the cows horns, and the Philadelphia example seems unique, having a double plume crown between the horns. All attestations of the entity include a flail extending from the animal's back.

Fig. 4.27: Fragments of an Ivory Apotropaion from South Abydos



⁹⁰⁶ Thus far the vast majority of excavated examples (especially those from Lisht now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I* 1992, 69-70) come from tomb contexts, often in the shaft fill material. Though a decorated birth-brick was also discovered in the Mayor's house, the stratigraphic location of the Abydos apotropaion argues against it originating in this domestic context. It is probable that a tomb in the local vicinity was its origin.

⁹⁰⁷ See W. M. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* 1927, Pl. 36.8.

⁹⁰⁸ See Silverman, *Searching for Ancient Egypt* 1997, 234-235.

The vignettes to BD Spell 17 elucidate the identity of this creature. In the papyrus of Ani, an identical image of a cow, wrapped in a garment and wearing a sun-disc and *menat*-collar resting upon a shrine, bears the caption *mhy.t-wr.t jr.t R^c* “The Great Flood, Eye of Re.”⁹⁰⁹ The Great-Flood, Mehet-weret, is a reference to the ocean of creation, who by the New Kingdom had been reinterpreted as a manifestation of Hathor, the Eye of Re, wearing the *menat*-collar.⁹¹⁰ According to the Pyramid Texts, Mehet-weret was the celestial waters from which Re was born, identified both with Nut and Hathor.⁹¹¹ The bovine personification of these celestial waters, as the birthplace and medium of the sun-god’s creation, is in perfect accord with the concept that the apotropaia invoked entities who protected the sun-god at his birth to protect both human babies as well as the deceased upon their rebirth into the afterlife.⁹¹² Like the faience hippopotami, the apotropaion almost certainly derives from a tomb context at South Abydos.

4.3.3 “Concubine” Figure

Another funerary item is a fragmentary nude female figure which was discovered near the south wall of the Senwosret III mortuary temple (Fig. 4.28). Figures of this type have been called variously “female figures,”⁹¹³ “concubine figures,”⁹¹⁴ and “fecundity”⁹¹⁵ and “fertility figures”⁹¹⁶ Recently, E. Morris has demonstrated quite convincingly a connection between wooden “paddle-dolls,” female figures in stone,

⁹⁰⁹ Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* 1994, Pl. 8. For Mehetweret, see B. Altenmüller 1975, 80-81.

⁹¹⁰ Piankoff 1955, 28. For the *menat*-collar and Hathor, see Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* 1971, 45.

⁹¹¹ Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittelägyptens* 1965, 82, 171.

⁹¹² See Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittelägyptens* 1965, 82, 171, and recently Wegner, *A Decorated Birth-Brick from South Abydos* 2009, 480-485.

⁹¹³ Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1978, 220-221.

⁹¹⁴ Ritner 1997, 225.

⁹¹⁵ Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience* 1998, 104, 206.

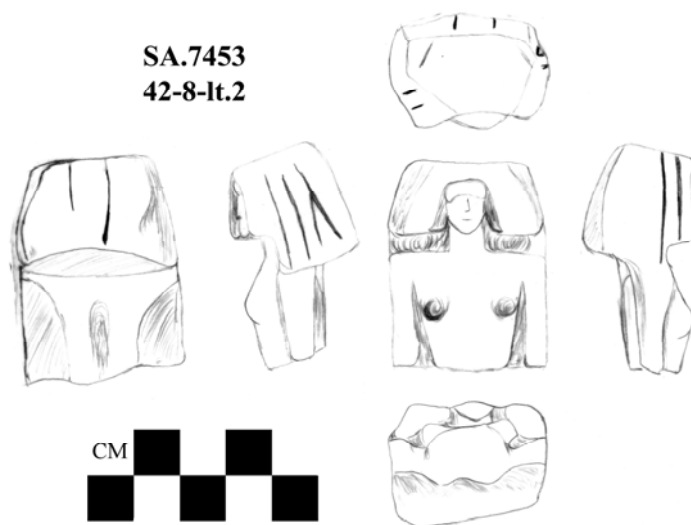
⁹¹⁶ Pinch 2006, 125-127.

wood, and faience, with troupes of Khener dancers.⁹¹⁷ These dance troupes are especially connected with the cult of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II, but she also concludes that:

These figurines are more frequently found in graves and houses at sites with royal mortuary temples or temples closely identified with the cult of the dead king (Lisht, Kahun, Hawara, Heliopolis, Abydos, Abusir = forty four dolls) than at sites without such structures (Kubban, Deir el-Bersha, el-Matarya, and Esna = six dolls total).⁹¹⁸

Since these figures have been discovered within domestic, as well as royal funerary cult buildings, it is difficult to state unequivocally that the South Abydos example originally

Fig. 4.28: “Concubine” Figure from South Abydos



derived from a tomb context. At any rate, the fact that we found the object in a context connected with the Senwosret III temple follows the trend which E. Morris outlined, in which these dolls relate to the cult of dead kings.⁹¹⁹ Like the tombs at North Abydos, which link the deceased with Osiris geographically, those at South Abydos would also

⁹¹⁷ E. Morris 2011, 71-103. See also Nord 1981, and Bryan, The etymology of *hnr* "group of musical performers" 1982.

⁹¹⁸ E. Morris 2011, 102.

⁹¹⁹ E. Morris 2011, 102.

associate the dead with the Osirinized Senwosret III through their proximity to his complex.

4.3.4 Other Items of a Funerary Nature

A small number of other items are of a similarly ambiguous provenience.⁹²⁰ A bone mirror handle (SA.13929, Fig. 4.29) from *Wah-sut* is of the same lotus-stalk form as two which J. Garstang discovered in tombs AGE.1 and AGE.259 of his Cemetery E at North Abydos.⁹²¹ Though it is clear from the discussion above in Chapter Three that mirrors were a staple of burial goods, especially at North Abydos, they were also objects which the living used.⁹²² The same can be said for a corpus of stone vessels from South Abydos. Kohl-jars and flaring beakers are the most common types which occur in the tomb contexts discussed in Chapter Three.⁹²³ A stone cosmetic grinder from *Wah-sut* (SA.11355) was similarly an item required in life as well as death. Without clear archaeological contexts, however, these objects only afford a general picture of what contemporary tomb goods may have looked like. It is just as possible that they derived from tomb contexts as it is that they came from houses of the living.

A stone flail-bead (SA.3585) similar to those discovered at Lahun may indicate the presence of court-type burials in the area.⁹²⁴ Perhaps corroborating this conclusion,

⁹²⁰ The archaeological provenience of these objects associated with the remains *Wah-sut* is secure, but there is a question as to whether or not they originated elsewhere before collection during excavations. The term “provenience” here refers to their original contexts, rather than the locations where we found them.

⁹²¹ Garstang 1901, 44-45, Pl. XIV.

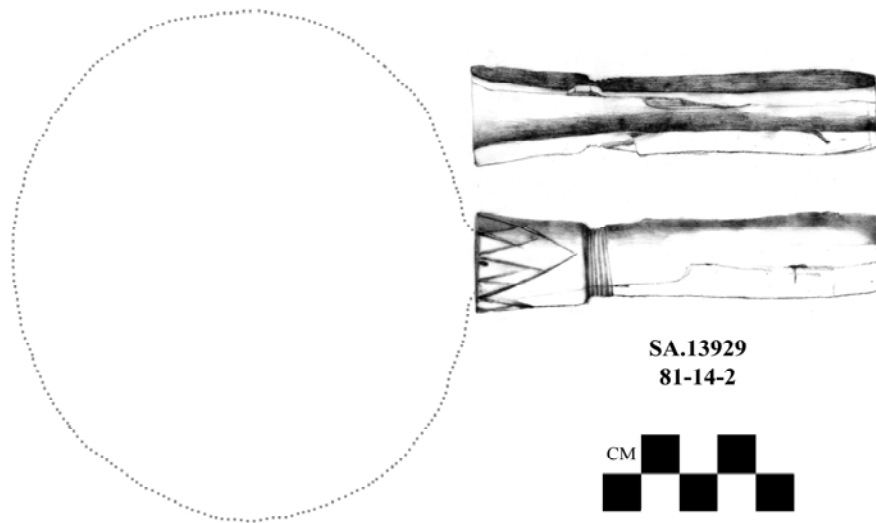
⁹²² See in particular above, §3.6.4.

⁹²³ Twelve of the seventeen vessel fragments from South Abydos belong to these two types. The corpus consists of SA.14205; SA.12222; SA.4017; SA.11355; SA.11441; SA.3595; SA.11503; SA.11601; SA.11934; SA.11499; SA.3008; SA.3561; SA.3593; SA.2701; SA.2813; SA.3596; and SA.3581.

⁹²⁴ See above Chapter Three, §3.2.3, and Mace and Winlock 1916, Pl. XXX.

we also recovered a conical mace-head (SA.3033) from within the town.⁹²⁵ Though these two objects are hardly enough to conclude definitively that court-type burials exist at the site,⁹²⁶ they demonstrate the possibility that northern burial styles began appearing in the south with the creation of a royal mortuary complex at South Abydos.

Fig. 4.29: Bone Mirror Handle from *Wah-sut*



4.3.5 Summary and Conclusions

Though some of the funerary objects discussed above could derive from other contexts within the Senwosret III mortuary temple or town of *Wah-sut*, they all potentially belong to late Middle Kingdom non-royal burial assemblages. The faience hippopotamus figures and the apotropaion fragment are the strongest evidence of tombs at South Abydos. Given the spread of these objects between the Temple and town areas,

⁹²⁵ Mace and Winlock 1916, Pl. XXXII.B.

⁹²⁶ There also exist a handful of stone model axe-heads which seem to have no other purpose than models of tools and implements meant for a tomb context.

the proposed cemetery location south of *Wah-sut* midway between the cultivation and high desert is highly likely.

§ 4.4 Conclusions

Based upon comparison with Lahun, the town of *Wah-sut* at South Abydos housed more than eleven thousand people from its foundation to dissolution. Tombs of these people must exist in the area, but none have yet come to light. The topography of South Abydos points to the most likely cemetery location lying between the Senwosret III mortuary temple and tomb enclosure, to the east of the tomb complex's axis. Funerary objects and architectural fragments from South Abydos corroborate the existence of tombs in this area, which future excavation will hopefully uncover. Based upon these scraps of evidence, it seems likely that the tombs of South Abydos will appear quite similar to those of North Abydos, albeit with larger tomb chapels, and a higher proportion of objects which normally appear in tombs from the northern part of Egypt, near the royal Residence. These objects include faience hippopotamus statues, ivory apotropaia, and the numerous trappings of so-called court-type burials.

CHAPTER FIVE: DOMESTIC FUNERARY COMMEMORATION AT SOUTH ABYDOS DURING THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM

Excavations within the South Abydene town of *Wah-sut* have uncovered numerous fragmentary objects which seemingly do not fit into a domestic context. These objects include stelae, offering tables, statues, and other objects which appear to belong within the sphere of funerary commemoration. Most often, archaeologists find these object types associated with tomb chapels, leading Petrie, who found identical object categories within the town of Lahun, to conclude that they originated in tombs, but were brought into the town for unknown reasons by unidentified individuals.⁹²⁷ Recently, excavations inside a late Middle Kingdom town at the site of Kom el-Fakhry revealed a complete assemblage of funerary cult items, including a stela, offering table, statue, and offering stands.⁹²⁸ These three sites – *Wah-sut*, Lahun, and Kom el-Fakhry – are all tied together by this contemporary cultural expression of domestic funerary cult. This chapter will first survey the background of funerary commemoration, and then contextualize a corpus of archaeological remains from within *Wah-sut* into this practice, in an attempt to understand the ritual actions and cultural meanings associated with domestic funerary commemoration at South Abydos.

⁹²⁷ W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, 31, §62, and below §5.1.3.

⁹²⁸ Tavares and Kamel 2012, and Jeffries 2012.

§ 5.1 Funerary Commemoration during the Late Middle Kingdom

To the ancient Egyptian mind, the worlds of the living and the dead were intertwined inextricably.⁹²⁹ The dead relied upon the living for food offerings and other necessities, and those still upon earth enticed the deceased to act on their behalf in all spheres of existence.⁹³⁰ The speech of one man, Merirtyfy, to his wife which he recorded on a stela, encapsulates both this belief, and the mechanism through which it was enacted:

How are you? Is the West taking care of you [according to] your desire? Now since I am your beloved upon earth, fight on my behalf and intercede on behalf of my name. I did not garble [a spell] in your presence when I perpetuated your name upon earth. Remove the infirmity of my body! Please become a spirit for me [before] my eyes so that I may see you in a dream fighting on my behalf. I will then deposit offerings for you [as soon as] the sun has risen and outfit your offering slab for you.⁹³¹

Merirtyfy's poignant address to Nebetiotef demonstrates the perceived link between the living and the dead.⁹³² His words outline the responsibilities of entities on both sides of death. If the living make offerings to the dead through recitation of spells on stelae and offering tables, then the dead will remain pacified and act on behalf of the living.⁹³³ This bipartite relationship had responsibilities on both sides.

For the bulk of Egyptian history, the most archaeologically visible form of commemorative ritual is that which took place at the tomb itself.⁹³⁴ This situation is mainly due to the fact that tombs from all periods of dynastic history, which were built in

⁹²⁹ Harrington 2013, 28-33.

⁹³⁰ Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* 1928.

⁹³¹ Wente 1990, 215, Letter 349.

⁹³² See also Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* 1928, and Harrington 2013.

⁹³³ The "reversion of offerings" may also be at work here. After the deceased had consumed the essence of the food offerings, they would see the letter written upon the offering vessel. Following this, the actual food could be retrieved and used by the living. See Grunert 2007 for discussion of this concept.

⁹³⁴ Harrington 2013, 86-97.

the desert, have survived relatively intact, and that most rituals employed pottery vessels which later robbers passed-over. Yet in recent years, other forms of commemorative ritual which did not take place at the tomb site have been recognized.⁹³⁵ Memorial chapels not associated with burials served to link the deceased with potent state or local cults.⁹³⁶ Additionally, commemorative emplacements within the home allowed for the continual interplay between the living and the dead,⁹³⁷ as Merttyfy's letter indicates. The following sections will look at these three commemorative locations in greater detail.

5.1.1 Commemoration at the Tomb-site

The earliest royal tombs in Egypt at Umm el-Gaab possessed symmetrical stelae naming the owner of the tomb buried within.⁹³⁸ As time progressed, these stelae became more and more elaborate and common for both royal and non-royal burials alike, but their primary purpose remained the same: record the name of the deceased buried within the tomb. Once the burial took place and the below-ground portion of the tomb was closed, the above-ground tomb chapel would have been the only locus for interaction between the living and the dead.

Tomb chapels of the Old Kingdom and later bore images of the deceased, both in two dimensions carved on the wall, as well as in three dimensions in the form of *ka*-

⁹³⁵ Harrington 2013, 65-102.

⁹³⁶ As at Abydos, see Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, and at Elephantine, see Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine* 1994. See below §4.4.2.

⁹³⁷ Harrington 2013, 65-86.

⁹³⁸ Wengrow 2006, 252, and O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 148.

statues⁹³⁹ housed in specially made rooms now called *serdabs*.⁹⁴⁰ The names and titles of the deceased appeared on false doors, and depictions of the tomb owner (and occasionally his wife) seated before a table piled with food offerings accompanied these texts.⁹⁴¹ Offering tables were also a common feature, representing the location where the transformation of physical and liquid offerings into objects which the deceased could use took place.⁹⁴² The mastaba chapel of Idu at Giza is a clear example of this locus, in which a statue of Idu appears to rise out of the ground using the false door.⁹⁴³ His arms extend out upon the offering table, ready to receive the gifts which pious visitors ought to leave for him. By entering a tomb chapel, speaking the name of the deceased, and making some form of offering (be it physical food, water poured over the offering table, or a vocal invocation offering), the deceased would receive both physical and spiritual nourishment in the afterlife.

As we discussed above in Chapter Three, the main form of tomb-side chapel at Abydos during the Middle Kingdom was a small mastaba with an internal vaulted chamber containing a stela, offering table, and statues.⁹⁴⁴ Tomb shafts existed directly outside this structure, with the burial chambers often cut in such a way that they extended beneath the mastaba.⁹⁴⁵ This position placed the bodies directly beneath the offering

⁹³⁹ As Kusber 2005, 128f outlines, personal names containing the *k3* element appear under king Djer in the First Dynasty, and therefore predate royal usages of the element within names. For the *k3* in general and *k3*-statues, see also Bolshakov 1997, *passim*.

⁹⁴⁰ For example see W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* 1998, 70-72, and Fig. 134.

⁹⁴¹ For Middle Kingdom examples, see Brovarski, *False Doors and History: The First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom* 2009.

⁹⁴² See for instance Habachi 1977.

⁹⁴³ Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu* 1976.

⁹⁴⁴ See above, Chapter Three, §3.3.4, APS Mastaba L. See also §4.2.10.

⁹⁴⁵ For the practice of placing a burial chamber under sacred space on the surface, see Silverman, *Non-Royal Burials in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Early Twelfth Dynasty* 2009, 47-101.

table. Water poured onto these tables would run off the spout at the front, presumably falling down to the ground, beneath which rested the deceased.

5.1.2 Commemoration in Memorial Chapels without Burials

Another place of interaction between the living and the dead connected the dead with state and local cults.⁹⁴⁶ One of the prime loci representing the use of memorial chapels not associated with a physical tomb is the site of North Abydos.⁹⁴⁷ During the Twelfth Dynasty there was a rise in the creation of memorial chapels, or *mḥ.t* structures on the hillside overlooking the processional way from the Osiris Temple to Umm el-Gaab.⁹⁴⁸ We know from stela set inside these *mḥ.t* structures that in some cases the deceased had never visited Abydos, and instead sent agents to erect a commemorative stela within a chapel in their name.⁹⁴⁹

The concept that the deceased desired to take part in divine festivals is an old idea. For instance, the offering texts within the Giza mastaba of Nisedjerkai include the following list:

May offerings be given her on the New Year's feast, the Thoth feast, the First-of-the-Year feast, the *wag*-feast, the Sokar feast, the Great Flame feast, the Brazier feast, the Procession-of-Min feast, the monthly *sadj*-feast, the Beginning-of-the-Month feast, the Beginning-of-the-Half-Month feast, every feast, every day, to the royal daughter, royal ornament, Ni-sedjer-kai.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁶ Richards, *Honoring the Ancestors at Abydos* 2010 has also demonstrated that during the early Middle Kingdom, votive chapels were erected in the Middle Cemetery near the tombs of the officials of the Old Kingdom.

⁹⁴⁷ Another prime example of this practice existed at the shrine of Hekaib at Elephantine. See Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine* 1994.

⁹⁴⁸ See above, Chapter Two.

⁹⁴⁹ As is the case with the Nebipusenwosret Stela (above, Chapter Two). See also R. Freed 1996, 297-336: 297-336; A. Ilin-Tomich 2011, 92-102, and 311 (English abstract), and Marée 2009, *passim*.

⁹⁵⁰ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1973, 16. For the order of these feasts and their relation to callendrics, see Parker 1950, 34-37, and A. J. Spalinger 1994, 50-52.

Indeed a similar list appears in the tomb of Paheri at el-Kab dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁹⁵¹ As mentioned above in Chapter Two, the orientations of these chapels upon the Terrace of the Great God were such that they not only allowed visitors to the chapels during festival days to read the texts, but the images of the deceased also faced directly toward the festivities and the main cult areas. As a result, these individuals were able to take part in the procession, and receive a portion of the resurrection which the Osiris festival celebrated, whether their bodies were physically present or not.

In architectural form, many of these buildings resembled contemporary tomb chapels, albeit exhibiting less mass and tighter overall grouping.⁹⁵² The largest and most complete chapel structure consisted of an outer enclosure wall with a door in the northeast. Inside this doorway was a courtyard with twin tree pits. South of this feature stood an arched building housing the memorial stela or stelae.⁹⁵³ On the other end of the spectrum, simpler chapels consisted of a tiny vaulted structure, sometimes no larger than a few bricks high, housing a crudely incised or painted stela.⁹⁵⁴ In some cases the commemorative stelae were dedicated to a single individual, and in others, numerous members of the same family were listed together.⁹⁵⁵

⁹⁵¹ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1976, 16.

⁹⁵² O'Connor, *The "Cenotaphs" of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos* 1985, 170. D. O'Connor compares them to chapels within Peet Cemetery S, which were vaulted chambers inside large brick mastaba structures.

⁹⁵³ See the stela of Dedu in Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 163-164.

⁹⁵⁴ See above, Fig. 3.12, Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen* 1911, Pl. 80-82, and Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, Fig. 76-77.

⁹⁵⁵ Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974. See also Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908.

5.1.3 Commemoration in the Home: Domestic Funerary Cult

Well-preserved town sites are relatively rare in Egyptian archaeology, and many that have survived are in some way atypical.⁹⁵⁶ Despite their unorthodox purposes – workers’ villages, pyramid towns, priestly quarters, forts – many of these town sites did still house normal members of Egyptian society. In other words, just because the overall town itself had a larger purpose does not mean that the individuals living within it would have been vastly different than their cultural counterparts living elsewhere. For the Middle Kingdom there are three town sites which are of great interest to the discussion of domestic cult: Lahun,⁹⁵⁷ Kom el-Fakhry, and *Wah-sut*.⁹⁵⁸ Of these, Lahun and *Wah-sut* represent purpose-built settlements, while Kom el-Fakhry seems to have grown much more organically.

The town of Lahun consists of three main portions: a block of large houses including the mayoral residence; the main town to the south of the large houses; and a block of much smaller dwellings along the town’s western side.⁹⁵⁹ W. Petrie began excavating the site in 1899. He called the town ‘Kahun,’ based upon an apparent misunderstanding when he asked a local man the name of the site,⁹⁶⁰ but most scholars now employ the more accurate “Lahun” or “Illahun.” Much like *Wah-sut*, Petrie’s excavations of Lahun produced objects related not only to both daily life, but also

⁹⁵⁶ Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 137-180, Lacovara 1977, Bierbrier 1982, and Gates 2011, 98-101, 112-114.

⁹⁵⁷ Above, §3.2. See also §4.1.1 for populations sizes in Lahun and *Wah-sut*, and §8.1 for further comparisons between Lahun and *Wah-sut*.

⁹⁵⁸ For domestic cult at *Wah-sut*, see below §4.5.

⁹⁵⁹ Quirke, *Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape* 2005, 43ff, Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 149ff.

⁹⁶⁰ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, *Lahun* 1923, 1, and Quirke, *Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape* 2005, 1.

funerary ritual.⁹⁶¹ Since mortuary objects seemed out of place, Petrie expounded the theory that they derived from the nearby cemeteries.⁹⁶² While this is perhaps possible, it is equally likely that these objects represent domestic cult objects from within the town of Lahun.

W. Petrie discovered a wall painting in one of the houses which seems to depict an offering scene (Fig. 5.1), and may represent a domestic funerary cult ritual. In the top register, a diminutive man holds up an object to a much larger seated figure who appears to be wrapped in a tight-fitting garment. To the right of this scene are wooden stands upon which sit vessels of various shapes. The bottom register contains a row of doors or shrines, which S. Quirke employs in his reconstruction of how the houses of Lahun appeared, since he believed these images represented actual doors along a street.⁹⁶³ Yet a very similar scene appears in the Tomb of Djehuty-nefer during the New Kingdom (TT104),⁹⁶⁴ in which two individuals present offerings to a seated man. To the right of this scenes is the depiction of a large doorway, seemingly set into a wall with windows above. N. Harrington believes that this doorway-motif is in fact an image of a false door or stela erected within the house as part of domestic cult, similar to those found in situ within Deir el-Medina (e.g. House S.O. *V*).⁹⁶⁵

⁹⁶¹ W. M. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* 1890, 31, and W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, 13.

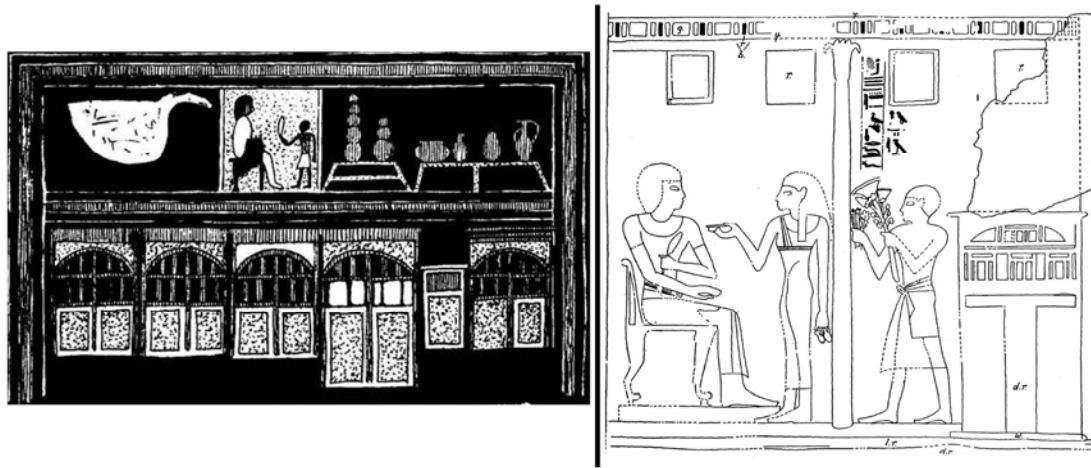
⁹⁶² W. M. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* 1890, 31, §62

⁹⁶³ Quirke, *Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape* 2005, 48-52. See also Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 151-152.

⁹⁶⁴ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, I: The Theban Necropolis, Part One: Private Tombs* 1994, 217-218.

⁹⁶⁵ Harrington 2013, 68-71. The rooms of Deir el-Medina which had a single column were at the center of the house. Given that there were no spaces between the houses, a doorway on the side wall of this chamber

Fig. 5.1: Lahun Painting (Left) ⁹⁶⁶ and Djhuty-Nefer Receiving Offerings (Right) ⁹⁶⁷



Though separated by almost five hundred years, the Lahun painting and offering scene from TT104 are quite similar. Both depict a seated individual who is the focus of the ritual. To the right of this figure stand others who proffer gifts to the seated individual. Large doors, which may represent false doors, are also associated directly with both scenes. Assuming these scenes depict domestic funerary cult ritual, the Lahun painting is strong evidence for the practice of domestic cult rituals within the Middle Kingdom town.

The objects which Petrie found within Lahun corroborate this conclusion. One statue which he discovered bears an inscription for the King's Acquaintance Sasobek, son of the Lady of the House Tjt.⁹⁶⁸ The text appears on the sides and back of the seat, as well as on its base in front of the feet. On its locus of discovery, W. Petrie states: "It was

would have led through the external wall into the neighboring house. Though spatial analysis of Egyptian renderings is often dangerous, this is possible evidence that the doorway is in fact a false door.

⁹⁶⁶ W. M. Petrie, Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob 1891, Pl. XVI.6.

⁹⁶⁷ N. Davies 1929, Fig. 1; see also Harrington 2013, 69-71, Fig. 21.

⁹⁶⁸ W. M. Petrie, Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob 1891, 13, Pl. XII.14. Unfortunately Petrie does not mention the size of the statue.

found standing in the corner of a room in the second of the large northern mansions.”⁹⁶⁹

Unfortunately he does not indicate what room, or what other objects, if any, were associated with it. While it is not impossible that this statue originated elsewhere in a tomb context, it is probable that it was originally part of a domestic cult emplacement within the house.⁹⁷⁰

A number of other objects may also belong to the practice of domestic cult, though W. Petrie also fails to indicate their specific contexts.⁹⁷¹ These items include a broken statue of Intef-iker, a stela of Meri-ankh which was set into a wall,⁹⁷² another broken quartzite statue of Heshneb (?), a painted stela belonging to Hekekuta, and a number of other statues and stelae, most of which were found in a damaged state.

In one case, a clear connection exists between tomb and domestic cult. As discussed above in Chapter Three, the tomb of Anpy (L.620) consisted of a large mud-brick mastaba, with a shaft leading down to twin burial chambers.⁹⁷³ A tripartite, rock-cut offering chapel lay down the slope of the hill to the east (Fig. 4.22). Very significant to the present discussion, W. Petrie discovered half of a damaged false door belonging to the same Anpy within the town of Lahun.⁹⁷⁴ With more than 2 km distance between the mastaba and the town, it is highly unlikely that the stela was brought to the town secondarily. With commemorative monuments at both his tomb chapel, and inside

⁹⁶⁹ W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, 13.

⁹⁷⁰ Harrington 2013, 80-81.

⁹⁷¹ W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, 13.

⁹⁷² W. Petrie believed that this location indicated the stela's use as a "boundary mark."

⁹⁷³ See §3.2.3, and above §4.2.10.

⁹⁷⁴ W. M. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* 1890, Pl. XI.10, and W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, Pl. XII.11.

Lahun, it seems plausible to assert that Anpy's funerary cult was celebrated within a domestic setting at Lahun.

These data point toward the probable conclusion that domestic funerary commemoration took place at Lahun, though they tell us nothing about how or where these rituals were carried out. For this we must look to another site, slightly north of Lahun. Recent excavations by the Mit Rahina Field School under the direction of D. Jeffries and A. Tavares have uncovered a late Middle Kingdom settlement at the site of Kom el-Fakhry.⁹⁷⁵ Inside one of the town-houses, the excavators discovered a stela, an offering table, a seated pair statue belonging to Nyka and Sathathor, and an burner in the form of a dwarf.⁹⁷⁶ Though they were slightly out of their original positions, the excavators found all these objects together, and believed that the stela was originally placed against the wall, with the offering table below it, and the statuary arranged nearby.⁹⁷⁷ These are the same elements which Petrie discovered within Lahun. Since the Kom el-Fakhry pieces were set up within a small square room of a house, they appear to have served as a functioning cult place. We must, therefore, seriously consider that the majority of funerary objects from Lahun and *Wah-sut* also served as functioning elements of domestic funerary cult.

In her discussion of domestic funerary cult, N. Harrington highlights the notion that commemorative stelae in houses have much in common with false doors often seen

⁹⁷⁵ Tavares and Kamel 2012, 1-7 and Jeffries 2012, 5-6. The site represents a satellite settlement associated with the much larger city of Memphis.

⁹⁷⁶ Tavares and Kamel 2012, 6. The reports have not yet included architectural plans of the town.

⁹⁷⁷ Tavares and Kamel 2012, 6.

in tomb settings.⁹⁷⁸ Indeed the stela discovered in the domestic context at Kom el-Fakhry has a frame like that of a false door, consisting of a raised rectangular border and a cavetto cornice at the top.⁹⁷⁹ Additionally, the doors depicted in the Lahun painting, the stela of Anpy from inside the town, and the TT104 house scene all have a frame and cavetto cornice. Acting as a false door, the commemorative domestic stela would have allowed the spiritual element of the deceased whose name appeared on the object, to enter into the house of the living in order to receive offerings.

In line with this idea, there may even be a connection to home ownership inherent in the installation of these cult fixtures. N. Harrington fleshes out this point much more fully:

In long-established communities, ownership of a house in many societies brings with it a responsibility to associated ancestors: in essence the ancestors become part of the inheritance. ... A similar arrangement is suggested in the 6th Dynasty Cairo Linen letter to the dead: 'Recall what you said to [my] son Iry; 'They are the houses of the ancestors that need to be sustained ... It is a son's house and then (his) son's house.' May your son maintain your house just as you maintained your father's house.' ... The strong link between the dead and the house is indicated in inscriptions such as that from TT 32: 'May you enter your house of the living, rejoicing and jubilating', and in the message of TT 82, where the tomb owner is described as going forth 'to see his house of the living.'⁹⁸⁰

Understanding the “houses of the ancestors” and “house of the living” in these passages quite literally does seem to connect domestic funerary cult with the ideal situation of property transfer from father to son.⁹⁸¹ As such the domestic cult emplacement within

⁹⁷⁸ Harrington 2013, 68-69.

⁹⁷⁹ The stela of Khuinutef discovered within *Wah-sut* is also of this formal type. See recently Brovarski, *False Doors and History: The First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom* 2009, 359-423.

⁹⁸⁰ Harrington 2013, 71.

⁹⁸¹ As in the Osiris myth, where Horus is expected to recover and maintain his father's position and possessions, which would have included his house. See also Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* 1993, 157, Fig. 55 for his discussion of this type of inheritance in Lahun, based upon papyrus census documents. See also the comments in Schloen 2001, 313-316, in reference to household structure of the Egyptian New Kingdom. For property transfer by means of the *jm.jt-pr* document type, see Logan 2000, *passim*.

the house is of great importance not only to the continued existence of the dead, but also the ongoing identity of the living within the house.⁹⁸²

Perhaps bolstering the connection between cult objects and home ownership is the fact that many objects associated with this practice have been discovered in a broken, or utterly destroyed state. Most of the stelae and statues W. Petrie discovered within Lahun were smashed, and in many cases the names of the individuals were illegible.⁹⁸³ The exact same situation holds true for objects found at *Wah-sut*, where we discovered numerous stela fragments smashed to pieces. In the case of the Dedetneshmet stela (Fig. 5.7), a beautifully painted and carved stela was completely ravaged, including chisel marks obliterating most of a name.⁹⁸⁴ The pieces were then built into the foundation of a secondary wall.⁹⁸⁵ Furthermore, the statue we discovered within a pottery dump south of *Wah-sut* (SATC.5.1, Fig. 5.2)) also seems to have been deliberately destroyed, leaving no trace of the head or any inscription identifying the original owner.⁹⁸⁶ If such ritual destruction is in fact the case, the purpose would be to sever the link between the object and the deceased individual represented thereon. In part by removing old domestic funerary cult items, the ownership of the house could be transferred to a new family, or the cults of individuals who had faded from memory could be removed from the home. Presumably the funerary cults of these individuals would still have been maintained from

⁹⁸² Harrington 2013, 28-33. See also Silverman, *The appeal of Sobek-hotep* 2002.

⁹⁸³ W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, 13.

⁹⁸⁴ See below, §5.2.2. The same destruction may have been carried out on the reused blocks from CS.9, before they were incorporated into Senebkay's tomb. See above, §4.2.

⁹⁸⁵ These pieces were found within the Mayor's house. J. Wegner, personal communication.

⁹⁸⁶ See below §5.2.1.

time to time at their tomb chapels, but their connection to the world of the living was of decreased importance.⁹⁸⁷

5.1.4 Summary

Funerary commemoration took place in a range of different locations in ancient Egypt, from the tomb itself, to memorial chapels disassociated from burials, to the homes of the living descendants of the deceased. In all of these cases the ritual mechanism of commemoration and funerary offering was the same: spoken spells and the dedication of offerings in the form of physical goods or water poured over the images of these goods carved upon offering tables. Armed with this short survey of funerary commemoration, we turn now to look at the archaeological remains of these practices from the town of *Wah-sut* at South Abydos.

§ 5.2 Late Middle Kingdom Commemorative Objects from *Wah-sut*

Since *Wah-sut* has a great deal in common with the town of Lahun, it is not surprising that we have uncovered objects very similar to those which W. Petrie discovered at Lahun during recent excavations at South Abydos. The following sections will examine a number of these object categories, in order to extract information concerning their use in domestic funerary commemoration.

⁹⁸⁷ In other words, the practice of domestic funerary cult was as much for the continued existence of the deceased as it was for the living left behind on earth to come to terms with the loss of their loved one. See Harrington 2013, 28-33.

5.2.1 Non-royal Statuary

During 2012-2013 excavations directly south of the rear wall of *Wah-sut*, and in line with Street 2 (Fig. 2.4, between houses E and G), we uncovered a large mound of dense pottery debris. This midden area ran parallel to the town at a distance of about 15 m from its back wall. At the southern border of this rubbish heap we discovered a tight group of red-purple quartzite statue fragments (5-1-2: 69). The breaks appeared very fresh, but given a secure archaeological context among late Middle Kingdom hemispherical cups, water jars, and bread molds, the only conclusion was that the statue was smashed immediately before deposition.⁹⁸⁸ Given the density and hardness (Mohs 7+) of quartzite, it is highly unlikely, if not completely impossible, that the extensive damage this statue endured was the result of tossing the object into the dump. Furthermore, a number of pieces were missing, despite three days spent meticulously rescreening and hand picking through the spoil mound. These facts lead to the conclusion that the statue was deliberately broken into small pieces before being disposed of in the rubbish mound. All identifying areas of the statue such as the face, hands, feet, and any possible texts were missing, lending credence to the idea that some form of ritual destruction was carried out upon this object.

When reconstructed, the twenty seven pieces of stone formed a beautifully carved image of a Middle Kingdom seated man, measuring 34.5 cm high (SATC.5.1, Fig. 5.2).

⁹⁸⁸ The pottery dump area also included two fragments of limestone also belonging to funerary objects: a flattened piece with a raised edge which probably belonged to a small false-door type stela (5-2-3:80), and another broken chunk with two partial hieroglyphs (?) inscribed upon it (5-2-1:71). The secure context means that these Middle Kingdom objects were disposed of during the Middle Kingdom, and not later. See Cahail, *Their Memory Lives On: Domestic Funerary Commemoration at Wah-sut 2014*, Forthcoming.

He wears a wide bag-shaped wig extending all the way to the widest point of the shoulders. He is bare-chested with a slightly nipped-in waist, and wears a short kilt. His arms rest upon his lap, though his hands and knees are missing. The chair upon which he sits is has a low back on either side, extending up behind his torso into an uninscribed back-pillar.⁹⁸⁹ The surface of the statue still retained indications of some original pigment, including red and possibly yellow on the chair.

The schematic rendering of musculature in the torso, the slight nipping-in of the waist, and the thinness of the arms all point to a date in the late Twelfth Dynasty.⁹⁹⁰ The arms, wig, and leg definition of the South Abydos statue are quite reminiscent of the statue of the Royal herald Mentuaa (BM EA 100), that dates to Year 13 of Senwosret III.⁹⁹¹ With a trend in non-royal depictions toward men appearing cloaked in long garments,⁹⁹² the fact that the South Abydene statue wears a short kilt may place it earlier in the reign of Senwosret III, as opposed to later, into the reign of Amenemhat III and after.⁹⁹³

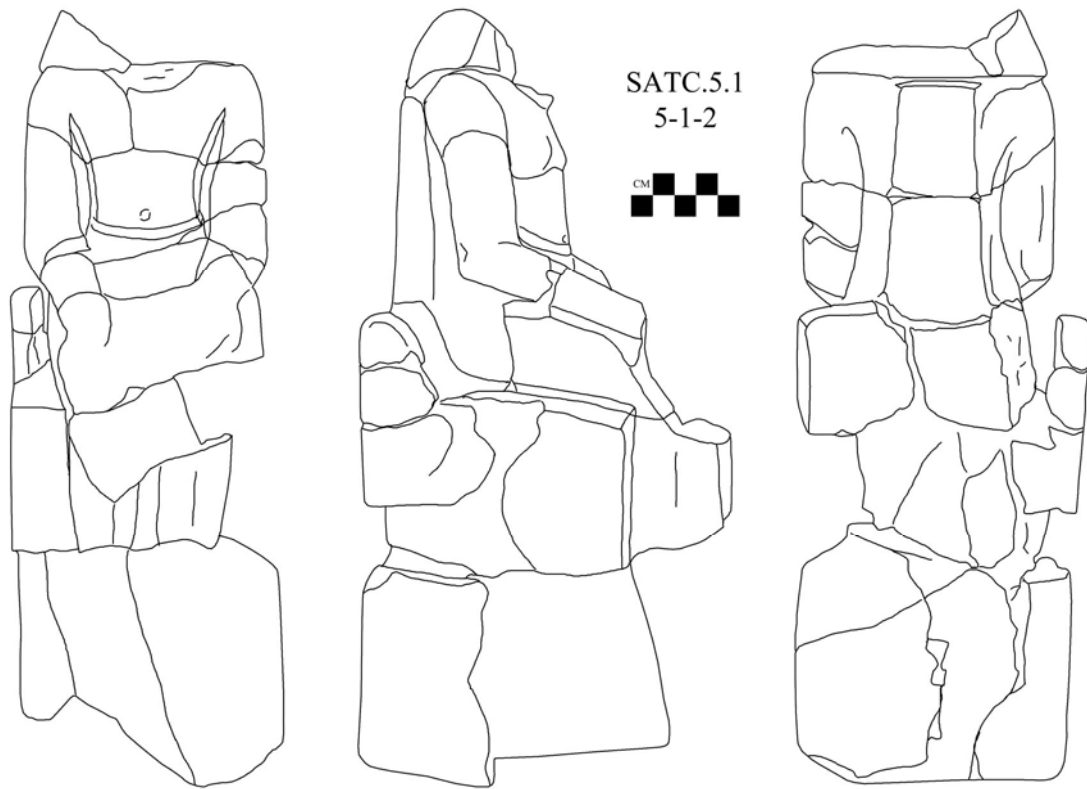
⁹⁸⁹ This seat type appears in Evers 1929, 51, number 355.

⁹⁹⁰ Robins 1997, 107, 114-119.

⁹⁹¹ Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* 1950, 51, Pl. 65. See also the chairs in Plates 66 and 67, as well as the torso and wig of the statue in Plate 68.

⁹⁹² Robins 1997, 118, and Fig. 131-132.

⁹⁹³ The hemispherical cups from this dump were also of the late Twelfth Dynasty type, not the later Thirteenth Dynasty Type. See above, §3.1.2, and *passim*.

Fig. 5.2: Quartzite Statue of a Late Middle Kingdom Official

Though there are no indications of the identity of this statue, the material and level of carving demonstrate that he was of higher than ordinary status. Though it is remotely conceivable that the image is royal, perhaps of Senwosret III or Amenemhat III, its small size and fact that it was utterly destroyed before being thrown away points to the conclusion that the individual depicted was probably a non-royal high official or mayor connected with *Wah-sut*. Having derived from a domestic dump area intimates that the statue was originally part of an early domestic funerary cult within *Wah-sut*, which was cleared out at a later date either by a new family inhabiting the house, or the same family removing outdated cult objects.

Moving on to other examples of statuary, excavations within Building E of *Wah-sut* which N. Picardo oversaw during 2004 produced three fragmentary non-royal statues, two male and one female.⁹⁹⁴ The two male figures (SA 033306, and SA 037363) came from disturbed contexts,⁹⁹⁵ but both figures are identical in everything but size. Both wear long kilts which extend past the knee, tied at the top with a loop and a belt with vertical line decoration. Neither figure exhibits muscle definition or fleshiness, both seeming quite plastic and rigid.

The third figure is that of a woman (SA.33367) who wears a tight-fitting sheath dress. This last figure is engaged into a flat piece of stone which is free of any other decoration or figure, perhaps ruling out the possibility that this image was once part of a pair statue. Her body was rendered with a smooth curve extending from her breasts through her waist to her hips. As with the upper part of the kilts of the male figures, the top of her dress also has a decorated band of incised vertical lines. Unlike the other statue fragments from Building E, however, the female fragment came from a better defined context within Room 5 of the inner residence. Yet without any other corroborating evidence, it is not certain that this area represents the location of any domestic cult. Similar to the quartzite statue discussed above (SATC 5.1.), only the torso of these figures remains, perhaps indicating purposeful destruction.

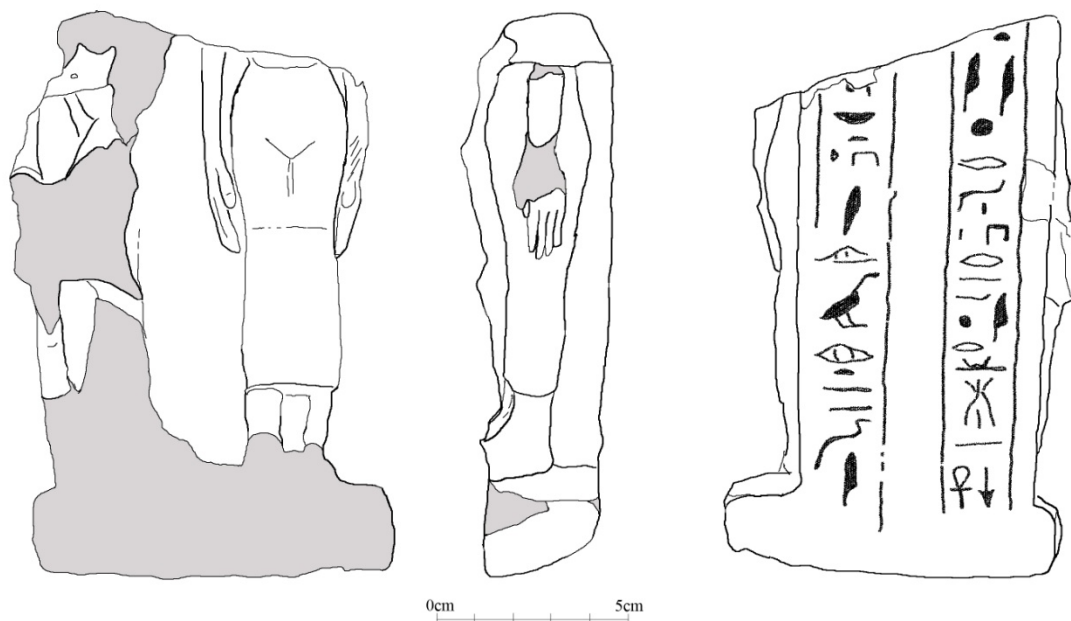
Two inscribed limestone fragments were also discovered which may connect to statues and domestic commemoration. The first (SA.37344), appears to be a tiny statue

⁹⁹⁴ Thanks to J. Wegner and N. Picardo for the information on these objects.

⁹⁹⁵ N. Picardo, personal communication.

base with the title *jm.j-r^c-[ḥw.t]-ntr*, and perhaps a name ending in *-ḥq3*.⁹⁹⁶ The tiny statue base, like the other statue fragments, was retrieved from surface debris, demonstrating the churned-up nature of the context in this part of *Wah-sut*. The second fragment represents a protruding element from some larger object, possibly a stela or a stone niche-frame. The object is limestone with a vertical column of well-spaced hieroglyphs reading *...nb 3bd.w...*, an epithet of Osiris. This latter piece was discovered within hallway K17, which also seems like an unlikely place for any domestic cult objects.

Fig. 5.3: Limestone Pair Statue of Renefiker and Iru

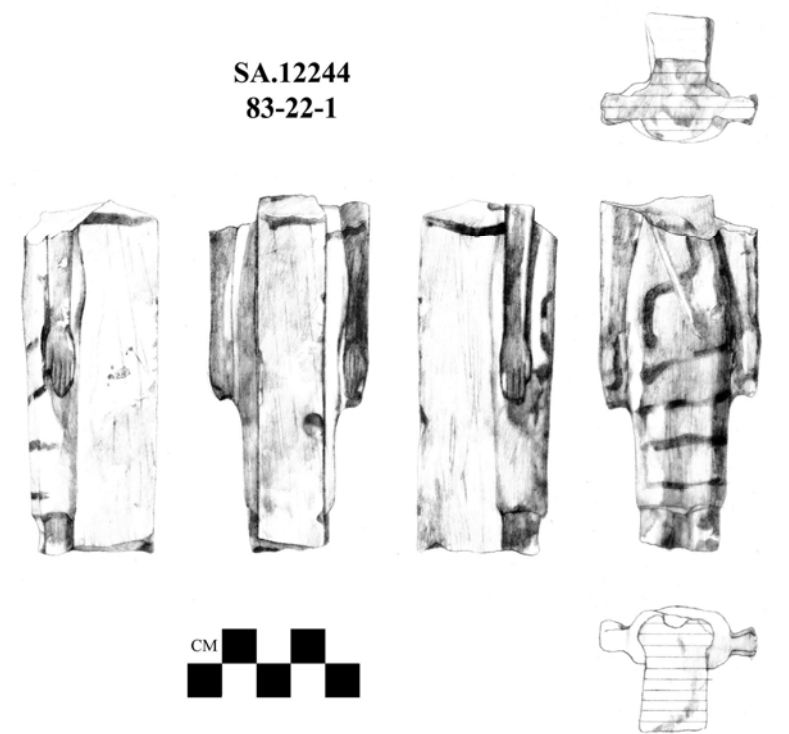


One statue fragment which managed to survive with its text intact is a limestone pair statue belonging to the Steward Renefiker, son of (the woman) Senankh, and his

⁹⁹⁶ The piece is fairly poorly inscribed despite its tiny size (5 cm front to back). If the *ḥq3* element is part of the name (perhaps *ḥq3-jb?*) it would be customary to have the *m3^c-ḥrw* element following it, which is here missing.

wife, Lady of the House Iru, daughter of (the man) Nedji (Fig. 5.3).⁹⁹⁷ As with all the other statues from *Wah-sut*, most of the front and top of the statue is missing, but the interesting text on the back is in beautiful condition. Perhaps as a result of it being a pair statue, the genders of the parents are chiastic: the man Renefiker records his mother's name, while Iru's father's name represents her filiation.

Fig. 5.4: Female Statue from South Abydos



A final example from *Wah-sut* is SA.12244 (Fig. 5.4). This statue is a free-standing female figure with a projecting back-pillar. As with the other statues, excavators only recovered the middle of the figure, showing a woman wearing a tight-fitting sheath dress. Some traces of coloration still exist, including black horizontal lines

⁹⁹⁷ For this statue, see Cahail, *Their Memory Lives On: Domestic Funerary Commemoration at Wah-sut* 2014.

across the dress and on the back pillar. Very little fleshiness comes through, and the figure is somewhat flat. The back pillar was not inscribed.

5.2.2 Stelae

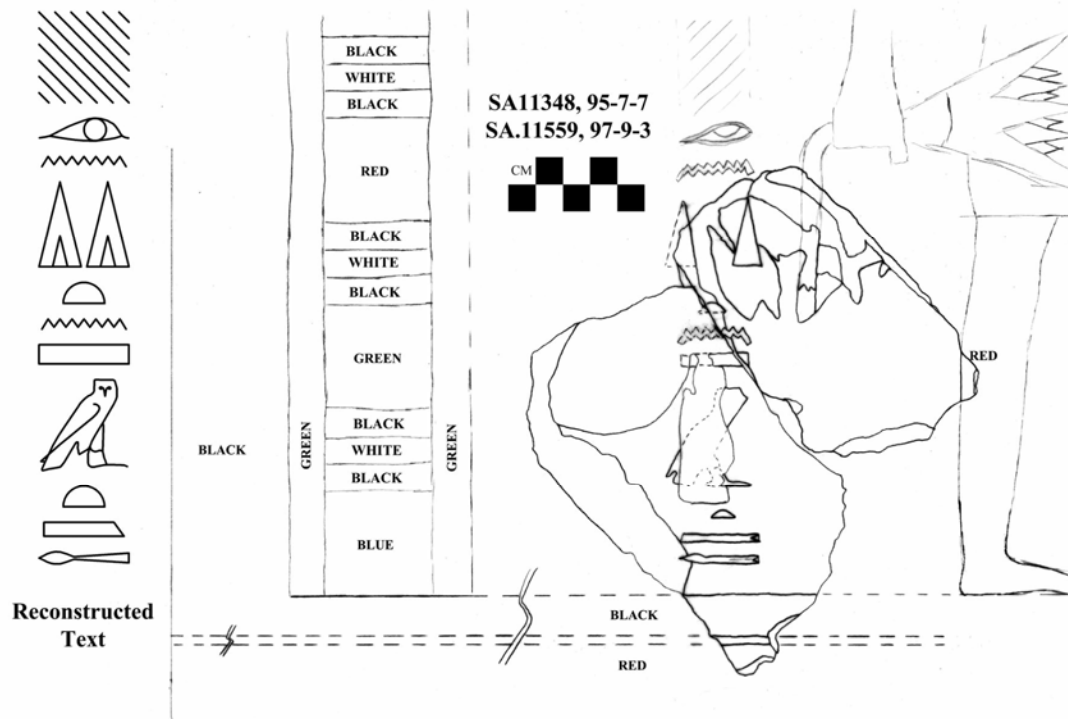
Excavations at South Abydos have recovered fragments belonging to at least nine Middle Kingdom funerary stelae to date. Decorated limestone constituents belonging to two of these nine were discovered within the Mayor's house at *Wah-sut*. The first, of beautiful white limestone, has raised figural relief and incised hieroglyphs. The fragments still retain a significant amount of original pigment in bright red, blue, green, and black. Their archaeological context is highly significant, since the expedition found these broken fragments beneath a secondary wall constructed within the *pr h3.tj-ꜣ*.⁹⁹⁸ Very few of the pieces fit together, but because of the similarity of the painted border patterns, and the quality of the stone and its carving, all the fragments likely belonged to the same stela. A significant number of fragments are missing, and coupled with the manner in which the piece was systematically destroyed using a narrow chisel (including special care taken to remove names and texts), it seems likely that the stela incurred purposeful destruction. Like the quartzite statue discussed above, the nature of this damage is strong circumstantial evidence of regular ritual destruction of obsolete objects used in domestic funerary cult.

The outside of this particular stela has a raised border, with a series of painted squares which alternate blue, green, red, with intervening bars of black, white, and black (Fig. 5.5). This central pattern has a green stripe on either side. The border originally

⁹⁹⁸ J. Wegner, personal communication.

existed at the very least on the left and right of the stela, but it probably also ran across at the top. By comparison to other stelae from Abydos with raised borders, this example probably also had either a false-door type cavetto cornice at the top, or possibly a khekher frieze.⁹⁹⁹ At the bottom of the stela the edge borders about a black band, below which is a red-brown area.

Fig. 5.5: Reconstruction of the Lower Portion of SA.11348/SA11559¹⁰⁰⁰



Two fragments (SA.11559 and SA.11348, Fig. 5.5) bear traces of incised hieroglyphs filled with blue paint. They fit together, and record the name *dd.t-nšm.t*¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁹ See for example Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, ANOC 11.1-2, 56.1-2, and 57.1-3.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The bottom of the stela has a large black strip, below which it is painted red. The black area continues up around the outside of the polychrome frame. The pattern of this frame was reconstructed from numerous fragments. It is probable that the top of the stela was rectangular, with a cavetto cornice.

¹⁰⁰¹ For this name, see Ranke 1935, I:403.16, and cf. I:401.17.

m3^c-hrw.¹⁰⁰² A raised area on the right of these fragments with traces of red paint is the remains of a standing male figure's back leg. There is also a small trace of blue on another raised area which may represent the remains of a lotus stem or similar item held by the man. Given the difference in gender between the image and the text, it is highly likely that Dedetneshmet is the mother of the individual pictured, whose name was destroyed completely.¹⁰⁰³

Another fragment of the same stela (SA.11696) has the remains of a raised relief image of a concave-sided flaring rim beaker.¹⁰⁰⁴ To the right are traces of the curved profile of a second vessel. Objects like these appear frequently on Abydene stelae, most notably Louvre C 174 (ANOC 8.1), Leiden V, 5 (ANOC 23.2), or Louvre C 2 (ANOC 29.1), that date to the late Middle Kingdom.¹⁰⁰⁵ Again like the other fragments from *Wah-sut*, almost all the information contained upon this stela was destroyed before the pieces were hidden within a wall foundation. Even the name of Dedetneshmet barely survived the chisel, and if the reconstruction is correct, she was not the owner of the stela, but rather the mother of one of the individuals pictured upon it.

¹⁰⁰² Two types of decoration exist on this stela. Raised relief was employed for figures, and sunk relief was used for hieroglyphic labels accompanying these figures. Such alternation may indicate that the stela was completed before any of the hieroglyphic labels were added. See for instance ANOC 8.1, and 37.2. It is not clear why the scribe has written *m3^c-hrw* instead of *m3^c.t-hrw*, but this gender switch does appear on other stelae of the period, for instance ANOC 39.2, where the deceased's wife is termed *m3^c-hrw*.

¹⁰⁰³ In this case, the text probably read originally [Title NN *jr.n*] *dd.t-nšm.t m3^c-hrw*.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms* 1994, Form 36, dating to the Middle Kingdom, Senwosret II to Amenemhat IV.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974.

In the northwestern portion of the Mayor's house, excavations revealed three further fragments (SA.12631 and SA.12639) belonging to a second, smaller stela.¹⁰⁰⁶ This stela had a cavetto cornice and rectangular border, with two symmetrical lines of text at the top recording a *ḥtp-dj-nswt* formula. The reconstruction of the fairly common offering text below (Fig. 5.6) is based in part upon a stela in Leiden (V, 108, ANOC 7.2).¹⁰⁰⁷

Translation of the reconstructed text:

LEFT: A royal [offering of Ptah-So]kar-Osirs, Lord of the Ankh-[tawy, that he might give every good and pure thing] to the *ka* of the Hall-Keeper of the Chamber of Linen,¹⁰⁰⁸ Khuinutef.¹⁰⁰⁹

RIGHT: A royal offering of Anubis, Lord of the [Sacred Land, that he might give an invocation offering of cattle and fowl, linen and clothing,] incense, [and oil, to the *ka* of the Hall-Keeper of the Chamber of Linen, Khuinutef.]

Presumably images of Khuinutef would have originally appeared below the texts on either side of the centerline, though it is also possible that the right side was dedicated to Khuinutef's unnamed wife, or perhaps his brother Ameny.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁶ They were found in the same area in which a decorated birth-brick was unearthed, though in different contexts. J. Wegner, A Decorated Birth-Brick from South Abydos 2009, 485-491.

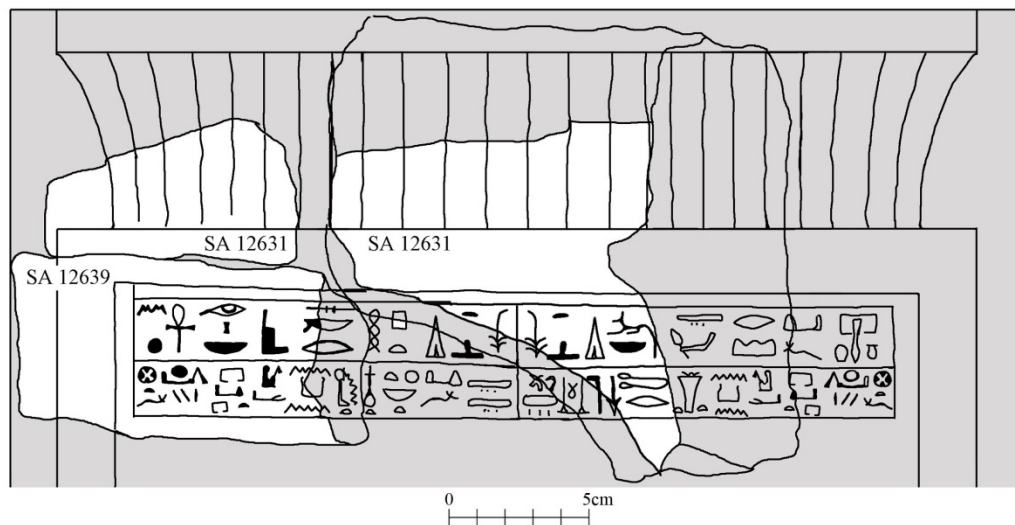
¹⁰⁰⁷ For the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* formula in general, see C. J. Bennett 1941, Barta, Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel 1968, and Satzinger 1997.

¹⁰⁰⁸ For the title *jr-j-ḥ.t-n-ḥ.t-hnk.t*, see Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom 1982, 57, Title 458, and Quirke, Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC 2004, 72-73.

¹⁰⁰⁹ For this name, see Ranke 1935, I:267.3. Ranke makes a cross-reference to I:265.1, *ḥ3-k3.w-Rḥ-ḥw-j-n.tz.f*, but the two individuals are not related.

¹⁰¹⁰ See the discussion below on Cairo CG 20134.

Fig. 5.6: Reconstructed Stela of Khuinutef¹⁰¹¹



The stela of Khuinutef is significant to our understanding of the connections between North and South Abydos during the late Middle Kingdom.¹⁰¹² Aside from his own domestic commemoration, Khuinutef himself appears on another stela (Cairo 20134) which belonged to his uncle, Domestic Servant of the Chamber of Linen (*ḥr.j pr n ʿ.t ḥnk.t*),¹⁰¹³ Senebef.¹⁰¹⁴ A. Mariette discovered this object in the North Cemetery, perhaps associated with a memorial chapel on the Terrace of the Great God.¹⁰¹⁵ The small

¹⁰¹¹ The greyed areas of this reconstruction represent conjectural reconstructions. The original stela was probably of comparable size to Senebef's (Cairo CG 20134), at about 50 cm tall, and 30 cm wide.

¹⁰¹² See also J. Wegner, External Connections of the Community of Wah-sut During the Late Middle Kingdom 2010, 437-458.

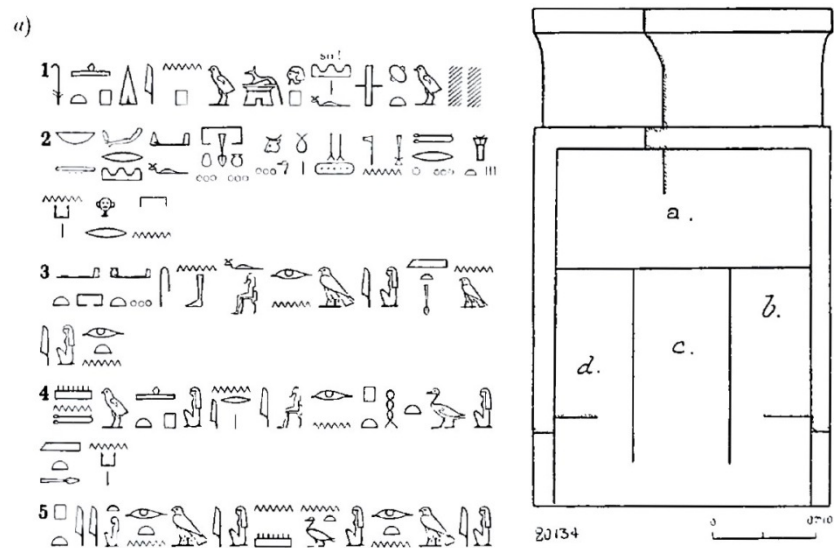
¹⁰¹³ For the title, see Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom 1982, 116, Title 979, and Quirke, Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC 2004, 72-73.

¹⁰¹⁴ For the name, see Ranke 1935, I:314.5. As with many of the other names on this stela, Senebef is probably a shortened form of this man's name.

¹⁰¹⁵ Mariette, Monuments d'Abydos 1880, 212. See also Lange and Schäfer, Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, 157-158.

limestone stela measures 0.48 m high by 0.29 m wide, and is rectangular with a cavetto cornice and frame identical to the stela of Khuinutef from *Wah-sut*.¹⁰¹⁶

Fig. 5.7: Stela of Senebef, CG 20134, Text Block a and Schematic Layout¹⁰¹⁷



Senebef, to whom the stela is dedicated, lists his parental genealogy and siblings in the top section (a) (Fig. 5.7). The three sections below (b, c, and d) list numerous other individuals, most of which connect to the previous tree (Fig. 5.8). Khuinutef appears in section (d), line 3 as the son of Senebef's sister Petyt. According to section (a), lines 3 and 5, both Senebef and Petyt are the offspring of a certain Hori, making Khuinutef the nephew of Senebef. The texts of CG.20134 record the following genealogy for Khuinutef's family:¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁶ Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, 157. The stela of Khuinutef was probably the same size in its original state.

¹⁰¹⁷ Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, 157.

¹⁰¹⁸ There are a few individuals who are impossible to place: Ku, son of Zathathor, Ranefer the younger son of Meru, Shebnu the younger son of Henut, Imyraper son of Tageheset, and It son of Nehtchu. It is

Fig. 5.8: Stela of Senebef, Text Blocks b, c, and d, with Khuinutef Highlighted¹⁰¹⁹

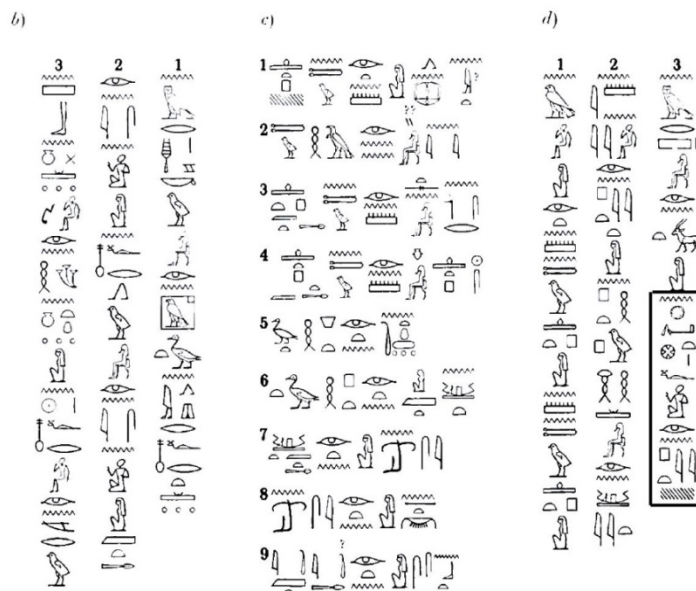
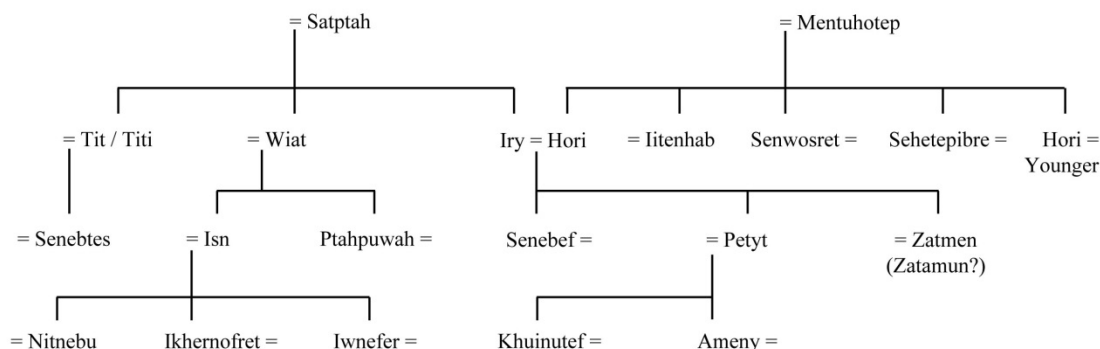


Fig. 5.9: Senebef's Genealogy from CG 20134¹⁰²⁰



probable that some of these men are the husbands of Senebef's female relatives based upon their position in the texts, but they have not been included in this tree due to the uncertainty.

¹⁰¹⁹ Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, 158. Section c must be read in retrograde, but it is not clear if this was a copying mistake, or if the original stela was inscribed this way. For retrograde texts in general, see Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs: Part 1: Reversals* 1977, and Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne: quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaoniques* 1986.

¹⁰²⁰ Men appear to the left of the marriage "=", and women to the right. Iitenhab seems to appear on CG20063 along with most of her siblings. If Zamen is a form of Zatamen, then this woman may have been married to a man by the name of Katef, appearing on CG 20034, parents of Ibese, and Nemtyhotep, husband of Iti.

The main core of the family tree comes from text (a), which lists Senebef, his mother, his maternal grandmother, his father, and his paternal grandmother, following the single dedication *n k3*.¹⁰²¹ Subsequent to this section, a second *n k3* appears,¹⁰²² followed by the names of Senebef's sister Petyt and Zatmen.¹⁰²³ The central text in Section (c), lines 1-4, enumerates Senebef's aunts and uncles, beginning with his mother's side of the family.¹⁰²⁴ Lines 5-9 list his aunts on his father's side. On the left and right, text Sections (b) and (d) give the genealogy of his cousins and extended family, including his nephew Khuinutef. Though it does not appear so at first glance, the layout and orientation of the texts upon Senebef's stela serves to separate his family out into distinct groups.

Even though Khuinutef's stela from *Wah-sut* does not preserve the names of his father, the fact that his uncle Senebef, upon whose stela Khuinutef appears, held the title *ḥr.j pr n ʕ.t ḥnk.t* demonstrates a theoretical family link through profession. The *ʕ.t ḥnk.t* has thus far defied exact translation. S. Quirke sums up the possibilities in the following way:

¹⁰²¹ In all sections, the names of those partaking in the offering spell are preceded by the genitive *n* of the phrase *n k3 n*. The only exception to this rule is Senebef himself, who appears directly following *n k3*, therefore in the position of a direct genitive not requiring the *n*. See Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* 1968, 69.

¹⁰²² By restating the *n k3* dedication, this section is set-off from that preceding it. The first section of (a) records Senebef's direct ancestors, while the second section, and all other areas on the stela record his tangential relations.

¹⁰²³ Senebef, his parents, and grandmothers therefore appear in a closed unit, bracketed on either side by the phrase *n k3*. Even though Iry lacks a title of filiation, the only person he could be within the group inside the bracketed *n k3* is Senebef's father. This attribution works well with the rest of the stela, allowing large sections of the genealogy to connect directly to Senebef.

¹⁰²⁴ The text here lists Iienhab daughter of Mentuhotep, followed by Ii, son of Nehtchu, and then Senwosret son of Mentuhotep. It would seem plausible that Ii is in fact the husband of Iienhab, as there is no other reason to list him in this position.

The palace provisioning-sector comprised a series of ‘chambers’. Only one department called a ‘chamber’ was provided with a full administrative personnel, including an ‘overseer of the bureau-interior’, the *at Hnkw.t*. There is disagreement over the meaning of the second word. On the basis of illustrations in the tomb-chapels at Beni Hasan, Berlev and Ward interpreted it as ‘linen’; as the most expensive daily commodity, this would have required particular care. Another possibility would be to interpret the *Hnkw.t* as a term covering all the material arriving at the palace, from the verb *Hnk* ‘to offer’. In that case, clothing would not figure within the series of ‘chambers’, and the *at Hnkw.t* would be echoed in the term *Sspt* as a ‘chamber of outgoing goods’ (literally ‘items received from ‘the palace)’.¹⁰²⁵

W. Ward translates the title *jr.j-ʕ.t n ʕ.t hnk.t* as “Hall-keeper of the Kitchen,” without an explanation of why.¹⁰²⁶ Given the apparent importance of this division, as evidenced by its full complement of overseers, identification of the *ʕ.t hnk.t* with the kitchen is unlikely.¹⁰²⁷ It is not entirely clear what the difference between a *hr.j pr n ʕ.t hnk.t* “Domestic Servant of the Chamber of Linen,” and a *jr.j ʕ.t n ʕ.t hnk.t* “Overseer of the Chamber of Linen,” was, but according to S. Quirke the *jr.j ʕ.t* outranked the *hr.j pr*.¹⁰²⁸ Despite this, it is still possible that Khuinutef received his position through the influence of his uncle Senebef.¹⁰²⁹

The only attestation which H. Ranke lists for the name Khuinutef is the Abydene stela of Senebef.¹⁰³⁰ His name is, therefore, very rare, and given that the two monuments were only separated by a few kilometers, it is almost certain that Senebef’s nephew Khuinutef is one and the same as the owner of the South Abydos stela under discussion.

¹⁰²⁵ Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* 2004, 72.

¹⁰²⁶ Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* 1982, 57, Title 458. Fischer does not expand on Ward’s reading.

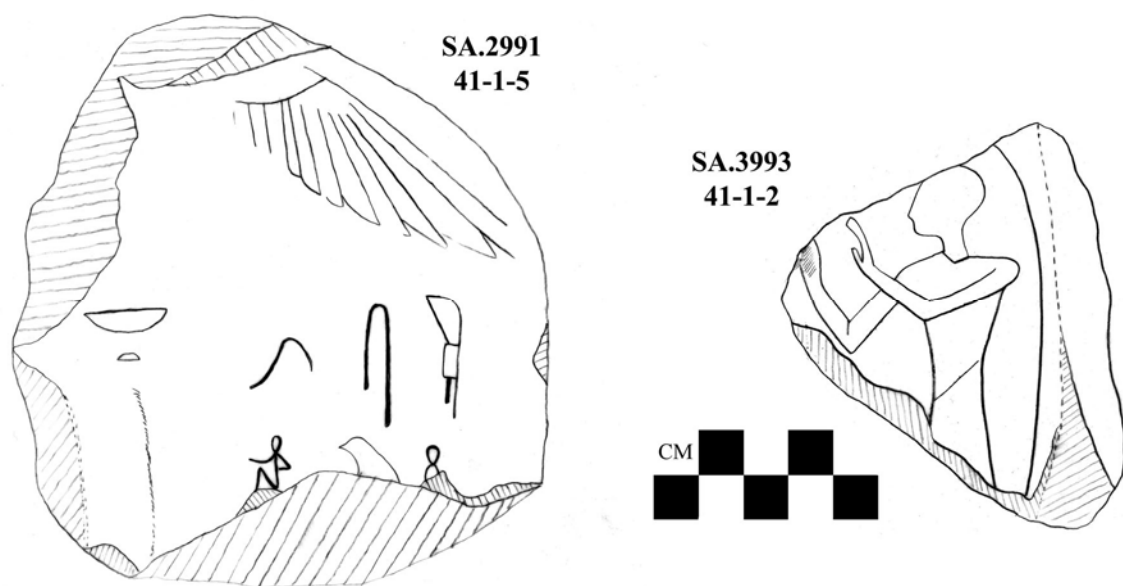
¹⁰²⁷ Hence identifying the *ʕ.t hnk.t* with linen storage and production has been followed in translation herein.

¹⁰²⁸ Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* 2004, 72-73.

¹⁰²⁹ Senebef’s title was not a minor one, given that he had enough power and wealth to place his stela in the Votive Zone. It is also quite possible that Senebef worked at Abydos, while Khuinutef was stationed at Wah-sut.

¹⁰³⁰ Ranke 1935, I:267.3. He does link the name with another (I:265.1) *h3-k3.w-rʕ-hw.j-n.t*, appearing on stela Florence 2564 from Thebes. Two related individuals have the latter name on this stela, but they are unrelated to the Abydene family. For the Florence stela, see Bosticco 1959, 41-42, Pl. 37.

Fig. 5.10: Two Stela Fragments from the Senwosret III Mortuary Temple Area¹⁰³¹



Moving away from Khuinutef and his family, two stelae which we found in the vicinity of the Senwosret III mortuary temple are of the round-topped style. SA.3993 depicts a standing male figure with bald head who faces left with arms raised in adoration (Fig. 5.10, right). The second, SA.2991 retains a portion of a winged sun-disk and some hieroglyphic signs perhaps recording part of a name (Fig. 5.10, left).

Three other pieces represent central portions of stelae. Fragment SA.14904 bears six partial lines of text, which appear to be a portion of an offering formula (Fig. 5.11, left). SA.35754 also contains the epithet of a god (possibly [*jnp.w*] *nb t3* [*d3sr*]) which derives from a funerary offering formula (Fig. 5.11, right bottom). In addition, the layout of SA.1034 with rows of kneeling individuals, one of whom is here named Sobek (?), son

¹⁰³¹ Originally published in J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 283-285.

of Beta,¹⁰³² is one commonly seen on Middle Kingdom stela from North Abydos (Fig. 5.11, right top).¹⁰³³

Fig. 5.11: Three Stela Fragments from South Abydos¹⁰³⁴



Finally, stela fragment SA.15662 has a portion of a filiation text situated behind the form of a standing individual (Fig. 5.12). The text names the standing male figure as Wepwawet-nakht the Younger,¹⁰³⁵ son of Keki. A woman by the name of Keki appears on a stela belonging to a *wab*-priest of Osiris named Senpu from the Middle Cemetery at

¹⁰³² J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 283.

¹⁰³³ For instance, Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, ANOC 1.6; 15.2; 17.1, et al..

¹⁰³⁴ After the original drawings by Stardust Atkeson and Krisztian Vertes.

¹⁰³⁵ Ranke 1935, I:77.24. The name Wepwawet-nakht appears four times in Lange and Shaefer's corpus, but never with the epithet "younger."

North Abydos.¹⁰³⁶ According to this source, the Lady of the House Keki was the daughter of the Lady of the House Tjtj.¹⁰³⁷

Unlike the painted limestone stela of Dedetneshmet's son and that of Khuinutef, both of which were found within the Mayor's house, these stela fragments derive from diverse archaeological contexts. Whereas it is possible that they were all originally part of domestic funerary cult emplacements within *Wah-sut*, this conclusion is perhaps complicated by the distance between the Senwosret III mortuary temple and *Wah-sut*. Two further possibilities may explain their origin. The first is that some of these stelae may have been set up inside or near the Senwosret III mortuary temple.¹⁰³⁸ Like the mortuary chapels at North Abydos, the donors of these stelae may have wanted to partake in the festivals and offerings dedicated to the Osirized Senwosret III within his cult building. The second possibility is that these stelae were originally set up in tomb chapels associated with a late Middle Kingdom cemetery in the desert directly to the south of the Senwosret III mortuary temple and *Wah-sut*.¹⁰³⁹ Future excavation and exploration of the area may bring new answers to these questions to light.

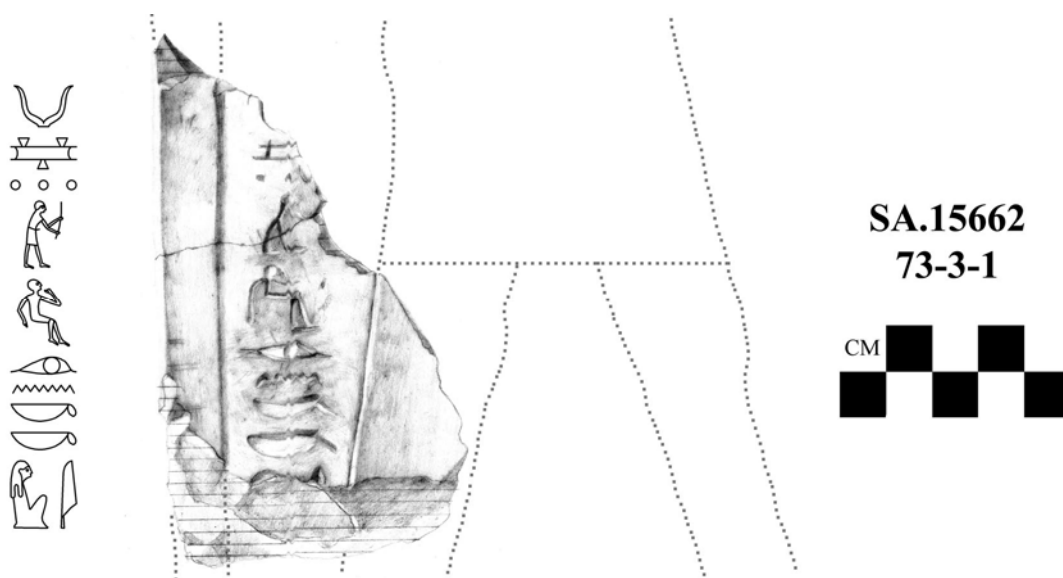
¹⁰³⁶ Lange and Schäfer, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, no. 20001 - 20780 1908, 38-40.

¹⁰³⁷ Ranke 1935, I:378.25, indicates that the female name Tjtj appears often during the Middle Kingdom, but it is worth noting that Senebef's aunt had this name on CG20134, above.

¹⁰³⁸ J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 283.

¹⁰³⁹ J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 285. Based upon magnetometric mapping of the area directly to the southeast of the Temple, J. Wegner believed that the Temple Cemetery probably belonged to the late Middle Kingdom. Excavations undertaken as part of the SATC project (see Chapters Seven and Eight below) have demonstrated that these tombs belong to the New Kingdom. Despite this, these stelae still point to the conclusion that late Middle Kingdom tombs do still exist undiscovered in the area. For more on this point, see below §9.2.

Fig. 5.12: Reconstruction of Stela Fragment SA.15662¹⁰⁴⁰



5.2.3 Offering Tables

Excavations at South Abydos have produced five limestone offering tables, and at least one pottery offering tray. The most important, from a chronological perspective, is SA.15472, which originally belonged to the Mayor of *Wah-sut*, Nakht (Fig. 5.13).¹⁰⁴¹ According to J. Wegner's reconstruction of the mayoral sequence at *Wah-sut*, Nakht(i) was the first mayor of the new town.¹⁰⁴² He was the son of an individual named Sobekhotep, and was father to the next two mayors of *Wah-sut*, Khentykhety and Neferher.¹⁰⁴³ Only a portion of the original table has been preserved here, which was reused as a door-pivot within the late Middle Kingdom strata of Building D.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴⁰ After the original drawing by Stardust Atkeson. Given the size of the figure, this stela would have stood at least a meter tall, and perhaps half a meter wide.

¹⁰⁴¹ J. Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001.

¹⁰⁴² J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 335-343.

¹⁰⁴³ J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 335-343.

¹⁰⁴⁴ J. Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 302, J. Wegner, *Modeling the Mayor's House* 2014, Forthcoming.

Fig. 5.13: Offering Table of Nakht¹⁰⁴⁵

This pattern of reuse may in fact be a clue in unraveling the object's original location and purpose. The text of the table appears complete, and other than the fact that it has been cut down into a pivot, there is no reason to think that it was not, at one point, a fully functional offering table. If the offering table was originally part of a tomb, the mechanism by which it ended up within a late Middle Kingdom house is problematic. In this scenario, the tomb of Nakhti, first mayor of *Wah-sut*, would have had to have been destroyed, and the offering table reused within short span of time following his death.

¹⁰⁴⁵ After J. Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 305.

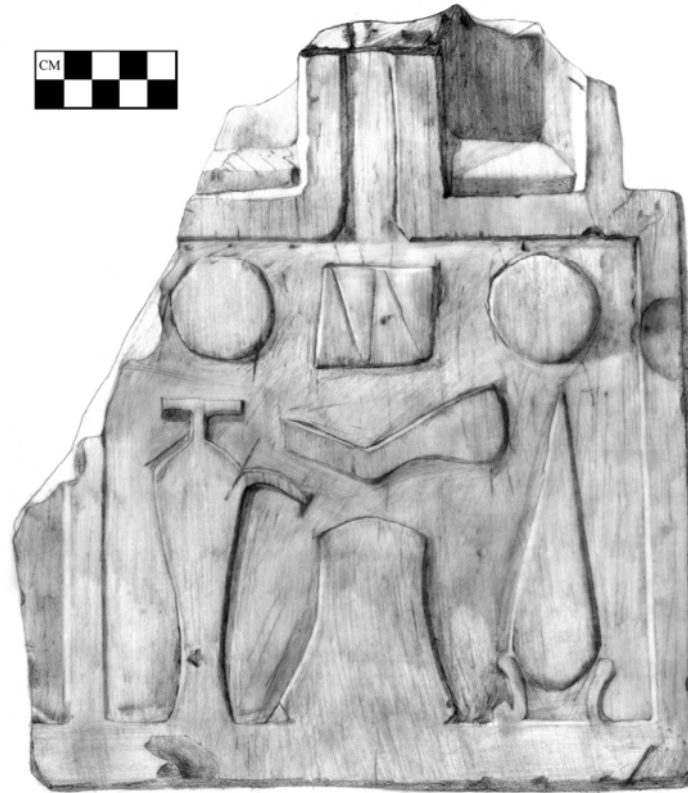
Whereas this type of repurposing is not impossible, such robbery and reuse is unlikely to have happened until after the abandonment of the Senwosret III cult during the late Second Intermediate Period, especially if Nakht was the progenitor of the line of Mayors of *Wah-sut*. On the other hand, if the offering table was part of a domestic funerary cult emplacement inside the Mayoral residence, dating to the tenure of Nakht's sons Khentykhety and Neferher, then it is quite likely that the object would have been discarded and reused much earlier. Regardless of the exact process, this offering table demonstrates a rapid sequence of destruction and reuse.¹⁰⁴⁶ It is probable that the offering table of Nakht was originally part of a domestic funerary cult set up within the Mayor's House by his son and successor Khentykhety, during the reign of Amenemhat III. It was then discarded after the tenure of Neferher, and the stone was reused by the family living in House D as a door pivot.

Two broken offering tables from South Abydos bear no text whatsoever. One, SA.11002, was originally a double offering table with two distinct groups of objects in raised relief, and twin catch-basins consisting of four sections (Fig. 5.14). The layout is similar to a Twelfth Dynasty double offering table from Rifa belonging to Nefersehwy and Id, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (12.181.197).¹⁰⁴⁷ According to W. Hayes, this example came from a tomb.

¹⁰⁴⁶ The quartzite statue of an official (SATC.5.1), and the painted stela of Dedetneshmet's son were also both broken up and discarded in contexts which demonstrate the rapidity of this process.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1978, 336, Fig. 224.

Fig. 5.14: Part of a Double Offering Table, SA.11002 (92-4-6) ¹⁰⁴⁸



Since SA.11002 derived from *Wah-sut*, the two distinct sections on the table could equally well fit a domestic cult context, with each side dedicated to a different individual, or set of parents. With no remaining texts, its original position must remain speculative.¹⁰⁴⁹ Stylistically, the carvings appearing on SA.11133 (Fig. 5.15) are quite similar to those upon SA.11002. They include a *hes*-vase, bread loaves, and a joint of beef.

¹⁰⁴⁸ After the original drawing by Stardust Atkeson.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Unlike most other offering tables, the top of this table was never inscribed at all. It is theoretically possible that it served as a type of generic table. Stelae and statues in the vicinity would have served to identify the recipient of the offering, hence not necessitating the removal and destruction of the table in order to sever ties with certain deceased individuals.

Fig. 5.15: Offering Table Fragment SA.11133¹⁰⁵⁰



Another Middle Kingdom offering table derived from the area to the east of the Senwosret III mortuary temple (SA.7487, Fig. 5.16).¹⁰⁵¹ This table preserves the names and titles of a handful of individuals. Coming as it does from the area near the Temple, it may have originally been set up therein, or perhaps in a tomb context in the close vicinity. The front of the table has the beginning of a standard *hṭp-dj-nswt* offering formula which invokes the god Osiris. The table's right hand edge has the dedicatory portion of the formula, showing that it was meant “for the *ka* of Itsenu, born of...”¹⁰⁵² Two further inscriptions seem to have been added later in the depressed space of the offering table. The text on the left seems to read “[/// born] of Ity; Her son Hotep, born of

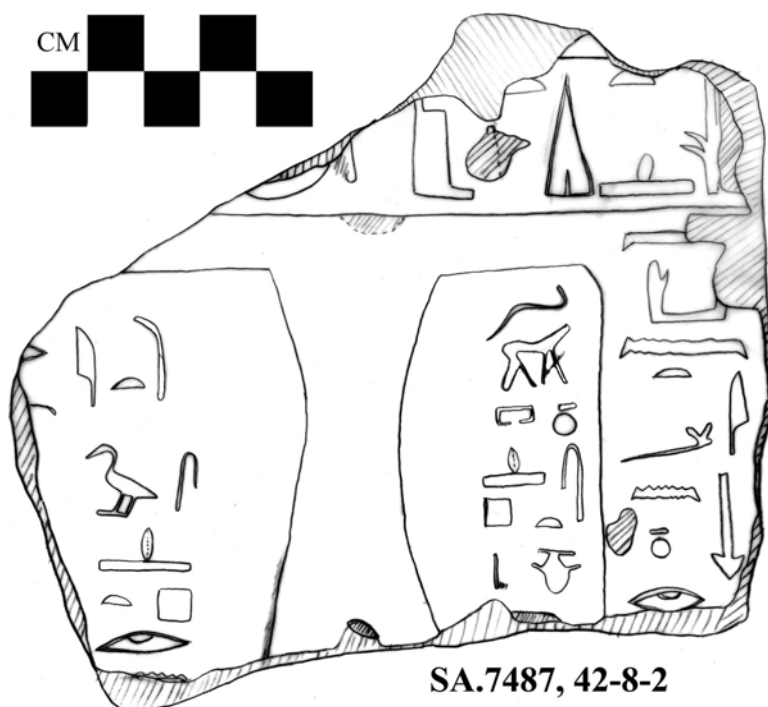
¹⁰⁵⁰ After the original drawing by Stardust Atkeson.

¹⁰⁵¹ J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 283-285.

¹⁰⁵² Ranke 1935, I:51.4 for the name, which he transcribes as *itf-śn(j?)*. It is fairly rare, occurring on three stelae in Cairo (CG.20085, 20555, and 20602), and on Berlin 1188 (ANOC.8.2).

...”¹⁰⁵³ Finally on the right is the name of “The Interior Overseer Sehetepib, b[orn of...].”¹⁰⁵⁴ These are all common names, making identification with other monuments extremely difficult.

Fig. 5.16: Fragment of an Offering Table from the Senwosret III Mortuary Temple Area



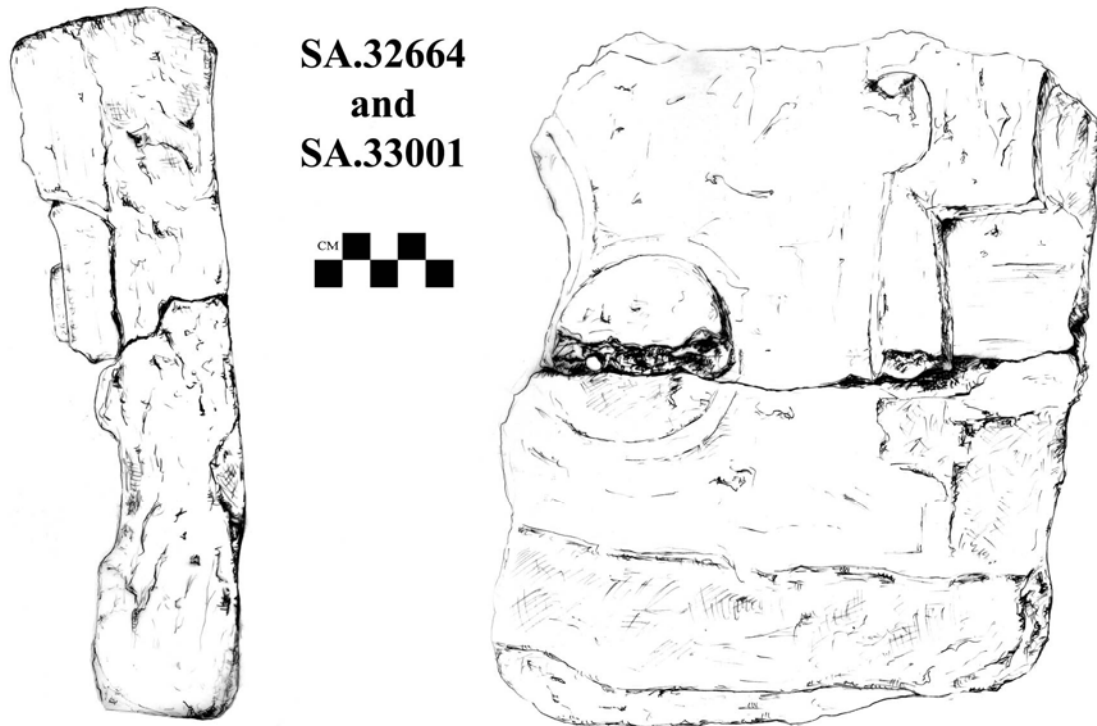
The decoration of this table is oriented in such a way that the objects face the back of the table, while the text faces the front. A table now in Cairo (CG 23081, ANOC 20.3) has the same orientation, which was presumably done so that the deceased, perhaps pictured on a stela behind the table, could view the offerings the right way up. The texts naming the deceased recipients were written in such a way that the living making the offerings to the deceased could read them. A Middle Kingdom offering table now in

¹⁰⁵³ The “her” of the second statement probably refers to Itj.

¹⁰⁵⁴ For the title, see Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* 1982, 14-15, Title 72, and Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* 2004, *passim*.

Turin (Turin 22024) also displays the same textual layout, with the offering spell beginning in the upper right corner of the table and running along its top, resumed on the right side with the phrase *n k3* followed by the name of the deceased.¹⁰⁵⁵

Fig. 5.17: Fragment of a Pottery Offering Tray (Soul House)¹⁰⁵⁶



Finally, two fragments belonging to the same fired pottery offering tray or soul house were recovered from room D21 in the southwest corner of Building E (SA 032664 and SA 033001, Fig. 5.17).¹⁰⁵⁷ The fragments seem to belong to the bottom of the house structure, with one column base preserved, and another partially visible at the edge of the break. The structure is similar to W. Petrie's Type D.¹⁰⁵⁸ Many known soul houses

¹⁰⁵⁵ Habachi 1977, 29.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Original drawing by Krisztian Vertes. Thanks to N. Picardo for this image.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Excavated by N. Picardo. For soul-houses, see W. M. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh 1907, and Leclère 2001.

¹⁰⁵⁸ W. M. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh 1907, Pl. XVIa.82.

derive from tomb contexts, but given the fact that they represent cheaper substitutes for offering tables,¹⁰⁵⁹ the existence of a soul house within a domestic context would presumably serve the same commemorative function that a larger and more expensive stone offering table would have. Indeed, W. Petrie discovered a handful of these trays within the town of Lahun, corroborating this conclusion.¹⁰⁶⁰

5.2.4 Offering Columns and Dwarf Statues

When W. Petrie excavated the settlement of Lahun, he discovered column stands and dwarf statues which he believed may have been related to funerary cult.¹⁰⁶¹ He states:

The dwarf supporting a dish (VI, 9) is remarkable, as we have no clue to the meaning of such figures in Egypt. This is one of the dish-stands, which are generally simple columns; and which, whenever they are found charged, have a cake of dough stuck in the dish. It seems reasonable to suppose that they are stands for household offerings of daily bread.¹⁰⁶²

Given the exaggerated nature of the body of this dwarf statue, it is probable that a true dwarf is intended, rather than a pygmy (Fig. 5.18).¹⁰⁶³

Offering stands in the form of columns and dwarf statue incense burners¹⁰⁶⁴ compose a class of objects which seems to belong mainly, if not entirely, within the

¹⁰⁵⁹ W. M. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* 1907, 14ff.

¹⁰⁶⁰ W. M. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* 1890, Pl. XIII.102, and W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, 9, Pl. IV.20 and .23.

¹⁰⁶¹ W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, 11. For dwarfs in ancient Egypt see, Silverman, *Pygmies and Dwarves in the Old Kingdom* 1969, 53-62.

¹⁰⁶² W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, 11.

¹⁰⁶³ Silverman, *Pygmies and Dwarves in the Old Kingdom* 1969, 53-62, and discussion below in §4.4.4.

¹⁰⁶⁴ This conclusion is based upon evidence of burning in the cups. They have been interpreted as either lamps or incense burners.

sphere of domestic funerary cult.¹⁰⁶⁵ In his second publication on Lahun, W. Petrie continues his discussion:

A curious piece of furniture was a limestone stand, on which offerings of bread paste were made. These stands are usually in the form of a column with a saucer-shaped hollow on the top; the columns are 18 to 21 inches high including a square base, usually with a plain capital, but one has a lotus capital as at Beni Hasan. Two examples were found of these stands in the form of two men, standing back to back and supporting the cup with raised arms on their shoulders. These are rudely done, one being unfinished; and from the place of discovery may belong to the XIIIth dynasty, as the scarab of Neferhotep was found in the room with one of these.¹⁰⁶⁶

W. Petrie found examples of both types, columns, and dwarf statues with small cups on their tops. Due to the existence of a dried paste within the cups of these stands, W. Petrie believed in all cases they were meant for “household offerings of daily bread.”¹⁰⁶⁷ More recently, excavations at Kom el-Fakhry have produced a domestic cult emplacement consisting of a limestone stela, offering table, and pair statue.¹⁰⁶⁸ Near this assemblage the excavators found two fragments from a small dwarf statue with a cup upon his head.¹⁰⁶⁹ Contrary to W. Petrie, A. Tavares and M. Kamel believe that this statue was used as a lamp, presumably due to evidence of burning in or around the cup. These sources demonstrate that, regardless of what was being offered, columns and dwarf statue stands were associated with domestic funerary cult emplacements of the late Middle Kingdom.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Indeed both K. Szpakowska and S. Quirke indicate that these objects have only been discovered at Lahun. The present examples from Wah-sut now demonstrate that the practice was not confined to the former site. See Szpakowska 2008, 133-138, and Quirke, *Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape* 2005, 97.

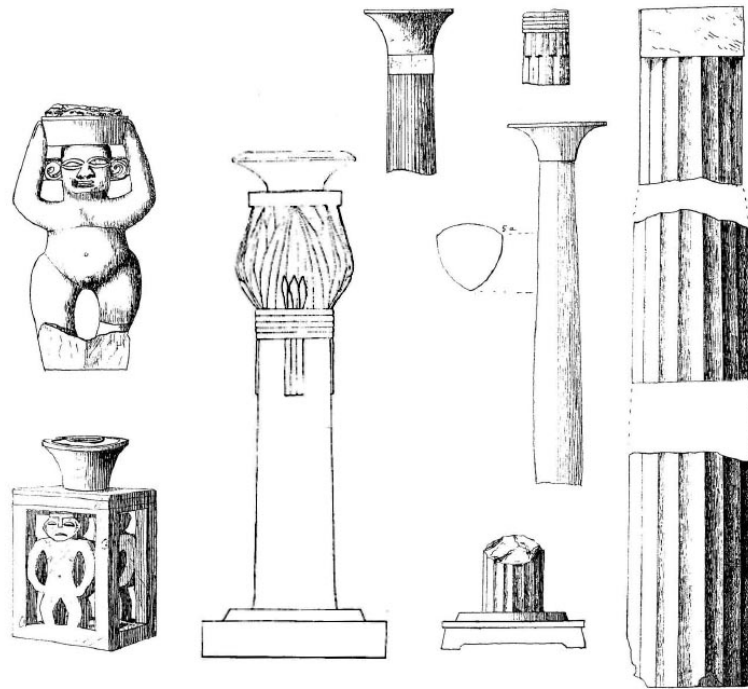
¹⁰⁶⁶ W. M. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* 1890, 26.

¹⁰⁶⁷ W. M. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob* 1891, 11.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Tavares and Kamel 2012, and Jeffries 2012.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Tavares and Kamel 2012, 6. See Jeffries 2012, 6.

Fig. 5.18: Offering Columns and Dwarf Stands from Lahun¹⁰⁷⁰



Excavations within *Wah-sut* produced three offering column fragments, and the base of a statue which may represent a dwarf. The first of these examples, SA.15023, is the top of a fluted column with thirty-two points (Fig. 5.19). The capital is a simple group of four horizontal bands surmounted by a rectangular impost block, with a small flared offering cup carved above. Formally it is very similar to a fluted offering column W. Petrie discovered at Lahun.¹⁰⁷¹

¹⁰⁷⁰ After W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, Pl. XVI, and W. M. Petrie, Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob 1891, Pl. VI.

¹⁰⁷¹ W. M. Petrie, Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob 1891, Pl. VI.6, though this example is missing its offering cup.

Fig. 5.19: Top Portion of an Offering Column from *Wah-sut*¹⁰⁷²

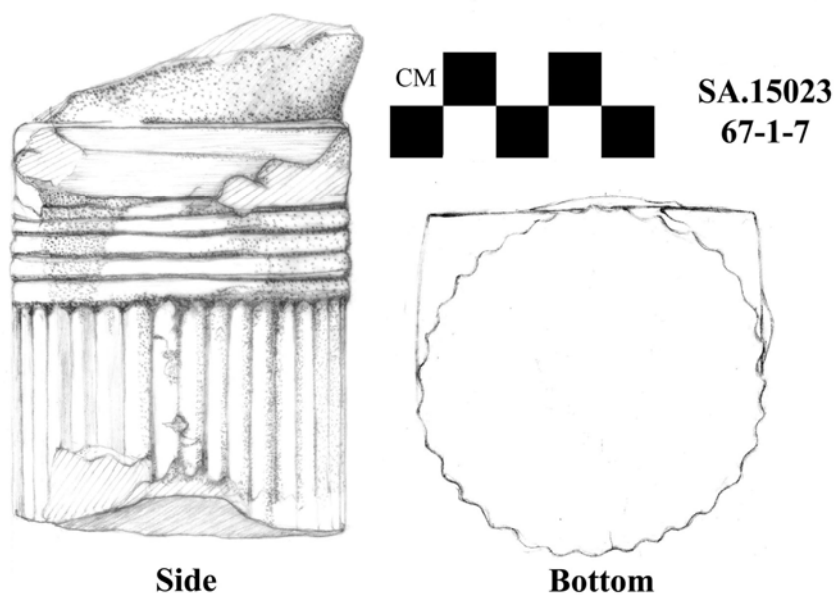
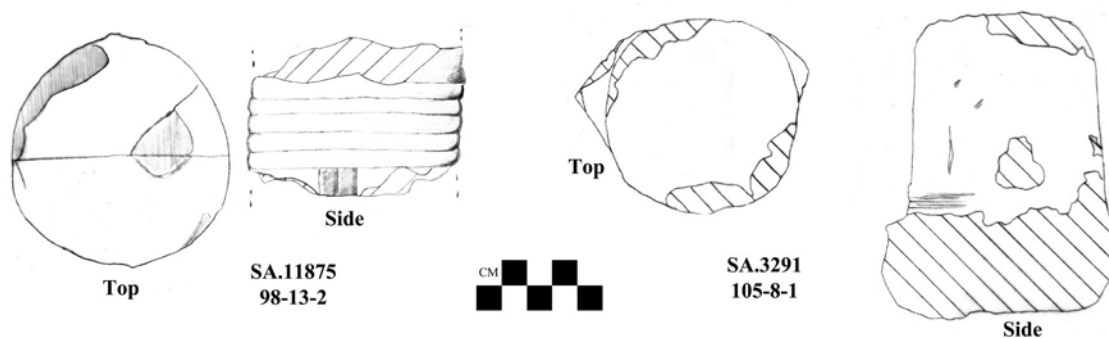


Fig. 5.20: Two Examples of Fragmentary Offering Columns from *Wah-sut*

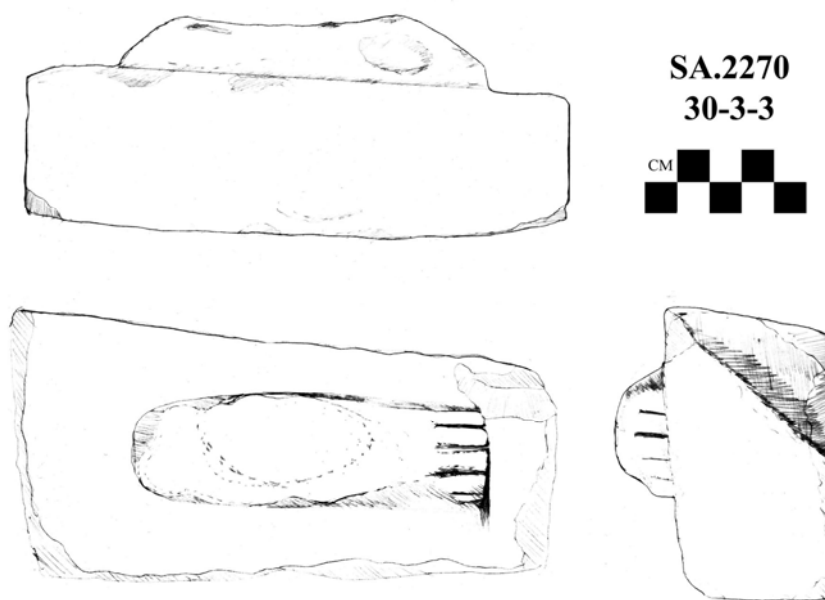


The two other examples were badly damaged before discovery. SA.11875 has a similar horizontal band decoration at its capital, but the column shaft does not seem to have been fluted (Fig. 5.20, left). Instead, a decorative double stripe runs vertically down one side. SA.3291 is the only piece which preserves any indication of the base (Fig. 5.20, right). Though also badly broken, the bottom of the column has horizontal banding

¹⁰⁷² Original drawing by Stardust Atkeson.

decoration near the flaring transition between the shaft and the base. As W. Petrie indicates in his description above, the base of this piece was probably originally square.

Fig. 5.21: Limestone Foot Possibly Belonging to a Dwarf Statue Offering Stand



The identification of dwarf statue offering stands from *Wah-sut* is less certain. One statue base fragment came to light which only retains a right anthropomorphic foot (SA.2270) (Fig. 5.21). Certain attributes of this fragment point to it originally belonging to a dwarf statue. Perhaps the clearest are the proportions of the foot. There is no differentiation in the size or shape of the toes, the heel projects back from the area of the leg, and the leg itself which occupies over half of the foot length is positioned centrally above the foot. Indeed, the shape of the foot is almost identical to the dwarf statue base discovered at Kom el-Fakhry, and has little in common with contemporary non-dwarf

human figures.¹⁰⁷³ It seems quite plausible that SA.2270 therefore represents a portion of a similar offering stand.

Finding the meaning behind the forms of these column and dwarf statue stands poses a significant challenge.¹⁰⁷⁴ If the offering columns were employed as a locus for daily bread offerings from the living to the dead, as W. Petrie theorized, they may be related to the standard *ḥtp-dj-nswt* funerary offering prayer. One version of this formula in particular, the “Appeal to the Living” includes the phrase *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnk.t n k3 n* “a thousand of bread and a thousand of beer to the ka of...”¹⁰⁷⁵ There might be a play on words here. One of the ancient Egyptian words for “column” is *wḥ3*,¹⁰⁷⁶ written with the *ḥ3* sign. In pronunciation the two words *wḥ3* “column” and *ḥ3* “one thousand” may have sounded similar enough to conjure the idea of “one thousand bread loaves” through the combination of an actual dough offering atop a *wḥ3* column.

The Nineteenth Dynasty text of pHarris 501 may offer another explanation which also connect columns and dwarfs with funerary offerings and protection. Spell U (Recto VIII.9 – IX.5) states:

Oh, Du Zwerg da, der Du im Himmel bis (zweimal),
 Du Zwerg mit dem grossen Gesicht,
 mit dem hohen Rücken und den kurzen Beinen,
 Du grosse Säule, die im Himmel anfängt und bis zur Unterwelt [reicht],
 Du Herr des grossen Leichnams, der in Heliopolis ruht,
 Du grosser lebender Herr, der in Dd.t ruht!
 Der N.N., geboren von der N.N., is dir [...]

¹⁰⁷³ Tavares and Kamel 2012, 6. See also Jeffries 2012, 6.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Szpakowska 2008, 133-138 follows M. Raven in seeing the dwarf statues as representing female fertility, linked with semi-divine entities such as Bes and *ḥ3*. Quirke, Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape 2005, 97, seems to follow the same approach. We hypothesize a different interpretation below.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Lichtheim, Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies, and related studies 1992, 155-190.

¹⁰⁷⁶ WB, I:355.

Behüte ihn bei Tage,
 wache über ihm in der Nacht.¹⁰⁷⁷
 Schütze ihn, wie Du Osiris vor dem mit dem verborgenen Namen schütztest.¹⁰⁷⁸

In this portion of the spell, the dwarf is a celestial entity which bears the epithet of *wḥ3* “column.” In this spell, the dwarf spans the known universe from the underworld to the sky, and therefore serves as a connecting thread between the lands of the dead, living, and gods. The dwarf is also charged with protecting the deceased, here linked with Osiris. The theology which this spell records has a much more concrete connection to funerary cult, and the protection and sustenance of the dead, than the notion that the dwarf statues represent Bes or *ḥ3*.

Additionally, pygmies and dwarfs had a special connection to funerary rights from the Old Kingdom onwards.¹⁰⁷⁹ In PT Spell 517 the king Pepi I is identified as a dancing pygmy (*dnḡ*):

O, you who ferry the marooned one who is righteous, ferryman of the Marsh of Reeds! Pepi is one righteous before the sky and before [the earth. Pepi is] one righteous before that island of land that he has swum to and arrived at, which is between Nut’s thighs. He is a dwarf of the god’s dances, an entertainer before his [great] seat.
 [For] this is what you have heard in the houses and overheard in the walkways on the day of calling you to hear the giving of (these) orders: “Look, the two on the great god’s seat – they are Soundness and Health – are calling to this Pepi that this Pepi might be ferried to the marsh of [the great god’s] beautiful seat, in which [he] does what is done with the honored ones, commending them to kas and allotting them to catches of fowl.” That is what Pepi is, and he will commend [this] Pepi [to] kas and commend Pepi to a catch of fowl.¹⁰⁸⁰

¹⁰⁷⁷ The desire here that the dwarf watch over NN during the day and night is echoed in the exhortation of King Pepy to Harkhuf (URK, I:130.6-13) that he place men to protect the dwarf in his northward journey both during the day (as he boards the ship) and night (as he sleeps).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Lange, *Der Magische Papyrus Harris* 1927, 74.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Silverman, *Pygmies and Dwarves in the Old Kingdom* 1969, 53.

¹⁰⁸⁰ J. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* 2005, 159. See also Sethe 1910, 162-166 for the original hieroglyphic text.

In this ferrying spell, Pepi is identified as the pygmy/dwarf¹⁰⁸¹ who does the god's dance, and like the dwarf in pHarris 501, Pepy's justification spans the worlds of the dead, living, and gods. Interestingly the second half of the spell makes reference to a command "heard in the houses" which entreats the ferryman to bring the justified Pepy across to ultimate justification. Though somewhat oblique, this may be a reference to domestic funerary cults, in which the living utter spells to guarantee the safe passage of the recently deceased into the next life. As with offering spells spoken in the home, the ultimate goal of this Pyramid Text spell is Pepi joining the gods, and receiving food offerings in the form of fowl. Based upon these sources, it is probable that the offering columns and dwarf statues represent ritual tools which the living could employ in aiding the recently deceased in their successful transition into eternal justification. The fact that these objects appear at *Wah-sut* strengthens the town's cultural connection to Lahun, and demonstrates the cultural continuity between these two locations in the expression of domestic funerary cult.

5.2.5 Limestone Door Lintel

In addition to the tomb chapel fragments discussed above,¹⁰⁸² one additional limestone architectural fragment from within *Wah-sut* may be related to domestic cult. During excavation within the Mayor's house in 1997, J. Wegner discovered half of an

¹⁰⁸¹ There was a distinction between pygmies and dwarfs during the Old Kingdom, but as time progressed and pygmies became rarer, dwarfs were substituted. See Silverman, *Pygmies and Dwarves in the Old Kingdom* 1969, 53-62. J. Allen translates *dng* here as dwarf, though a pygmy is meant. By the Middle Kingdom the distinction was no longer maintained.

¹⁰⁸² See above §4.2.

inscribed limestone door lintel (Fig. 5.22).¹⁰⁸³ The piece had been reused as a door threshold, with its face positioned downwards.

The chronology of this piece is, on the surface, somewhat troubling, but it may be this very problem which sheds the most light on the piece's original location. Since the Senwosret III mortuary complex, including the Mayoral residence, ceased functioning during the mid-Second Intermediate Period, the limestone lintel almost certainly belongs to the late Middle Kingdom.¹⁰⁸⁴ Having been reused inside the Mayor's residence during the active life of that building points to three options: 1) it broke during its initial fabrication, leading to its immediate repurposing; 2) that it originally belonged to a tomb in the area, which was despoiled, and the stone reused in the house within a relatively short period of time after the tomb's original construction; and 3) it was actually a functioning lintel inside the Mayor's house, associated with a domestic cult chamber, which was shortly thereafter removed and reused as a threshold.

The notion that the lintel broke during fabrication seems unlikely, given the simple fact that all the hieroglyphs on the preserved section are fully-formed and finished. While not impossible, the only way that this scenario could have taken place is if the stone were finished, and broken directly in half before installation in a tomb structure. Given the robust nature of the piece, coupled with its rather manageable size, the idea that it broke accidentally during installation is fairly unlikely.

¹⁰⁸³ J. Wegner, *Excavations at the Town of 'Enduring-are-the-places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos'* 1998, 30, Fig. 14.

¹⁰⁸⁴ J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007*, 335-343, Fig. 153.

Fig. 5.22: Reused Limestone Lintel from the Mayor's House



The notion that the lintel was, in fact, installed in a nearby tomb leads to even more chronological problems. It is almost inconceivable that a tomb, belonging to someone of high enough status to afford a limestone lintel of this quality, would be built, robbed, and destroyed in a short enough period of time that the lintel fragment would be available for reuse within the span of a handful of years. Furthermore, other tombs which were robbed in antiquity still retained their comparatively worthless stone doorjambs and lintels, like that which J. Garstang discovered in the North Cemetery of Abydos.¹⁰⁸⁵ Unless the tomb-owner's memory was purposefully attacked and destroyed, it is highly unlikely that complete destruction of a tomb's surface features would have been allowed to take place during the stability of the late Middle Kingdom.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Garstang 1901, Pl. VII, doorjambs and lintel of Amenemhat-renefseneb, now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology.

This leaves the third option open, the only option which allows for the removal and destruction of a commemorative object shortly after the object's creation. In this scenario, the limestone lintel would have been installed within the Mayoral residence itself, almost certainly above a door into a room housing a domestic cult emplacement akin to that at Kom el-Fakhry. The entire room would, therefore, have represented a domestic version of the tomb-side chapel.¹⁰⁸⁶ Once the lintel had served its purpose and the domestic cult required updating to accommodate more recently deceased family members, the stone was broken, removed from the doorway, and reused as a threshold in the immediate area. The preserved text is an *hṯp-dj-nswt* formula naming at least six gods: Osiris Lord of Busiris, Anubis (or Khentiamentiu) Lord of the Necropolis, Heket, Khnum, Hathor, and Anubis upon his Mountain, yet the left side of the lintel is missing, the area which would have recorded the name of the deceased. Presumably this portion of the object was utterly destroyed, in order to sever the connection between its text and the deceased person or persons it commemorated.

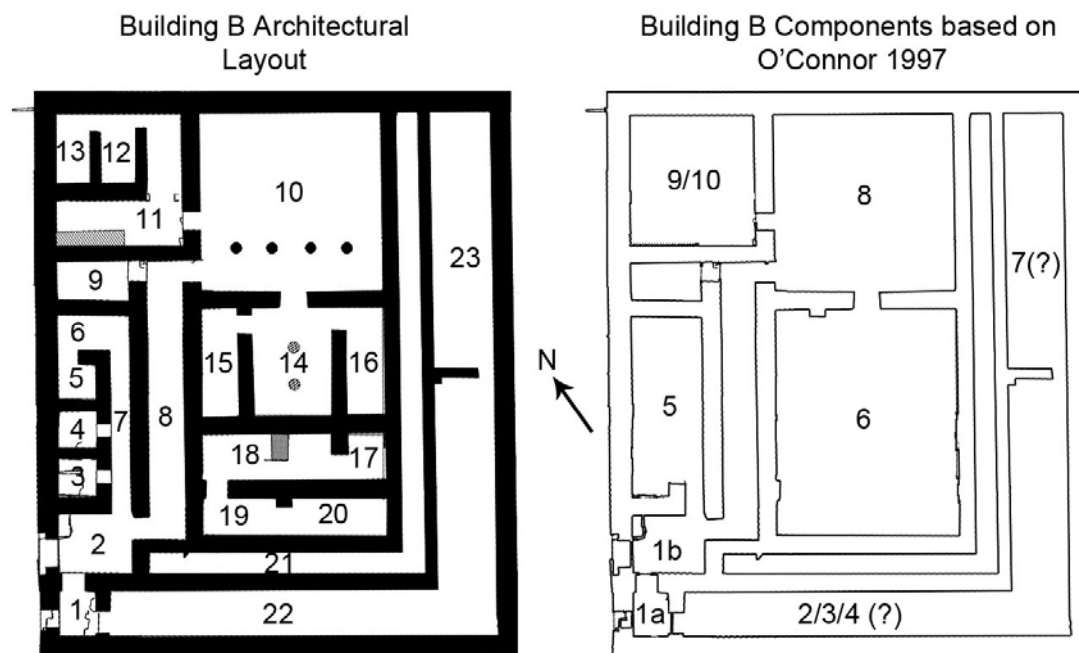
5.2.6 Location of Domestic Cult within the Houses of *Wah-sut*

As a result of their abandonment and destruction, the archaeological contexts of many of the objects discussed above are secondary at best. In the case of Building E, domestic funerary cult objects were discovered in three main areas: the central residential unit (SA.33367 female statue), a hallway (SA.32837 limestone with “*3bd.w*” inscription) and a tripartite storage structure in the northeast corner (SA.32664 and SA.33001, pottery soul house).

¹⁰⁸⁶ In other words, it would have had the same architectural form, containing the deceased's name outside the doorway, as well as on stelae and statuary inside the room.

In 1997, D. O'Connor published a study in which he identified potential uses for the various blocks within high status houses at Lahun.¹⁰⁸⁷ In this study, he concluded that a three-room structure within the main residential unit probably served as the domestic cult shrine.¹⁰⁸⁸ Some of the same architectural features in the elite houses of Lahun are apparent in those of *Wah-sut*, such as the inner residence (Unit 6), the courtyard (Unit 8), the food preparation and storage area (Units 9/10), and the entry chambers (Units 1a and 1b) (Fig. 5.23).¹⁰⁸⁹

Fig. 5.23: Layout of *Wah-sut* Building B



Based upon D. O'Connor's work, it is tempting to identify the tripartite structure in the northwestern corner of Building B as the domestic cult area (Rooms 11-13), especially coupled with N. Picardo's discovery of the pottery offering table in a similar

¹⁰⁸⁷ O'Connor, *The Elite Houses of Kahun* 1997, 389-400.

¹⁰⁸⁸ O'Connor, *The Elite Houses of Kahun* 1997, 399-400.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See also Picardo, *Egypt's Well-to-Do: Elite Mansions in the Town of Wah-Sut* 2006, 38-39.

area within Building E. Yet given D. O'Connor's conclusion that domestic cult emplacements existed within the central residence unit, and N. Picardo's identification of the tripartite area in the houses of *Wah-sut* as one of cooking and food storage, this attribution is somewhat problematic. A much more likely scenario is that the funerary cult items were originally set up in rooms similar to Building B unit 6, Room 17 or 20.¹⁰⁹⁰ Indeed, these two rooms retain evidence of built-in mud-brick benches and other features which may connect to cult emplacements and ritual activity.¹⁰⁹¹ Such a location places these highly personal objects within the inner heart of the house in the same location that D. O'Connor theorizes they existed at Lahun.¹⁰⁹²

§ 5.3 Conclusions

The cultural connections between Lahun and *Wah-sut* extend to practices of commemorating the dead. At both sites, funerary cult emplacements existed within the homes of the living. In part, this may have been a practical situation, one which made offering to the deceased easier for the living. At the same time, the act of keeping the memory of loved ones alive within the home allowed those still living time to come to terms with the loss. In addition, there was also a theological link between the deceased owner of a house and his son, framed in terms of the Osiris myth. Demonstrating the link to ancestors may have authenticated home ownership in the same way that Horus was the rightful heir to his father Osiris' possessions and office. Objects such as stelae and

¹⁰⁹⁰ Room 17 is the most likely. Despite no plan yet being published, the domestic cult room at Kom el-Fakhry is visible in a photograph of the site in Tavares and Kamel 2012, 4. The room is a dead-end, square-shaped room with only one door, very similar to Wah-sut Building B room 17.

¹⁰⁹¹ J. Wegner, personal communication.

¹⁰⁹² O'Connor, *The Elite Houses of Kahun* 1997, Fig. 2 and 3.

statues allowed the deceased to enter the homes of the living to accept offerings, and continue to partake in family events.

After a certain amount of time, however, domestic cults required updating, to include recently deceased family members. Objects relating to older ancestors or previous home-owners were removed from the cult area in favor of newer ones, leading to a practice whereby spiritual ties between the older cult objects and the individuals named upon them were severed by ritually destroying the objects. In much the same way that the Egyptians believed the soul of the deceased would not recognize their body if it rotted or became damaged, if a statue or stela naming the deceased were defaced, the soul of that person would not be able to use it as a means of entering the world of the living. Destroying these objects did not cause the commemorative cult to cease, but merely severed its ties to the homes of the living. Commemorative chapels at the site of the deceased's tomb itself, or memorial chapels connected with the more permanent cult of a god or powerful individual, assured the continued provisioning of these people in perpetuity, once the domestic cult activities were terminated.

This concludes Section One, where we have examined the current evidence relating to funerary practices of the late Middle Kingdom at South Abydos. In Section Two we will turn to examine similar questions and topics during the early New Kingdom.

PART TWO: NON-ROYAL MORTUARY LANDSCAPES AT SOUTH
ABYDOS IN THE EARLY NEW KINGDOM

CHAPTER SIX: SOUTH ABYDOS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH DYNASTIES

Having explored the mortuary practices at South Abydos of the Middle Kingdom in Part One, we turn now in Part Two to look at the funerary landscapes of the same area during the New Kingdom. The core of this section – Chapters Seven and Eight – represents the results of new archaeological excavation undertaken by the author between 2012 and 2014, under the auspices of Dr. Josef Wegner's University of Pennsylvania South Abydos Excavations. As with Chapter Two in Part One, this chapter will attempt to contextualize the New Kingdom funerary practices of non-royal individuals at South Abydos into their historical, geographical, and religious contexts.

Even though the present study aims to examine non-royal funerary monuments in context, by necessity the historical framework of Abydos is inexorably intertwined with the royal monuments which exist at the site. Hence in order to understand the historical background of the non-royal monuments of the New Kingdom, one must possess a full understanding of the official royal activity at South Abydos. This activity begins under Ahmose in the early Eighteenth Dynasty with his creation of a funerary complex parallel to that of Senwosret III, and flowers again in the early Nineteenth Dynasty with the extensive temples of Seti I and Ramesses II. Royal construction at Abydos reflected the changing ideology of kingship during the New Kingdom, and especially under Ahmose and the early Ramesside kings. Steeped in this culture, and surrounded by these monuments the citizens of South Abydos lived and died.

§ 6.1 Theory of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty

The following discussion will begin with a survey of the theoretical framework of kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty, looking at how this framework differed or remained constant from earlier phases of Egyptian history.¹⁰⁹³ It will then turn in the following section to an examination of specific ways in which this theory of kingship was expressed at Abydos during the early New Kingdom.

6.1.1 Middle Kingdom Antecedents of New Kingdom Kingship

The theoretical position of the king within the cosmos during the New Kingdom owes much to royal ideology of the Middle Kingdom, and the Twelfth Dynasty in particular.¹⁰⁹⁴ Following the fall of the Old Kingdom, royal ideology was forced to evolve in order to mitigate negative cultural perceptions of the office. J. Assmann outlines his understanding of this evolution in the following way:

The kings of the Twelfth Dynasty reverted to the explicit link between rule and divinity. But they did not simply reanimate the ideas of the Old Kingdom; rather, they took up the symbolic forms of the First Intermediate Period and deployed them to express three new ideas: the status of the king as a son of god, the importance of loyalism, and the value of achievement. The idea of the ruler as a son of the deity (representative theocracy) was based on the new form of legitimization employed by the nomarchs in which they represented their power as deriving explicitly from the local deities of their respective cities.¹⁰⁹⁵

The notion of the Pharaoh being the son of the god was not, strictly speaking, an innovation of the Middle Kingdom; the children of Khufu in the Fourth Dynasty are the

¹⁰⁹³ This discussion builds on that in Chapter Two (§2.1) on Kingship during the Middle Kingdom.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Redford 1995, 159-162; and Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 119, 183ff.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 119, Redford 1995, 160-161 outlines basically the same three roles of the king during the Middle Kingdom: the mythological role as son of the god, the king's role as earthly surrogate of that god, and the role of protecting the country and people through acts of strength and/or violence.

first kings to take the title *z3-rꜥw*.¹⁰⁹⁶ It is the ideological impact of what this Old Kingdom title imparts upon the office of kingship during the Middle Kingdom that was new.¹⁰⁹⁷ J. Assmann's representative theocracy is a form of royal ideology in which both the office and the person of the king merely represent the gods on earth. In this model, the gods are the highest authority. Even when the king acts in his official capacity as *nswt* or *nswt-bj.tj*, he is still a human representing the will of the gods.¹⁰⁹⁸ The assumption is therefore that the king may be fallible even in his official role.

This idea is in direct contrast to royal ideology during the Old Kingdom, when in his official capacity the ruler's actions were conceptualized as approaching divine law. J. Assmann further clarifies the progression away from the Old Kingdom incarnatory model later in his book:

Indeed, in the Old Kingdom the mortuary cult of the kings was the true state-organized form of religious worship. Only in the Middle Kingdom did the rulers become builders and cult lords of temples for the gods. In adopting this role, the Middle Kingdom rulers emulated the magnates and nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period. Since the nomarchs could not present themselves as the commissioners of a central power, they had to look for a different kind of authority to legitimize their rule. To this end they appealed to the gods (something that the kings of the Old Kingdom had no need to do), and the gods they turned to were the local deities of the respective nome capitals.¹⁰⁹⁹

¹⁰⁹⁶ Dobrev 1993, and Quirke, *The Cult of Ra* 2001, 17. The first to use this title was Djedefre, indicating that Khufu was intertwined with the sun god. See also Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 184-185, where he terms kingship previous to the Fourth Dynasty "incarnatory," and that after the introduction of the *z3-rꜥw* title as "representational theocracy."

¹⁰⁹⁷ Hence the Middle Kingdom pWestcar's image of Khufu serves to root, retroactively, Middle Kingdom representational theocracy within the late Old Kingdom, whether or not it was a reality at the time. See the discussion of Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 185-186.

¹⁰⁹⁸ In order to reach this point, J. Assmann's Old Kingdom incarnatory model was reinterpreted. Instead of the king being equal to the god Horus on earth, he was redefined as the Son of Osiris, akin to the position of Son of Re. Hence terminology relating to the incarnatory model never completely died out of Egyptian royal discourse, but the meaning of the king's position as Horus changed to highlight his position as "son."

¹⁰⁹⁹ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 183-184.

In short, the groundwork for the change in understanding of royal ideology began with the introduction of the *z3-rꜥw* title, and the rise of the solar cult from late Dynasty Four into Dynasty Five. With the fall of the Old Kingdom, nomarchs realized that they could not simply declare their own divinity, but had to convince their constituents that they possessed a connection to a higher authority which gave them the right to rule. With the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, kings united these two ideas – one being theological, the other being a practical means of controlling the people which had been proven to work – into the single institution of king.

6.1.2 New Kingdom Ideology of Kingship

The implementation of this representational theocracy is summarized in a text whose sources date to the New Kingdom, but whose composition J. Assmann believes dates to the Middle Kingdom.¹¹⁰⁰ The closing section of the short hymn reads:

Re hat den König N eingesetzt
auf der Erde der Lebenden
für immer und ewig;
beim Rechtsprechen den Menschen, beim Zufriedenstellen der Götter,
beim Entstehenlassen der Wahrheit, beim Vernichten der Sünde (*jsft*);
er gibt den Göttern Opferspeisen,
Totenopfer den Verklärten.

Der Name des Königs N
ist im Himmel wie (der Name des) Re (wie die Sonne);
er lebt in Herzensweite
wie Re Harachte (wie der Sonnengot)
Die Menschen (*pꜣt*) jubeln, wenn sie ihn sehen,
das Volk (*rhj*) bereitet ihm Ovationen
in siener (kultischen) Rolle des “Kindes”¹¹⁰¹

¹¹⁰⁰ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 187. See also Baines, *Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation* 1995, 10-11.

¹¹⁰¹ Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* 1970, 22.

This text defines the three aspects of the king which J. Assmann and D. Redford discuss.¹¹⁰² First is the mythological position of the king as a representative of the god on earth, “in his role of the child” of the sun god. Secondly are the duties expected of the ruler, namely judging living humans, satisfying the gods, producing truth (*maat*), and obliterating chaos (*isfet*).¹¹⁰³ Finally the text’s last stanza indicates that the outcome of these royal duties is the affection and loyalty of his subjects who are jubilant and give him praises.¹¹⁰⁴

D. Redford highlights the notion of the strong king, which fits into the duties of Pharaoh in relation both to judging humanity, as well as creating *maat* and obliterating *isfet*. He summarizes a few salient textual correspondences in this way:

The common grizzly vocabulary of Eighteenth Dynasty military records, delighting in such clichés as “crushing all their chiefs throughout their valleys, wallowing in their blood, (the corpses stacked) one on top of the other” (Urk. IV, 1666) finds antecedents in the idiolect, say, of a Senwosret I, that “throat-slitter and headsman.” The contempt of a Senwosret III for the lesser breeds without the law is mirrored in the similar attitude of an Amenhotep II towards the same Nubians as well as the Asiatics.¹¹⁰⁵

Hence the pharaohs of the early New Kingdom strove to outdo their predecessors in terms of military might, and feats of strength. Ahmose claims ultimate victory over the Hyksos at the beginning of the dynasty, given his place as the last in a series of Theban kings attempting to subdue these foreigners. Thutmose III pushed the sphere of Egyptian political influence out to its furthest historical extents.¹¹⁰⁶ Having very little left of the world to conquer, Amenhotep II boasted of his superhuman ability to single-handedly

¹¹⁰² Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* 2002, 183ff, and Redford 1995, 157-184.

¹¹⁰³ See also Baines, *Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation* 1995, 10-11.

¹¹⁰⁴ As in the loyalist literature, as represented for instance on the Sehetepibre Stela, Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt* 2002, 318-319, and Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 172-174.

¹¹⁰⁵ Redford 1995, 159-160.

¹¹⁰⁶ Bryan, *The 18th Dynasty Before the Amarna Period* 2000, 245-248.

ride a chariot at full speed and pierce a copper ingot with arrows from his bow.¹¹⁰⁷ These are but a few examples of the way in which the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty fulfilled the royal ideology set forth in the Middle Kingdom.

Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty was in its religious foundation a fully functioning representative theocracy. On the other hand, the incarnation of the king was expected to exhibit certain strengths and abilities. The text of the King as a Solar Priest therefore sums up the duties and expectations of both sides of the institution, and give to us a succinct ancient understanding of the position of their king within the cosmos.

§6.2 The Ahmose Cult and Eighteenth Dynasty Kingship at Abydos

According to the ancient compiler of the Seti I king list, Ahmose¹¹⁰⁸ was the logical and proper successor to the pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom. In this document, Ahmose appears directly after Amenemhat IV Maakherure.¹¹⁰⁹ As the king ultimately responsible for driving out the Hyksos and reuniting Egypt under one centralized authority, Ahmose was the image of a perfect king, modeled on the likes of Menes and Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II. According to the idealized version of history presented in the Abydos king list, and one which Ahmose himself seems to have believed, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty picked up exactly where the late Twelfth Dynasty had left off.

¹¹⁰⁷ der Manuelian 1987, 191-214.

¹¹⁰⁸ His name is often given as Ahmose I to differentiate him from Pharaoh Ahmose II / Amasis Khnemibra of the Twenty Sixth Dynasty. For the purpose of this work, the name Ahmose refers to Ahmose I Nebpekhtyre of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹¹⁰⁹ von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten* 1997, 24-28, 215. The king list from the tomb of the Memphite priest Tjoulouy (Cairo CG 34156) from the time of Ramesses II is similar to the Seti I example but also includes the throne name of Sobekneferu Kasobekre. The Turin King List also includes numerous kinds from the Second Intermediate Period, on which see Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997.

6.2.1 Ahmose and the Expulsion of the Hyksos

Ahmose was born into a Theban family whose driving goal was the re-conquest of Egypt.¹¹¹⁰ Based upon the statements Ahmose included on the Tetisheri Stela from Abydos, coupled with other monuments, we know that his parents were brother and sister Seqenenre Tao II and Ahhotep.¹¹¹¹ The somewhat grotesque mummy of Seqenenre Tao II bears the battle wounds which killed him, and though no textual record exists telling us of the circumstances surrounding his death, it seems likely that he died from a Hyksos style axe during campaign against Avaris.¹¹¹² The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre, though a work of Rammeside literature, lends some credence to the notion that hostilities began during his reign which eventually resulted in his death.¹¹¹³

Yet it was at the death of Seqenenre Tao II that rule passed not to Ahmose, but to Kamose, whom scholars have variously interpreted as Ahmose's father, brother, or cousin.¹¹¹⁴ Though he reigned for only three years, Kamose promoted Theban control in both the north and south.¹¹¹⁵ Pressing the action begun by Seqenenre, Kamose brought

¹¹¹⁰ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 15-35, Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 167-183, 265-289, and Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 123-126.

¹¹¹¹ Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 274, and Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 123-126.

¹¹¹² G. E. Smith 1912, 1-6, Pl. I-III.

¹¹¹³ For a translation of this work with references, see Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 69-71.

¹¹¹⁴ C. Bennett 1995, 37-44, with numerous references. C. Bennett reconstructs a situation in which Tao I and Tao II were brothers, Kamose was the son of Tao I, and Ahmose the son of Tao II, making Kamose and Ahmose cousins. Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 126, believes that Kamose was the brother of Seqenenre Tao II, and uncle of Ahmose.

¹¹¹⁵ Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 309, and Bourriau, *The Second Intermediate Period* 2000, 211-212. Of his two main campaigns, that to Buhen preceded the Avaris raid. Indeed the Kamose Stelae texts record that his army intercepted a letter from Apophis to the, then, new king of Kush, asking for assistance in defeating Kamose, demonstrating that the Taosids perceived serious threats to both the north as well as the south.

his army through the border between Theban controlled Egypt and the Hyksos territory at Cusae, all the way to Avaris. As he recounts in two stelae intended for Karnak,¹¹¹⁶ Kamose's primary goal was to destroy Apophis' infrastructure, and confine the Hyksos ruler within Avaris.¹¹¹⁷ He burnt fields and towns as he proceeded north, where he finally laid siege to the Hyksos capital. Having secured a good deal of plunder, Kamose turned his expeditionary force back south where he was met as a triumphal hero:

How splendid was the southward journey of the ruler, l.p.h., with his army before him, for there were no losses, nor did any man have to inquire about his comrade, nor did their hearts weep. I moved into the district of No (Thebes) at the inundation season, every face shining, the land in abundance, the riverbank excited, and Thebes in festival! Wives and husbands came to see me, every woman embracing her companion, and there was no face in tears.¹¹¹⁸

This is where the history seems to go dark. At what was doubtless a pivotal point, Kamose fails to press his victory by returning north. Indeed, Kamose disappears from the record after a brief three year reign, presumably dying at almost the same time as the Hyksos king Apophis.¹¹¹⁹

Hence the final destruction of the Hyksos empire fell to Ahmose, though it took almost eleven years for the struggle to reignite.¹¹²⁰ The main textual source scholars adduce to any discussion of Ahmose and the expulsion of the Hyksos is the autobiography of the king's namesake Ahmose son of Ibana from el-Kab.¹¹²¹ As an

¹¹¹⁶ The beginning of the text is also preserved in a copy found on a writing board found in debris outside a Theban tomb which H. Carter dated to the Seventeenth Dynasty. See Gardiner, *The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet No. 1* 1916, 95-110.

¹¹¹⁷ Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 345-350, with references.

¹¹¹⁸ Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* 2003, 350.

¹¹¹⁹ Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC* 1997, 309, Bourriau, *The Second Intermediate Period* 2000, 212. Apophis was succeeded by Khamudi.

¹¹²⁰ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 44-46 indicates that the final defeat of the Hyksos probably took place between Ahmose's regnal year 18 and 22.

¹¹²¹ To this source must also be added the autobiography of Ahmose Pen-nekhbet, also from el-Kab, though the only new information this text adds is that the Pharaoh captured a Syrian city by the name of *dʿhj*. See

autobiographical funerary monument, the text lauds Ahmose son of Ibana's role in the numerous battles of his monarch, which include three native rebellions within Egypt. Having destroyed Avaris at the end of what must have been a protracted siege, king Ahmose pursued the fleeing Hyksos forces to the town of Sharuhen, wherein he confined them for a further six year period before finally exterminating them.¹¹²²

Ahmose's triumphs allowed him to seize control over a reunited Egypt. Unlike his predecessors at Thebes of both the Intef and Taosid lines, Ahmose's strength and success in battle defined him as a proper Egyptian Pharaoh. Furthermore through the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt he created *maat* and dispelled *isfet*. Led by a strong divine representative, the two lands were once again united for the first time since the late Twelfth Dynasty, at least in the estimation of New Kingdom historians.

6.2.2 The Ahmose Pyramid Complex at South Abydos: Architectural Overview

The Abydene monuments created by Pharaoh Ahmose immortalized his strength and valor in routing the Hyksos. Yet perhaps more importantly they served to align his reign symbolically with the strong kings of the late Twelfth Dynasty, who, also of Theban origin, placed monuments at South Abydos. Despite the fact that a mummy bearing the name Ahmose was discovered in the Deir el-Bahari royal mummy cache, no Theban tomb has yet been identified as belonging to this monarch.¹¹²³ There is therefore

Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. II 1906, 9-12. For Ahmose's campaigns in general, see Vandersleyen 1971.

¹¹²² Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. II 1906, 7-8.

¹¹²³ In addition to his mummy, a large limestone shabti now in the British Museum (BM 32191) was also purchased in Thebes, leading most scholars to the conclusion that the king was indeed buried in his ancestral home. See Quirke, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt* 1992, 41, Fig. 27, and Russmann, *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* 2001, 210.

a possibility, albeit remote, that Ahmose was actually buried beneath his monuments at South Abydos.¹¹²⁴

Ahmose's funerary complex at South Abydos consists of a number of buildings in three main areas.¹¹²⁵ Near the edge of the cultivation stand the remains of five architectural blocks which appear to be religious structures dedicated to Ahmose and Ahmose-Nefertary.¹¹²⁶ The main Ahmose temple in this area was decorated with, among other things, images of his campaign against the Hyksos, executed in carved limestone relief.¹¹²⁷ Directly to the south of this temple lies the remains of a large, rubble-filled pyramid. Further to the south, midway between the cultivation and the high desert gebel, Ahmose created a secondary monument dedicated to his grandmother Tetisheri. Set atop the axis between his pyramid and subterranean tomb at the gebel, the Tetisheri monument was a whitewashed mud-brick pyramid, with a limestone pyramidion and an internal chamber housing a dedicatory stela.¹¹²⁸ Finally, even further to the south at the base of the gebel itself, Ahmose created a subterranean tomb, surmounted by a so-called terrace temple built onto the living rock of the gebel.¹¹²⁹

¹¹²⁴ As Harvey, *New Evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's Funerary Cult* 2004, 3 hints.

¹¹²⁵ For a recent overview, see O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 105-110.

¹¹²⁶ Harvey, *Abydos* 2003, 15-25, and also Harvey, *New Evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's Funerary Cult* 2004, 3-6. The identification is based upon brick stamps.

¹¹²⁷ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 303ff, see also Harvey, *Tribute to a Conquering King* 2001, 52-55.

¹¹²⁸ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 35-38, 43-44, Pl. LI-LII. See also Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 425-427, Harvey, *The Last Egyptian Queen's Pyramid* 2006, 20-23.

¹¹²⁹ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 29-34, Pl. XLIX and LIII.

6.2.3 Expression of Royal Ideology in Ahmose's South Abydene Complex

On one level, Ahmose's complex at South Abydos emulates that of Osiris to the northwest. In both cases a temple dedicated to ongoing cult activities stands near the cultivation, while out in the natural setting of the desert lies the hidden tomb of the deceased, here associated with commemorative structure.¹¹³⁰ Yet Ahmose did not place his monuments in close proximity to those of Osiris. Instead he chose a location east of, and directly parallel to, the late Middle Kingdom necropolis at South Abydos begun by Senwosret III Khakaure. While it is clear both kings – Senwosret III and Ahmose – indeed sought to emulate the Osiris cult complex layout at North Abydos,¹¹³¹ there is undoubtedly more significance to the similarities between these two complexes at South Abydos.

The basic structure of Ahmose's mortuary temple is comparable to that of Senwosret III in both size and layout.¹¹³² Both buildings are fronted by a thick mud-brick pylon of similar dimensions. Their internal structure is divided into three main sections: a central stone-lined and columned area flanked by suites of smaller rooms.¹¹³³ In the better preserved Middle Kingdom temple, the two side blocks served as housing and

¹¹³⁰ The Senwosret III tomb may have had a similar feature located at the base of the gebel, almost directly above the actual burial chamber of the king, pictured in Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 13, Pl. XXXVI and XXXVIII. This is either a small temple, or perhaps a type of *mḥ.t* structure, akin to that which Ikhnofret states existed at Umm el-Gaab for Osiris.

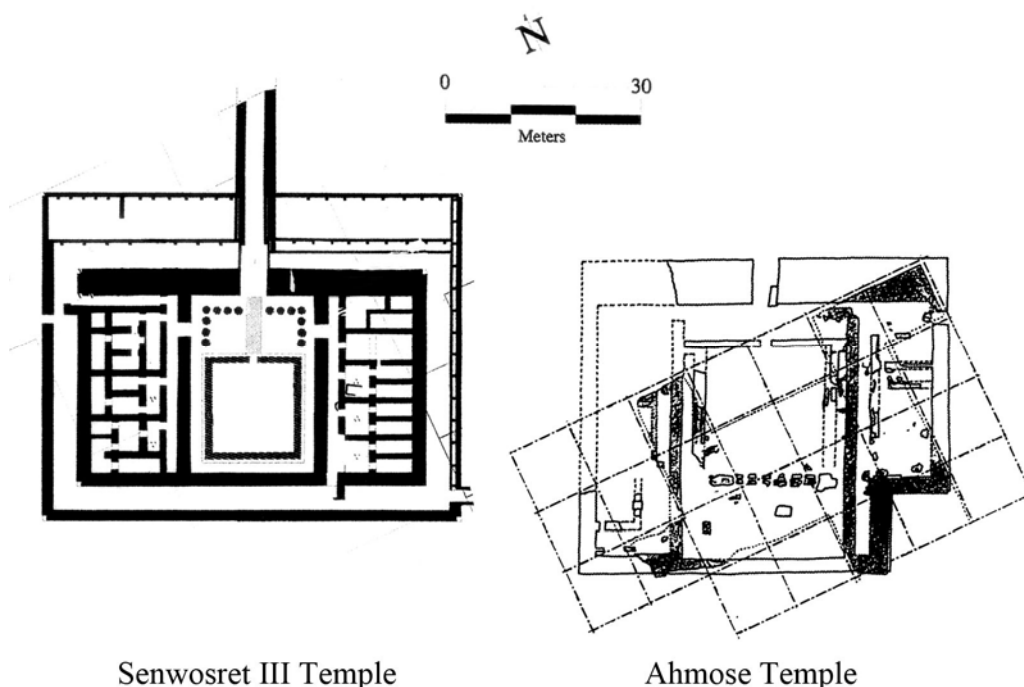
¹¹³¹ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 110.

¹¹³² Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 186-187. See also O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 109-110.

¹¹³³ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 211, theorizes that a secondary temple area closely associated with Ahmose's pyramid originally existed in the area now occupied by a large construction / destruction ramp. No archaeological evidence has yet been adduced to prove or disprove this theory. Further excavation in the area is required for such evidence.

storage magazines,¹¹³⁴ but due to the significant destruction of the Ahmose structure, the function of these areas is unclear.¹¹³⁵

Fig. 6.1: Scale Comparison of Senwosret III and Ahmose Temples



Given the longevity of the Senwosret III cult, and the most probable date for the destruction of his mortuary temple, J. Wegner state the following possibility:

If the building happened to still be substantially standing at the end of the Second Intermediate Period, we may hypothesize that it is unlikely that the decaying Senwosret III cult building would have been left alone during the resumption of royal building activity at South Abydos under Ahmose. The construction of the Ahmose complex one kilometer further to the south appears to have looked to the complex of *W3h-swt-H3k3wrꜥ-m3ꜥ-hrw-m-3bdw* as a model to be emulated by the nascent 18th Dynasty. Visible parts of the Senwosret III complex may well have been examined by the architects of Ahmose. ... Reuse of the *Nfr-k3* masonry in foundations or other building elements in the Ahmose complex could potentially have occurred as a form of symbolic incorporation of the earlier royal temple within the newly formed Ahmose mortuary complex – a

¹¹³⁴ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 51-54, and *passim*.

¹¹³⁵ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 186-187, does note that decorated stone debris was discovered in the eastern block of the Ahmose Temple, but given the extensive devastation of the building, is almost certainly not related to the block's function.

practice that has been documented elsewhere and certainly appropriate in a period of conscious political renewal as represented by the reign of Ahmose.¹¹³⁶

Since the overall layout and geographic placement of Ahmose's complex emulate the monuments of Senwosret III, the basic theory that Ahmose modeled his buildings on the physical remains of the Middle Kingdom seems sound, and probably extends to the similarities between the subterranean tombs of the two rulers discussed below.

Senwosret III's complex does not contain a built pyramid, but it does employ the natural *gebel* as a pyramidal mound.¹¹³⁷ As a feature of the geography of South Abydos, the natural pyramid feature stands atop the inner portion of Senwosret III's subterranean tomb. Ahmose on the other hand chose to build a pyramid near the cultivation, directly south of his temple. S. Harvey outlines an interesting observation on the existence of both a built pyramid and subterranean tomb when he states:

Scholars usually presume that Ahmose would have chosen to be buried in his ancestral home of Thebes, either under a pyramid on the hillside at Dra Abu el-Naga, following the tradition of his Seventeenth Dynasty predecessors, or perhaps in a hidden chamber in the Valley of the Kings. Both types of royal funerary architecture are attested during Ahmose's reign: not at Thebes but at Abydos, the burial place of Egypt's earliest kings.¹¹³⁸

Whereas the complex's overall layout follows that of Senwosret III, Ahmose's pyramid may be a concrete reference to his ancestral Intef line (and perhaps also the Taosid line) of rulers.¹¹³⁹

¹¹³⁶ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 42-43.

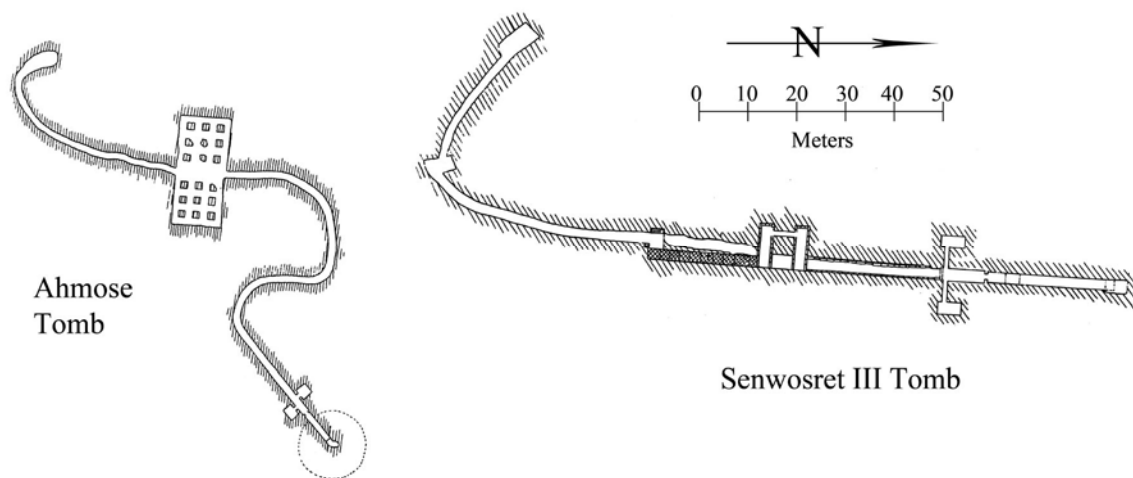
¹¹³⁷ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 17-19 17-19.

¹¹³⁸ Harvey, *New Evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's Funerary Cult* 2004, 3.

¹¹³⁹ See the recent rediscovery and excavation of the pyramid of Nub-kheper-re Intef VII by the DAIK, Polz, *Bericht über die erste Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga* 1992, Polz, *Bericht über die 2. und 3. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga* 1993, Polz, *Bericht über die 4. und 5. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga* 1995, Polz, Gordon, et al. 1999, and Polz and Seiler, *Die Pyramidenlage des Königs Nubcheperre* 2003. Even though Ahmose's pyramid was sheathed in stone, and was much larger, both Intef VII and Ahmose's pyramids were built using the same technique of an exterior skin covering over loose rubble fill without internal support walls.

To complete his funerary complex, Ahmose ordered the construction of a subterranean tomb near the base of the gebel. As with his mortuary temple, his tomb layout has certain similarities with that of Senwosret III around a kilometer to the west. Though the two tombs follow slightly different layouts, a number of salient points coincide between the two structures (Fig. 6.2).¹¹⁴⁰

Fig. 6.2: Scaled Comparison between the Tombs of Senwosret III and Ahmose¹¹⁴¹



Both tombs have twin side-chambers flanking their entrance passages. In the Senwosret III tomb these chambers are beautifully carved from the living rock with mock-vaults and smoothed walls.¹¹⁴² The chambers are both exactly 2.63 by 5.25 m (5 by 10 cubits).¹¹⁴³ Ahmose's tomb also exhibits this twin chamber feature, though according to C. Currelly's plan, the doors are not directly opposite each other, and

¹¹⁴⁰ See also Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 153-154.

¹¹⁴¹ For continuity, both of these sketch plans come from Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, Pl. XLI and XLIX. The orientation of the Ahmose tomb vis-à-vis true north is incorrect in the published plan (Pl. LXI). The current alignment was arrived at by superimposing the plan upon a satellite image showing two large depressions in the sand which correspond to the entrance (smaller), and collapsed western portion of the columned transverse hallway (larger).

¹¹⁴² Flint nodules in the limestone have been broken out and smoothed, and may have originally been filled with plaster to create perfectly smooth walls.

¹¹⁴³ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 383.

Chamber F was left unfinished.¹¹⁴⁴ Chamber E, the eastern of the two chambers, had irregular measurements with the longest wall measuring 2.54m, and the shortest 1.96m.¹¹⁴⁵ The closest architectural parallel to the Senwosret III T-shaped entryway is his pyramid at Dahshur.¹¹⁴⁶ Indeed, Di. Arnold goes on to term this feature an “Osiris Tomb,” and link it with the much later side chambers in the Valley of the Kings.¹¹⁴⁷ Though there may be an ideological link between the Ahmose tomb and the later sepulchers in the Valley of the Kings, the layout of his tomb’s two side-chambers most closely follows the plan of Senwosret III’s tomb, probably indicating direct emulation.

Interestingly, both the tombs of Senwosret III and Ahmose have a central transition chamber. In the Senwosret III tomb, this chamber is a simple square room, entered in the east from the descending passage. The curving inner section of the tomb then continues from the south wall of this chamber, which was originally blocked with limestone, leading to the king’s burial chamber at the end of the tomb.¹¹⁴⁸ Somewhat similarly, in the middle of the course of Ahmose’s tomb is a massive transverse pillared hall, which appears to be the main architectural focus of the entire structure. The

¹¹⁴⁴ Indeed only half of its total height had been carved.

¹¹⁴⁵ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 31. Currelly gives the measurements in feet and inches, which have been converted here. Interestingly Currelly states that the diagonal measurements “differ by only half an inch,” indicating that the chambers area actually almost perfectly rectangular.

¹¹⁴⁶ D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies* 2002, 57-58. See also Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 117-125, 136ff.

¹¹⁴⁷ D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies* 2002, 58. The earliest datable tombs in the Valley of the Kings (KV20, Hatshepsut, and KV38, Thutmose I) both have small exedra on either side of the descending passages which may be related to the earlier twin chamber model. See Reeves and Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings* 1996, 93, 95

¹¹⁴⁸ The central chamber currently contains the king’s red granite sarcophagus and canopic box. During recent excavations of this chamber in 2013-2014, we came to the conclusion that this chamber is not the king’s original burial place, as Currelly had thought. What is much more likely is that robbers in the late Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom, perhaps even kings of the Abydos Dynasty, attempted to remove large amounts of high quality quartzite from the tomb, and in that process moved the king’s sarcophagus and canopic box to their present location from further inside the tomb.

chamber measures roughly 11 by 22 m, with each square pillar measuring about 1.2 m a side, with a space between them of 1.85 m.¹¹⁴⁹ C. Currelly discovered numerous pieces of beaten sheet gold within this chamber, indicating with high probability that a royal burial was originally situated at least this far inside the tomb.¹¹⁵⁰

The Senwosret III and Ahmose tombs both continue south, eventually snaking around to the west to terminate in probable burial chambers which point roughly north-northwest (local east or northeast).¹¹⁵¹ Interestingly, the only other Egyptian royal tomb which appears to contain this curving plan is KV20, the tomb ascribed to Hatshepsut.¹¹⁵² This tomb also employs the final chamber as the burial chamber, and contained one of the first attested uses of the Book of the Hidden Chamber, commonly called the Amduat.¹¹⁵³ Though the text is only attested in the New Kingdom, its description of the underworld seems to fit the layout of the earlier Senwosret III and Ahmose tombs quite well.

J. Wegner has studied the connections between the Senwosret III tomb and the theology contained in the Book of the Hidden Chamber at length.¹¹⁵⁴ Assuming that the conceptualization of the underworld put forth in the Book of the Hidden Chamber is of a late Middle Kingdom vintage, the tomb of Senwosret III represents a three dimensional

¹¹⁴⁹ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 31, where C. Currelly gives the pillar measurement at four feet. The overall dimensions derive from the plan.

¹¹⁵⁰ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 3232. Currelly also found larger fragments near the entrance. Assuming the king's burial was originally within the final chamber of the tomb, as in the Senwosret III tomb, it seems plausible that robbers used the central columned chamber as a workspace to remove the gold from the king's coffin and perhaps gilded shrines.

¹¹⁵¹ This direction points to the Osiris Temple at North Abydos. The discussion below, however, presents another option.

¹¹⁵² It must be assumed that this curve was representational of some funerary ideology, and not simply due to practical matters such as the quality of the stone.

¹¹⁵³ For text and translation, see Hornung, *The Egyptian Amduat* 2007. The Amduat blocks from KV20 are now in the Cairo Museum. For their original location, see Davis 1906.

¹¹⁵⁴ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009.

model of the underworld.¹¹⁵⁵ The white limestone-lined outer portion of the tomb evokes archaic, Osirian connotations, and represents the sun god's journey down into the earth to unite with Osiris. This event takes place in the hidden chamber itself, here represented by the central tomb chamber. After the point of solar rejuvenation in the Fifth and Sixth Hours of the night, the sun god continues through the underworld, his light rekindled. Hence the inner end of the Senwosret III tomb is lined in red quartzite, a stone linked with the light of the sun.¹¹⁵⁶ Finally the tomb curves to the right, coming to point local east, allowing the sun god (and by extension the king) to rise again on the eastern horizon.¹¹⁵⁷ The king's burial chamber, situated at this point of the tomb, linked the united Solar-Osirian king with the moment of solar rebirth at the eastern horizon.

In theory, the same theological model appears to hold true for the tomb of Ahmose at South Abydos. As with the Senwosret III tomb, the outer end of the Ahmose tomb consists of a straight shaft down to a meandering passageway, probably meant to represent the Ways of Rosetau within the land of Sokar-Upon-His-Sand from the Fourth Hour of the Amduat.¹¹⁵⁸ The central pillared hallway is a representation of the hidden chamber itself, and the point where the dead king united Solar and Osirian aspects. From this point, the Ahmose tomb follows almost the same layout as that of Senwosret III. The

¹¹⁵⁵ On this idea, see Rößler-Köhler, *Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich*, Teil I: Ein, Gottesbegräbnis' des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat, 4. und 5. Stunde 1999, and Gestermann 1999.

¹¹⁵⁶ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 132-135.

¹¹⁵⁷ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 145-146.

¹¹⁵⁸ Hornung, *The Egyptian Amduat* 2007, 110-115. This meandering path of the Ahmose tomb is perhaps an echo of the linked double shaft chambers of the Senwosret III tomb between the Osiris tomb feature and the burial chamber which drastically divert the course of the tomb.

passage curves to the right, terminating in a small roughly carved chamber pointing local east, which probably served as the tomb's burial chamber.¹¹⁵⁹

The formal similarities between these two tombs are reinforced by their respective locations upon the South Abydene landscape. As J. Wegner has pointed out, the axes of both complexes line up exactly (25° 54' east of north), indicating that Ahmose's architects were not only aware of the Senwosret III complex, but actively sought to emulate it.¹¹⁶⁰ Furthermore J. Wegner has demonstrated that if a line is drawn from the Senwosret III burial chamber perpendicular to the axes of both complexes, that line will pass through the pillared hall of the Ahmose tomb, and extend directly to Umm el-Gaab.¹¹⁶¹ Despite the distance between the two complexes, and the difficulties inherent in carving subterranean tombs, these geographic correspondences cannot be merely coincidental.

The architectural crossovers between the tombs of Senwosret III and Ahmose at South Abydos probably fulfilled dual purposes. The internal layout of each tomb reflected theological beliefs connecting the king with both Osiris and Re. Concurrently, the geographic correspondences between the complexes linked Ahmose to his perceived political predecessors of the late Twelfth Dynasty. As the Abbott papyrus betrays, the tombs of the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty all stood in a line along the hill at Dra

¹¹⁵⁹ Both tombs also descend at their inner ends, the tomb of Senwosret III begins before the burial chamber, while that of Ahmose directly following this room.

¹¹⁶⁰ No other significant building or feature on the landscape follows this orientation, including the Middle Kingdom town of Wah-sut.

¹¹⁶¹ Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 153, Fig. 25.

Abu el-Naga.¹¹⁶² Each king placed his tomb alongside that of his predecessor. Likewise at Abydos, Ahmose placed his cult complex next to, and on the same axis as that of Senwosret III,¹¹⁶³ connecting it both physically and ideologically with the structures of his pharaonic predecessors.

Ahmose's complex was therefore a statement of his ultimate legitimacy, both religiously and politically. His temple portrayed his military exploits as a strong king and uniter of the two lands. His tomb linked him with the cults and mythology of Re and Osiris. Finally the overall location and layout of his complex was a statement of his role as the logical and proper successor of the late Twelfth Dynasty, the last strong kings to rule Egypt before the degradation leading to the Hyksos taking power began.

§6.3 Other Eighteenth Dynasty Royal monuments at Abydos

Ahmose conceived of his complex at South Abydos as a religio-political statement of his legitimacy and power. Numerous building fragments from around Abydos point to the conclusion that many other royal monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty once existed at the site, but due to later dismantling and reuse, few complete structures are known. Notable exceptions are the Tetisheri pyramid and chapel, the twin Temples of Thutmose III, and the scant remains of other small chapels dedicated to various kings within the Osiris precinct at North Abydos.

¹¹⁶² These tombs were also built atop a Thirteenth Dynasty cemetery, but it is not clear if this was meant to concretize a political or genealogical link to these earlier people. See Polz and Seiler, *Die Pyramidenlage des Königs Nubcheperre* 2003.

¹¹⁶³ The Senwosret III complex seems to have been completed by Amenemhat III. There is also a possibility that the two structures S9 and S10 may have belonged to the last members of the dynasty, Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu, or perhaps early pharaohs of Dynasty Thirteen. Proof of these attributions must await further excavations of the area.

6.3.1 Tetisheri Pyramid and Chapel

As part of his complex at South Abydos, Ahmose created a small pyramid with an internal shrine for his grandmother Tetisheri.¹¹⁶⁴ It lies atop the notional axis between his pyramid and tomb, midway between the cultivation and high desert gebel. C. Currelly originally excavated the building in 1902, finding the now famous Tetisheri Stela at the end of a long offering chamber full of pottery vessels.¹¹⁶⁵ This stela mentions the existence of both a pyramid and enclosure, and following magnetometric survey carried out by S. Harvey and T. Herbich in 2002 a roughly 90 by 70 m enclosure wall was discovered.¹¹⁶⁶ S. Harvey's 2004 season also revealed the incomplete nature of C. Currelly's excavations, and discovered that the pyramid building itself was 23.7 m square.¹¹⁶⁷ Fragments of an inscribed limestone pyramidion were also recovered, and the excavators came to the conclusion that the pyramid was originally plastered mud-brick and not cased in limestone.¹¹⁶⁸

The Tetisheri Stela helps to elucidate the function of the structure. It states quite plainly that her actual tomb (*jz*) was at Thebes, while the structure at Abydos was considered a *mḥ.t*.¹¹⁶⁹ In his discussion of this lemma, W. Simpson states that:

¹¹⁶⁴ Even though this structure lies within the confines of Ahmose's funerary complex, the building does not seem to serve a clear purpose within that complex. It is possible that Ahmose constructed the building to honor the ancestor he credited as a predecessor, in much the same way that Amenhotep I constructed a chapel to his father Ahmose within the Osiris Temple. As such the building acted as a *mḥ.t*, a title which it indeed held as discussed below.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 36.

¹¹⁶⁶ Harvey, Abydos 2003, 23-24, Harvey, New Evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's Funerary Cult 2004, 3-6, and Harvey, The Last Egyptian Queen's Pyramid 2006, 20-23.

¹¹⁶⁷ Harvey, The Last Egyptian Queen's Pyramid 2006, 21-22. C. Currelly's plan is rectangular since he missed an entire group of cells at the south of the pyramid.

¹¹⁶⁸ Harvey, The Last Egyptian Queen's Pyramid 2006, 22.

¹¹⁶⁹ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 44.

The term is an m-preformative of the verb ḥ^{c} , a standing place, a station, an erected structure or the like. It can be applied to a memorial place, a pyramid, a mastaba tomb, a grave, a naos, or a stela. The translation “offering chapel” is not intended to exclude these other senses.¹¹⁷⁰

The WB includes the translation “Kultstätte,” which is in accordance with W. Simpson’s understanding of the term as a building or location connected with funerary commemoration.¹¹⁷¹ Hence Ahmose intended the Tetisheri monument to act as a place of commemoration for his deceased grandmother, and not necessarily as a secondary or notional tomb.¹¹⁷²

6.3.2 Temples of Thutmosis III

Two chapels of Thutmosis III are known to have existed outside the Osiris precinct. Enough fragments belonging to the northern example remained to allow its excavator, M. Pouls-Wegner, to assert her confidence that its overall structure and decorative program may eventually be reconstructed. These two buildings seem to have stood flanking the beginning of the processional way leading from the Osiris temple to Umm el-Gaab, and represent the earliest royal building activity in the votive zone.¹¹⁷³ According to her analysis, M. Pouls Wegner believes that the northern of these two temples most closely represents a bark shrine, albeit with a somewhat unorthodox

¹¹⁷⁰ Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, 11.

¹¹⁷¹ WB.II:49.7. Since the Egyptians themselves made the distinction between tomb and cult chapel, the translation “cenotaph” is unsuitable for $m^{\text{c}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}.t$ and should be avoided.

¹¹⁷² Indeed the top of the stela depicts Ahmose himself giving offerings to Tetisheri. If Ahmose was actually buried at Abydos as S. Harvey and others have theorized, his inclusion of the Tetisheri chapel within the center of his funerary complex would allow him the opportunity to commemorate her memory in perpetuity. It may be of importance to note that Tetisheri was the genetic ancestor of the person of the king, and she was not, as such, related to the divine office of the king. See the discussion of the term $m^{\text{c}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}.t$ in reference to royal buildings at Abydos in the sections below, especially §6.6.2.

¹¹⁷³ Pouls-Wegner 2002, 264.

layout.¹¹⁷⁴ Two shrines flank a central passage, arranged in such a way that to visit the shines one must walk all the way into the building, turn around, and face the front again (Fig. 6.3). M. Pouls Wegner believes this was perhaps done so that the shrines faced Umm el-Gaab and the Osiris structure therein.¹¹⁷⁵

Fig. 6.3: Northern Temple of Thutmosis III at Abydos¹¹⁷⁶



Even though the purpose of the structure is not identified textually, M. Pouls Wegner links it architecturally with the earlier Middle Kingdom *m^ch^c.t* structures of the North Abydos cultic zone.¹¹⁷⁷ In many ways these two structure types coincide, for instance they have the same geographic alignment, the same form consisting of an exterior enclosure wall surrounding a transverse court area with twin tree emplacements, followed by a small chapel building containing images and texts relating to the

¹¹⁷⁴ For a fragmentary image of priests carrying an object which may be a sacred bark from inside the temple, see O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 117.

¹¹⁷⁵ Pouls-Wegner 2002, 348.

¹¹⁷⁶ After Pouls-Wegner 2002, 500, Fig. 44.

¹¹⁷⁷ Pouls-Wegner 2002, 352-353.

deceased.¹¹⁷⁸ If the structures were indeed built as bark shrines – as is probably the case at least for the northern structure – then the architectural form of the building may betray a dual role as way-station for the image of Osiris, and memorial chapel for the person of the king Thutmosis III.

6.3.3 Royal Structures inside the Osiris Precinct at North Abydos

During his excavations in and around the Kom el-Sultan, W. Petrie discovered a tangled morass of destroyed buildings and wall fragments spanning virtually the entire breadth of Egyptian dynastic history.¹¹⁷⁹ Numerous royal names of the Eighteenth Dynasty were attested, including Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmosis II, Thutmosis III, and Amunhotep III, but the incompletely preserved architecture presented a serious obstacle to understanding the history of the area. In 1968, B. Kemp shed some further light on the issue with the publication of his reanalysis of W. Petrie's original excavation notes, along with his updated plans of the temple precinct.¹¹⁸⁰ Like W. Petrie, B. Kemp believed that the fragmentary remains naming various kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty represented the actual temple of Osiris dating to the early New Kingdom.

In his book on Abydos, D. O'Connor has diverged from W. Petrie and B. Kemp in his assertion that the inscribed fragments in question derive from distinct and individual chapels dedicated to the various kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty within the precinct of Osiris.¹¹⁸¹ As such, they do not constitute the Osiris Temple itself which must

¹¹⁷⁸ Pouls-Wegner 2002, 352-353.

¹¹⁷⁹ W. M. Petrie, *Abydos I* 1902, 9-31, and W. M. Petrie, *Abydos II* 1903.

¹¹⁸⁰ Kemp, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos* 1968, 138-155.

¹¹⁸¹ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 110-114.

therefore have existed in another, as yet unidentified part of the precinct.¹¹⁸² Though he does not elaborate extensively on his reasoning for this assertion, it is doubtless based upon his view that earlier royal *ka*-chapels belonging to Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II and Sankhkare Mentuhotep III existed in the lower strata of the precinct.¹¹⁸³ Indeed even B. Kemp had nagging doubts in the back of his mind about the overview gained by his useful reexamination:

The final picture one gains of this area in the New Kingdom times is a curious one. Here stood the shrine of Osiris, Foremost among the Westerners, a god of probably unrivalled national popularity at the time. Yet the very center of his worship came to be represented by a jumble of modest buildings of different dates, crowded together in a confused arrangement which displays little of the symmetry and subordination to the needs of procession which so mark Egyptian temple architecture in the normal way.¹¹⁸⁴

The diachronic construction phases of this location are nothing short of organic, lacking any overarching sense of symmetry or axis. While not impossible, it is difficult to accept that this loose conglomeration of buildings represents the actual Temple of Osiris of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Based upon this architectural irregularity alone, D. O'Connor's understanding of these buildings as distinct and individual royal chapels linking the pharaonic *ka* with the god Osiris is a highly attractive alternative. In such a situation, kings would have been allowed to build *ka* chapels to their personal cult within the precinct of Osiris, by virtue of their royal status holding an office theologically linked with the god himself. On the other hand, in the case of the Ahmose / Amunhoetp I shrine, the actual chapel was built

¹¹⁸² Perhaps in the area of the later Thirtieth Dynasty temple, as O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 113 suggests.

¹¹⁸³ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 88. O'Connor does state that the chapel belonging to Sankhkare Mentuhotep was actually labeled as a *ka*-chapel, lending credence to his assertion.

¹¹⁸⁴ Kemp, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos* 1968, 148.

by a son for his deceased father. The chapel was therefore a physical representation of the duties of the son (Horus) in the proper burial of the deceased father (Osiris).¹¹⁸⁵

§6.4 Royal Succession at the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty

Having established the notion that royal construction at Abydos served not only religious, but also political motives, we return to look at the crisis in kingship at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Before the rise of the Ramesside kings, the system of filial royal succession broke down. Tutankhamun was the last pharaoh of the Dynasty with blood ties to the royal family, and with his death the traditional method was cast aside in favor of one in which royal power passed to high officials within the previous government.

6.4.1 Problems in Royal Succession after Akhenaten

Following the death of the so-called heretic king Akhenaten, scholastic understanding of royal succession is less than perfect.¹¹⁸⁶ At least two individuals reigned between the death of Akhenaten and the coronation of Tutankhaten: Smenkhkare and Neferneferuaten (possibly one and the same as Nefertiti herself). As E. Hornung intimates, the choice of successor was both practical as well as theological:

The succession problem was especially tricky on this occasion, because not just a new pharaoh was needed, but rather a son of the god, a mediator between Aten and humankind, a prophet to preserve and to promulgate the pure teaching of the god of light. It is difficult to imagine how the

¹¹⁸⁵ The same situation would hold true for the Temple of Ramesses I built by his son Seti I, and the chapel of Seti I set inside the temple of Ramesses II, both at Abydos.

¹¹⁸⁶ For various interpretations, see Aldred, *Akhenaten King of Egypt* 1988, 291-302, Hornung, *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light* 1999, 114-115, Murnane, *The Return to Orthodoxy* 1999, 177-185, and Silverman, Wegner and Wegner, *Akhenaten & Tutankhamun: Revolution and Restoration* 2006, 161-183.

“crown princess” Merytaten, for instance, could have played such a role, one that even the king’s two young relatives, Smenkhkare and Tutankhaten (still a child), were obliged to grow into.¹¹⁸⁷

Sadly Smenkhkare was never afforded the opportunity to grow into this role, disappearing from the record after a brief three to four year reign.¹¹⁸⁸ Tutankhaten, who was still a boy of about nine years old at the time of his coronation, was the next in line for the throne. As with Smenkhkare, his parentage is not entirely secure. The two main theories place him as the son of either Amenhotep III or Akhenaten himself, though it seems that scholarship is leaning more toward Akhenaten as his father.¹¹⁸⁹

Tutankhaten and his queen Ankhesenpaaten altered their names in his Year Two, dropping Aten in favor of the old state-god Amun. In accordance with this return to the old ways, Tutankhamun stressed his connection to “his father” Amenhotep III.¹¹⁹⁰ Taken literally this statement has led some scholars to posit that Amenhotep III was the boy’s actual father, requiring a lengthy coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. On the other hand, in much the same way that the Seti I king list names Ahmose as the successor of the late Twelfth Dynasty, so too did Tutankhamun attempt to excise the memory of the Amarna Period as it pertained to kingship. In order for Tutankhamun to reinstate the social mores and royal ideologies of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, he had to demonstrate that he was the rightful, divinely-chosen successor of the last true king, Amenhotep III.

¹¹⁸⁷ Hornung, *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light* 1999, 114.

¹¹⁸⁸ von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten* 1997, 111-114.

¹¹⁸⁹ Murnane, *The Return to Orthodoxy* 1999, 177-178, and Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 144ff, who believe Smenkhkare and Tutankhaten to be the sons of Akhenaten.

¹¹⁹⁰ Murnane, *The Return to Orthodoxy* 1999, 177-178. These statements appear in temple restoration texts from Luxor and Soleb.

Somewhat like his predecessor Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun also enjoyed only a short reign of about ten years.¹¹⁹¹ The only evidence for offspring belonging to Tutankhamun is the existence of two unnamed mummified female fetuses buried in his tomb (Carter No. 317a and 317b).¹¹⁹² Hence at the time of this king's premature death, the country was left without a royal heir to the throne. This set the stage for a period of pharaonic succession in which rule passed from one governmental official to another. Ay, Akhenaten's Commander of Chariotry and Fanbearer at the King's Right Hand was the first (1327-1323 BCE), followed by the much longer lived Horemheb (1323-1295 BCE).¹¹⁹³

6.4.2 Ramesses I and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty

Despite a long and stable reign in which the traditional values and gods of the Eighteenth Dynasty were reinstated, Horemheb does not seem to have had any living children to take up the title of pharaoh.¹¹⁹⁴ Hence as with the situation under Tutankhamun, rule passed to a man named Paramessu, General of the Army and Horemheb's Vizier.

Ramesses I held the same titles during the reign of Horemheb that Horemheb had under Tutankhamun, namely "His Majesty's deputy in Upper and Lower Egypt," and "hereditary prince (*jr.j-p^c.t*) in the whole land."¹¹⁹⁵ Based upon his titles, scholars have

¹¹⁹¹ von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten* 1997, 114-117.

¹¹⁹² Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* 1990, 123-125.

¹¹⁹³ For an extensive list of unique titles held by Horemheb, see Murnane, *The Return to Orthodoxy* 1999, 179-180.

¹¹⁹⁴ Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 153.

¹¹⁹⁵ Brand 2000, 336.

concluded that the man named Paramessu (Ramesses I) was Horemheb's chosen successor during his reign, as opposed to a usurper after his death.¹¹⁹⁶

Ramesses I was the son of a commoner named Seti A¹¹⁹⁷ who, according to his stela now in Chicago (OI 11456),¹¹⁹⁸ rose to the rank of "Troop Commander of the Lord of the Two Lands."¹¹⁹⁹ Ramesses I's rise from commoner to pharaoh occupied almost his entire life, leaving him with barely a two year reign (1295-1294 BCE) before his son Seti I ascended to the throne.¹²⁰⁰ Coming from a modest background and taking power at an advanced age, P. Brand outlines the precarious position in which Ramesses I found himself thus:

Ramesses I was in much the same political situation as his distant predecessor Amenemhet I. Not since the Twelfth Dynasty had there been such a complete break with the previous royal house, since the Thirteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties were each in some way connected with the previous ruling house. Ramesses, by contrast, had no ties by blood or marriage with the now defunct Eighteenth Dynasty. Moreover, he was the third ruler in succession to lack a royal sire.¹²⁰¹

Perhaps in an attempt to overcome these potential obstacles, Ramesses I's deliberate choice of the throne name Menpehtyra echoed that of the founder of the New Kingdom, Ahmose Nebpehtyre, and served to link Ramesses I ideologically with the important founder.¹²⁰²

¹¹⁹⁶ Brand 2000, 338-339. Horemheb's choosing of a successor helped to ease the transition between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

¹¹⁹⁷ Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 174, calls the father of Ramesses I "Seti A" to avoid confusion with the later pharaohs of the same name.

¹¹⁹⁸ Cruz-Uribe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 237-244. For an alternate understanding of this document, and its possible connection to The Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu from TC.20, see below §9.4.3.

¹¹⁹⁹ Brand 2000, 337. It is also possible that Seti A was one in the same as the royal envoy sent to Babylon named Šutti in Amarna Letter EA 5:14, and the official Šuta appearing in Amarna Letter EA 234:14, 23, and 33. For more on this stela, see §9.4.3.

¹²⁰⁰ von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten* 1997, 117.

¹²⁰¹ Brand 2000, 333.

¹²⁰² Brand 2000, 377-378.

Most of Ramesses I's known monuments were entirely created by his successor Seti I. One building stands out in the context of the present study by virtue of its original location. A small chapel honoring the *ka* of Ramesses I, parts of which are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, was originally located at the site of Abydos in the vicinity of the Seti I temple.¹²⁰³ Despite being created by his successor, Ramesses I's Abydene chapel, like the complex of Ahmose, serves to link the dead king with Osiris and the previous generations of pharaohs. This structure will begin the discussion below looking at the monuments of Seti I at Abydos.

§6.5 Nineteenth Dynasty Expression of Royal Ideology: Seti I at Abydos

The vast majority of visitors to the site of Abydos today head directly for the Temple of Seti I, which contains some of the best preserved painted reliefs of the era. The complex also contains the so-called Osireion, a model tomb complete with carved renditions of the Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, and selections from the Book of the Dead.¹²⁰⁴ Yet in addition to his own temple, Seti I created a small chapel dedicated to his father Ramesses I. Coupled with the buildings of Ramesses II at the site, the cults of all three of the first pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty are represented at Abydos.

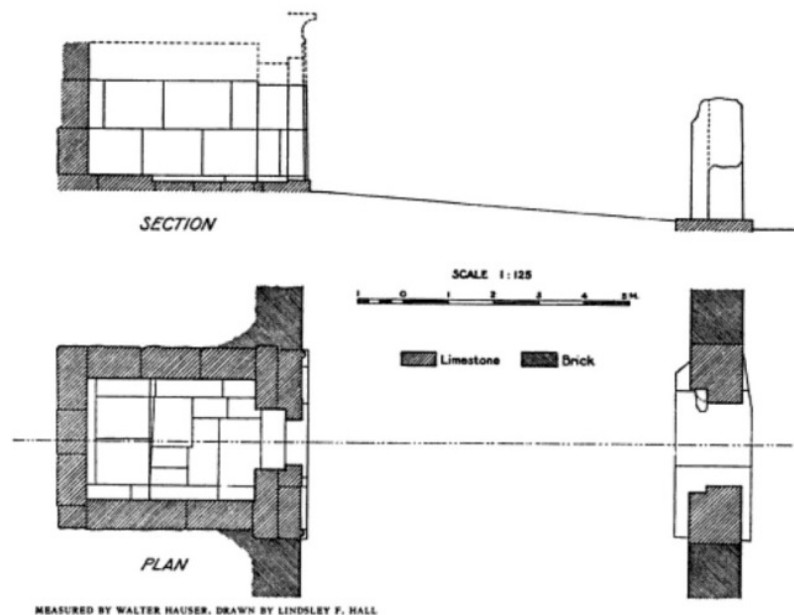
¹²⁰³ Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* 1921, and Winlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* 1937.

¹²⁰⁴ Murray 1904, 20-23, and Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* 1999, 55-56. These texts were carved by Merenptah.

6.5.1 Temple Dedicated to Ramesses I

In 1910, local residents of el-Araba el-Madfuna discovered relief blocks belonging to a previously unknown temple while digging a well.¹²⁰⁵ In his original publication, H. Winlock believed the blocks belonged to a much more extensive temple structure, but following excavations funded by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1927, it became clear that the building was a small one-room chapel.¹²⁰⁶ The structure was located outside the northern corner of the Seti I temple enclosure wall, with both structures aligned on the same axis.

Fig. 6.4: Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos¹²⁰⁷



¹²⁰⁵ Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* 1921, 3, and Winlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* 1937, 5-6.

¹²⁰⁶ Winlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* 1937, 7-8.

¹²⁰⁷ Winlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* 1937, Fig. 3.

In its superficial layout, the structure resembles a *mḥ.t* type structure of the late Middle Kingdom at North Abydos, consisting of a gateway leading to an open courtyard, with a small building at its back for the cult of the deceased.¹²⁰⁸ Yet according to texts on the building itself, as well as on a stela dedicated by Seti I describing the foundation of the building, it was conceived of as a “Temple of Millions of Years besides the Lords of Eternity.”¹²⁰⁹ This title serves to identify the structure, as diminutive as it may be, as a mortuary temple dedicated to Ramesses I.¹²¹⁰ This being the case, it is interesting to note that this is the only mortuary temple of Ramesses I known to exist in Egypt. The only other reference to his continued cult is within the mortuary temple of Seti I on the Theban west bank.¹²¹¹

Relief decoration inside this small temple, like the chapel of Ahmose and Amunhotep I within the Osiris precinct, consists of two main themes: Ramesses I and Seti I directing offerings to Osiris and his standards, and Seti I offering to Ramesses I.¹²¹² Ideologically speaking, the scenes serve the dual purpose of linking the dead king with Osiris, and assuring the continued provisioning of his divine *ka*. These purposes were reinforced by Seti I’s addition of a granodiorite statue of Ramesses I as Osiris, an offering table of matching material, and a travertine dedicatory stela within the complex.¹²¹³

¹²⁰⁸ O'Connor, *The "Cenotaphs" of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos* 1985, 161-177.

¹²⁰⁹ Winlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* 1937, 12. On the other hand, a statue assumed to have originated in the small temple bears the term *mḥ.t*. See Haeny 1997, 113-115.

¹²¹⁰ R. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* 2000, 25.

¹²¹¹ Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* 1921, 12. See also R. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* 2000, 174.

¹²¹² Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* 1921, Plates, and see also the reliefs of Ahmose and Amunhotep I in W. W. M. Petrie, *Abydos I* 1902, Pl. LXII - LXIV.

¹²¹³ Brand 2000, 178-183.

6.5.2 The Mortuary Temple of Seti I at North Abydos

Despite its tiny size, the Abydene mortuary temple of Ramesses I served the exact same purpose that the much larger and beautifully appointed temple of Seti I did. This latter structure, positioned 1.1 km southeast of the Osiris Temple, is also textually identified as a royal mortuary temple, dedicated to Seti I in the guise of Osiris.¹²¹⁴

Unlike traditional New Kingdom mortuary temples at Thebes, Seti I's Abydene temple follows an "L-shaped" layout, with its annex extending perpendicular to the temple's main axis at its south corner. As D. O'Connor outlines, the reason for this unique layout stems mainly from the fact that the seven divine chapels occupy the entire width of the temple.¹²¹⁵ The temple's mud-brick magazines were positioned outside the main temple within the angle formed between the annex and the main building. Though a ceremonial palace surely existed at the site, as at contemporary Theban mortuary temples, its original location within the Seti I complex is not clear.¹²¹⁶ Continuing his innovation, Seti I caused the creation of a unique tomb structure directly southwest of the main temple. Termed by modern scholars the Osireion, this symbolic tomb combined elements of contemporary royal tomb architecture visible in the Valley of the Kings, with

¹²¹⁴ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 44-45. As O'Connor points out, Seti I's mortuary temple at Thebes links him with Amun-Ra, while that at Abydos connects him to Osiris, and taken together they represent the totality of both to Solar and Osirian religious ideologies of the king as the son of the god.

¹²¹⁵ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 47-48. O'Connor also cites the existence of the Osireion directly behind the temple as the second reason for the jogged axis of the annex.

¹²¹⁶ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 48, based upon the tomb of Nebwenenef at Thebes, who states that his investiture under Ramesses II took place at such an Abydene palace. Seti I's Abydos Decree from Nauri also mentions a palace of his temple, F. L. Griffith, *The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri* 1927, 197.

an archaic method of construction more akin to the pyramid temples of Giza.¹²¹⁷ Just as the main temple to the northeast celebrated the unified entity of Seti I and Osiris, so too did this tomb unite modern and archaic elements into a structure suited to the ‘Osirianized’ Seti I.

At the heart of the Seti I temple lie seven chapels dedicated to a number of important state gods. From south to north they are Seti I, Ptah, Re-Horakhty, Amun-Ra, Osiris, Isis, and Horus.¹²¹⁸ Each chapel depicts worship and offerings directed toward the individual gods, as well as depictions of barks housing the divine images. At the back (southwest) of all of these chapels, save that of Osiris, stand purple quartzite sandstone false doors.¹²¹⁹ In place of this feature the rear wall of the Osiris chapel is open, giving access to a suite of rooms dedicated to the mythological resurrection of Osiris and conception of Horus.¹²²⁰ At the very southern end of this section of the temple lies a small chapel dedicated to Seti I as Osiris, thus concretizing the conceptual link between the king and the god. This link is the overarching purpose for the entire temple.

§6.6 The Construction Program of Ramesses II at Abydos

Just as Seti I built in the name of his father, so too Ramesses II was responsible for completing Seti I’s Abydene building projects which were left incomplete at his death. This included portions of Seti I’s mortuary temple, as well as the so-called Portal

¹²¹⁷ O’Connor, *Abydos: Egypt’s First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 50-51.

¹²¹⁸ R. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* 2000, 147, and O’Connor, *Abydos: Egypt’s First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 49. O’Connor calls these “barque chapels.”

¹²¹⁹ This stone is the same as that employed to line the burial chambers of tombs in Cemetery S. See below Chapter 6.

¹²²⁰ David, *A Guide to the Religious Ritual at Abydos* 1981.

Temple near the Osiris complex, whose foundations contain brick stamps of Seti I.¹²²¹ In addition to these project, Ramesses II also conceived and built a small mortuary temple for himself to the northeast of those dedicated to his father and grandfather.

6.6.1 The Mortuary Temple of Ramesses II

Over the hill to the northwest of Seti I's temple, Ramesses II constructed a small mortuary temple in his own honor which he called "the Mansion of Userma'atre-Setepenre (called) 'United-with-the-Wide-Land (*hnmt t3-wr*).'"¹²²² The first court, now badly destroyed, was originally fronted by red granite statues of the king, and contained a heb-sed kiosk or chapel in its southeast wall.¹²²³

The main structure of the temple follows a standardized mortuary temple layout common on the Theban west bank, though a number of features are unique to this structure.¹²²⁴ The open court behind the second pylon is ringed with Osiride columns. Three sets of stairs lead up to a columned portico, which gives access to four small chapels, two on each side of the main temple axis. Those on the southeastern side of the building, Chapels I and II, were dedicated to Ramesses II's royal ancestors. Chapel I, overtly dedicated to Hathor, contains depictions of a bark of Seti I, with an inscription calling this room "a *hwt-k3*, a chapel of the *ka*, for his (Sety's) *s3m-hw* barque in the procession of his father Oiris in my (Ramesses') Mansion of Millions of Years."¹²²⁵

¹²²¹ Brand 2000, 184-185.

¹²²² Haeny 1997, 118. Ramesses II also calls the building his "Mansion of Millions of Years" within chapel I off the first portico. The temple was originally excavated by A. Mariette in 1869, see Mariette, Abydos: description des fouilles executes sur l'emplacement de cette ville 1998, 100-109.

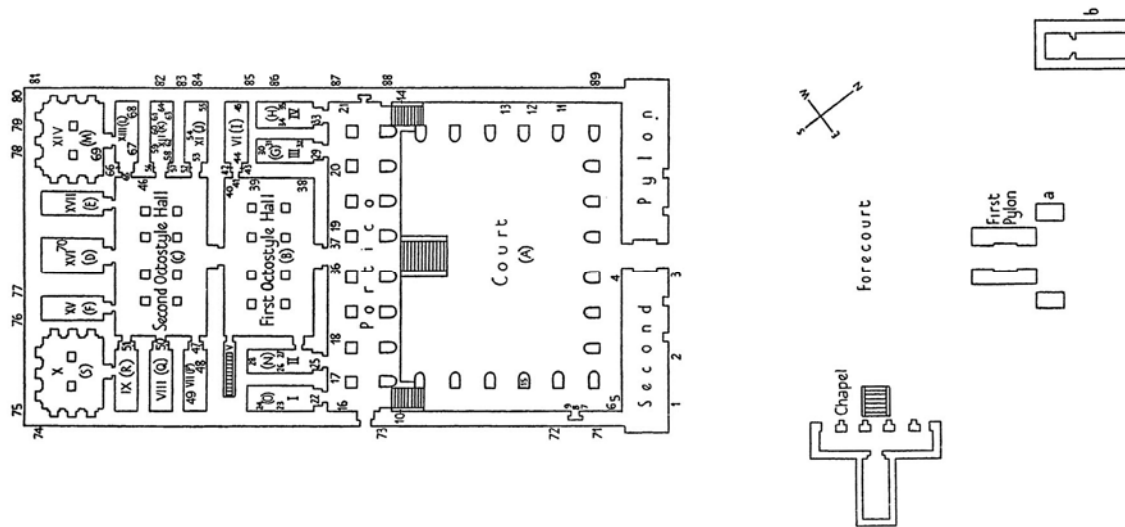
¹²²³ Ossian 2008, 40-41.

¹²²⁴ R. Wilkinson, The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt 2000, 144.

¹²²⁵ Haeny 1997, 119.

Directly to the northwest, Chapel II contained the partial king-list now housed in the British Museum, and was also termed a *ḥw.t-k3* dedicated more generally to the *kas* of his royal ancestors.¹²²⁶

Fig. 6.5: Mortuary Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos¹²²⁷



Three chapels at the very back of the temple were dedicated to Osiris, Isis, and Horus.¹²²⁸ A broken granodiorite five-figure statue was discovered in this area and partially reconstructed. The five figures from left to right depict Ramesses II (?), Horus, Osiris, Isis, and Seti I as Osiris.¹²²⁹ Flanking these chapels are two rooms, each with nine niches perhaps meant to hold images of the Ennead.¹²³⁰

In line with the requirement that a New Kingdom monarch be brave and successful in battle, Ramesses II included a large tableau recounting the Battle of

¹²²⁶ Haeny 1997, 119.

¹²²⁷ Plan after Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, VI: Upper Egypt: Chief Temples 1991, 32.

¹²²⁸ Ossian 2008, 50.

¹²²⁹ Haeny 1997, 118.

¹²³⁰ Ossian 2008, 50.

Qadesh along the north-facing exterior wall of the temple.¹²³¹ Chariots belonging to both Egyptian and Hittite forces are depicted, along with numerous different mercenary groups. Scribes counting the severed hands of their fallen enemies highlights the royal victory Ramesses II claimed over the Hittites.

Though the roof of this modestly sized temple is missing, the paint still adhering to the wall carvings is very well preserved. Currently a team of epigraphers led by S. Iskander from the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University is painstakingly copying all the texts and images from the temple walls.¹²³² It is hoped that their work will lead to new and important discoveries regarding the purpose and meaning behind this important mortuary temple.

6.6.2 The So-Called Portal Temple of Ramesses II

Lying at the southwest end of the Kom el-Sultan and the Osiris precinct therein, a badly destroyed limestone temple begun by Seti I and completed by Ramesses II was termed a “portal-colonnade” by W. Petrie in 1903.¹²³³ Though the name has persisted in print, excavations carried out beginning in 1967 by the Penn-Yale Expedition under the direction of D. O’Connor have demonstrated that the building originally extended much farther south than W. Petrie had originally thought.¹²³⁴ As a result of this work, it

Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, VI: Upper Egypt: Chief Temples 1991, 39-41.

¹²³² Iskander 2011, 152-156.

¹²³³ W. M. Petrie, *Abydos II* 1903, 18. Limestone fragments bearing the names of Horemheb and Seti I were discovered alongside those of Ramesses II during the course of reexcavation in 1967. See Silverman, *The So-Called Portal temple of Ramesses II at Abydos* 1989, 272-273.

¹²³⁴ O’Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 117-119. See also Silverman, *The So-Called Portal temple of Ramesses II at Abydos* 1989, 269-277.

appears that the temple did not serve as a monumental gateway to the North Cemetery, but rather stood as a fully formed religious structure in its own right.

Akin to the Temple of Seti I, a number of features of the Portal Temple set it apart as unique among religious buildings of ancient Egypt. The doorjambs within the temple's entrance from its first courtyard are decorated with images of baboons who face local west toward the tomb of Osiris at Umm el-Gaab; a situation in direct contrast to other depictions of baboons greeting the rising sun in the east.¹²³⁵ Beyond this gateway is a court whose internal walls bear alternating engaged statues of Osiris (in niches) and Ramesses II in the form of Osiris (projecting from the wall).¹²³⁶ Sadly very little information on the layout of the rest of the building is available due to its advanced state of destruction.¹²³⁷

The purpose of this temple is, at first glance, not entirely clear. Though it lies near to the Osiris complex and the chapels of the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it stands outside the precinct as it is currently understood. On the other hand, with the main temple of Ramesses II to the southeast designated as a mortuary temple, it is highly unlikely that Ramesses II would have placed two such structures within the space of 1 km of each other. The epigraphic work D. Silverman carried out can perhaps yield a clue to the identification of this building. In comparing a block from the Portal Temple bearing images of numerous deities, below which was "a designation of a sanctuary or location in

¹²³⁵ Silverman, *The So-Called Portal temple of Ramesses II at Abydos* 1989, 272.

¹²³⁶ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 118.

¹²³⁷ Silverman, *The So-Called Portal temple of Ramesses II at Abydos* 1989, 270.

which there were to be offerings” to a similar image within the Abydene Seti I temple, D.

Silverman states:

In the portion that is preserved, we find the same designations and order. Both texts contain the word *maHat*, and it would appear that the initial in ours letter^{Sic!} is omitted owing to haplography. In Seti’s text, the designation occurs alone, and presumably refers to the Osireion nearby. In the inscription of Ramesses, *maHat* is followed by a cartouche with the name of the king, and it, therefore, probably refers to a “cenotaph of Ramesses II”. Such a structure has not yet been identified, and it is not possible to suggest with any certainty whether the reference designates the “portal” temple, a part thereof, or a separate building. It may be of interest to note that the rear part of our temple was constructed of mud brick and finished with recessed paeling similar to that found on some of the Middle Kingdom cenotaphs underneath the floor of the temple.¹²³⁸

Even though it is impossible to be entirely sure of any attribution due to the severe destruction of the temple, applying the term *mḥ.t* to the Ramesses II Portal Temple is attractive. D. O’Connor has outlined the difficulties of translating and understanding the term *mḥ.t* in his discussion of memorial chapels at Abydos, stating:

The chapels are in no way tombs; no actual or imitation burial chambers exist, although the stelae and statuary are very similar to those set up in actual tomb chapels at Abydos and elsewhere. The memorial chapels are often called *mahats*, which at Abydos was unlikely to be applied to actual tombs, as it is sometimes elsewhere. However, Osiris is also said to have a *mahat*, in Poker, by which presumably his tomb-like sanctuary in the erstwhile tomb of King Djer is meant. Possibly, therefore, even at Abydos *mahat* involved the notion of a tomb in a very special way: each individual had a specific chapel, or *mahat*, near the Osiris temple, but all shared a *single* tomb or *mahat*, that of Osiris himself at Poker. Here, the owners of the memorial chapels were identified with Osiris and like him experienced regeneration in his mysterious ‘tomb’.¹²³⁹

The fact that the term *mḥ.t* was employed to refer to chapels or cult emplacements without tombs at Abydos is borne out by numerous Middle Kingdom stelae from the

¹²³⁸ Silverman, The So-Called Portal temple of Ramesses II at Abydos 1989, 276. Silverman goes on to indicate that the only other architectural term uncovered during epigraphic work was of an “*ḥrrwt Wsjr*.” By analogy to the ongoing excavations of the mayoral residence at Wah-sut, its *ḥrry.t* was an administrative gatehouse. As such the *ḥrry.t Wsjr* may refer to just such an edifice appended to the Osiris precinct, and probably does not refer to the Portal Temple in its entirety.

¹²³⁹ O’Connor, Abydos: Egypt’s First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris 2009, 96. See also the relevant discussion in Simpson, The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13 1974, 10-13.

site.¹²⁴⁰ What is less certain is the way in which the Osiride monument at Umm el-Gaab was conceptualized by the ancient Egyptians.

D. O'Connor sees the monument at Poker as a tomb of the god in the modern sense of a resting place of the body, and therefore in his argument the *mḥ.t* of Osiris must be understood as a tomb.¹²⁴¹ Yet according to the vast majority of examples of this word from Abydos, a standing memorial chapel without burial is meant. It is perhaps prudent, therefore, to apply the established meaning of the term *mḥ.t* as a memorial chapel with stelae and statues of the deceased to the structure dedicated to Osiris at Umm el-Gaab. Indeed, based upon excavation of the tomb of Djer, even though it was originally a royal tomb built below ground, in its incarnation as the *mḥ.t* of Osiris it contained only a statue, like other *mḥ.t* structures.¹²⁴² While D. O'Connor's overall understanding of the linkage between memorial chapels upon the Terrace of the Great God with that of Osiris at Poker is ultimately valid, it is equally possible to understand the same linkage if the Osiris *mḥ.t* is conceptualized not as a tomb, but as a memorial edifice containing stelae and statuary of the deceased god. In essence the translation of the term *mḥ.t* is unaltered. What has been changed is our modern understanding of what exactly the Osiris structure at Umm el-Gaab ought to be called. According to contemporary Egyptian sources, it was considered a *mḥ.t*, not a tomb.

¹²⁴⁰ Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* 1974, 10-13.

¹²⁴¹ Indeed in most discussions of the Osiris monument at Umm el-Gaab, the term "tomb" is used as the primary descriptor, doubtless due to the fact that the original structure employed for the monument was the actual tomb of Djer.

¹²⁴² Leahy 1977, 424-434. This object was originally excavated from the tomb of Djer by E. Amélinau, and if Leahy's date of the Second Intermediate Period is correct, it would have stood as the cult statue within the Osiris *mḥ.t* at Umm el-Gaab during the New Kingdom.

Returning from this digression to the Ramesses II Portal Temple, applying the term *mḥ.t* to this structure may help to elucidate its function within the Abydene landscape. Since Ahmose possessed both a mortuary temple at South Abydos, as well as a chapel within the Osiris precinct dedicated by his son Amunhotep I, it should not seem redundant that Ramesses also constructed two temples dedicated to his funerary cult in close proximity to one another.¹²⁴³ As D. O'Connor outlines, a *mḥ.t* served the specific function of concretizing the link between an individual and the god Osiris, specifically in reference to the yearly Osiris festival and procession. By the reign of Ramesses II it would have been fairly obvious that all royal cults did not persist forever.¹²⁴⁴ The creation of a *mḥ.t* in the vicinity of the Osiris temple, linked with the yearly Osiris festival and procession, would serve as a secondary or backup mortuary complex. Ramesses II's incorporation of this building into the workings of the Osiris cult assured that its use would continue in perpetuity, perhaps even longer than his funerary cult was celebrated at his mortuary temple over the hill to the southeast.

Though it is difficult to assign the term *mḥ.t* to the Portal Temple with any certainty, the structure was quite probably tied up in some way with the king's mortuary cult, with a strong overt link to that of Osiris. Due to its impressive scale, it was constructed in an area considered by most modern scholars to be outside the Osiris

¹²⁴³ In other words, the *mḥ.t* and mortuary temple did not serve exactly the same purpose, hence there was no problem with the existence of both buildings at one site. Given the explicit connection between the *mḥ.t* and Osiris at Abydos, it is possible that this structure served the purpose of linking the individual directly with the Osiris cult. What we might have here is a distinction between the personal side of the king (*hm, nb*), and the official side (*nswt, nswt-bj.tj*). The royal *mḥ.t* may link the person of the king with the Osiris cult, while the mortuary temple links the royal office with that cult. Further study is needed to verify or disprove this idea.

¹²⁴⁴ R. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* 2000, 25. Ramesses II himself may have been even more aware of this concept, given the activities of his son Kaemwaset in restoring ancient royal funerary and cult buildings especially in the Memphite area. See Teeter 1990, 62.

Temple enclosure, though in many ways it continued the line of Eighteenth Dynasty chapels within the Osiris precinct.¹²⁴⁵

§6.7 Royal Legitimation in Early Ramesside Mortuary Temples at Abydos

Following the Amarna Period, royal succession followed an *ad hoc* style in which kingship fell to high officials rather than a line of genetically related monarchs. With the beginning of the Ramesside line the traditional means of royal succession resumed. Yet Ramesses I and his son Seti I seem to have been somewhat unsure of how their power would be generally received.

In order to strengthen his claim to the throne, Ramesses I linked himself with the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty through his throne name Menpehtyre. Furthermore, though it is unclear whether or not Ramesses I intended to construct a mortuary temple at Abydos during his short reign (again linking himself with both Ahmose and Osiris), his son and successor Seti I did create a small edifice in his honor at the site. This structure seemed to serve numerous purposes. Its decoration depicts his human family and ancestors, it shows the pharaoh and his son offering to Osiris, while other scenes place the deified Osiris-Ramesses I as the recipient of offering. Textually the building is described as a “Mansion of Millions of Years,” while the statue scholars believe was set up in the building refers to it as a *mḥ.t*.¹²⁴⁶ Hence taken together the images and texts memorialize Ramesses I’s human form, describe his piety toward his father Osiris, and show him in death as one of the deified ancestor-kings of Egypt.

¹²⁴⁵ Indeed the front gate of Ramesses’ temple aligns with the roadway passing through these earlier chapels.

¹²⁴⁶ The small kiosk may have also served as a bark station during the Osiris Procession. See Eaton 2006, 88.

Seti I also strove to link himself with Osiris and the cult of deified kings at Abydos. The text of his Nauri Decree, regarding his temple at Abydos, makes the notion of royal legitimation through the will of the gods clear with the following words:

The good god, son of Osiris, avenger of Onnophris, profitable seed of the Lord of the Sacred Land. (4) [His father (?) destined him to rule when he came forth from the womb, decreeing his reign (while he was yet) on the hands of Isis, Mother of a god; he gave to him the throne of Geb, the goodly office of Him that is in the sky. Re' formed his Majesty, it was he that created his beauties, he recognized him as one to be chosen from a million to be king of Upper and Lower Egypt in his place, he moulded him as a champion (5) ... The Ennead goes about rejoicing, their hearts glad, they take pleasure, (saying) "Come thou, (6) Horus (?) son of Onnophris, thou shalt inherit; thou avenger of thy father Osiris Khentamenthes, thou art here (?) established on his throne unto the ends of the limits of eternity. Glad is the heart of the Lord of the necropolis when he seeth thee on the dais like Re'; for thou art on earth organizing the two lands and making festive the [tem]ples (?).¹²⁴⁷

Like Hatshepsut before him,¹²⁴⁸ Seti I dispelled any doubts as to his legitimacy through the notion that the gods had chosen him from birth to be king, in his role of Horus, son of Osiris.

By the reign of Ramesses II, the need for royal legitimation had begun to wane. Upon seeing the temple of his father unfinished, Ramesses reendowed the construction project, and began plans for a small temple of his own. Yet this mortuary temple pales in comparison to the Ramesseum at Thebes, showing that Ramesses II placed less importance upon linking the cult of his office to that of Osiris than his father had. Despite the smaller scale of his mortuary temple, the very fact that he chose to construct one at Abydos shows his desire to demonstrate his connection to the god publically. In addition, through his inclusion of a many references to the cult of the Osirized Seti I within his own temple, he was fulfilling the proper role of Horus in honoring his deceased father.

¹²⁴⁷ F. L. Griffith, *The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri* 1927, 196-197. The location of this decree was near another archaizing stela probably created during the reign of Thutmose III, naming Senwosret III. See Rondot 2003-2008, 179-184.

¹²⁴⁸ Roth 2005, 147-151.

More than any other feature of the temples of Seti I and Ramesses II at Abydos, the royal king lists appearing within both of these buildings represent the most unique and profound statements of royal legitimacy. In the better preserved Seti I example, the reigning king Seti stands behind his son, Ramesses II, who reads from a papyrus scroll the names of his ancestors. As stated above, the author of this document has redacted a number of kings, creating a seamless continuum extending back in time from Ramesses II to Menes himself.¹²⁴⁹ In terms of the royal incarnation, Ramesses I, Seti I, and Ramesses II all follow in an unbroken chain of rulers which disregards the entire Thirteenth through Seventeenth Dynasties, as well as omitting Hatshepsut, Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, and Ay.

L. Baqué has highlighted the legitimizing role of a relief in the Seti I temple, in which Pharaoh Ramesses II and his crowned prince Amunherkhepeshef are shown lassoing a long-horned bull.¹²⁵⁰ The very practice of depicting a royal crowned prince is an invention of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, and was in and of itself a form of assuring royal succession and legitimation.¹²⁵¹ Having outlined the religious significance of lassoing the bull, especially in its connection to Osiris, L. Baqué states:

Indeed, concerning the presentation of the king's role, the Abydos scene goes further, proclaiming the royal heir's institution as an extension, an important appendix within the executive-religious functions of kingship, in the sense that it contributed actively to maintain and perpetuate the order of Cosmos and its powers.¹²⁵²

He further links the scene with the list of kings when he continues his discussion:

¹²⁴⁹ von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten* 1997, 215.

¹²⁵⁰ Baqué 2002, 43-51.

¹²⁵¹ Murnane, *The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution* 1995, 203ff. He also contrasts the practice with the coregencies of the Twelfth Dynasty vis-à-vis royal legitimation. See Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* 1977.

¹²⁵² Baqué 2002, 50.

Without trying to go beyond the evidence, we believe it reasonable to compare this scene from Abydos with that decorating the so-called “Gallery of Kings” in the same building complex. Placed near the “Corridor of the Bull,” it shows king Sethos I and his son, a young Ramesses, placed before the list of the monarchs of Egypt. In our opinion, both scenes share in essence a similar implicit ideological message: the value of kingship lies in the continuity of the office and in the permanence of its sacred function.¹²⁵³

Hence these two scenes demonstrate some of the ways in which the nascent Nineteenth Dynasty proclaimed its royal legitimacy. Incorporating crowned princes into active government, while depicting them taking part in important religious ceremonies, assured a smooth transition of power from one ruling monarch to the next. Seti I reinforced this new practice by depicting himself and his son reading from the list of kings, thus uniting the political and religious side of kingship, and conferring it upon his son Ramesses II. Abydos of the New Kingdom, home of Osiris, the royal ancestor *par excellence*, was the most fertile ground for asserting this new dogma of royal succession and legitimacy.

§6.8 South Abydene Population Centers During the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Dynasties

Just as the kings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties sought to link themselves with Osiris and his cult, so too did the non-royal individuals living near the famous Thinite necropolis. Having explored the structure and ideology behind the royal monuments of the New Kingdom at Abydos, the following sections seek to gather information about local non-royal populations at South Abydos. This discussion will lead eventually to the discussion in Chapters Seven and Eight on the tombs these people built at South Abydos.

¹²⁵³ Baqué 2002, 50.

One of the main questions the existence of a cemetery such as the Ahmose Cemetery or the Temple Cemetery leaves unanswered concerns the location of the settlement or settlements wherein the people were living before their deaths. The obvious assumption is that such a population center would have existed in the immediate area of the cemetery. Such a location would keep the burial-places of the dead close to the homes of the living, facilitating both the physical logistics of burial as well as the continued upkeep of their cults. In the case of the Temple Cemetery, the burial ground lies in an area situated between two loci of Middle Kingdom activity: the mortuary temple of Senwosret III, and the Middle Kingdom town of *Wah-sut*. In recent years some doubt has been cast upon the perceived location of a town associated with the Ahmose complex. The problem of the Ahmose-town therefore must be examined in greater detail before any hypotheses of habitation for the New Kingdom can be posited.

6.8.1 New Kingdom Population at South Abydos and the “Ahmose-town” Problem

The archaeological interactions between *Wah-sut* and the so-called ‘Ahmose-town’ present a complicated picture. During his excavations, C. Currelly found three mansions belonging to what he called the ‘Town of Ahmose.’¹²⁵⁴ This conclusion has led scholars to the belief that two distinct and individual towns existed at South Abydos: one dating to the Middle Kingdom which was abandoned and destroyed before the founding of the second, New Kingdom town.¹²⁵⁵ C. Currelly’s only published map of his excavation area is a very rough sketch plan on which he placed the ‘Ahmose-town’

¹²⁵⁴ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 37, Pl. LIII.

¹²⁵⁵ Lacovara 1977 includes the “Ahmose-town” in his study.

midway between the Ahmose pyramid and the mortuary temple of Senwosret III.¹²⁵⁶

Since he reports finding pottery and objects of the New Kingdom, but none dating to the Middle Kingdom, he assigned these mansions to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and dubbed the area the 'Ahmose-town.'

C. Currelly went further, assigning a precise ten year date-range to the town, believing that the settlement only existed during the brief period during which the Ahmose complex was constructed. Following extensive excavation of the Middle Kingdom town of *Wah-sut*, however, J. Wegner has made a number of conclusions which impinge upon C. Currelly's attribution.¹²⁵⁷ Based upon the location of the Ahmose-town on the aforementioned sketch map, along with the location and appearance of the gebel in C. Currelly's excavation photographs of the three mansions, coupled with the similarity in internal layout between these buildings and those recently excavated in *Wah-sut*, J. Wegner has demonstrated that C. Currelly's New Kingdom mansions are in fact part of the Middle Kingdom town of *Wah-sut*.¹²⁵⁸ Therefore, the only domestic architecture of the Ahmose-town which has been excavated to date belongs in fact to the settlement founded in the late Middle Kingdom.

B. Kemp included a sketch plan of South Abydos in his *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* article on Abydos which differentiated two areas of settlement debris.¹²⁵⁹ This was based partly upon C. Currelly's excavations, and partly upon work carried out by the Egyptian

¹²⁵⁶ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, Pl. LXI.

¹²⁵⁷ Wegner, The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations 2001, 304-308, and Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos 2007, 31-32.

¹²⁵⁸ Wegner, The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations 2001, 306.

¹²⁵⁹ Kemp, Abydos 1975, Col. 29-30. In col. 38 he states that both Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom objects have been found in the area. See also Harvey, The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos 1998, 110-120.

Antiquities Organization (EAO) in the late 1960's. Surface survey to the west of the Ahmose pyramid led the EAO to conduct extensive trenching of an area between C. Currelly's mansions and the pyramid in 1966. The findings were never published, but a notebook kept by Dorothy Eady (also known as Omm-Sety) holds some basic information on the excavations.¹²⁶⁰ S. Harvey outlines the contents of some of these notes in his dissertation on the Ahmose cults:

A sketch plan made by her reveals that the trenched area comprised about 252 meters east-west by 103 meters north-south. Few details of architecture were recorded by her other than a long east-west brick wall running parallel to the modern line of the village wall, at a distance of about 13 meters from the modern wall. Features encountered in the excavation include round and oval silos or pits made of bricks, one located at the far eastern end of the site, nearest the pyramid.¹²⁶¹

The situation is therefore complicated by the lack of any architecture of a solely New Kingdom settlement. What we are left with is the unavoidable conclusion that New Kingdom objects derived from within architecture belonging to the Middle Kingdom town of *Wah-sut*, and seemingly that a production area occupied a portion of the intervening space between *Wah-sut* and the Ahmose pyramid, though its date is unclear.¹²⁶²

6.8.2 Longevity of *Wah-sut* and Chronological Span of the New Kingdom Settlement

Despite searching for signs of either extended habitation or re-habitation in the three mansions he dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty, C. Currelly states:

¹²⁶⁰ The location of the original notebook is currently unknown. P. Lacovara made hand-copies of these notes during a visit to Omm Sety before her death.

¹²⁶¹ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 116-117.

¹²⁶² A production area dating to the New Kingdom exists to the east of the Ahmose pyramid and temples, and therefore positioned down-wind of all the cult buildings. It seems somewhat unlikely that a large-scale production area would have been placed directly upwind of the temple. This fact perhaps indicates that the area in question, if it was meant for large scale production, dates to an earlier phase. By analogy, the *pr-šnꜥ-snwsrt* lies to the east (downwind) of Senwosret III's temple. See Harvey, *New Evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's Funerary Cult* 2004, 3-6.

The town had been inhabited for some time and then abandoned, and after a careful search I could find signs of re-occupation in one room only. Here another floor had been tramped hard about 20 in. above the former one. Signs of re-using the rooms, or of long use of them, were carefully sought for, to determine if the things found in the different rooms could serve as being accurately dated. If no long use was proved, anything found must be fixed to about ten years, 1580-1570 B.C. With this in view every room was carefully examined and the contents worked through; and I feel quite certain that this exact date may be given to everything found in the rooms.¹²⁶³

Even though C. Currelly's seemed quite certain of his conclusion, the benefit of time and archaeological reexamination has led J. Wegner to state the following against C. Currelly:

Nevertheless the nature of the material assemblage is suggestive of a long-term pattern of use for these buildings and corroborates the significant New Kingdom component documented by Currelly in the nearby houses K and M (Mansion I-II). The ceramics include significant components of not only late 12th Dynasty material but also Second intermediate Period and New Kingdom diagnostic forms.¹²⁶⁴

As stated above, the buildings excavated by C. Currelly in 1902 (Mansions I - III) are in reality part of the Middle Kingdom town of *Wah-sut* (Wegner's buildings K, M, and O). Furthermore, evidence exists from all the buildings except building A (the mayoral residence) to demonstrate a length of habitation from the Late 12th Dynasty well into the New Kingdom.

Such a conclusion, however, may not necessarily apply *de facto* to the chronological span of the area excavated by the EAO as well. Based again upon the notes of D. Eady, S. Harvey fixed the date range for the New Kingdom habitation area east of *Wah-sut* independently from J. Wegner's excavations:

Finds recorded by Eady allow this portion of the settlement to be placed firmly within the New Kingdom, including distinctive ceramic, stone, and metal vessels. The ceramic types include "fire dogs" or jar supports, a fragment of a jar with a head of Hathor in relief (a late Eighteenth Dynasty type well-known from el-Amarna and elsewhere), a drop-shaped feminoform vase with two applied breasts, a spinning bowl, and various types of vases, jars, bowls and stands, for which

¹²⁶³ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 37.

¹²⁶⁴ Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 306.

some close parallels can be found among the shapes recorded by Currelly from his excavations.¹²⁶⁵

Based upon the hints he drew from these notes, Harvey conducted a detailed surface survey of the same area during his 1993 field season in the hopes of picking up objects disturbed by the excavations.¹²⁶⁶ Of these findings, he states:

Preliminary analysis of the surfaces^{Sic!} finds has revealed a chronological range from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty into, and possibly continuing after, the late Eighteenth Dynasty. Blue painted ceramic typical of late Dynasty 18 was plentiful, and we found a mud sealing of a jar bearing the impression of a scarab or scaraboid inscribed for Queen Tiye, wife of Amenhotep III. Imported ceramic includes Cypriote Base Ring ware (as in Currelly's area), and fragments of Mycenaean ceramic. Evidence for domestic cult includes a fragment of a private stela, which may be compared with examples found by Currelly.¹²⁶⁷

Hence the settlement or production site to the east of *Wah-sut* proper, and therefore closer to the Ahmose complex exhibits diagnostic Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty pottery and objects. Based on the conclusions of both J. Wegner and S. Harvey, the chronological range of objects within *Wah-sut* moves closer to the New Kingdom as one moves east. The area between *Wah-sut* and the Ahmose pyramid contains a higher proportion of New Kingdom diagnostic wares than those of the Middle Kingdom.

6.8.3 The Name of *Wah-sut* and the Identification of the 'Ahmose-town'

No ancient name has yet been identified which refers specifically to the 'Ahmose-town'.¹²⁶⁸ On the other hand, the shortened name of the Middle Kingdom town *Wah-sut*, derived from its original name *w3ḥ-s.wt-(ḥ3-k3.w-rꜥ)-m3ꜥ-ḥr.w-m-3bd.w*, does appear in

¹²⁶⁵ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 116-117.

¹²⁶⁶ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 117.

¹²⁶⁷ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 117.

¹²⁶⁸ It is quite possible that if such a name once existed, it may be uncovered through further excavation of the site.

the Eighteenth Dynasty (reign of Amenhotep II) tomb chapel of Rekhmire.¹²⁶⁹ Given that other parts of Rekhmire's tomb draw heavily upon Middle Kingdom sources, it is not clear how reliable this attestation of *Wah-sut* is for dating. However, keeping this caveat in mind, J. Wegner sums up the potential significance of this occurrence of *Wah-sut*:

Evidence suggestive of a continuity of occupation at the Senwosret III town site, (even as the institutional structure of the site decayed at the end of the 13th Dynasty) may represent a mechanism for a continuation of the toponym through the Second Intermediate Period and into the early 18th Dynasty when South Abydos again became the focus for state-sponsored activity with the construction of the Ahmose complex.¹²⁷⁰

He continues his discussion in a footnote to this section:

Associated with the construction of the Ahmose complex is the development of a New Kingdom settlement in the area immediately south of, and probably partially overlapping, terrain occupied by the earlier Middle Kingdom settlement of *Wah-sut*. The nature of the New Kingdom town is currently largely undefined. ... If, however, a population still existed at South Abydos, with the resumption of royal investment by Ahmose *Wah-sut* may have continued as the general toponym for this wider area of South Abydos.¹²⁷¹

If J. Wegner's theory is correct then the name *Wah-sut* was retained well into the Eighteenth Dynasty. Pharaoh Ahmose would have taken advantage of a preexisting local population and orthogonal town layout in close proximity to the location he desired for his cult complex. Instead of founding a new town he may have simply reestablished or reinvigorated *Wah-sut* with an influx of new inhabitants to work in and around his cult complex.¹²⁷² Such an act would have fit nicely into his desire to link himself with the late

¹²⁶⁹ For a discussion of the name of *Wah-sut*, see above Chapter Three, and Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 26-32. The name of the town had already been shortened to *Wah-sut* by the end of the Middle Kingdom (cf. pBrooklyn 35.1446).

¹²⁷⁰ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 31-32.

¹²⁷¹ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 32, note 83. Wegner uses river or local directions here when he states that the New Kingdom settlement was south of *Wah-sut*. This would equate to east-southeast in true compass directions.

¹²⁷² Given that around 30 cm of desert surface seems to have been lost since the New Kingdom, as evinced by the preservation of the tombs in the Temple Cemetery (See below Chapter Seven), coupled with the fact that the buildings of *Wah-sut* are in some places only preserved to the height of a couple bricks, it is possible that New Kingdom layers overlaying those of the Middle Kingdom have been lost to erosion.

Twelfth Dynasty. Instead of obliterating the only living traces of Senwosret III's cult complex, Ahmose could have reinvigorated it, keeping its original name as a link with the past kings he believed were his true royal ancestors.

Therefore based upon the findings of all the archaeologists concerned, the basic explanation which best fits all the data is that habitation at South Abydos moved in an easterly direction from the late Middle Kingdom, into the New Kingdom. In other words, the town called *Wah-sut* was inhabited into the Thirteenth Dynasty when the cult of Senwosret III was abandoned.¹²⁷³ During the Second Intermediate Period the population diminished somewhat without continued royal support. When Ahmose's architects arrived at Abydos to construct his complex, the Middle Kingdom habitation area was partly repaired and expanded to the east, closer to the pyramid site.¹²⁷⁴ As a result of a scant population throughout the Second Intermediate Period, the name *Wah-sut* may have remained in use for the town throughout the period.

§6.9 Non-royal Funerary Practice at Abydos During the early New Kingdom

Though a final answer to the 'Ahmose-town' problem must wait for further excavation, it is clear from the size and scope of Ahmose's complex at South Abydos, coupled by the existence of at least two cemeteries in the area, that a sizeable population existed near the site during the New Kingdom. With this in mind, the present section will

¹²⁷³ Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations* 2001, 306.

¹²⁷⁴ This shift in focus from the west of the town (location of the Senwosret III Mortuary Temple), to the east (Ahmose Temple and Pyramid), may explain in part why the western mayoral residence was abandoned and not reused during the New Kingdom. It would have essentially been a high status building in a low status location within the new settlement layout. The grain silos and kilns excavated by the EAO may indeed have belonged to a new, Eighteenth Dynasty official structure comparable to the Middle Kingdom Mayor's House, situated close to the Ahmose Temple.

survey funerary practices throughout Abydos during the period in order to conceptualize the overall landscape into which the Temple Cemetery and Cemetery S, discussed below in Chapters Seven and Eight, fits into the overall Abydene context.

6.9.1 Terrace of the Great God during the New Kingdom

Thanks to the construction of the Portal Temple of Ramesses II atop the memorial chapels of the Middle Kingdom, many of these buildings were preserved archaeologically. The same cannot be said, however, for the memorial chapels of the New Kingdom. D. O'Connor outlines the existence of New Kingdom memorial chapels thus:

Although *mahats*, or memorial chapels, are rarely referred to in the New Kingdom, it is likely that many private offering places developed along the scarp at this time. Pouls Wegner has found archaeological evidence for them, and many New Kingdom stelae – often depicting Osiris but rarely referring directly to his festival – recovered along the scarp probably came from such cult chapels.¹²⁷⁵

Indeed based upon her investigation of the North Abydos cultic zone of the New Kingdom, M. Pouls Wegner has demonstrated that memorial chapels of the New Kingdom extended local south (compass southeast) of those of the Middle Kingdom, filling in the area between these earlier edifices and the processional way.¹²⁷⁶ Though these results were based upon A. Mariette's scant records, and bearing in mind that many Middle Kingdom tombs in the North Cemetery were reused in the New Kingdom,¹²⁷⁷ her understanding of the terrace during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties seems sound. With the site having been worked over numerous times by archaeologists and

¹²⁷⁵ O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 116.

¹²⁷⁶ Pouls-Wegner 2002, 114-117.

¹²⁷⁷ Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 162.

treasure-hunters alike, these general comments on the layout of the votive zone of the New Kingdom represent the extent of our knowledge at the present. What is clear is that both memorial chapels as well as tomb structures existed at this time scattered throughout the North Cemetery, with the greatest chapel concentration along the local south edge of the cemetery in the closest possible proximity to the annual Procession of Osiris.¹²⁷⁸

6.9.2 Overview of New Kingdom Cemeteries at Abydos

During the New Kingdom, the North Abydene population continued to bury their dead in the North and, to a lesser extent, the Middle Cemetery areas, close to the Osiris Temple. With the creation of the Ahmose complex, however, a new population center formed at South Abydos, necessitating the creation of a new burial ground in close proximity to that royal monument. Hence there were two main areas of funerary activity, one at North Abydos including the Terrace of the Great God, and the other at South Abydos in the desert south of Ahmose's pyramid.

To call the excavation history of the cemeteries of North Abydos complicated would be an understatement. Numerous excavators (É. Amelineau, J. Garstang, D. Randall-MacIver, A. Mariette, T. Peet, W. Petrie, to name a few) worked over the North and Middle Cemeteries between the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. At this early period, there was no overarching organized naming-scheme for the Abydos area, and each excavator assigned his own alphabetic designations to his excavation

¹²⁷⁸ See also for instance tomb Peet Y9, discussed at length below in Chapter Six. This tomb's axis was arranged in such a way to allow the cult stela of the deceased to face the royal wadi, and Osiris Procession.

areas. Hence for instance “Cemetery E” may refer to Garstang E within the North Cemetery, or Peet E in the Middle Cemetery.

Based upon the work of these early scholars, the diachronic shift in tomb architecture at North Abydos seems to move away from the deep shaft tombs of the Middle Kingdom, to much more shallow tombs constructed from mud-brick in the early New Kingdom.¹²⁷⁹ These Eighteenth Dynasty tombs most often consist of a shallow rectangular shaft leading from the surface down to a doorway in one of the shaft’s short sides. Through the doorway is a vaulted chamber meant to hold the burials of numerous individuals.¹²⁸⁰

For the most part the superstructures of these tombs were entirely missing at the time of excavation. One tomb (Y9) discovered by T. Peet discussed at length below (Chapter Seven) possessed a small pyramid above its burial chamber with the remains of a stela niche.¹²⁸¹ On the opposite side of the Shunet el-Zebib from Peet Cemetery Y lies Mace Cemetery D. The substructures of these tombs were of the same type described by T. Peet, but it would seem that the superstructures were better preserved. A. Mace describes them generally with the following paragraph:

The height of the walls as they stand to-day varies from a single brick to between four and five feet, and in the offering chambers and over the doorways we can in several instances detect traces of the spring of an arch. Allowing eighteen inches or two feet for the rise of the arch, we may estimate that the original height of the building was slightly over six feet, just high enough to allow visitors to walk without stooping. The doors and inner chambers, as we have said, in most cases gave evidence of having been arched: the outer courts in all probability were roofless. The

¹²⁷⁹ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 29.

¹²⁸⁰ Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 70. SATC excavations in the Temple Cemetery described below (Chapter Seven and Eight) also corroborate multiple burials.

¹²⁸¹ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 84-86.

pillars in the forecourt were of plain brick like the rest of the tomb, and were clearly built more for ornament than to support any heavy weight.¹²⁸²

From A. Mace's description, the tombs of his Cemetery D consisted of an enclosed courtyard with arched doorway, leading to a vaulted chapel which would have contained an offering place to the deceased.¹²⁸³ Below this construction was a blocked shaft leading to the hidden burial chamber. Generally speaking, based upon these descriptions the New Kingdom tombs of the North Cemetery consisted of modest subterranean apartments housing multiple burials, marked on the surface with mud-brick cult buildings dedicated to the commemoration of the deceased.

Moving now to South Abydos, scholarship was aware of only one New Kingdom burial ground previous to the SATC project's work in the area between 2012 and 2014.¹²⁸⁴ Termed the Ahmose Cemetery, this small group of tombs excavated by C. Currelly in 1902 lies to the south of the Ahmose Pyramid. C. Currelly did not include tomb plans or descriptions in his publication, and of his three short paragraphs on the excavations, two discuss the concerns of the local population that their excavations may encroach upon their Arabic cemetery. Due to its importance, C. Currelly's description of the cemetery appears here in full:

While the main body of the workmen was engaged on the Ahmose tomb, a few asked to go to the south of the Abydos Pyramid. A rich tomb had been accidentally found there, and our men were naturally eager to see if there might be any more such. The place proved to be the cemetery

¹²⁸² Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 70.

¹²⁸³ See the discussion in Chapter Six below. The form A. Mace describes is close to the early Eighteenth Dynasty tombs at Aniba. A. Mace does not elaborate on the external surface of the chapel, and as such it is not possible to ascertain its original shape, be it a shrine or pyramid.

¹²⁸⁴ In his concluding paragraphs on the excavation of the Senwosret III Mortuary Temple, D. Randall-MacIver hints at his awareness of a cemetery dating to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty directly behind the temple. This cemetery is one and the same as the Temple Cemetery, though he does not seem to have excavated it at the time of his work on the temple. See Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 60.

connected with the pyramid temple that was excavated by Mr. Mace, and published in *El Amrah and Abydos*. All the tombs were of the XVIIIth Dynasty. A good deal of pottery was found and a few Ushabti figures, the only one of special interest being that of Pa-ari, the keeper of the pyramid temple (see pl. L, No. 8^{sic!}). The small seated figure on the same plate was found, not in the burial chamber, but lying on the floor at the bottom of a shaft. The number of the tombs was very small; perhaps fifteen in all could be accounted for, either from our digging or from Arab plundering.¹²⁸⁵

Unfortunately this area is now, as it was at the time of excavation, covered by an extensive modern Islamic cemetery. C. Currelly's description goes on to describe how a group of locals, fearful that the excavations may damage the tomb of a local Sheikh, put a stop to the work.

In recent years, two objects have come to light from this area which indicate that the Ahmose Cemetery is more extensive than C. Currelly believed. In 2010, while constructing the Abydos site protection wall along the north-west corner of the modern Arabic cemetery, a bulldozer hit an ancient mud-brick building. A well preserved shabti bearing the name and title of a Priest of Montu, Iimeru, fell out of the debris (Fig. 6.6).¹²⁸⁶ At around the same time a limestone doorjamb belonging to an Overseer of Sealers (or Sealed Goods)¹²⁸⁷ Jema-jb was discovered within the Arabic cemetery, and transferred to the Seti I Temple magazine (Fig. 6.7).

Both of these objects – the shabti and doorjamb – demonstrate that the Ahmose Cemetery covers a much greater area than C. Currelly believed, albeit inaccessible

¹²⁸⁵ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 35. C. Currelly cites the wrong number on plate L. Two shabtis are depicted on this plate, but are numbered 6 and 7. It is not clear to which he referred. Pottery from the cemetery appears on plate LX in black silhouette.

¹²⁸⁶ S. Harvey, personal communication. The work was supervised by Inspector Barakat, the head inspector for the Seti Temple and surrounding area.

¹²⁸⁷ The title *jmj-r^c-htm.t* is here written with the *ns* sign (F20) and the seal sign (S19). As such, it is not entirely clear if *jmj-r^c-htm.t* (Overseer of Sealed Goods) or *jmj-r^c-htm.tjw* (Overseer of Sealers) is meant.

beneath the modern cemetery.¹²⁸⁸ In addition, the monumental nature of the Jema-jb doorjamb indicates that at least some of the tombs of this cemetery belonged to members of elite status.¹²⁸⁹ As with the Osiris Temple at North Abydos, the Ahmose temple and funerary complex served as a focus not only for living population, but also for burial.

Fig. 6.6: Shabti of Iimeru from South Abydos¹²⁹⁰



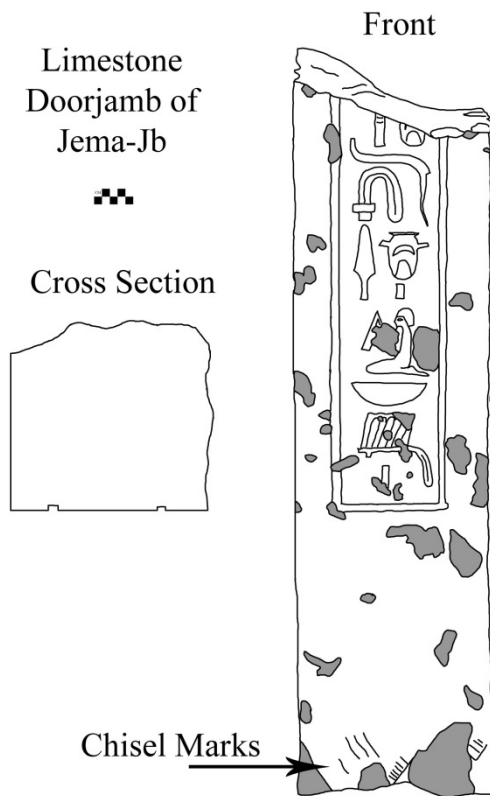
¹²⁸⁸ It is of course not clear whether the limestone fragment was *in situ* near its tomb when discovered, or if it had been reused in a later building. In any case, it seems likely that the original tomb is in the vicinity.

¹²⁸⁹ Jema-jb seems to have a second title, the hieroglyphs of which appear at the break. The left sign conforms to the handle of a scepter (*hk3*, *shm*) or the bottom of the *ḥ-wr* standard, while the right is the heart hieroglyph. While a title reading *shm-jb n ntr nfr* appears in the Theban tomb (TT125) of Dwa-neheh (Urk. IV:454.2), a title having to do with [Osiris *hr.j*]-*jb-ḥ-wr* seems more likely. Ranke 1935, I:6.19 indicates that according to W. Spiegelberg's card file, an Eighteenth Dynasty canopic fragment belonging to a Jema-jb exists in what is now the Institut d'égyptologie of the University of Strasbourg, though it is currently unpublished.

¹²⁹⁰ The original shabti is about 25 cm tall. The hieroglyphs are carved, and filled with blue paint.

Non-royal funerary practice at Abydos followed various models, from the construction of funerary chapels on the Terrace of the Great God, to physical burial in close proximity to the Osiris Complex, to burial near the tomb and temple of a revered pharaoh, himself linked with the god of the dead, Osiris.

Fig. 6.7: Limestone Doorjamb of Jema-jb¹²⁹¹



§6.10 Summary and Conclusions

Like the Middle Kingdom, the New Kingdom was a time of great activity at the site of Abydos. Ahmose, father of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the New Kingdom, chose South Abydos as the site of his mortuary complex in order to link himself religiously

¹²⁹¹ Drawing after a photograph by the author. Thanks to Inspector Mohamed Abu el-Yazib for allowing access to this piece. Based upon the position of the two smoothed sides, this piece is the right doorjamb looking into the tomb.

with Osiris and the cult of royal ancestors, as well as politically with Senwosret III and the kings of the late Twelfth Dynasty, whom he believed were his true predecessors.

The transition between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty also proved to be a dangerous time for Egyptian kingship. A string of monarchs – Ay, Horemheb, and Ramesses I – had no genetic connection to the dynastic royal family, and ruled by virtue of their political power. The early Ramesside kings – Ramesses I, Seti I, and Ramesses II – like Ahmose, strove to link themselves both religiously as well as politically with the mysteries of Osiris at Abydos as a form of royal legitimation.

At the same time the local non-royal population of the Abydene area was also attempting to connect their eternal funerary cults with that of the state god Osiris. Tombs and memorial chapels sprang up in the North Cemetery along the processional way from the Osiris Temple to Umm el-Gaab. Concurrently a population center at South Abydos – the revived remnant of *Wah-sut* founded by Senwosret III – buried its dead in close proximity to the royal monuments of Ahmose, himself linked with Osiris. The investigation of a selection of tombs belonging to these individuals will make up the rest of Section II, with the discussion broken up into the topics of Tomb Architecture (Chapter Seven), and Artifacts and Human Remains (Chapter Eight).

CHAPTER SEVEN: NEW KINGDOM TOMB ARCHITECTURE AT SOUTH ABYDOS

Mud-brick tomb architecture has a distinguished pedigree in Egyptian history which begins with the likes of Naqada Cemetery T, Hierakonpolis Tomb 100, and the Royal Tombs at Umm el-Gaab.¹²⁹² To the ancient Egyptians, mud-brick¹²⁹³ was a versatile, available, and easily sourced material with which to build structures for both the living as well as the dead. Due in part to the deep bedrock at South Abydos, as well as trends in tomb architecture, the local New Kingdom population chose to construct shallow, subterranean vaulted mud-brick tombs near the cultivation. The following chapter will explore the various New Kingdom tomb types at South Abydos, their constituent bricks, and methods of construction. The discussion will then compare the Abydene tombs to contemporary structures throughout Egypt, and create theoretical reconstructions of their missing superstructures using these comparanda.

§7.1 Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt: An Overview

Adobe construction is one of mankind's oldest technologies. It is therefore fitting that adobe (both the technology and the word itself) has a lineage in ancient Egypt. The ancient Egyptian word for mud-brick is *db.t*,¹²⁹⁴ leading to Sahidic **ⲧⲟⲱⲃⲉ**,¹²⁹⁵ and via

¹²⁹² Kemp, *Soil* (including mud-brick architecture) 2000, 79.

¹²⁹³ This term, formed by compounding “mud” and “brick” often appears in print as one word, “mudbrick.” As far as the present author can surmise, this has been dictated by usage, and the lemma “mudbrick” does not appear in the dictionary. The hyphenated form is therefore adopted based upon its usage by both A. J. Spencer 1979, and Kemp, *Soil* (including mud-brick architecture) 2000, among others.

¹²⁹⁴ WB.V:553.7-554.18. See also A. J. Spencer 1979, 5.

¹²⁹⁵ Černý 1976, 181. See also Crum 1939, 398a.

Arabic طوب into Spanish (and thence English) adobe.¹²⁹⁶ Early mud construction in Egypt began with the wattle and daub technique – namely the spreading of mud over a framework of sticks or reeds.¹²⁹⁷ This quickly gave way to the creation of sun dried mud-bricks which builders could easily transport and mortar into larger walls and buildings.

The ancient Egyptians had myriad uses for mud-brick which spanned every aspect of life and death, from birth bricks to tomb chambers.¹²⁹⁸ A brief background of mud-brick fabrication and use in an Egyptian context will prove useful to the following discussion of tomb architecture at South Abydos.

7.1.1 Mud-brick Fabrication: Materials and Techniques

Three¹²⁹⁹ main components comprise a standard mud-brick matrix: soil (with a good proportion of both silt and clay), sand (both coarse and fine), and optional straw chaff.¹³⁰⁰ Various proportions of these materials will produce bricks with different tensile and compressive strengths and weights. Based upon modern experimentation, A. Spencer states that “[b]ricks containing fine sand, when well dried, can stand compressive stress in the order of 52kg/cm, whereas bricks with the same amount of sand, but also with straw, are less strong.”¹³⁰¹ The inclusion of sand or straw cuts down on the amount of shrinkage the brick undergoes during the drying process, leading to a

¹²⁹⁶ Youssef 2003, 25. For this progression see also Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 80. By definition “adobe” is interchangeable with “mud-brick.” Thus it shall be used within the present study.

¹²⁹⁷ Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 78-79.

¹²⁹⁸ For a painted mud birth-brick of the Middle Kingdom, see Wegner, *A Decorated Birth-Brick from South Abydos* 2009, 447-496.

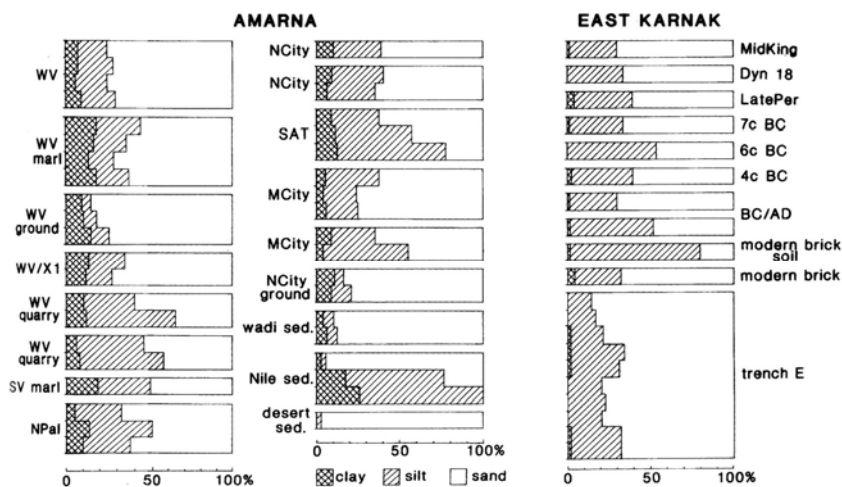
¹²⁹⁹ McHenry 1976, 50 maintains that the *four* essential elements are sand, fine sand, silt, and clay. These elements are contained in the present list.

¹³⁰⁰ A. J. Spencer 1979, 3, and Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 79-83. To this list may be added water, which is used as a temporary solvent to stick the brick matrix together.

¹³⁰¹ A. J. Spencer 1979, 3.

stronger and more stable final product.¹³⁰² Particle analysis undertaken on brick samples from Amarna and Karnak shows that (on average) sand is the most plentiful within the brick matrix (c. 60% - 70%), followed by silt (c. 15% - 52%), and finally clay (c. 6% - 18%).¹³⁰³ These data are contained in Fig. 7.1 below.

Fig. 7.1: Particle Analysis of Mud-brick Matrix from Amarna and Karnak¹³⁰⁴



Numerous inclusions are common in bricks of all periods, including broken pottery, charcoal, stone, and even small objects such as beads.¹³⁰⁵ There are a number of possible vectors through which these extraneous materials might enter the brick matrix. Recycling is perhaps the clearest, whereby older buildings are dismantled and their bricks dissolved to produce new ones. G. Reisner theorized an additional plausible source of this material when he stated that poorer strata of society would incorporate “sweepings of

¹³⁰² Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 82.

¹³⁰³ Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 81.

¹³⁰⁴ Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 81, after French, *An Analysis of the Sediment at East Karnak* 1981, 263-278, and French, *A Sediments Analysis of Mud Brick and Natural Features at el-Amarna* 1984, 189-201.

¹³⁰⁵ Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 82.

the threshing-floor; but even street-sweepings, which usually contain a certain amount of wind blown straw,” into their bricks.¹³⁰⁶ Through these processes and others like them, nearby foreign material easily entered the brick mixing area to be incorporated into the mud-bricks.

Fig. 7.2: Brickmaking in the Tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100)¹³⁰⁷



Once the elements were combined, the process of forming the mud matrix into bricks was, and still is, fairly straightforward.¹³⁰⁸ The brick-maker pressed the wet mud matrix into a wooden form laid upon the ground.¹³⁰⁹ Using his hand, he smoothed the top of the brick level with the form, and possibly impressed a mark or stamp into the wet

¹³⁰⁶ Reisner, Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza 1931, 72.

¹³⁰⁷ The scene appears on the west wall of the chapel. Drawing after Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Re at Thebes 1943, Pl. XVI, XVII, and XVIII.

¹³⁰⁸ For a description of modern brick-making in Egypt, see Clarke and Engelbach 1930, 208-209, and Fig. 250.

¹³⁰⁹ Clarke and Engelbach 1930, Fig. 263.e, for an image of an ancient brick form.

mud.¹³¹⁰ He then removed the wooden form from the wet brick, and moved down the brickyard to form the next one.

Though the Egyptians did not depict this process often, the tomb of Rekhmire (TT no.100) contains a famous image workmen making bricks in Thebes (Fig.7.2).¹³¹¹ Two men draw water from a pool on the left and bring it to the mud mixers at the lower right of the scene. One man uses an adze to break up the soil and incorporate the water, while another man mixes the matrix by treading upon the pile.¹³¹² This worker is also involved in filling vessels with the mud for transport to the brickyard. The brick-maker himself stands hunched over his bricks at the top of the scene. With his hands he manipulates the wooden form, filling it with the mud matrix. Near him is another pile of mud and an empty basket waiting to be replaced with a full one. Once dried, unskilled laborers would transport the bricks to the site of whatever building project called for them.

Good brickmaking locations are theoretically dependent upon the quality and availability of materials used in brick manufacture. Of the main ingredients – soil, sand, water, and chaff – the first three are extremely heavy and cumbersome to move in large quantities. Logically, then, brickworks ought to have been located close to sources of these raw materials. The ideal location would therefore be near the desert edge of the

¹³¹⁰ At South Abydos, excavations have revealed bricks with a number of different marks from straight lines, to dots, to more intricate drawn shapes. Vault brick faces exhibit frogging or keying made by dragging fingers across the brick during this stage of fabrication. The use of brick stamps begins during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and is not attested on Middle Kingdom bricks.

¹³¹¹ D. Arnold, *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*: Fascicle 1 1993, 11-12, Fig. 1.

¹³¹² Clay for pottery production was also kneaded by treading. See D. Arnold, *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*: Fascicle 1 1993, 12, Fig. 3A and 3B.

cultivation, preferably near a canal or other large water source,¹³¹³ These geographical conditions would provide a good source of soil, water, sand, and perhaps even chaff.

7.1.2 Adobe Arches and Vaults: Styles and Methods

At its root, adobe architecture is simply the ordered stacking of dried mud-bricks and mud mortar to form more complex shapes. Very quickly however, ancient builders would have realized that certain brick bonding designs are more advantageous than others.¹³¹⁴ For instance in wall construction, staggering brick seams leads to an overall stronger wall since the bricks lock together and cannot separate along common seam lines.¹³¹⁵

The simplest method of covering a building is a flat roof, which simply spans the space between the four walls.¹³¹⁶ For small distances – mainly in buildings of daily life – bundled reeds were (and still are) used throughout Egypt.¹³¹⁷ The construction of a flat roof with an extended span, however, required a matrix of beams which were both long, and possessed high flexural strength.¹³¹⁸ Wood was ideal, but in an arid country such as Egypt, strong straight logs were hard to obtain. Nonetheless high status buildings did

¹³¹³ Only one ancient brickyard has been positively identified at the site of Mirgissa. See Vercoutter, *Mirgissa I* 1970, 214-216.

¹³¹⁴ For schematics of the various brick bonding patterns employed in ancient Egypt, see A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 1-20.

¹³¹⁵ Kemp, *Soil* (including mud-brick architecture) 2000, 88.

¹³¹⁶ Especially in areas which are not prone to much rainfall, flat mud roofing is common. See Minke 2009, 115.

¹³¹⁷ Personal observation, and Kemp, *Soil* (including mud-brick architecture) 2000, 93 with references.

¹³¹⁸ Minke 2009, 115, where he mentions the use of logs, and bamboo poles in roofing of this type.

make extensive use of wooden roofs, such as the tombs of Umm el-Gaab, as well as royal palaces.¹³¹⁹

Not only was wood scarce in Egypt, but it was also prone to fire and insect damage. Brick vaulting presented the ancient architect with a second option for spanning small to medium sized spaces.¹³²⁰ Bricks were much more available than wood, were fire resistant, and if constructed correctly, the resulting vault was stronger than a simple flat wooden roof.

The perfect vertical vault form is the catenary vault.¹³²¹ A catenary arc is the shape gravity will form on a chain which has been anchored at its two ends.¹³²² At this point only the force of tension acts upon the chain. If inverted, the catenary shape produces a vault in which the only force present is compression.¹³²³ In other words it represents the point at which all the forces inherent in the vault are channeled directly down into the building's foundation, allowing the vault to stand unaided.¹³²⁴ Properly formed mud-brick has good resistance to compression, but very poor strength under

¹³¹⁹ For the reconstruction of roofing at Malqata, see Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 94, Fig. 3.8b.

¹³²⁰ Brick arches are attested from the First Dynasty. See Clarke and Engelbach 1930, 181, where they also make reference to the vaulting in the large mastaba at Bit Halaf of the Third Dynasty, for which see Garstang, Mahasna and Bet Khallaf 1903, 12, Pl. XVIII. Vaults with large spans are rare, but Clarke and Engelbach reference an arched gateway at el-Asasif, Thebes which spans thirteen feet consisting of ten arch rings.

¹³²¹ This vault is a type of barrel vault, which requires a key-stone to lock the individual pieces of the rib in place. For the various types of mud-brick vaults, see Minke 2009, 117ff.

¹³²² Indeed the term catenary comes from Latin *catena* "chain." Robert Hooke was the first to connect the shape of a hanging chain with a perfect vault form in 1675 with the words "As hangs the chain, so stands the arch," see Osserman 2010, 220.

¹³²³ Compression is the opposite of tension, so logically the inversion of a structure under pure tension would yield a form under pure compression.

¹³²⁴ The St. Louis Gateway Arch is a good example of a weighted catenary vault shape. See Osserman 2010.

tension.¹³²⁵ A catenary form is therefore the most ideal for vertical vault rings in adobe architecture.

Trial and error led to a rudimentary understanding of catenary forms in ancient Egypt.¹³²⁶ Yet placing vaulted buildings below ground, as they are in the Temple Cemetery, presents both problems as well as solutions to an architect who understands the forces within the building, as the following discussion will clarify.

Fig. 7.3: Direction of Compressive Forces within Incline and Vertical Vaults

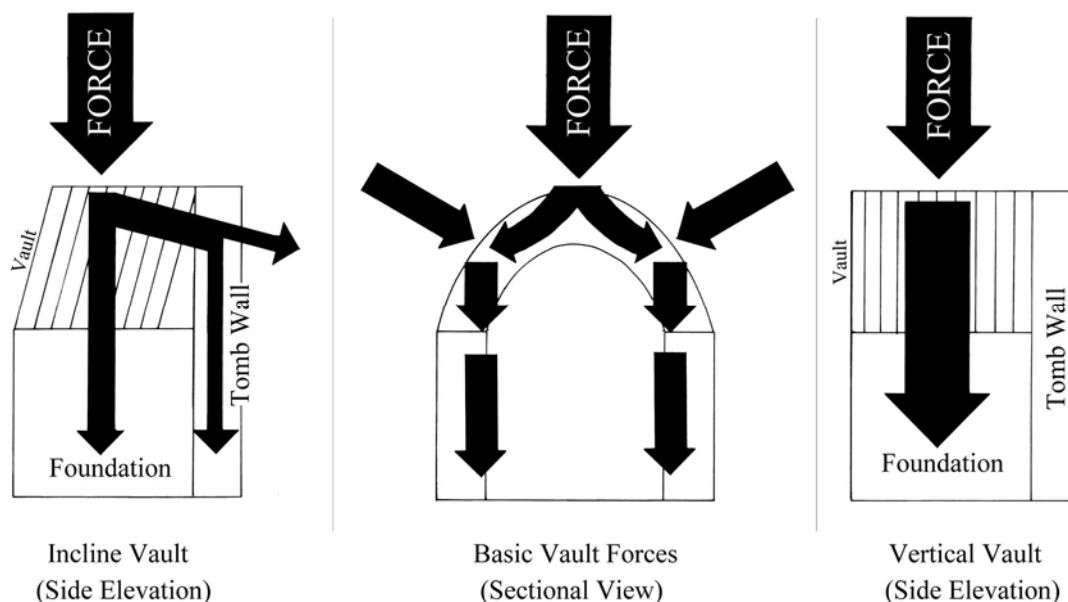


Figure 7.3 (center) shows the basic vault forces inherent in the New Kingdom tombs under investigation (both vertical and incline vaults). In order to cancel out the compressive forces pushing in on the vault in the form of sand around the tomb, the vault shape was modulated slightly out of its catenary shape. This modulation created outward

¹³²⁵ See above, §7.1.1, and A. J. Spencer 1979, 3.

¹³²⁶ A. J. Spencer 1979, 124.

pressures in the vault itself which, if left unchecked, would lead to the vault's collapse.

With pressure exerted on the exterior of the vault, however, the opposing compressive forces are canceled out and channeled safely down into the building's foundation walls.

When perfectly balanced, such a vertical vault could stand indefinitely. However the most obvious disadvantage to this type of structure was requiring the force of the sand outside the vault to remain constant. With only one line of force directly down (Fig. 7.3, right) any change in the direction of that force would lead to instability and eventually vault failure. Hence in some tombs, the architects added large walls of brick dunnage along the outside surface of all the vaults. The weight of this material gave the vault the external compressive force it required in a form that was less prone to erosion or motion than plain sand. Another disadvantage to this type of vault was the need for centering during the vault's construction. Usually made of wood, centering supported the bricks until each ring was held fast by its own compression. In the case of TC.11south, three permanent wooden poles set into the two end walls provided this support.

In an attempt to deal with these disadvantages, ancient architects came up with a vault form which distributed the lines of force into the building more effectively. By tilting the plane of each vault ring to an angle between 20° to 30° from vertical, the ancient builders created the so-called pitched or incline vault (Fig. 7.3, left).¹³²⁷ This simple alteration solved both of the main disadvantages of the vertical vault. Firstly, the tilt in the vault rings made centering unnecessary. During construction, the lower brick

¹³²⁷ Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 93 calls them pitched, A. J. Spencer 1979, 125 calls them inclined vaults, and Minke 2009, 145 calls this form the "Nubian Vault," since Sudanese villages employed the ancient technique into the modern era.

course of each vault ring leaned upon the earlier rings. Friction, the surface tension of the wet mud mortar, and small stone chinking between elements held the bricks in place long enough for the ring to be completed and put under compression. The tilt then led to the second benefit of the incline vault. Figure 7.3 (left and right diagrams) shows the lines of force in both incline and vertical vaults. In the vertical vault (as discussed above), force is channeled directly down each vault ring into the foundation. In the incline vault on the other hand, since each vault ring leans against the previous, part of the downward force is diverted through the structure's back wall into the sand.¹³²⁸ Such force required a strong wall,¹³²⁹ but the overall effect was to distribute force more efficiently throughout the building. External force is no longer required for the vault to stand, but the shallow vault still deals with it by channeling the force both vertically as well as horizontally. Vaults of both types exist within the Temple Cemetery.

§7.2 The Non-Royal Cemetery at South Abydos

During the course of remote sensing, J. Wegner dubbed a cluster of tomb structures lying near the mortuary temple of Senwosret III the "Temple Cemetery." Excavations which we have carried out between 2012 and 2014 have shown that these structures date to the New Kingdom. This section will look at this area in more detail before moving into a discussion of the individual tombs themselves.

¹³²⁸ Akin to a set of falling dominoes striking a stationary object. The force of each domino presses upon the next, until the whole set leans against the stationary object. Gravity still pulls the dominoes down, but the force is distributed both vertically into the ground as well as horizontally into the stationary object.

¹³²⁹ See below §7.4.7 for the case of TC.7 in which the back wall was not robust enough, causing the forces of the incline vault to deform it to the south, possibly leading to the vault's failure.

7.2.1 The Temple Cemetery: History of Excavation

The SATC project expeditions of 2012-2014 were the first to excavate structures belonging to the Temple Cemetery. These structures were first noticed when J. Wegner and T. Herbich conducted a magnetometric survey in 2002.¹³³⁰ J. Wegner designated this collection of architectural features the Temple Cemetery (TC), due to its physical proximity to the Middle Kingdom mortuary temple of Senwosret III Khakaure.¹³³¹ The magnetometric survey identified a total of twenty mud-brick structures within the boundaries of the magnetogram below (Fig. 7.4). Based upon their shape and the fact that these structures oriented well with the Senwosret III mortuary temple, we assumed that they were Middle Kingdom shaft tombs, representing a small cemetery linked with the town of *Wah-sut*.

Excavations carried out between 7 - 13 December 2012, and 9 – 15 May 2013 as part of the SATC project demonstrated that these features are in fact New Kingdom vaulted brick shaft-and-chamber tombs. In these two seasons, we opened a total of seven 10m x 10m excavation units (designated SATC Operations 1-3, 17-18, and 20-21), in order to investigate these structures. Tomb 9 (TC.9), Tomb 11 (TC.11), and Tomb 19 (TC.19) all exhibited signs of recent looting, but fortunately in the case of TC.9 and TC.11, the culprits seemingly found nothing of interest during their cursory digging.¹³³²

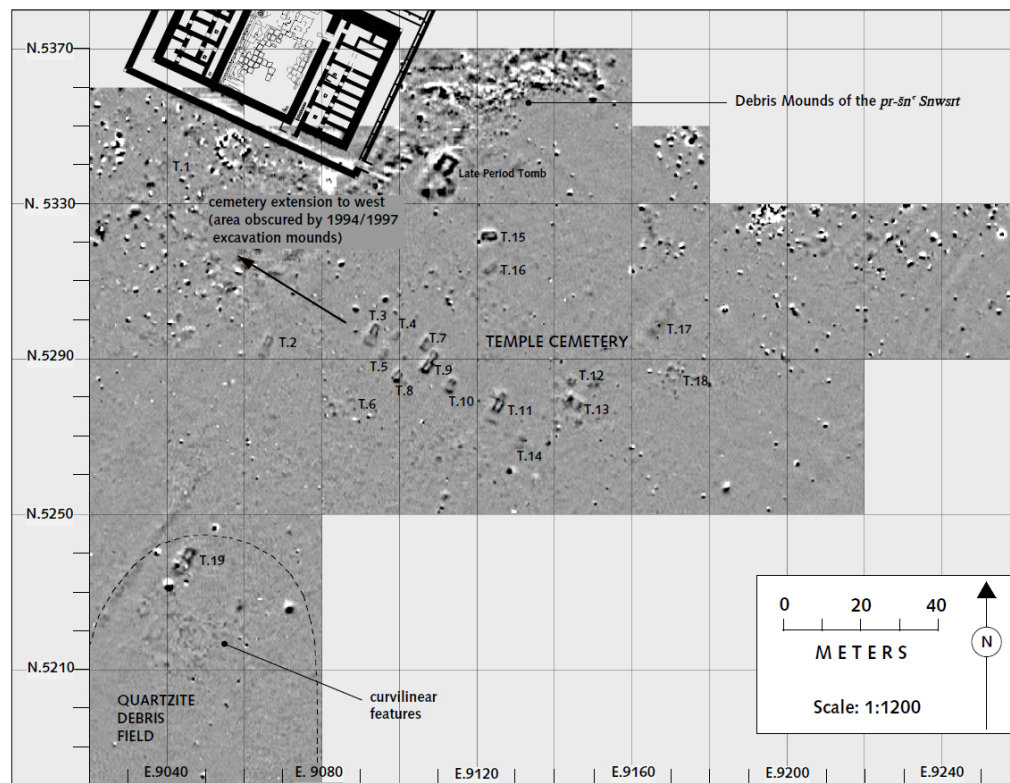
¹³³⁰ Herbich and Wegner 2003, 200-204, and Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 293. T. Herbich employed a Geoscan Research FM 36 Fluxgate Gradiometer for this survey.

¹³³¹ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 293.

¹³³² The local villagers told us that the damage to TC.9 and TC.11 occurred around late September - early October 2012. TC.19 was the target of extensive looting between March-May 2013, almost certainly as a result of our winter excavations fueling renewed local interest in the area. It was, therefore, imperative to excavate these structures before further looting could take place. We also posted site guards in the area.

All six of the structures discussed herein were also heavily looted in ancient times, more often than not on numerous occasions.¹³³³

Fig. 7.4: Magnetic Survey Map of the Temple Cemetery¹³³⁴



7.2.2 Temple Cemetery: Location and Layout

The Temple Cemetery, as it is currently understood, covers an area of roughly 1.4 hectares, measuring roughly 100 m north-south and 140 m east-west.¹³³⁵ The tombs visible on the magnetogram are probably representative of the core of the cemetery, but

¹³³³ TC.20 displayed at least two instances of looting. The first removed the high value items from the tomb (such as gold) while the tomb was still architecturally intact. These robbers left numerous objects lying on the floor of the tomb before the vault fell in. A second robbery then occurred which stripped the tomb of all other objects, though these robbers did not find the objects hidden below the fallen vault. The local inhabitants maintain that the area has been worked over extensively in modern times.

¹³³⁴ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 294, Fig. 134.

¹³³⁵ These measurements are based upon the visible spread of the tombs as they appear on the magnetic survey map.

not of its full horizontal distribution.¹³³⁶ This conclusion is based on three facts. Firstly, the magnetic survey did not include the area south of N.5250 of the Abydos grid except for an area called the “quartzite debris field” on the map.¹³³⁷ TC.19 exists within this area, indicating a probable southward, and perhaps eastward, extension of the cemetery. Secondly, the Temple Cemetery exhibits a northwestern extension under the spoil mounds from J. Wegner’s 1994 and 1997 excavation of the Senwosret III mortuary temple. These spoil mounds probably occlude further tombs, though the magnetic signature of only one, TC.1, is visible on the map in this area. Thirdly, excavation has demonstrated that the tombs visible on the magnetogram are very close to the modern surface, between 10-20 cm. In the case of TC.11, only the shaft appeared clearly on the survey, but the twin burial chambers which were 30 cm below the top of the shaft were indistinct. Hence, the effective limit of the magnetometric survey in this area is roughly half a meter (50 cm). Other tombs could easily lie deeper than 50 cm beneath the surface, and would, therefore, blend into the background of the map. Further exploratory excavation and more extensive magnetometry are required to define the full horizontal spread of the cemetery.¹³³⁸

¹³³⁶ The cemetery may either represent an offshoot of the main New Kingdom cemetery associated with the Ahmose complex to the southeast, or it may be a small insular cemetery of more local inhabitants connected with a currently unidentified New Kingdom structure or complex.

¹³³⁷ The desert surface in this debris area is littered with numerous fragments of red-brown quartzite, as well as a number of diorite pounding stones (both whole and fragmentary) prompting its inclusion in the magnetic survey.

¹³³⁸ This work would also help to elucidate how, if at all, the Temple Cemetery relates to the larger Ahmose cemetery to the south of his pyramid. We discuss this topic more fully below.

The following chart lists the distances in meters from the heart of the Temple Cemetery to a number of important monuments of the Abydene landscape, both North and South.¹³³⁹

Table 7.1: Distances from Temple Cemetery to Various Abydene Landmarks

TC.9	to	Senwosret III Mortuary Temple	50 m
TC.9	to	<i>Wah-sut</i> Building B	335.5 m
TC.9	to	Senwosret III Tomb Enclosure	723.8 m
TC.9	to	New Kingdom settlement debris	757 m
TC.9	to	Ahmosé Pyramid	958.7 m
TC.9	to	Ahmosé Mortuary Temple	972.3 m
TC.9	to	Tetisheri Pyramid	1004 m
TC.9	to	Temple of Seti I	1219.8 m
TC.9	to	Temple of Ramesses II	1559.7 m
TC.9	to	Umm el-Gaab	2071 m
TC.9	to	Shunet el-Zebib (Khasekhemwy)	2398 m
TC.9	to	Ramesses II “Portal Temple”	2437 m

The Temple Cemetery therefore lies midway between the Ahmosé¹³⁴⁰ and Seti I complexes.¹³⁴¹ As such, the cemetery may have served a small town or population center associated with a currently unidentified royal cult or institution, perhaps even a town eventually connected with the Seti I complex.¹³⁴² On the other hand it may represent a satellite cemetery, also serving the so-called ‘Ahmosé-town’ near his cult complex which remained active at least into the early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹³⁴³

¹³³⁹ Tomb TC.9 represents the middle of the cemetery for the purpose of these measurements.

¹³⁴⁰ For this area see Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmosé at Abydos* 1998, and O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 105-110.

¹³⁴¹ For this area see Caulfield 1902, Murray 1904, David, *A Guide to the Religious Ritual at Abydos* 1981, and O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 42-61.

¹³⁴² The earliest objects from the Temple Cemetery date to the reigns of Tutankhamun and Horemheb. Though architectural fragments belonging to Pharaoh Horemheb are known from Abydos, the exact nature of his interest in the site is poorly understood. Theoretically the Temple Cemetery may have had a connection with some building project of the post-Amarna kings near South Abydos, though for the moment this suggestion remains speculation.

¹³⁴³ For a discussion of the ‘Ahmosé-town’ problem, see above Chapter Six.

Ascertaining the proximity between the cemetery and the ancient cultivation is a more difficult task. The main core of tombs stands 120 m south of the modern line of cultivation. J. Wegner's reconstruction of the possible original size of *Wah-sut*, based upon the square layout of Lahun, suggests that the cultivation may have existed a further 140 m to the north of its current extent.¹³⁴⁴ Within this model the Temple Cemetery would have existed about 260 m south of the ancient fields, a line which roughly coincides with a modern subsidiary branch of the el-Kisra canal.¹³⁴⁵

In addition to the geographic location of the Temple Cemetery, the physical orientation of the tombs is significant. The axes of all the tombs line up within 17° of one another, all deviated eastward from true north by between 21° to 38°. The Senwosret III mortuary temple's axis lies on an angle 24° east of north, and thus the Temple Cemetery tombs cluster around its axis, though the visibility of this earlier monument during the New Kingdom is doubtful. The tomb orientations do not seem to coincide with anything within the modern cultivation. On the other hand, looking south from within the Temple Cemetery, the 17° spread in orientation encompasses the entire area occupied by the Senwosret III Tomb Enclosure, including mastabas S7 and S8, and the structures S9 and S10.¹³⁴⁶ Indeed the gebel itself, called the *Mountain of Anubis* during the Middle Kingdom, as well as the *mḥ.t* of Osiris at Umm el-Gaab may have been the

¹³⁴⁴ Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations 2001*, 285-287, and Fig. 4. This is a problem discussed above in Chapter Three.

¹³⁴⁵ For comments on Abydene hydrology see Trampier 2005-2006, with references.

¹³⁴⁶ Again, it is not entirely clear how much, if any, of the Senwosret III Tomb Enclosure would have been visible during the New Kingdom, but the excellent modern preservation of the Dummy Mastabas to the east hints that they at least were probably still visible at the base of the gebel. The fact that the area was a royal necropolis was almost certainly still existed within local memory.

foci of orientation.¹³⁴⁷ Whether or not there was a significant landmark which drove the tomb orientation may never be known.¹³⁴⁸ What is important to note is that the entire cemetery follows an internal orientation.¹³⁴⁹

§7.3 New Kingdom Non-Royal Tomb Architecture at South Abydos: Types

Excavation between 2012 and 2013 revealed various different models of tomb architecture within the Temple Cemetery. These tombs are best described as having shaft-and-chamber layouts, which fall into four distinct Types.¹³⁵⁰ The distribution of the tombs by type is presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Distribution of Structures in the Temple Cemetery by Tomb Type

Tomb Type	Number of Examples	Locations
Type 1	2	TC.7; TC.10
Type 2	2	TC.9; TC.19
Type 3	1	TC.11
Type 4	1	TC.20

SATC excavation uncovered four basic subterranean layouts (Fig. 7.5). Each successive type adds a major element to its predecessor, beginning with a simple subterranean burial chamber with short retaining walls at the door, to fully integrated, multi-chambered tombs with a heavy-walled entrance shaft supporting a large surface feature.¹³⁵¹

¹³⁴⁷ Neither Umm el-Gaab nor the Votive Zone at North Abydos are actually visible from the Temple Cemetery. What is visible is the entrance to the wadi directly behind Umm el-Gaab, signifying the location of the royal cemetery.

¹³⁴⁸ See below, §7.8.

¹³⁴⁹ For more on this point, see below §7.5.

¹³⁵⁰ A. J. Spencer 1979, 44-46.

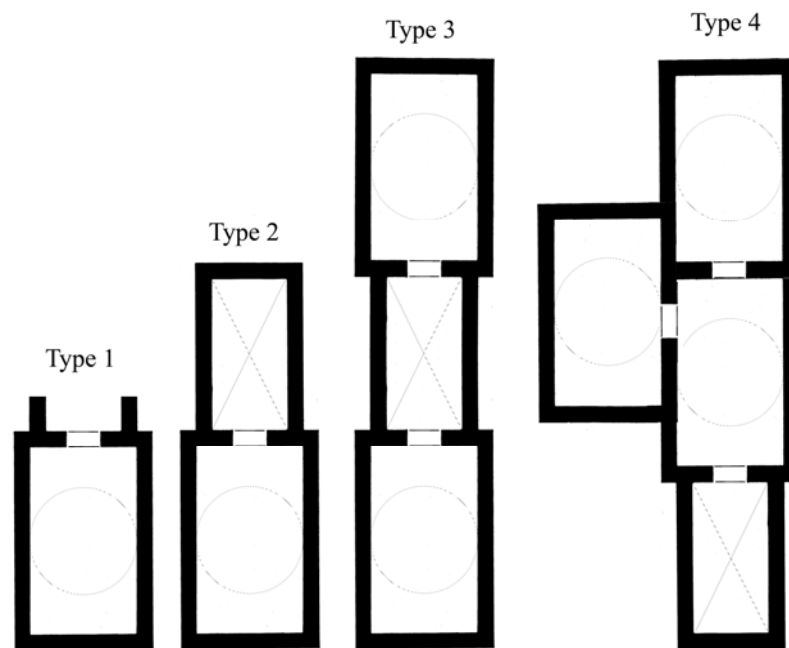
¹³⁵¹ It is important to note that, as yet, there is no correlation between chronological progression and tomb complexity. Indeed TC.20, belonging to Type 4, is probably earlier than TC.7, belonging to Type 1.

7.3.1 Architecture Type 1

Tomb Type 1 is simply a single subterranean vaulted burial chamber with an arched doorway facing north. There is no shaft between the doorway and the surface, but short retaining walls do exist outside the entrance. Both these stub walls in TC.10 were oriented to the north, perpendicular to the north wall. The layout of TC.7, on the other hand, is slightly different. The western stub wall is an extension of the tomb's north wall, while the eastern one extends north (Fig. 7.6). The doors of both of these tombs retained their original blocking bricks and plaster, indicating that entry took place by breaking through the top of the vault. The stub walls were, therefore, sufficient enough to hold back the sand at the time of burial, but were in no way significant enough to betray the location of the tomb entrance to would-be robbers after it was sealed.

7.3.2 Architecture Type 2

Tomb Type 2 builds on Type 1 by expanding the stub retaining walls into a shallow (ca. 2m deep) rectangular brick-lined shaft connecting the doorway in the north of the vaulted burial chamber to the surface. TC.9 and TC.19 follow this plan, and though a portion of the original door blocking remained in both cases, the shaft and doorway likely served as access for the ancient robbers. This conclusion indicates that the shaft remained at least partially visible after burial, and represented the easiest point of entry.

Fig. 7.5: Schematic Plans of Tomb Types 1 - 4

7.3.3 Architecture Type 3

Tomb Type 3 takes the single-chamber design one step further. This type consists of a shallow (ca. 2m deep) central shaft with two separate vaulted burial chambers, one to the north and one to the south. TC.11 had open doorways in both burial chambers, and, as with TC.9 and TC.19, the entrance shaft represents the route of original robbery. This type of tomb conforms well to the notion of a family sepulcher.¹³⁵² After the initial burial, a successive generation could expand the size of the tomb by constructing a second burial chamber off the central entryway. The tomb is, therefore, one complete unit that a single cult complex on the surface serviced.

7.3.4 Architecture Type 4

¹³⁵² For the idea of “tomb-sharing,” see Polz, *Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole* 1990, 301ff., Shirley 2010, 290-294, and above §3.4.2, for the possibility at Buhen.

Finally the hallmark of Type 4 is a heavy-walled entrance shaft with multiple chambers honeycombed off of the single entrance. The walls which made up the entrance pit of TC.20 measured 1.25 m thick, indicating that they almost certainly served as the foundation for a surface feature such as a mud-brick pyramid.¹³⁵³ Situated above the entrance, this pyramid structure would probably have been hollow, serving as the locus of the cult of the deceased.¹³⁵⁴ As with many other mud-brick monuments, its exterior would have been plastered and whitewashed, lending to the structure the look of fine white limestone. The entrance shaft below pyramid chapel floor connected to a set of three clustered chambers to the south. The first vaulted space probably served as an antechamber, with two doors (one to the south and one to the east), which each led to a further vaulted chamber.¹³⁵⁵

§7.4 New Kingdom Tombs of South Abydos (2012-2013 Excavations): Temple Cemetery

The tombs of the Temple Cemetery lie near to the border between the cultivation and the low desert. In the following discussion, the tombs appear numerically by tomb excavation number.

7.4.1 Tomb TC.7

Tomb TC.7 is a one room, Type 1 tomb with a bare sand floor. Its walls consist of reused bricks laid into walls only one brick-width in thickness. Bricks of various sizes exist in the walls, but the predominant sizes were 41 x 19 x 12 cm and 39 x 20 x 12 cm.

¹³⁵³ See below §7.6.

¹³⁵⁴ As at Aniba, Tomb SA34. See Steindorff, *Aniba II* 1937, 235-236, Pl. 41 and 45.

¹³⁵⁵ Both chambers connected to the anteroom were burial chambers. See below §7.4.6.

During excavation a rectangular brick stamp came to light, impressed into a brick on the top of the tomb's south wall.¹³⁵⁶ Sadly, despite much effort from all members of the 2012 excavation team, the stamp remained illegible due to its highly eroded state.¹³⁵⁷

The mortared brick walls of this tomb are not particularly square or straight, and the entire construction has a curved look to it. Brick bonding followed A. Spencer's Corpus of Brick Bonds Wall Type X₁, and the mortar joints between the bricks were quite large.¹³⁵⁸ Fragmentary rough plaster exists on the inside of the entire tomb, but no indications of whitewash survive.

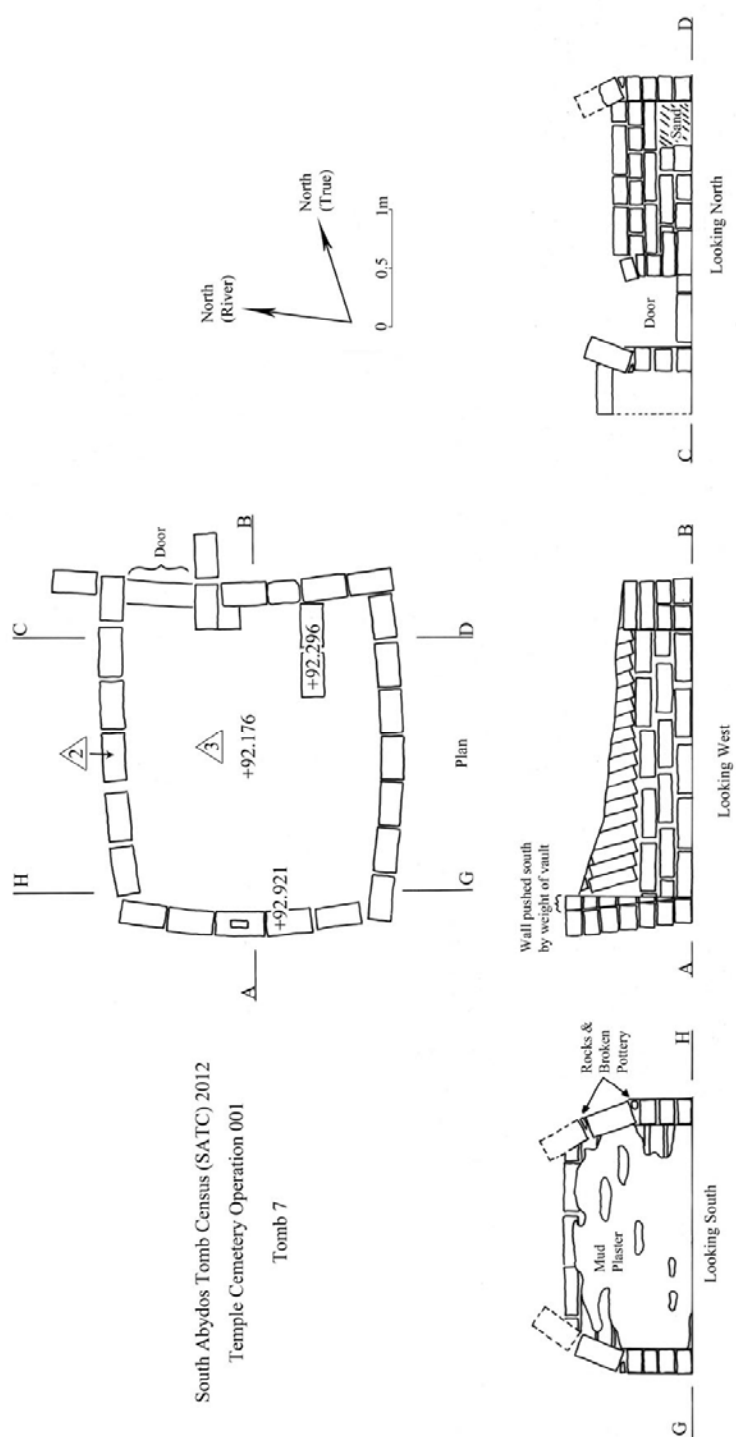
In accordance with Tomb Type 1, TC.7 had no shaft structure connecting the vaulted burial chamber with the surface. One short stub wall exists to the east of the door, and at the time of excavation some un-mortared bricks were observed near the western door jamb. These bricks acted as small retaining walls to keep sand back from the door at the time of burial.

¹³⁵⁶ Dr. Jennifer Houser Wegner pointed out this feature. The brick measured 41 x 20.5 x 13 cm, and the stamp was a rectangle measuring 13.5 x 5 cm. A search of the surrounding bricks uncovered no further stamps.

¹³⁵⁷ Since the practice of stamping mud-bricks begins in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the presence of a stamped brick points to a date in the New Kingdom or later for this brick's manufacture. See A. J. Spencer 1979, 145. Since the buildings of Senwosret III completely lack brick stamps, TC.7's builders probably also made use of some local source of New Kingdom bricks, as opposed to using exclusively Middle Kingdom bricks sourced from the nearby Senwosret III complex.

¹³⁵⁸ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 1. Wall types employ a capital letter (A₁) while vault/arch types use a lowercase (a₁). To reduce confusion each type will appear prefaced with "Wall" or "Vault" herein.

Fig. 7.6: Temple Cemetery Tomb 7 Plan and Elevation



A doorway is in the northwest corner of the chamber, which was originally arched. The western door jamb is more robust than the surrounding tomb walls, a feature which assured that the outward pressure of the door arch would not overcome the otherwise flimsy brickwork. The doorway was blocked by a number of roughly laid, unmortared bricks.

Opposite the door on the tomb's north wall is an enigmatic brick feature which consists of a line of bricks extending south from the north wall into the tomb chamber. The base of the wall in the northeast corner behind these bricks is missing. It is not clear if this recess represents some kind of canopic niche feature, or if the bricks are evidence of an original, narrower width of the tomb chamber.

The collapsed vault originally inclined to the south, and had only one set of vault rings. Chinking took the form of limestone chips and pottery sherds. Due to the inadequate thinness of the burial chamber's back wall, the pressure of the incline vault pushed the center of the tomb's south wall out.¹³⁵⁹ No significant cracking could be observed, indicating this deformation possibly took place during construction while the mud mortar was still damp. It is unclear if this defect was the ultimate cause of the vault's collapse or not.

7.4.2 Tomb TC.9

Tomb TC.9 is a one room sepulcher with entrance shaft of Type 2. The burial chamber originally possessed a packed mud floor surface, but only a very small part of

¹³⁵⁹ Such a deformation demonstrates how the incline vault alters the direction of force vs. a regular vertical vault.

this feature was evident at the time of excavation. The bricks employed in the tomb's construction showed signs of reuse. Variation in brick size was observed especially in the shaft walls, but the predominant brick sizes were 42 x 20.5 x 12 cm and 39 x 20 x 12 cm. The brick bonding method follows A. Spencer's Corpus Wall Type A₁.¹³⁶⁰ Plaster was ubiquitous inside the entrance shaft, with small areas observable inside the burial chamber, but the entire tomb lacked whitewash.

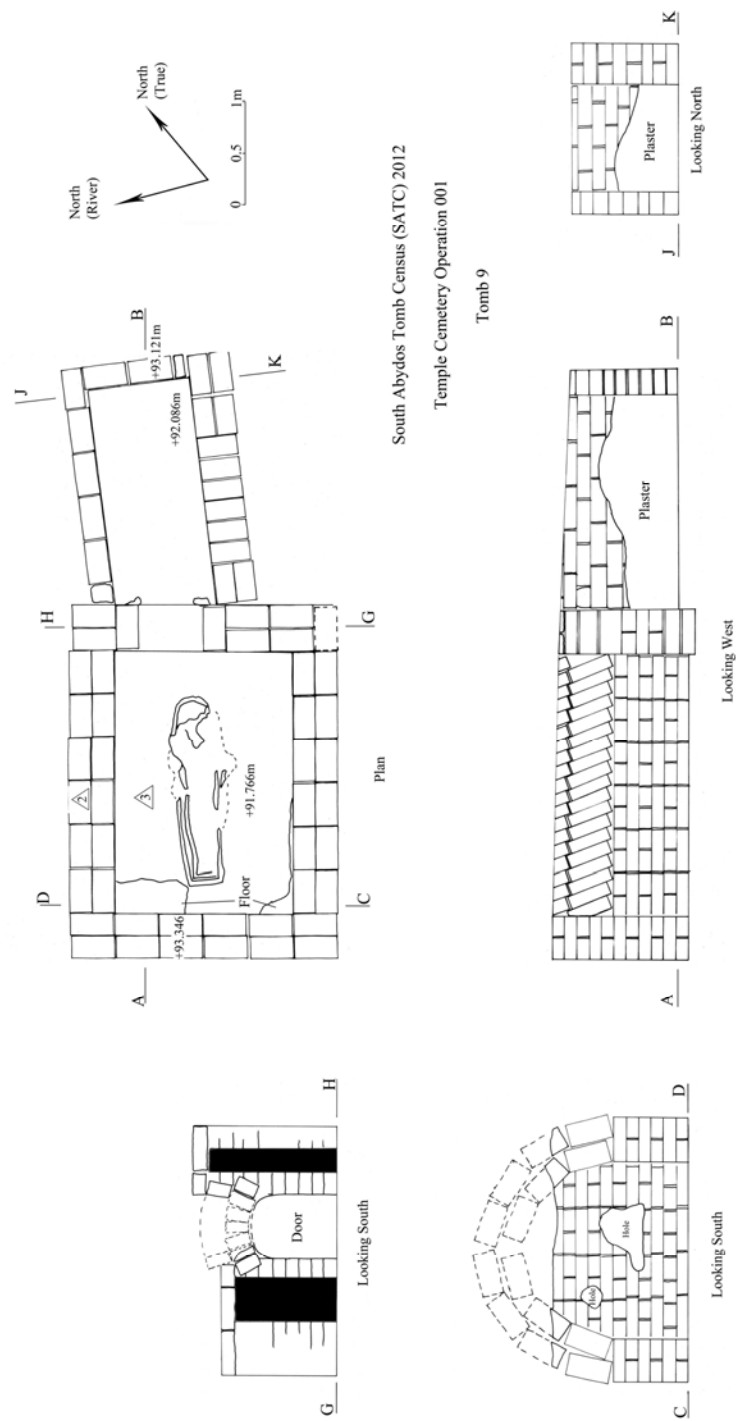
The layout of TC.9's entrance shaft is somewhat irregular, since it is jogged to the north of the tomb axis. The north and west walls are only one brick-width thick (20 cm) and, therefore, follow A. Spencer's Corpus Wall Type X₁. Yet the east wall is more robust at one brick-length thick (42 cm), although the bonding style is quite irregular. These walls abut the burial chamber's north wall, but do not engage with it. Mortar and plaster serve to hide this joint.

The door into the tomb chamber is set off-center in the northwest corner of the structure. Two layers of normal wall bricks compose the shallow arch (Spencer Vault Type c1).¹³⁶¹ A small number of original door blocking bricks still remained in the bottom half of the portal, though the bulk of them and their covering plaster were removed by the ancient robbers as a means of entrance into the burial chamber. The exterior doorjambs retained small fragments of the original plastered surface which once belonged to the door blocking.

¹³⁶⁰ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 1.

¹³⁶¹ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 17.

Fig. 7.7: Temple Cemetery Tomb 9 Plan and Elevation



South Abydos Tomb Census (SATC) 2012
Temple Cemetery Operation 001

Tomb 9

No discernible difference existed between the wall and vault bricks, in either size or color. The vault inclined to the north, leaning upon the entrance wall. Two layers or rings of bricks compose the vault, with the outer laid perpendicularly to the inner according to A. Spencer's Vault Type bd₁.¹³⁶² Chunks of limestone were employed as chinking between the bricks, and the entire vault was covered with a layer of rough mud plaster.

The vault bricks of the burial chamber are inclined to the south, and adhere to A. Spencer's Vault Type d₁.¹³⁶³ There is no discernible difference in either size or color between the wall bricks and those employed in the vault. The two concentric vault rings were covered inside and out by a rough layer of plaster. Limestone is the predominant material used for chinking.

7.4.3 Tomb TC.10

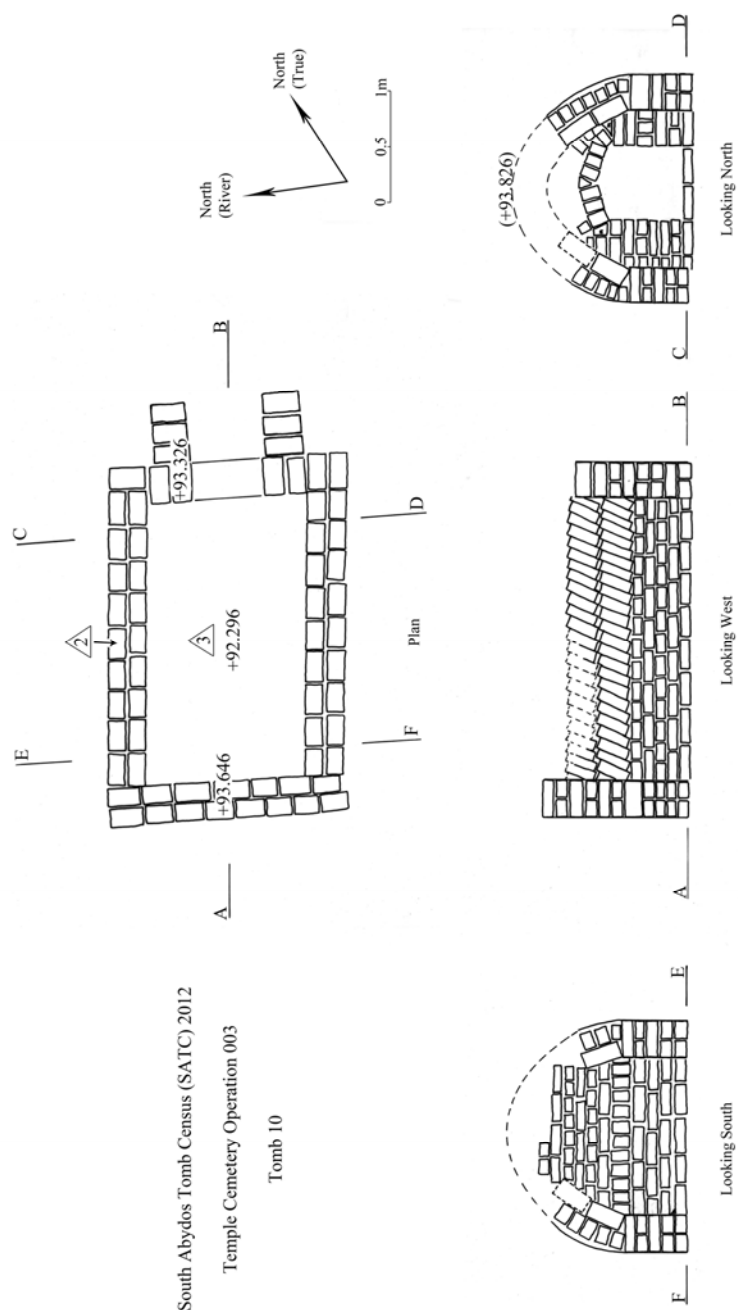
Tomb TC.10 is a single burial chamber of Type 1, and lacks an entrance shaft. Drips of bitumen or resin melted at the time of burial adhered to the packed *tafla* at wall base, indicating that the builders intended this layer to serve as the structure's floor. The bricks were all of the same size (32 x 14-15 x 9cm), and showed little sign of reuse. The thickness of the walls, one brick-length thick, follow A. Spencer's Corpus Wall Type A₁.¹³⁶⁴ The tomb has an overall rhomboidal rather than rectangular shape.¹³⁶⁵

¹³⁶² A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 19.

¹³⁶³ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 18.

¹³⁶⁴ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 1. There are some exceptions to this pattern in TC.10. In the south wall there is a course of bricks set on their edge. The east door jamb has a course of bricks set the same way, though the west jamb does not. This was probably done to even up courses which had grown out of synch.

Fig. 7.8: Temple Cemetery Tomb 10 Plan and Elevation



¹³⁶⁵ Many of the burial chambers in the Temple Cemetery are not perfectly square, but this is the only Type 1 tomb with a regular rhomboid layout. The reason for this layout is not clear.

In accordance with Tomb Type 1, TC.10 does not possess an enclosed entrance shaft. Two stub retaining walls project around 45 cm north from the tomb's entrance wall. The tomb doorway was spanned by a very shallow peak of bricks set on their edges with limestone chinking and a mud key-stone at the apex. At least two layers of arch bricks originally existed above the door. The doorway itself was entirely blocked with bricks laid with their short ends facing out of the door. A second layer of bricks laid perpendicular to those inside the doorway covers the exterior of the portal.

7.4.4 Tomb TC.11

Tomb TC.11 of Tomb Type 3 consists of two burial chambers set on the opposite short ends of a central entrance shaft. The structure seems to have been constructed in phases, since the walls of the shaft engage with those of the south burial chamber, and abut those of the north burial chamber. In the first phase the north burial chamber was built with its door in the south.¹³⁶⁶ The second phase saw the addition of the central shaft and south burial chamber. Both chambers and shaft lack fabricated brick floor surfaces, employing the natural sand instead. Brick reuse is apparent, but the majority measured a homogeneous 39 x 20 x 12 cm. Brick bonding in the north burial chamber and the central shaft followed A. Spencer's Corpus Wall Type A₁, whereas the southern burial chamber – the walls being only one brick-width thick – followed Type X₁.¹³⁶⁷ Plaster existed on the interior chamber walls originally, but very little remained at the time of

¹³⁶⁶ It may be significant that this burial chamber is the only one in the Temple Cemetery to have its doorway in the south, facing the gebel as opposed to the cultivation. One possible exception is TC.20, whose surface structure may have faced south as opposed to north.

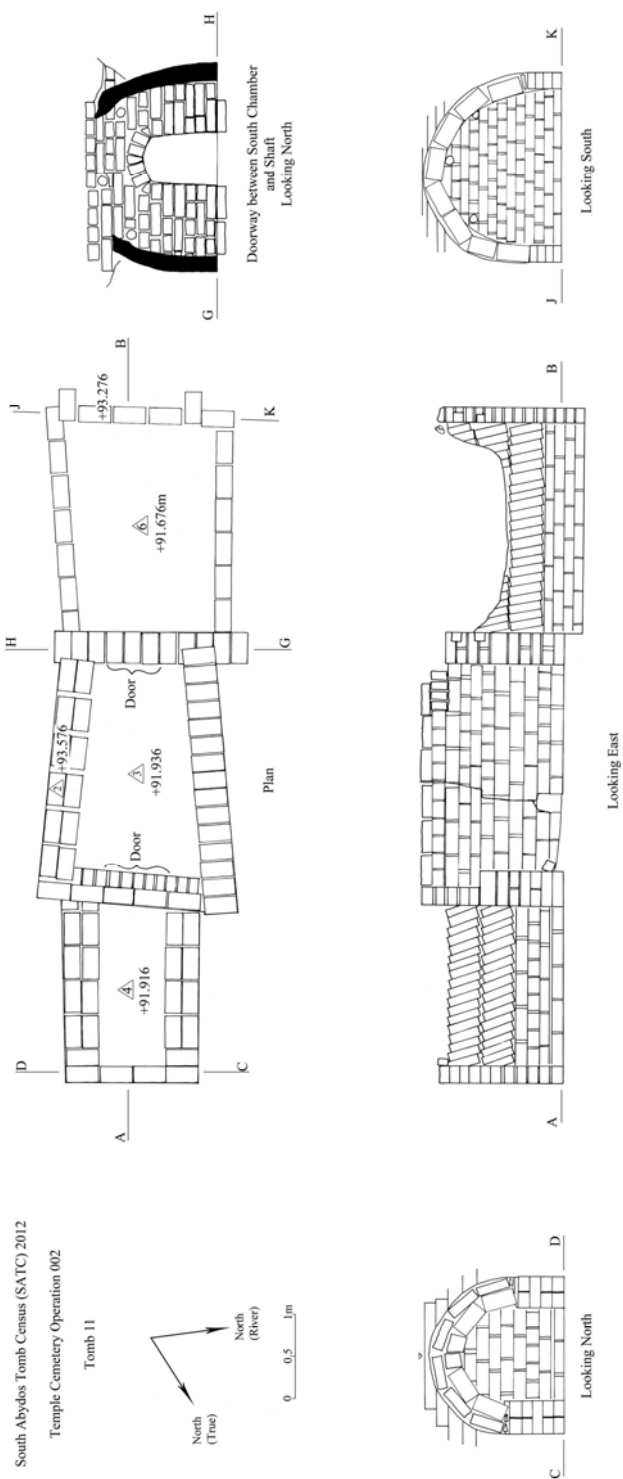
¹³⁶⁷ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 1.

excavation. As with all the tombs of the Temple cemetery, no whitewash was observable.

The vault of the north chamber is a classic incline vault. Its bricks, which are the same as those of the walls, tilt to the north towards the chamber's back wall. Two concentric rings exist, both having been laid with the brick edges facing vertically as in A. Spencer's Vault Type a₂.¹³⁶⁸ Against the top of the north wall the full vault profile still remained, giving an indication of the tomb's original elevation. Unlike the north chamber, the vault of the south chamber was not a proper incline vault, despite a slight tilt to the bricks toward the north. The base walls and vault of this chamber were constructed at only one brick-width thickness. Additionally, due to the verticality of the vault rings, its designers included three horizontal supports in the design as permanent centering for the vault. Pairs of sockets exist opposite each other in both the north and south end walls of this chamber, inside of which was powdered wood remains. These supports originally spanned the length of the chamber between the end walls. Since the bricks were laid against these supports during construction, the vault lacks a true catenary form, following instead the irregular spacing of the centering. The result was undoubtedly a vault which channeled force into the wooden supports instead of into the foundation. As soon as the flexural strength of the poles failed due to rot or insect damage, the vault would have become highly prone to collapse.

¹³⁶⁸ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 17, a₂ right handed drawing.

Fig. 7.9: Temple Cemetery Tomb 11 Plan and Elevation



Given the multiple phases of construction, coupled with the disparate construction techniques of the two burial chambers, it is possible that this tomb was enlarged at some point after the original burial had taken place.¹³⁶⁹ Whoever undertook the second phase of construction was either less concerned with structural stability, or lacked a basic working knowledge of incline vault construction.

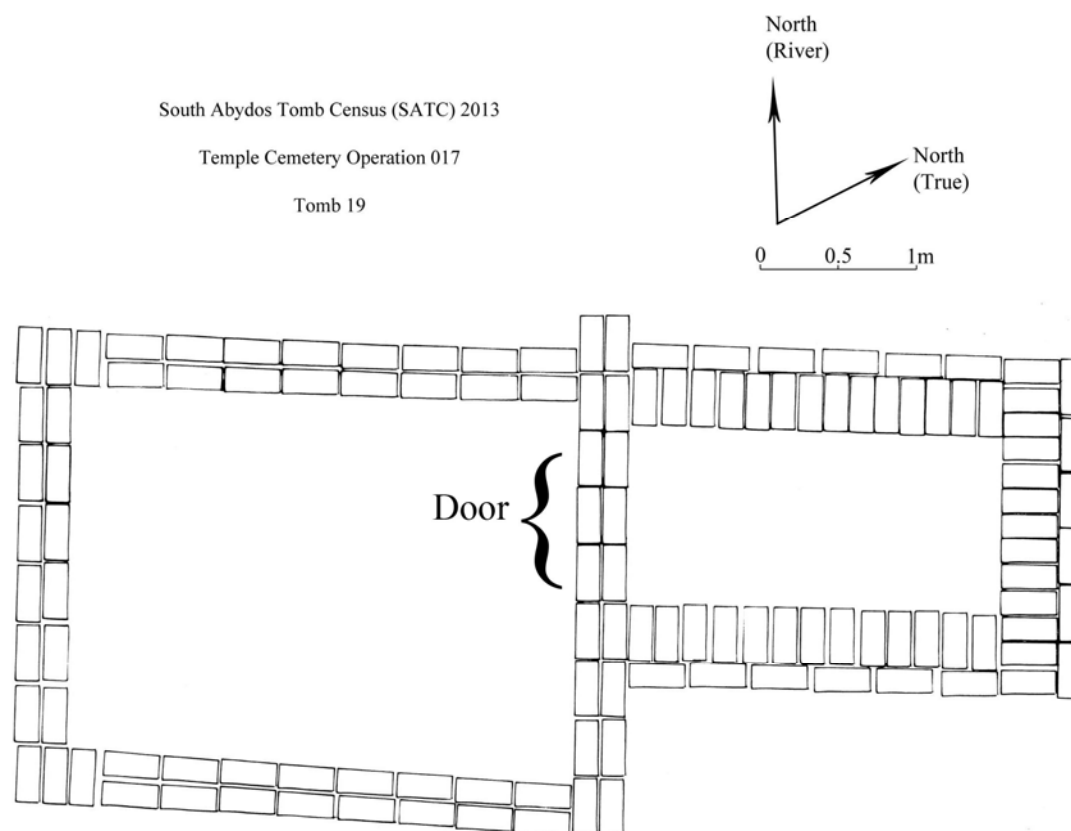
7.4.5 Tomb TC.19

Tomb TC.19 is a large, single chambered structure with an entrance shaft of Type 2. A thin floor surface of packed mud stretched across the entire burial chamber, with a significant portion of this surface still existing at the time of excavation. The wall bricks were all of a uniform size, measuring 35 x 15 x 9 cm. Additionally, special purpose-made square tiles which measure 20 x 20 x 7 cm form the incline vault. During construction the brick-maker dragged his hand across the top of these vault tiles, thereby creating frogging designed to help hold the bricks and mortar together.

The interior walls of the shaft and burial chamber have thickly spread rough plaster which still retains the fingermarks of the plasterers. This coating occludes much of the brickwork, but what little is visible follows either A. Spencer's Corpus Wall Type X₂ or A₁.¹³⁷⁰ Despite the well preserved nature of the plaster, no traces of whitewash were observable, leading to the conclusion that it never existed in the tomb.

¹³⁶⁹ Perhaps by a later family member. The date of the two chambers as evinced by the artifactual assemblages is almost certainly too close to represent a usurpation and reuse of the entire tomb structure. Therefore perhaps the original burial in the north chamber was sealed, and the overall structure was enlarged shortly thereafter.

¹³⁷⁰ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 1.

Fig. 7.10: Temple Cemetery Tomb 19 Plan

The arched doorway is situated in the center of the tomb's north wall. The entrance shaft is jogged to the west, such that the eastern wall of the shaft abuts the chamber wall near the doorway's eastern jamb. The door arch conforms to A. Spencer's Corpus Vault Type c₁, consisting of only one brick ring.¹³⁷¹ Only four original door blocking bricks remained, though the context in this area was highly disturbed by recent looting.¹³⁷²

¹³⁷¹ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 17.

¹³⁷² The tomb was entered between January 2012 and May 2013. During our excavations in May 2013, we discovered modern limestone blocks stacked in the doorway, obviously situated to act as a retaining wall, allowing unobstructed access to the burial chamber. This fact probably also indicates that the looters did not completely excavate the shaft.

The incline vault of TC.19 is of the highest quality. A number of elements set it apart from the others of the Temple Cemetery. First, the vault makes use of special, purpose-made square vault tiles which allow the vault to conform to a smoother curve. Second, the incline vault has two layers of these tiles, and the two layers are set with opposing angles of tilt.¹³⁷³ In other words, the inner incline vault leans toward the north, while the outer incline vault leans toward the south wall of the tomb, the two rings crossing each other perpendicularly. This arrangement serves to distribute the load more effectively, and locks the two rings together permanently. Finally, the space outside the vault above the base walls was filled with stacked bricks. This additional weight assured that there was a sufficient amount of inward pressure exerted upon the robust vault to keep the lateral vault pressure in check.¹³⁷⁴ The architect of this tomb, in an attempt to span a much larger distance than the other tombs in the Temple Cemetery (more than 3 meters), united every architectural trick known into a single structure to create the most robust vault possible.

Due to the tomb's location within a quartzite debris field, chunks of quartzite were utilized instead of limestone for vault chinking.¹³⁷⁵ Upon its completion the vault

¹³⁷³ A. Spencer's Corpus does not include a type which accurately describes this vault. However, an identical vault does exist in the Ramesseum magazines of Dynasty Nineteen, even including specially made vault tiles with frogging. See Kemp, *Soil* (including mud-brick architecture) 2000, 95, Fig. 3.9c, and also Thorel 1976, 28-51.

¹³⁷⁴ Once the tomb chamber was buried, the sand around the vault would have served the same purpose, though relying on the sand assumes that the building will forever remain buried. Including these stacks of bricks meant the forces in the structure would be entirely self-contained, without reliance on natural surroundings.

¹³⁷⁵ The exact date of this quartzite debris is not entirely clear. Given the existence of quartzite statues in the Senwosret III temple, as well as quartzite blocking stones in his tomb, and quartzite burial chambers within Tombs S9 and S10, it probably dates to the late Middle Kingdom. See Wegner and Cahail, *Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber* 2014. The use of quartzite as chinking in the vault of TC.19 demonstrates that at the very least, the debris field was contemporary with, or predates the construction of the tomb.

was encased in rough mud plaster, as was the case with the other structures in the Temple Cemetery.

7.4.6 Tomb TC.20

Tomb TC.20 is the largest tomb in the Temple Cemetery. It is a multi-chambered tomb and the only example of Tomb Type 4 thus far uncovered. The basic tomb structure consists of a heavy-walled entrance shaft (A, Fig. 7.11), which connects via an arched doorway to a vaulted antechamber (Chamber B). Both the shaft and Chamber B may have possessed brick floors, but little trace of them now remains. Besides the entrance from the shaft, Chamber B has two doors, one to the south leading to Chamber C, and another blocked doorway to the east connecting with Chamber D.

The doorway to Chamber C was originally blocked with a combination of baked and sun-dried mud-bricks. A total of three baked bricks were included, set upon the western side of the door threshold, side by side. These bricks measured 34 cm long, 20 cm wide, and 5.5 cm thick. Though they lacked inscriptions, either stamped or written in ink, they did have simple incised lines. Two examples had straight lines, centered in the brick, perpendicular to their long axes. The third had two lines crossed at a right angle, again with the longest situated perpendicular to the brick's long axis.¹³⁷⁶ Inside, Chamber C had a brick and mud plaster floor. Once excavations had proceeded to that

¹³⁷⁶ It is unclear at present what ritual significance these bricks hold. Being three in number and lacking inscription, it seems unlikely they are magic bricks, but the question still remains why the individuals who sealed the tomb would have baked three special bricks, and then carefully laid them into the doorway during the sealing process. As such, they almost certainly represent some form of currently undefined ritual.

floor level, we discovered the sandstone sarcophagus of the Scribe Horemheb ¹³⁷⁷ set into the brick floor. The entire chamber was highly disturbed by ancient robbery, and the sarcophagus itself contained only a few stray human bones, and nothing else.

Returning to the antechamber, the doorway to Chamber D was also blocked, but in a way entirely different from that of Chamber C. No baked mud-bricks were employed in the blocking, which was accomplished with normal sun-dried bricks. Over these bricks, those responsible for closing the room spread a layer of mud, followed by a thick layer of white gypsum. Into this gypsum they impressed a number of oval seal stamps. Unfortunately, at the time of excavation, none of these stamps were legible, though one may have a circular element at one end, perhaps the solar disc of Re. The interior of Chamber D was also given special treatment. The inside of the vaulted walls and ceiling, as well as the brick floor, were all covered with gypsum whitewash. Significantly, this is the only chamber in the entire Temple Cemetery thus far explored to exhibit this feature. Following the whitewash, two limestone props were affixed to the floor using a silt-rich clay. Dark black resinous stains dot the floor around these props, and it is clear based upon the spacing of these stains that they represent some form of liquid poured over an anthropoid sarcophagus, once it had been placed upon the limestone props. The resinous material dripped onto the floor, and then flowed downhill, indicating that it was not terribly viscous at the time of deposition. Directly south, outside Chamber D, we also uncovered an extensive embalming cache, consisting of

¹³⁷⁷ See Chapter Seven, §7.1.5. Kara Cooney has suggested that during this period of Egyptian history, it is perhaps best to think of this type of object as a stone coffin, since examples exist which were placed inside wooden rectangular sarcophagi. Kara Cooney, personal communication.

numerous marl amphorae filled with natron, and other detritus from the mummification process.¹³⁷⁸

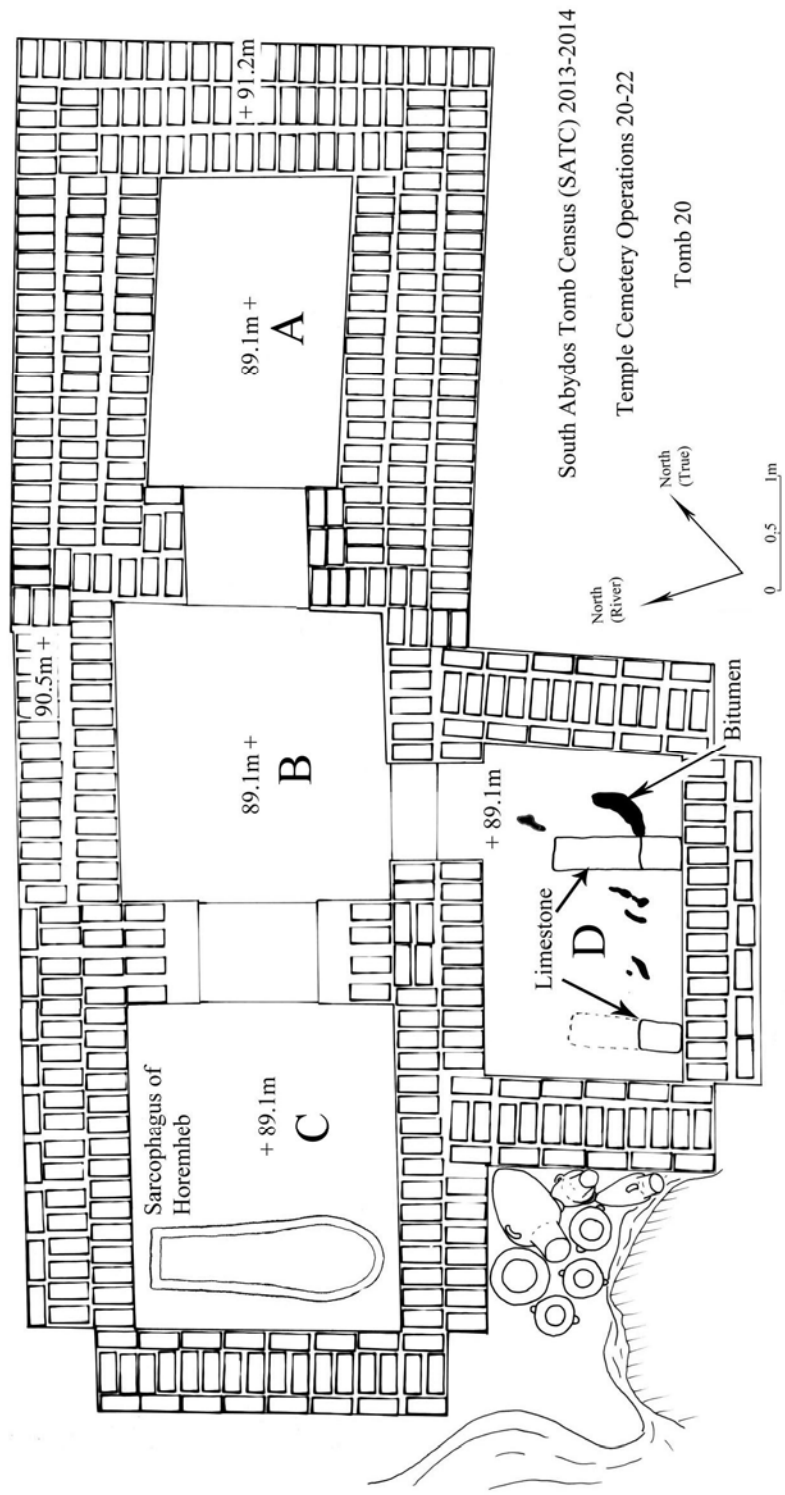
The bricks of TC.20 and their bonding styles were all very regular. The east and west walls of the entrance shaft follow the Brick Bonding Corpus Type A₁₁, while the north and south walls follow Type A₁₅.¹³⁷⁹ Two long walls project south from the entrance shaft structure, forming the foundations for the vaults of Chambers B and C. These two walls are the same width as the entrance shaft, and follow the same brick bonding pattern.¹³⁸⁰ The foundation walls are also twice the thickness of the vault, and extend into the sand outside the arched form. The junction between the vaults over Chamber B and Chamber D show that the Chamber D vault was constructed first, since that of B overlays it. This detail proves that Chamber D was not a secondary burial chamber, but being built first, was always part of the tomb's overall structure

¹³⁷⁸ See below, §8.3.5 for more information on this cache.

¹³⁷⁹ A. J. Spencer 1979, Pl. 7.

¹³⁸⁰ Due to sand outside the structure and plaster inside, it is impossible to say if the bricks of the tomb walls engage with those of the shaft.

Fig. 7.11: Temple Cemetery Tomb 20 Plan



Incline vaults with triple vault rings span Chambers B , C and D. The inner and middle rings are composed of two types of specially made vault bricks. One is curved in profile with what B. Kemp calls frogging impressed on one surface, measuring 39 x 18 x 6 cm.¹³⁸¹ The second type is a square tile also exhibiting frogging, measuring roughly 23 x 21 x 8 cm. Combining the curved and square shapes of these bricks created a very smooth but shallow catenary form. Finally the outer rings are composed of rectangular wall bricks laid with their largest faces against the outside of the middle vault ring. Limestone chinking protrudes through a thin layer of mud plaster covering the entire vault.

Measuring almost 1.7 m thick at their widest, the walls of TC.20's entrance shaft are far more massive than any other tomb walls in either the Temple Cemetery. Even the triple ring incline vaults of Chambers B, C and D only rest on half the thickness of these walls, leading to the question of why they were built so large. The most probable conclusion, and one that is discussed in greater detail below (§7.7), is that there was originally a pyramid atop the entrance shaft walls. In this case, the walls would be more properly called a foundation, pierced by the entrance into the subterranean portion of the tomb.

§7.5 Summary of Tomb Construction Techniques at South Abydos

Basic mud-brick construction techniques are the same for all structures in the Temple Cemetery. Once the tomb site was chosen, the ancient builders excavated

¹³⁸¹ Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 93-96.

through the surface sand until they reached a hard-packed, *tafla* material.¹³⁸² Most of the tombs of the Temple Cemetery rest directly atop the *tafla* layer, and in most cases the material serves as the floor of the tomb chambers.¹³⁸³ Once the tomb itself was constructed, the space around it was backfilled with sand from the original hole, thus hiding the vaulted burial chamber beneath the desert surface. Surface elements were then added above the tomb to mark its position.¹³⁸⁴

7.5.1 Mud-bricks of the New Kingdom Tombs at South Abydos: Overview

Since the tombs variously employ purpose-made, as well as reused bricks, brick sizes both among the tombs as well as within each individual structure varied (see Table 7.3). Three basic sizes of wall brick exist, with the smallest format measuring 30 x 15 x 9 cm, the medium at 35 x 15 x 9 cm, and the largest 42 x 21 x 13 cm. Many of the bricks of the medium and large formats from across the cemeteries showed clear signs of reuse including plaster and whitewash.

Table 7.3: Wall Brick Sizes in the Temple Cemetery

Tomb	Length	Width	Height
TC.7	41cm	20.5cm	13cm
	39cm	20cm	12cm
TC.9	42cm	20.5cm	12cm
	39cm	20cm	12cm
TC.10	32cm	14cm	9cm
TC.11	39cm	20cm	12cm
TC.19	35cm	15cm	9cm
TC.20	35cm	15cm	9cm

¹³⁸² Often erroneously called *gebel* by the modern Egyptian diggers, *tafla* is a compacted sand and pebble layer held together by desert clay. The material holds an edge when cut.

¹³⁸³ TC.9 retained indications of an original mud floor surface in the corners of the burial chamber. TC.19 also retained most of its mud flooring, but TC.10 on the other hand never had such a surface.

¹³⁸⁴ The form these elements took is discussed below in §7.6.

One brick measuring 41cm x 20.5cm x 13cm found within the south wall of the burial chamber of TC.7 retained plaster and whitewash on its eastern short side which was hidden inside the wall of TC.7.¹³⁸⁵ The only way for this plaster to have been applied to this brick was if the brick had originally been part of a different building, removed whole, and mortared into place in the new tomb wall without cleaning. Fragments of plaster and whitewash were also observed adhering to some bricks visible on the exterior of the burial chamber vaults of TC.9 and TC.10, again resulting from brick reuse. This plaster was in no place contiguous between bricks, ruling out the possibility that the vaults were originally plastered and whitewashed on their exterior surfaces.

There are a number of possible local sources for the reused and recycled bricks of the Temple Cemetery, among which the mortuary temple of Senwosret III directly abutting the cemetery to the north, the Middle Kingdom production area (*šnꜥ.w*),¹³⁸⁶ and the town of *Wah-sut* are the closest. Slightly farther away, the Ahmose complex is another possible source. Based solely on proximity, the Senwosret III temple and production area are highly attractive sources.

The Senwosret III complex employs two standard brick sizes, one larger than the other. The larger bricks used in the so-called Dummy Mastaba structures just outside the Tomb enclosure wall measure on average 42 x 22 x 14 cm, while a smaller size brick occurs in the mortuary temple and tomb enclosure, measuring 38-39 x 19-20 x 11.5-12

¹³⁸⁵ This brick also contained a 13.5cm x 5cm rectangular depression in its center which was possibly the remains of a brick stamp. The stamp was unfortunately too eroded to allow identification.

¹³⁸⁶ For this institution, see V. Smith 2010, 54 with references; and Papazian 2005. See also Chapter Two (§2.5, and §2.6.1) above.

cm.¹³⁸⁷ The New Kingdom Ahmose pyramid complex makes use of bricks measuring 40-42.5 x 19-20.5 x 11.5-12.5 cm.¹³⁸⁸ The bricks used in the Tetisheri pyramid are also of this large format, measuring 42.4-47 x 19.8-20.3 x 12.4-12.7cm.¹³⁸⁹ Hence the sizes of the Middle and New Kingdom bricks are too similar to be diagnostic.

Tomb 7 contains bricks of two sizes, both large and medium formats. One of the large format bricks built into the south wall of the tomb bore the remains of some type of brick stamp, a feature common to the New Kingdom bricks, but completely lacking in those of Senwosret III.¹³⁹⁰ Since the brick sizes do not line up perfectly with those of the Senwosret III mortuary temple, and the fact that at least one contained a brick stamp, it is possible that the bricks used in the Temple Cemetery derived from some currently unknown New Kingdom structure in the nearby area. The main objection to seeking a source of these bricks in the Ahmose complex, over and above the 1 km distance between the two areas, is the fact that the Ahmose cult existed well into the reign of Ramesses II and possibly Merenptah, as stelae from the site indicate.¹³⁹¹ It seems highly unlikely that the buildings serving this cult would be dismantled while the cult was still being practiced. Hence the outdated Middle Kingdom remains are the most likely source.

¹³⁸⁷ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 61.

¹³⁸⁸ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 190-191. See also Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 76, Pl. XXXII.

¹³⁸⁹ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 35-36. He quotes the size in inches, the range being "18.5 x 7.8 x 5 inches to 16.7 x 8 x 4.9."

¹³⁹⁰ For the Ahmose bricks, see Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 190ff. For the bricks of Senwosret III and rudimentary brick marks made by swiping a finger across the wet mud see Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 61. See also above §6.5.1.

¹³⁹¹ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 121, and Appendix 1.

7.5.2 Vault Construction Techniques at South Abydos

Previous to vault installation, thick base walls were constructed in all cases to support the weight and force of the vault. In the Temple Cemetery, these base walls were generally only a few courses high, yielding a fairly low internal height to the fished chamber. These short walls may have fulfilled a desire to conserve building materials, but they may have also been simply dictated by the depth from surface to *tafla* in the location.

The designers of the New Kingdom tombs at South Abydos employed two basic vault designs in their constructions. The first is the classic vertical vault, consisting of plumb vault ribs supported with wooden logs or poles set into the chamber end walls. This style sometimes includes unmortared dunnage walls outside and parallel to the vault. The first course of vault bricks in this type was also set as alternating headers and stretchers, thus leading to staggered seams in the vault.¹³⁹² Secondly, true incline vaults were employed which required neither internal nor external supports.¹³⁹³ The highest quality vaults possessed specially formed bricks or tiles in either curved or square formats.

All the vaults of the Temple Cemetery required chinking as part of their construction. Whatever style the vault fits into, creating a curved surface out of rectangular bricks leads to spaces between those bricks on the outer surface of the vault.

¹³⁹² Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, Fig. 3.9b-c. Staggered seams also lead to an overall smoother curve to the vault surface. This is exactly the same vault construction method employed in the magazines of the 19th Dynasty Ramesseum.

¹³⁹³ Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 93. Local builders still employ incline vaults, and indeed the fired red-brick vault cover building above the tomb of Senwosret III was constructed in this fashion in 2011-2012.

In order to place each successive vault rib under proper compression, these gaps must be bridged, often with whatever material was handy.

In two cases the material used as chinking is chronologically informative. Tomb TC.11 included blue painted ware sherds in the vault chinking of the north vault, indicating that the tomb chamber construction postdated the introduction of the distinctive pottery style. Tomb TC.19, which exists within a large field of quartzite and diorite chips, employed quartzite fragments for its vault chinking, indicating that the quartzite field is either contemporary with, or predates the construction of the tomb.

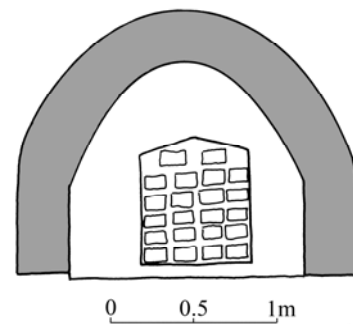
Of nine vaulted chambers excavated in 2012-2013, only those of TC.20 (Chambers C and D) retained portions of intact spans. Furthermore, this was the only tomb with clear stratigraphy indicating that the vault of the central chamber (Chamber B) had, after initial robbery, fallen onto the floor which was strewn with objects from the ransacked burial. The rest of the vaults of the Temple Cemetery were incomplete, but few fallen bricks were observed within the chambers themselves. This fact indicates either that the vaults were removed during the course of robbery, or that the tops of these buildings eroded slowly through the action of the desert wind over the course of many years subsequent to robbery. In support of the former theory is the fact that the full vault profile along the end walls of both north and south burial chambers of TC.11 remained with no indication of erosion. Nonetheless, the centers of these vaults were still completely missing. Hence, at least in the case of TC.11, artificial removal from above during robbery seems most likely.

7.5.3 Door Blocking

After burial, the tomb doorways were blocked to limit access to the subterranean portion of the structure. In only one case, the internal door of TC.20, a thin skin of white plaster was added to the mud mortar. Large oval seals resembling New Kingdom institutional or name and title seals were then impressed into this plaster, though none of them were legible at the time of excavation. Door blocking was found intact or partly intact in TC.7, TC.9, TC.10, and TC.20.

Horizontal brick stacks were employed throughout the Temple Cemetery to block the tomb doors. Those of TC.10 were all laid with their short sides facing out, thus matching the same thickness of the wall. Bricks were not mortared, perhaps facilitating periodic reopening to install subsequent burials.¹³⁹⁴ The outside of these stacks were covered with a rough layer of mud plaster.

Fig. 7.12 Door Blocking Pattern in TC.10



§7.6 Possibility of Superstructures in the Temple Cemetery

A number of features suggest that extensive superstructures once existed above the tombs of the Temple Cemetery. Given the lack of contiguous finish on the exterior of the vaults, it is certain that the preserved portions of the Temple Cemetery tombs were

¹³⁹⁴ See below §6.6.2.

intended to be completely subterranean.¹³⁹⁵ During the course of excavation it became apparent that ancient desert surface level above and around the New Kingdom tombs would have been slightly higher than the current level. Indeed the burial chamber of TC.9 and the shaft of TC.11 were both entered by local treasure-hunters during 2012, most likely because they were visible on the modern surface. The south burial chamber wall of TC.10 was preserved to elevation +93.646 m, which was only a few centimeters beneath the current desert surface. As with all the other tombs, the vault was almost completely missing, but by projecting the curve of the preserved vault bricks up the total elevation at the top of the vault would have been near +93.826 m. The difference between these two elevations indicates that in the case of TC.10, at least 20 cm of desert sand have been lost over parts of the site since the New Kingdom. This loss took with it any remaining indication of surface elements, making identification of these original structures difficult and their eventual reconstructions ultimately somewhat conjectural. The following sections will look at the evidence touching on the possibility that superstructures were integral elements of all the tombs of the Temple Cemetery.

7.6.1 Temple Cemetery Superstructures: Direct Evidence

Of the tombs excavated in 2012-2013, TC.11 and TC.20 are the only ones which retain any indication of original surface features. Excavation encountered a small mass of fallen bricks and a patch of melted mud to the west of the north burial chamber of TC.11. This mud-melt was thin and on a slightly lower level than the projected top of the

¹³⁹⁵ The finish which does exist on these vaults is a construction plaster. In many cases, TC.9 and TC.20 for example, the vault chinking protrudes through the plaster skin. In no example is the plaster smoothed to a presentation finish.

vault. No indication of brickwork or mud-melt was observed on the east side of the burial chamber. Similarly, during excavations in 1994, J. Wegner exposed the top of TC.20, revealing an area of extensive mud-melt surrounding the entrance shaft to the north and west. Based upon continued excavation in 2013, this mud layer overlaid a stratum of discarded Middle Kingdom pottery associated with the *šn^c-(z-n-wsr.t)|*, as well as the corner of an earlier building.¹³⁹⁶ More importantly, however, it articulated with the preserved top of TC.20's massive entrance structure. Though the existence of mud-melt is far from definitive evidence, it is possible that this debris is all that remains of eroded ancient superstructures situated above TC.20 and TC.11.

The entrance shaft of TC.20 itself is a second piece of direct evidence for a tomb superstructure. Unlike all the other tombs of the Temple Cemetery whose entrance shafts were constructed with walls measuring a maximum of one brick length in thickness, those of TC.20 measured on average 125 cm thick, and more than 170 cm at their widest. This thickness represents three brick lengths, thus three times the mass of any other entrance shaft in the Temple Cemetery. Additionally, the four walls of the passage are of roughly equal exterior length, producing a square footprint of between 5 and 5.2 m (10 cubits) to a side. All other entrance shafts in the Temple Cemetery are rectangular, setting that of TC.20 apart. There is no other reason for the walls of this feature to have been constructed as thick as they were than to serve as a footing or foundation to support

¹³⁹⁶ The builders of TC.20 seem to have cut directly down through this midden, as well as the corner of an earlier structure oriented due north. The remaining walls of this Middle Kingdom structure are, however, on a lower level than the top of the TC.20 entrance shaft. Since the mud-melt overlays all of this material at the surface (midden and MK building remains), it is probably the remnants of a surface structure belonging to TC.20 rather than brickwork belonging to the earlier Shena structure. For the pottery types in this midden, see Wegner, Smith and Rossel, *The Organization of the Temple NFR-KA of Senwosret III at Abydos 2000*, 118-122.

a great weight above. Given its square shape, massive thickness, and articulation to mud melt above the Middle Kingdom layer, the only plausible explanation is that this feature served as both the tomb entrance, as well as a base upon which to construct a large surface structure, also made of mud-brick.

7.6.2 Superstructure: Circumstantial Evidence

In addition to the tantalizing information from TC.11 and TC.20, three further pieces of circumstantial evidence point toward the probability that a structure of some type surmounted all the tombs of the Temple Cemetery. First is the common orientation of the tombs within the cemetery. Second is the fact that the tombs were probably entered numerous times in order to deposit multiple burials. Finally is the pattern of robbery demonstrated by these structures. Each of these will be treated presently.

Though there is some variation, the long axes of all the burial chambers in the cemetery line up within 17° of each other. Whereas it is possible that these tombs were all meant simply to face the cultivation – pointing local east/west – it is perhaps significant that all axis lines focus upon the large gebel known in the Middle Kingdom as the *Mountain of Anubis*.¹³⁹⁷ Leaving the broader question of geographic orientation for the moment, the very fact that the cemetery obeys a tight internal orientation points directly to the existence of some form of surface structure associated with each tomb. Once burial had taken place and the door was blocked, many of these tombs would have been buried beneath the sand and hence invisible to the designers of later structures

¹³⁹⁷ Primary source material recording what significance if any the local population held this mountain during the New Kingdom is lacking, but it is a dominating part of the landscape. The royal monuments visible today (S7, S8, S9 and S10) would also have been significant at that period.

unless they possessed a marker which followed the same general alignment of the tomb.¹³⁹⁸

In discussing orientation within non-royal cemeteries of the New Kingdom, particularly at Amarna, B. Kemp states:

There might, too, have been visible reminders as to what had been done in the past, so that ... the direction of glance was not down the wadi but to existing graves of people that one identified with. As noted above, some of the graves must have been marked with piles or clusters of dark local limestone nodules that still lie scattered across the surface of the cemetery and, in a few places, form little concentrations. The limestone stelae, in being flat, would likely have imparted orientation by facing along the length of the body and were perhaps placed above the head. The relatively even spacing of the graves at the east end of the trench strongly implies that the locations of burials remained visible, preventing new graves from disturbing existing ones and giving rise to an almost gridded plan.¹³⁹⁹

The situation at Amarna is comparable to that at Abydos. Very little remains on the surface at either site, but the very orientation and layout of the subterranean tombs betrays the original existence of surface features. The Temple Cemetery at South Abydos exhibits an almost gridded plan akin to Amarna, with good spacing between and among the tombs. The only way a cemetery of this type could have grown organically and still exhibit these feature of organization and alignment is if the previous tombs were still highly visible to those wishing to construct new sepulchers.

Analysis of the human remains adduces the second piece of evidence in favor of tomb superstructures.¹⁴⁰⁰ For instance, TC.7 originally held at least three bodies, two of advanced age, and one somewhat younger. While it is possible that these three people

¹³⁹⁸ It is worth noting that in some cases the burial chamber and shaft were constructed on slightly different orientations. All portions of the structures within the Temple Cemetery still lie within the same 17° range.

¹³⁹⁹ Kemp, *The Orientation of Burials at Tell el-Amarna* 2007, 29.

¹⁴⁰⁰ See Chapter Eight, §8.7.

died at exactly the same time, it is highly unlikely.¹⁴⁰¹ The same situation holds true for TC.9, TC.20, and possibly TC.11 south. Multiple burials within the same tomb structure probably represent family units, and furthermore successive generations within those units such as parents and children.¹⁴⁰² Following the more probable scenario in which the multiple individuals died at different times, one must logically conclude that the tomb was opened and sealed repeatedly for each of these burials. If the younger male buried in TC.7 is the son of the older couple, then the tomb represents a family burial structure in much the same way as a modern mausoleum. In order for multiple, sequential burials to take place the tomb must have been visible and identifiable, necessitating some form of visible textual identification or commemoration of the owner(s). TC.7 lacks a permanent shaft connecting the burial chamber with the surface, having instead small, one brick long retaining walls projecting to the west and north, meant to hold back sand during entrance to the tomb. As such the basic shaft feature common to TC.9, TC.11, and TC.20 is likely not the element which marked the tomb on the surface in and of itself. Another more visible structure related to the commemoration of the dead must therefore have existed.

The final piece of evidence supporting the existence of superstructures is the method by which the ancient robbers gained access to the tombs themselves. TC.7 and TC.10 retained intact door blocking, leading to the unavoidable conclusion that entrance was gained by breaking through the top of the brick vault. Neither of these tombs had shafts connecting the burial chamber doorway with the surface, and hence the shaft must

¹⁴⁰¹ A plague of some type would explain how two parents and a child could all die at exactly the same time, but there is no internal evidence from the tomb or cemetery in general to support this idea. Without quantifiable pathology, we must assume that these individuals all died of natural causes, making such a coincidence of three deaths of probably related individuals statistically unlikely.

¹⁴⁰² For this practice, see

again be ruled out as the highly visible element of the burial.¹⁴⁰³ Once closed, the preserved elements of these two tombs would have been entirely covered by the desert sand. TC.9, TC.11 and TC.19 were all originally entered via the shaft, hence at least in these cases the surface elements must have made its location obvious. Theoretically ancient robbers searching for tombs in a time before extensive erosion had occurred would have dug through the top of the vault underlying a surface structure or marker. Perhaps the reason hardly any indication of the superstructures remains, is that they were significantly damaged during the process of tomb robbery, which almost certainly took place shortly after the tombs were sealed. With the building torn apart, it is perfectly plausible that wind erosion over the intervening millennia would have wiped the desert surface clean. The situation is probably identical to that at Haragah, where according to R. Engelbach, virtually nothing remained on the surface to evince the existence of an extensive cemetery below.¹⁴⁰⁴

These data point to a number of interesting conclusions. The tombs must have had markers which reflected the orientation of their subterranean apartments. These markers must have contained textual elements which identified and commemorated the dead below in the subterranean chambers. Furthermore, some portion of the surface structure enclosed or indicated the location of the tomb's entrance shaft, if such a feature existed. The robbery pattern of tombs where this feature didn't exist demonstrates that there was also a highly visible surface feature situated directly above the burial chamber.

¹⁴⁰³In the case of TC.9 and possibly TC.11 north, it is highly likely that the tomb was originally robbed via the shaft, as one coffin and the body inside of it were pulled partway out of the burial chamber door into the shaft. The original surface feature therefore probably indicated or enclosed the location of the shaft.

¹⁴⁰⁴Engelbach, Harageh 1923, 3.

Armed with these conclusions we move now to theorize what form these surface elements took within the Temple Cemetery

§7.7 Comparative Analysis of Contemporary Tomb Surface Structures

While the data discussed in §7.6 point toward the existence of a tomb superstructure atop the burial chamber that likely contained some type of textual commemoration, they do not elucidate exactly what form such a building may have taken. No stone stela fragments were discovered during the course of excavations in the Temple Cemetery, and therefore the viability of Kemp's suggestion that simple stela alone marked the tomb location is unverifiable.¹⁴⁰⁵ Hence with the view to understanding how the tombs of the Temple Cemetery compare to contemporary sepulchers, the following sections will look briefly at a number of New Kingdom cemeteries throughout Egypt of contemporary date and artifact assemblages of those at South Abydos.¹⁴⁰⁶ This inquiry will begin at Abydos itself in the North Cemetery, then expand to include tomb structures in the cemeteries of Amara West, Aniba, Deir el-Medina, and Soleb.¹⁴⁰⁷

7.7.1 New Kingdom Tombs at North Abydos

In discussing the New Kingdom and later tombs of North Cemetery D (Peet), which are of a type identical to those of the Temple Cemetery, E. Peet corroborates the conclusions of §7.6 above when stating that "Over the vault there was doubtless, as in

¹⁴⁰⁵ Kemp, *The Orientation of Burials at Tell el-Amarna* 2007.

¹⁴⁰⁶ See below Chapter Eight for these assemblages which point to a date range for the Temple Cemetery tombs between the reigns of Horemheb and Ramesses II, thus straddling late Dynasty Eighteen, and early Dynasty Nineteen.

¹⁴⁰⁷ The list is not meant to be exhaustive of comparable New Kingdom tombs. Pyramid superstructures also existed at contemporary sites such as Gurob, but early publications rarely include extensive architectural drawings of subterranean features. See W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, and Loat 1905. See also Lehner 1997, 192-193.

later structures of this type, a mastaba of some kind, but in the examples found at Abydos this had in all cases disappeared.”¹⁴⁰⁸ He extrapolates further on his theory in a later publication, stating:

The earliest examples of the vaulted tomb at Abydos are unfortunately so damaged and denuded that it is no longer possible to determine the form of their superstructures, for such they doubtless had in many cases, if not all. It is, however, probable that it was of the same type as that placed over the tomb of the old shaft and chamber type. I have not in any of the early Abydos examples seen any indication of a superstructure built on to the vault itself, as was the case in later times. There is, however, one tomb which seems to mark the transition stage between the early vault, with mastaba built separately over it, and the later type (probably XXVIth to XXXth Dynasties), in which the walls of the vault are continued upwards above it to form a rectangular building of some kind, so that vault and mastaba form a single structure.¹⁴⁰⁹

The tomb of which he speaks is labeled Y9 (Peet Cemetery Y), and was situated near the east corner of the Shunet el-Zebib. He illustrates his discussion by including a plan of the tomb (Fig. 7.13 below). The similarity of his plan to that of the tombs of the Temple Cemetery is striking. E. Peet’s elevation drawing includes a hollow structure atop the vaulted burial chamber, which he believed was a small mastaba, by comparison to Middle Kingdom shaft tombs in the immediate area with just such associated structures.

E. Peet continued his description moving to the actual articulation of the vaulted burial chamber with the superstructure:

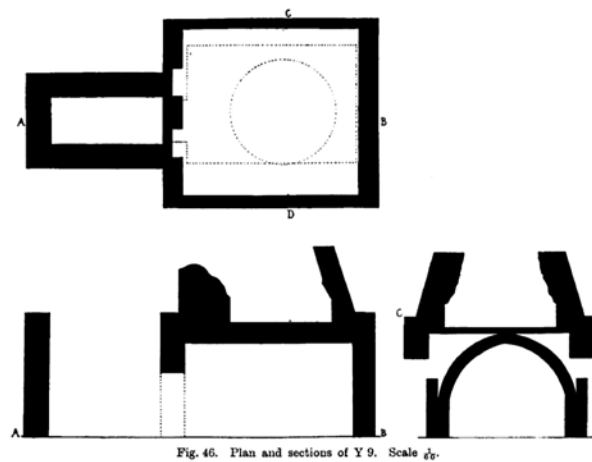
...the end walls which close the vault form a support for the east and west sides of the superstructure, which are actually bonded up with them, though only roughly, at their centers. This support, however, is not given along the whole length of these two sides, for the end walls of the vault are not, when seen in elevation, perfectly rectangular, but fall away towards the top, narrowing as the vault which they have to close narrows, and being left quite rough at their ends.¹⁴¹⁰

¹⁴⁰⁸ Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 29.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 85.

¹⁴¹⁰ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 86. Unlike A. Weigall and others who use local or river directions, E. Peet employs magnetic directions in his report. See *ibidem*. Fig.1, and above §1.1.2.

Fig. 7.13: North Abydos Tomb Y9 (Peet)¹⁴¹¹



In much the same way as Y9, the vault end-walls of the Temple Cemetery tombs extended slightly above the vault in three cases.¹⁴¹² The south wall of TC.11's south burial chamber is a good example (Fig. 7.9). The point of the vault still remains, and the wall behind it is actually the full width of the burial chamber all the way to the top. The bulk of this wall would therefore have been buried in the sand matrix outside the chamber itself. Furthermore, at the top of the preserved section, two bricks extend out from the wall into the sand to the south of the chamber, one to the eastern and one to the western ends of the wall. Conceivably this wall with the extending bricks could have connected to a now destroyed superstructure at this point in the same way as in Peet's description of Y9, serving as a foundation wall.

Having identified how the superstructure interfaces with the burial chamber in Y9, Peet continued his discussion by turning to the form of the building:

¹⁴¹¹ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 85. South is at the top of the page in the tomb plan. Hence tomb Y9 is rotated 90° from the orientation of the Temple Cemetery. The shaft and door of Y9 faces toward the processional way between the Osiris Temple and Umm el-Gaab.

¹⁴¹² TC.10, and both burial chambers of TC.11 were preserved well enough to display this feature.

To complete the description of Y9 we must describe the superstructure itself. As will be seen from the photograph and sections it is in the form of a truncated pyramid. It rests on a platform formed of a single layer of bricks lying directly above the top of the vault, the space between the two being filled up with sand and pieces of brick without mortar. This base was reinforced round its edges by a wall which descended four or five courses, resting on the end walls of the vault to the east and west, and on the sand to the north and south. Its top formed a ledge, 16cm. wide, round the base of the pyramid outside. The hollow space enclosed inside by the walls of the pyramid had a circular base with a diameter of 155cm. For four courses the walls rose vertically, but above this they began to be corbelled inwards quite roughly. The height of the pyramid above the top of the shaft is 68cm., but there is no evidence to show whether it stood any higher, or, if so, how much. Outside the pyramid is plain on all sides, except that to the east, *i.e.* over the shaft, a rectangular niche 52cm. wide is built on to it, in order probably to hold the stela. The batter of the sides is 5 in 16.¹⁴¹³

Based upon his description and plan, the pyramid itself, exclusive of its base, had a 73° slope, measuring 155 cm to a side, or about three cubits.¹⁴¹⁴ These data would mean that if the pyramid originally extended to a point, it would have measured 253.5 cm above its base.¹⁴¹⁵ When E. Peet excavated the structure, it was preserved to a height of 68 cm above the shaft elevation, which appears from his plan to include two of the four vertical bricks laid before the walls began to corbel in.¹⁴¹⁶ Assuming brick sizes equivalent to those in the Temple Cemetery, the thicknesses of these two courses would be about 24 cm.¹⁴¹⁷ Therefore, 44 cm of the corbelled section of the pyramid existed, with a full two meters of superstructure lost. Since E. Peet was able to identify the stela emplacement, this feature must therefore have existed in the lower portion of the structure. In construction, the pyramid was a hollow skin of corbeled bricks, with the void in all probability filled with sand and brick debris.

¹⁴¹³ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 86.

¹⁴¹⁴ Using the cubit length of 52.3cm, hence three cubits = 156.9cm. See for instance, Scott 1942, 1.

¹⁴¹⁵ Using the formula $\text{TAN}73 = x / 77.5\text{cm}$. This measurement is almost exactly five cubits (261.5cm).

¹⁴¹⁶ See Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, Pl. XXII.3 for a photograph of this pyramid at the time of excavation.

¹⁴¹⁷ Brick thicknesses between 9 and 13cm each, plus two 1cm mortar gaps equals a range from 20 to 28cm. For the purpose of this discussion, the median of 24cm will suffice.

7.7.2 Cemetery D at Amara West

E. Peet believed that Y9 dated to a time between the Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth Dynasties, but he indicates in his description that this assertion was merely a guess.¹⁴¹⁸ Yet very similar vaulted tomb structures exist both at Amarna (Tomb 21) dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, and Amara West Cemetery D, a site securely dated to the early Ramesside period.¹⁴¹⁹ Two tombs at Amara West¹⁴²⁰ – some 920 km south of Abydos on the west bank of the Nile – retain indications of a pyramidal feature surmounting the burial chamber, G112 and G301.¹⁴²¹ Too little of G301's pyramid feature survived to allow measurement, but enough fragments existed at the time of excavation that the identification of the structure type is fairly certain. The pyramid of G112 (Fig. 7.14) on the other hand measures 150 x 130 cm at its base and was constructed out of bricks measuring 41 x 21 x 9 cm.¹⁴²² With a base nearly 150 cm square (almost three cubits), this pyramid is the same size as Peet's Y9, which according to his description is slightly larger than 155 cm in width. The original height and slope of the G112 pyramid is impossible to estimate due to its advanced state of decay, but a steep angle akin to that of Y9 is probable. No pyramidia have yet been found in the Amara West cemetery, as is also the case at South Abydos.

¹⁴¹⁸ Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 86 states that the objects from the tomb were not diagnostic for dating, so he placed the tomb with the corpus of later tombs with definite built superstructures, and hence ascribed a late date.

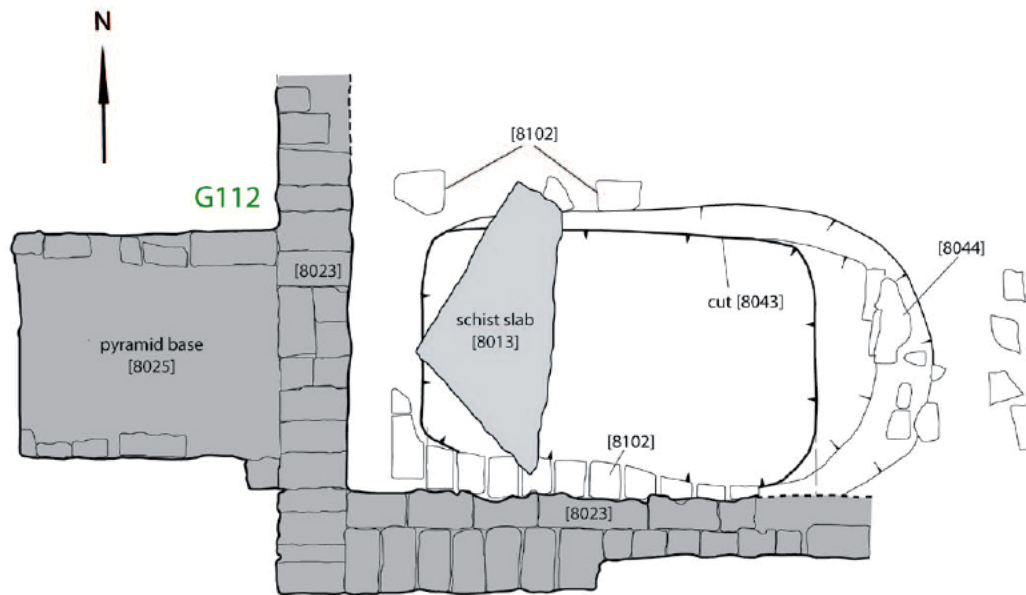
¹⁴¹⁹ For a brick vaulted tomb at Amarna, see Kemp, *The Orientation of Burials at Tell el-Amarna* 2007, 21-31. For Amara West, see P. Spencer 2002, 2.

¹⁴²⁰ Amara West also holds a temple of Ramesses II, and was an important administrative center for Nubia in the Nineteenth Dynasty.

¹⁴²¹ Binder, Spencer and Millet 2011, 51ff.

¹⁴²² Binder, Spencer and Millet 2011, 51.

Fig. 7.14: Amara West Tomb G112 Plan and Elevation¹⁴²³



Directly abutting the Amara West G112 pyramid and encompassing the tomb entrance shaft was a rectangular brick enclosure which the excavators indicate was a chapel structure.¹⁴²⁴ A shallow (2.6m) shaft inside the chapel enclosure covered with schist slabs led down into the bedrock, which exists quite close to the surface at this site. The shaft opened onto two burial chambers, one to the east and the other to the west under the pyramid. Both of these chambers were roughly cut directly from the living rock. In plan, Amara G112 is quite similar to TC.11 in positioning dual burial chambers on either of the two narrow ends of a central shaft. Amara G301 follows the same subterranean layout, though the eastern burial chamber is jogged slightly to the north.¹⁴²⁵ Dated much more securely to the Ramesside period by pottery and other objects, the

¹⁴²³ After Binder, Spencer and Millet 2011, 71, Fig. 7.

¹⁴²⁴ Binder, Spencer and Millet 2011, 51. The claim is almost certainly based on comparison to other sites such as Aniba, in which the walls outside the pyramid enclose the area of the shaft entrance. See Steindorff, *Aniba II* 1937, and below §7.7.3.

¹⁴²⁵ Binder, Spencer and Millet 2011, 74, Fig. 14.

Amara West tombs demonstrate that the architectural form which E. Peet described at North Abydos should date much earlier than Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Furthermore, the differing preservation between Amara G112 and G301 indicates that the complete disappearance of the pyramid from atop the tombs is not as surprising as first expected. Indeed Binder points out that other tombs at Amara West, such as G101, may have originally had these features, but any indication has long since vanished.¹⁴²⁶

The overall plan of the early Ramesside Amara West tombs includes a number of features relevant to the discussion of South Abydos. The tomb below ground possesses multiple chambers with a central shaft. This shaft leads to the surface, and is surrounded by an enclosure wall which possibly extended up to form an enclosed chapel. Finally, at one end of the chapel and connected to its walls, a brick pyramid surmounts one of the burial chambers.

7.7.3 Aniba

The site of Aniba, now submerged under Lake Nasser, lay just over 600 km south of Abydos. Originally the site of a Middle Kingdom fortification, during the middle to late Eighteenth Dynasty, it was the seat of the King's son of Kush.¹⁴²⁷ To this period belongs the main New Kingdom Cemetery (Friedhof S), replete with numerous pyramid and chapel tombs.¹⁴²⁸

¹⁴²⁶ Binder, Spencer and Millet 2011, 54.

¹⁴²⁷ Säve-Söderbergh 1975. For a list of these individuals, see Reisner, *The Viceroy of Ethiopia* 1920, and Reisner, *The Viceroy of Ethiopia (continued)* 1920.

¹⁴²⁸ Steindorff, *Aniba I* 1935, 23.

Two basic tomb layouts are common to the New Kingdom Egyptian cemetery of Aniba: the tomb surmounted by a chapel structure, and that with a large mud-brick pyramid.¹⁴²⁹ These two types are not interspersed randomly within the cemetery. The chapel type tombs exist at the southwestern and central parts of the cemetery, while pyramid tombs occupy the northeastern extension.¹⁴³⁰ Such an arrangement is evidence of horizontal stratigraphy in the cemetery's architecture, with clustered tombs of similar type yielding a basic seriation to the cemetery as a whole.¹⁴³¹ Indeed, G. Steindorff believed that the change in tomb type demonstrated in the northeastern progression of Friedhof S was influenced by tomb trends in Thebes, as he outlines in his publication:

In der 18. Dynastie muß die Gräberstadt des S-Friedhof mit ihren Ziegelkapellen einen überaus stattlichen Eindruck gemacht haben, besonders nachdem auch in dem Abschnitt südlich der Talmulde größere Bauten, z. B. S 2, 4, 5, 13 errichtet worden waren. Gegen Ende der 18. Dynastie und im Anfang der 19 nimmt, wie auch sonst in Nubien, aus Gründen, die sich nur vermuten lassen, die Zahl der ägyptischen Gräber ab. Erst in der Ramessidenzeit entsteht am Nordwestrande der Necropole und noch weiter im Norden ein neues Viertel von Gräbern, die Gruppen S55, 56, 58, 61, 109, SA 36 und SA 5-7. In ihnen herrscht aber nicht mehr die traditionelle bodenständige Form der dem Wohnhaus nachgebildeten, von einer Tonne überwölbten Ziegelkapelle, sondern die neumodische, aus der Reichshauptstadt Theben übernommene ägyptische Pyramide.¹⁴³²

Hence Aniba Friedhof S demonstrates a common progression in tomb architecture which begins in the Eighteenth Dynasty with the surface chapel form, progressing to favor a large pyramid by the end of the Dynasty into the following early Ramesside period.

¹⁴²⁹ Thirty seven earlier Nubian C-group tombs of Cemetery N belonging to Steindorff's type IIIc should also be mentioned here. Their superstructures consisted of tumulus-type structures, but the burial chambers were constructed of mud-brick with short foundation walls, and a single ring incline vault leaning against a thick rear wall. No entrance doorway or shaft existed, however, indicating that the tomb vault was sealed at the time of burial. The incline vault was therefore commonly known and employed in the area. See Steindorff, Aniba I 1935, 36, Abb. 5.

¹⁴³⁰ Steindorff, Aniba II 1937, Blatt 10.

¹⁴³¹ For this method of seriation employing incidence matrices and distribution maps, see Kaiser 1957, 69-77, and Kemp, Dating Pharaonic Cemeteries Part I: Non-mechanical Approaches to Seriation 1975, 259-291.

¹⁴³² Steindorff, Aniba II 1937, 39-40.

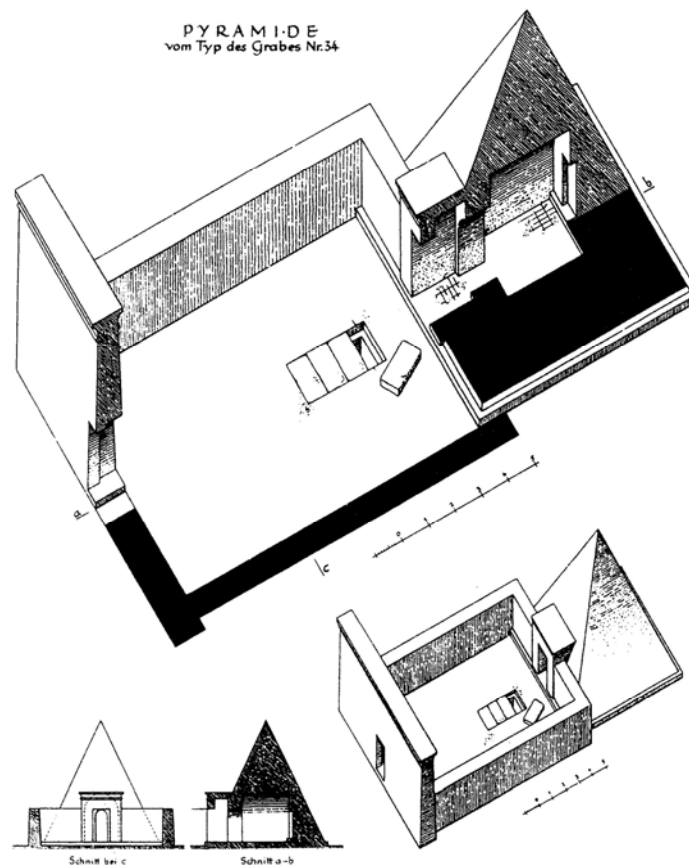
The predominant surface feature defining chapel tombs of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, exemplified by tomb number 66 and A.27, are buildings consisting of single or multiple above-ground vaulted chambers. Housing a commemorative stela was the primary function of these structures which G. Steindorff believed were built to replicate contemporary domestic structures. Secondly the building covered the subterranean tomb entrance. Connected to the chapel via a doorway was an enclosed forecourt which served as the entrance to the tomb complex.¹⁴³³ The below-ground portions of these tombs were rock-cut, consisting of numerous chambers opening off of a central vertical entrance shaft.

The second tomb type subsequent to the introduction of the pyramid at Aniba in the late Eighteenth Dynasty fits the scant evidence at South Abydos more closely.¹⁴³⁴ Aniba Tomb SA 34, for example, contains two main sections (Fig. 7.15 below). A solid square mass of brickwork served as the base for a large pyramid. Its interior was corbelled into a bee-hive type structure, and housed the cult emplacement in a stela niche at the room's back wall, facing the doorway. Outside the pyramid's doorway was an open courtyard, its enclosure wall connecting to the outside of the pyramid with an entryway on axis with the pyramid doorway. Within this courtyard was the entrance to the tomb shaft, covered with stone slabs. As with the earlier chapel tomb type, the subterranean tomb consisted of numerous chambers branching off of a central shaft.

¹⁴³³ Steindorff, *Aniba II* 1937, 42, Blatt 44.

¹⁴³⁴ Particularly the layout of TC.20.

Fig. 7.15: Isometric Reconstruction of Aniba Tomb SA 34 Pyramid Superstructure¹⁴³⁵



The massive pyramid foundations at Aniba find a corollary at South Abydos in the entrance shaft of TC.20. The pyramid belonging to Aniba Tomb SA 7, as well as the entrance shaft of TC.20, both measured about 5.2 m (10 cubits) on each side at the time of excavation.¹⁴³⁶ The only main difference between these two tombs is the location of the entrance to the subterranean tomb inside the pyramid at Abydos, and directly outside it at Aniba. Yet during the earlier chapel tomb phase at Aniba, the shaft was inside the

¹⁴³⁵ Steindorff, Aniba II 1937, Blatt 45.

¹⁴³⁶ Steindorff, Aniba II 1937, Blatt 38.

cult building. As was the case elsewhere in Egypt, the pyramids at Aniba were originally topped with stone pyramidia, four of which were found during excavations at the site.¹⁴³⁷

7.7.4 Deir el-Medina

Scholarship has been aware of the existence of royal pyramids at Thebes since the mid Nineteenth century when the Abbott Papyrus came to light.¹⁴³⁸ Yet it was not until excavations of the early Twentieth Century that the subsequent non-royal pyramid tradition of the late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties at Deir el-Medina was more fully understood.¹⁴³⁹

During his excavations at Deir el-Medina, B. Bruyère discovered a number of pyramidia and square pyramid foundations in the vicinity of the tombs of the workmen.¹⁴⁴⁰ Citing the paintings from within the tombs themselves, as well as various vignettes from the Book of the Dead, B. Bruyère theorized the reconstruction of small brick pyramids above the tombs connected with the cult emplacement or chapel.¹⁴⁴¹ N. Davies collected a number of these depictions from all the Theban tombs in a 1938

¹⁴³⁷ Steindorff, *Aniba II* 1937, 61-62, Tafel 35-36.

¹⁴³⁸ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. IV 1906, §499ff, and Peet, *The great tomb-robberies of the twentieth Egyptian dynasty* 1930. See also Winlock, *The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at thebes* 1924, 217-277, Dodson, *The Tombs of the Kings of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes* 1988, 110-123, and Polz and Seiler, *Die Pyramidenlage des Königs Nubcheperre* 2003.

¹⁴³⁹ See Bruyère, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1923-1924)* 1925, Bruyère, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1928)* 1929, Polz, *Bericht über die erste Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga* 1992, Polz, *Bericht über die 2. und 3. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga* 1993, Polz, *Bericht über die 4. und 5. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga* 1995, Polz, Gordon, et al. 1999, and Polz and Seiler, *Die Pyramidenlage des Königs Nubcheperre* 2003.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Bruyère, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1923-1924)* 1925, 12, 14-16, Pl. VII, and also Bruyère, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1928)* 1929, 95, Fig. 53.

¹⁴⁴¹ Bruyère, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1923-1924)* 1925, Pl. XXIX.

article, leading to a number of conclusions and corroborating extant archaeology in the area.¹⁴⁴²

Assuming that the paintings represent current trends in tomb architecture, the non-royal pyramid belongs to the period beginning in the late Eighteenth Dynasty, extending through the Nineteenth Dynasty and later.¹⁴⁴³ During this time period there was a certain amount of variation, which N. Davies summarizes in her brief typology of tomb depictions:

- A. A simple corniced door-framing with a door at the centre. Sometimes there is a string-course of cones under the cornice.
- B. Similar to A, but with a pyramid on the top, and occasionally pillars flanking the door. A stela is often placed in front.
- C. A corniced building with a pyramid on the top, a portico at the side, and a stela.
- D. A colonnade with a free-standing pyramid at the side, in which is a doorway, above a corniced platform forming the base on which the pyramid rests.¹⁴⁴⁴

The simplest pyramid tombs therefore contained three main elements: the pyramid itself, a doorway leading to an interior chapel or the tomb entrance itself, and a stela recording the name and titles of the deceased. Deir el-Medina Tomb 8a is of just such a layout, containing an open space defined by an enclosure wall with a brick pyramid at the back which contained a vaulted chapel and stela niche inside it.¹⁴⁴⁵ B. Bruyère's so-called "Chapelle du Djebel" represents a much more elaborate layout, including tree-pits and a

¹⁴⁴² Davies, *Some Representations of Tombs from the Theban Necropolis* 1938, 25-40. See also Rammant-Peeters 1983, 166-172.

¹⁴⁴³ Davies, *Some Representations of Tombs from the Theban Necropolis* 1938, 25, Lehner 1997, 192-193. As Lehner points out, there is almost two hundred years between the last royal pyramid (Ahmose at Abydos) and the increase in the popularity of the non-royal pyramid in following the Amarna Period.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Davies, *Some Representations of Tombs from the Theban Necropolis* 1938, 26. The corresponding Figure numbers of her article have been removed.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Bruyère, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1923-1924)* 1925, Pl. I, XIV. See also tomb 322 on Pl. XV.

raised colonnade upon which rests the pyramid.¹⁴⁴⁶ In the majority of the tombs of Deir el-Medina the subterranean burial chambers could only be reached by a shaft cut into the rock within the courtyard.¹⁴⁴⁷

Like the structures at North Abydos, Amara West, and Aniba, the main elements of the standard private tomb of Deir el-Medina include a hollow pyramid above the burial which often contains a stela or statue. Extending in front of the pyramid is a courtyard that encloses the entrance to the tomb shaft and sometimes also housing a commemorative stela (if one was not included inside the pyramid).

7.7.5 Soleb

Finally, we turn to look briefly at the site of Soleb, some 50 km south of Amara West on the west bank of the Nile in Upper Nubia. In many ways the tomb architecture at the site is identical to that at Aniba, since both were Nubian outposts of Egyptian culture during the New Kingdom. One tomb in particular, Number 15, represents a somewhat similar situation as that of South Abydos.

Tomb 15 at Soleb underwent four main phases of reuse. Like many of the tombs at the site, the large number of human bones found within them pointed to the structures serving as family burial plots.¹⁴⁴⁸ In its earliest phase, dated by pottery to the Eighteenth

¹⁴⁴⁶ Bruyère, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1923-1924)* 1925, Pl. XXIX.

¹⁴⁴⁷ In the case of Tomb 292 the shaft existed in the floor of the transverse chapel reached by entering through a colonnade under the pyramid. Bruyère, *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1923-1924)* 1925, Pl. XVIII, and reconstruction on Pl. XXX.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Sainte Fare Garnot 1959, 168, referring to Tomb number 11 containing two subterranean chambers. See also above, §7.3.2.

Dynasty, the tomb consisted of a mud-brick pyramid some eight meters high.¹⁴⁴⁹ Inside was a vaulted hollow that the excavators theorized may have originally been blocked by a stone slab which they found inside the subterranean section of the tomb. This slab was pierced with two holes, leading C. Robichon to theorize that the space inside the pyramid held a statue, and was thus equivalent in form to an Old Kingdom *serdab*.¹⁴⁵⁰ Whether it held a statue or a stela, the space inside the pyramid likely was related to the cult of the deceased.

Outside the pyramid, as was the case with the other sites explored above, an enclosure wall surrounded the entrance to the subterranean portion of the sepulcher. The doorway to the entire complex stood opposite the entrance of the pyramid,¹⁴⁵¹ allowing visitors to look in as well as the deceased to look out from the cult chamber through the power of the *ka* inhabiting the statue.¹⁴⁵²

7.7.6 Application of Comparative Analysis to the Temple Cemetery

We return now to the question of surface structure in the Temple Cemetery. The pyramidal form held a special place at South Abydos. Senwosret III placed his tomb at the base of a projection of the gebel called the *Mountain of Anubis*. When viewed from any point in Cemetery S around the royal tomb, this prominence forms a natural pyramid,

¹⁴⁴⁹ Sainte Fare Garnot 1959, 170.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Sainte Fare Garnot 1959, 170. While possible, this theoretical reconstruction seems somewhat anachronistic. On the other hand, statues were found inside pyramid-shaped chapels at Deir el-Medina (see above §6.7.4).

¹⁴⁵¹ In later periods when the tomb was enlarged and eventually rebuilt, this courtyard was vaulted to create a second chapel, with a new larger courtyard added to the east.

¹⁴⁵² Harrington 2013, 40-49 discusses this topic in detail, with numerous references. See also the discussion of the Nebipusenwosret stela above (§2.4.5), which states explicitly that the deceased was “witnessing the beauty of Khakaure.”

much the same as the Gurn over the Valley of the Kings.¹⁴⁵³ Furthermore at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Ahmose constructed a large pyramid for himself near the cultivation, and a smaller one for his grandmother Tetisheri midway between the cultivation and the gebel.¹⁴⁵⁴

A. Mace estimated the angle of the Ahmose pyramid at 60° based upon two courses of casing stones he uncovered on the pyramid's east face.¹⁴⁵⁵ Much more recently, within Temple A at the base of the pyramid, S. Harvey found stone casing blocks with an angle of 65°, though he is uncertain if they derive from Ahmose's pyramid or Temple A itself.¹⁴⁵⁶ S. Harvey also recently discovered two fragments of the pyramidion belonging to the Tetisheri pyramid, whose slope measured 58°. ¹⁴⁵⁷ The slopes of these royal structures were therefore much steeper than those of the Old Kingdom pyramids, but not quite as steep as the theorized 73° slope of the E. Peet's Y9 pyramid at North Abydos.¹⁴⁵⁸

H. de Meulenaere collected a corpus of fourteen pyramidia from Abydos with various dates in the late New Kingdom and after,¹⁴⁵⁹ seven of which are pictured in his

¹⁴⁵³ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 21, Fig. 7, and 24, Fig. 9. This is part of a continuum of tombs associated with natural prominences, beginning at the site of Mo'alla.

¹⁴⁵⁴ For the pyramidal form of the Tetisheri shrine, see Harvey, *New Evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's Funerary Cult* 2004, 3-6, and Harvey, *The Last Egyptian Queen's Pyramid* 2006, 20-23.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 75.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Harvey, *New Evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's Funerary Cult* 2004, 4.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Harvey, *The Last Egyptian Queen's Pyramid* 2006, 21.

¹⁴⁵⁸ For instance the Great Pyramid of Khufu at Giza is 51° 54' 40" and the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dashur had a slope of 57° 15' 50." The pyramidion of Sekhemre-Wepmaat Intef V has a slope of 60°, showing the progression toward steeper pyramids in the Seventeenth Dynasty. See Lehner 1997, 88-89.

¹⁴⁵⁹ New Kingdom pyramidia with secure Abydene provenience are quite rare, leading to three possible scenarios: 1) examples lacking textual date may be erroneously dated to the Third Intermediate / Late Period, 2) pyramids of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties at Abydos did not employ pyramidia as a means of commemoration, or 3) the majority of pyramidia were destroyed or still await discovery.

1968 article.¹⁴⁶⁰ Based upon these photographs, pyramids at Abydos had a slope which averaged 69.1° .¹⁴⁶¹ In addition, a pyramidion, possibly from Abydos, that is now in the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum (RC 1726), naming Osiris and a royal scribe by the name of Ahmose, has a 75° slope.¹⁴⁶² Therefore the 73° slope of New Kingdom structure Y9 at North Abydos is only slightly higher than the median of the narrow twelve degree slope variation (63° to 75°) of non-royal pyramids of the New Kingdom and later from the Abydene region.¹⁴⁶³ There is no reason to believe the pyramids of the Temple Cemetery fell significantly outside this range.¹⁴⁶⁴

Based upon pottery and artifact assemblages from inside the tombs, the Temple Cemetery dates to a period from the post-Amarna to early Ramesside (Horemheb to Ramesses II).¹⁴⁶⁵ As we have seen from the sites discussed above, tombs of this period almost invariably include a number of key, universal features. The mud-brick pyramid surmounting the subterranean burial chamber and capped by a stone pyramidion is the

¹⁴⁶⁰ de Muelenaere 1967-1969, 1-20.

¹⁴⁶¹ As measured from the photographs in de Muelenaere 1967-1969, 1-20. The seven pyramidia measure 63° (1 example), 69° (3 examples), 70° (1 example), and 72° (2 examples), yielding the average of 69.1° .

¹⁴⁶² Schwappach-Shirriff 2004, 13. For her suggestion that this pyramidion belongs to a theoretical Theban tomb belonging to the Royal Scribe Ahmose, the owner of tomb EA3 at Amarna, to work, one would have to explain why and when the piece received the intentional damage to its text. If the proscription occurred during the Amarna period, then the piece would have to have been produced prior to the move to the new capital, when the *htp-dj-nswt* formula could have included Osiris. There is a single column of text on each face which records an *htp-dj-nswt* formula including Osiris, Lord of Busiris and Lord of Abydos, possibly indicating an Abydene origin for the piece, perhaps corroborated by the name of the deceased. The entire column containing the beginning of the *htp-dj-nswt* has been neatly chiseled out, as has the *st* element of Osiris' name, and the title of scribe preceding Ahmose's name. The spelling of *3bd.w* on this pyramidion employs a combined *3b*, *j3b* and *b* sign, linked to the reign of Kamose and later, A. Ilin-Tomich 2011, 24, and Wegner, From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain? 2007, Fig. 5.3. For the offering formula in general, see Smither 1939, C. J. Bennett 1941, Barta 1987, and A. Ilin-Tomich 2011. Special thanks to L. Kaitch for supplying me with photographs of this piece.

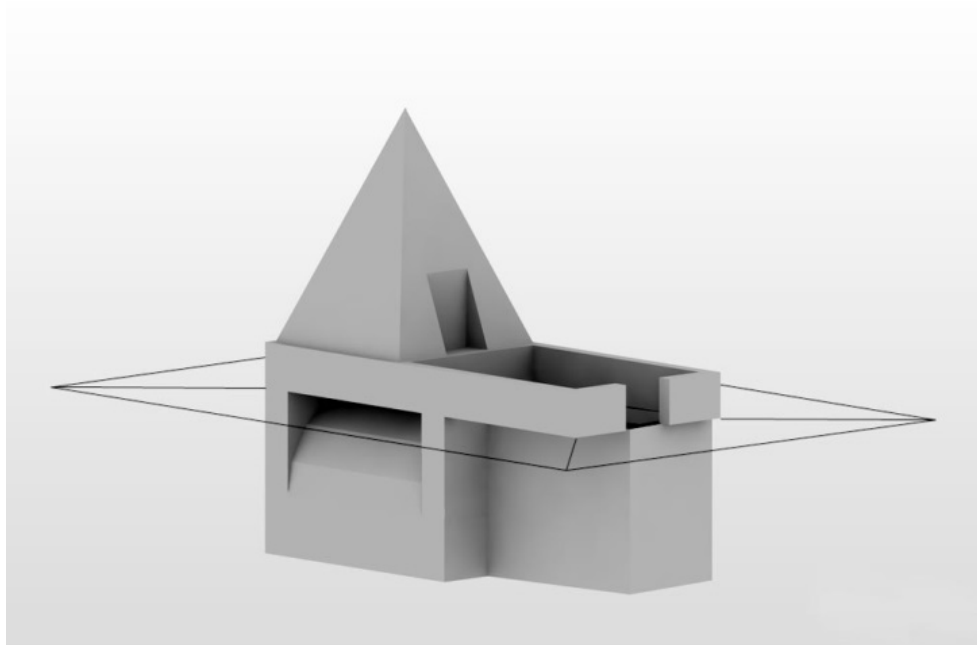
¹⁴⁶³ See also Rammant-Peeters 1983 for a collection of New Kingdom Examples.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Quirke, The Cult of Ra 2001, 133-134 believes that the angle of Memphite private pyramidia mimic Old and Middle Kingdom pyramids in their shallow slope, whereas the angle is much steeper from Middle Egypt south into Nubia.

¹⁴⁶⁵ See below, Chapter Eight.

central focus of the cult, housing a stela or statue of the deceased. A doorway connects this pyramid chamber with an enclosure surrounding the entrance shaft to the below-ground tomb elements. The portal to the entire aboveground complex is either a simple doorway in a flat wall, or in the case of some elaborate tombs at Deir el-Medina, a brick pylon fronts the structure.

Fig. 7.16: Isometric Reconstruction of Temple Cemetery Tomb 9¹⁴⁶⁶



The conclusion that the tombs of the Temple Cemetery originally possessed small, steep-sided pyramids is therefore set upon a fairly stable foundation. These pyramids existed above the vaulted burial chambers and faced the cultivation. Tombs possessing small pyramids akin to those of North Abydos Y9 (TC.7, TC.9, TC.10, TC.11 and TC.19) had stela niches facing the same direction the subterranean doorway

¹⁴⁶⁶ The black wire-frame represents the level of the ancient desert surface.

faced.¹⁴⁶⁷ The much more massive pyramid of TC.20 was large enough to accommodate a small chapel within its walls. Below the floor of this chapel was the tomb entrance. In all cases in the Temple Cemetery, fronting the pyramid and surrounding the entrance shaft was probably a small walled courtyard. The stela niche of the smaller pyramids would have faced this enclosure, and would have served as the main locus of the deceased's cult.

§7.8 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter set out to analyze the mud-brick tomb architecture of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties at South Abydos. The data presented here have demonstrated a number of important conclusions and theories about the tombs of the Temple Cemetery.

Even though small differences exist in the types of vaults employed among the tombs of the Temple Cemetery, virtually all of these sepulchers employ true incline vaults. Due to their tilted vault rings, these structures did not require centering, and more efficiently distributed force both down into the foundation as well as laterally toward the end wall of the tomb.

By comparison to contemporary cemeteries, it is highly probable that the tombs of the Temple Cemetery originally possessed pyramidal superstructures with small enclosures facing the cultivation. With their pyramid superstructures, the tombs of the Temple Cemetery represent a local Abydene expression of a national trend in tomb

¹⁴⁶⁷ Similar to Y9, see Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* 1914, 84ff.

architecture. Abydos was still, as it had been in the Middle Kingdom, a center of cultural, religious, and funerary activity during the late Eighteenth Dynasty. The cult of the dynastic founder Ahmose was still being practiced a stone's throw southeast of the cemetery. To the northwest, the temples of Seti I and Ramesses II were being constructed, including the so-called Portal Temple – starting point for the yearly Osiris festival procession which had taken place throughout the late Middle Kingdom.

The architecture of the Temple Cemetery is on the whole fairly homogeneous. Yet one tomb, TC.20, is entirely different from the others. It contained more subterranean chambers than any other tomb, possessed the largest pyramid which also served as the entrance to the tomb itself, and also seems to have been oriented 180° contrary to the rest of the tombs in the cemetery. It is also significant that, based on the material found inside the tomb, its initial construction dates to a slightly earlier period than the rest of the Temple Cemetery, perhaps closer to the Amarna Period than to Dynasty Nineteen. Existing as it does at the northwest of the Temple Cemetery, it may represent the original nucleus of the cemetery's southeast expansion. Further excavation and remote sensing in the area will help determine whether or not this theory is correct.

Orientation is always a significant aspect of anything the ancient Egyptians produced. As a culture, they were highly attuned to the positions of objects, geography, and celestial bodies around them. The site of Abydos, situated along a bend in the Nile, is a special location in Egypt where for most of the year the sun rises and sets in line with

the flow of the Nile.¹⁴⁶⁸ This celestial expression of the Solar-Osirian unity was perhaps partly responsible for the site's importance during the late Middle Kingdom. It is not surprising then that three major kings (including the two owners of the late Middle Kingdom tombs S9 and S10, and Ahmose of the New Kingdom) and countless non-royal individuals chose the site of South Abydos to build their Osirian tomb and Solar pyramid combination.

Of these non-royal tombs, TC.20 is the sole example of a structure whose entrance seems to point toward the *gebel* and Umm el-Gaab. The pyramid and tomb entrance exist at the north end of the subterranean structure. Based upon comparable structures at Aniba and Soleb, coupled with the remains of TC.20 itself, the doorway into the hollow pyramid faced toward the south (or west by river directions). The rest of the tombs in the Temple Cemetery, dating only a few years later, lie on a parallel axis but all face the cultivation. Every pyramid tomb at Aniba also faces southeast toward the cultivation. The tombs of Deir el-Medina mainly face the town, but this orientation may be due in part to their location on the hill, since facing the opposite direction would have been impossible.

Interestingly at North Abydos, tomb Y9, discussed above, faces east (local south). This positioning seems highly unorthodox when the tomb is taken out of its local context. Y9 was built on the hill above the royal wadi leading from the Kom el-Sultan out to

¹⁴⁶⁸ For most of its course the Nile flows north, but due to its curvature leading out of the Qena bend, the river flows east-southeast to west-northwest at Abydos. Hence local directions are 55° west of the true degrees (see above, §1.1.2). From the fall to the spring the sun therefore seems to rise and set all on the western bank of the river. In the summer, the sun's position in the sky moves slightly, but it still follows a similar path to the Nile.

Umm el-Gaab, site of ancient *Poker* and the *mahat* of Osiris. With its eastern orientation, the commemorative stela of Y9 would have faced the procession as it made its way past, during the yearly festival. In this location the chapel would be directly accessible to passers-by, observing the procession, who could make an invocation offering, affording the deceased with offerings in the duat. At the same time the image of the deceased, which would have existed on the stela, could magically view the ceremony, and hence take part in the festival in perpetuity.

At first glance this conclusion has little impact on the orientation of the Temple Cemetery. Since their burials were over 3 km south of the Osiris complex, the tomb owners buried at South Abydos could not hope to view the yearly festival. An interesting stela does exist, however, hinting that a similar festival situation may have existed at South Abydos. Dating to Year 14 of Ramesses II, and therefore contemporary with the main construction phase of the Temple Cemetery, the stela records the existence of a bark oracle belonging to the deified Ahmose.¹⁴⁶⁹ The very existence of this practice at South Abydos brings up an interesting possibility concerning the Temple Cemetery. Citing the fact that Amunhotep I constructed a chapel for Ahmose in the area of the Kom el-Sultan which may have included a bark shrine,¹⁴⁷⁰ S. Harvey states:

Since we have indicated that an emplacement for a sacred bark may have existed in the North Abydos chapel, and since a Ramesside stela from Abydos depicts the procession of a bark of the deified Ahmose, it is possible that some sort of festival procession linked the two centers. Indeed, a cult image of Ahmose may have “visited” the temple of Osiris (and perhaps sanctuaries of other deities) on certain festival days, as we know occurred in the case of the cult of the deified Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina in the later New Kingdom. As at Thebes, the occasion of the

¹⁴⁶⁹ Legrain 1917, 161-179, and also Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 121.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Originally discovered and identified as a bark shrine by W. M. Petrie, *Abydos II* 1903, 18. See also recently O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* 2009, 111-113.

ritual procession of the divine bark appears to have provided the occasion for the resolution of pressing local issues in the form of an oracle.¹⁴⁷¹

It is highly likely that any such processional route would have stayed close to the border between the cultivation and the low desert, probably following roads similar to that which passed along the southern rear edge of the Middle Kingdom town of *Wah-sut*.¹⁴⁷² If this conclusion is correct, the procession from the Ahmose complex at South Abydos would have had to pass directly in front of the Temple Cemetery. Just as Tomb Y9 at North Abydos faces the processional way of Osiris, so too would the early Ramesside tombs of the Temple Cemetery face the processional way of the cult of the deified Ahmose.

Theoretically the difference in orientation exhibited by TC.20 and the rest of the Temple Cemetery could reflect an increase in the importance of the Ahmose Oracle during the very late Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁴⁷³ Dating to the years just following the Amarna Period, TC.20's original construction faced west toward the notional Tomb of Osiris at Umm el-Gaab, the most important part of the landscape.¹⁴⁷⁴ The procession of Ahmose then grew in importance during the reigns of Tutankhamun to Horemheb and into that of Seti I, leading to a change in focus for the tombs in the area away from the god's tomb kilometers away over the dunes, toward the much more concrete procession of the deified Ahmose, himself a representation of Osiris.

¹⁴⁷¹ Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, 446-447.

¹⁴⁷² This idea assumes, as S. Harvey does, that the New Kingdom Ahmose town modeled itself on the earlier town of *Wah-sut*. A route near the cultivation would maximize the number of observers, the terrain is easier to traverse, and if nothing else such a route represents the shortest distance between the Ahmose complex and the Osiris Temple location.

¹⁴⁷³ In other words, during the time between the construction of TC.20 and the rest of the Temple Cemetery, the procession of the cult of Ahmose may have gained popularity, causing a shift away from a local western orientation toward the cultivation, facing the processional way.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Based upon objects from inside the tomb, and the numerous rooms it contained, the structure was probably used for an extended period of time as a family burial structure. See below, Chapter 7.

The tombs of the Temple Cemetery therefore represent a snapshot not only of New Kingdom non-royal funerary architecture, but also a tiny sample of the lives of a local community of individuals. Their ability to turn simple mud and straw into these beautifully elegant vaulted tombs stands as a testament to the abilities of these ancient people who stand removed from our modern culture by nearly 3500 years. In the following chapter we will turn to look at the objects and coffins which these people took with them into these tombs for their journey to the next life.

CHAPTER EIGHT: COFFINS, ARTIFACTS, AND HUMAN REMAINS OF THE NEW KINGDOM TOMBS AT SOUTH ABYDOS

The South Abydene tomb architecture discussed above in Chapter Seven contextualizes the sepulchers of the Temple Cemetery chronologically within the period of the New Kingdom. A more precise dating of these tombs rests squarely upon an analysis of the highly fragmentary object assemblages from within the tombs themselves. Of these objects, shabtis, pottery and non-pottery vessels, coffins, and sarcophagi are all chronologically diagnostic. Each of these object types will be evaluated separately below, alongside the jewelry, amulets, human remains and other objects found in the tombs. All of these data will contribute to an overall date range for the cemetery.¹⁴⁷⁵

§ 8.1 Coffins and Sarcophagi

The tombs of the Temple Cemetery produced a large number of highly friable painted coffin fragments, and the remains of at least two sandstone sarcophagi during the course of excavations. Coffin fragments from across the Temple Cemetery belong to three diagnostic categories: 1) those belonging to black-type coffins,¹⁴⁷⁶ 2) those belonging to yellow-type coffins,¹⁴⁷⁷ and 3) a group of polychrome molded plaster fragments which may belong to a daily-life type coffin, or perhaps some form of mummy

¹⁴⁷⁵ For a catalogue of all the objects excavated organized by tomb number, see Appendix One below.

¹⁴⁷⁶ No comprehensive study dealing specifically with black-type coffins yet exists in Egyptological literature. For the type in general, see Ikram and Dodson 1998, 210-215. For an expanded discussion and more specific references, see below §8.1.1.

¹⁴⁷⁷ The standard typology of coffins belonging to this type is Niwinski, 21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes 1988, but as the title suggests, this work looks specifically at later examples. For a fuller discussion of this type, see below §8.1.2.

mask.¹⁴⁷⁸ The following table shows the distribution of fragments by burial chamber, including the number of identifiable bodies:

Table 8.1: Distribution of Coffin Fragment Types by Burial Chamber¹⁴⁷⁹

	# of bodies	Black Type	Yellow Type	Daily-Life (?) Type
TC.7	3	x	x	
TC.9	3	2	x	
TC.10	2	x	x	
TC.11north	2	x	x	
TC.11south	3		x	x
TC.19	10	x	x	
TC.20	15-18	x	x	

In addition to these fragments of what were originally wooden coffins, an intact inscribed sandstone anthropoid sarcophagus trough was recovered from TC.20, along with many fragments of another such uninscribed sarcophagus. The sections below will include analyses of each of these types in turn.

8.1.1 Black-type Coffins

Black-type coffins bear this name because of their predominant black background color.¹⁴⁸⁰ They are anthropoid in form, and in many ways follow the progression of New Kingdom coffin design begun by the equally aptly-titled white-type coffin,¹⁴⁸¹ itself

¹⁴⁷⁸ For a useful synopsis of these types with specific references, see Dodson, *The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina* 2000, 89-90.

¹⁴⁷⁹ In the following table, an “x” indicates the presence of fragments, while a number indicates the number of complete and recognizable examples.

¹⁴⁸⁰ As opposed to white-type or yellow-type coffins, which have white and yellow backgrounds, respectively. See Dodson, *The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina* 2000, 89-90.

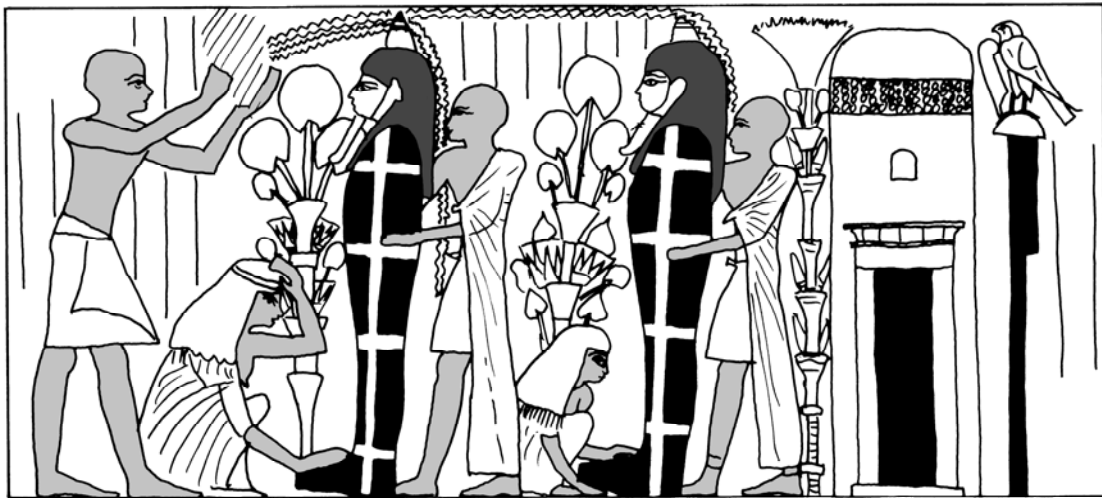
¹⁴⁸¹ For white-type coffins, see Barwik 1999.

following on the anthropoid tradition of the *rishi* coffin.¹⁴⁸² Of the earlier white-type coffins, A. Dodson states:

...within a short time, private persons had begun to employ an anthropoid coffin imitating a wrapped, masked, mummy, with a plain white shroud held in place by longitudinal and transverse straps. This type is known as the 'White', and in many ways reverts to the original Middle Kingdom prototype of the anthropoid coffin, simply an extension of the mummy mask, incorporating a representation of the linen shroud and its securing bands.¹⁴⁸³

The black-type is structurally the same as the white-type, except the white shroud is now black.¹⁴⁸⁴ The bands containing texts were retained, being executed in either yellow paint or gilding. The basic form of the black-type coffin is exemplified by those of Nebamun and Ipuky appearing in the decoration of their TT 181 tomb chapel from Thebes (Fig. 8.1).

Fig. 8.1: Black-type Coffins from the Tomb Chapel of Nebamun and Ipuky¹⁴⁸⁵



¹⁴⁸² For the *rishi*-type coffin, see Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt* 2011.

¹⁴⁸³ Dodson, *The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina* 2000, 89.

¹⁴⁸⁴ For a discussion on the type of black varnish used, see Serpico and White 2000, 459-460.

¹⁴⁸⁵ After Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.4.108, Gallery 135, tempera painting facsimile. See also Taylor 2001, 137, Fig. 97. Also worthy of notice in reference to the tomb superstructure discussion above (§7.6) is the mound-shaped tomb marker with stela installed above the door.

The spaces between the yellow bands were at first left blank, but eventually they bore the images of the Sons of Horus, as on the outer coffin of Yuya.¹⁴⁸⁶ The interior is normally left undecorated, and in the case of the TC.9 coffins it was merely painted light grey with black lines or paint drips.

While no comprehensive typology of black-type coffins yet exists in the scholarship, a number of individuals have commented on the chronological progression in coffin evolution from the *rishi*-type of the 17th Dynasty to the yellow-type of the late 18th Dynasty.¹⁴⁸⁷ According to A. Dodson, the first datable black-type coffin belonged to Hatnofret (JE 66197), the mother of Senenmut who was buried just outside and underneath the construction debris of TT 71.¹⁴⁸⁸ N. de Garis Davies discovered an ostrakon in the forecourt of TT 71 which specifically dated the beginning of the tomb's construction to year seven, month four of *pr.t*, day two of Thutmosis III.¹⁴⁸⁹ Furthermore an amphora within the burial chamber of Ramose and Hatnofret itself bore the date of year seven, month two of *pr.t*, day eight, indicating that the tomb of Senenmut's parents must have been closed between month two, day eight, and month four, day two, all in the seventh year of Thutmosis III.¹⁴⁹⁰ At this point, early black-type coffin use is securely dated at least to year seven of Thutmosis III.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Davis, *The Tomb of Iouya and Touiyou* 1907, 4-5, Pl. VII.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes* 1988, 11-12, Ikram and Dodson 1998, 210-212, Dodson, *The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina* 2000, 89-100, and Taylor 2001, 225-227.

¹⁴⁸⁸ A Dodson, *The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina* 2000, 89-90.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Dorman 1988, 34.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Dorman 1988, 34.

The black coffin type persists through the Amarna period into the early Nineteenth Dynasty when it finally passes out of use.¹⁴⁹¹ A. Dodson adduces a number of examples from the sites of Gurob and Sedment which are datable to the time of Ramesses II, year twenty-seven.¹⁴⁹² Hence, the date range for the black-type coffins lies solidly in the two hundred and twenty years between Thutmose III's year seven and Ramesses II's year twenty seven, or c. 1472 – 1252 BCE.¹⁴⁹³

In his brief discussion of the evolution of coffin decoration, A. Niwinski highlights a point which is perhaps chronologically diagnostic when he states that:

After the Amarna Period the figures of the Sons of Horus, which previously always had human heads, are differently represented with the heads of a human being (Amset), an ape (Hapi), a chacal^{sic} (Duamutef) and a falcon (Kebehsenuf). The figures are then often only outlined in yellow.¹⁴⁹⁴

Presumably, this statement is based upon royal sarcophagi of the Eighteenth Dynasty, though A. Niwinski does not make reference to these sources.¹⁴⁹⁵ All royal sarcophagi from Hatshepsut to Amenhotep III which bear images of the Four Sons of Horus depict them with human heads.¹⁴⁹⁶ Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, and Aye do not include the Four Sons of Horus on their sarcophagi.¹⁴⁹⁷ Horemheb includes them again, but this is the first

¹⁴⁹¹ Other well-dated examples include the outer coffin of Yuya, see Davis, *The Tomb of Iouya and Touiyou* 1907, 4-5, Pl. VII, as well as the (albeit royal) coffinettes for the stillborn children of Tutankhamun, see Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* 1990, 123-125.

¹⁴⁹² Dodson, *The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina* 2000, 90, note 8.

¹⁴⁹³ Following the chronology as outlined in Shaw 2000, 479-483. For chronological studies, see also Hornung, Krauss and Warburton, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* 2006, and Dee, *A Radiocarbon-based Chronology for the New Kingdom* 2013.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes* 1988, 12.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* 1935.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* 1935, Pl. I-XIV.

¹⁴⁹⁷ For the sarcophagus of Akhenaten, see Martin 1974, Pl. 6-9. For that of Tutankhamun, see Eaton-Krauss, *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun* 1993, and her brief article Eaton-Krauss, *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun: A Clarification* 1998, 210-212. For the sarcophagus and tomb of Ay, see Schaden 1984, 39-64, with references, and Reeves and Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings* 1996, 128-129.

royal example of zoomorphic Sons of Horus on a king's sarcophagus.¹⁴⁹⁸ On the other hand, the temporal progression is much less distinct in the non-royal sphere. Though the exact date of his burial is contested (lying somewhere in the range of Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III), the sarcophagi of the Fan Bearer Maiherpra exhibit zoomorphic images of the Four Sons of Horus, while on his canopic box they are anthropomorphic.¹⁴⁹⁹ The sarcophagus and outer coffin of Yuya, Amenhotep III's father-in-law, also has animal-headed depictions of the Four Sons of Horus.¹⁵⁰⁰ However, the sarcophagus of his wife Tuya, both her and Yuya's canopic boxes, and a model sarcophagus for one of Yuya's shabtis all have human headed Sons of Horus.¹⁵⁰¹ Finally, the inner sarcophagus of Kha, Overseer of Works under Amenhotep III, again has human headed Sons of Horus.¹⁵⁰² These selected examples demonstrate two points: 1) zoomorphic Sons of Horus on non-royal sarcophagi seem to predate their use upon royal sarcophagi; and 2) the Amarna theology does not seem to be the motivating factor which caused an abrupt change from human-headed, to animal-headed Sons of Horus. Indeed, the shift from anthropomorphic to zoomorphic heads was gradual, beginning near the end of the reign of Amenhotep II with Maiherpra, and continuing well into the reign of Horemheb, with the sarcophagus of the king himself. Hence, the means of rendering the heads of the Four Sons of Horus is only chronologically diagnostic insofar as it places the coffins with zoomorphic divinities toward the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige* 1971, 49-50, Pl. 62-65.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* 1935, 132, Berman 1992, 311, note 5, and Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898-1899)* 1902, 1-11, and Pl. I-III.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Davis, *The Tomb of Iouya and Touiyou* 1907, 1-9, and Pl. VI-VII.

¹⁵⁰¹ Davis, *The Tomb of Iouya and Touiyou* 1907, Pl. X, XII, XVI, and XXIII.

¹⁵⁰² Berman 1992, 305-306, and Schiaparelli 1927, Fig. 21, 23.

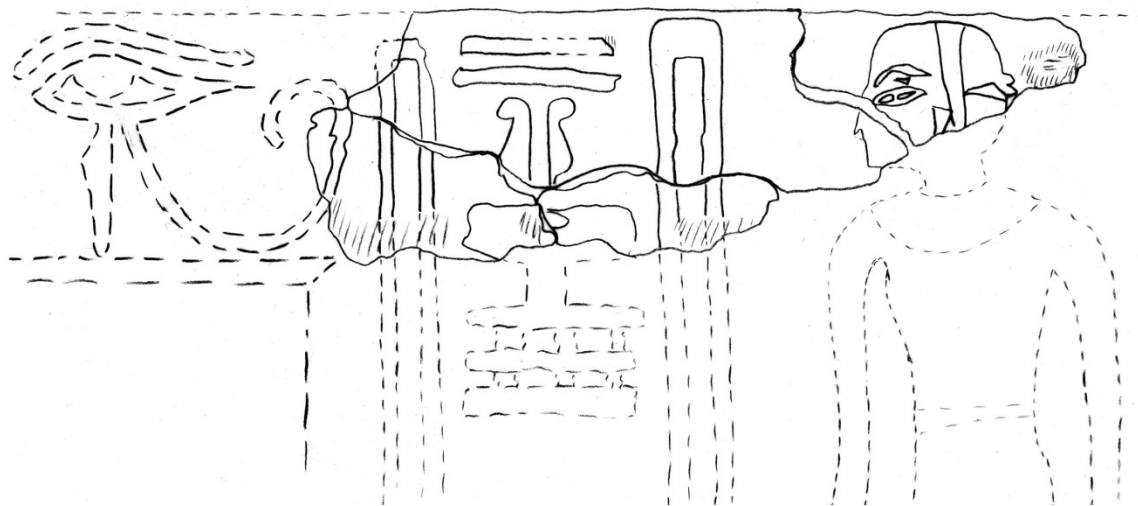
Tomb TC.9 yielded the most complete examples of black-type coffins. Two damaged coffin troughs retaining recognizable form were still in situ on the floor of this tomb. Termites had completely devoured the wood, leaving the entire assemblage highly fragile.¹⁵⁰³ When discovered, one coffin lay inside the other. In reference to black-type coffins, S. Ikram and A. Dodson indicate that “Where a single coffin was used in a burial, it was a ‘black’ one. However, where a nest was involved, at this period only in the case of the very rich, they would be of separate types.”¹⁵⁰⁴ Since both coffins were of the black-type, it seems more likely that the two coffins were stacked one atop the other during robbery of the tomb. Therefore these two coffins belong to the burials of two distinct individuals.¹⁵⁰⁵

¹⁵⁰³ After documentation, the two coffins were reburied in situ, being far too friable to remove.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Ikram and Dodson 1998, 210. The time period to which S. Ikram and A. Dodson refer spans from Thutmosis III at least through the reign of Amunhotep III. A full study of the usage of black-type coffins is outside the scope of the present work, and therefore S. Ikram and A. Dodson’s conclusions are understood as general trends, dependent upon a more complete typology and study on these coffins.

¹⁵⁰⁵ It also seems unlikely that the owners of these coffins belonged to the highest order of non-royal society. Based upon the preserved artifact assemblage these individuals belonged to the upper to upper middle class, but were not members of the super-rich elite. See discussion below §8.8.3.

Fig. 8.2: Reconstructed Coffin Fragments from TC.9¹⁵⁰⁶



Only one depiction remains among the coffin fragments of the Temple Cemetery which preserves the head of one of the Sons of Horus.¹⁵⁰⁷ Coming from TC.9 (Figure 8.2), the figure faces left indicating a position on the right side of the coffin.¹⁵⁰⁸ To the left of a column of text is a portion of an Eye of Horus, further narrowing down the original position of this fragment near the coffin head on the right side. By comparison to the outer coffin of Yuya, this is probably the depiction of Imsety, who unfortunately would have appeared with a human head both before and after the Amarna Period.¹⁵⁰⁹

While the head of this particular demigod may not be chronologically relevant, the

¹⁵⁰⁶ This reconstruction is based in part upon the coffin of Teti in the Brooklyn Museum (37.14E) which is a transitional piece between the black and yellow types, and the black-type coffin of Yuya. Imsety is the first Son of Horus to appear on the right side of both coffins, with the Eye of Horus atop a shrine to his left at the shoulder of the Teti coffin. See James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, Vol. I 1974, 101-104, Pl. LVII-LVIII. The appearance of the *ḥr-wr* Nome standard in the text (sign R 18) is not part of the formulaic text of either the Teti coffin or the black-type coffin of Yuya, and may be part of a personal title connected with the area around Abydos, especially since it appears to follow the *mꜥꜥ-hrw* group at the top edge of the coffin trough.

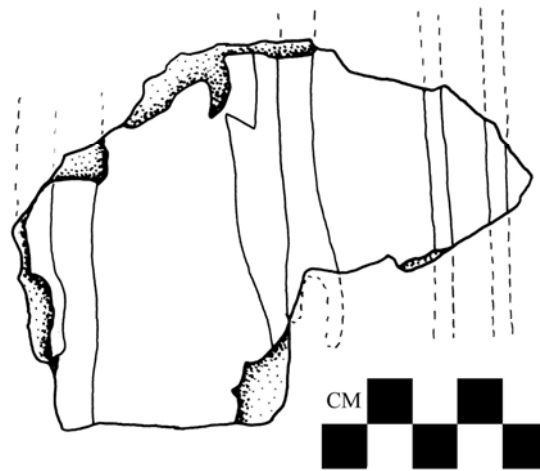
¹⁵⁰⁷ The exception is the sandstone sarcophagus of Horemheb from TC.20, discussed below in §8.1.5.

¹⁵⁰⁸ The figures of the Sons of Horus all face toward the head of the deceased.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Davis, *The Tomb of Iouya and Tuiyou* 1907, 4-5.

artistic rendering of the bodies of the other examples may be (Fig. 8.3). In connection with the heads of the Four Sons of Horus, A. Niwinski indicates that the trend after the Amarna Period is for these gods to appear outlined schematically in yellow.¹⁵¹⁰ As with the inscriptions on the black-type coffins from the Temple Cemetery, the depictions of the divinities are rendered simply in a solid yellow paint upon a black background. No internal decoration exists within the depictions, fitting in with Niwinski's outline-style. Though far from definitive, this artistic style is possibly evidence for a post-Amarna date for the black-type coffins from the Temple Cemetery.

Fig. 8.3: Torso of a Divinity on a Fragment of Black Coffin from TC.9



It is difficult to assign the Temple Cemetery black-type coffin fragments to a date any more precise than Amunhotep II to Ramesses II year twenty seven, as a result of their poor state of preservation. The yellow outline of the divinities, however, may imply a

¹⁵¹⁰ Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes* 1988, 12. As with his statement above, however, it is not clear upon what he bases this conclusion.

fairly narrow seventy-one year time range from the post-Amarna king Horemheb¹⁵¹¹ to Ramesses II, c.1323-1252 BCE.

8.1.2 Yellow-type Coffins

The second group of coffin fragments recovered from the Temple cemetery exhibit polychrome hieroglyphs upon a yellow ground (Fig. 8.4).¹⁵¹² All six excavated tombs of the Temple Cemetery contained yellow-type coffin fragments. Yellow-type coffins dating from the late Ramesside into the Third Intermediate Period are well known to any museum-goer,¹⁵¹³ but the first datable coffin of the yellow style belonged to a certain Teti (BMA 37.14E) who lived during the reign of Amunhotep III.¹⁵¹⁴

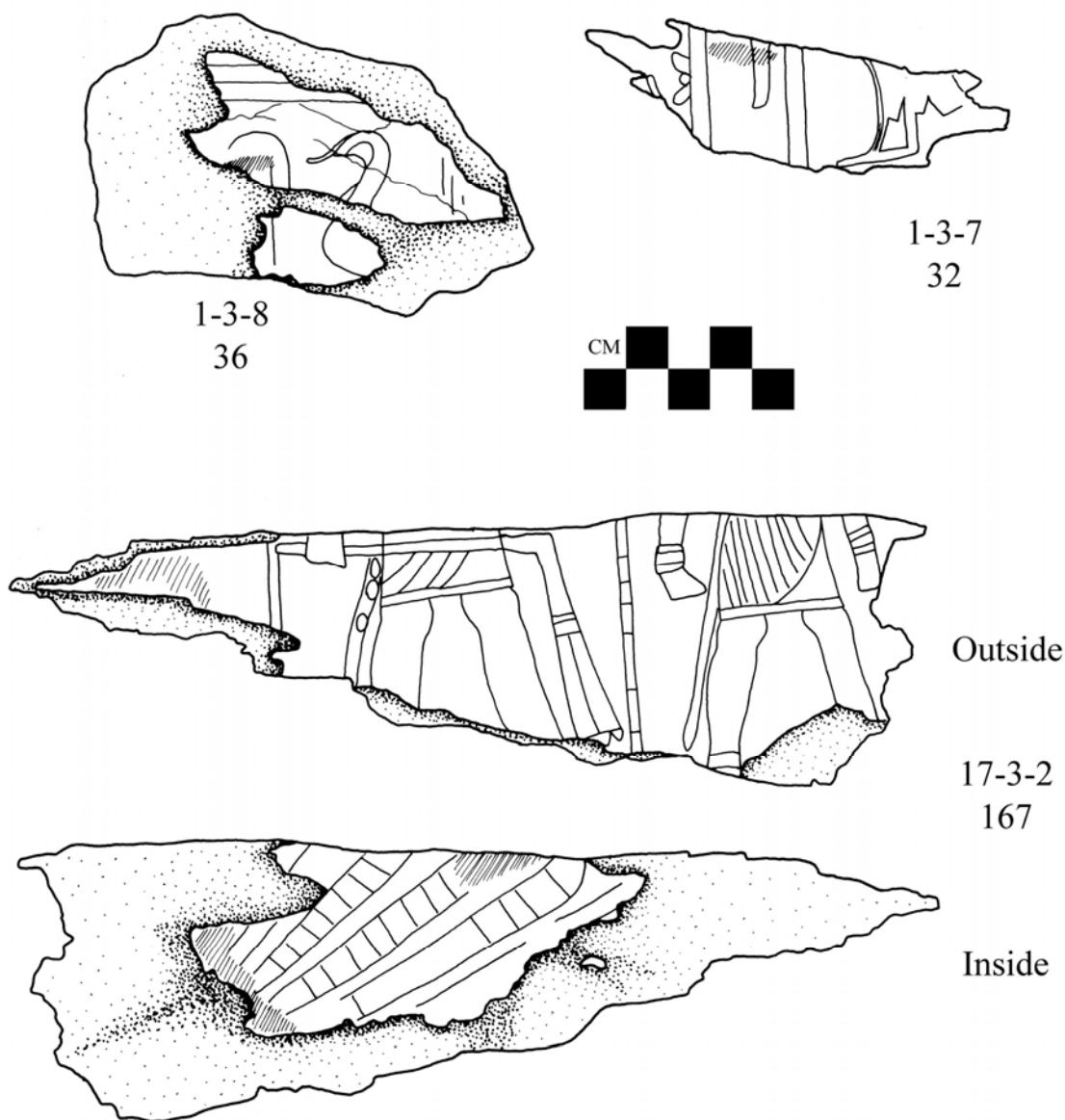
¹⁵¹¹ The reigns of Tutankhamun and Ay (1336 – 1323) are still transitional, and while it is possible that some of the coffins were made during this thirteen year period, the reign of Horemheb seems more likely, given his overt attempt to return to more traditional forms.

¹⁵¹² Interestingly three of the yellow-type fragments from TC.9 also exhibit areas of black paint. From what little remains it seems that the coffin originally had yellow bands of text executed in multicolor hieroglyphs. Colored stripes border the yellow area on both sides, consisting of blue, white, red, white, and then a black area. One of these fragments demonstrates that this black area is much larger than a simple stripe. One possible conclusion is that this coffin represents a transitional or mixed type, whereby yellow bands of polychrome text were added to a traditional black-type coffin. The fragments would still theoretically date to within the time-span of both black and yellow types (hence Thutmose III to the mid Twenty-second Dynasty).

¹⁵¹³ Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes* 1988, and K. M. Cooney 2007, 18-21, 176-230

¹⁵¹⁴ Dodson, *The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina* 2000.

Fig. 8.4: Polychrome Yellow-Type Coffin Fragments

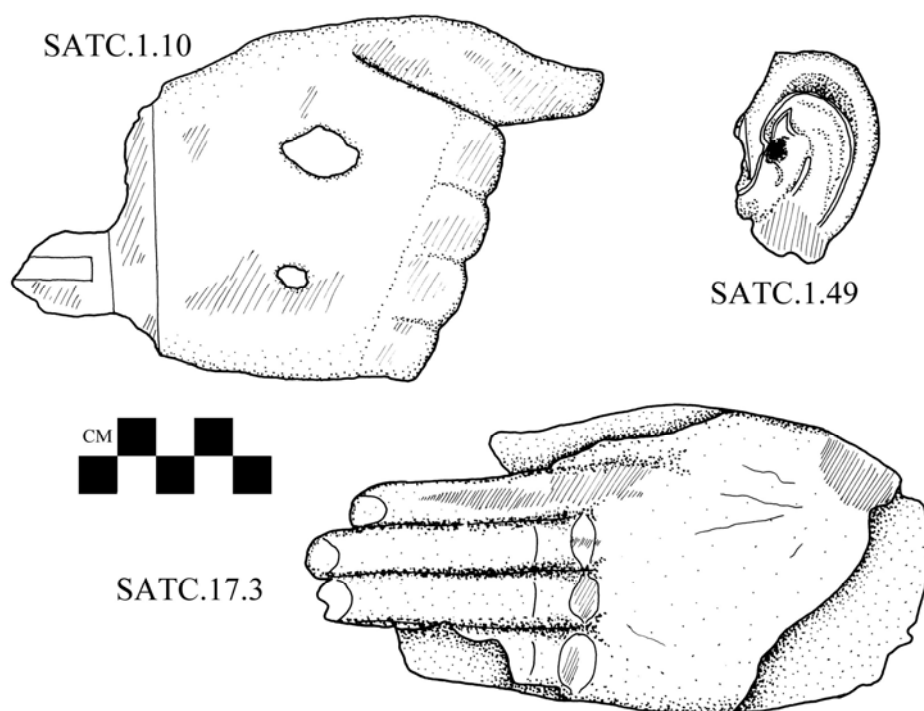


In its decorative scheme, the coffin of Teti flows directly from the textual and figural program of the concurrent black-type coffins.¹⁵¹⁵ Yet unlike black-type coffins whose inscriptions and figures are executed in yellow paint on black ground, the yellow-

¹⁵¹⁵ For the texts of the Teti coffin, see James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, Vol. I 1974, 101-104, Pl. LVII-LVIII. See also the discussion above on the reconstruction of the TC.9 black-type coffin fragments.

type makes use of the natural yellow wood color for its background, augmented in many examples by a yellow resin. The figural and textual decoration appearing on coffins of this type is multicolored. The fragments from the Temple Cemetery (Fig. 8.4) conform to this decorative style.

Fig. 8.5: Yellow-Type Coffin Appliqué Elements

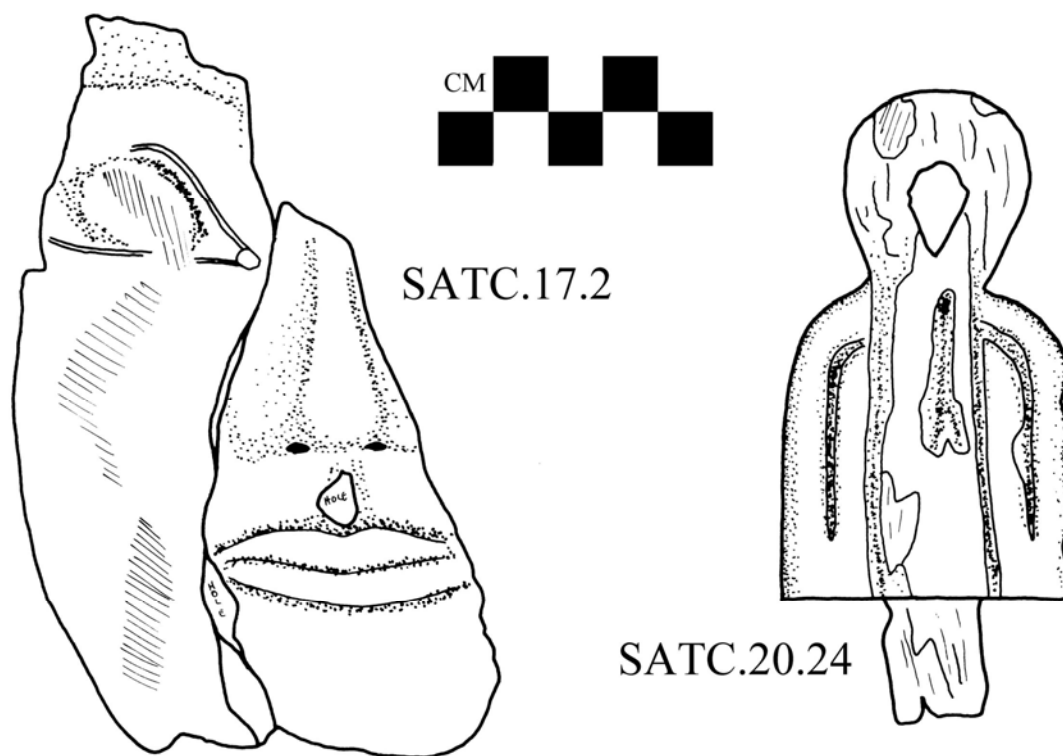


Three tombs in the Temple Cemetery produced a small number of wooden coffin appliqué elements (Fig. 8.5). TC.7 contained a wooden right hand held in a loose fist with the remains of a painted bracelet decoration (Cat. SATC.1.10), as well as a plaster left ear with buff / yellow paint and red highlights (Cat. SATC.1.49). Tomb TC.19 contained two coffin appliqué features: a badly deteriorated face (Fig. 8.6, Cat. SATC.17.2), and another wooden left hand (Fig. 8.5, Cat. SATC.17.3). The four extended fingers of this left hand wore painted rings in alternating turquoise and red.

Finally TC.20 contained a slightly different type of coffin element. Carved from very hard wood, this fragment represents a *tj.t*-amulet, exhibiting slight traces of yellow paint on its surface. The piece depicts the top half of the amulet, with a tenon extending down. It was by means of this tenon that the amulet was originally connected to a wooden hand, similar to the fist from TC.9 (SATC.1.10). The hands of the deceased depicted on yellow-type coffins occasionally hold a *tj.t*-amulet and a *dd*-pillar, especially those of the early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁵¹⁶ The appearance of these amulets is a reference to BD Spells 155 and 156, which are spells dealing with the placing of a *dd*-pillar and *tj.t*-amulet near the throat of the deceased.¹⁵¹⁷ Based upon the Sennedjem examples, originally a second piece representing the bottom half of the amulet would have extended down from the bottom of the appliqué hand. Unfortunately this portion of the amulet was not preserved.

¹⁵¹⁶ For instance, the outer coffin of Sennedjem (CG 27306) is an early yellow-type coffin, and in his left hand he holds a wooden *tj.t*-amulet. The top of the amulet is identical to SATC.20.24. A second portion of the same piece extends out of the bottom of Sennedjem's fist. The same is true for the coffin of his son, see Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, Vol. II 1959, 416-417, Fig. 265.

¹⁵¹⁷ See Silverman, *The wꜥꜥ Amulet of Feldspar and its Implicit and Explicit Wish Forthcoming*.

Fig. 8.6: Wooden Appliqué Face and *tj.t*-Amulet

The use of yellow-type coffins continued into the Third Intermediate Period. Yet with very little remaining of the yellow-type coffins from the Temple Cemetery, it is difficult to date the fragments much more closely than the known chronological range for the type, namely Amenhotep III to the mid Twenty Second Dynasty, c.1390-850.¹⁵¹⁸ The great similarity of the *tj.t*-amulet from TC.20 and that on the coffin of Sennedjem is the only suggestion of a date closer to the early Nineteenth Dynasty than later, at least for this fragment.

¹⁵¹⁸ Ikram and Dodson 1998, 228-234, and Ichihashi 2010. See also the images on p. 174, depicting the early Twenty-first Dynasty yellow-type coffins of Pinudjem I and II who also hold Isis knots in their left hands. The proportions of these amulets are slightly different than the example from TC.20.

8.1.3 The Possibility of Daily Life-type Coffins

Numerous flesh-toned fragments of modeled plaster from TC.11south, including most of a painted eye and a molded and painted human ear, suggest the existence of at least one coffin not conforming to either the black or yellow types. The expedition also recovered fragments painted with blue lotus leaves akin to late New Kingdom Blue Painted Ware. The coloration of these fragments is brighter and more vibrant than that on any other in the Temple Cemetery.

With so little remaining of the original coffin, identifying the origin of these fragments is difficult. Two possibilities fit the data: 1) the painted plaster fragments belong to a mummy mask placed inside another coffin, or 2) they are pieces of a polychrome painted daily-life type coffin lid or mummy board. All of these objects could have had the facial features of the deceased rendered in the colors of life, but more flesh was depicted in the case of the latter than the former. Indeed, J. Taylor indicates that “[m]ummy-masks, which had remained in use during the 18th Dynasty, were replaced after the Amarna Period by a ‘mummy-board’, a cover of painted wood or cartonnage which was placed directly over the mummy.”¹⁵¹⁹ Hence, the very existence of a mummy mask in the otherwise post-Amarna dated Temple Cemetery seems unlikely.

Three similarly colored objects from the tomb of Sennedjem may be the closest parallel to the fragments from TC.11south. The coffin lid of Isis (Cairo JE 27,309), the mummy board of Piay (Cairo Temp. Reg. No. 5-12-25-3), and the mummy board of Sennedjem himself all depict the deceased in the clothes of life with a reddish brown hue

¹⁵¹⁹ Taylor 2001, 229.

to the skin of their face and arms.¹⁵²⁰ In general, daily-life coffins of this type date to the earliest part of the Nineteenth Dynasty, coinciding roughly with the reign of Seti I.¹⁵²¹ Yet the conclusion that the fragments from TC.11 south belong to such a tradition is essentially speculative, based as it is on such tiny fragments, it is of limited use as evidence for dating.

8.1.4 Coffin Eyes and Inlays

Tomb TC.20 contained two complete coffin eye inlays and parts belonging to at least three others (Fig. 8.7). The largest, SATC.20.8, measures more than 10 cm wide, and is the proper right eye of the coffin. Due to its large size, it may have originally belonged to a sarcophagus lid, possibly even the missing lid to Horemheb's sandstone sarcophagus from TC.20. It is composed of three different colors of glass, blue for the makeup line, with white and black for the eye itself. The disparate pieces were glued together using a bright white gypsum mortar. Amorphous areas of red paint were added to the corners of the white to represent the canthi. The eye conforms to Lucas' Class II.¹⁵²²

Fig. 8.7: Coffin Eyes from the Temple Cemetery



¹⁵²⁰ Freed, *Ramesses the Great*: Boston Museum of Science 1988, 194-197.

¹⁵²¹ Ikram and Dodson 1998, 171-172.

¹⁵²² Lucas and Harris 1962, 107ff.

The second complete example, SATC.20.27, is identical in construction to SATC.20.8, but is only 6 cm wide and represents the proper left eye.¹⁵²³ The fabricator of this piece added eight red dots to the inside canthus to represent the caruncle.¹⁵²⁴

In addition to these two pieces, a black stone eye frame (SATC.20.30), and a black glass pupil (SATC.20.31) were also discovered, which seem to fit together.¹⁵²⁵ Based upon its small size, and the lack of any makeup line, the frame perhaps derives from a funerary mask. Aside from this piece, two blue glass eyebrows were also recovered, one larger than the other. SATC.20.39 is the top brow of a left eye, and based upon its size and coloration it is probably the brow belonging to the complimentary eye to SATC.20.8. The opposite situation holds true for the second eyebrow inlay SATC.20.38. This piece represents the right eyebrow, and based upon its size and coloration, it probably belongs to the missing mate to SATC.20.27. All these fragments conform to Lucas' Class II eye inlays, and given that they are made of glass, must date to the 18th Dynasty or later.¹⁵²⁶

8.1.5 Sandstone Sarcophagi

Tomb TC.20 originally contained at least two sandstone sarcophagi. Numerous fragments of red-painted, uninscribed sandstone were found scattered among the tomb

¹⁵²³ When discovered, this eye was broken into four different fragments. We reconstructed it using Acryloid B-72, but the outer portion of the white is still missing.

¹⁵²⁴ It is probable that the missing side was also similarly painted.

¹⁵²⁵ These two objects probably belong together, but without the white of the eye, it is impossible to be sure.

¹⁵²⁶ Nicholson and Henderson 2000, 195-196. See also Roehrig, Glass 2005, 67, where she dates glass production within Egypt to the reign of Hatshepsut.

debris.¹⁵²⁷ Many of these fragments were smoothed and finished on four sides, with mortises cut on one narrow edge. One fragment also exhibited a beautifully executed cutting meant for a butterfly tenon,¹⁵²⁸ which originally connected the side of the sarcophagus to the base.¹⁵²⁹ Though it is, as yet, impossible to determine if all these fragments belong to the same sarcophagus trough, their presence along with the complete sarcophagus trough of Horemheb (discussed below) indicates that TC.20 originally held at least two stone sarcophagi.

The second sandstone example is that which belonged to the scribe Horemheb. His sarcophagus trough was found in situ, set into the floor of TC.20.¹⁵³⁰ Since we found no indication of the lid, it is possible that: 1) the sarcophagus never possessed a lid for some reason; 2) ancient robbers smashed it to pieces; or 3) unknown individuals removed it from the tomb in a complete state. While the inlaid coffin eyes discussed above lend some credence to the idea that it was utterly smashed, we discovered no fragments clearly deriving from a sandstone lid. It is possible, however unlikely, that the robbers did remove it either for reuse in ancient times, or perhaps thieves in a more recent time sold it on the antiquities market.¹⁵³¹

The sarcophagus itself follows the decorative program common to contemporary black and yellow-type coffins, consisting of vertical bands of inscription with standing

¹⁵²⁷ For a similar uninscribed sarcophagus in sandstone, see Schiff-Giorgini 1971, 134-135, Fig. 124-125, and Fig. 197-197

¹⁵²⁸ This type of joint occurs in ancient Egyptian wood joinery. See Gale, et al. 2000, 365-366.

¹⁵²⁹ The piece is a 90° butt joint reinforced with the butterfly tenon. The square shape creates the transition from the sarcophagus side to its foot end.

¹⁵³⁰ The top edge of the trough was level with the laid brick floor. It is not clear why this was done.

¹⁵³¹ Assuming a period of robbery which coincided with the great era of collecting, during the late 19th – early 20th Centuries. If this is the case, the piece may exist unidentified in a museum today.

figures of deities in the spaces in between.¹⁵³² These gods were painted yellow, and the rest of the sarcophagus was painted red, both inside and out, in imitation of red granite. Both long exterior sides of Horemheb's sarcophagus have five standing gods (Fig. 8.8 and 8.9). At the left and right of both scenes, therefore occupying the four corners of the sarcophagus, Thoth stands holding a pole surmounted by what appears to be an inverted *p.t* hieroglyph.¹⁵³³ This scene is the traditional vignette of BD161.¹⁵³⁴ On either side of the sarcophagus head is a shrine with cavetto cornice, surmounted by twin eyes of Horus.¹⁵³⁵ The central deity on both sides of the sarcophagus is Anubis, while the remaining positions are held by human-headed representations of the Four Sons of Horus, two on each side.¹⁵³⁶ Each block of text contains one column which is visibly wider than the others. Based upon comparison with other late Eighteenth Dynasty coffins mainly from Thebes,¹⁵³⁷ coupled with the subject matter that the texts of these wider bands records, these wider columns continued texts that began on the now missing lid of the sarcophagus. In all but two cases these Band Texts record the name and title of the

¹⁵³² The layout is quite similar to the earliest Yellow-type coffins, for instance that of Teti in the Brooklyn Museum (37.14E), see James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, Vol. I 1974, 101-104, Pl. LVII-LVIII. A rectangular sandstone sarcophagus from Soleb has very similar texts and depictions of human headed Sons of Horus, while another sarcophagus from this New Kingdom cemetery has the same formal shape, though it lacks inscriptions. See Schiff-Giorgini 1971, 126-135.

¹⁵³³ According to Mosher Jr. 2001, 108, Thoth is supposed to be represented opening the four doors of heaven.

¹⁵³⁴ For example, see Naville 1886, Pl. CLXXXIV, and Mosher Jr. 2001, 108, Pl. 12 for a vignette from the First Century Papyrus of Hor. For a description of the vignette, see T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day* 1974, 156-157. According to T. G. Allen, *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of these and other Egyptian Mortuary Texts* 1950, 147, there are no precursors for the spell in the Pyramid Texts or Coffin Texts. According to Kozloff, Bryan and Berman 1992, 316, note 8, the spell never occurs on royal sarcophagi.

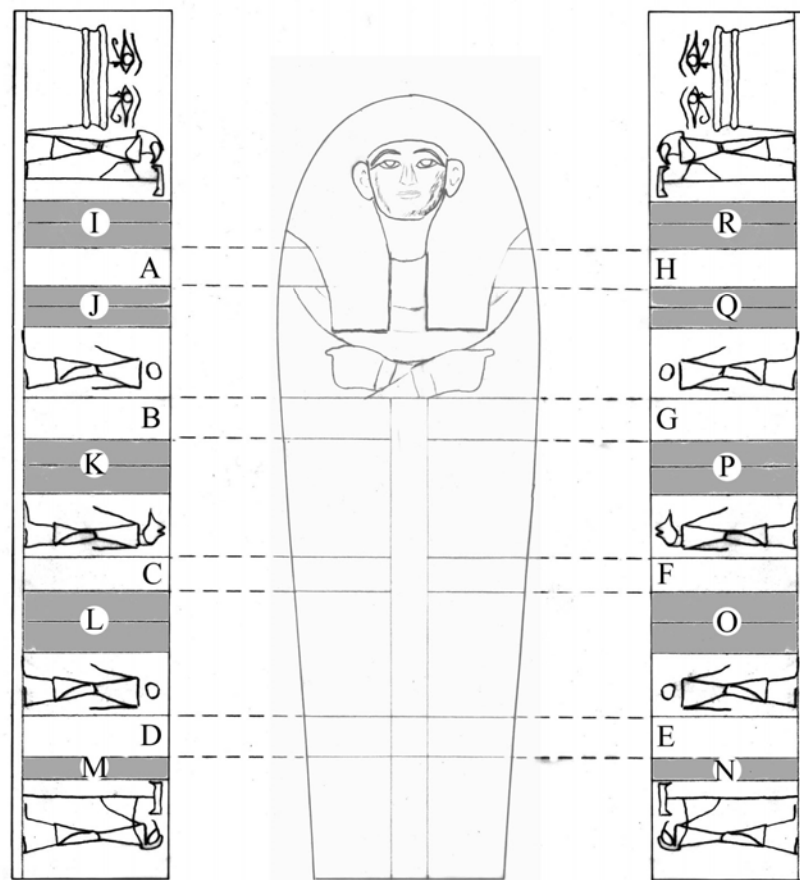
¹⁵³⁵ The curved tail of the left eye on the sarcophagus' right side shows a mistake in carving in which its length was increased after its initial completion. The right eye on the same side also has two notches.

¹⁵³⁶ Hapy is missing, and Imsety appears twice. See discussion below.

¹⁵³⁷ For instance the coffins of Kha (Turin No. Supp. 8313) and Henutwedjebu (Washington University Gallery of Art no. 2292), and the stone sarcophagus of the Viceroy Merymose (BM EA 1001). See Kozloff, Bryan and Berman 1992, 306, 312-321.

deceased only, and represent the end of a standardized *dd mdw jm3h.w hr* + deity name formula.

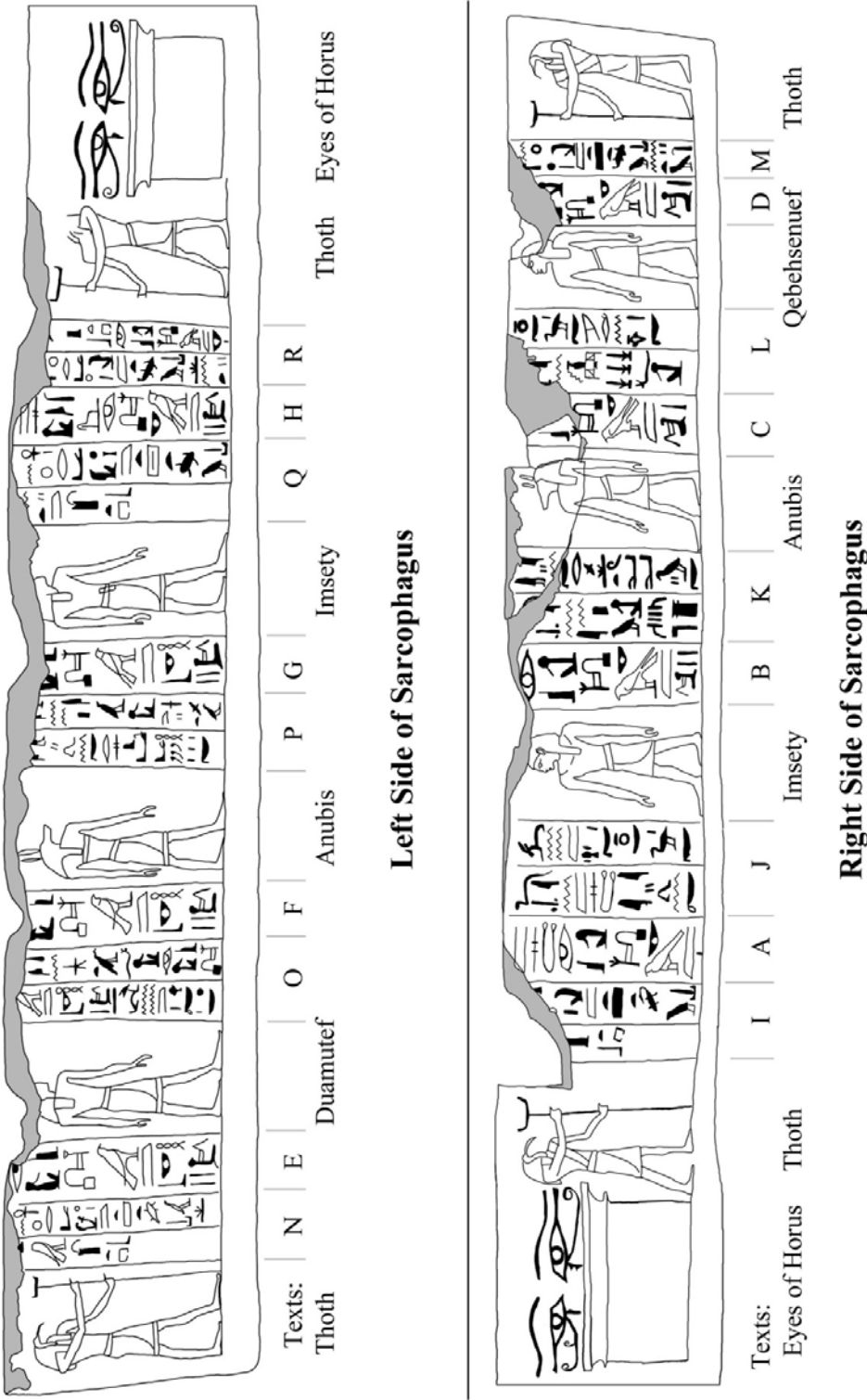
Fig. 8.8: Layout of Text Blocks on the Sarcophagus of Horemheb



Therefore, three types of text exist on the sarcophagus trough.¹⁵³⁸ At the four corners there are excerpts from the Book of the Dead, Chapter 161. Interspersed between each other are the two other texts, Band Texts which originally began on the now missing lid, and Captions, which related to the carved images of gods. The following sections contain an examination of these three text types.


¹⁵³⁸ Originally, the sarcophagus lid would also have had a central line of text, as well as lines of text around the edge where the lid met the trough, Kozloff, Bryan and Berman 1992, 306, 312-321. With the lid missing, these texts are not included in the present count.

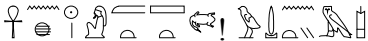
Fig. 8.9 Epigraphic Copy of Texts on the Sarcophagus of Horemheb




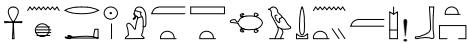
8.1.5.1 BD 161 Texts from the Sarcophagus of Horemheb

An excerpt from BD161 appears at the four corners of the sarcophagus along with the vignettes of Thoth piercing the sky. At the head of the sarcophagus on the left side, the short text appears twice (Q and R), while at the other three corners it is written only once (I, M, and N). The five versions of the same excerpt are all very similar:

I:  1539

M: 

N: 

Q: 

R: 

ḥꜥ rꜥ mwt št(.w) wd3 n.tj m db3.t wsjr zh3.w Hr.w-m-ḥb

Re Lives; the turtle dies. May he who is in the sarcophagus be sound, the Osiris, Scribe, Horemheb.¹⁵⁴⁰

The orthography of these texts is worthy of note. First, the verb *mwt* “die” appears in all cases without a determinative. Two coffins with very similar layouts and texts – that of Teti in the Brooklyn Museum (37.14E),¹⁵⁴¹ and that of the Chantress of Amun Henut-wedjebu in the Washington University Gallery of Art (2292),¹⁵⁴² – spell

¹⁵³⁹ The two columns of Text I are incorrectly oriented to one another. The text begins in the right column, reading from left to right, but the text continues in the left column. Since the signs are oriented correctly within each column, the text is not properly retrograde, as defined by Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne: quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaoniques* 1986, and Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs: Part 1: Reversals* 1977. The inversion of the two columns may be a scribal mistake, and is the only example of such inversion on the sarcophagus.






¹⁵⁴⁰ T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day* 1974, 157, translates “Re lives, the turtle dies. Sound stays he who is in the coffin. He who is in the coffin is Osiris N.” Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* 1994, 125, renders the second sentence as “... he who is in the sarcophagus and in the coffin is stretched out.”

¹⁵⁴¹ James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, Vol. I 1974, 101-104, Pl. LVII-LVIII.

¹⁵⁴² Kozloff, Bryan and Berman 1992, 312-317.



mwt with the determinative of a sand kernel (sign N33).¹⁵⁴³ The scribe(s) of the Horemheb sarcophagus may have omitted the determinative from *mwt* in parallel to the tri-radical verb *ꜥnh*, which does not normally take one.¹⁵⁴⁴ Another possibility is that the artist(s) may have been listening to another scribe read the text aloud, rather than working from a physical manuscript.¹⁵⁴⁵

Table 8.2: Comparison of Turtle Hieroglyphs from the Sarcophagus of Horemheb

Side	Text	Turtle Hieroglyph
Right	I	
	M	
Left	N	
	Q	
	R	

The turtle hieroglyph (I2) in these five texts is written in four different ways (Table 8.2). In texts R and M the sign appears elongated like a fish¹⁵⁴⁶ with head downwards. In text I the trussed duck sign (G54), also with head facing up, has been

¹⁵⁴³ *WB*.II:165.9.


¹⁵⁴⁴ *WB*.I:193.8-194.12. The Teti coffin spells the verb  , while that of Henut-wedjebu has simply the ideogram  . The only other word in BD 161 from the Horemheb sarcophagus exhibiting variation is *wd3*, which is determined with a book roll in Text R and N, appears with no determinative in Text Q and M, and is broken in Text I. The Horemheb caption texts do not omit determinatives.

¹⁵⁴⁵ As at Bersheh, where writing on the ceiling necessitated the help of another scribe reading the text aloud. The Horemheb sarcophagus would not have required the same arrangement, but it may still have been employed. See Robinson, Silverman and Brovarski 1992, 22-23.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Indeed, three versions of CT.V.30f have three different determinatives. B2L employs an animal hide (sign F27), B1C uses a fish (sign K1), and B2P simply includes a diagonal stroke, possibly meant to represent sign Z6. See van der Molen 2000, 637. The placement of this spell is not consistent among the three attestations. See Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents* 1979, 23, 43, 48.

substituted. Finally in texts N and Q the form almost approaches that of a turtle, but in both cases the animal seems to be headless.

Texts I, M, N, and Q record the full spelling of “turtle” as *št(.w)*, while text R employs merely the ideogram. Since the original manuscript almost certainly would have been in hieratic, confusion of the turtle sign may have arisen from a graphic similarity between the turtle and trussed duck (I2 and G54). According to G. Möller’s sources, the turtle does not appear in hieratic during the New Kingdom.¹⁵⁴⁷ During the Old Kingdom

however, sign G54 appears in pPrisse as  , and the turtle I2 in pEbers is written



¹⁵⁴⁸ The only major difference here is in the length and angle of the neck: straight for the turtle, and curved for the goose. With their long curved necks, the signs in Horemheb’s texts R and M are closer to the trussed duck of text I. The turtle in texts N and Q do not have heads, but the body points slightly downward, thus overall more akin to sign I2. One possible explanation for this difference is if two artists were working on the texts of the sarcophagus using an hieratic original.¹⁵⁴⁹ The sign in the original was perhaps ambiguous enough to lead one of the artists to substitute the trussed duck hieroglyph for the turtle.



In parallel to the graphic anomaly of the turtle determinative, the artists of the Horemheb sarcophagus also employed the *jwn* sign (O28 with curving stem at the top) in

¹⁵⁴⁷ See however the cursive hieroglyphs of the papyrus of Ani, where the turtle resembles the owl: Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* 1994, Pl. 27.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I 1909, 22-23. See also Goedicke 1988, 17a/b and 18a/b.

¹⁵⁴⁹ For a somewhat similar situation of two artists working simultaneously in the tomb of Ihy at Saqqara, see Freed, *Observations on the dating and decoration of the tombs of Ihy and Hetep at Saqqara* 2000, and Silverman, *Middle Kingdom tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery* 2000.

place of the *db3* sign (T25) in the writing of *db3.t* “sarcophagus.” As with the writing of the turtle discussed above, similarity between the hieratic versions of the signs may be to

blame. Sign T25 appears in pHarris as , while sign O28 is written  in the same papyrus.¹⁵⁵⁰ Formally the two signs are virtually identical.¹⁵⁵¹ Graphic irregularities such as these in the texts of the Horemheb sarcophagus point to the conclusion that the artists working on Horemheb’s sarcophagus were probably transcribing from original documents written in hieratic.

These five short texts on the corners of the Horemheb sarcophagus represent the same excerpt from BD161. T. Allen, among others,¹⁵⁵² translated the full text (with the relevant excerpt highlighted in italics by the present author) thus:

Spell for smashing an opening in the sky, (a spell) which Thoth composed for Unnofer when <he> was gaining access to the disk. Re lives, the turtle dies. The corpse is united with the earth; the bones of Osiris N. are united. *Re lives, the turtle dies. Sound stays he who is in the coffin. He who is in the coffin is Osiris N.* Re lives, the turtle dies, strangled by the flesh of Qebehsenuf. The one concerned with their needs is Osiris N. Re lives, the turtle dies. The (re)assembled (members) (of Osiris N.) surpass, they surpass his original state. As for every mummy for whom <the instructions> are carried out over his inner coffin, the 4 openings in the Sky are opened for him: one for the north wind, that is, Osiris; another for the south wind, that is, the Moon; another for the west wind, that is, Isis; another for the east wind, that is Nephthys. As for each one of these winds in its (respective) opening, it is its duty to enter his nose. No outsider is to know (this spell, for) it is a secret; the rabble is not to know (it). Do not use it for anybody – even thy father or thy mother – except thy own self. It is a real secret; nobody at all is to know (it).¹⁵⁵³

¹⁵⁵⁰ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II 1965, 32, 38.

¹⁵⁵¹ It is also possible that at this period the distinction between the two signs was deemed unimportant. A full study of this glyph in usage during the Eighteenth Dynasty would be required to prove or disprove this point.

¹⁵⁵² See also translations by Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* 1979, 338, and Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* 1994, 125, as well as the brief study in Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch* 151 1998, 82-85.

¹⁵⁵³ T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day* 1974, 156-157.

Turtle iconography appears throughout Egyptian history beginning with Pre-Dynastic cosmetic grinding palettes. Yet this text highlights an interesting interplay between Re and turtles which is fleshed out more fully in sources from the Middle Kingdom.

The specific turtle in question is the *Trionyx triunguis*, or nocturnal three-clawed aquatic soft-shelled turtle.¹⁵⁵⁴ Due in part to its preferred existence in deep water, where, thanks to its gills, the species can stay for periods of up to ten hours, by the Old Kingdom the water turtle was associated with chaotic forces.¹⁵⁵⁵ Despite evidence from Pre-dynastic settlements that the species was a staple food,¹⁵⁵⁶ by the Old Kingdom its only use was related mainly to medicine.¹⁵⁵⁷ There are, however, references to turtles as food offerings to the deceased during the Old Kingdom at Giza.¹⁵⁵⁸

The notion of divinity eating turtle is expressed in the short Coffin Texts Spell 368.¹⁵⁵⁹ Because of its bearing upon the meaning of the turtle's connection to Re, and since it has been translated numerous ways in the past, a full rendering of the short text herein is warranted, following source B2P:

¹⁵⁵⁴ Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles* 1968, 5-6.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles* 1968, 6-9. See also Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittelägyptens* 1965, 139. Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* 1998, 84 cites late sources (the Book of Apopis, and Late Period temple decoration) which explicitly cast the turtle in an antagonistic role to Re.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Most notably Hierakonpolis and el-Mahasna, but also evident at Elephantine and Tell el-Daba. See Linseele, Van Neer and Friedman 2009, 118-119, and Boessneck and von den Dreisch 1982, 116.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles* 1968, 6-9. Contra this opinion, see de Meyer, et al. 2005-2006, 69, who cites butchered turtle faunal remains from Elephantine and Tell el-Daba.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Junker, *Giza VII* 1944, 57, abb. 23, Junker, *Giza VIII* 1947, 117, and Junker, *Giza XI* 1953, 124. There is also one possible early apotropaic case where a soft-shelled turtle carapace placed where the missing legs of an individual, buried at Helwan, should have been. Z. Saad believed that the legs were lost in life, since the tomb was otherwise intact. See Saad 1947, 108-109, Pl. XLVII.

¹⁵⁵⁹ All three exemplars of this text come from the site of Bersheh (spell locations: B1L: bottom; B1C: front; B2P: bottom). See Lesko, *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents* 1979, 23, 38, 48. The other two attestations of *št.w* in the CT corpus (CT:IV,66a, and CT:VI,195g), add no significant information to the discussion.

a) ḥ3=k ḥs b) nj ḥs js rn=k c) R^c rn=k jḥy rn=k d) r^c ḥr gs.wj=f(j)
 e) jr ḏd=k wnm=j nn f) wnm.3k^{sic! 1560} r^c št.w

Get back, excrement! Your name is not Excrement. Your name is Ra. Your name is Ihy, Ra upon his two seats. If you say “I eat this,” then Ra shall eat turtle.¹⁵⁶¹

The deceased denies the identity of the addressee as excrement,¹⁵⁶² and instead redefines it as Re by using a combination of names and titles. The deceased is essentially being tested by the entity, whose positive identity is hidden or obscured by its assumed name ḥs. BD86, entitled “A Spell for Becoming as the Benu Bird,” lends some credence to the idea of hiding, especially as connected with Re and turtles, when the deceased states: št3.n=j m št.w “It is as a turtle that I have hidden myself.”¹⁵⁶³ Here the deceased, a positive entity, has hidden himself with the identity of a traditional negative and chaotic entity, namely the turtle. Understanding the issue in this manner, CT Spell 368 means that since the entity the deceased has encountered is actually Re, that which it eats it not excrement, but rather a turtle. By transposing the identity of the entity, the deceased has changed the connotation from entirely negative (eating excrement), to entirely positive (eating turtle).

¹⁵⁶⁰ Text B2P has corrupted *wnm.k3* in sources B2L and B1C to *wnm.3k*. The translation emends the verb in B2P to *wnm.k3*.

¹⁵⁶¹ CT:V,30a-f. See Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* 2004, II: 7, emends all the pronouns in this spell to refer to the deceased in the first person. This requires changing 8 pronouns, including a dual suffix pronoun, and seems highly unlikely. He, and H. Fischer use this emended version of the spell to prove that eating turtle is a taboo for Re. This conclusion goes directly against the text of BD161 and other sources. Barguet 1986, 406 left the pronouns intact. The following discussion provides an alternate understanding of the text based upon this updated translation.

¹⁵⁶² For the negativity of excrement in the Coffin Texts, see Kadish 1979, 203-217, and more recently Frandsen, *Faeces of the Creator, or the Temptations of the Dead* 2011, 25-62.

¹⁵⁶³ From the Papyrus of Ani. See the translation in Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* 1994, Pl. 27. Even though T. G. Allen, *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of these and other Egyptian Mortuary Texts* 1950 does not include this correspondence, this portion of the text seems to stem from CT:IV,66a, though the verb here is taken directly from the word for turtle: *st(.w)-j m št.w* “I have (done the turtle thing) as a turtle.” The verbal sense is connected with the turtle’s ability to hide out of sight underwater.

An interesting Middle Kingdom object bolsters the idea that eating turtle is actually positive, especially for Re. H. Altenmüller and others have demonstrated that the entities (often erroneously called demons)¹⁵⁶⁴ which appear on ivory apotropaia serve to protect young human babies, which are textually linked with the young sun god.¹⁵⁶⁵ These same entities appear upon a Twelfth Dynasty faience baby feeding cup now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (44.4.4).¹⁵⁶⁶ Interestingly, the images upon the spout itself, in other words the portion of the cup which would have actually entered into the baby's mouth, are images of turtles.¹⁵⁶⁷ Given that the young human baby meant to use this cup was identified with the sun god Re,¹⁵⁶⁸ then the turtles on the feeding cup spout demonstrate that the sun god eating turtles is a positive thing, one which may even carry apotropaic connotations. If the turtle was only a negative and evil animal, it is hardly likely to have been placed in the mouth of a vulnerable child.

The concept of Re eating turtle is perhaps also echoed archaeologically at the site of Bersha. Recent excavations have uncovered the remains of turtle carapaces (*Trionyx triunguis*) in a number of areas. The excavators had the following to say about their loci:

In the case of shaft 16K86/1A the carapace fragments were probably ritual, being placed in front of the burial chamber and accompanied by a burnt offering. This is perhaps also the case of the carapace of a soft-shelled turtle discovered in 1898 by Daressy in the tomb of Sepi III at Dayr al-

¹⁵⁶⁴ Coffin Text Spell 277 elucidates a hierarchy in which *3h.w* come between gods and humans. Spell 335 specifically calls seven of these “demonic” creatures *3h.w*. As *3h.w*, entities belonging to this category possess effectiveness, stand in-between gods and humans, and are neutral in demeanor.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittelägyptens* 1965, 136ff. Both friends and enemies of the sun god appear on these objects, but the net result is the protection of the baby. The turtle (*št.w*) appears on a number of the apotropaia, but does not appear to be an enemy as H. Altenmüller maintains. Often the turtle holds pride of place at the ends of the apotropaion.

¹⁵⁶⁶ J. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt* 2005, 30-31, Catalogue Number 23, with references.

¹⁵⁶⁷ This is true for both sides of the spout. These are the only images which would have been in a position to enter the mouth of the baby.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittelägyptens* 1965, 136ff.

Barsha.... The tomb was found as good as intact and can be dated to the later Twelfth Dynasty. In this case it is thus very unlikely that the carapace is a post-burial intrusion.¹⁵⁶⁹

M. de Meyer et al. link the deposition of ritually slaughtered turtles to the much later practice of killing chaotic animals associated with Seth.¹⁵⁷⁰ In light of the present evidence, however, an offering of turtle as food for the deceased, conceptually linked with Re, seems closer to the sense of both Coffin Texts Spell 368 and Book of the Dead 161. It is also not surprising that this practice is well attested at Bersha, given that all three exemplars of Coffin Text Spell 368 derive from coffins of this same site.

If the understanding of these sources put forth here is correct, the excerpted BD 161 text on the sarcophagus of Horemheb is another piece in this cultural puzzle. The death of the turtle takes place in order to nourish Re, who therefore lives by the turtle's demise.¹⁵⁷¹ As the opening line of BD 161 states, Thoth authored the spell for Wennofer (Osiris) when he was *wb3 m jtn* "opening the disk."¹⁵⁷² This statement is quite probably intertwined with the idea of the Solar-Osirian unity popular during the Eighteenth Dynasty,¹⁵⁷³ and therefore both allows the deceased to unite with the sun god, but also revivifies the sun god through the nourishment the turtle provides.

¹⁵⁶⁹ de Meyer, et al. 2005-2006, 70.

¹⁵⁷⁰ de Meyer, et al. 2005-2006, 71.

¹⁵⁷¹ On one level the actual consumption of the turtle may be meant, as corroborated by the baby feeding cup. On another level however, the destruction of the turtle, which did in fact have chaotic connotations, is equivalent to the destruction of Isfet, and creation of Maat. The gods are said in numerous places to live on Maat, hence the statement that Re eats turtle is a circumlocutius way of saying that Re lives on Maat.

¹⁵⁷² Naville 1886, Pl. CLXXXIV. The verb *wb3* (WB I:290.1-291.7) has the sense of "drilling" into something, as in the creation of stone vessels.

¹⁵⁷³ See Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* 1982, 93-96, and Spalinger, *The rise of the Solar-Osirian theology in the Ramesside Age*, *new points d'appui* 2008, 257-275.









8.1.5.2 Band Texts of the Sarcophagus of Horemheb

The beginning of each Band Text is missing, having originally existed on the now absent lid of the sarcophagus.¹⁵⁷⁴ By comparison to the texts of the Teti coffin in Brooklyn and that of the Chantress of Amun Henut-wedjebu in the Washington University Gallery of Art, and by matching the reconstructed texts with the extant captions and depictions of the Four Sons of Horus, we can reconstruct most of these texts. Texts of this type follow the format *dd-mdw jm3h.w hr* + divine name and title + name and title of deceased.¹⁵⁷⁵ In each band, the name of the god corresponds to that pictured nearby, and links the texts with the Captions. The Band Texts are as follows:

Right side:

- A: [] 
 B: [] 
 C: [] 
 D: [] 

Left Side:

- E: [] 
 F: [] 
 G: [] 
 H: [] 

dd mdw jm3.h hr NN wsjr zh3.w hr-m-hb m3c-hrw

Words spoken: Honored one before NN, The Osiris, Scribe, Horemheb, True of Voice.

Other than texts D and E, all other band texts relate to associated Captions and divine images to make a related set. Texts D and E, appearing on either side of the sarcophagus

¹⁵⁷⁴ For an example of a very similar type stone sarcophagus lid with its band texts belonging to the Viceroy Merymose, see Kozloff, Bryan and Berman 1992, 230-231.

¹⁵⁷⁵ James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum, Vol. I 1974, 101-104, Pl. LVII, and Kozloff, Bryan and Berman 1992, 312-317 for identical texts.



near the foot are the only exception, and do not connect with either divine image or Caption texts. On the coffin of Teti in Brooklyn, the right side bears the divine name “Geb, prince of the gods,” while on the left “Horus, avenger of his father” appears.¹⁵⁷⁶ The texts on the coffin of Henut-wedjebu in this position indicate that the deceased is one honored before the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹⁵⁷⁷ With only the name and title of Horemheb surviving on the sarcophagus trough, any reconstruction of these texts would be highly speculative at best.

Texts A and H (shown above), occurring near the head of the sarcophagus, both have the name of the god Imsety visible on the coffin trough. Due to the position of the text bands near the wig and collar of the deceased on this coffin type, the texts of these bands are slightly truncated, with the name of the god appearing on the trough instead of on the lid. Both of these texts are dedicated to the same Son of Horus, highlighting an interesting feature of this sarcophagus. Of ten divine depictions, Thoth appears four times, Anubis twice, Imsety twice, Duamutef once, and Qebehsenuef once. Hapy, the fourth Son of Horus, is not included on the sarcophagus, his place apparently being taken by the duplication of Imsety. With all four Sons of Horus appearing in their human headed forms,¹⁵⁷⁸ the omission of Hapy is predominantly textual. The most likely scenario is that two artists were carving the texts of the sarcophagus concurrently, one on

¹⁵⁷⁶ James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, Vol. I 1974, 103. Although broken, the coffin of Anen-Tursha from Gurob has a similar form of Horus, W. M. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* 1890, Pl. XIX.

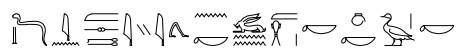
¹⁵⁷⁷ Kozloff, Bryan and Berman 1992, 314-316.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes* 1988, 12.

either side.¹⁵⁷⁹ Orthography helps to corroborate this conclusion. In text A, Imsety's name is spelled  *mz.t* without divine determinative. Text H on the other hand has  *mz.tj*. The slip archive of the Berlin Wörterbuch indicates that the standard spelling of the god's name shifts from *mz.tj* to *mz.t* in the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁵⁸⁰ The fact that both spellings appear on the same object here argues both that at least two scribes or artists were involved in the object's production,¹⁵⁸¹ and that the sarcophagus dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁵⁸²

8.1.5.3 BD 151 Caption Texts on the Sarcophagus of Horemheb

The last type of texts appearing on the Sarcophagus of the Scribe Horemheb are captions associated with the images of various divinities which derive from Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead.¹⁵⁸³ Each text follows the formula *dd md.w jn* + divine name, followed by a short speech. The caption texts are as follows:

J: 
dd mdw jn mz.t jj(=j) n=k wnn(=j) m s3=k jnk z3=k
 Words spoken by Imsety: I always come to you, being your protection.¹⁵⁸⁴
 I am your son.

¹⁵⁷⁹ A repeated excerpt of BD 161 replaces the caption text associated with Imsety on the left side of the sarcophagus. In the original layout this position may have been reserved for Hapy, as it is on the stone sarcophagus of the Viceroy Merymose.





¹⁵⁸⁰ WB: I, 88.11-13. See also the WB slip archive, document DZA 20.795.510 which records orthography by chronological period. According to this card, some crossover exists with the spelling from the late Eighteenth into the Nineteenth Dynasties, as demonstrated on the Horemheb sarcophagus.

¹⁵⁸¹ The other significant spelling variation is Horemheb's name itself. On the left side of the sarcophagus (texts E, F, and G) the *hb* element of his name is spelled out with the *h* and *b* phonetic compliments. The other five examples of his name (text H also on the left side, and texts A, B, C, and D on the right) do not include these phonetic compliments. This variation is, however, not chronologically diagnostic. For the name in general, see Ranke 1935, I:248.7.

¹⁵⁸² See below §7.1.5.4 on dating the sarcophagus.

¹⁵⁸³ For this spell, see Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* 1998.

¹⁵⁸⁴ The *s3* sign (V17) looks more like the *hr* sign (D2) on the sarcophagus, but in reality it is the hieratic form of V17 that the artist carved. This hieratic sign looks very similar to the hieroglyphic form of D2. See Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II 1965, 6 (Sign 80), and 34 (Sign 389). For a comparable text, see Kozloff, Bryan and Berman 1992, 316, Text 18.

- K: 
dd mdw jn jnp.w hn.tj s3h-ntr jj(=j) n=k r wt ʕ.wj=k
 Words spoken by Anubis, Foremost of the Divine Booth: (I) have come to you in order to bind¹⁵⁸⁵ your limbs.
- L: 
dd mdw jn qbh-sn.w ʕf jnk z3=k mr n jb=k
 Words spoken by Qebehsenuf: I am your beloved son of your heart.
- O: 
dd mdw jn dw3-mw.t ʕf wsjr zh3.w hr-m-hb m3ʕ-hrw (jj=j n=k r) wnn m s3=k rʕ nb
 Words spoken by Duamutef: (I have come to you) to be your protection every day, Osiris, Scribe, Horemheb.¹⁵⁸⁶
- P: 
dd mdw jn jnp.w jm.j-wt jj(=j) n=k r s(3)q hʕ.w=k
 Words spoken by Anubis, Imiut: I have come to you in order to unite your limbs.¹⁵⁸⁷

Excerpts from Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead appear on royal sarcophagi throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁵⁸⁸ Based upon examination of these texts, slight changes in the grammar of these excerpts began during the reign of Amenhotep II, continuing during and after the Amarna Period, as reflected in the Tutankhamun and Horemheb versions. One sentence in particular, which the Abydene Horemheb sarcophagus renders in Text J as *jj n=k wnn m s3=k*, highlights these changes. This sentence appears in the following ways on the Eighteenth Dynasty royal sources:¹⁵⁸⁹

¹⁵⁸⁵ This verb has the sense of wrapping the body in bandages in order to create a mummy. See WB:I, 378.7-379.3, and R. Hannig 2003, 743-744.

¹⁵⁸⁶ By comparison with BD 151, it would seem that the scribe has placed the name and title of the deceased, the one for whom Duamutef acts, in the place of the beginning of this clause *jj=j n=k*.

¹⁵⁸⁷ For this word, see WB:IV, 25.18, and R. Hannig 2003, 2092, def. 7.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* 1935.

¹⁵⁸⁹ For the Thutmosis I, Thutmosis III, Hatshepsut, Amenhotep, and Thutmosis IV sarcophagi, see Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* 1935. For the Tutankhamun source, see Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon* 1952, Pl. XVI and XVIII, and for the sarcophagus of Pharaoh Horemheb, Hornung, *Das Grab des Horemhab im Tal der Könige* 1971, Pl. 64-65

Table 8.3: BD 151 Excerpt from Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Sarcophagi

Thutmosis I (Cairo)	<i>jj.n(=j) wn=j m z3=k</i>
Thutmosis I (Boston)	<i>jj.n(=j) wn(=j) m z3=k</i>
Thutmosis III	<i>jj.n(=j) wn=j m z3=k</i>
Hatshepsut (Cairo)	<i>jj.n(=j) wn(=j) m z3...</i>
Amenhotep II	<i>jj.n(=j) wn(=j) z3=k</i> <i>jj.n(=j) wnn(=j) m z3=k</i>
Thutmosis IV	<i>jj.n(=j) wn(=j) m z3=k</i>
Tutankhamun (Shrine IV)	<i>jj.n(=j) r wnn m z3</i>
Horemheb	<i>jj.n(=j) wnn m z3=k</i> <i>jj.n(=j) r wnn=j m z3=k</i>

From these sources, it seems that the original form of the spell was emphatic, consisting of an initial verb-of-motion in the *sdm.n=f*,¹⁵⁹⁰ followed by an emphasized purpose clause with the subjunctive form *wn=j*.¹⁵⁹¹ We can translate this version, *jj.n=j wn=j m z3=k* as “It is so that I might be your protection that I have come.”

The sarcophagus of Amenhotep II contains two versions of this statement. One follows the traditional model of NARF + emphasized subjunctive purpose clause. The other substitutes the form *wnn* for *wn(=j)*, which according to J. Allen in its geminated form can represent the imperfective,¹⁵⁹² prospective,¹⁵⁹³ or infinitive.¹⁵⁹⁴ Of these three options, the prospective in a purpose clause seems the closest to the sense of the *subjunctive sdm=f* of the other version. Since the sentence lacks the preposition *r* before the infinitive, this option seems unlikely. J. Allen indicates that an unmarked *prospective*

¹⁵⁹⁰ Polotsky 1965, 80-86. This is what J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, § 25.7ff calls the Non-attributive Relative Form (NARF).

¹⁵⁹¹ See J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, §19.8.

¹⁵⁹² J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, §20.2, and §20.10.

¹⁵⁹³ J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, §21.7.

¹⁵⁹⁴ J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, §14.3.

sḏm=f can appear as the verbal predicate in an adverb clause,¹⁵⁹⁵ and that in Middle Egyptian, the prospective of *wnn* acts as a modal, which “allows an adverbial predicate or stative to function like a prospective.”¹⁵⁹⁶ Since Allen sees the prospective as the “indicative counterpart of the subjunctive,”¹⁵⁹⁷ it may be possible to translate *jj.n=j wnn=j m z3=k* as “It is so that I will be your protection, that I have come.”¹⁵⁹⁸

The fourth shrine of Tutankhamun represents a further step in the evolution of this sentence. The scribes responsible for this monument moved away from the *prospective sḏm=f*, to the construction of *r+infinitive*, expressing purpose. Hence the sentence *jj.n(=j) r wnn m z3* from the Tutankamun source has the translation of “It is in order to be protection that I have come,” where the construction *r+infinitive* represents the idea that the action will come to pass in the future.¹⁵⁹⁹

Armed with this brief look at the text from royal sarcophagi, we return to Text J from the South Abydos Horemheb sarcophagus, which reads:



In this version, the scribe seems to have misunderstood the *n* of the *sḏm.n=f* form as a preposition, perhaps supplying a second person singular suffix pronoun.¹⁶⁰⁰ The resulting

¹⁵⁹⁵ J. Allen, Middle Egyptian 2000, §26.19.

¹⁵⁹⁶ J. Allen, Middle Egyptian 2000, §21.7.

¹⁵⁹⁷ J. Allen, Middle Egyptian 2000, §21.4.

¹⁵⁹⁸ For another translation option employing the *imperfective sḏm=f*, see below.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Vernus 1990, 5ff.

¹⁶⁰⁰ It seems unlikely that the scribe would have misread his original hieratic document, creating *jj(=j) n=k wnn* out of *jj.n(=j) r wnn*, since *k* and *r* are rather different in hieratic. Theoretically the form could be read as *jj.n=k*, though this yields no sense in translation. Interestingly, the pAni version of this spell is also non-emphatic, rendered as *jj(=j) wn=j m z3=k*, see Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead 1994, Pl. 33. It is

verb form *jj(=j)* is no longer clearly emphatic, probably representing instead the *imperfective sdm=f* form.¹⁶⁰¹ In light of this, we can analyze the sentence in at least two different ways: 1) as *jj(=j) n=k (r) wnn m z3=k* “I always come to you in order to be your protection;” or 2) as *jj(=j) n=k wnn(=j) m z3=k*, with *wnn* representing the *imperfective* of concomitant action,¹⁶⁰² translating “I always come to you, being your (constant) protection.”¹⁶⁰³ In either case, the existence of the geminated form *wnn* on the sarcophagus of Horemheb coincides with a date in the late Eighteenth Dynasty, following the reign of Amenhotep II.

8.1.5.4 Cannon of Proportion and Divine Depictions on the Sarcophagus of Horemheb

During the Amarna Period, Akhenaten altered the cannon of human proportion in Egyptian art, basing the standing male figure on a grid of twenty squares from the soles of the feet to the hairline, as opposed to the standard eighteen used both directly before and after his reign.¹⁶⁰⁴ In discussing non-royal standing figures, G. Robins outlines the royal-private crossover when she states:

The analysis of these figures demonstrates clearly that the proportions adopted for royal figures were transferred to private ones. There is some variation, perhaps because these figures were drawn freehand, but they have the short lower leg, narrow shoulders, and large head and neck associated with Amarna royal proportions.¹⁶⁰⁵

possible that the original from which the scribe of the Horemheb sarcophagus was working had a variant text including the prepositional phrase *n=k*, which is not attested in the sources surveyed here.

¹⁶⁰¹ J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, §20.2, and §20.7. The imperfective in main clause situations expresses the durative veracity of the statement.

¹⁶⁰² J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 2000, §20.10.

¹⁶⁰³ Since the text omits the first person singular suffix pronoun on the other verbs, the analysis with the prospective *wnn=j* seems more likely, than emending the text by adding a preposition *r* to create *r+infinitive*.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* 1994, 87-133.

¹⁶⁰⁵ See Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* 1994, 140-143.

Given that the scribe Horemheb's sarcophagus was probably made in the very late Eighteenth Dynasty directly following the reign of Akhenaten (see discussion above), it is prudent to analyze the proportions of the divine images appearing on the sarcophagus in order to ascertain which grid system – eighteen or twenty squares – might have been used in laying out the artwork.¹⁶⁰⁶ The brief study in this section will compare the images of Thoth from both sides of the sarcophagus against chronologically similar figures drawn using both eighteen and twenty square grids.¹⁶⁰⁷

When depicting the human form on an eighteen square grid, the Egyptian artist placed the top of the grid through the figure's hairline and the base at the sole of the foot.¹⁶⁰⁸ The grid's placement is slightly different with animal-headed divinities, as G. Robins outlines:

As one would expect, the human body up to the junction of the "neck" and shoulders on horizontal 16 in standing figures and 12 on seated ones is drawn in accordance with normal conventions. On the ibis-headed form of the god Thoth, horizontal 18 runs at the top of the ibis head.¹⁶⁰⁹

Based upon this information it is possible to place grids of both eighteen and twenty squares over images of Thoth from the sarcophagus of Horemheb.¹⁶¹⁰ With the top and bottom grid lines on the top of the head and ground-line respectively, three main points --

¹⁶⁰⁶ It is important to note that no traces of an original grid can be seen on the sarcophagus itself. The application of the well-established grid system of Egyptian art, therefore, has been hypothetically applied to the Horemheb sarcophagus using Photoshop as an aid in analyzing the figural proportions within a late Eighteenth Dynasty context.

¹⁶⁰⁷ The images of Thoth used in this study were traced from Reflectance Transformational Imaging (RTI) photographs of the sarcophagus.

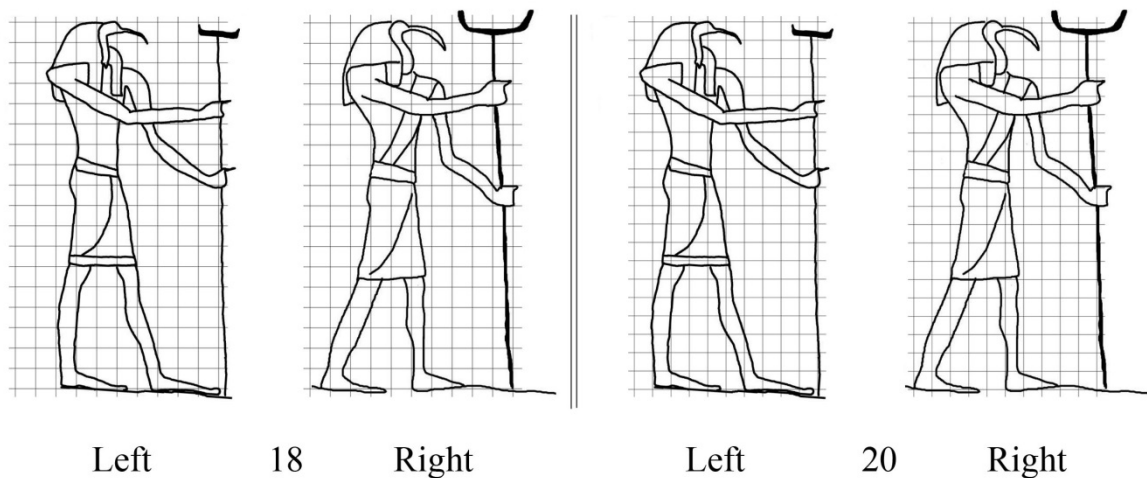
¹⁶⁰⁸ Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* 1994, 61.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* 1994, 108, Fig. 5.18.

¹⁶¹⁰ Though animal-headed gods are understandably rare during the Amarna Period, especially at the new capital of Akhetaten, there is no reason to believe that the position of the top grid line would have been different in a twenty square layout. Indeed, the same convention of this line passing through the hairline holds true of both eighteen and twenty square grids. See Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* 1994, 119ff.

the bottom of the kilt, the back of the belt, and the shoulder -- were used to ascertain the suitability of either eighteen or twenty square grids on the two depictions. The following image (Fig. 8.10) shows the two images of Thoth from the right and left sides of the sarcophagus overlaid with both eighteen and twenty square grids.

Fig. 8.10: Thoth from the Horemheb Sarcophagus with Eighteen and Twenty Square Grids



Thoth appears four times on the sarcophagus, twice on each side. Comparing these two right-facing figures¹⁶¹¹ from both sides yields intriguing results. Looking first at the bottom of the kilt, that of Thoth from the left side lines up exactly with the eighteen square grid (line 6), while that of Thoth from the right side coincides with the twenty square grid (line 6). The same seems to be true of the shoulder. Thoth's shoulders from the left side adhere better to the eighteen square grid. In the right side image on the other hand, Thoth's right shoulder lines up with both grids, but the foreshortened left shoulder coincides better with the twenty square grid than the eighteen. The center of the belt at its back rests upon line eleven in the left Thoth (eighteen squares), and upon line twelve

¹⁶¹¹ In other words the figure from the foot end of the left side, and the head end of the right side. See above Fig. 7.9.

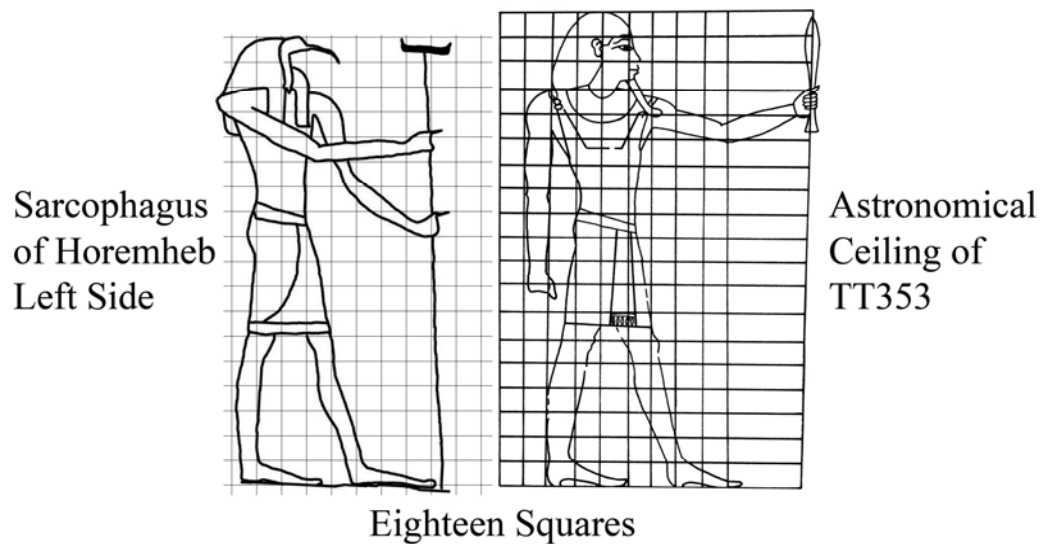
in the right Thoth (twenty squares). Taken together, these points would seem to indicate that both eighteen and twenty square layout grids were used side by side on Horemheb's sarcophagus, with eighteen used on the left side, and twenty employed on the right.¹⁶¹²

In order to validate the conclusion that two grids were used simultaneously, the two images of Thoth must be compared to depictions adhering to the same proportions. Beginning first with the eighteen square images, the proportions of Thoth's body from the Horemheb sarcophagus are comparable to those of a human form from the Tomb of Senenmut (TT353).¹⁶¹³ The bulge of the knee falls just below the sixth line up from the bottom, the curve of the buttocks falls just above line ten, the middle of the back of the belt falls upon line eleven, the small of the back at eleven and a half, and the armpit of both is just below line fifteen.

¹⁶¹² The same situation seems to hold true for the figures of Anubis. That of the right side fits the twenty square grid much better than the eighteen, while the left side figure is somewhat ambiguous, fitting the eighteen squares better in some places, and the twenty in others. A fuller study of proportion must wait for better documentation of the sarcophagus.

¹⁶¹³ For the tomb generally, see Dorman 1988, 66ff. This image is included because it possesses an original, ancient grid.

Fig. 8.11: Comparison of Proportions on Eighteen Square Grids ¹⁶¹⁴

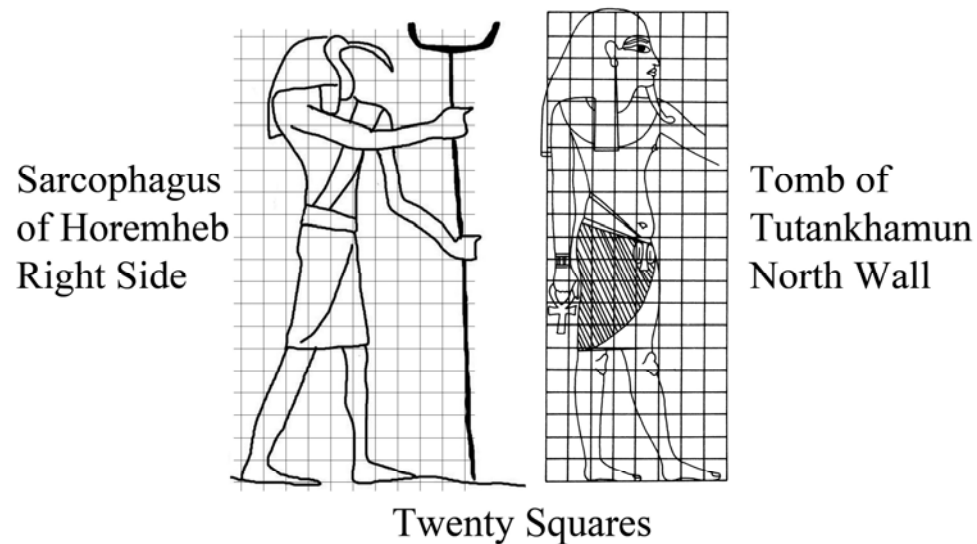


The shoulders of these figures are about six squares wide, and the stance from the heel of the back foot to the toe of the front is slightly more than seven squares. Based upon these comparisons it seems reasonably plausible that Thoth on the left side of Horemheb's sarcophagus adheres to traditional New Kingdom proportions, and was drawn according to an eighteen square grid.

The same cannot be said for Thoth on the right side of the sarcophagus. As stated above, his form on this side seems to follow a different set of proportions set upon an Amarna Period twenty square grid.

¹⁶¹⁴ The image on the right side of this figure comes from Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* 1994, Fig. 5.2. The grid squares on this figure are ancient.

Fig. 8.12: Comparison of Proportions on Twenty Square Grids¹⁶¹⁵



In the image above (Fig. 8.12), Thoth from the sarcophagus of Horemheb is compared to the *ka* of Tutankhamun from the north wall of his burial chamber (KV62). Here the bulge of the knee of both figures falls between horizontals five and six, the kilt lies upon line six, the middle of the back of the belt lies upon line twelve, the small of the back is on line thirteen, and both Thoth's front shoulder as well as both shoulders of Tutankhamun lie upon line seventeen.¹⁶¹⁶ The shoulder width of both figures is six squares. This image of Thoth from the right side of the sarcophagus therefore seems to follow an Amarna period cannon of proportions, employing a twenty square layout grid.¹⁶¹⁷

¹⁶¹⁵ The image on the right side of this figure comes from Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* 1994, Fig. 4.46. The image has been flipped horizontally for comparative purposes, but its proportions remain unaltered.

¹⁶¹⁶ Though Thoth's arm blocks his chest, it is highly likely that the nipple on line fifteen, and the armpit at fifteen and three quarters would also have lined up between the two images.

¹⁶¹⁷ The proportions of the Thoth figure adhere to those of the Amarna Period, but the fleshiness and curved nature of these figures have been subdued in the Thoth depiction, hence essentially straddling two styles.

The conclusion that two different canons of proportions appear on one object may be somewhat surprising at first. G. Robins in her work on proportion, compared two seemingly identical statues of Tutankhamun standing upon leopards, both deriving from his tomb.¹⁶¹⁸ Overlaying a twenty square grid upon both reveals the fact that one statue (Carter 289b) follows Amarna proportions, while the other (Carter 289a) approaches the more traditional Eighteenth Dynasty cannon with some Amarna tendencies. G. Robins speculates that the two statues were made at different times, but understood together they represent an attempt to return to traditional proportions following the reign of Akhenaten.¹⁶¹⁹ In two dimensional art, images in the burial chamber of Tutankhamun seem to follow an eighteen square format on the south wall, and a twenty square format on the north.¹⁶²⁰ As with the sarcophagus of Horemheb, these burial chamber paintings probably represent the work of at least two artists working in two different styles simultaneously on the same project.

It is difficult to believe that the two sides of Horemheb's sarcophagus were made at different times, as appears to have been the case with the Tutankhamun statues. The notion that they were decorated by different people working simultaneously is much more probable. Far from requiring complex argumentation to validate, this hypothesis in fact explains a number of enigmatic features of the sarcophagus we have alluded to above.

¹⁶¹⁸ Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* 1994, 148ff, Fig. 6.37 and 6.38.

¹⁶¹⁹ Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* 1994, 151.

¹⁶²⁰ Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* 1990, 74.

First is the disparate orthography in the name of Imsety upon the two sides. On the left side (that adhering to both the traditional eighteen square layout and proportions) his name is rendered in the traditional Eighteenth Dynasty spelling of *mz.tj*. On the right side (that adhering to the Amarna twenty square layout and proportions) his name is spelled in a more modern way as *mz.t* – the spelling which becomes predominant during the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁶²¹

Secondly, the “heb” element of Horemheb’s name contains phonetic compliments on most of the sarcophagus’ left side, and it is written in the correct order. On the right side the name appears without phonetic compliments, with the *m* element appearing out of place at the end of the name. Though these spellings are not chronologically diagnostic, they point toward the possibility of at least two artists decorating the sarcophagus.

Thirdly, two mistakes were made on the Eyes of Horus of the right side. The left eye has two curls, indicating that it was made too small at first, necessitating that it be enlarged. The vertical stroke below the right eye has two notches instead of one (Fig. 8.9). Additionally, the turtle hieroglyph appears correctly only on the left side, while text I of the right side has the wholly incorrect trussed duck (Table 8.2).¹⁶²² Finally the carving of Caption Text J substitutes the reed leaf (M17) for the walking reed leaf (M18), thus rendering the text meaningless without its verb (Fig. 8.9).

¹⁶²¹ For these spellings, see the discussion above §8.1.5.2.

¹⁶²² Text R of the left side also displays this mistake (Fig. 8.9). Further measurement of the sarcophagus itself is required, but it may be possible that the Thoth image at the head of the left side follows the same proportions as those on the right. If this is the case, then it would seem that one individual decorated three-quarters of the left side, and the other individual was responsible for the rest of the sarcophagus.

The distinct difference between the proportions employed between the right and left sides coincides with these textual variations. On the whole, the art and texts of the left side of the sarcophagus are executed to a much higher standard, and adhere to traditional proportions using the eighteen square grid. The right side on the other hand seems the work of a less skilled artisan, applying features of the Amarna style, and perhaps even choosing to employ a more modern spelling of Imsety's name.

One plausible explanation for this situation is that the two (or perhaps more) individuals working on the sarcophagus were trained at different times. The left side, appearing more refined with far fewer carving errors and more traditional proportions, was perhaps the work of an experienced artisan trained before the reign of Akhenaten.¹⁶²³ The artisan of the right side was perhaps younger, and less experienced. His training would therefore have taken place during the Amarna Period, leading to his divine figures exhibiting Amarna proportions. In such a situation it would even be possible that the less experienced artisan was the apprentice of the older, though this conclusion is merely speculative.

8.1.5.5 Date of the Sarcophagus of Horemheb

The conclusion reached above that two figural proportions exist simultaneously on the sarcophagus – one belonging to the Amarna Period, and the other to rest of the New Kingdom – is highly significant in what it betrays about when the sarcophagus was made. This one fact alone narrows down the date of its fabrication to very early in the

¹⁶²³ It is also possible that this artisan was merely better than that of the right side, and chose to work in the traditional proportions.

reign of Akhenaten, after the introduction of the twenty square layout, or directly following his death when there was an attempt to return to the traditional ways (reigns of Tutankhamun and Horemheb).¹⁶²⁴

According to the discussion above, the Four Sons of Horus appearing with human heads and the similarity in the sarcophagus' artistic layout with that of Henut-wedjebu point toward a date closer to Amenhotep III. On the other hand, the deceased's name Horemheb,¹⁶²⁵ and the spelling variations of Imsety evince a later date.¹⁶²⁶ Furthermore, if the sarcophagus was created during the Amarna Period, it is unlikely that the Four Sons of Horus would have appeared at all. Therefore the reigns of Pharaohs Tutankhamun and Ay (c.1336-1323), and possibly the early years of Horemheb (c. 1323-1295) is the most likely the era in which the sarcophagus was made.¹⁶²⁷ The scribe Horemheb's burial therefore probably took place during the reign of the man who shared his name, Pharaoh Horemheb.¹⁶²⁸

§8.2 Shabtis

Excavations recovered numerous shabtis, both complete and fragmentary, from the Temple Cemetery. Collectively they are of four types: 1) molded and fired pottery

¹⁶²⁴ And probably that of Smenkhare. Tutankhamun is the first to attempt to reinstate the old gods, as outlined on his Restoration Stela, Helck 1958, 2025ff.

¹⁶²⁵ Though the private name Horemheb was in use since the Middle Kingdom, it is probably significant that the last Pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty also held this moniker. See Ranke 1935, I:248.7.

¹⁶²⁶ WB digital slip archive, document DZA 20.795.500, "seit Dyn. 19, auch mit ⚡.".

¹⁶²⁷ Dating of other objects found in this tomb including a shabti with a fragment of Horemheb's name corroborate a date directly following the Amarna Period.

¹⁶²⁸ Due to the highly disturbed nature of TC.20, it is currently not possible to identify which human remains recovered were originally in this sarcophagus. As such it is not known how old Horemheb was at his death.

which was then painted; 2) carved and painted wood; 3) carved limestone with or without incised hieroglyphs; and 4) molded faience. The table below records their distribution.

Table 8.4: Distribution of Shabti Types Across the Temple Cemetery

	Pottery	Wood	Limestone	Faience
TC.7	no shabtis recovered			
TC.9	1 complete	3 fragments		
TC.10			2 fragments	
TC.11north	no shabtis recovered			
TC.11south	1 complete	1 fragment		
TC.19	no shabtis recovered			
TC.20	3 complete, 30 fragmentary	3 fragments		3 fragments of 1 shabti

Each of these four types appears below, beginning with those made of fired clay.

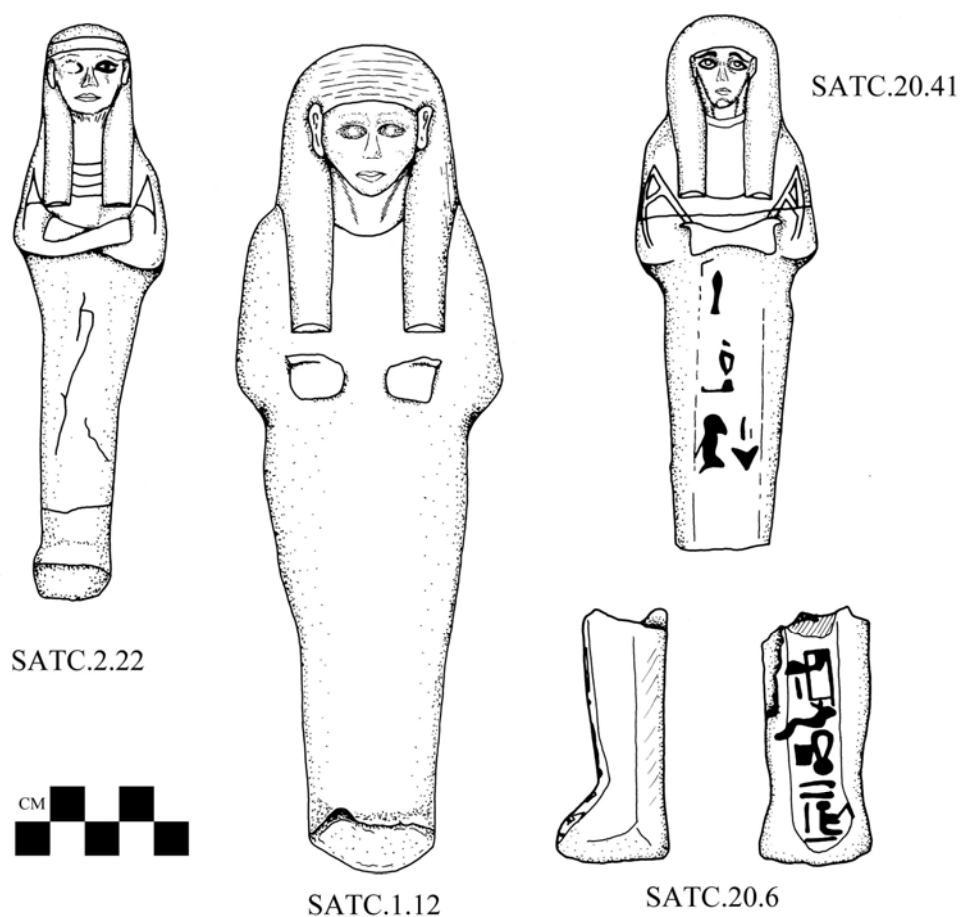
8.2.1 Pottery Shabtis

A single pottery shabti from TC.9 (catalogue number SATC.1.12) was the largest example of this type from the Temple Cemetery, which although missing its feet measured 24cm high. The figure was mummiform, with modeled hands crossed on the chest of H. Schneider's type H-30.¹⁶²⁹ The object was found beneath the articulated legs of one of the female bodies of the tomb which had been partially dragged through the doorway into the shaft. Its position meant that it was missed by the tomb robbers, but it is unclear if the object was *in situ* in contact with the body or was merely dropped in this location during the robbery. When excavated, the shabti possessed a white powder on its surface, with scant traces of yellow paint overlaying this substrate on the body, and blue pigment on the back of the wig, but the rest of the surface paint was already missing.

¹⁶²⁹ Schneider 1977, III: Fig. 12.

TC.11south contained a complete pottery shabti (catalogue number SATC.2.22), but as with the example from TC.9, the surface retained only a friable white powder (possibly a gypsum wash) with traces of yellow, red, and black paint. The TC.11south fragment also had the remains of linen impressions on its surface, indicating that it was either wrapped in linen itself, or was placed next to the wrappings of the owner's mummy, as the provenience of the TC.9 shabti suggests.

Fig. 8.13: A Selection of Fired Pottery Shabtis from the Temple Cemetery



The greatest cache of shabtis was discovered within TC.20. The SATC excavations recovered three complete, and thirty fragmentary examples, coming from a

stratum near the floor under portions of the fallen vault in Chamber B, and in the northeast corner of Chamber D. Unlike the examples from TC.9 and TC.11 south, the paint on many of these examples was still vibrant, including epigraphs recording names and titles.

One fragmentary example (SATC.20.3) bears two hieroglyphs reading *///m-ḥb///* near the shabti's foot. Given its location quite near the sarcophagus of Horemheb, it is probable that this shabti fragment belonged to the scribe Horemheb himself. Another lower leg portion (SATC.20.6) has an enigmatic name which appears to read *ḥw.t=fmj p.t* "His temple is like the sky" (Fig. 8.13 below). Three other fragments retain inscriptions but were in too degraded a state to read (SATC.20.7, SATC.20.18, and SATC.20.41).

The largest group of shabtis with readable inscriptions from TC.20 all belonged to the same man. His name and title from these shabtis was *ḥr.j-jḥ.w R^c-ms-s / R^c-ms-w*, The Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu.¹⁶³⁰ Eight pottery shabtis (SATC.20.2, SATC.20.18, SATC.20.19, SATC.22.7, SATC.22.8, SATC.22.9, SATC.22.10, and SATC.22.22)¹⁶³¹ bear three similar spellings of this man's name, and on five of these (SATC.20.2, SATC.20.19, SATC.22.7, SATC.22.8, and SATC.22.9) his title is still legible (Table 8.5).

¹⁶³⁰ As the discussion below elucidates, his name is spelled *R^c-ms-w*, *R^c-ms-s*, and *R^c-ms*. For the possibility that this man is one and the same as the Rameses who appears on stela OI.11456, see below, §8.3.3.

¹⁶³¹ His name also appears as *R^c-ms-s* on the red faience shabti discussed below in §8.2.4, object SATC.22.17a-c.

Table 8.5: Various Writings of Rameses' Name and Title from TC.20 Shabtis

Object #	Title	Name
SATC.20.2	<i>hr.j-jh.w</i>	<i>R^c-ms</i>
SATC.20.18	--	<i>[R^c]-ms</i>
SATC.20.19	<i>hr.j-jh.w</i>	<i>R^c-ms-w</i>
SATC.22.7	<i>hr.j-jh.w</i>	<i>R^c-ms-s</i>
SATC.22.8	<i>hr.j-jh.w</i>	<i>R^c-[///]</i>
SATC.22.9	<i>hr.j-j[h.w]</i>	<i>R^c-ms-s</i>
SATC.22.10	<i>[hr.j-jh.]w</i>	<i>R^c-ms-s</i>
SATC.22.17a-c	--	<i>R^c-ms-s</i>
SATC.22.22	--	<i>[R^c]-ms-s</i>

E. Peet found three pottery shabtis of this type with black hieroglyphs upon a yellow ground in tomb D 223 at North Abydos which belonged to a Chantress of Osiris, “Khet-her....”¹⁶³² W. Petrie dated pottery shabtis of this sort to the latter part of the 18th into the early 19th Dynasty.¹⁶³³ Artisans carved the inscriptions into the earliest versions after firing them, but this practice rapidly gave way to painting the inscription and decoration directly on the shabti’s surface.¹⁶³⁴ H. Schneider includes an identical example in his catalogue (3.5.1.5) belonging to the lady Hat, high priestess of Isis at Abydos, which he dates to “Dyn. 18/19.”¹⁶³⁵ Stylistically the Temple Cemetery examples fit into the transition period between the late 18th and early 19th Dynasties.

¹⁶³² Peet and Loat, *Cemeteries of Abydos* 1913, 32. These objects were sent to the Iowa Masonic Library and Museum in Cedar Rapids.

¹⁶³³ W. M. Petrie, *Shabtis* 1935, 12. See also the examples in Moje 2013 from Asyut.

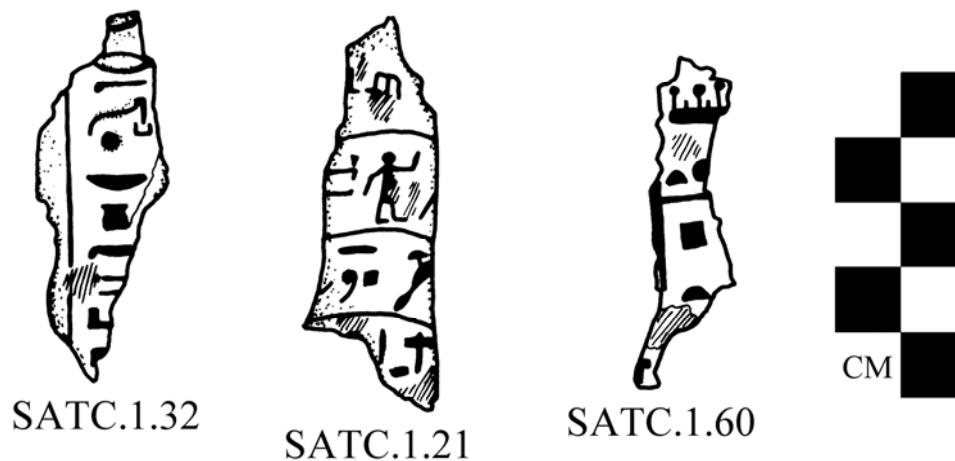
¹⁶³⁴ W. M. Petrie, *Shabtis* 1935, Pl. XXIV, no. 78, 79, and 76. No. 76’s size is quite close to the TC.9 example. Petrie Museum UC43258 also from Abydos is very similar to that of TC.9 as well, though the date in the catalogue is simply “New Kingdom.”

¹⁶³⁵ Schneider 1977, II: 110, and III: 44.

8.2.2 Carved and Painted Wood Shabtis

The second type of shabti from the Temple Cemetery was carved from wood with both painted and incised hieroglyphic inscriptions. Seven fragments in total were recovered, three from TC.9, one from TC.11south, and three from TC.20. Those from TC.9 display two different probable forms, one with a yellow tint and a central line of hieroglyphs (SATC.1.32), and the other two with a white ground and horizontally grouped signs (SATC.1.21 and SATC.1.60). The TC.20 fragments (SATC.22.26, SATC.22.27, and SATC.22.28) derive from shabtis with a black background, and yellow hieroglyphs written in horizontal lines, reading left to right.

Fig. 8.14: Wooden Shabti Fragments from TC.9



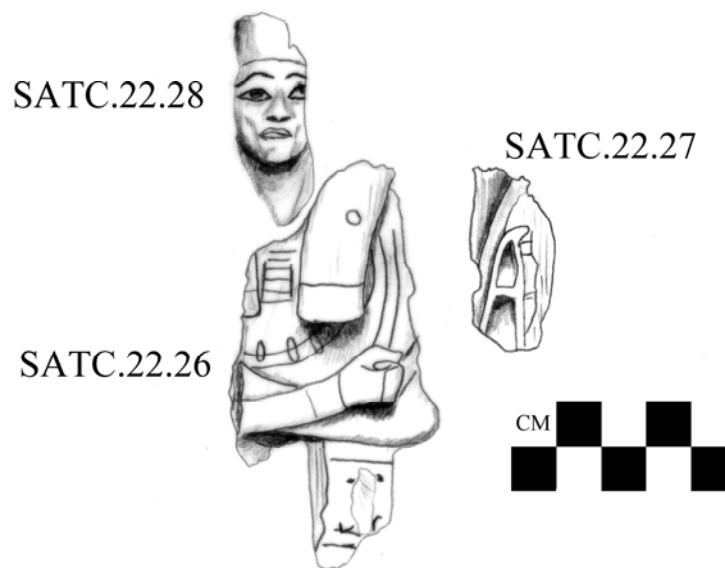
The fragment SATC.1.32 retains what H. Schneider calls the *nw*-clause portion of the shabti spell, and probably belongs to spell category IVc of the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁶³⁶ The reconstructed clause is ...*r nw r^c nb jnk m.k k3=k* “...at any

¹⁶³⁶ Schneider 1977, I: 78ff, 101-102, and III: Fig. 4. See also W. M. Petrie, *Shabtis* 1935, Pl. II, clauses 27, 36, and 37.

time, “I am here,” you shall say.” According to H. Schneider’s schema, this clause appears at the end of the spell, and therefore the fragment comes from the lower portion of the shabti.

The preserved portions of SATC.1.21 and SATC.1.60 seem to have the invocation clause (line two of SATC.1.21). Line four of SATC.1.21 also has a portion of the word *j3b.t* “east,” which is part of the speech of the shabti stating that it will transport sand of the west to the east, the clause H. Schneider calls “Tasks.”¹⁶³⁷ Both of these clauses appear in numerous versions of the shabti spell, but shabtis exhibiting this coloration appear through the Eighteenth Dynasty into the early Nineteenth.¹⁶³⁸

Fig. 8.15: Wooden Shabti Fragments from TC.20



¹⁶³⁷ Schneider 1977, 78ff.

¹⁶³⁸ See for example the shabti of the Chantress of Amun, Tentimentet, Aubert and Aubert 2005, 80-81.

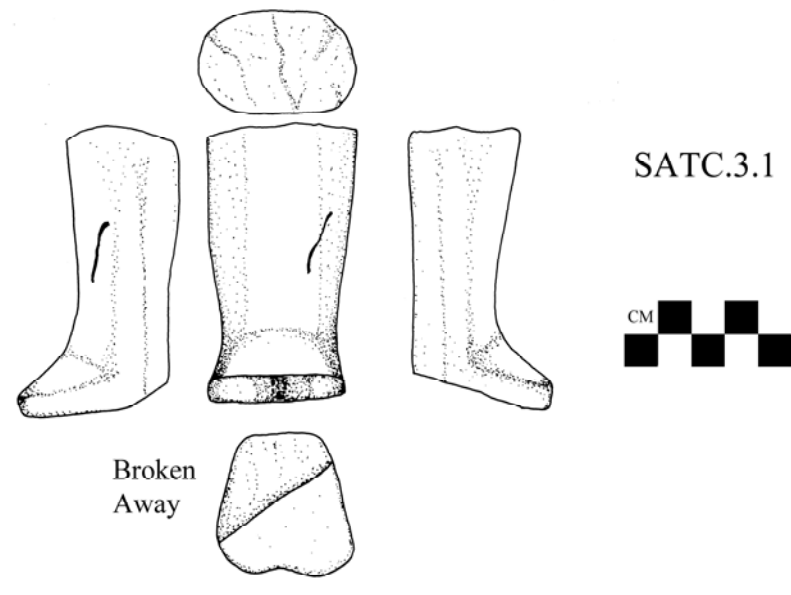
The single example of a wooden shabti from TC.11 south was badly damaged by the action of insects, with only the severely abraded upper torso and head remaining. What was left of the piece merely demonstrates that it was slightly larger than the examples from TC.9.

8.2.3 Limestone Shabtis

Finally TC.10 contained the remains of two limestone shabtis, one consisting of a large portion of the lower legs and feet (SATC.3.1), the other (SATC.3.5) merely a tiny fragment bearing a divine determinative (sign A40) followed by the *mr* sign. The quality of both the stone and the carving of these two fragments is very high. Sadly, too little remains of these pieces to assign a definitive date, though they may be similar to the royal shabti of Ahmose now in the British Museum (BM EA 32191), and that belonging to Iimeru from South Abydos.¹⁶³⁹ For the most part however, all the shabtis of the Temple Cemetery discussed above date between the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty.

¹⁶³⁹ For the Ahmose shabti, see Quirke, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt* 1992, 41, Fig. 27, and Russmann, *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* 2001, 210. For the Iimeru example, see above, §6.9.2, and Fig. 6.6.

Fig. 8.16: Limestone Shabti Fragment from TC.10



8.2.4 Faience Shabti

Excavations in TC.20 produced three fragments of a single dark red faience shabti, with black line decoration. Two of the fragments joined, and composed the foot section of the shabti which retained a name reading *R^c-ms-s*, who is almost certainly one and the same as the *hr.j-jh.w R^c-ms-s/w* of the numerous fired pottery shabtis recovered from this same context. The third fragment is the shabtis' modeled arms, which are crossed over the breast, right over left.¹⁶⁴⁰

§8.3 Pottery

We turn now to look at the pottery forms we documented between 2012 and 2014. The SATC pottery corpus (SATCP) consists of vessels from its excavations in both the

¹⁶⁴⁰ Schneider 1977, III: Fig. 12, Type H-1.

Temple Cemetery, as well as those in Cemetery S.¹⁶⁴¹ While many types are forms which were in use from the Middle or even Old Kingdom on, a few are more chronologically diagnostic. Some of the New Kingdom vessels belong to the category of Blue Painted Ware, and as mentioned above in Chapter Seven, a small number of these sherds came to light during excavation *in situ* within the brick tomb vaults where they had been used as spacers or chinking.¹⁶⁴² This location links them directly with the construction of the Temple Cemetery tombs. The following section will begin with this distinctive type of decoration, and continue with other diagnostic forms.

8.3.1 Blue Painted Ware

The primary characteristic of all the Blue Painted Ware forms discovered at South Abydos is the linear nature of their decoration. Only one form, SATCP-07, contains non-linear decoration in the form of downward pointing lotus leaves. D. Aston gives the date range for the entire ware type from Thutmose III to Ramesses IV (1400-1147 BCE), with the period of greatest production between Tutankamun and Horemheb (1336-1295 BCE).¹⁶⁴³ He further asserts that, as time progresses into the Nineteenth Dynasty, the decoration becomes less flowery and more geometric and linear.¹⁶⁴⁴ Form SATCP-07 (1/1/6 and 1/5/1, Fig. 8.17) is a slender jar with a slightly everted lip which is comparable to a form from Amarna which lacks the lotus petal decoration of the Temple Cemetery

¹⁶⁴¹ For the complete corpus, see Appendix Two. Since Cemetery S is a royal cemetery of the late Second Intermediate Period, these forms have been mostly excluded from the present discussion, but appear in the full corpus in Appendix Two.

¹⁶⁴² For this chinking, see Kemp, *Soil (including mud-brick architecture)* 2000, 95, Fig. 3.9b.

¹⁶⁴³ D. A. Aston 1998, 56.

¹⁶⁴⁴ D. A. Aston 1998, 354.

type,¹⁶⁴⁵ and a comparable piece appears in the even earlier Eighteenth Dynasty Malqata corpus as published by C. Hope.¹⁶⁴⁶ Furthermore J. Budka discusses fragments of very similar vessels discovered in the Temple A building of the Ahmose Complex at South Abydos which she dates tentatively to the late Eighteenth Dynasty in Table 1, but to the Ramesside period in her discussion.¹⁶⁴⁷

The large carinated bowls SATCP-08 (1/1/6, Fig. 8.17) from the Temple Cemetery and SATCP-45 (10/1/3 and 10/1/5, Fig. 8.17) from Cemetery S, are closely comparable to pieces also deriving from the Ahmose Complex Temple A.¹⁶⁴⁸ J. Budka also dates these pieces to the Ramesside period based upon D. Aston's work at Qantir.¹⁶⁴⁹ Summing up her findings with all the Blue Painted Ware from the Ahmose Complex, she states:

As Hope (1989) has determined, with the beginning of the 19th Dynasty the decorative scheme on blue painted ware changed slightly - fewer floral motifs are attested (only the pendant lotus survived), while more linear patterns and lines appear within the decoration. The Abydos pottery which shows these characteristics (cf. Figs. 15.5, 15.7, 16.2) should consequently be dated to the Ramesside period.¹⁶⁵⁰

Based solely on the painted decoration, the dating comparanda seem to point to a one hundred forty-eight year window between the early Nineteenth to mid Twentieth Dynasty, Ramesses I - Ramesses IV (c. 1295-1147 BCE) for the SATCP Blue Painted

¹⁶⁴⁵ Hope, *Blue Painted and Polychrome Decorated Pottery from Amarna* 1991, Fig. 5g.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Hope, *The XVIIIth Dynasty Pottery from Malkata* 1989, Fig. 7.7.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery* 2006, 105-106, Fig. 15.5, and p. 117, Table 1. See also Budka, *Festival Pottery from New Kingdom Egypt: Three Case Studies* 2013, 185-213.

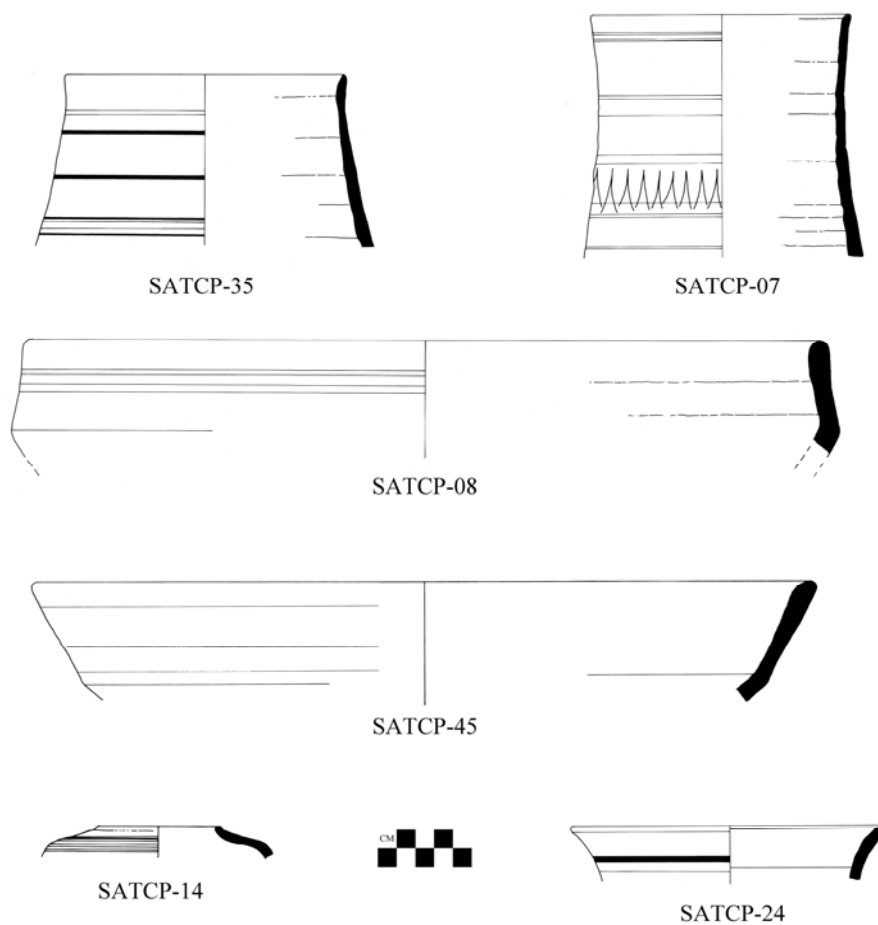
¹⁶⁴⁸ Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery* 2006, 109, Fig. 18.2-18.3, and p.116, Table 1.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery* 2006, 108. See also D. A. Aston 1998, 355.

¹⁶⁵⁰ J Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery* 2006, 108.

Ware forms. Yet the comparanda from Amarna and Malkata yields a full date range beginning under Amunhotep III.

Fig. 8.17: Blue Painted Ware Forms from the Temple Cemetery

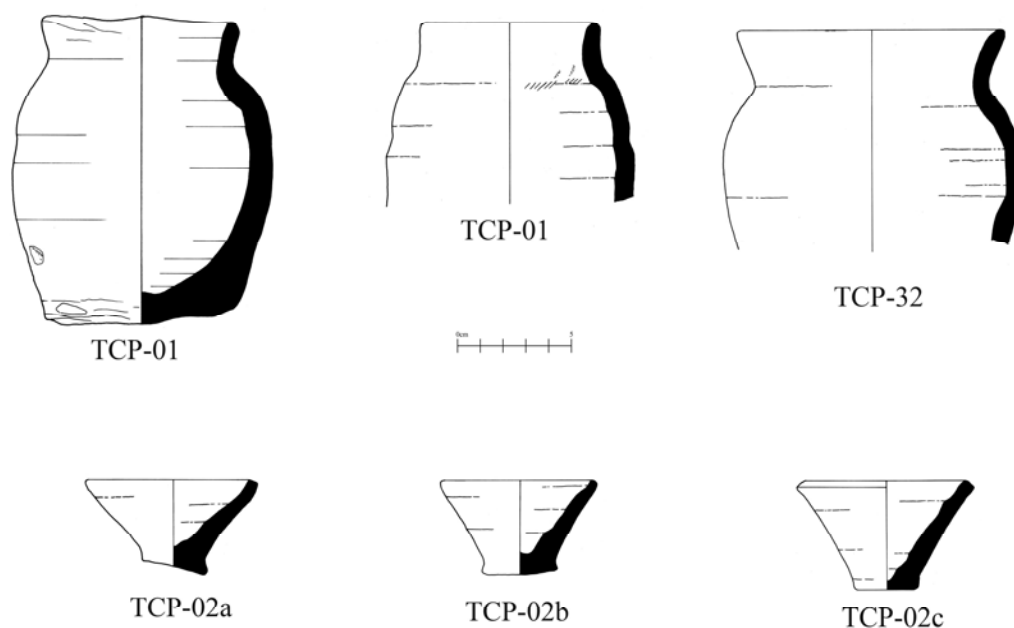


8.3.2 'Beer Jars' and 'Offering Cups'

In addition to the Blue Painted Ware, the expedition recovered a large number of so-called beer-jars (SATCP-01 and SATCP-32, Fig. 8.18) from within the tomb contexts

of the Temple Cemetery.¹⁶⁵¹ In virtually all cases these forms were accompanied by small offering cups (SATCP-02, Fig. 8.18) which served as lids to these cylindrical forms.¹⁶⁵²

Fig. 8.18: Cylindrical “Beer Jars” and “Offering Cups” from the Temple Cemetery



Type SATCP-01 has a direct straight rim with a slight flare in some cases. This was the predominant type discovered in all the tombs. The second type SATCP-32 exhibits a much more pronounced everted rim. SATCP-32 has its closest parallel in R. Holthoer’s type BB4 (direct rim and short neck), and in J. Budka’s discussion of the

¹⁶⁵¹ The precise function of these jars is still unknown. Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery* 2006, 91, indicates that in many examples from the Ahmose complex these beer-jars had holes punched through their bases, rendering them incapable of holding liquid.

¹⁶⁵² One of these assemblages was found in situ, with the smaller cup resting atop the jar, acting as a lid.

Ahmose material.¹⁶⁵³ Jars of this type also proliferate in and around the Middle Kingdom *pr-šn^c-snwsrt* structure.¹⁶⁵⁴ Based upon Holthoer's typology, jars similar to both SATCP-01 and SATCP-32 date sporadically from the early Eighteenth Dynasty with more frequency into the Third Intermediate Period, but virtually identical forms appear at Qantir.¹⁶⁵⁵ Therefore, 'beer jars' from the Temple Cemetery fall within a late Eighteenth Dynasty - Ramesside period range, with the possibility that the form existed locally from the late Middle Kingdom onwards.

8.3.3 Open Forms

Large, flat-bottomed shallow bowls with exterior rope decoration (SATCP-11, Fig. 8.19) appeared frequently in the Temple Cemetery tombs. Though the basic form originates in the Old Kingdom, D. Aston states of these forms:

Large plates with flat bases such as these were not common at Qantir. They are, however, frequently found at Amarna and in late Eighteenth Dynasty contexts at Saqqara. Their comparative absence at Qantir may be indicative that such vessels fell out of favor during the Nineteenth Dynasty, but not enough of Qantir has yet been excavated to be sure of this hypothesis.¹⁶⁵⁶

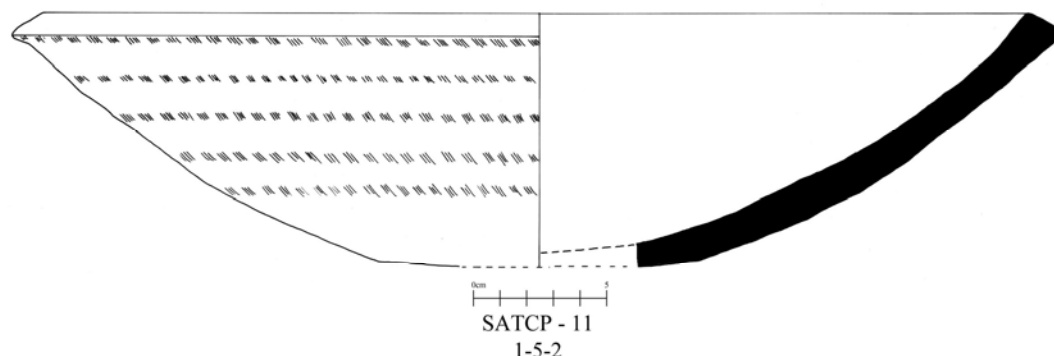
Within the Temple Cemetery this type displayed some variation in surface treatment, some being slipped in red, and others being untreated. Rim diameters clustered around 40cm.

¹⁶⁵³ Holthoer 1977, 87-88, and Budka, The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery 2006, 88-91.

¹⁶⁵⁴ See Wegner, Smith and Rossel, The Organization of the Temple NFR-KA of Senwosret III at Abydos 2000, 83-125. SATC Op. 19 excavations within this Middle Kingdom material also produced huge numbers of these two forms (SATCP-01 and 02).

¹⁶⁵⁵ D. A. Aston 1998, 182-187, especially types 527 and 529 (SATCP-01), and types 540 and 544 (SATCP-32).

¹⁶⁵⁶ D. A. Aston 1998, 148.

Fig. 8.19: South Abydos Tomb Census Pottery Type 11

8.3.4 Closed Forms

Funnel neck jugs (SATCP-10 with flaring neck, and SATCP-18 with straight neck, Fig. 8.20) are perhaps the most diagnostic closed forms recovered from the Temple Cemetery.¹⁶⁵⁷ Excavation uncovered two almost complete examples, along with a handful of fragments within and just outside the doors of TC.7 and TC.9. These vessels were made in two parts from Nile B2, and have shaved bases. There was no remaining surface decoration or treatment.

The majority of closed forms from the Temple Cemetery fall into the late Eighteenth / early Nineteenth Dynasty horizon. Most notably the globular jar with everted rim (type SATCP-05),¹⁶⁵⁸ the bowl with red burnished slip (type SATCP-09),¹⁶⁵⁹ the red-slipped beaker with everted rim (SATCP-20),¹⁶⁶⁰ and the bag-shaped jar with

¹⁶⁵⁷ Compare with Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery 2006*, 104, Fig. 14.8 dating to the Ramesside, and Hope, *Blue Painted and Polychrome Decorated Pottery from Amarna 1991*, Fig. 6c, from the late 18th Dynasty.

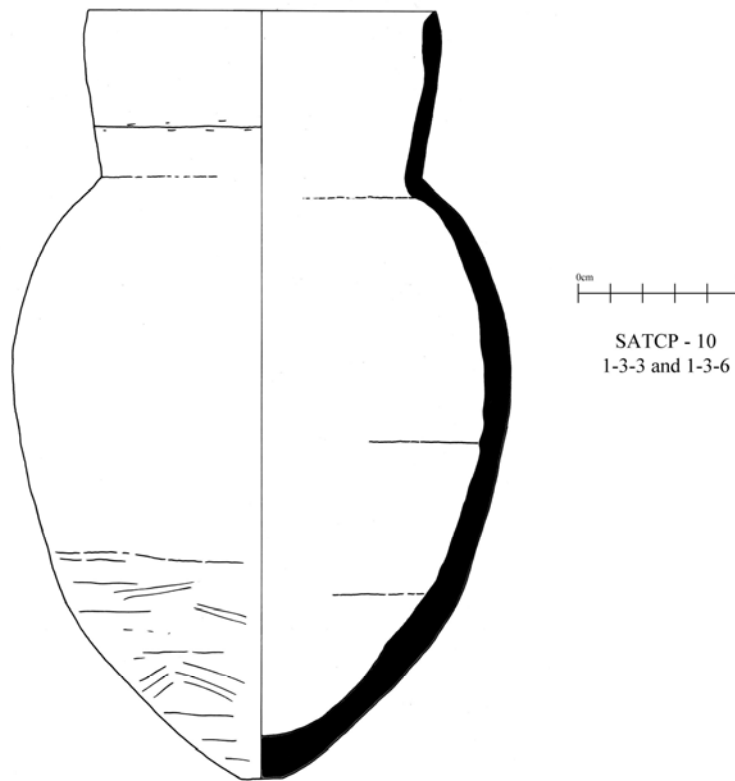
¹⁶⁵⁸ Compare with Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery 2006*, 101, Fig. 11.2, mid-late 18th Dynasty.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Compare with Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery 2006*, 93, Fig. 5.8, early-mid 18th Dynasty.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Compare with D. A. Aston 1998, 120-121, Type 160, Ramesside.

straight rim (SATCP-13),¹⁶⁶¹ all fall within this time period. A small number of forms have proved non-diagnostic for dating, and an even smaller number of forms represent holdovers of Middle Kingdom styles (notably the offering cup with inverted rim SATCP-17, and the large marl zirs SATCP-19).

Fig. 8.20: South Abydos Tomb Census Pottery Type 10



8.3.5 Pottery from the TC.20 Embalming Cache

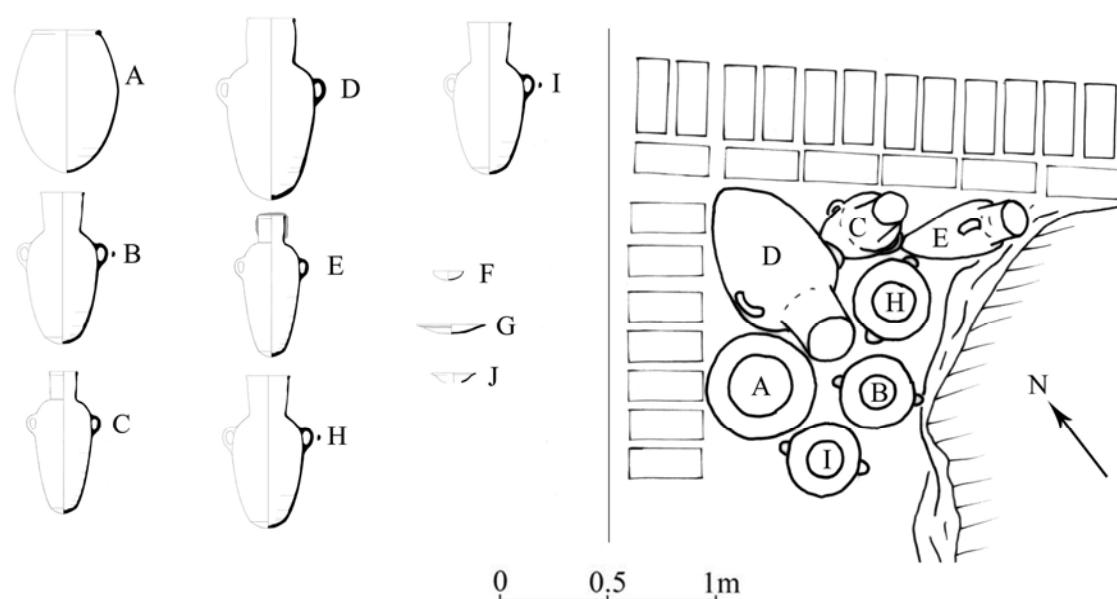
At the southeast corner of tomb TC.20 we discovered the remains of an embalming cache, consisting of numerous broken pottery vessels.¹⁶⁶² J. Wegner

¹⁶⁶¹ Compare with D. A. Aston 1998, 311, Type 1001, Ramesside.

¹⁶⁶² Only a handful of embalming caches are well documented, the best known being KV63 and KV54 (Tutankhamun's cache). For embalming deposits in general, see Eaton-Krauss, *Embalming Caches* 2008, and Bickerstaffe 2007. For KV54, see Winlock and Arnold, *Tutankhamun's Funeral* 2010, and S. J. Allen,

originally exposed the top of this cache in 1994 while excavating the area around the Senwosret III temple.¹⁶⁶³ According to him, the night after its initial exposure, unknown local individuals pitted into the cache, damaging the vessels and their original contexts.¹⁶⁶⁴ As a result, the upper portion of the cache consisted of a jumbled mass of broken pottery sherds, lying in a mixed matrix of sand, ash, and natron.¹⁶⁶⁵ The lower strata of the deposit held larger portions of some of the vessel bases, allowing us to reconstruct their original positions in the cache.¹⁶⁶⁶

Fig. 8.21: TC.20 Embalming Cache and its Vessels



Tutankhamun's embalming cache reconsidered 2003. See Ertman, Wilson and Schaden 2006 for KV63, and Roehrig, *The Tomb of Maiherperi in the Valley of the Kings* 2005 and Reeves and Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings* 1996, 180-181 for the tomb of Maiherperi and its cache.

¹⁶⁶³ J. Wegner, personal communication.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Shortly after this damage occurred, the tomb and cache were reburied.

¹⁶⁶⁵ The contents of these vessels serve to identify it as an embalming cache. The vessels' contents are discussed in more detail below.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Thanks are due to Dr. J. Houser Wegner, James Kelly, and Paul Verhelst for their assistance in sorting out the sherds, and reassembling the vessels.

The pottery assemblage consisted of one large jar without a neck (A), six amphorae (B-E, H-I), and the broken remains of at least three other small vessels (F, G, and J) (Fig. 8.21). In their original positions, the larger vessels leaned against TC.20's south walls, in a corner formed by the southeast wall of Chamber C, and the southwest wall of Chamber D (Fig. 8.21, and Fig. 7.11). We retrieved sherds composing the three smaller dishes (F, G, and J) from within the mass of debris, and it is highly likely that they were originally inside the larger vessels.¹⁶⁶⁷ Once reconstructed, the containing vessels fall into two basic types: an egg-shaped jar with no neck,¹⁶⁶⁸ and two-handled amphorae with slightly flaring necks and rolled rims.¹⁶⁶⁹ Marl D is the predominant fabric which composes these vessels,¹⁶⁷⁰ a fabric which according to Nordström and Bourriau, "is very common in the XVIIIth-XIXth Dynasty contexts in the Delta and the Memphis-Faiyum region, and seems to occur in the south only as imports from the north."¹⁶⁷¹ The exterior surface of these vessels is light green in color, and semi-glossy, possibly indicating the application of a slip before firing. The interior is red to brown with a rough texture.

Vessel A is an egg-shaped vessel measuring 68 cm from rim to base, and 50 cm in diameter at its widest point, of type SATCP-64. A. Wodzińska calls this vessel a "meat jar," and following D. Aston, indicates that it was fabricated from separate pieces, with

¹⁶⁶⁷ As in the vessels belonging to the KV63 embalming cache, see Ertman, Wilson and Schaden 2006, 21.

¹⁶⁶⁸ For vessels of this type from Amarna and Qantir, see Wodzińska, *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery*, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, 72 (NK 28), 125 (NK 117), which she dates to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

¹⁶⁶⁹ For a comparable vessel from Saqqara, see Wodzińska, *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery*, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, 76 (NK 31), which she dates generally to the New Kingdom.

¹⁶⁷⁰ One vessel of type SATCP-59 from tomb TC.2 appears to have been made from Marl A1.

¹⁶⁷¹ Nordström and Bourriau 1993, 181.

the base being mold-made, and the walls and rim thrown on a wheel.¹⁶⁷² Though the vessel was highly fragmentary, its lower portions contained a large mass of solidified, white powdered natron.

Vessels B, H, and I of type SATCP-59 were all virtually identical in size, shape, and material (Marl D), measuring 72 cm tall, and 43 cm wide at the handles. Vessel D, on the other hand, while of the same shape, type, and fabric, was much larger at 86 cm tall, and 52 cm wide at its handles. Vessels B, H, and I all contained natron and small pieces of torn linen, some retaining smeared bitumen. The majority of Vessel D, however, contained a matrix of fine grey ash, which appeared to contain small pieces of burnt straw.

The last two amphorae, Vessels C and E, represent a higher-shouldered version of type SATCP-59, with a shorter and narrower neck than the others of this type (Vessels B, D, H, and I). C and E measured 67 cm tall, by 35 cm wide at their handles. The surface of Vessel C was badly damaged, with large flakes broken away and missing.¹⁶⁷³ At the time of excavation, it contained nothing but sand and insect frass, but the extensive damage to the vessel's surface indicates that it probably originally held at least some natron salt.¹⁶⁷⁴ Vessel E was intact, even retaining its mud stopper, and was not opened. Salt crystals adhered to its surface, however, probably indicating that it also held natron.

¹⁶⁷² Wodzińska, *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery*, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, 72 (NK 28), 125 (NK 117), and for the Qantir example, D. A. Aston 1998, 438-439.

¹⁶⁷³ In other words, the fabric itself separated, leaving the vessel structurally sound, but parts of its original surface missing.

¹⁶⁷⁴ The action of this salt migrating through the vessel walls was responsible for breaking away portions of the surface. Indeed, all the sherds from this assemblage were so impregnated with salt that we had to wash

Due to their highly fragmentary state, we were unable to ascertain the original locations of Vessels F, G, and J during excavation. Based upon a comparable cache in the Valley of the Kings (KV63), it is quite probable that these broken vessels were originally inside one or more of the large containers.¹⁶⁷⁵ Vessel F is a type SATCP-09 bowl, composed of Nile D, with a red slip, which occurs elsewhere at Abydos,¹⁶⁷⁶ and also at Saqqara,¹⁶⁷⁷ and possibly Qantir.¹⁶⁷⁸ Vessel G is a large plate with a flat base, and incised decoration on the exterior, of type SATCP-11. A wide, red ochre line decorated the rim of this plate. As mentioned above, based upon their frequency at Amarna and late Eighteenth Dynasty Saqqara, but relative absence from the Qantir corpus, Aston believed that wide plates with flat bases of this type had died out by the Ramesside period.¹⁶⁷⁹ This date accords well with the other chronologically diagnostic objects from TC.20, placing the assemblage in the very late Eighteenth Dynasty.

Vessel J was the only vessel from the embalming deposit for which we did not recover a full profile, owing to its highly fragmentary state. It is a small Nile D dish with a slightly everted rim of type SATCP-60. Its exterior bears traces of a white slip, while the inside contained the remains of a brown, translucent resin or sap.¹⁶⁸⁰

them before glue would adhere to their edges. The frass inside this vessel may indicate that it originally held a portion of biological material.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Ertman, Wilson and Schaden 2006, 21.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery* 2006, Fig. 5.8.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Bourriau, Aston, et al. 2005, 35-36, and Wodzińska, *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery*, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, 138 (NK 149)

¹⁶⁷⁸ D. A. Aston 1998, 130-131, though this version was slipped in black, rather than red.

¹⁶⁷⁹ D. A. Aston 1998, 148.

¹⁶⁸⁰ For resins and other related materials, see Serpico and White 2000. The existence of this material, coupled with the fragmentary state of the vessel, lends credence to the idea that it was part of the mummification process, and included inside one of the larger containers for inclusion in the cache.

All of the large container vessels originally had seals. In the case of Vessel E, the seal was intact at the time of discovery. We also recovered three other seals belonging to other amphorae.¹⁶⁸¹ In form, these seals consisted of round pottery plates, which in the case of Vessel D, seemed to have been a broken-down portion of a larger vessel. The plate sat atop the vessel's mouth, concave side down. Fine-grained silt mud was then spread across the top and down the sides of the vessel's neck, and left to dry. The seven vessels were then placed in an unlined pit in the ground, outside the mud-brick tomb walls.

8.3.6 Foreign Imports

One example of an imported ceramic luxury item was recovered from TC.7. A total of ten sherds belonging to a Mycenaean Globular Stirrup Jar were screened from loci close to the surface, as well as within TC.7 itself, pointing to this tomb as the likely origin of the vessel. The vessel was manufactured using a pale tan / cream color Argolid clay using a rapidly spinning wheel.¹⁶⁸² Numerous examples of this type of jar have been found in Egypt including those C. Currelly uncovered in his 'Ahmose town' of South Abydos.¹⁶⁸³ The period of their manufacture covers the Late Helladic IIIa2 - Late Helladic IIIc (c. 1350 - 1060BCE, corresponding to the reigns of Akhenaten to the Third

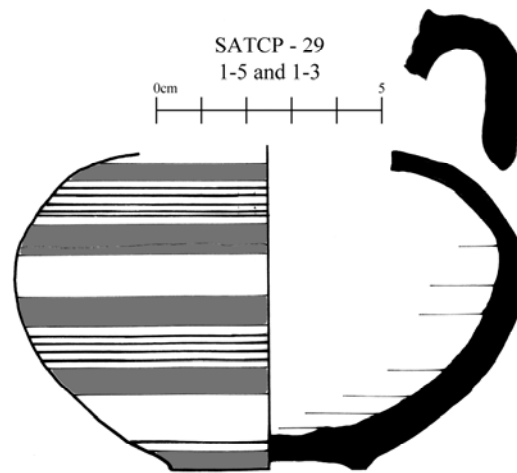
¹⁶⁸¹ We did not recover a seal large enough to close the mouth of Vessel A, indicating it may or may not have been sealed.

¹⁶⁸² Wodzińska, *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery*, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, 188 (NKI 17).

¹⁶⁸³ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 38, Pl. LVIII.11. The 'Ahmose Town' problem is discussed above in Chapter 5.

Intermediate Period),¹⁶⁸⁴ with a great number of examples stemming from Amarna itself.¹⁶⁸⁵

Fig. 8.22: Mycenaean Stirrup Jar from the Temple Cemetery (SATCP-29)



8.3.7 Jar Stoppers

Two mud jar stoppers were recovered from the Temple Cemetery. SATC.2.25 from inside the north burial chamber of TC.11 was a plain mud jar stopper. The fragment from within tomb TC.7 on the other hand, had been painted with blue and red bands to match the decoration of late New Kingdom Blue Painted Ware pottery. A thin curving band of red bisects the blue color. The grey mud matrix of this second example contains a high proportion of straw.

¹⁶⁸⁴ For securely dated L.H. IIIc examples see Wace 1964, Pl. 68a.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Hankey 1997, 193-218. Another fine example comes from the tomb of Kha at Thebes, during the reign of Amenhotep III.

8.3.8 Pottery Synthesis

The broad-strokes chronological range covered by the South Abydos Tomb Census Pottery corpus extends from the late Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside period. Most of the Middle Kingdom examples derive originally from the nearby debris of the *šnꜥ.w-(z-n-wsr.t)* production area. Excluding these examples yields a period of prominent overlap centered around a window between the mid Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties (Thutmosis III - Ramesses IV, c. 1479- 1147).¹⁶⁸⁶ Of these forms, the decoration of the Blue Painted Ware used as chinking in the Temple Cemetery tomb vaults points to the period from Horemheb to Ramesses IV (c.1323-1147) for this cemetery.

§8.4 Non-Pottery Vessels

In addition to fired pottery vessels, excavations produced fragments of containers of various materials. Many of the following objects can be seen as luxury items, and in the case of the faience bowls, were probably made exclusively for burial.

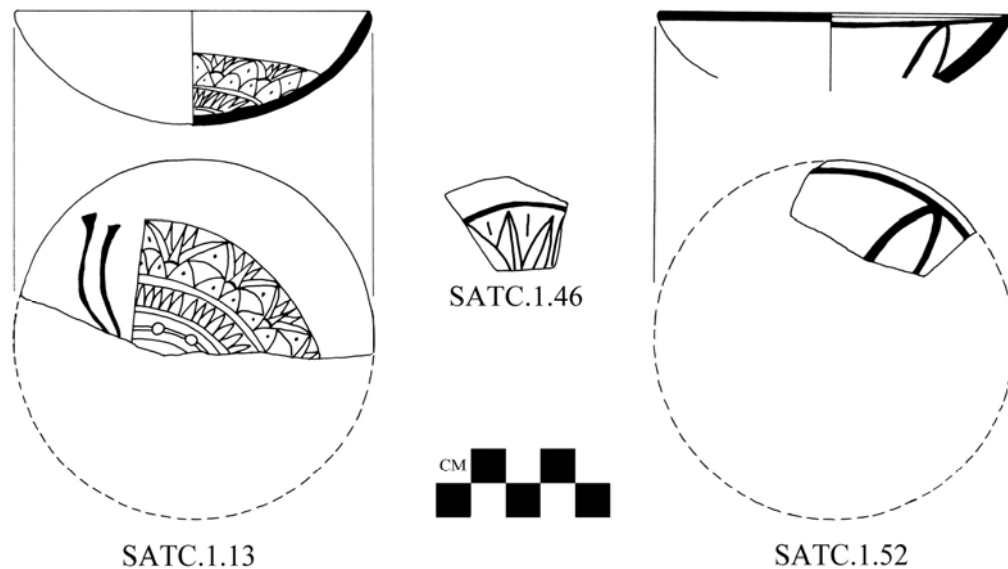
8.4.1 Faience Bowls

A total of six faience bowl fragments were discovered within the Temple Cemetery. One of these, SATC.1.13, comprises just under half of the complete vessel. Its rim diameter is 10.2 cm, and while it has no exterior decoration, the inside bears a possibly unique depiction of a *wesekh* collar. This collar has been broken up into three registers of decoration.

¹⁶⁸⁶ D. A. Aston 1998, 354. See also Hope, *Innovation in the Decoration of Ceramics in the Mid-18th Dynasty* 1987, 97-122.

A second large fragment (SATC.1.52) comes from a bowl of the same diameter as SATC.1.13. This example has a dark blue line on the outside of the rim, and what appears to be an openwork depiction of a lotus flower on the inside. SATC.1.46, a body sherd of unknown rim diameter, also comes from a bowl with lotus decoration. All other bowl fragments from the Temple Cemetery are too small to allow identification of decorative styles or sizes.

Fig. 8.23: Faience Bowl Fragments from the Temple Cemetery



Painted faience bowls were in use throughout the New Kingdom, but due to the dearth of examples from secure contexts, most dating relies mainly upon the style of decoration. On this point, A. Milward states:

The popularity of these bows was at its peak in the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty but waned in the late New Kingdom, and after the late Eighteenth Dynasty the shape and style of their decoration change. They become more rounded in profile and have no external decoration. The designs on the inside change completely; the white lotus now appears more often than the blue,

and instead of pond life, humans and animals are depicted – playing the lute or double flute, dancing, punting in the papyrus marshes, and bearing offerings.¹⁶⁸⁷

Both SATC.1.13 and SATC.1.52 have rounded profiles, and neither one retains any exterior decoration. Based upon A. Milward's statements, these bowls date to the period between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

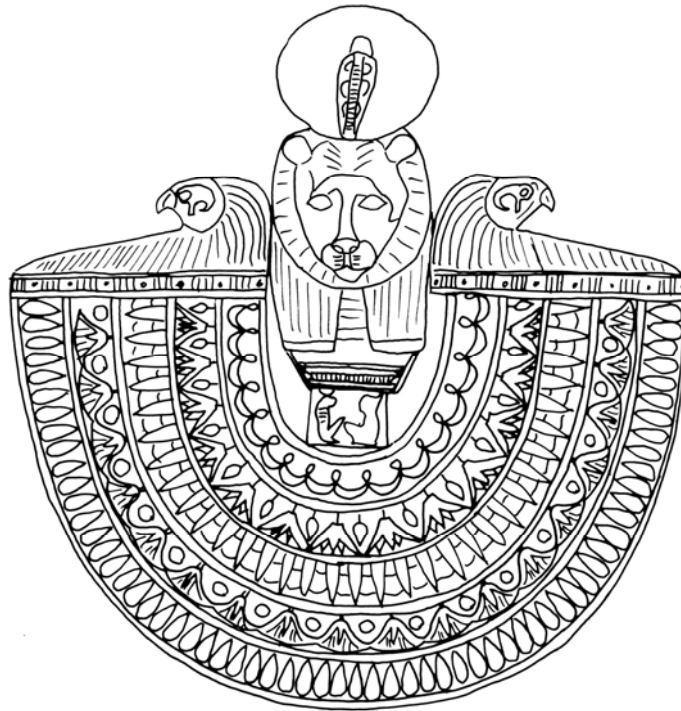
The *wesekh* collar decoration of SATC.1.13 seems to be unique (Fig. 8.23, left). Three decorative motifs make up the bands of the collar: circles connected by lines, downward pointing petals, and ornate downward facing lotus flowers with intervening triangles and dots – the latter matching the decoration of an early Nineteenth Dynasty faience vessel from Gurob.¹⁶⁸⁸ The Abydos bowl's decoration is echoed in a Third Intermediate Period gold Sekhmet aegis amulet now in the Walters Art Museum (Walters 57.540, Fig. 8.24). Both *wesekh* collars are broken up into registers of decoration, separated from one another with a double line. The innermost register of the Sekhmet aegis is somewhat similar, though by no means identical, to the bowl's circle and double line motif. The second and fourth registers of the Walters piece have downward facing lotus flowers. The internal petal pattern of those in the second register is identical to the Abydos bowl, and the rounded triangle with internal dot shape between the flowers in the fourth register is directly comparable to the intervening decoration in SATC.1.13. The third and fifth registers of the Sekhmet piece are simple lotus petals, akin to the middle register of the Abydos bowl. Though these two pieces are not chronologically comparable, the Walters piece demonstrates a connection between the design of the

¹⁶⁸⁷ Milward 1982, 141.

¹⁶⁸⁸ W. M. Petrie, Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob 1891, Pl. XX. Thanks to Dr. Kyoko Yamahana of Tokai University for this comparison.

wesekh collar on the Abydos bowl and Sekhmet / Hathor. Indeed many scholars, Milward in particular, link all faience bowls with Hathor.¹⁶⁸⁹

Fig. 8.24: Gold Sekhmet Aegis from the Walters Art Museum (57.540)



Whereas the floral collar on the Abydos bowl may connect with Hathor / Sekhmet,¹⁶⁹⁰ the closest parallel to the practice of offering a collar to the deceased comes from the embalming cache of Tutankhamun, known as Pit 54 in the Valley of the Kings. T. Davis and H. Winlock discovered a number of broad collars composed of real flowers sewn onto sheets of papyrus within this pit, three of which still survive.¹⁶⁹¹ A more elaborate example of this kind of broad collar was placed upon Tutankhamun's inner

¹⁶⁸⁹ By extension, Sekhmet, the raging side of Hathor, is connected with the broad collar and menat of Hathor. See Milward 1982, 141, D'Auria, Lacovara and Roehrig 1988, 138, and for the origin of Sekhmet as outlined in the Book of the Divine Cow, see Piankoff 1955, 26-37.

¹⁶⁹⁰ See also S. J. Allen, *Faience Bowls* 2005, 176-180, where she links many of the decorative motifs with Hathor.

¹⁶⁹¹ Winlock and Arnold, *Tutankhamun's Funeral* 2010, 58-63, Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, Vol. II 1959, 303, and Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* 1990, 38-39.

coffin.¹⁶⁹² The floral collar depiction on the Abydos bowl fragment probably represents just such a collar, worn by those attending the funerary banquet, and given to the deceased so they might partake in the same festivities. The collar image on this bowl, which may or may not have also held an offering of some type, would have served as a permanent and much more durable collar for the deceased than one made of flowers.

8.4.2 Glass Vessels

Seven small fragments of shattered glass vessels were recovered from contexts within TC.19 and TC.20 (SATC.17.6a-b, SATC.17.7, SATC.17.8, SATC.17.9a-b, and SATC.20.36). All seven examples are of a very pale green-buff color. Bubbles are visible within the glass matrix, and striations on the interior surfaces may be artifacts of the vessel's fabrication. The tiny body sherd from TC.20 is only diagnostic insofar as it illustrates that at least one glass vessel was originally part of the tomb assemblage.

The pieces from TC.19 on the other hand show that the vessel, or vessels, from which they came was originally partly globular. One fragment has a sharp carination, the point where the vessel's globular body connected to a flaring neck. The original form was probably akin to a vitreous vessel from the tomb of the three foreign wives of Thutmose III now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA.26.8.34a).¹⁶⁹³ A similar form, consisting of a round bodied vessel with flaring neck on a pedestal foot, also appears in stone during the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁶⁹⁴

¹⁶⁹² James, Tutankhamun 2000, 70.

¹⁶⁹³ Lilyquist 2003, 148, Fig. 138.

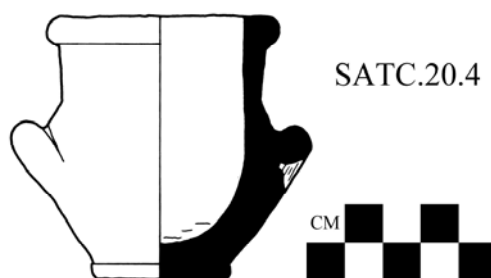
¹⁶⁹⁴ Compare with B. Aston, Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms 1994, 151, Form 173.

Besides the basic form, the production of glass in Egypt itself is broadly diagnostic. C. Roehrig states that “some sort of glass manufacture had begun in Egypt at least by the reign of Hatshepsut.”¹⁶⁹⁵ Production continues throughout the New Kingdom and later, becoming more and more specialized and elaborate. Though these vessel fragments from the Temple Cemetery are rather plain, they are examples of a fairly new technological advance of the New Kingdom. They also represent higher status luxury items for the time period, and probably contained expensive balms or perfumes.¹⁶⁹⁶

8.4.3 Stone Vessel

During the 2012-2013 SATC excavations, we found the sole example of a stone vessel within the Temple Cemetery (Fig. 8.25). This object is a beautifully preserved travertine luxury item from within TC.20, in a fairly secure context near the floor. In form, the vessel is high-shouldered flask with twin handles. This shape is equivalent to B. Aston’s number 176, which she dates between Thutmosis III and Dynasty 20.¹⁶⁹⁷

Fig. 8.25: Travertine Vessel from TC.20



¹⁶⁹⁵ Roehrig, *Glass* 2005, 67. See also Nicholson and Henderson 2000, 195-196.

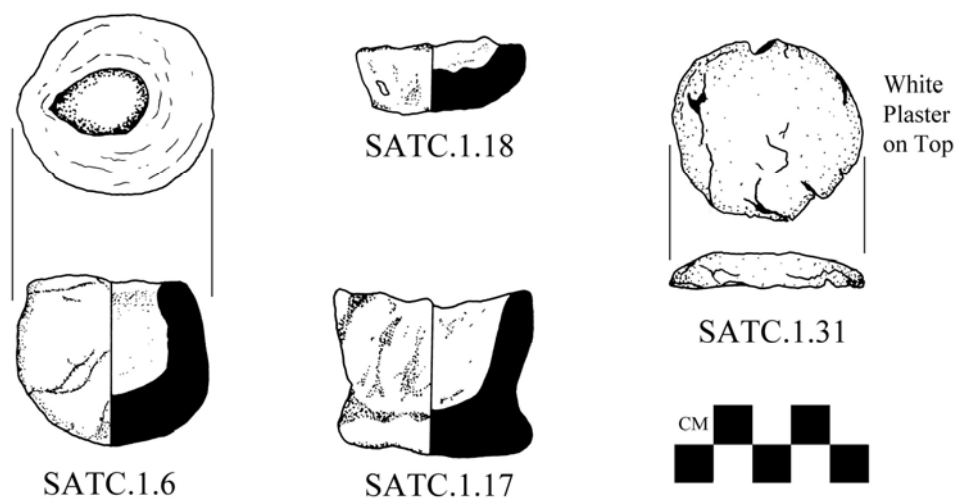
¹⁶⁹⁶ The fragments from TC.19 had a brown flaky substance adhering to the interior of the vessel which may be the remains of some original contents of the vessel.

¹⁶⁹⁷ B. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms* 1994, 152.

8.4.4 Unfired Mud Vessels

A small number of hand-formed unfired mud vessels appeared from within the Temple Cemetery (Fig. 8.26). Two examples (SATC.1.6, and SATC.1.17) are pinch-pot type vessels made by hand. Measuring less than five centimeters high, SATC.1.6 was a closed form with a small spout, while SATC.1.17 is more cylindrical with a pinched and flaring base.

Fig. 8.26: Mud Vessels from the Temple Cemetery



Two other pieces of unfired mud (SATC.1.18 and SATC.1.31) are shallow disc-shaped objects. SATC.1.18 has a shallow central depression formed by pressing a thumb into the clay held in the palm of the other hand. SATC.1.31 on the other hand is much flatter. Measuring around five centimeters in diameter, these objects may be either lids for small vessels such as SATC.1.17, or perhaps small model offering dishes.

Given the cheap method of manufacture and their diminutive size, these four objects probably represent model vessels which were not intended to actually hold

anything. Their form alone stood in the place of a much more lavish offering. All four pieces were all collected from the screens from the area within tomb TC.9. Though the context was disturbed by repeated robbery, they may represent a group of related objects, significant in the fact that they only appear within one tomb in the Temple Cemetery. Dating of these objects is virtually impossible due to their rough, ad-hoc forms.

§8.5 Jewelry and Amulets

Though jewelry and amulets were often targeted by robbers for their precious materials, we did recover a handful of items related to this category. The following sections will look at these items in detail.

8.5.1 Scarab Pectorals

Excavations within the Temple Cemetery produced two fragmentary wooden scarab pectoral frames (Catalogue numbers SATC.2.2 and SATC.1.61, Fig. 8.27), though neither retained its scarab.¹⁶⁹⁸

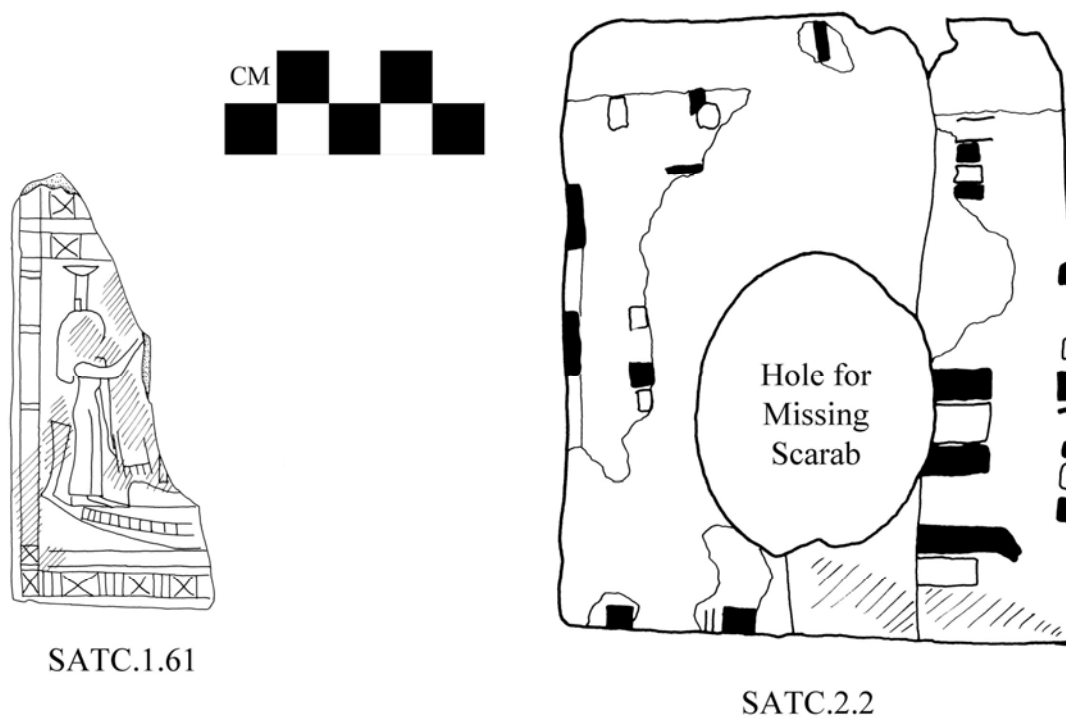
The method of fabrication was the same for both objects. Once the piece of wood was thinned down and shaped with a central hole, both sides were coated with a layer of gypsum plaster. Since neither example retains a carved cavetto cornice – a feature common to virtually all scarab pectorals¹⁶⁹⁹ – it was probably fashioned out of the same plaster material. Once the form was set, the artist then added painted decoration atop the flat dry plaster.

¹⁶⁹⁸ In general see Andrews 1994, 97, and also Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* 1971, 148.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Andrews 1994, 97, and Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* 1971, 148.

SATC.2.2, the example from TC.11south, still retained a black and red (and possibly blue) painted border and central decoration on what is probably the back of the frame. Time has denuded almost the entire front of its plaster, leaving only wood and small areas of adhering linen. No figural or textual decoration is recognizable, but a faint line in the plaster survives at the top of the pectoral which may indicate the location of the original appliqué cavetto cornice. When discovered the piece was broken into three fragments.

Fig. 8.27: Wooden Scarab Pectoral Frames from the Temple Cemetery



SATC.1.61, from within TC.9, exhibits mainly blue and red coloration, with a thin layer of yellowish varnish or resin covering the entire surface. Using photographic enhancement software, it was possible to bring out the original figural decoration on the

front of the piece.¹⁷⁰⁰ This decoration was all executed in a reddish paint upon a cream or yellow background.¹⁷⁰¹ At the bottom and left of the scene is a single border composed of two parallel lines. The space these lines is broken up with further perpendicular lines and “X” motifs. The same border pattern exists at the top of the scene, but the artist doubled it to create two identical borders, one atop the other. The standing figure of Nephthys, wearing her traditional hieroglyphic headpiece, dominates the fragment. Her right arm is raised, and her left is lowered, both supporting the now missing scarab in the center of the original scene. Nephthys stands upon a boat, whose prow rises up behind her. The scarab beetle was in front of her, one of the legs of which remains painted in the scene. Supporting the beetle on the deck of the boat is a flattened *akhet* hieroglyph. The reverse side of the pectoral is badly damaged, but the lower corner retains a small portion of a border of alternating red and blue squares.

Numerous examples of comparable pectorals exist in museums, and those belonging to Sennedjem and his family, now in the Cairo museum, are very similar. In particular, JE 27261, is a wooden pectoral with the figures of Isis (right) and Nephthys (left) standing upon a boat with their arms in exactly the same position as SATC.1.61. Pylon-shaped pectorals first appear during the Middle Kingdom, but they are only combined with heart scarabs beginning around the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁷⁰² Hence the

¹⁷⁰⁰ Color separation and oversaturation produced the best results using Photoshop CS2.

¹⁷⁰¹ It is quite possible that what is visible is in actuality the original artist’s sketch, executed in red ink. The reverse of the piece is painted in blue and red, so the entire pectoral was almost certainly brightly colored when it was new.

¹⁷⁰² Andrews 1994, 59, 97. She adduces the example of scarab pectorals naming Ramesses II’s vizier Paser. The Sennedjem examples, and probably the Temple Cemetery pieces, would therefore be some of the earliest.

Temple Cemetery scarab pectorals probably date to a period around early Dynasty Nineteen and later.

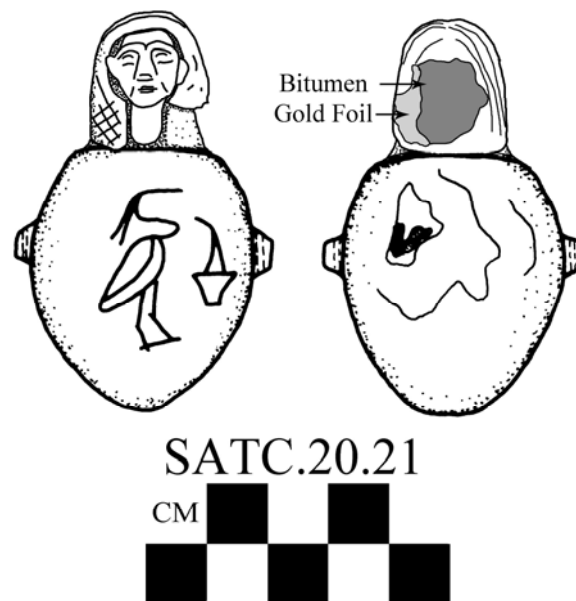
8.5.2 Anthropomorphized Heart Amulet

The fallen vault-brick matrix near the floor level of TC.20 yielded three pieces of a rare funerary amulet (Fig. 8.28). All three pieces (SATC.20.14, SATC.20.15, and SATC.20.21) were found separately. SATC.20.14 is a human face and neck carved out of a pure red opaque stone, probably jasper.¹⁷⁰³ The tiny piece measures 1.72cm from neck to crown, and 1.24cm from ear to ear. The back is flat, and the entire piece measures 0.8cm thick. At the time of discovery, the face was covered in a layer of black bitumen. The piece fits perfectly into SATC.20.15, a carved black stone tripartite wig. The wig measures 2.34 cm high, 1.82 cm wide, and 1.76 cm deep. When found, the piece still retained a small amount of bitumen on its back, to which adhered a tiny piece of gold foil. Finally, SATC.20.21 is a beautifully carved green jasper heart amulet with an incised image of an incense burner placed before the *Benu* bird. Two pierced lugs protrude on either side of the amulet. Like the wig and face, the entire surface was encrusted with a thin layer of black bitumen, with a tiny piece of gold foil on the back, like the wig.¹⁷⁰⁴

¹⁷⁰³ Jasper is a type of chert. Jasper is more likely than carnelian for SATC.20.14 since the latter is translucent, rather than opaque like the Temple Cemetery piece. See, Aston, Harrell and Shaw, *Stone* 2000, 28-29.

¹⁷⁰⁴ During conservation and restoration, we removed the bitumen from the surface of the face, and the front of the heart amulet, but left that on the amulet's back, and the black wig.

Fig. 8.28: Composite Jasper Anthropomorphized Heart Amulet from TC.20



Though personified heart amulets of this type are known, and date to the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty, they are rare.¹⁷⁰⁵ One example, made of faience, has an inlaid face which is almost identical to the red jasper example from TC.20. This object, BM EA 29440, also has an inlaid *Benu* bird on its obverse, making it formally quite similar to SATC.20.21. On another example which was discovered at Abydos, BM EA 66717, the head and face protrude from the top of the amulet, which also has hands much like the upper portion of a shabti.¹⁷⁰⁶ In this case the entire heart amulet has been anthropomorphized.

¹⁷⁰⁵ For comparanda, see Steindorff, *Aniba II* 1937, Tf. 50, no. 27-29, and also Andrews 1994, Fig. 61d-f.

¹⁷⁰⁶ The Medelhavsmuseet has an example (MM.10168) with an identical red stone face, though they date it to the late period. See also W. M. Petrie, *Amulets* 1914, 36, Pl. XXVIII for a number of examples in the University College collection. Petrie believed the amulets represented the heart of Osiris, given to the deceased to aid in their passage of the judgment.

The image of the *Benu* bird with censer upon the jasper heart amulet represents the idea of the *ba* of Re,¹⁷⁰⁷ and echoes the text of BD 29B.¹⁷⁰⁸ As translated by T. Allen, this spell reads:

A SPELL FOR A HEART OF *shrt*-STONE.

To be said by Osiris N:

I am the phoenix, soul of Re, who leads (the Blessed) to the nether world. At their (and their) Souls' coming forth on earth to do what their spirits may desire, the soul of Osiris N. comes forth (on earth to do) what his spirit may desire.¹⁷⁰⁹

Unlike the well-known heart scarab spell which protects the deceased from his own heart testifying against him, this spell is integrally tied in with the deceased's ability to be effective upon earth after death. This effectiveness is linked to the ability to receive offerings from the living on earth, as well as act on their behalf.¹⁷¹⁰

8.5.3 Beads

A wide variety of beads were screened from the ransacked tombs of the Temple Cemetery. The predominant material was faience, but a small number of carnelian, turquoise, limestone, and glass beads were also attested. The SATC bead corpus appears below, categorized by shape.¹⁷¹¹

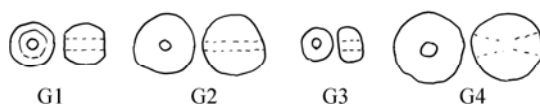
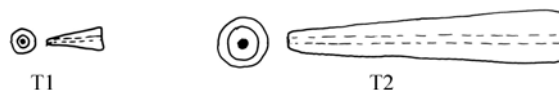
¹⁷⁰⁷ Josh Roberson, personal communication.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Andrews 1994, Fig. 61 includes an example of an anthropomorphized scarab (BM EA 29440) which has a benu-bird on its front, and BD30b on its back.

¹⁷⁰⁹ T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day* 1974, 39.

¹⁷¹⁰ This idea is exemplified by the practice and content of the Letters to the Dead. See Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* 1928, and also Wente 1990, 210-220 with references to more recently discovered examples.

¹⁷¹¹ Many forms appear in various materials. For the distribution of these types within each tomb, along with their individual material and color, see Appendix One below.

Fig. 8.29: SATC Bead Corpus**Cylinder Beads:****Disc Beads:****Globular Beads:****Teardrop Beads:****Representational Beads:**

Deep cobalt blue and turquoise faience occurred most frequently, but iron red faience beads appeared in type C2 and T2. Glass teardrop beads (type T2) were attested in TC.20 only, and were manufactured in light blue, dark blue, red, and yellow. Two faience lotus-shaped pendant or amulet beads (type R2) were also recovered from TC.10. G. Steindorff found similar beads to type R1, representing a bunch of grapes, in the New Kingdom cemetery at Aniba.¹⁷¹²

¹⁷¹² Steindorff, Aniba II 1937, 93, Type G. The vast majority of beads are not chronologically diagnostic, the main exception being those made of glass dating to Dynasty Eighteen or later.

8.5.4 Faience Finger Ring

Screening of the material from TC.11south produced an intact faience finger ring (SATC.2.19, Fig. 8.30). It is a composite piece made of two different colors of faience glazed together. The band is of a reddish-brown and measures 0.39 cm thick and 2.15 cm in diameter. The bezel is blue faience and measures 1.3 cm by 0.7 cm.

Fig. 8.30: Faience Finger Ring from TC.11south



It has an abstract scalloped design which probably represents a cluster of grapes. The combination of these two colors (cobalt blue and iron red) is prominent during the reigns of Amenhotep III into that of Akhenaten.¹⁷¹³ Since the object could easily have been a beloved family heirloom taken to the grave, the Amenhotep III date is therefore a *terminus a quo* for the object rather than its date of funerary deposition.

§8.6 Other Objects

A handful of objects recovered from the Temple Cemetery do not fit into the categories discussed above. Though most of this material was highly fragmentary, some

¹⁷¹³ K. Yamahana, personal communication.

pieces are identifiable, and serve to expand our understanding of the burial assemblages of this cemetery.

8.6.1 Boxes

One small painted wood fragment from TC.11south may originally have been part of a box (SATC.2.18, Fig. 8.31). This conclusion is based upon the fact that at 1.2 cm thick, the fragment is not large enough to have been part of a coffin.

Fig. 8.31: Painted Wood Box Fragment from TC.11south



The polychrome decoration shows part of an hieroglyphic text which seems to end with Osiris' name, written above the bald head of a man wearing a turquoise broad collar. The text seems to defy translation, but it may be a title owned by the individual shown below. Assuming this fragment was originally part of a box, a shabti or canopic box would seem most likely.

8.6.2 Knobs, Buttons, and Appliqués

As a result of repeated robbery, coupled with the action of insects, most wooden objects in the Temple Cemetery were utterly destroyed well before our excavations.

Carved of ebony – an extremely hard wood – a portion of a knob from a box (SATC.20.29, Fig. 8.32) survived inside TC.20. The knob has a domed top, with an undercut base. The piece has a mortise on the bottom meant to accept a pinned tenon, which would have affixed it to the box. Box knobs such as this are common in the New Kingdom, appearing in both royal and non-royal tombs.¹⁷¹⁴

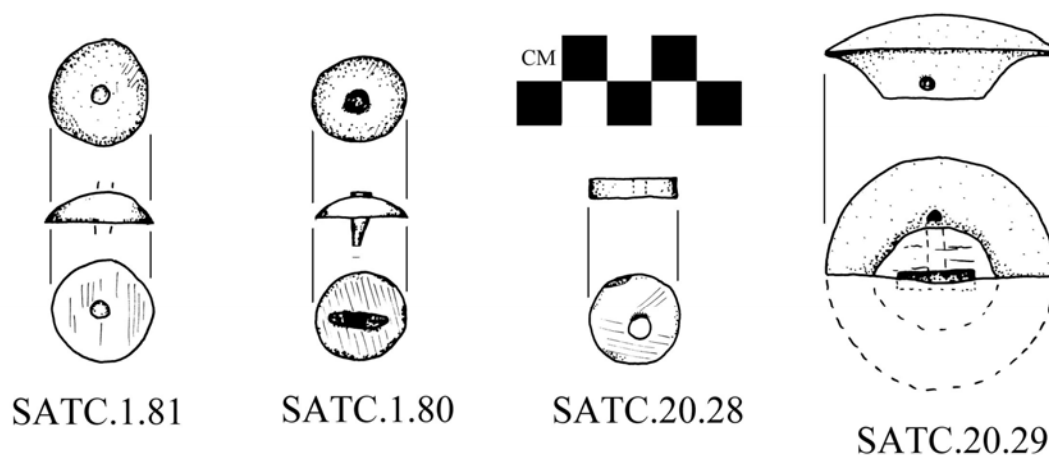
Two smaller objects which are probably also box knobs were found in TC.9. One of these (SATC.1.80) is made of bone, and the other (SATC.1.81) is ebony. Measuring just over 2 cm in diameter, they are hemispherical on the top with a flat bottom, both being pierced through the center. The bone example still retains a wooden peg in its central hole meant to affix the object to a box or other similar object.

Finally another bone object (SATC.20.28) belongs in this category. Although also from TC.20, it is difficult to say if this is a box knob, button, or some other type of appliqué.¹⁷¹⁵ It is 2.36 cm in diameter, and 0.48 cm thick. It is flat on both faces, with square edges, and a hole drilled through it slightly off-center. It may have served a similar purpose as SATC.1.80 and SATC.1.81, albeit having a different shape.

¹⁷¹⁴ Killen 1994, 49-53, see also the examples from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* 1990, 188-193.

¹⁷¹⁵ It is too small and light to have been used as a spindle whorl, and the hole is off-center, which would have led to wobble had it been used for this purpose.

Fig. 8.32: Box Knobs and Button (?) from the Temple Cemetery



8.6.3 Gold Leaf

Small fragments of gold leaf were recovered from Temple Cemetery contexts. The highest proportion came from TC.20, and consisted of very thin gold leaf on plaster. It is possible that these fragments all derive from some type of coffin or mummy mask. The existence of gold foil on plaster within these tombs is a mark of their owners' higher status or wealth.

8.6.4 Glass Rods

Only one tomb, TC.20, contained this class of object. At first glance these six blue glass fragments (SATC.20.32a-e, and SATC.20.37) appear to be inlays of some type, but they are in actuality raw glass rods used in glass manufacture. Such rods of identical coloration and form have been found at Amarna.¹⁷¹⁶ Tool marks even exist on

¹⁷¹⁶ See for example, Freed, Markowitz and D'Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun* 1999, 266, Cat. 215. See also Grose 1989, 52-53. For ancient Egyptian glass in general, see Nicholson and Henderson 2000, 195-224.

the Amarna examples, showing that they were materials of active glass production.¹⁷¹⁷

Their existence within the tomb context of TC.20 is therefore somewhat puzzling. It is possible that they were considered too small to be of value in the actual production of glass objects. Yet they were still intrinsically valuable merely by virtue of their material, either generally or just to the tomb owner. As such they may still represent luxury items worthy of inclusion in an funerary context.

§8.7 Human Remains

During its excavations, the SATC project recovered a large proportion of human skeletal remains.¹⁷¹⁸ In many cases the bones have been badly damaged both by repeated tomb robbery and insects, but enough has survived to begin assembling a picture of the owners of the tombs of the Temple Cemetery. We analyzed bones from each burial chamber as a group, and the results appear below under tomb number heading, separated by chamber when a tomb contained multiple chambers. Unless otherwise stated, approximate height of the individuals was calculated from femur or humerus length using the following equations:¹⁷¹⁹

Table 8.6: Stature Estimation Equations using Bone Length

Male (adult)	Stature = (femur length in cm * 2.257) + 63.93 cm
	Stature = (humerus length in cm * 2.594) + 83.85 cm
Female (adult)	Stature = (femur length in cm * 2.340) + 56.99 cm
	Stature = (humerus length in cm * 2.827) + 70.94 cm

¹⁷¹⁷ Freed, Markowitz and D'Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun* 1999, 266.

¹⁷¹⁸ Thanks to Matt Olson and Paul Verhelst for their work with the material from TC.19 and TC.20.

¹⁷¹⁹ Raxter, et al. 2008, 150, Table 2. This equation is, of course, only meant to yield an estimate of actual height.

8.7.1 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.7

The human remains of TC.7 were badly churned up by numerous robberies. The bones of at least three individuals came to light.¹⁷²⁰ Two of these individuals were of advanced age based upon sealed skull sutures, one male and one female. The third individual, possibly male, whose skull sutures were not fully ossified, was younger and could possibly represent the son or other male relative of the older couple. One of the elder skeletons, probably that of the female, had a severely compacted sacrum. The approximate heights of the skeletons are as follows:

Table 8.7: Approximate Heights of TC.7 Skeletons

	Femur Length (in cm)	Height (in cm)
Male 1	42	158.24
Female 1	36.5	142.4
Male 2	41	156.67

Bones from all three individuals show signs of rudimentary mummification including the presence of bitumen and linen fragments, though virtually no soft tissue remained.¹⁷²¹ The skull of Male 1 retained some short brown hair and skin on the right side, and the mandibles of Male 1 and Male 2 exhibited facial hair adhering to the bone.

8.7.2 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.9

The human remains of TC.9 consisted of highly fragmentary bone material and a few chunks of bituminized linen wrapping. Six identifiable femur bones lead to the

¹⁷²⁰ Two additional damaged femur bones may indicate the presence of a fourth individual in this tomb, but the rest of the human remains were too fragmentary to make this assertion definitively. TC.7 lies very close to TC.9, so cross contamination of objects is always a possibility.

¹⁷²¹ See Dodson, *The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina* 2000, 98-99, for a brief discussion on the lack of mummification at Deir el-Medina during the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

conclusion that this tomb originally contained at least three individuals. One skull, probably a female, was found mainly intact but the others were highly fragmentary. The sutures of this female skull were almost completely ossified. The assemblage also included two complete mandibles, one probably male and the other belonging to the aforementioned female skull. The male mandible contained all 16 teeth, though they were worn fairly flat on the top. The female mandible on the other hand contained only 13 worn teeth. Despite having lost two right molars, the fact that the jaw bone had healed over obliterating the tooth sockets indicates that they were lost during her lifetime.

The articulated legs of one of the bodies, probably the female, were discovered in the doorway of the tomb where the body had been dragged by the robbers. The femur bones measured 39 cm long. The femur length of the male was 47.5 cm, thus representing a very tall individual for the time.¹⁷²² The final set of femur bones measured 38 cm, perhaps indicating that the individual was female, or a young male. The approximate heights of the three individuals based on femur lengths are as follows:

Table 8.8: Approximate Heights of TC.9 Skeletons

	Femur Length (in cm)	Height (in cm)
Male 1	47.5	171.14
Female 1	39	148.25
Unknown 2	38	147.8 ¹⁷²³

Signs of mummification included tightly woven linen fragments with 24 threads per centimeter, and some fragments of bituminized linen of a slightly finer 28 threads per centimeter. No soft tissue remained.

¹⁷²² See below §8.7.8.

¹⁷²³ We arrived at this number by calculating stature for both male and female, and then averaging them. If the bone is female, the stature is 145.9 cm, and if it is male the stature is 149.7 cm.

8.7.3 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.10

The human cranial remains of TC.10 fared slightly better than those of both TC.7 and TC.9, though the long bones are mainly lacking. The remains represent two individuals, one male and one female.¹⁷²⁴ Though the skulls were fragmentary, the sutures of one were fully ossified, while those of the other remained open. Two mandibles demonstrated the same probability of age difference, with the teeth of one (male) badly worn, and those of the other (female) in a much better state. The wisdom teeth of the female jaw were still well within the bone and had not yet erupted through the gums. No femur bones were recovered, but the humeri of both individuals were collected. The male humeri measured 31 cm, while those of the female measured 28.5 cm.

Table 8.9: Approximate Heights of TC.10 Skeletons

	Humerus Length (in cm)	Height (in cm)
Male 1	31	164.64
Female 1	28.5	151.5

No significant signs of mummification were observed, and the bones all had a pale ivory color with no bitumen or soft tissue.

8.7.4 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.11 North Burial Chamber

TC.11north produced very few bones. Two fragmentary skulls were observed, one probable male the other probably female, based upon brow ridge and orbit shape.

¹⁷²⁴ Possibly a married couple, though no textual or other evidence exists to support this conclusion.

Almost all the teeth were broken out of the two mandibles post-mortem, but those that remained showed moderate wear. One complete female pelvis was also recovered.

Table 8.10: Approximate Heights of TC.11north Skeletons

	Humerus Length (in cm)	Height (in cm)
Male 1	28.5	157.78
Female 1	24	138.79

The bones exhibited no signs of mummification. The ethmoid bone of the male skull was unbroken, indicating that the brain was left intact in the skull during the preparation of the body. If the bodies were mummified at all, it was probably in a very cursory manner.

8.7.5 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.11 South Burial Chamber

The south burial chamber of TC.11 was larger than that to the north of the shaft, but like TC.11north it produced scant human remains. Fragments of three mandibles indicate that at least three individuals were buried in this chamber. The most complete mandible is probably that of a male, but the sex of the other two are not apparent. One matched pair of femur bones measured 39 cm, and one further incomplete femur measured 38 cm. The incomplete femur would originally have been a few cm longer, and possibly belongs to the male skeleton.

Table 8.11: Approximate Heights of TC.11south Skeletons

	Femur Length (in cm)	Height (in cm)
Male 1	>38	>149.7
Unknown 1	39	150.1 ¹⁷²⁵
Unknown 2	?	?

¹⁷²⁵ We arrived at this figure by averaging stature estimations for both male and female. If the bone is male, the stature would be 151.953cm, and if female, 148.25cm.

In much the same situation as TC.11 north, no signs of mummification were apparent on the bones at the time of excavation.

8.7.6 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.19

Preliminary analysis of bones we recovered from TC.19 shows that at least ten individuals were buried here.¹⁷²⁶ Though these remains were highly disturbed by repeated robbery, tabulation between the various bones points to at least four males, and four females, with two skeletons of unknown sex. Employing the pelvic symphysis, age estimations show that one male was between thirty-nine and forty-four years of age, one female was between thirty and thirty-five, and another female was aged thirty-nine to forty-four.¹⁷²⁷ Due to the highly fragmentary nature of the human remains, height estimations are not possible at this time.

8.7.7 Temple Cemetery Tomb TC.20

This tomb, the largest in the Temple Cemetery, contained the largest number of individuals. P. Verhelst's osteological analysis, carried out during the Winter 2013-2014 season, indicates that the tomb contained between three and four adult males, between ten and twelve adult females, and at least two children. During the course of ancient robbery, these bones had all been thoroughly churned up, destroying both their original contexts within the tomb as well as breaking many of the long bones in to tiny fragments. As a result, stature estimation using complete femur length is only possible for two of the females, at this time.

¹⁷²⁶ Based upon the existence of ten complete left innominate.

¹⁷²⁷ Bass 2005, 197-201.

Table 8.12: Approximate Heights of Two TC.20 Female Skeletons

	Femur Length (in cm)	Height (in cm)
Female 1	42.5	156.44
Female 2	41.5	154.41

Certain femur fragments displayed markers which indicate an age of between 40-50 years. The completeness of the three skulls recovered from this tomb, with ossified sutures, corroborates the advanced age of the inhabitants of TC.20. One skull still retained small patches of hair on its right side, perhaps evincing some form of rudimentary mummification.

Unlike other tombs in the Temple Cemetery, the disparate correlation in the number of males to females in this tomb is of interest, but ultimately difficult to explain. TC.20 contained three times as many adult female bodies as male, perhaps evincing males with multiple wives, or numerous unmarried female family members buried in a family tomb, perhaps originally belonging to their father or other older male relation. Though these conclusions are speculative, the highly unbalanced proportion of males to females in this tomb is worthy of note.

8.7.8 Summary of Human Remains

The six tombs discussed above contained the remains of at least forty-one distinct individuals. The average height of the males interred in the Temple Cemetery is 161.69 cm.¹⁷²⁸ That of the females is 148.63 cm. M. Masali and B. Chiarelli's 1972 study found that the average heights, based upon full measurement of dynastic mummies, was 157 cm

¹⁷²⁸ These data exclude the male skeleton from TC.11south whose full height is unknown. The average consists of 5 individuals.

(c. 5' 2") for males, and 148 cm (c. 4' 10") for females.¹⁷²⁹ Though the Temple Cemetery numbers are based upon femur and humerus lengths, they indicate that males buried here were on average 4.7 cm taller than the national dynastic averages, and the females were roughly the same as those in the rest of the country. The tallest male for whom we were able to assign stature, was buried in TC.9, measuring an imposing 171.14 cm (c. 5' 7"). For females, those buried in TC.20 were six to eight centimeters above average, measuring 156.44 cm (c. 5' 1.5") and 154.41 cm (c. 5').

Many of the inhabitants of the Temple Cemetery seem to have died in their early adulthood. Individuals from TC.20, on the other hand, are examples of people who lived past their fiftieth year, and vertebral pathologies from TC.19 are also consistent with advanced age. Teeth of adult skeletons displayed significant wear patterns in the Temple Cemetery. In at least one case, teeth were lost during life, with the socket ossifying before death. Relatively few sub-adult skeletal remains have been identified, leading to the conclusion that, on the whole, the people buried at South Abydos lived relatively healthy lives. Their higher ages coupled with larger than average male stature may be evidence of a so-called "middle class" social status, though these traits may be entirely unrelated to wealth.¹⁷³⁰ At the very least, these people probably had access to a fairly balanced diet, which probably included the frequent consumption of meat, fruit, and vegetables.

¹⁷²⁹ Masali and Chiarelli 1972, 161-169. See also Nunn 1996, 20-21.

¹⁷³⁰ See Nunn 1996, 18-20, who converted the rations of oCairo J51518 from Deir el-Medina to "Daily Calorific Values." A scribe (akin to Horemheb, owner of TC.20), received 48,195 kilocalories per day as his pay. A workman received 35,343kcal, and a porter received 9,639kcal. The higher status positions received higher wage, affording them and their families increased access to a better balanced diet. J. Nunn states of these rations that "These are an allocation of emmer and barley, part of which could no doubt be exchanged for vegetables, fruit, fish or meat." For a discussion of diet and health in ancient Egypt, see Filer 1995, 18-21.

Due to repeated robbery and subsequent deterioration of the remains, we can say comparatively little about the types of mummification employed at South Abydos. Fragments of bituminized linen were found along with human remains in the Temple Cemetery. Those from TC.9 were fine tabby weaves with 24 and 28 threads per centimeter.¹⁷³¹

§8.8 Synthesis

These broken groups of objects are all that remain of what were originally well appointed burials. Yet the analysis of this material is the key to understanding the chronology, social status, and health of the inhabitants of South Abydos of the New Kingdom. The following sections will summarize these findings.

8.8.1 Overall Date of the Temple Cemetery Tombs

In order to contextualize the Temple Cemetery historically, we must determine its date to within as small a window as possible. Broadly speaking, all of the coffins, sarcophagi, shabtis, pottery, and other items from the cemetery fall into the early New Kingdom from the mid Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty (Thutmosis III to Ramesses II, c. 1479-1213). Yet the period of greatest overlap is the period between the two dynasties, namely from the reign of Horemheb to the twenty-seventh year of Ramesses II, after which the black coffin type is no longer attested (c. 1323-1252 BCE). As far as the current evidence shows, the Temple Cemetery dates to this seventy-one year window.

¹⁷³¹ Vogelsang-Eastwood 2000, 274.

The earliest tomb we have excavated thus far is probably TC.20, dating somewhere from the reigns of Tutankhamun to Horemheb (c. 1336-1295 BCE). This conclusion is based mainly upon its architecture,¹⁷³² and the texts and images of the sarcophagus of the scribe Horemheb. Yet this date must be tempered by the knowledge that this tomb contained numerous burials. Therefore, even though it may have been constructed under Tutankhamun, the chronological span of its use possibly extends close to, or even into, the Nineteenth Dynasty.

The rest of the tombs the SATC project has examined are all chronologically similar to each other, yielding only material datable to the seventy-one year window cited above.¹⁷³³ Some artifacts point to the pre-Amarna era, such as the juxtaposition of cobalt-blue and iron-red faience in the TC.11 south finger ring and beads from across the entire cemetery. Still other elements argue for a date closer to the Nineteenth Dynasty such as the *wesekh* collar bowl from TC.7, the anthropomorphized heart amulet from TC.20, and the lack of black-type coffin fragments inside TC.11 south. As mentioned above, the most plausible explanation for this variation is the idea that each of the tombs of the Temple Cemetery served as family burial vaults, rather than structures meant for single interments. The existence of forty-one bodies in six tombs demonstrates a level of economy in funerary arrangements for the local population at South Abydos during the New Kingdom. Dispensing with the need to build a new tomb for each burial allowed

¹⁷³² See above Chapter Seven.

¹⁷³³ To this evidence we must also add the pit burials both D. Randall-MacIver and J. Wegner found within the walls of, and street behind, the Senwosret III mortuary temple. D. Randall-MacIver dated these burials to the late Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Dynasty, and during his reexamination of this area, J. Wegner found a New Kingdom bronze ring which appears to date to the Amarna Period or later. See Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 60, and Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 42.

successive generations to spend more resources on the coffins and goods they brought to the next life.

8.8.2 Status Levels as Demonstrated by Artifact Assemblages

As hazardous as it is to make conclusions based upon incomplete data, we can make some basic statements about the status or wealth levels of the inhabitants of the Temple Cemetery. The tomb structures themselves display various degrees of material and manpower investment. Tombs of the Temple Cemetery seem to have belonged to what might be termed a middle class.¹⁷³⁴ Families pooled resources to build tombs meant to house multiple successive generations. TC.19 and TC.20 represent the most elaborate of these structures, having been constructed with purpose-made bricks and thick sturdy walls. TC.7 lies on the lower end of the spectrum, being fabricated from reused bricks mortared into thin, flimsy walls. Though the burial assemblages are severely disturbed, what remains paints a picture of colorful wooden coffins and selected luxury goods outfitting these tombs. In other words, the people buried in the Temple Cemetery had enough disposable income during life to assemble comparatively rich burials for their existence after death.

In short, the broken remains of artifacts analyzed in this chapter stand as testament to the lives of a tiny sector of the Egyptian population of the New Kingdom. Living in the shadow of the Osiris Cult, and in all probability drawing their daily sustenance, at least in part, from royal and state institutions, the tombs of the Temple

¹⁷³⁴ For a discussion of the difficult concept of class in ancient Egypt, see Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt* 2005.

Cemetery demonstrate the level of wealth Egypt had at its disposal during the height of the New Kingdom.

Bearing this information in mind, we now conclude Part Two, and move on to Part Three, in which we will summarize and contextualize the information presented above.

PART THREE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER NINE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has examined the non-royal funerary landscapes at South Abydos during the late Middle (Senwosret III – end of Dynasty Thirteen, c. 1870 - 1650), and New Kingdoms (Ahmose – Ramesses II, c. 1550-1213). Excavations which we have carried out under the auspices of the South Abydos Tomb Census project have collected a plethora of new information for both chronological phases. These data allow us to begin conceptualizing the ways in which people living at South Abydos dealt with death and commemoration.

§9.1 Funerary Landscapes at South Abydos: Restatement of Problems

At its most basic level, this dissertation asked the questions of where, and what. Where are the tombs of the late Middle, and New Kingdoms located at South Abydos, and how do they connect with associated population centers in the area? What types of architecture do these tombs possess, and what kinds of funerary equipment do they contain? What do the tombs and their contents tell us about the people living at the site? Where, and what types of commemorative rituals did the inhabitants of South Abydos employ to remember their dead? These basic questions have driven the preceding study, and form a framework for the conclusions which appear below in three sections. Section 9.2 looks at South Abydene non-royal tombs of the Middle Kingdom, Section 9.3 examines late Middle Kingdom domestic funerary cult within *Wah-sut*, and Section 9.4 offers conclusions on the New Kingdom Temple Cemetery and its inhabitants.

§9.2 Late Middle Kingdom Non-royal Tombs at South Abydos

Though our SATC excavations at South Abydos have yet to uncover non-royal tombs belonging to the late Middle Kingdom residents of *Wah-sut*, we have discovered a wide range of objects which attest to their existence. Additionally, these objects fit well into the funerary culture of Egypt as a whole during the late Middle Kingdom. Tomb related objects included in this study fall into two broad categories: architectural elements from tomb chapels,¹⁷³⁵ and funerary equipment.¹⁷³⁶

One of the key issues is the placement of these non-royal tombs and related structures within the geography of South Abydos. The objects only reinforce that these elements exist in the general area of South Abydos. In order to understand the possibilities of mortuary disposition more fully, we need to examine the possible similarities between cemetery distribution at *Wah-sut* and the slightly earlier site of Lahun, tempered by local geology and topography at South Abydos.

Comparisons between Lahun and *Wah-sut* point to likely cemetery locations at South Abydos. Two sites in particular correspond well with tomb placement at Lahun. The first lies directly to the south of *Wah-sut*, in an area comparable to that of Cemetery 900 at Lahun (Fig. 9.1, area A). This is an area whose surface topography reveals the probability of higher bedrock beneath the surface sands,¹⁷³⁷ increasing the location's suitability for shaft tomb construction. At Lahun, this area contained seventeen shaft tombs, and the remains of one surface mastaba. Only one of these tombs, L.906,

¹⁷³⁵ See §4.2.

¹⁷³⁶ See §4.3. Objects relating to funerary commemoration were also recovered, for which see below §8.4.

¹⁷³⁷ See §4.1.2.

contained a partial stela naming the deceased Khenemes-khered, who bore no titles.¹⁷³⁸

Lying closer to the town than the royal pyramid, and containing at least one burial of a non-titled young man, it is possible to see this burial ground as a general non-royal cemetery serving the town of Lahun, with little connection with the court of Senwosret II.

Another large group of tombs exists at Lahun, placed directly along the central axis between the king's mortuary temple and pyramid. Though groundwater had utterly destroyed these tombs by the time Brunton examined them,¹⁷³⁹ they may represent a portion of the Senwosret II court cemetery, based upon their position and proximity to the royal monument. Interestingly, a comparable area at South Abydos, near the axis between the Senwosret III mortuary temple and tomb, displays anomalous surface features which may indicate subsurface activity (Fig. 9.1, area B). If this area were to contain a court cemetery belonging to the Senwosret III tomb complex, then it would represent a likely origin for the numerous reused late Middle Kingdom tomb chapel blocks from the tomb of Useribre Senebkay within Cemetery S. These blocks record the names of at least five individuals bearing titles of some status, but their connections to *Wah-sut* remain unclear. None of their names appear in the sealing corpus from South Abydos,¹⁷⁴⁰ and in at least one case a title connected with Amun may link the individual with Thebes.¹⁷⁴¹ It seems plausible that some of these individuals spent their lives and careers away from Abydos, but chose to link their funerary cults with that of the king

¹⁷³⁸ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 31. His mother, who presumably had two names, was a *nb.t-pr*. No father is listed.

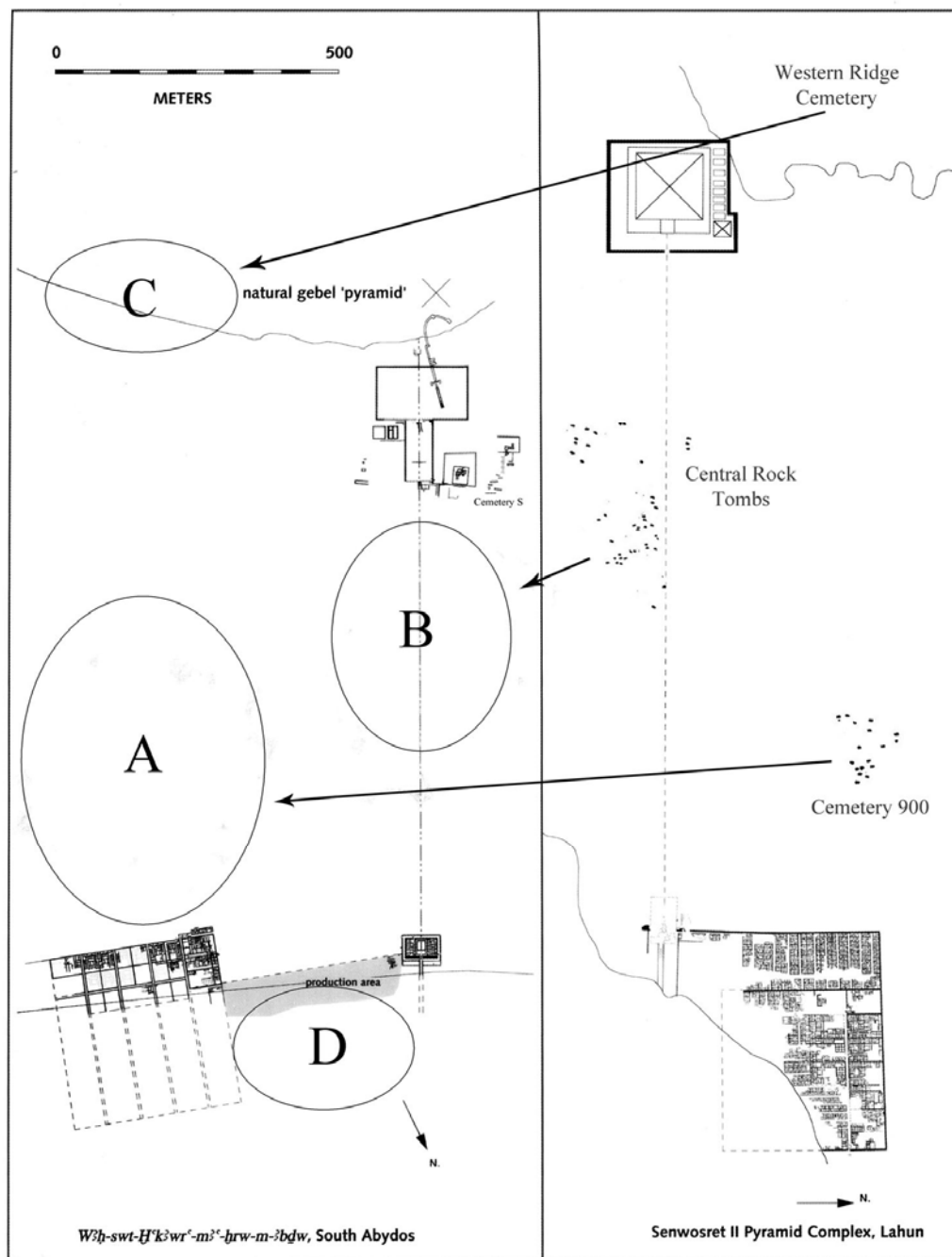
¹⁷³⁹ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 24.

¹⁷⁴⁰ At least as it is presently understood. For this corpus, see Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 299-361, and Wegner, *External Connections of the Community of Wah-sut During the Late Middle Kingdom* 2010.

¹⁷⁴¹ §4.2.2, Block CS9.RN4, the son of Senebef, the *ḥr.j-ḥ3w.t-n-Jmn*, Montu.

whom they had served. Given this area's comparandum at Lahun, and the existence of the reused chapel blocks in close proximity in Cemetery S, it seems plausible that a small court cemetery may exist in this location (Fig. 9.1, area B).

Fig. 9.1: Possible Cemetery Locations at South Abydos by Comparison with Lahun



Other tombs exist at the site of Lahun, both on the Western Ridge,¹⁷⁴² and on a small hill southwest of the pyramid (the tomb of Anpy), which may be comparable to areas at South Abydos.¹⁷⁴³ Though no rock-cut tombs have ever been discovered within the gebel near the Senwosret III tomb, an area to the southeast of the enclosure holds the potential for an extensive burial ground. SATC excavations in Winter 2013-2014 investigated a handful of small tumulus graves lying upon a rocky spur of the high desert which extends due north from the base of the cliffs (Fig. 9.1, area C). The date of these tombs is entirely unclear at this point, owing to a complete lack of artifacts or pottery within the tombs. It is possible, given the structure of these tombs, that they represent Nubian burials of either the late Middle, or New Kingdoms.¹⁷⁴⁴ While the tomb types between Lahun and South Abydos are, in this area, somewhat different, the existence of a cemetery in location C corroborates the idea that tombs do exist in areas of similar geography between the two sites.

One final option is open to us, based upon the geography of South Abydos. If the citizens of *Wah-sut* desired to keep their tombs close to the town, as at Buhen for instance, then the cemetery may have once existed directly to the east or west of the town (Fig. 9.1, area D). This area is today below the cultivated fields, but during the late Middle Kingdom, it would almost certainly have been part of the low desert. The fact that certain funerary objects discussed above in Chapter Four (most notably the ivory apotropaion) come from both the temple and the town may indicate that area D is a

¹⁷⁴² Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 24.

¹⁷⁴³ Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 1923, 26-27.

¹⁷⁴⁴ These tombs possibly belong to a local Medjay culture group, whose pottery appears within *Wah-sut*, according to J. Wegner, personal communication. It is equally possible that they represent Nubian graves of the New Kingdom akin to those at the site of Amara West, for which see P. Spencer 2002, 5-6, Pl. 6.

highly likely cemetery location. Future geophysical survey may reveal features in this area possibly connected with tomb architecture.

Another key issue that Part One dealt with has to do with the architectural styles of the late Middle Kingdom tombs at South Abydos. Based upon the other type-sites examined in this study,¹⁷⁴⁵ Abydene tombs were probably of two types. The first is the shaft tomb, exemplified by the structures at Lahun, Haraga, and North Abydos.¹⁷⁴⁶ Tombs of this type would consist of a vertical shaft leading down to a single, or multiple burial chambers, probably stacked one atop the other, on the short sides of the rectangular shaft. In addition, due to relatively infrequent surface bedrock at South Abydos making deep shaft tombs difficult to construct, shallow surface pit tombs probably also exist, akin to structures at Mirgissa and North Abydos.¹⁷⁴⁷ Tomb-builders would have cut small rectangular pits into the sub-surface *tafla*, placing the coffin or body of an individual directly into this void. The grave would then have been backfilled with sand, with a mud-brick marker situated above.

On the surface above all these tombs were almost certainly commemorative structures of some type. Miniature mud-brick mastabas such as those at North Abydos and Buhen are likely, especially in the case of the smaller and poorer pit tombs. Small markers such as this may or may not have held stelae or other inscribed objects, serving as basic commemorative loci. On the other end of the spectrum, large surface structures certainly also existed at South Abydos, based upon the existence of reused late Middle

¹⁷⁴⁵ See above, Chapter Three.

¹⁷⁴⁶ §3.2-§3.3.

¹⁷⁴⁷ §3.3 and §3.3.

Kingdom chapel blocks from the tomb of Useribre Senebkay.¹⁷⁴⁸ Tomb chapels such as this probably followed a northern model, especially as represented at Lisht.¹⁷⁴⁹ They may have taken the external form of small mastabas, with stone-lined chapels inside, possibly fronted with a columned portico.¹⁷⁵⁰ Larger buildings of this type with decorated orthostats probably belonged to the higher ranking members of late Middle Kingdom government.¹⁷⁵¹

Based upon the scenes preserved on the reused architectural elements from Cemetery S, tomb chapel decoration at South Abydos seems comparable to that at the sites of Beni-Hasan and Meir, and possibly also at Lahun and Lisht.¹⁷⁵² Three main decorative themes exist on these blocks: 1) offering to the deceased;¹⁷⁵³ 2) rows of kneeling relatives of the deceased;¹⁷⁵⁴ and 3) scenes of agriculture, production, and music.¹⁷⁵⁵ All of these motifs also appear in contemporary tomb chapels. Higher status titles such as *jr.j-p^c.t*,¹⁷⁵⁶ *htm.tj-bj.tj*,¹⁷⁵⁷ and *hkr.t-nswt-w^c.tjt*¹⁷⁵⁸ lend credence to the notion that these buildings, which probably existed in the area directly to the north of the

¹⁷⁴⁸ §4.2.

¹⁷⁴⁹ See §4.2.10. Both the Lisht and Abydene structures were free-standing, which is different from the rock-cut chapels at Beni-Hasan and Meir. Sadly, since chapel decoration at Lahun and Lisht is badly destroyed, comparing this aspect between Lahun, Lisht and Abydos is impossible at present.

¹⁷⁵⁰ During excavations within the area around S10 and CS.9, we also discovered fragmentary limestone columns. It is, at present, impossible to say if these architectural elements derive from the royal or non-royal tombs in the area.

¹⁷⁵¹ Much like the chapel of Anpy at Lahun, which was originally decorated in a similar way to the reused blocks from South Abydos.

¹⁷⁵² See above, §4.2.

¹⁷⁵³ Blocks CS9.RF1 (§4.2.4), CS9.RN4 (§4.2.2), and CS9.RS3 (§4.2.3).

¹⁷⁵⁴ Blocks CS9.RN1 (§4.2.7), CS9.RN2 (§4.2.8), and CS9.RS1 lower register (§4.2.5).

¹⁷⁵⁵ Blocks CS9.RS2 (§4.2.6), CS9.RS1 upper register (§4.2.5), and CS9.RN3 (§4.2.9).

¹⁷⁵⁶ Blocks CS9.RF1 (§4.2.4), and CS9.RN4 (§4.2.2).

¹⁷⁵⁷ Block CS9.RF1 (§4.2.4).

¹⁷⁵⁸ Block CS9.RS3 (§4.2.3).

Senwosret III tomb enclosure, probably belonged to individuals connected with the royal court of the late Middle Kingdom.

Tomb objects discovered at South Abydos, such as faience hippo figures, the fragmentary apotropaion, and the “concubine” figure, link late Middle Kingdom Abydene funerary culture with that of sites like Haraga, Lahun, and Lisht in the north.¹⁷⁵⁹ These objects corroborate Bourriau’s hypothesis that sweeping cultural changes which took place during the Middle Kingdom resulted in a roughly homogeneous funerary culture throughout Egypt by the late Middle Kingdom.¹⁷⁶⁰

Hence, contrary to the theory that the sanctity of the North Abydos burial grounds and their connection to Osiris persuaded every resident of *Wah-sut* to build their tomb near the Osiris complex, the information presented in this dissertation shows that multiple groups non-royal tombs almost certainly do indeed exist at South Abydos. Instead of connecting their tombs with the Osiris complex, they chose to link their cults with that of their dead king, who was himself unified with the ruler of the underworld through death. The areas closest to the royal tomb itself were probably reserved for the higher ranking individuals of the governmental bureaucracy and court. Satellite burial grounds lying closer to the town of *Wah-sut* may represent lower status cemeteries, containing the burials of individuals who still wished to link their mortuary cults with that of the deceased king, but who were required by protocol to do so at a certain distance from the royal monument.

¹⁷⁵⁹ See above, §3.2 for Haraga and Lahun, and D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* 2008 for Lisht.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Bourriau, *Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom* 1991, and above, §2.3.2.

Though only continued survey and excavation can answer these questions definitively, the preceding study has presented all the data known at the present time. Based upon these data, it seems highly likely that multiple, moderately-sized cemeteries exist at South Abydos. One of these, probably representing a court cemetery, may lie directly to the north of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure. This cemetery theoretically contains shaft tombs, with multiple chambers, which were originally surmounted by large mud-brick mastabas containing decorated stone wall blocks. To the northeast is another potential cemetery location, lying directly south of *Wah-sut*'s rear wall. Tombs in this area would be a mix of shaft and chamber types, and shallow surface pit graves. Surface structures would run the gamut from miniature to medium-sized mastabas, containing small stelae and offering tables like those at North Abydos. Finally, further exploration of the gebel may reveal isolated late Middle Kingdom tombs cut into the exposed bedrock. Tombs in this area would probably be of either the shaft and chamber type, or perhaps even shallow stairway tombs similar to those at Buhen.

§9.3 Domestic Cult at *Wah-sut* during the Late Middle Kingdom

One of the most interesting outcomes of this study has been a better understanding of the physical objects and ritual mechanics of domestic cult during the late Middle Kingdom. To date, archaeologists have only identified artifacts relating to this type of funerary commemoration at Lahun, and most recently the site of Kom el-

Fakhry.¹⁷⁶¹ The objects from *Wah-sut*, therefore, are important additions to a previously very limited corpus.

Though formally similar to funerary commemoration carried out in tomb chapels,¹⁷⁶² the objects related to domestic cult at *Wah-sut* hint at slightly different rituals, both during the life of the cult, and afterwards.¹⁷⁶³ Of these objects, offering columns and dwarf statues represent a class of objects which do not seem to appear in commemorative rituals within tomb chapels.¹⁷⁶⁴ Though their exact meaning is far from entirely clear, it is possible that the columns relate to food offerings of bread to the deceased.¹⁷⁶⁵ On the other hand, the text of pHarris 501, Spell U, speaks of a celestial dwarf, who is called a “column which begins in the sky, and reaches to the underworld.”¹⁷⁶⁶ This celestial entity both transcends, and connects, the realms of the gods, humans, and dead, and according to the spell, is tasked with watching over and protecting the deceased.¹⁷⁶⁷ In this role, the dwarf statues may have served an apotropaic function within the domestic cult setting, both protecting the dead, as well as the living by disallowing unwelcomed *akhu* from entering into the home.¹⁷⁶⁸ Though we may never fully understand the rituals involved with these columns and dwarf statues, their

¹⁷⁶¹ See above, §5.1.3 and §5.2.

¹⁷⁶² At least in the use of stelae, statuary, and offering tables.

¹⁷⁶³ For the link between objects and rituals, see §3.1.1 with references.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Until now, the only attestations of these objects were within domestic contexts at Lahun and Kom el-Fakhry. See §5.2.4.

¹⁷⁶⁵ As Petrie originally suggested, W. M. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara 1890, 26, and above §5.2.4.

¹⁷⁶⁶ See §5.2.4, and Lange, *Der Magische Papyrus Harris* 1927, 74.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Indeed there may be a connection to *3h*, and perhaps later Bes, with this statement. Szpakowska 2008, 133-138 takes this connection perhaps too far, linking the dwarfs to Bes, and therefore concluding that the incense burners are directly related to female fertility. Based upon pHarris 501, it would seem possible to link the dwarf with *3h*/Bes, but only within a funerary context.

¹⁷⁶⁸ The dwarf could perhaps be seen as playing the role of a celestial door-keeper, warding evil away from the domestic cult locus.

existence within domestic cult contexts points to rituals, tailor-made for this special setting.

In addition to the use of these ritual objects during the life of the cult emplacement, our foregoing discussions of the commemorative objects from *Wah-sut* points to another ritual practice which is possibly unique to domestic cult. In most cases, the objects connected with domestic cult at *Wah-sut* have been almost totally destroyed,¹⁷⁶⁹ and in such a way as to remove the names and images of the deceased.¹⁷⁷⁰ Though it is difficult to understand exactly what form this practice may have taken, this pattern of destruction is compelling evidence for a type of ritual separation, whereby the souls of the deceased were no longer allowed entry into the homes of the living.¹⁷⁷¹ Indeed, this practice hints at the notion that domestic cult served the needs of the living, in coping with the loss of loved ones, more so than it fulfilled the desires of the dead.

Further excavations within *Wah-sut* may reveal greater insight into the practice of domestic cult, but the objects which we have recovered to date have greatly improved our understanding of this seemingly widespread cultural practice during the late Middle Kingdom. Yet that understanding is still in its infancy, and the topic represents an avenue standing wide open for future study, and one which promises to offer relevant connections to many other aspects of life in ancient Egypt.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Most notably the quartzite statue of an official (SATC.5.1, §5.2.1), and the stela belonging to the son of Dedetneshmet (§5.2.2).

¹⁷⁷⁰ See §4.4.3, and §4.6.

¹⁷⁷¹ The goal of the ritual was not to harm the deceased in any way, and the destruction would not have extended to the destruction of the tomb chapel. It was merely a means by which the living could move away from the active memory of a long-dead relative, in favor of one who had died more recently.

§9.4 The New Kingdom South Abydene Non-Royal Funerary Landscapes

SATC excavations from 2012-2014 have uncovered a previously unknown burial ground now known as the Temple Cemetery. Tombs in this area belonged to a small segment of the local population at South Abydos during the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties. Though robbed in antiquity, enough remained in these tombs to allow us a glimpse into the mortuary rituals of the people living atop the remains of the Senwosret III mortuary complex during the New Kingdom.

9.4.1 South Abydos and the Temple Cemetery during the New Kingdom

South Abydos in the New Kingdom must have been as lively as it had been during the late Middle Kingdom. The Ahmose complex seems to have been a fully functioning mortuary cult, requiring numerous priests and workers.¹⁷⁷² As far as we can tell, these individuals probably lived in houses built atop the ruins of *Wah-sut*, and indeed even the town's name may have persisted well into the New Kingdom.¹⁷⁷³ During the early Eighteenth Dynasty, these individuals placed their tombs in the desert directly to the south of the Ahmose pyramid.¹⁷⁷⁴ During his excavations of the Ahmose complex, C. Currelly cleared around fifteen tombs in this area which he dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty, one of which belonged to a certain "Pa-ari, the keeper of the pyramid temple."¹⁷⁷⁵ Sadly, Currelly recorded nothing of the tomb architecture.

¹⁷⁷² Harvey, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos* 1998, and Dodson, *On the burials and reburials of Ahmose I and Amenhotep I* 2013.

¹⁷⁷³ See above §2.5.3, and Wegner, *Excavations at the Town of 'Enduring-are-the-places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos'* 1998, 37-41.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 35.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 35.

Currelly also believed that he had exhausted this cemetery, though he was apparently mistaken. Despite lying inaccessible below a modern Islamic cemetery, this area has produced objects quite recently, like the stone tomb doorjamb belonging to Jema-jb,¹⁷⁷⁶ and the stone shabti of the Priest of Montu, Iimeru.¹⁷⁷⁷ These fragments demonstrate that an unexplored, extensive court cemetery, associated with Ahmose's complex, still exists in this area.

Given the location of the early Eighteenth Dynasty court cemetery, and since the Temple Cemetery belongs to the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties, we are left with two options to explain why this small burial ground exists where it does. On the one hand, the Temple Cemetery may represent a westward expansion to the Ahmose court cemetery, which grew diachronically through the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁷⁷⁸ On the other hand, the Temple Cemetery may represent a secondary, satellite burial ground, serving a local group of individuals who wished to place their tombs closer to the cultivation. The possible route of a local Ahmose bark oracle procession may have informed both their decision to create this satellite cemetery, and in the orientation of the tombs themselves.¹⁷⁷⁹

The tombs of the Temple Cemetery are subterranean vaulted mud-brick structures, with either a single, or multiple burial chambers. Small, steep-sided pyramids stood above these burial chambers, akin to those at North Abydos, Soleb, and Aniba.¹⁷⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷⁶ See §6.9.2, Fig. 6.7.

¹⁷⁷⁷ See §6.9.2, Fig. 6.6.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Further sub-surface survey in the coming years will shed light on whether the Temple Cemetery connects with the Ahmose court-cemetery, or if it is an unconnected satellite area.

¹⁷⁷⁹ See §7.8.

¹⁷⁸⁰ See §7.6 and §7.7.

Based upon these comparable sites, it is probable that these pyramids held niches or small chapels, housing commemorative stelae, naming the deceased individuals buried below. Sadly, excavations have recovered neither stelae, nor stone pyramids. As a result, most of the tomb owners in the Temple Cemetery remain anonymous.

9.4.2 New Kingdom Interaction with Middle Kingdom Sites: The “Ahmose-Town”

Even though the Senwosret III cult had long since died out when Ahmose began constructing at Abydos,¹⁷⁸¹ the similarities between the complexes of these two kings leads to the conclusion that Ahmose probably actively investigated the earlier structures, and based his complex on their layout.¹⁷⁸² By the late Eighteenth Dynasty when the Temple Cemetery was being constructed, the Senwosret III temple served mainly as an extension of the cemetery, with burials cut into the walls of the earlier structure.¹⁷⁸³

The town of *Wah-sut* presents a more complicated pattern of interaction. According to J. Wegner, there is no evidence whatsoever which indicates that the Mayoral residence was re-inhabited during the New Kingdom.¹⁷⁸⁴ On the other hand, the houses of the late Middle Kingdom do contain circumstantial indications of prolonged occupation, including a secondary floor surface,¹⁷⁸⁵ and diagnostically New Kingdom

¹⁷⁸¹ Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2007, 40-43.

¹⁷⁸² Wegner, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* 2009, 153. Indeed, New Kingdom diagnostic ceramics have been discovered inside the tomb, J. Wegner, personal communication.

¹⁷⁸³ Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901* 1902, 60. Some of the temple's bricks may have also found their way into the Temple Cemetery vaulted tombs, see above §6.5.1.

¹⁷⁸⁴ J. Wegner, personal communication.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 37. The floor surface which Currelly mentions is about 50 cm above the original floor. Currelly only found this evidence in one room, and as such it is not clear if that situation was unique, or applicable to large portions of the town.

ceramics, though none of these appeared to be in their original contexts.¹⁷⁸⁶ Given these indications, coupled with the utter lack of any remains yet discovered which unequivocally point to a distinct “Ahmose-town” of the New Kingdom, the conclusion that parts of *Wah-sut* were re-inhabited during the early New Kingdom seems quite plausible.¹⁷⁸⁷ *Wah-sut*’s remaining architecture stands from between half a meter in some areas to only a few bricks in others.¹⁷⁸⁸ The action of erosion, coupled with deflation resulting from *sebak* diggers in the area, paints a picture in which the New Kingdom town architecture is entirely gone. The New Kingdom pottery and objects would therefore appear to exist within otherwise secure Middle Kingdom contexts. Though the resulting archaeological picture is somewhat confused, it seems the most likely scenario, which fits all the data currently available to us.

9.4.3 TC.20, Ramesu, and the Nineteenth Dynasty Royal Family

One New Kingdom tomb discussed above¹⁷⁸⁹ represents the exception to the rule that the owners of the Temple Cemetery tombs are mainly anonymous. Tomb TC.20 belonged to two higher status individuals who held military related titles: the Overseer of the Stable,¹⁷⁹⁰ Ramesu, and the Scribe, Horemheb.¹⁷⁹¹ Though we can only speculate on their relation to one another, their twin burial chambered tomb contained the bodies of almost twenty individuals, most of whom were women.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall 1904, 37-38, and J. Wegner, personal communication. Since Currelly believed that the town linked with the Ahmose complex, he reported objects and pottery which corroborated this result, despite the fact that the town contains a mix of Middle and New Kingdom objects.

¹⁷⁸⁷ For the “Ahmose-town” problem, see above §5.8.1.

¹⁷⁸⁸ J. Wegner, personal communication.

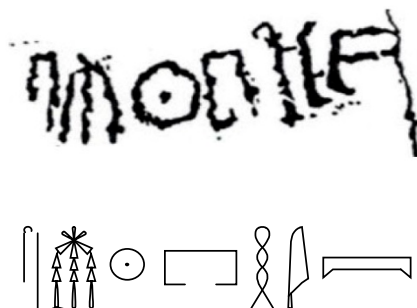
¹⁷⁸⁹ §7.4.6, and for the objects, see Chapter Eight.

¹⁷⁹⁰ For this title, see Al-Ayedi 2006, 368-369, Title 1245, and Schulman 1962, 83-87, 237-240.

¹⁷⁹¹ The generic title of “Scribe” may or may not be related to the military.

The Overseer of the Stable Ramesu presents us with an interesting question relating to the royal family of the early Nineteenth Dynasty. Both names from TC.20, Ramesu and Horemheb, have similarities with those of the last pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Horemheb, and his vizier, Pramessu, who eventually became Pharaoh Ramesses I. This is easily explained as a coincidence, or by the notion that these men were named after the more famous royal personages. However, two external sources may connect with the man buried in TC.20. The first is a graffito in the Wadi Allaqi.¹⁷⁹² The second is one of the documents which scholars have pointed to as possibly representing the genealogy and early career of Pramessu – a stela fragment now in the Oriental Institute of Chicago (OI.11456).¹⁷⁹³

Fig. 9.2: Wadi Allaqi Graffito of the Stable Master Rameses¹⁷⁹⁴



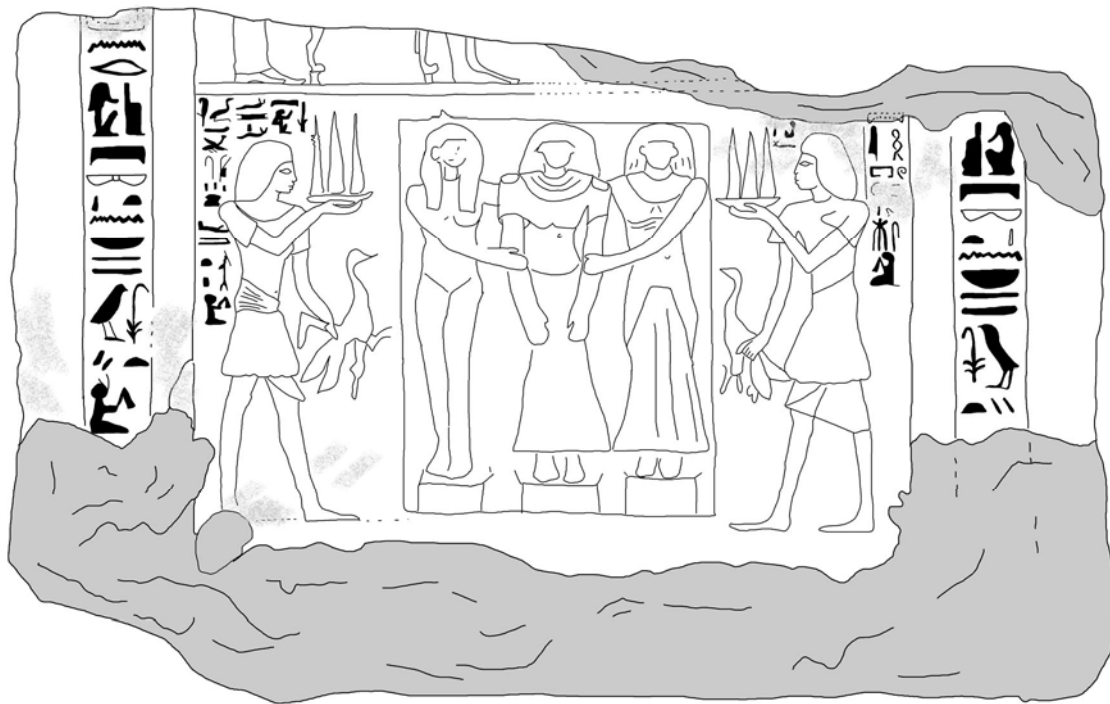
The Wadi Allaqi graffito reads simply as *hr.j-jh.w R^c-ms-s*. Though dated to the New Kingdom, its text tells us virtually nothing about this man other than his single title, Stable Master. While it is impossible to link this text with the man buried in TC.20 definitively, his name and title are identical to the shabti texts from South Abydos.

¹⁷⁹² Thanks to Marina Brown for pointing this out to me.

¹⁷⁹³ Originally published by Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978. See also Brand 2000, 337, 342.

¹⁷⁹⁴ After Piotrovskii 1983, 56.

Fig. 9.3: Stela of Suty, OL.11456¹⁷⁹⁵



Another object naming a Stable Master Rameses, stela OL.11456, belongs to an individual named *swty*, who holds the title of *ḥr.j-pd.t-n-nb-t3.wy*, “Troop Commander of the Lord of the Two Lands, Suty.”¹⁷⁹⁶ The central portion of the remaining lower half of the stela has a three-dimensional, engaged statue of this man, flanked by a woman on his right, and a man on his left.¹⁷⁹⁷ On either side of this central scene are carved relief depictions of two men, offering to Suty. The man on the left side of the stela is called “His beloved brother, the fanbearer of the Retinue, Khaemwaset.”¹⁷⁹⁸ The text

¹⁷⁹⁵ After the photograph in Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Rameses I* 1978, 238, Fig. 1.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Rameses I* 1978, 239. For the title *ḥr.j-pd.t*, see also Schulman 1962, 87-91, who states that it was a high rank, directly subordinate to a General.

¹⁷⁹⁷ The man has what Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Rameses I* 1978, 238 calls a “feminine appearance reminiscent of the style of Amarna figures.”

¹⁷⁹⁸ Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Rameses I* 1978, 240.

accompanying the figure on the right is somewhat damaged.¹⁷⁹⁹ What remains is part of a filiation statement, followed by the title *hr.j-jhw* (Overseer of the Stable), and a damaged name which ends with *///ms-s m3^c-hrw*.¹⁸⁰⁰ The Oriental Institute Museum records reconstructed the name as [Amun]mose, but based upon his close scrutiny of the piece on numerous occasions, Cruz-Urbe is certain that the reading [Ra]mose is correct.¹⁸⁰¹ With this new reading, Cruz-Urbe put forth the theory that Suty of this stela is one and the same as Seti, the father of Pharaoh Ramesses I.¹⁸⁰² Based upon this hypothesis, the Overseer of the Stable, Ramesses, from OI.11456 is the same man as Paramesu from the Karnak statues, the future Pharaoh Ramesses I, making Khaemwaset Seti's brother, and Ramesses I's uncle.

Since a number of uncertainties exist with this connection between Rameses and Paramesu/Ramesses I, scholars still stand divided on Cruz-Urbe's theory.¹⁸⁰³ First and foremost is the identification of Suty¹⁸⁰⁴ with Seti,¹⁸⁰⁵ the father of Paramesu / Ramesses I. Cruz-Urbe discussed the problem at some length, citing the opinions of Petrie, Legrain, Yoyote, Albright, Edel, and Vergotte,¹⁸⁰⁶ and came to the conclusion that the

¹⁷⁹⁹ The damage is the result of salts in the stone, which have flaked the surface. The damage was not intentional. Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 237.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 239, Fig. 2. It is worth pointing out that his hand-copy omits an *n* from text A, which is clearly visible in the photograph (Fig.1)

¹⁸⁰¹ Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 240.




¹⁸⁰² As attested on his Karnak statues, see Helck 1958, 2175-2176

¹⁸⁰³ Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, Vol. 2: *De la fin de l'Ancient Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire* 1998, 494, note 2, Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* 2004, 160-161, 171, 174, and Kitchen 1982, 16 accept it, but Clayton 1994, 140-141 does not, and Brand 2000, 337, 342 note.191 remains speculative, offering instead the option that the Rameses of OI.11456 represents a man different than Ramesses I.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Ranke 1935, I:321.17.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Ranke 1935, I:322.7-8.



¹⁸⁰⁶ See Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 242-243, notes 32-36, 38-40.

writings ¹⁸⁰⁷, ¹⁸⁰⁸ and ¹⁸⁰⁹ all represent the same name.¹⁸⁰⁹ Cruz-Urbe then linked Suty with Seti with the following statement:

My suggestion that the *Swty* of OI 114556 is identical with the father of Rameses I does, however, have one convincing argument. The principal title of the father of the Vizier Pramesu, as given on the Karnak statue, does match the title of the father of Ramose (Rameses) on this stela. The title of Sety on the Karnak statue would be the highest attained at his death, and the *Swty* of OI 11456 bears the same title on this funerary monument.¹⁸¹⁰

While he maintains that the titles of Suty and Seti match, they are, in fact, not identical.

On the Oriental Institute stela, Suty is a *ḥr.j-pd.t-n-nb-t3.wy*.¹⁸¹¹ On Paramesu's statue, on the other hand, he holds the titles *s3b ḥr.j-pd.t*.¹⁸¹² While his identification of Suty and Seti may still be valid, the similarity between the two titles is not as convincing as Cruz-Urbe makes it out to be.¹⁸¹³

Cruz-Urbe's reconstruction of the Oriental Institute Rameses' filiation based upon the signs   *z3=f*, traces of which he believed he saw in front of the right hand figure's face, is also less than certain due to the degraded state of the stela in this area.¹⁸¹⁴ His published photo is not of high enough resolution to confirm this reading, and it seems equally possible that the stroke may be the bottom portion of a *sn* sign, reading *sn=f* in parallel to the man on the left side of the stela. As a result, the OI.11456 Rameses is

¹⁸⁰⁷ From the Paramesu statue, Helck 1958, 2176, line 10

¹⁸⁰⁸ From a scarab of Seti I, Piankoff, *Le Nom du Roi Sethos en égyptien* 1948, 175

¹⁸⁰⁹ From the OI.11456 stela, Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 242-243. Baines and McNamara, *The Twin Stelae of Suty and Hor* 2007, 76-77 also hint at their belief that the name Suty is the same as Seti.

¹⁸¹⁰ Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 243.


¹⁸¹¹ Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 239. Schulman 1962, 243-244 (documents 405 a-b), 248 (documents 417 a-d) lists two individuals holding this title during the Eighteenth, and four holding it during the Nineteenth Dynasty. He does not comment on any differences between *ḥr.j-pd.t* and *ḥr.j-pd.t-n-nb-t3.wy*.

¹⁸¹² Helck 1958, 2176, line 10. Brand 2000, 338 explains that Suty/Seti received the honorary title "judge" after his stela was carved.

¹⁸¹³ The question remains if a *ḥr.j-pd.t* is the same as a *ḥr.j-pd.t-n-nb-t3.wy*.

¹⁸¹⁴ Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 240.

either the son, or brother of Suty. Cruz-Urbe rejected the original reading of

[Amen]mose, reading instead  *hr.j-zjh.w* [*R^c*]-*ms-s*.¹⁸¹⁵ The signs of the title are quite visible in the photograph, as are the traces of the *Re* element which Cruz-Urbe reconstructed. Hence, the reading of an individual holding the sole title of Overseer of the Stable, by the name of Rameses, seems fairly secure.

The spellings of Rameses' name appearing on the TC.20 shabtis read as both *R^c-ms-w* and *R^c-ms-s*,¹⁸¹⁶ but never occur with the *p3* element preceding them. On the other hand, the pre-coronation writings of Ramesses I's name appearing on his Karnak statues read *P3-R^c-ms-sw*.¹⁸¹⁷ J. van Dijk maintained that Paramesu and Rameses are different names,¹⁸¹⁸ but P. Brand countered with the statement that "Ramesses II, however, used both *R^c-ms-s* and *R^c-ms-sw* as his nomen during his reign."¹⁸¹⁹ While Brand's statement corroborates the change between *R^c-ms-s* and *R^c-ms-w* on the TC.20 shabtis, he essentially sidesteps commenting on the presence or absence of the *p3* element within these names.¹⁸²⁰ The question is whether or not, given that the increase in usage of this definite article in the written language was a result of Akhenaten's sweeping cultural changes,¹⁸²¹ the names Rameses and Paramesu were considered interchangeable in the same way that *R^c-ms-s* and *R^c-ms-w/sw* seem to have been.¹⁸²² In order to link the

¹⁸¹⁵ Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 240, Fig. 2.

¹⁸¹⁶ SATC.20.2 also spells the name simply as *R^c-ms*.

¹⁸¹⁷ Helck 1958, 2175, line 16; 2176 lines 9 and 21.

¹⁸¹⁸ J. van Dijk in Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* 1997, 61, note 4.

¹⁸¹⁹ Brand 2000, 337, note 166.

¹⁸²⁰ For *p3-R^c-ms-sw*, see Ranke 1935, 114.14, for *R^c-ms-sw*, see Ranke 1935, 218.6, and for *R^c-ms-s* see Ranke 1935, 218.3. Ranke treats them as three different names, with three slightly different translations.

¹⁸²¹ Silverman, *The Spoken and Written Word* 1999, 151-153.

¹⁸²² The stela of Suty (OI.11456) would, seemingly, be the only reference to Paramesu's name being spelled without the *p3* element.

Rameses from OI.11456 to the Paramesu of the Karnak Statues, we must assume that his name could appear with and without the *p3* element, a situation which is not corroborated by any of the Vizier's other monuments.

In addition, the title of Overseer of the Stable is problematic to the identification of the OI.11456 Rameses with Paramesu. This is the only title held by the figure on Suty's stela, and therefore, presumably the highest title this individual held at the time the stela was dedicated. This is exactly the title which appears on five painted shabtis from TC.20, and in every case it is without any other title.¹⁸²³ Discussing the title *hr.j-jh.w*, P. Brand points out that "[a]lthough this title is not attested on Paramessu's other monuments, he may have omitted such a lowly office, having reached the highest circles of the government."¹⁸²⁴ Hence, we cannot connect the OI.11456 Rameses with the Vizier Paramessu through the title *hr.j-jh.w*, since Paramessu never claims this title on any of his other attested monuments.¹⁸²⁵ On the other hand, the man buried in TC.20 holds this exact title, and spells his name without the *p3* element, virtually identical to the Rameses on stela OI.11456.¹⁸²⁶

What we are left with is a situation in which the Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu / Rameses from TC.20 at South Abydos is a much better fit for the man pictured on stela

¹⁸²³ See above, §8.2.1.

¹⁸²⁴ Brand 2000, 338.

¹⁸²⁵ Indeed, according to A. Schulman's study, the title may not have even been connected with the military, but rather with the Residence, and other institutions concerned with moving and storing goods. If the position did not belong to the military, then the whole idea that Paramessu moved up in the ranks of the military from Stablemaster to General, represents an impossible progression. See Schulman 1962, 84-86.

¹⁸²⁶ The only difference between the name and title between the TC.20 shabtis and stela OI.11456 is the existence of a seated god determinative for the name Re, which Cruz-Urbe reconstructs. This difference seems far less problematic than assigning an unattested title to Paramessu, and assuming that the name Rameses and Paramessu refer to the same individual.

OI.11456, than the Vizier and future Pharaoh Paramessu / Ramesses I. Yet this does not mean that the individuals on Suty's stela do not relate to the family of Paramessu / Ramesses I. Indeed, in discussing Ramesses I's damaged Abydos chapel,¹⁸²⁷ P. Brand hinted at the notion that the OI.11456 Rameses may appear in this building with other ancestors:

Some of these kinfolk can be identified from other sources. "His mother" must be the anonymous wife of Ramesses I's father, the troop commander Seti. The "god's mother" would be the aforementioned wife of Ramesses, Queen Sitre, referring to her role as mother of Seti I, the ruling pharaoh. The king's "beloved brother" may be Khaemwaset, named on a battered stela of Ramesses I's father Seti where he is also described as "beloved." Another man might be a certain Ramose (=Ramesses), whose precise relationship to the king remains unknown.¹⁸²⁸

If we accept the notion that Suty is one and the same as Seti, father of the future Ramesses I, but reject the connection between Suty's son Rameses and Paramessu, we must then explain how the Rameses from Suty's stela fits into the family. As we suggested above, it may be possible that the two men shown giving offerings to Suty on his stela are his two brothers. The man on the left is clearly stated to be "his beloved brother, the fanbearer of the Retinue, Khaemwaset."¹⁸²⁹ If we then understand the man on the right to be "[his beloved brother], the Overseer of the Stable, Rameses," and also understand this man to be identical with the man buried in TC.20, then the Overseer of the Stable, Rameses from South Abydos is Paramessu/Ramesses I's uncle. Both he, and his brother Khaemwaset probably also appear in the king's chapel near the Seti I Temple, lying just 1.4 km away from TC.20 at South Abydos.

¹⁸²⁷ For this monument, see above §6.5.1. The scene which P. Brand discusses bears depictions of Ramesses I's ancestors, but the personal names are missing, leading to his conjectural reconstruction of the personages.

¹⁸²⁸ Brand 2000, 342.

¹⁸²⁹ Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 240. This man seems to be the same as the "fanbearer on the king's right side," who was married to "the mistress of the harem of Amen, Taemwadjsy," who appears on a statue from Kawa, as Brand 2000, 337 and Cruz-Urbe, *The Father of Ramesses I* 1978, 243-244 outlined.

While these conclusions must remain, in part, conjectural, the explanation put forth here fits the available data better than the many assumptions required to identify the OI.11456 Rameses as the Vizier Paramessu. Connecting Rameses from TC.20 with the military family of the future rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty also connects with other features of TC.20 and its inhabitants. For instance, the chronology of the individuals who appear on the Suty stela lines up perfectly with internal evidence from within TC.20. According to Cruz-Urbe, the statue of Khaemwaset, brother of Suty, dates to the reign of Tutankhamun. This leads to the logical conclusion that his brother, the Overseer of the Stable Rameses, was also an adult during this period, past the age of marriage and children.¹⁸³⁰ Based upon our investigation of TC.20, Rameses was buried in Chamber D.¹⁸³¹ This was also the first chamber built, since the vault of Chamber B abuts that of Chamber D. The doorway between Chamber B and Chamber D was also sealed with bricks, and covered in white plaster, which bore some type of seal stamps. The burial chamber of Horemheb (Chamber C) was also blocked with bricks, but not sealed, perhaps indicating that the burial of Rameses took place first, followed in a number of years by that of Horemheb.¹⁸³² Based upon this hypothesis, it is reasonable to assume that Horemheb may have been Rameses' son, perhaps even named for the famous general, vizier, and later pharaoh, Horemheb. Our proposed date for the sarcophagus of TC.20's Horemheb somewhere in the reigns of Tutankhamun or Pharaoh Horemheb,¹⁸³³ works well with the dating of the TC.20/OI.11456 Rameses and his brother Khaemwaset to the reign

¹⁸³⁰ Based upon the fact that Khaemwaset was already married at the time he commissioned his statue.

¹⁸³¹ By far, the largest group of Rameses' shabtis came from inside Chamber D. We only found one partial example in Chamber B, where it had probably been taken by ancient robbers.

¹⁸³² In other words, Rameses' burial chamber was blocked and sealed to prevent anyone entering it between his death and that of Horemheb, during which time the tomb may have remained partly open.

¹⁸³³ See above, §7.1.5.

of Tutankhamun.¹⁸³⁴ Finally, a connection with the powerful family of Seti and Paramessu may help explain the large size, and lavish tomb goods which we recovered from TC.20. This tomb is far larger, and better equipped than any other in the Temple Cemetery, despite being owned by two individuals with seemingly ordinary titles.¹⁸³⁵

9.4.4 Summary

The New Kingdom funerary landscape at South Abydos which the Temple Cemetery represents is a snapshot of a fairly affluent population. The men stood taller than the average male of the period, and while most of the women seem to have been of average height, there were some who exceeded the average height of men. Their robust frames demonstrate the probability that they had access to a balanced diet early in life, leading to the conclusion that the South Abydene population was one of some means for numerous generations.

Two of these individuals, Ramesu and Horemheb, held titles possibly connected to the military, and may have even been related to the powerful Ramesside family who eventually assumed the throne in the Nineteenth Dynasty. The tombs of others in the cemetery display variation in richness, but in all cases, the owners of these structures built small pyramids of their own, emulating both the natural pyramid above the Senwosret III royal necropolis, as well as the built pyramids of Ahmose and Tetisheri just to the east. For the most part, these pyramids faced the cultivation, perhaps orienting

¹⁸³⁴ Horemheb may have purchased the sarcophagus, and had it inscribed during his younger life, at a time when he only held the title of “Scribe.”

¹⁸³⁵ According to ration lists from Deir el-Medina, Nunn 1996, 19, scribes were well paid. Since the Overseer of the Stable does not seem to be a military title, Schulman does not comment on its relative rank, stating instead for what duties the individuals holding the title may have been responsible.

toward the Ahmose oracle procession of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties. At this time period, Abydos was a hub of activity, with the Ahmose cult still in operation to the east of the Temple Cemetery, and the royal temple constructions of Seti I¹⁸³⁶ and Ramesses II's to the northwest. It is in the center of this activity that the inhabitants of South Abydos placed the Temple Cemetery .

§9.5 Future Goals of the SATC Project

SATC excavations have succeeded in elucidating many questions. The non-royal tombs of the New Kingdom Temple Cemetery have given us a much fuller picture of life during this period at South Abydos. Furthermore, the reused Middle Kingdom tomb chapel blocks, and the many fragments originating in domestic cult emplacements, testify to the rich and multifaceted mortuary beliefs and practices which the citizens of *Wah-sut* carried out. Yet in many ways, these results have merely scratched the surface.

Magnetometric remote sensing in the Temple Cemetery has revealed the existence of at least twenty structures.¹⁸³⁷ To date, the SATC project has investigated only twelve of these, six of which appear in this work.¹⁸³⁸ We will require at least two more seasons to excavate the remaining tombs within this small cemetery, of which we are currently aware. Additionally, we will need to expand the area of our magnetometric remote sensing to ensure that we understand the complete extent of the burial ground as a whole,

¹⁸³⁶ As Brand 2000, 294-295 discusses, Set I's Nauri Decree indicates that the temple was a high priority for the king, who set up numerous institutions around Egypt and Nubia to provide for the building's needs.

¹⁸³⁷ See above §7.2.1, and Fig. 7.4.

¹⁸³⁸ To date, analysis is complete for the six tombs included herein. Further work is required with the remaining six, as well as excavation of the remaining eight tombs known to exist in the cemetery.

allowing us to begin looking at questions of seriation (horizontal stratigraphy), and diachronic cemetery expansion.¹⁸³⁹

Further field work is required in the Eastern Ridge tumulus cemetery in order to understand the structures therein. In addition to excavation and survey, selected C-14 analysis, and possibly genetic investigation of the human remains may prove useful in determining the date of these tombs. Finally, continued survey, perhaps including alternative geophysical methods such as ground penetrating radar, may help to reveal the locations of Middle Kingdom tomb shafts in the area of the Senwosret III tomb enclosure.

§9.6 Concluding Remarks

Despite the breadth of material that the SATC excavations have uncovered, which constitutes the core of the present work, this project still has great potential for future discoveries. Thanks, in part, to the amazing monuments at North Abydos, the Southern portion of the site has received less archaeological attention, at least until relatively recently. J. Wegner's and S. Harvey's excavations in the 1990's did much to expand our understanding of South Abydos, and with J. Wegner's excavations in the Senwosret III mortuary complex still ongoing, even more information comes to light with each passing season. Though modest in comparison to the large royal tomb excavations at South Abydos, the SATC project aims to give a voice to the smaller individuals, who carried

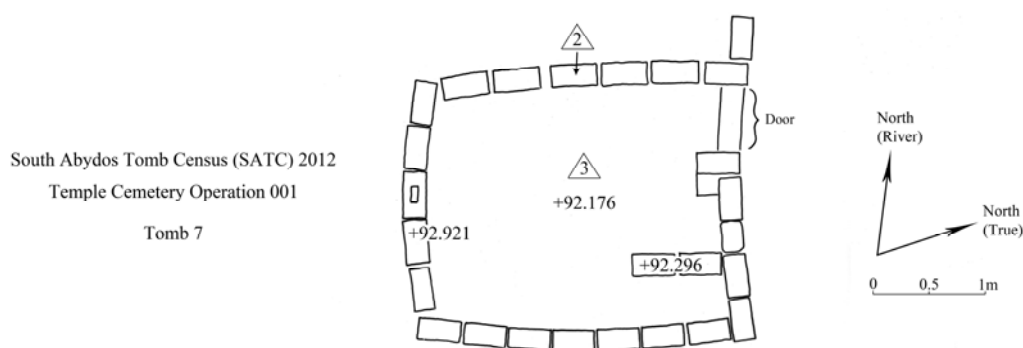
¹⁸³⁹ In other words, to look at the geographic and chronological spread of the cemetery, as defined in Kaiser 1957 and Kemp, *Dating Pharaonic Cemeteries Part I: Non-mechanical Approaches to Seriation* 1975.

out their daily lives in the shadow of these larger royal personalities, and their monumental tombs.

APPENDIX ONE: TEMPLE CEMETERY TOMB ASSEMBLAGES

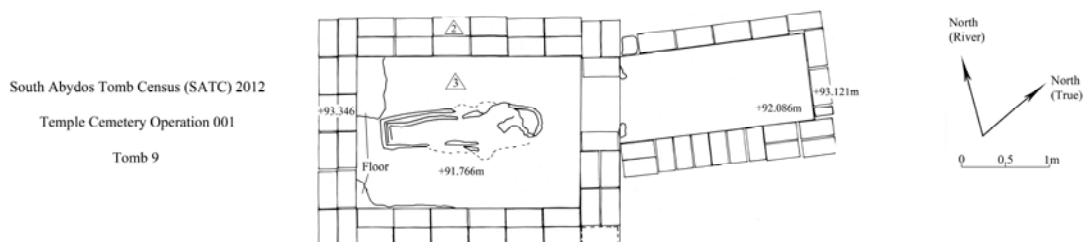
The following catalogue lists the contents of the tombs from the Temple Cemetery which appear in the foregoing work. The entries are organized by tomb number, subdivided into the categories of artifacts, bead types, pottery, coffins, and human remains.

TC.7



Architecture Type	Type 1: Single Subterranean Vaulted Chamber	
SATC Location	SATC Op. 1, Loci 4 and 5	
Date	Akhenaten - Ramesses II	
Objects	SATC.1.10	Wooden Coffin Hand (Yellow-type)
	SATC.1.11	Fragment of ebony, possibly a coffin peg
	SATC.1.13	Half of a faience bowl with <i>Wesekh</i> -collar decoration
	SATC.1.49	Molded plaster ear from a coffin (Yellow-type)
	SATC.1.51	Mud jar-stopper with blue painted decoration
	SATC.1.52	Rim fragment from a faience bowl with rim diameter of 10cm
	SATC.1.110	Carnelian bead of type D8
Bead Types	C2, C3, D2, D4, D8, G1	
Pottery	SATCP-01, SATCP-02, SATCP-03, SATCP-04, SATCP-07, SATCP-11, SATCP-29	
Coffin Types	Black-type, Yellow-type	
Human Remains	Disturbed remains belonging to 2 males, and 1 female.	

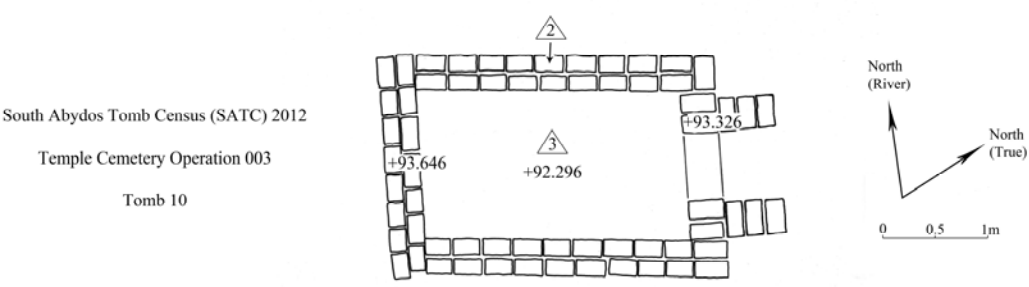
TC.9



Architecture Type	Type 2: Single Subterranean Vaulted Chamber with Entrance Shaft	
SATC Location	SATC Op. 1, Loci 2 and 3	
Date	Amenhotep III - Horemheb	
Objects	SATC1.12	Pottery shabti, no remaining inscription
	SATC.1.17	Unfired mud model vessel
	SATC.1.18	Unfired mud model vessel lid
	SATC.1.21	Inscribed wood shabti fragment
	SATC.1.22	Wooden coffin peg (Yellow-type)
	SATC.1.23	Fragment of wood with painted inscription (shabti fragment?)
	SATC.1.24	Painted wood fragment
	SATC.1.31	Unfired mud model vessel lid
	SATC.1.32	Inscribed wood shabti fragment
	SATC.1.40	Fragment of decorated faience
	SATC.1.42	Fragment of a faience bowl ¹⁸⁴⁰
	SATC.1.43	Fragment of a faience bowl
	SATC.1.46	Fragment of a faience bowl with lotus pattern
	SATC.1.60	Inscribed wood shabti fragment
	SATC.1.61	Wood fragment from pylon-shaped heart scarab pectoral with Nephthys
	SATC.1.80	Bone appliqué knob for a box
	SATC.1.81	Ebony appliqué knob for a box
Bead Types	C2, D1, D2, D7, G1, G2	
Pottery	SATCP-01, SATCP-05, SATCP-06, SATCP-08, SATCP-10, SATCP-11, SATCP-13, SATCP-14, SATCP-33,	
Coffin Types	2 Black-type, 1 Yellow-type or Black/Yellow transitional	
Human Remains	Disturbed remains belonging to 1 male, 1 female, and 1 unidentified.	

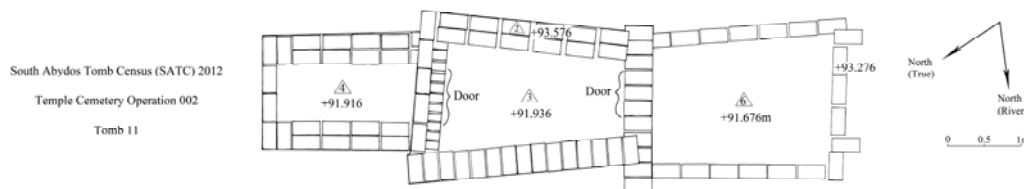
¹⁸⁴⁰ Objects SATC.1.42 and SATC.1.43 came from screened surface material. Tombs TC.7 and TC.9 were within the same unit (Op. 1), and even though excavation at the time these pieces were found concentrated on the matrix above TC.9, it is impossible to say for certain that they derived from inside this tomb, or one of the others nearby (TC.7, TC.10, TC.8).

TC.10



Architecture Type	Type 1: Single Subterranean Vaulted Chamber	
SATC Location	SATC Op. 3, Loci 2, 3, and 4	
Date	Akhenaten - Ramesses II	
Objects	SATC.3.1	Limestone shabti fragment, uninscribed leg portion
	SATC.3.2	Mud seal impression, probably originating in MK Shena debris
	SATC.3.3	Fragment of a multicolor glass bangle bracelet
	SATC.3.4	Fragment of a faience bowl with lotus (?) decoration
	SATC.3.5	Fragment of a limestone shabti with divine determinative and <i>mr</i> sign
	SATC.3.43	Fragment of cartonnage with partial inscription
Bead Types	C1, C2, G1, G3, T2, R2	
Pottery	SATCP-01, SATCP-02, SATCP-15, SATCP-23, SATCP-25, SATCP-27	
Coffin Types	1 Black-type, and 1 Yellow-type, probably 1 cartonnage inner cover	
Human Remains	Disturbed remains belonging to 1 male and 1 female.	

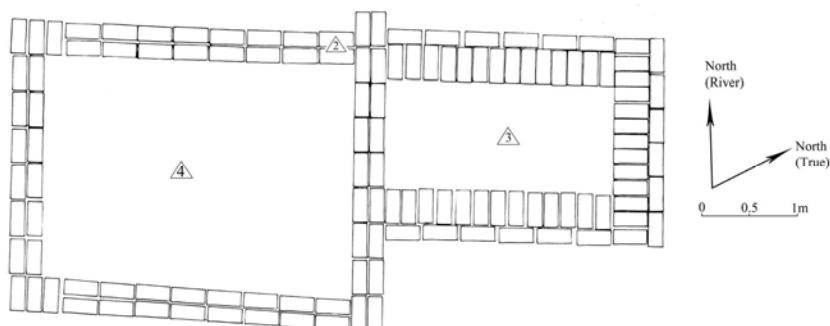
TC.11



Architecture Type	Type 3: Twin Subterranean Vaulted Chambers and Central Entrance Shaft	
SATC Location	SATC Op. 2, Loci: 2 and 3 (Central Shaft) Loci: 4 and 5 (North Burial Chamber) Locus: 6 (South Burial Chamber)	
Date	North Chamber: Akhenaten - Ramesses II South Chamber: Early Nineteenth Dynasty	
Objects	SATC.2.1	Rim fragment from a faience vessel
	SATC.2.2	Three fragments of a wooden heart scarab pectoral (South)
	SATC.2.17	Multicolor glass bangle bracelet fragment
	SATC.2.18	Painted wood box fragment with the head of a priest
	SATC.2.19	Faience finger ring with red band and blue scalloped bezel
	SATC.2.20	Blue Painted Ware body sherd
	SATC.2.21	Mud-brick or mud plaster with yellow paint
	SATC.2.22	Fired pottery shabti with scant painted decoration, but no name
	SATC.2.23	MK clay seal impression, originating from Shena dump material
	SATC.2.24	Small faience fragment, possibly from a kohl tube
	SATC.2.25	Mud jar stopper fragment
	SATC.2.26	Blue Painted Ware body sherd
	SATC.2.27	Badly decayed wooden shabti fragment
Bead Types	C1, C3, D3, D6, T2,	
Pottery	SATCP-01, SATCP-02, SATCP-10, SATCP-16, SATCP-18, SATCP-19, SATCP-20, SATCP-21, SATCP-22, SATCP-24, SATCP-26, SATCP-28, SATCP-31, SATCP-32, SATCP-34, SATCP-35	
Coffin Types	North Chamber: Black-type, Yellow-type South Chamber: Polychrome plaster fragments, possibly Daily-life-type	
Human Remains	Disturbed remains of 2 males, 1 female, and 2 unknown within tomb	

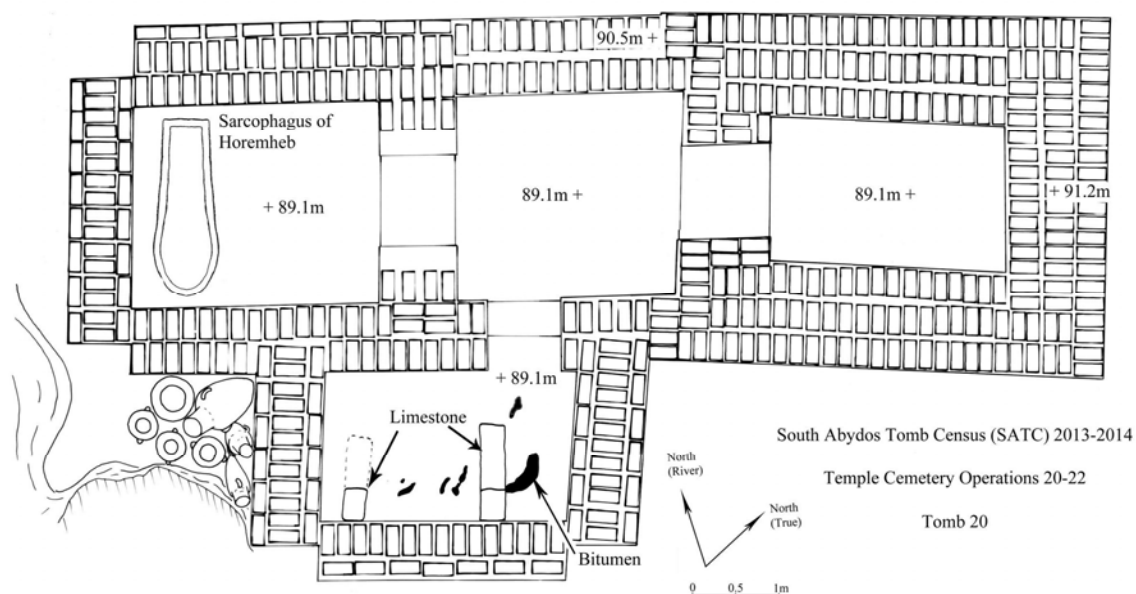
TC.19

South Abydos Tomb Census (SATC) 2013
 Temple Cemetery Operation 017
 Tomb 19



Architecture Type	Type 2: Single Subterranean Vaulted Chamber with Entrance Shaft	
SATC Location	SATC Op. 17, Loci 2, 3, and 4	
Date	Early Nineteenth Dynasty	
Objects	SATC.17.2	Fragments of a wooden face appliqué from a Yellow-type coffin
	SATC.17.3	Left hand wooden appliqué from a Yellow-type coffin
	SATC.17.4	Plaster rosette from a Yellow-type coffin
	SATC.17.5	Plaster rosette from a Yellow-type coffin
	SATC.17.6a-b	Two body sherds from a glass vessel
	SATC.17.8	Body sherd from a glass vessel
	SATC.17.9a-b	Two neck fragments from a glass vessel
Bead Types	none collected	
Pottery	SATCP-55	
Coffin Types	Yellow-type	
Human Remains	Highly disturbed remains contain 10 left innominates, indicating at least 10 individuals (4 male, 4 female, 2 unknown)	

TC.20



Architecture Type	Type 4: Multiple Subterranean Vaulted Chambers and Single Shaft	
SATC Location	SATC Op. 20-22: Op. 21, Locus 3 (Shaft/Chamber A) Op. 20, Locus 4 (Chamber B) Locus 3 (Chamber C) Locus 5 (Horemheb Sarcophagus) Op. 22, Locus 3 (Chamber D) Locus 4 (Embalming Cache)	
Date	Tutankhamun - Ramesses II	
Objects	SATC.20.1	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.2	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti belonging to the Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu
	SATC.20.3	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti belonging to [the Scribe] Horemheb
	SATC.20.4	Travertine vessel with drilled loop handles
	SATC.20.5	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.6	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti belonging to ...Hutefmipet (?)
	SATC.20.7	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, possibly belonging to Horemheb
	SATC.20.8	Glass composite coffin right eye inlay
	SATC.20.9	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.10	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.11	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti with kneeling man determinative, and <i>hrw</i> element of <i>m3^c-hrw</i> .
	SATC.20.12	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.13	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription


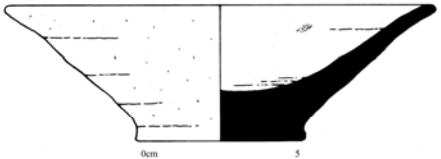
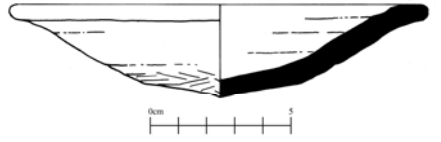

	SATC.20.14	Red jasper face inlay which fits into SATC.20.15, and atop SATC.20.21
	SATC.20.15	Black stone wig into which fits SATC.20.14, sitting atop SATC.20.21
	SATC.20.16	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.17	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.18	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti belonging to the Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu
	SATC.20.19	Complete fired pottery shabti belonging to the Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu
	SATC.20.20	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.21	Green jasper anthropomorphic heart amulet (with SATC.20.14, and SATC.20.15), with engraved image of the Benu phoenix and incense burner. Small patch of gold foil and bitumen on the back.
	SATC.20.22	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.23	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.24	Ebony <i>tj.t</i> -amulet once held in a coffin hand
	SATC.20.25	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.26	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.20.27	Glass composite coffin left eye inlay
	SATC.20.28	Bone button or toggle
	SATC.20.29 and SATC.22.3	Two fragments of an ebony box handle, once connected to a box with a pinned tenon
	SATC.20.30 and SATC.20.31	Stone frame and glass pupil from a composite inlaid coffin right eye
	SATC.20.32a-e	Glass rods, possibly used as inlays
	SATC.20.34	Small flakes of gold foil
	SATC.20.36	Body sherd from a pale green / tan glass vessel
	SATC.20.37	Fragment of a twirled blue glass rod
	SATC.20.38	Glass eyebrow from a left inlaid coffin eye
	SATC.20.39	Glass eyebrow from a left inlaid coffin eye
	SATC.20.41	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, inscription illegible
	SATC.22.1	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.22.4	Fragment from a glass right coffin eye inlay frame
	SATC.22.5	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti belonging to ...Hutefmipet (?)
	SATC.22.6	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.22.7	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti belonging to The Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu
	SATC.22.8	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti with palimpsest inscription. Lower inscription includes priestly title connected with Osiris Temple, upper inscription bears the name and title of The Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu
	SATC.22.9	Fired pottery shabti belonging to The Overseer of the Stable Ramesu
	SATC.22.10	Fired pottery shabti belonging to The Overseer of the Stable Ramesu
	SATC.22.11	Fragment of blue glass rod or inlay
	SATC.22.12	Bronze sewing needle
	SATC.22.15	Mud seal impression fragment, probably Middle Kingdom

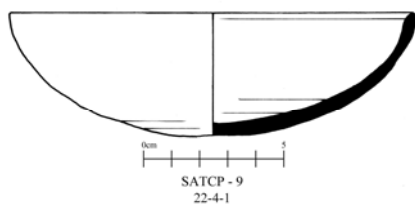
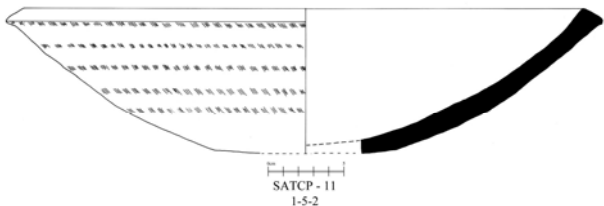
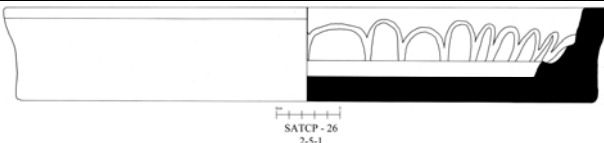
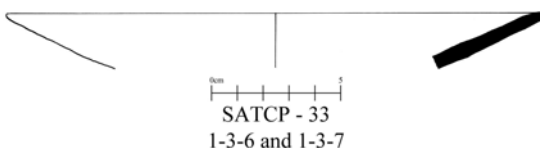
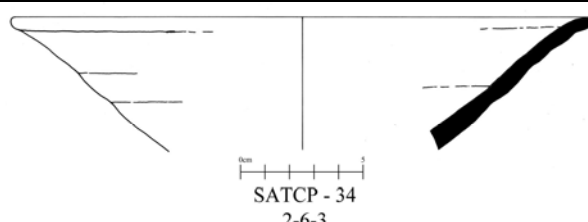
	SATC.22.16	Mud seal impression fragment, probably Middle Kingdom
	SATC.22.17a-c	Three fragments of a red faience shabti belonging to the Overseer of the Stable, Ramesu
	SATC.22.18	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, the end of <i>m3^c-hrw</i> remaining
	SATC.22.19	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, seated man determinative and <i>m3^c-hrw</i> remaining
	SATC.22.20	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, seated man determinative remaining
	SATC.22.21	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, no inscription
	SATC.22.22	Fragment of a fired pottery shabti, belonging to [The Overseer of the Stable, Ra]mesu
	SATC.22.23	Wooden coffin hand appliqué representing right hand
	SATC.22.24	Mud game piece
	SATC.22.26	Fragment of a wooden shabti with a portion of an illegible inscription written in yellow upon a black background. Shabti wears a <i>wesekh</i> collar, and holds an implement in its right hand.
	SATC.22.27	Shoulder portion of a wooden shabti, with an adze
	SATC.22.28	Yellow face of a wooden shabti
Bead Types	C1, C2, C4, G1, G2, G3, T2	
Pottery	SATCP-01, SATCP-09, SATCP-10, SATCP-11, SATCP-47, SATCP-55, SATCP-59, SATCP-60, SATCP-62, SATCP-63, SATCP-64,	
Coffin Types	Black-Type, Yellow-Type, Sandstone Sarcophagus akin to Black-type decoration	
Human Remains	Disturbed remains of 15-18 individuals (3-4 males, 10-12 females, and 2 children).	

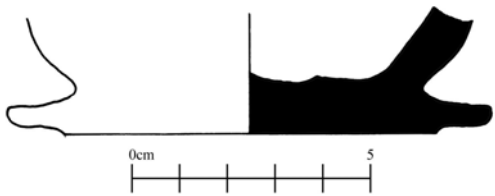
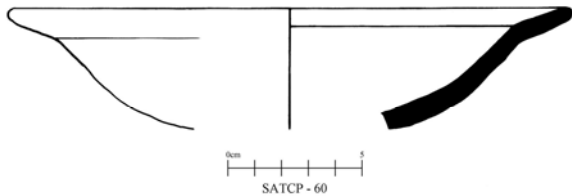
APPENDIX TWO: SATC POTTERY CORPUS

The following appendix includes all the pottery forms which the SATC project discovered within the Temple Cemetery. They are organized into forms, beginning with open forms, followed by closed forms, and finally jar stands. The SATCP type numbers refer to the field pottery typology.

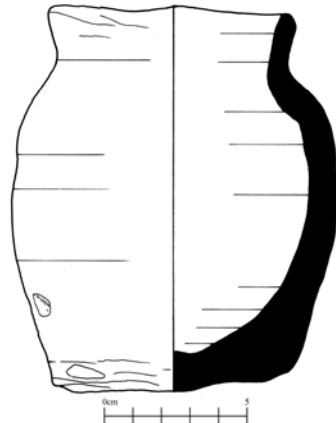
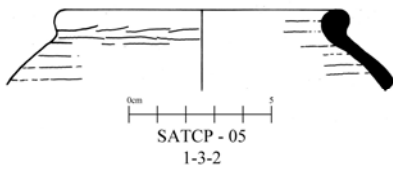
Open Forms:

<p>• SATCP-02 (Nile B2-C) ° Old Kingdom onwards</p> <p>Small cup, often with a hole in the bottom, which is frequently found in conjunction with SATCP-01, acting as a lid.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wegner 2007, Type 9), (Budka 2006, Fig. 3.7).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 02 1-5-2</p>
<p>• SATCP-03 (Nile Silt) ° Late SIP - End of Dyn. 18</p> <p>Wide dish with thin walls and a flat base.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Aston 1998, No. 25-36), (Budka 2006, Fig. 3.10).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 03 1-5-3</p>
<p>• SATCP-04 (Nile B1-B2) ° MK onwards</p> <p>Wide, shallow dish with shaved base.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wegner 2007, Type 3), (Aston 1998, No. 196), (Budka 2006, Fig. 3.3, 4.5-8)</p>	 <p>SATCP - 04 1-5-3</p>
<p>• SATCP-08 (Nile Silt) ° Dynasty 18-19</p> <p>Blue Painted Ware bowl, with carinated sides.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Hope 1991, Fig. 1g), (Budka 2006, Fig. 10.6-7, 18.3).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 08 1-1-6</p>

<p>• SATCP-09 (Nile D) ° Early to Mid-Dynasty 18</p> <p>Shallow bowl with red burnished slip.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-149), (Budka 2006, Fig. 5.8).</p>	
<p>• SATCP-11 (Nile C) ° Old Kingdom - Early Dynasty 19</p> <p>Wide dish with flat base, slightly everted rim, rope decoration on the surface, and a flat base.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-152, 154), (Aston 1998, No. 329 and 392), (Budka 2006, Fig. 8.1-2).</p>	
<p>• SATCP-26 (Nile Silt) ° New Kingdom</p> <p>Bread tray with scalloped, incised decoration on the interior.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Aston 1998, 136ff), (Budka 2006, Fig. 1.3).</p>	
<p>• SATCP-33 (Nile B2) ° Early Dynasty 19</p> <p>Wide and shallow dish with a direct rim, and white slip on surface.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Spencer 2002, Type C2)</p>	
<p>• SATCP-34 (Nile Silt) ° Dynasty 18</p> <p>Wide bowl with slightly everted lip. Possibly a larger version of SATCP-04. Some examples have a red slip inside and out.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Budka 2006, Fig. 7.3), (Aston 1998, No. 68).</p>	

<p>• SATCP-52 ° Early Dynasty 19</p> <p>Flaring bowl with protruding disc base.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Spencer 2002, Type F2-3).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 52 17-1-2</p>
<p>• SATCP-60 (Nile D) ° Late Dynasty 18 - Early Dynasty 19</p> <p>Shallow dish with everted rim.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Budka 2006, Fig. 3.2).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 60 22-1-1</p>

Closed Forms:

<p>• SATCP-01 (Nile C - D) ° Late Middle Kingdom - Dynasty 19</p> <p>“Beer-Jar” with slightly everted, direct rim, and string-cut base.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Budka 2006, Fig. 2.1), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-79, 82), (Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911, SXX), (Steindorff 1937, Type 11b).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 1 23-1-1</p>
<p>• SATCP-05 ° Late Dynasty 18 - Early Dynasty 19</p> <p>Globular jar with an everted, rolled rim.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Aston 1998, No. 587, 592), (Budka 2006, Fig. 11.2), (Steindorff 1937, Type 16), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-8)</p>	 <p>SATCP - 05 1-3-2</p>

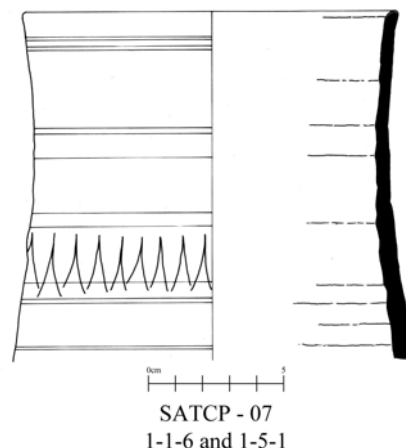
• **SATCP-07 (Nile B2)**

◦ Late Dynasty 18 - Early Dynasty 19

Blue Painted Ware pyriform jug with hyperboloid neck, and straight rim. The jar is decorated with geometrical bands, and a lotus-leaf motif.

COMPARANDA:

(Hope, Blue Painted and Polychrome Decorated Pottery from Amarna 1991, Fig. 5g), (Hope, The XVIIIth Dynasty Pottery from Malkata 1989, Fig. 77k), (Budka 2006, Fig. 15.5), (Steindorff 1937, 13b)



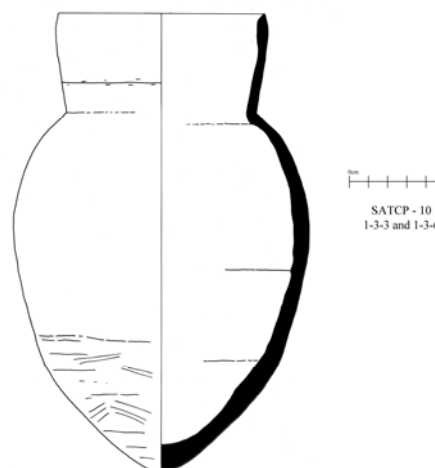
• **SATCP-10 (Nile B1-B2)**

◦ Mid-Dynasty 18 - Dynasty 19

Pyriform jug with funnel neck, straight rim, and shaved base.

COMPARANDA:

(Budka 2006, Fig. 14.8), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-67-68, 70), (Steindorff 1937, Type 12), (Hope, Blue Painted and Polychrome Decorated Pottery from Amarna 1991, Fig. 6c).



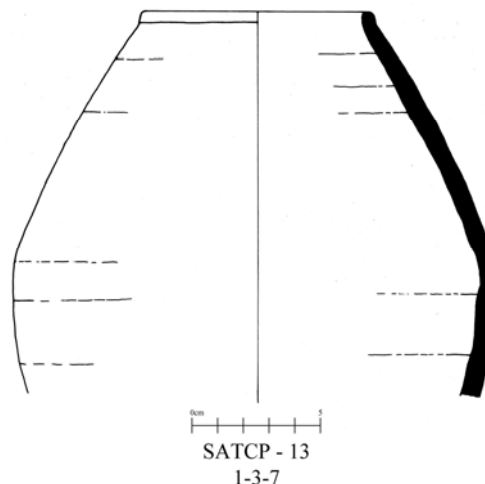
• **SATCP-13 (Nile Silt)**

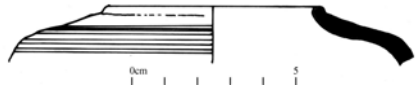
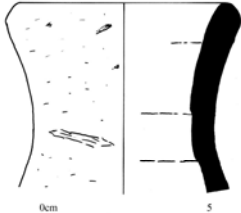
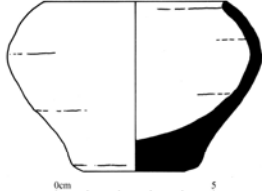
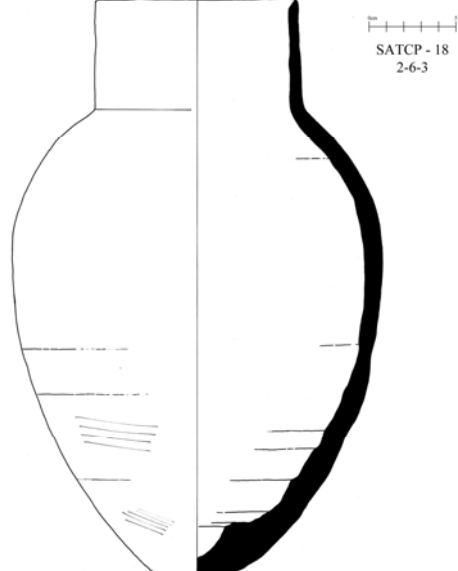
◦ Ramesside

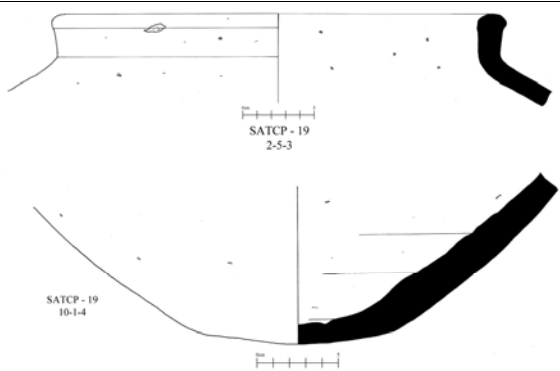
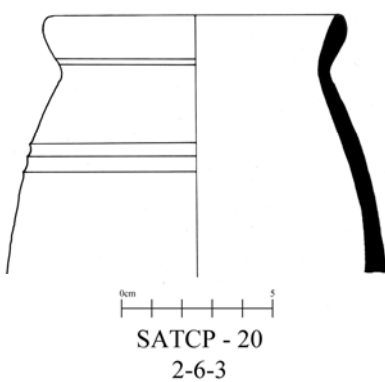
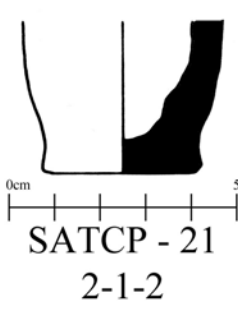
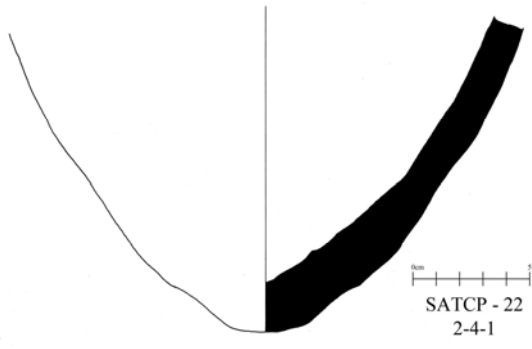
Bag-shaped jar with vertical, rolled rim.

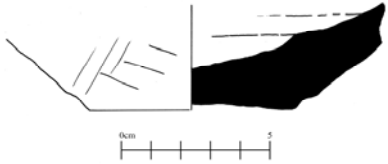
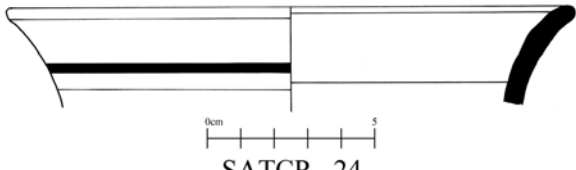
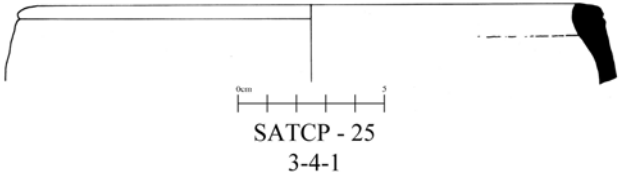


COMPARANDA:

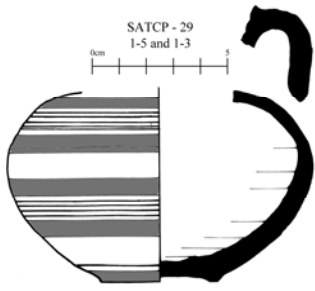
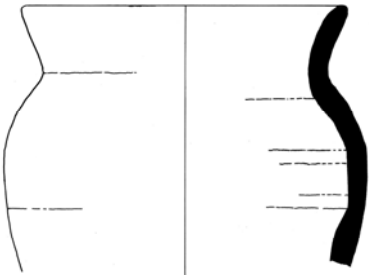
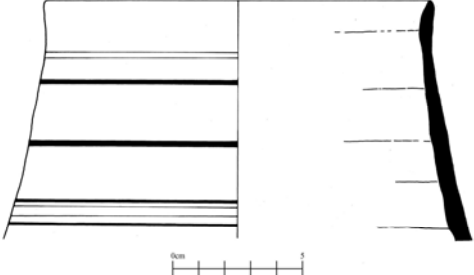

(Aston 1998, No. 1001-1002).



<p>• SATCP-14 (Marl) ° Dynasty 18 - Dynasty 19</p> <p>Blue Painted Ware globular jar with slightly rolled, straight rim. Possibly a <i>nemeset</i> jar.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Lacovara and Trope 2001, 27, Cat. No. 18).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 14 1-3-7</p>
<p>• SATCP-16 (Nile C) ° Late Middle Kingdom – Early New Kingdom (?)</p> <p>Narrow-necked bottle with slightly flared rim. This form is characteristic of the Middle Kingdom, and probably derives from the <i>šnṯ.w</i> dump material.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Budka 2006, Fig. 9.2), (Wegner 2007, Type 48).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 16 2-4-1</p>
<p>• SATCP-17 (Nile B2) ° Late Middle Kingdom</p> <p>Small offering cup with globular body, straight rim, and flat base.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wegner 2007, Type 39).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 17 2-1-3</p>
<p>• SATCP-18 (Nile B2) ° Mid-Dynasty 18 - Dynasty 19</p> <p>Pyriform jug with straight neck, direct rim, and shaved base. Aston treats these as a type of beer-jar in his Qantir corpus, but at Abydos, this type seems quite similar to SATCP-10 with a funnel neck, possibly related to the Blue Painted Ware forms (SATCP-07, and SATCP-47).</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Aston 1998, No. 520-522)</p>	 <p>SATCP - 18 2-6-3</p>

<p>• SATCP-19 (Marl A2, C) ◦ Dynasty 12 – Dynasty 13</p> <p>Marl Zir, with straight neck, slightly t-shaped rim, and flat base. These are late Middle Kingdom types which appear in New Kingdom contexts at South Abydos, since the later buildings cut through earlier debris.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wegner 2007, Type 68), (Budka 2006, Fig. 6.5).</p>	
<p>• SATCP-20 (Nile B2) ◦ Ramesside</p> <p>Beaker with everted rim, incised line decoration, and red slip.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Aston 1998, No. 163).</p>	
<p>• SATCP-21 (Nile B2) ◦ Middle Kingdom</p> <p>Narrow bread mold with flat base. Some examples have a hole in the base, presumably to aid in separating the bread loaf from the mold.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Budka 2006, Fig. 1.4), (Jacquet-Gordon 1981, Type C).</p>	
<p>• SATCP-22 (Nile C) ◦ Middle Kingdom</p> <p>Water Jar with pointed base. These forms are common in the <i>snw</i> dump material, and probably originate here.</p>	

<p>• SATCP-23 ◦ Middle Kingdom (?)</p> <p>Water Jar with flat base. These forms are common in the <i>šnḫ.w</i> dumb material, and probably originate here.</p>	 <p>SATCP - 23 3-3-1</p>
<p>• SATCP-24 (Nile B2) ◦ Dynasty 18 - Dynasty 19</p> <p>Blue Painted Ware pyriform jug with funnel or trumpet neck.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Hope, Blue Painted and Polychrome Decorated Pottery from Amarna 1991, Fig. 4g), (Aston 1998, No. 1319).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 24 2-4-1</p>
<p>• SATCP-25 (Nile Silt) ◦ Dynasty 19 (?)</p> <p>White slipped bowl with inverted and notched rim.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-193).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 25 3-4-1</p>
<p>• SATCP-27 ◦ Late Roman Period</p> <p>Pointed base from an amphora.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 4: Ptolemaic Period - Modern 2010, Late Roman-14-15).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 27 3-3-1</p>
<p>• SATCP-28 ◦ Late Roman Period</p> <p>Rounded and everted base to an amphora.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 4: Ptolemaic Period - Modern 2010, Late Roman-60-62, 64).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 28 2-1-2</p>

<p>• SATCP-29 (Argolid Clay) ° Late Helladic IIIa2 - IIIc (Amenhotep III -Smenes)</p> <p>Globular stirrup jar with ring base, and painted, banded decoration. Mycenaean import. Dark bands in middle and foot are Munsell 10R 4/3, lighter bands on body are 10R 6/8.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NKI-17), (Steindorff 1937, Type 46a 4-5), (Hankey 1997, Fig. 11.2).</p>	
<p>• SATCP-32 (Nile C) ° Ramesside</p> <p>“Beer-jar” with flaring neck, and direct rim.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Budka 2006, Fig. 6.7, 9.12), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-205).</p>	
<p>• SATCP-35 (Nile Silt) ° Dynasty 18 - Dynasty 19</p> <p>Blue Painted Ware pyriform jug with inverted neck, and slightly everted rim. Painted decoration consists of lines in blue, white, and red, with no</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Hope, Blue Painted and Polychrome Decorated Pottery from Amarna 1991, Fig. 5a), (Steindorff 1937, 13).</p>	
<p>• SATCP-47 (Nile Silt) ° Dynasty 18 - Dynasty 19</p> <p>Blue Painted Ware jug with funnel neck, and direct rim.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-65).</p>	

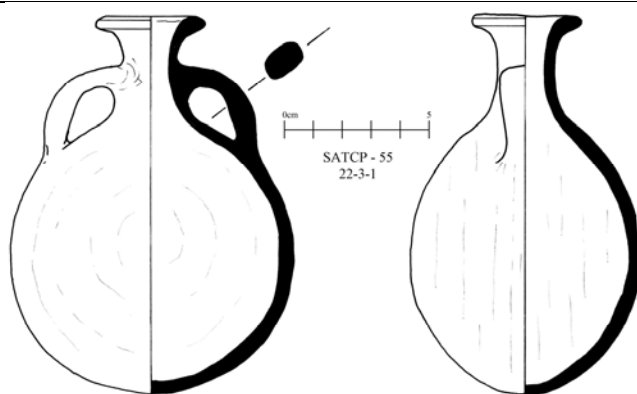
• **SATCP-55 (Nile B1)**

◦ Dynasty 18 - Dynasty 19

Pilgrim flask. Produced as two halves, joined together, with the neck and two handles added later.

COMPARANDA:

(Aston 1998, No. 2490), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, 42-43).



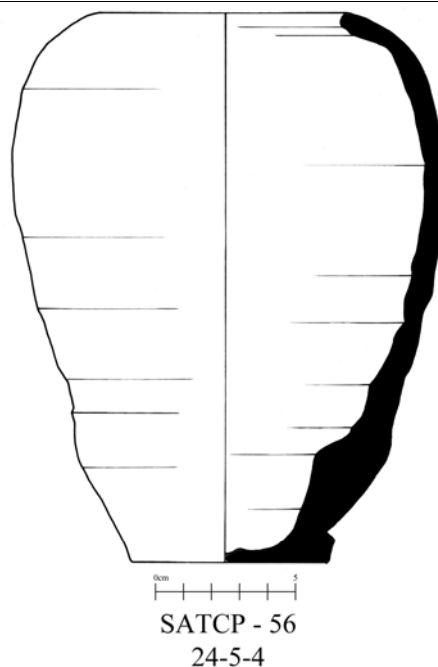
• **SATCP-56 (Nile B2)**

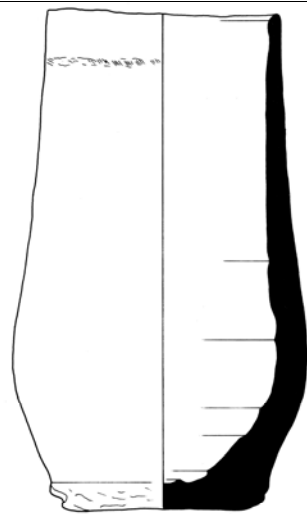
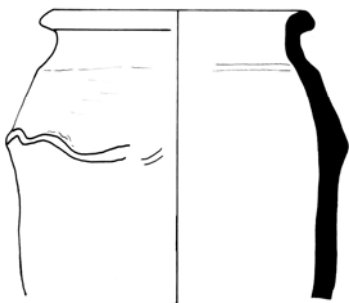
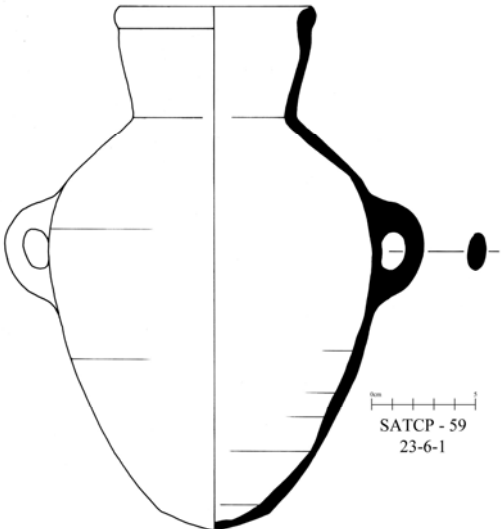
◦ New Kingdom

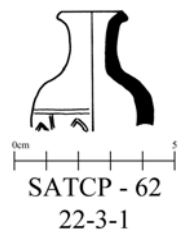
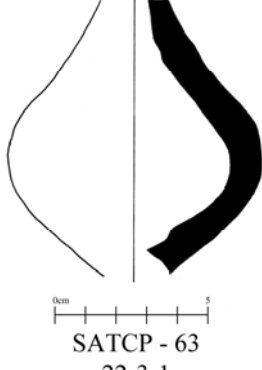
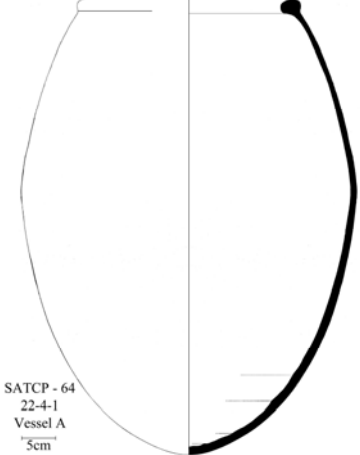
Tapering jar with incurving rim and flat base. Probably meant to serve as a canopic jar.

COMPARANDA:

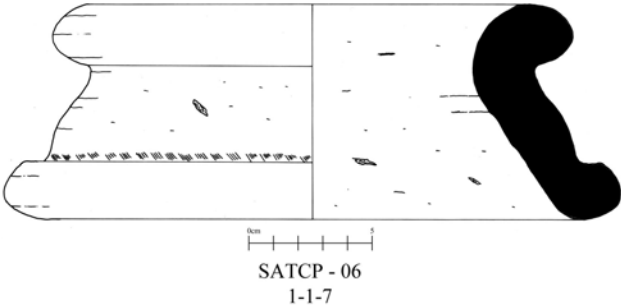
(Holthoer 1977, 78-79), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-445).

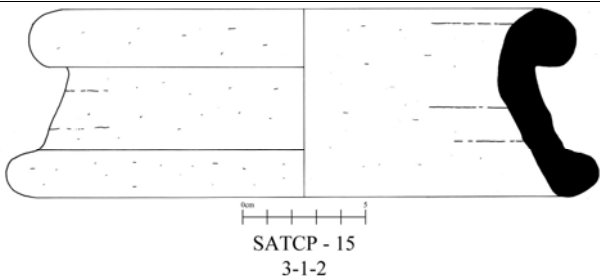
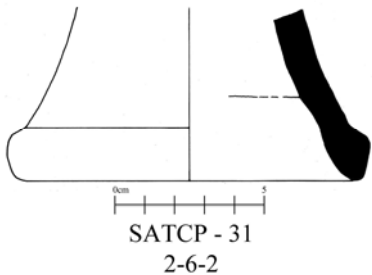


<p>• SATCP-57 (Nile B1) ° New Kingdom</p> <p>Narrow vase with direct rim, rope impression near rim, bulbous belly, and flat base.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Holthoer 1977, 87), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-49).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 57 24-5-4</p>
<p>• SATCP-58 (Marl A2) ° Naqada IIIA2</p> <p>Predynastic wavy-handle jar with flaring rolled rim, and applied handle. Since no other Naqada pottery has been found in the area, this may have been included in one of the Temple Cemetery tombs as a souvenir or the like, removed from its original context during the New Kingdom.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Kaiser 1957, Tf. 24, Type W61), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 2: Naqada III - Middle Kingdom 2009, NIII-3).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 58 24-3-1</p>
<p>• SATCP-59 (Marl A1, D) ° Amenhotep III - Ramesses III</p> <p>Loop-handled amphora with funnel neck, rolled rim, and slightly pointed base. These forms appear in numerous sizes, both small (pictured at right), and much larger (c. 80cm tall), with further variation in diameter.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Aston 1998, No. 1950-1952), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-25 and 31).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 59 23-6-1</p>

<p>• SATCP-62 ◦ New Kingdom (?)</p> <p>Small bottle with flaring neck, everted rim, and painted geometric decoration.</p>	 <p>SATCP - 62 22-3-1</p>
<p>• SATCP-63 (Nile D) ◦ Unknown</p>	 <p>SATCP - 63 22-3-1</p>
<p>• SATCP-64 (Marl D) ◦ Late Dynasty 18 – Dynasty 21</p> <p>Ovoid storage jar with rolled rim, and slightly pointed base. Greenish exterior, possibly a slip. According to Aston, vessels from Amarna had hieratic dockets, indicating that they contained meat, hence the type is called the Ovoid “Meat” Jar.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Aston 1998, 1799-1914), (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-28, 117).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 64 22-4-1 Vessel A 5cm</p>

Jar Stands:

<p>• SATCP-6 (Nile Silt) ◦ Pharaonic</p> <p>Nile silt ring stand with impressed rope decoration.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Budka 2006, Fig. 13).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 06 1-1-7</p>
--	--

<p>• SATCP-15 (Nile Silt) ◦ Pharaonic</p> <p>Nile silt ring stand with plain surface.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Budka 2006, Fig. 13), (Wegner 2007, Type 73).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 15 3-1-2</p>
<p>• SATCP-31 (Nile Silt) ◦ Second Intermediate Period – New Kingdom</p> <p>Nile silt biconical pot stand with no surface decoration.</p> <p><u>COMPARANDA:</u> (Wodzińska, A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period 2010, NK-225-226), (Wegner 2007, 74).</p>	 <p>SATCP - 31 2-6-2</p>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Al-Ayedi, Abdul Rahman. *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*. Ismalia: Obelisk Publications, 2006.
- Aldred, Cyril. *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*. London: Alec Tiranti, 1950.
- . *Jewels of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.
- . *Akhenaten King of Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1988.
- Allen, James. *Genesis in Egypt*. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1988.
- . *Middle Egyptian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- . *The Heqanakht Papyri*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002.
- . *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005.
- . *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.
- . "L'inscription historique de Khnoumhotep à Dahchour." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 173 (2009): 13-31.
- Allen, Susan J. "Tutankhamun's embalming cache reconsidered." In *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Lyla Pinch Brock, 23-29. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003.

- . "Faience Bowls." In *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catherine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus and Cathleen A. Keller, 176-180. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.
- . "Funerary Pottery in the Middle Kingdom: Archaism or Revival?" In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, David P. Silverman and Josef Wegner, 319-339. New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009.
- . "Pyramid Ware." In *Handbook of Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, Volume II: The Regional Volume*, edited by Robert Schiestl and Anne Seiler, 185-195. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012.
- Allen, Thomas George. *Occurances of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of these and other Egyptian Mortuary Texts*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1950.
- . *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1974.
- Altenmüller, Brigitte. *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975.
- Altenmüller, Hartwig. "Die Apotropaia und die Götter mittelägyptens." Ph.D. Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich, 1965.
- . "Ein Zaubermesser aus Tübingen." *WdO* 14 (1983): 30-45.
- . "Ein Zaubermesser des mittleren Reiches." *SAK* 13 (1986): 1-27.

Amélineau, Emile. *Le tombeau d'Osiris: monographie de la découverte faite en 1897-1897*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899.

Andrews, Carol. *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press, 1994.

Anthes, Rudolf. "The Original Meaning of mAa-xrw." *JNES* 13.1 (1954): 21-51.

Arnold, Dieter. *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988.

—. *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

—. *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002.

—. "Ausgrabungen im Pyramidenbezirk Amenemhets III. in Dahschur." In *Begegnung mit der Vergangenheit - 100 Jahre in Ägypten: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo 1907-2007*, edited by Günther Dreyer and Daniel Polz, 170-174. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2007.

—. "Buried in Two Tombs? Remarks on "Cenotaphs" in the Middle Kingdom." In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor, Vol. 1*, edited by Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards, 55-61. Cairo: SCA, 2007.

—. *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.

- . "Die Pyramiden des Mittleren Reiches." In *Die Pyramiden*, edited by Zahi Hawass, 342-363. Vercelli: White Star, 2011.
- Arnold, Dorothea. "Keramikbearbeitung in Daschur 1976-1981." *MDAIK* 38 (1982): 25-65.
- . "Pottery." In *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, by Dieter Arnold, 106-146. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988.
- . "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991): 5-48.
- . *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery: Fascicle 1*. Edited by Dorothea Arnold and Janine Bourriau. Mainz am Rhein: Philip von Zabern, 1993.
- Assmann, Jan. *Der König als Sonnenpriester*. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1970.
- . *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom*. Translated by Anthony Alcock. London: Kegan Paul, 1995.
- . *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*. Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- . *The Mind of Egypt*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- . *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*. Vols. I-IV. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 2002-2010.

- . "Der Mythos des Gottkönigs im alten Ägypten." In *Mensch - Heros - Gott: Weltenwürfe un Lebensmodelle im Mythos der Vormoderne*, edited by Anja Bettenworth and Christine Schmitz, 11-25. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009.
- Aston, Barbara. *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1994.
- Aston, Barbara, James Harrell, and Ian Shaw. "Stone." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, 5-77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Aston, David A. *Die Keramik des Grabungsplatzes QI, Teil 1: Corpus of Fabrics, Wares and Shapes*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998.
- Åström, Paul. *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th - 22nd August 1987, Part I-III*. Gothenburg: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1987.
- Aubert, J., and L. Aubert. *Statuettes funéraires égyptiennes du department des Monnies, Médailles et Antiques*. Paris: Bibliothèque national de France, 2005.
- Aufère, Sydney H. "Le nomarque Ânkhityfy et la situation politique en Haute-Égypte avant le règne d'Antef II." *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 18 (2000): 7-14.
- Ayrton, Edward R., Charles T. Currelly, and Arthur E. P. Weigall. *Abydos*. Vol. III. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904.
- Babbitt, Frank C. *Plutarch's Moralia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

- Baines, John. "Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation." In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, edited by D. O'Connor and D. Silverman, 95-156. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- . "Origins of Egyptian Kingship." In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 95-156. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- . *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Baines, John, and Jaromír Málek. *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Facts on File, 1980.
- Baines, John, and Liam McNamara. "The Twin Stelae of Suty and Hor." In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor, Vol. 1*, edited by Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards, 63-79. Cairo: SCA, 2007.
- Baqué, Lucas. "'On That Day when the Long-Horned Bull was Lassoed...' (PT[254] 286). A Scene in the 'Corridor of the Bull' of the Cenotaph of Sethos I in Abydos: An Iconographic Approach." *SAK* 30 (2002): 43-51.
- Bard, Kathryn A. "The Emergence of the Egyptian State." In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Ian Shaw, 61-88. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. Malden: Blackwell, 2008.
- Barguet, Paul. *Textes des Sarcophages Egyptiens du Moyen Empire*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1986.
- Bárta, Miroslav. "Egyptian Kingship during the Old Kingdom." In *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority*, edited by Jane A. Hill, Philip Jones and Antonio J.

Morales, 257-283. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2013.

Barta, Winfried. *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1968.

—. "Zur Bedeutung der Opferformel im Alten Reich." *GM* 96 (1987): 7-9.

Barwik, Mirosław. "Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins of the Early XVIIIth Dynasty." *Centre d'Archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des Sciences: Études et Travaux* 18 (1999): 8-33.

Bass, William M. *Human Osteology*. Fifth Edition. Springfield: Missouri Archaeological Society, 2005.

Behrmann, Almuth. *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter. Teil II*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996.

Bennett, C. J. C. "Growth of the Htp-di-nsw Formula in the Middle Kingdom." *JEA* 27 (1941): 77-82.

Bennett, Chris. "King Senakhtenre." *GM*, 1995: 37-44.

Ben-Tor, Daphna. "The Historical Implications of Middle Kingdom Scarabs Found in Palestine Bearing Private Names and Titles of Officials." *BASOR* 294 (1994): 7-22.

- Ben-Tor, Daphna, Susan J. Allen, and James P. Allen. "Seals and Kings: Review of "The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period," by Kim Ryholt." *BASOR* 315 (1999): 47-74.
- Berman, Lawrence. "Funerary Equipment." In *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World*, edited by Arielle P. Kozloff, Betsy M. Bryan and Lawrence M. Berman, 305-306. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992.
- Bestock, Laurel. "The First Kings of Egypt: The Abydos Evidence." In *Before the Pyramids*, edited by Emily Teeter, 137-144. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2011.
- Bickerstaffe, Dylan. "Embalming Caches in the Valley of the Kings." *KMT* 18.2 (2007): 46-53.
- Bierbrier, Morris. *The Tomb-builders of the Pharaohs*. Cairo: AUC Press, 1982.
- Bietak, Manfred. "Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology." *AJA* 88 (1984): 471-485.
- Binder, Michaela, Neal Spencer, and Marie Millet. "Cemetery D at Amara West: the Ramesseide Period and its aftermath." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 16 (2011): 47-99.
- Blackman, Aylward M. *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part I: The Tomb of Ukh-hotep's son Senbi*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914.
- . *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part II: The Tomb-chapel of Senbi's Son Ukh-hotep*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1915.

- . *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part III: The Tomb-chapel of Ukh-hotp Son of Ukh-hotp and Mersi*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1915.
- . "Philological Notes." *JEA* 11.2 (1925): 210-215.
- . *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*. Berks: J. V. Books, 1988.
- Boessneck, J., and A. von den Dreisch. *Studien an subfossilen Tierknochen aus Ägypten*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1982.
- Bolshakov, Andrey O. *Man and His Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997.
- Bosticco, Sergio. *Le Stele Egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Strato, 1959.
- Bourriau, Janine. *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom*. Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1988.
- . "Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom." In *Middle Kingdom Studies*, edited by Stephen Quirke, 3-20. New Malden: Sia, 1991.
- . "The Second Intermediate Period." In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Ian Shaw, 185-217. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . "Change of Body Position in Egyptian Burials from the Mid XIIth Dynasty Until the Early XVIIIth Dynasty." In *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms*, edited by Harco Willems, 1-20. Leuven: Peeters, 2001.

- Bourriau, Janine, David A. Aston, M. J. Raven, and R. van Walsem. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamun III: The New Kingdom Pottery*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2005.
- Brand, Peter. *The Monuments of Seti I*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Breasted, James Henry. *Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. I*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906.
- . *Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906.
- . *Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. III*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906.
- . *Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. IV*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906.
- . *Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. V*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906.
- Bresciani, E. "Un edificio di Kha-anekh-Ra Sobek-hotep ad Abido." *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 2 (1979): 1-20.
- Breyer, Francis. "Die Inschrift des Anchtifi von Mo'alla." In *Staatsverträge, Herrscherinschriften und andere Dokumente zur politischen Geschichte*, edited by Bernd Janowski and Gernot Wilhelm, 187-196. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005.
- Brovarski, Edward. *Bersheh Reports*. Vol. I. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992.

- . "Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period: Part 1." In *Hommages à Jean Leclant, Vol. 1*, edited by Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc and Nicholas Grimal, 99-121. Cairo: IFAO, 1994.
- . "Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period: Part 2." In *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by David P. Silverman, 15-44. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994.
- . "A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of the Old Kingdom." In *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko*, edited by Stephen E. Thompson and Peter Der Manuelian, 49-89. Providence: Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, Brown University, 2008.
- . "False Doors and History: The First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom." In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, David P. Silverman and Josef Wegner, 359-423. New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009.
- Brugsch, Émile, and Gaston Maspero. *La trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari*. Cairo: F. Mourès, 1881.
- Brunton, Guy. *Lahun*. Vol. I. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1920.
- Bruyère, Bernard. *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1923-1924)*. Cairo: IFAO, 1925.

—. *Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale du Caire (Années 1928)*.

Cairo: IFAO, 1929.

Bryan, Betsy M. "The etymology of *hnr* "group of musical performers"." *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 4 (1982): 35-54.

—. "In women good and bad fortune are on earth: Status and roles of women in Egyptian Culture." In *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, 25-46. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996.

—. "The 18th Dynasty Before the Amarna Period." In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Ian Shaw, 218-271. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Budka, Julia. "The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002-2004: the New Kingdom Pottery." *Ägypten und Levante* 16 (2006): 83-120.

—. "Festival Pottery from New Kingdom Egypt: Three Case Studies." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 217 (2013): 185-213.

Butzer, Karl W. *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Cahail, Kevin M. "Their Memory Lives On: Domestic Funerary Commemoration at Wah-sut." *Expedition: The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* Volume 56, No. 1 (Spring 2014): 36-38.

- . "Taking it With You: The South Abydos Tomb Census." *Expedition: The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* Volume 56 No. 1 (Spring 2014): 32-35.
- . "New Tomb Found at Abydos by U. Penn Excavators," *KMT* Volume 25, No. 2 (Summer 2014): 74-75.
- Caulfield, A. St. G. *The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (Seti I)*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1902.
- Černý, Jaroslav. *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Clarke, Somers, and Reginald Engelbach. *Ancient Egyptian Masonry: The Building Craft*. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.
- Clayton, Peter A. *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994.
- Collier, Mark, and Stephen Quirke. *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002.
- Conman, Joanne. "It's about Time: Ancient Egyptian Cosmology." *SAK* 31 (2003): 33-71.
- Cooney, John D. "review of: The Terrace of the Great God, by William Kelly Simpson." *AJA* 78.4, 1974: 433-434.
- Cooney, Kathlyn M. *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2007.

- Crum, Walter E. *Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
- Cruz-Uribe, Eugene. "The Father of Ramesses I." *JNES* 37 (1978): 237-244.
- . "The Fall of the Middle Kingdom." *Varia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1987): 107-111.
- Daressy, Georges. *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898-1899)*. Cairo: IFAO, 1902.
- . *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptienne du Musée du Caire, No. 9401-9449: Textes et Dessins Magiques*. Cairo: IFAO, 1903.
- Darnell, John Coleman. *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert I*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- . *The enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian unity: cryptographic compositions in the tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.
- D'Auria, Sue, Peter Lacovara, and Catherine H. Roehrig, . *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988.
- David, Rosalie. *A Guide to the Religious Ritual at Abydos*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1981.
- . *The Two Brothers: Death and the Afterlife in Middle Kingdom Egypt*. Bolton: Rutherford Press, 2007.
- Davies, Nina de Garis. "The Town House in Ancient Egypt." *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1.2 (1929): 233-255.

- . "Some Representations of Tombs from the Theban Necropolis." *JEA* 24 (1938): 25-40.
- . *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Re at Thebes*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943.
- Davis, Theodore M. *The Tomb of Hatshopsitu*. London: A. Constable and Company, 1906.
- . *The Tomb of Iouya and Tuiyou*. London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1907.
- de Meulenaere, Herman. "Pyramidions d'Abydos." *JEOL* 20 (1967-1969): 1-20.
- . "review of: The Terrace of the Great God, by William Kelly Simpson." *Cd'É* 52.103, 1977: 79-82.
- de Meyer, Marleen, Wim van Neer, Christopher Peeters, and Harco Willems. "The Role of Animals in the Funerary Rites at Dayr al-Barsha." *JARCE* 42 (2005-2006): 45-71.
- de Morgan, Jacques. *Fouilles a Dahchour, Mars-Juin 1894*. Vienna: A. Holzhausen, 1895.
- de Vries, Carl E. "review of: The Terrace of the Great God, by William Kelly Simpson." *JAOS* 97.4, 1977: 588-589.
- Dee, M. W. "A Radiocarbon-based Chronology for the Middle Kingdom." In *Radiocarbon and the Chronologies of Ancient Egypt*, edited by A. J. Shortland and C. Bronk Ramsey, 174-181. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013.

- . "A Radiocarbon-based Chronology for the New Kingdom." In *Radiocarbon and the Chronologies of Ancient Egypt*, edited by A. J. Shortland and C. Bronk Ramsey, 65-75. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013.
- Delia, Robert. "A Study of the Reign of Senwosret III." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1980.
- der Manuelian, Peter. *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987.
- Dobrev, Vassil. "Considérations sur les titulatures des rois de la IVe dynastie égyptienne." *BIFAO* 93, 1993: 196-198.
- Dodson, Aidan. "The Tombs of the Kings of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes." *ZÄS* 115 (1988): 110-123.
- . "The So-Called "Tomb of Osiris" at Abydos." *KMT* 8.4, 1997: 37-47.
- . "The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Necropolis at Deir el-Medina." In *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD: A Tribute to Jac. J. Jansen*, edited by R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts, 89-100. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2000.
- Dodson, Aidan. "On the burials and reburials of Ahmose I and Amenhotep I." *Göttinger Miszellen* 238 (2013): 19-24.
- Dodson, Aidan, and Dyan Hilton. *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2004.

Dodson, Aidan, and Nabil Swelim. "On the Pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its Canopic Equipment." *MDAIK* 54 (1998): 319-334.

Dominicus, Brigitte. *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1994.

Dorman, Peter. *The Monuments of Senenmut*. London: Keegan Paul, 1988.

Doxey, Denise M. "Funerary Beliefs and Practices in the Middle Kingdom." In *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, by Rita E. Freed, Lawrence M. Berman, Denise M. Doxey and Nicholas S. Picardo, 39-63. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2009.

Dreyer, Günther. *Umm el-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998.

Eaton, Katherine J. "The Festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Month of Khoiak: New Evidence from Nineteenth Dynasty Royal Monuments at Abydos." *SAK* 35 (2006): 75-101.

Eaton-Krauss, Marianne. *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1993.

—. "The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun: A Clarification." *JEA* 84 (1998): 210-212.

—. "Embalming Caches." *JEA* 94 (2008): 288-239.

Edwards, I. E. S. *The Pyramids of Egypt*. 1980 Revised Edition. New York: Penguin Books, 1982.

- El-Rabi'i, Abdel-Méguid. "Familles abydénienes du Moyen Empire." *Chronique d'Égypte* 52 (1977): 13-21.
- Emery, Walter. *The Fortress of Buhen: The Archaeological Report*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1979.
- Engelbach, Reginald. "Steles and Tables of Offerings of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfu." *ASAE* 22 (1922): 113-138.
- . *Harageh*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1923.
- Englund, Gertie. *Akh: une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique*. Stockholm: Gotab, 1978.
- Erichsen, Wolja. *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954.
- Erman, Adolf. *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*. Berlin: Königlich Akademie, 1901.
- Ertman, Earl, Roxanne Wilson, and Otto Schaden. "Unraveling the Mysteries of KV63." *KMT* 17.3 (2006): 18-27.
- Evans, James. *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Evers, Hans Gerhard. *Staat aus dem Stein*. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1929.
- Fagan, Brian M. *The Rape of the Nile*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.
- Fakhry, Ahmed. *The Pyramids*. Second Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Farag, Nagib, and Zaky Iskander. *The Discovery of Neferwptah*. Cairo: General Organization for Government Print Offices, 1971.

Farina, Giulio. "Il Mito di Osiris nei testi delle Pyramidi." *Bilychnis* 20 (1923): 202-212.

Faulkner, Raymond O. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994.

—. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Revised Edition. Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2004.

Filer, Joyce. *Disease*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

Fischer, Henry George. *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1968.

—. "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues." *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 1975: 9-21.

—. *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs: Part I: Reversals*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977.

—. "Review: Stöcke und Stäbe in Pharaonischen Ägypten." *JEA* 64 (1978): 158-162.

—. "Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 13 (1979): 5-32.

—. *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985.

- . *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne: quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l'épigraphie pharaoniques*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1986.
- . "Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Palaeography." In *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Paleography*, by Richard Caminos and Henry G. Fischer, 29-50. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.
- . *Varia Nova*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.
- . *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*. Second Edition. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.
- Forman, Werner, and Stephen Quirke. *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press, 1996.
- Frandsen, Paul John. "On the Origin of the Notion of Evil in Ancient Egypt." *GM*, 2000: 9-34.
- . "Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt." In *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, edited by Nicole Brisch, 47-73. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2008.
- . "Faeces of the Creator, or the Temptations of the Dead." In *Ancient Egyptian Demonology*, edited by Panagiotis Kousoulis, 25-62. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.
- Franke, Detlef. *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20. - 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.
- . "Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches, Teil II." *Orientalia* 57, 1988: 245-274.

—. "The Career of Khnumhotep III." In *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 51-67. Malden: Sia Publishing, 1991.

—. *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1994.

—. "The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas - A Challenge." *JEA* 89 (2003): 39-57.

Freed, Rita E. *Ramesses the Great: Boston Museum of Science*. Boston: Boston Museum of Science, 1988.

—. "Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12." In *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, edited by Peter der Manuelian, 297-336. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996.

—. "Observations on the dating and decoration of the tombs of Ihy and Hetep at Saqqara." In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, edited by Miroslav Barta and Jaromír Krejčí, 207-214. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2000.

Freed, Rita E., Lawrence M. Berman, Denise M. Doxey, and Nicholas S. Picardo. *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2009.

Freed, Rita E., Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D'Auria, . *Pharaohs of the Sun*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999.

French, Charles. "An Analysis of the Sediment at East Karnak." *JSSEA* 11 (1981): 263-278.

—. "A Sediments Analysis of Mud Brick and Natural Features at el-Amarna." In *Amarna Reports I*, edited by Barry Kemp, 189-201. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1984.

Friedman, Florence. "On the Meaning of AKH (*3h*) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University, 1981.

Friedman, Florence, ed. *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998.

Gale, Rowena, Peter Gasson, Nigel Hepper, and Geoffrey Killen. "Wood." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, 334-371. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Ganley, Andrew H. "A Fresh Look at the Karnak Legal Stela." *Discussions in Egyptology* 58 (2004): 57-67.

Gardiner, Alan. "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet No. 1." *JEA* 3 (1916): 95-110.

—. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1947.

—. *Egyptian Grammar*. Third Edition, Revised. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1994.

Gardiner, Alan, and Kurt Sethe. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1928.

Garstang, John. *El Arabah*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1901.

—. *Mahasna and Bet Khallaf*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1903.

Gates, Charles. *Ancient Cities*. Second Edition. London: Routledge, 2011.

Geßler-Löhr, Beatrix. "Zur Schreibung von MAa-xrw mit der Blume." *GM* 116 (1990): 25-43.

Gestermann, Louise. "Königliche vorstellungen zu Grab un Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil II: Osirisgäber des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat 6. Stunde." In *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, edited by Rolf Grundlach and Wilfried Seipel, 97-110. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999.

—. "Die Datierung der Nomarchen von Hermopolis aus dem frühen Mittleren Reich - eine Phantomdebatte?" *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 135 (2008): 1-15.

Gilula, Mordechai. "Coffin Texts Spell 148." *JEA* 57 (1971): 14-19.

Goedicke, Hans. *Old Hieratic Paleography*. Baltimore: Halgo, 1988.

Grajetzki, Wolfram. *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt*. London: Duckworth, 2003.

—. *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life and Death for Rich and Poor*. London: Duckworth Egyptology, 2003.

—. *Harageh, an Egyptian burial ground for the rich around 1800 BC*. London: Golden House Publications, 2004.

—. *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*. London: Duckworth, 2006.

Griffith, Francis Ll. *Beni Hasan Part III*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1896.

—. *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898.

—. "The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri." *JEA*, 1927: 193-208.

Griffiths, John Gwyn. *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*. Leiden: Brill, 1980.

Grimal, Nicholas. *A History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

Grose, David F. *The Toledo Museum of Art: Early Ancient Glass*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1989.

Grunert, Stefan. "Per-Dschet: religiöser Egoismus oder egoistische Ökonomie?" In *Das Heilige und die Ware: Eigentum, Austausch und Kapitalisierung im Spannungsfeld von Ökonomie und Religion*, edited by Martin Fitzenreiter, 265-271. London: Golden House Publications, 2007.

Guglielmi, Waltraud. *Die Göttin Mr.t*. Leiden: Brill, 1991.

Habachi, Labib. *Tavole d'Offerta Are e Bacili da Libagione n. 22001-22067*. Turin: Edizioni d'Arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1977.

Haeny, Gerhard. "New Kingdom "Mortuary Temples" and "Mansions of Millions of Years"." In *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Byron E. Shafer, 86-126. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Hankey, Vronwy. "Aegean Pottery at El-Amarna." In *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East: Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoads Bell*, edited by Jacke Phillips, 193-218. San Antonio: Van Sicklen, 1997.

Hannig, Rainer. *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch 2: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006.

—. *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006.

Harrington, Nichola. *Living With the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013.

Harvey, Stephen. "The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1998.

—. "Tribute to a Conquering King." *Archaeology* 54.4 (2001): 52-55.

—. "Abydos." *Oriental Institute 2002-2003 Annual Report*, 2003: 15-25.

—. "New Evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's Funerary Cult." *Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (2004): 3-6.

—. "The Last Egyptian Queen's Pyramid." *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 188 (2006): 20-23.

Hassan, Ali. *Stöck und Stäbe in Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976.

Hayes, William. *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935.

—. *The Scepter of Egypt, Vol. I*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953.

—. *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1955.

—. *The Scepter of Egypt, Vol. II*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959.

Helck, Wolfgang, ed. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, Heft 22*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958.

Herbich, Tomasz, and Josef Wegner. "Magnetic Survey at South Abydos: revising archaeological plans." *Archaeologia Polona* 41 (2003): 200-204.

Hermesen, Edmund. *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 1991.

Hoch, James E. *Middle Egyptian Grammar*. Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1996.

Hollander, Frances. "A Note on Coffin Texts Spell 148." In *Papers for Discussion, Presented by the Department of Egyptology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Vol. I*, edited by Sarah I. Groll and H. Emily Stein, 53-55. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1982.

Holthoer, Rostislav. *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*. Lund: The Scandanavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications, 1977.

Hope, Colin A. "Innovation in the Decoration of Ceramics in the Mid-18th Dynasty."

Cahiers de la Céramique égyptienne, 1987: 97-122.

—. "The XVIIIth Dynasty Pottery from Malkata." In *Pottery of the Egyptian New*

Kingdom: Three Studies, by Colin Hope. Melbourne: Victoria College Press, 1989.

—. "Blue Painted and Polychrome Decorated Pottery from Amarna." *Cahiers de la*

Céramique égyptienne, 1991: 17-89.

Hornung, Erik. *Das Amduat, Die Schrift des voerborgenen Raums*. Vol. I. Wiesbaden:

Harrassowitz, 1963.

—. *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige*. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1971.

—. *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*. Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1979.

—. *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*. Translated by John Baines. Ithaca: Cornell

University Press, 1982.

—. *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought*. Translated by Elizabeth

Bredeck. Timken Publishers, 1992.

—. *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.

—. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca:

Cornell University Press, 1999.

- . *The Egyptian Amduat*. Translated by David Warburton. Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications, 2007.
- Hornung, Erik, and Elisabeth Staehelin. *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*. Mainz: Philip von Zabern, 1976.
- Hornung, Erik, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton, . *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Horváth, Zoltán. "Temple(s) and Town at El-Lahun: A Study of Ancient Toponyms in the el-Lahun Papyri." In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by David P. Silverman, William Kelly Simpson and Josef Wegner, 171-203. New Haven and Philadelphia: Yale Department of NELC and UPENN Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009.
- Ichihashi, Eri. "A consideration on coffins in New Kingdom: their transition from black type to yellow type." *Semawy Menu* 2 (2010): 219-235.
- Ikram, Salima, and Aidan Dodson. *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998.
- Ilin-Tomich, A. "Abydene Monuments of the Residents of Antaeopolis in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Dynasty." *Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum* 55 (2011): 92-102; 311.
- . "Changes in the Htp-dj-nsw Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period." *ZÄS* 138 (2011): 20-34.

Iskander, Sameh. "Preliminary Report on the Documentation Project of the Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos." In *Achievements and Problems of Modern Egyptology*, edited by G. Belova, 152-156. Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, 2011.

Jacquet-Gordon, Helen. "A Tentitive Typology of Egyptian Bread Moulds." In *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, edited by Dorothea Arnold, 11-24. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1981.

James, T. G. H. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum, Vol. I*. Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1974.

—. *Tutankhamun*. Vercelli: White Star Books, 2000.

Jansen-Winkel, Karl. "Zu den Koregenzen der 12. Dynastie." *SÄK* 24 (1997): 115-135.

Janssen, Jac. *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period: an economic study of the village of necropolis workmen at Thebes*. Leiden: Brill, 1975.

—. "A Cylindrical Amulet Case: recent investigations." In *Gegengabe: Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut*, edited by I. Gamer-Wallert, 157-165. Tübingen: Attempto, 1992.

Jeffries, David. "Memphis in the Middle Kingdom: the field school." *EA* 40 (2012): 5-6.

Jéquier, Gustave. *Les frises d'objets des sarcophges du Moyen Empire*. Cairo: IFAO, 1921.

Jones, Dilwyn. *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets, and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000.

Jünge, Friedrich. *Late Egyptian Grammar*. Second English Edition. Translated by David Warburton. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005.

Junker, Hermann. *Giza VII*. Vienna: R. Rohrer, 1944.

—. *Giza VIII*. Vienna: R. Rohrer, 1947.

—. *Giza XI*. Vienna: R. Rohrer, 1953.

Kadish, Gerald. "The Scatophagous Egyptian." *JSSEA*, 1979: 203-217.

Kahl, Jochem. "Die frühen Schriftzeugnisse aus dem Grab U-j in Umm el-Qaab."

Chronique d'Égypte 78 (2003): 112-135.

Kaiser, Werner. "Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur." *Archaeologia*

Geographica 6 (1957): 69-77.

Kamrin, Janice. "Monument and Microcosm: The 12th Dynasty Tomb Chapel of

Khnumotep II at Beni Hasan." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1992.

—. *Cosmos of Khnumhotep*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1999.

Kanawati, Naguib. *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom. Evidence on its*

Economic Decline. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977.

Kanawati, Naquib, and Alexandra Woods. *Beni Hassan: Art and Daily Life in an*

Egyptian Province. Cairo: SCA, 2010.

Kaplony, Peter. *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit, Vol. 1-4*. Wiesbaden:

Harrassowitz, 1963-1964.

Kemp, Barry. "The Osiris Temple at Abydos." *MDAIK* 23, 1968: 138-155.

—. "Abydos." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, 28-42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975.

—. "Dating Pharaonic Cemeteries Part I: Non-mechanical Approaches to Seriation." *MDAIK* 31 (1975): 259-291.

—. *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. London: Routledge, 1993.

—. "Soil (including mud-brick architecture)." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by P. Nicholson and I. Shaw, 78-103. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

—. "The Orientation of Burials at Tell el-Amarna." In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor, Vol. II*, edited by Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards, 21-31. Cairo: SCA, 2007.

Killen, Geoffrey. *Egyptian Woodworking and Furniture*. Princes Risborough: Shire Egyptology, 1994.

Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramessee II, King of Egypt*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1982.

Knox, Robert W. O'B., Rainer Stadelmann, James A. Harrell, Tom Haldal, and Hourig Sourouzian. "Miineral fingerprinting of Egyptian siliceous sandstones and the

quarry source of the Colossi of Memnon." In *QuarryScapes: ancient stone quarry landscapes in the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by N Abu-Jaber, E. G. Bloxam, P. Degryse and T. and Heldal, 77-85. Geological Survey of Norway, 2009.

Kousoulis, Panagiotis. "Introduction: The Demonic Lore of Ancient Egypt: Questions on Definition." In *Ancient Egyptian Demonology*, edited by Panagiotis Kousoulis, IX-XXI. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.

Kozloff, Arielle P, Betsy M. Bryan, and Lawrence M. Berman. *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992.

Kraemer, Bryan. "Abydos circa 199 BCE: A Temple's Administrative Center and a Seige during the First Theban Revolt." *64th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Cincinnati, 2013.

Krah, Karen. *Die Harfe im pharaonischen Ägypten: ihre Entwicklung und Funktion*. Göttingen: Edition Re, 1991.

Kusber, Eberhard. "Der altägyptische Ka: "Seele" oder "Persönlichkeit"?" Ph.D. Dissertation, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Tübingen, 2005.

Lacau, M. P. "Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires." *ZÄS* 51 (1913): 1-49.

Lacovara, Peter. *The New Kingdom Royal City*. London: Keegan Paul, 1977.

Lacovara, Peter, and Betsy Teasley Trope, . *The Realm of Osiris*. Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, 2001.

- Lange, Hans O. *Der Magische Papyrus Harris*. Copenhagen: Andreas Frederich Host & Son, 1927.
- Lange, Hans O., and Heinrich Schäfer. *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire, no. 20001 - 20780*. Vol. II. Berlin: Reichsdrukeri, 1908.
- Leahy, Anthony. "The Osiris "Bed" Reconsidered." *Orientalia* 46.4, 1977: 424-434.
- Leclère, François. "Les "maisons d'âme" égyptiennes: une tentative de mise au point." In *"Maquettes architecturales" de l'antiquité: regards croisés (Proche-Orient, Égypte, Chypre, bassin égéen et Grèce, du Néolithique à l'époque hellénistique)*, edited by Béatrice Muller, 99-121. Paris: Boccard, 2001.
- Legrain, G. "Un Miracle d'Achmes I à Abydos sous le règne de Ramesès II." *ASAE* 16 (1917): 161-179.
- Lehner, Mark. *The Complete Pyramids*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1997.
- Leitz, Christian, ed. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Leuven: Peeters, 2002-2003.
- Leprohon, Ronald J. "The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom Funerary Stelae." *JARCE* 15 (1978): 33-38.
- Lesko, Leonard H. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- . *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Related Documents*. Berkeley: B.C. Scribe, 1979.

- . "Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology." In *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Byron E. Schafer, 88-122. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Vol. I. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- . *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Vol. II. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- . *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1988.
- . *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies, and related studies*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 1992.
- Lilyquist, Christine. *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Thutmosis III*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.
- Linseele, Veerle, Wim Van Neer, and Renée Friedman. "Special Animals from a Special Place? The Fuana from HK29A at Predynastic Hierakonpolis." *JARCE*, 2009: 105-136.
- Liszka, Kate. "Tracing Stylistic Changes within Coronation Scenes." In *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, edited by Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin, 1151-1161. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Loat, W. Leonard Stevenson. *Gurob*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1905.
- Logan, Tom. "The jmyt-pr Document: Form, Function, and Significance." *JARCE* 37 (2000): 49-73.

- Loprieno, Antonio. "The "King's Novel"." In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, edited by Antonio Loprieno, 277-295. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Lucas, Alfred, and J. R. Harris. *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*. London: Edward Arnold, 1962.
- Lüscher, Barbara. *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998.
- . *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998.
- Luft, Ulrich. *Urkunden zur Chronologie der späten 12. Dynastie: Briefe aus Illahun*. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006.
- Mace, Arthur, and Herbert Winlock. *The Tomb of Senebtisi*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1916.
- Malek, Jaromir. *In the Shadow of the Pyramids*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986.
- Marée, Marcel. "Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 12 (2009): 31-92.
- Mariette, Auguste. *Monumends d'Abydos*. Paris: L'imprimerie national, 1880.
- . *Abydos: description des fouilles executes sur l'emplacement de cette ville*. Vol. 2. Hildesheim: Olms, 1998.

Martellière, Marie-Delphine. "Les tombes monumentales des gouverneurs du Moyen

Empire à Qau el-Kébir." *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 50 (2008): 13-36.

Martin, Geoffrey T. *The Royal Tomb at el-Amarna, I*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974.

—. *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997.

Martinet, Emilie. *Le Nomarque sous l'Ancien Empire*. Paris: Sorbonne, 2011.

Masali, M., and B. Chiarelli. "Demographic Data on the Remains of Ancient Egyptians." *Journal of Human Evolution* 1 (1972): 161-169.

Mathieu, Bernard. "Seth polymorphe: le rival, le vaincu, l'auxiliaire." *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 4 (2011): 137-158.

Matzker, Ingo. *Die letzten Könige der 12. Dynastie (Ägyptologie)*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986.

McCormack, Dawn. "Borrowed Legacy: Royal Tombs S9 and S10 at South Abydos." *Expedition: The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* 48, no. 2 (2006): 23-26.

—. "Dynasty XIII Kingship in Ancient Egypt." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2008.

McFarlane, Anne, and Anna-Latifa Mourad, . *Behind the Scenes: daily life in Old Kingdom Egypt*. North Ryde: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 2012.

McHenry, Paul. *Adobe: Build it Yourself*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1976.

Meeks, Dimitri. *Annee Lexicographique Egypte Ancienne, Tome 2 (1978)*. Paris:

L'Imprimerie la Margeride, 1981.

Meyer, Eduard. *Geschichte des Altertums*. Vol. I. Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta, 1909.

—. *Geschichte des Altertums*. Vol. II. Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta, 1913.

Milward, Angela. "Bowls." In *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New*

Kingdom 1558-1085 B.C., 141. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982.

Miniaci, Gianluca. "The Incomplete Hieroglyphs System at the End of the Middle

Kingdom." *Rd'É* 61 (2010): 113-134.

—. *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt*.

London: Golden House Publications, 2011.

Minke, Gernot. *Building with Earth: Design and Technology of a Sustainable*

Architecture. Basel: Birkhäuser, 2009.

Möller, Georg. *Hieratische Paläographie, I*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1909.

—. *Hieratische Paläographie, II*. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1927.

—. *Hieratische Paläographie, III*. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1965.

Morris, Ellen. "Paddle Dolls and Performance." *JARCE* 47 (2011): 71-103.

Morris, Ian. *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Mosher Jr., Malcolm. *The Papyrus of Hor*. London: British Museum Press, 2001.

Müller, Hans. *Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern*. Berlin: Brun Hessling, 1964.

Murnane, William J. *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1977.

—. "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution." In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, edited by David O'Connor and David P. Silverman, 185-217. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

—. "The Return to Orthodoxy." In *Pharaohs of the Sun*, edited by Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz and Sue H. D'Auria, 177-185. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999.

Murray, Margaret. *The Osireion at Abydos*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1904.

Naville, Edouard H. *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX Dynastie*. Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1886.

Newberry, Percy E. *Beni Hasan Part I*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1893.

—. *Beni Hasan Part II*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1893.

—. *El Bersheh Part I*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893.

—. *El Bersheh Part II*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893.

- Newman, Richard, and Margaret Serpico. "Adhesives and binders." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul Nicholson and Ian Shaw, 475-494. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Nicholson, Paul T., and Julian Henderson. "Glass." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, 195-224. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Niwinski, Andrzej. "The solar-Osirian unity as a principle of the theology of the "State of Amun" in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty." *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 30 (1987-1988): 89-106.
- . *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1988.
- Nord, Del. "*hkrt-nswt* = "king's concubine"?" *Serapis* 2 (1970): 1-16.
- . "The Term *hnr*: 'harem' or 'musical performers'?" In *Studies in ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, 137-145. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981.
- Nordström, Hans-Åke, and Janine Bourriau. *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery: Fascicle 2*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993.
- Nunn, John F. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- O'Connell, Robert H. "An Exposition of Coffin Text Spell 148. The Emergence of Horus." In *Papers for Discussion, Presented by the Department of Egyptology*,

Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Vol. I, edited by Sarah I. Groll and H. Emily Stein, 102-137. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1982.

O'Connor, David. *The "Cenotaphs" of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos*. Vol. II, in *Mélanges a Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 161-177. Cairo: IFAO, 1985.

—. "The Chronology of Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period." *JSSEA* 14.1 (1985): 1-41.

—. "New Funerary Enclosures (Talbezirke) of the Early Dynastic Period at Abydos." *JARCE* 26 (1989): 51-86.

—. *The Elite Houses of Kahun*. Vol. II, in *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near east: Studies in Honor of Martha Rhodes Bell*, edited by Jacqueline Sharon Phillips and Lanny Bell, 389-400. San Antonio: Van Sicklen, 1997.

—. *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2009.

Op de Beeck, Lies. "Relating Middle Kingdom Pottery Vessels to Funerary Rituals." *ZÄS* 134 (2007): 157-165.

Osserman, Robert. "Mathematics of the Gateway Arch." *Notices of the American Mathematical Society* 57, no. 2 (2010): 220-229.

Ossian, Clair. "A Limestone Jewel in the Desert: The Cenotaph Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos." *KMT* 19, no. 1 (2008): 38-51.

Otto, Eberhard. *Egyptian Art and the Cults of Osiris and Amon*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1966.

Papazian, Hratch. "Domain of Pharaoh: The Structure and Components of the Economy of Old Kingdom Egypt." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005.

Parker, Richard. *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

Parkinson, Richard. *Voices from Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press, 1991.

—. *Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

—. *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*. London: Continuum, 2002.

Peet, T. Eric. *The Cemeteries of Abydos*. Vol. II. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914.

—. *The great tomb-robberies of the twentieth Egyptian dynasty*. Vols. I-II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930.

Peet, T. Eric, and W Loat. *Cemeteries of Abydos*. Vol. III. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1913.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1890.

—. *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*. London: David Nutt, 1891.

- . *Abydos I*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902.
- . *Abydos II*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903.
- . *Gizeh and Rifeh*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1907.
- . *Amulets*. London: Constable and Company, 1914.
- . *Objects of Daily Use*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1927.
- . *Antaeopolis: The Tombs of Qau*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1930.
- . *Shabtis*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1935.
- Petrie, W. M. Flinders, G. Wainwright, and E. MacKay. *The Laybrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1912.
- Petrie, W. M. Flinders, Guy Brunton, and Margaret A. Murray. *Lahun*. Vol. II. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1923.
- Piankoff, Alexandre. "Le Nom du Roi Sethos en égyptien." *BIFAO*, 1948: 175-177.
- . *Les Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*. Cairo: IFAO, 1952.
- . *The Shrines of Tutankhamun*. New York: Harper and Row, 1955.
- Picardo, Nicholas. "Egypt's Well-to-Do: Elite Mansions in the Town of Wah-Sut." *Expedition* 48.2 (2006): 37-40.

—. "Middle Kingdom History, Politics, and Social Organization." In *The Secrets of Tomb*

10A, by Rita E. Freed, Lawrence M. Berman, Denise M. Doxey and Nicholas S.

Picardo, 17-37. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2009.

Pinch, Geraldine. *Magic in Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press, 2006.

Polotsky, Hans Jakob. "Egyptian Tenses." *The Israel Academy of Sciences and*

Humanities II, No. 5 (1965).

Polz, Daniel. "Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole." *MDAIK*

46 (1990): 301-336.

—. "Bericht über die erste Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga."

MDAIK 48 (1992): 109-130.

—. "Bericht über die 2. und 3. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-

Naga." *MDAIK* 49 (1993): 224-238.

—. "Bericht über die 4. und 5. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-

Naga." *MDAIK* 51 (1995): 207-238.

Polz, Daniel, and A. Seiler. *Die Pyramidenlage des Königs Nubcheperre*. Mainz: Philipp

von Zabern, 2003.

Polz, Daniel, et al. "Bericht über die 6., 7. und 8. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole

von Dra' Abu el-Naga." *MDAIK* 55 (1999): 343-410.

- Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, V: Upper Egypt: Sites*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962.
- . *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, VI: Upper Egypt: Chief Temples*. Vol. VI: Upper Egypt: Chief Temples. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991.
- . *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, I: The Theban Necropolis, Part One: Private Tombs*. Second Edition. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1994.
- Pouls, Mary-Ann. "A Temple of Thutmose III Newly Discovered on the Periphery of the Temple of Osiris at Abydos." *KMT* 8, no. 4 (1997-1998): 48-59.
- Pouls-Wegner, Mary-Ann. "The Cult of Osiris at Abydos." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2002.
- Quirke, Stephen. "Royal Power in the 13th Dynasty." In *Middle Kingdom Studies*, edited by Stephen Quirke, 123-139. New Malden: Sia Publishing, 1991.
- . *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.
- . *The Cult of Ra*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2001.
- . *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*. London: Golden House Publications, 2004.

—. *Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape*. London: Golden House Publications, 2005.

Rammant-Peeters, Agnes. *Les Pyramidions Égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*. Leuven: Orientaliste, 1983.

Randall-MacIver, David, and Arthur Mace. *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902.

Randall-MacIver, David, and C. Leonard Woolley. *Buhen*. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1911.

Ranke, Hermann. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Vol. I. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935.

Raxter, Michelle H., Christopher B. Ruff, Ayman Azab, Moushira Erfan, Muhammad Soliman, and Aly El-Sawaf. "Stature Estimation in Ancient Egyptians: A New Technique Based on Anatomical Reconstruction of Stature." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 2008: 147-155.

Redford, Donald. "The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty." In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, edited by D. O'Connor and D. Silverman, 157-184. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Reeves, Nicholas. *The Complete Tutankhamun*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1990.

Reeves, Nicholas, and Richard H. Wilkinson. *The Complete Valley of the Kings*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996.

- Reiser, Elfriede. *Die königliche Harim im Alten Ägypten und seine Verwaltung*. Vienna: Verlag Notring, 1972.
- Reisner, George A. "The Viceroys of Ethiopia." *JEA* 6, no. 1 (1920): 28-55.
- . "The Viceroys of Ethiopia (continued)." *JEA* 6, no. 2 (1920): 73-88.
- . *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- . Reisner, George A. *A History of the Giza Necropolis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942.
- Rice, Michael. *Egypt's Making*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Richards, Janet. *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- . *Honoring the Ancestors at Abydos*. Vol. II, in *Million of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Houser Wegner, 137-166. Cairo: SCA, 2010.
- Ricke, Herbert. *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches*. Vol. 4, in *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, edited by Herbert Ricke. Zürich: Borchardt-Institut für ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo, 1944.
- Rigault-Déon, Patricia. *Masques de Momies du Moyen Empire Égyptien*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2012.

Ritner, Robert. *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1997.

Roberson, Joshua. "The Early History of "New Kingdom" Netherworld Iconography: A Late Middle Kingdom Apotropaic Wand Reconsidered." In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 427-445. New Haven and Philadelphia: Yale NELC and University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009.

Robins, Gay. *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994.

—. *The Art of Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press, 1997.

Robinson, Melissa, David P Silverman, and Edward Brovarski. "Tombs on the High Terrace." In *Bersheh Reports I*, 13-38. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992.

Roehrig, Catherine H. "Glass." In *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catherine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus and Cathleen A. Keller, 67. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.

—. "The Tomb of Maiherperi in the Valley of the Kings." In *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, edited by Catherine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus and Cathleen A. Keller, 70-71. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.

Rondot, V. "A Hitherto Unknown Rock Stela in the Name of Senusret III at Nuri." *KUSH* 19 (2003-2008): 179-184.

- Rößler-Köhler, Ursula. "Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil I: Ein, Gottesbegräbnis' des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat, 4. und 5. Stunde." In *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, edited by Rolf Gundlach and Wilfried Seipel, 73-96. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999.
- Rößler-Köhler, Ursula, and Louise Gestermann. "Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil I und II." In *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, edited by Rolf Gundlach and Wilfried Seipel, 73-110. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999.
- Roth, Ann Macy. "Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahri: Architecture as Political Statement." In *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, 147-151. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.
- Russmann, Edna R. "A Second Style in Egyptian art off the Old Kingdom." *MDAIK* 51 (1995): 269-279.
- . *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Ryholt, Kim. "A Reconsideration of Some Royal Nomens of the Thirteenth Dynasty." *GM* 119 (1990): 101-113.
- . *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 BC*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1997.
- . "A Bead of King Ranisonb and a Note on King Qemaw." *GM*, 1997: 95-100.

Saad, Zaki. *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan*. Cairo: IFAO, 1947.

Sainte Fare Garnot, Jean. "Les fouilles de la Nécropole de Soleb." *BIFAO* 58 (1959): 165-173.

Satzinger, Helmut. "Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis." *Lingua Aegyptia* 5 (1997): 177-188.

Säve-Söderbergh. "Aniba." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, 272-278. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975.

Schaden, Otto. "Clearance of the Tomb of King Ay (WV 23)." *JARCE* 21 (1984): 39-64.

Schäfer, Heinrich. *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III*. Leipzig: J. C. Heinrich, 1904.

—. *Principles of Egyptian Art*. Edited by Emma Brunner-Traut. Translated by John Bains. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.

Schiaparelli, Ernesto. *Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto (anni 1903-1920), Vol. II*. Turin: R. Museo di antichità, 1927.

Schiestl, Robert, and Anne Seiler. *Handbook of the Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, Volume I: The Corpus Volume*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012.

Schiff-Giorgini, Michela. *Soleb II*. Florence: Sansoni, 1971.

Schloen, J. David. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001.

Schlott, Adelheid. "Einige Beobachtungen zu Mimik und Gestik von Singenden." *GM*, 1996: 55-70.

Schneider, Hans D. *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes, Vol. I-III*. Vol. I. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1977.

Schulman, Alan. "Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1962.

Schwappach-Shirriff, Lisa. *Treasures of the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum*. San Jose: Grand Lodge of the English Language Jurisdiction, AMORC, 2004.

Scott, Nora E. "Egyptian Cubit Rods." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 1.1 (1942): 70-75.

Serpico, Margaret, and Raymond White. "Resins, amber and bitumen." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 430-474. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Sethe, Kurt. *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*. Vol. II. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1910.

Sethe, Kurt, ed. *Urkunden des alten Reiches*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1933.

Shalomi-Hen, Racheli. *Classifying the divine: determinatives and categorisation in CT 335 and BD 17*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.

Shaw, Ian, ed. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Shedid, Abdel Ghaffar. *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1994.

Shirley, J. J. "One Tomb, Two Owners: Theban Tomb 122 - Re-Use or Planned Family Tomb?" In *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Houser Wegner, 271-301. Cairo: SCA, 2010.

Silverman, David P. "Pygmies and Dwarves in the Old Kingdom." *Serapis* 1 (1969): 53-62.

—. "review of: The Terrace of the Great God, by William Kelly Simpson." *JNES* 36.3, 1977: 221-222.

—. *Interrogative Constructions with JN and JN-JW in Old and Middle Egyptian*. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1980.

—. "The So-Called Portal temple of Ramesses II at Abydos." In *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongress, München 1985*, 269-277. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1989.

—. "The Nature of Egyptian Kingship." In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, edited by D. O'Connor and D. Silverman, 49-92. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

- , "The Spoken and Written Word." In *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun*, edited by Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz and Sue H. D'Auria, 151-155. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999.
- , "Middle Kingdom tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery." In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, edited by Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí, 259-282. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute, 2000.
- , "The appeal of Sobek-hotep." In *A tribute to excellence: studies offered in honor of Ernő Gaál*, edited by Tamás A. Bács, 421-433. Budapest: Chaire d'Égyptologie, Univ. Eötvös Loránd de Budapest, 2002.
- , *Non-Royal Burials in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Early Twelfth Dynasty*. Edited by William Kelly Simpson, David P. Silverman and Josef Wegner. New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009.
- , "Pectorals, Seals, and Seal Cases (?)." In *Festschrift Johnson*. Forthcoming.
- , "The Multiple Messages of Mereret's Pectoral." In *Forthcoming*, edited by Robert Ritner. 2014.
- , "The Origin of Book of the Dead Spell 159." In *Festschrift Vernus*. Forthcoming.
- , "The *wḏ3* Amulet of Feldspar and its Implicit and Explicit Wish." By Lotus and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John

Frandsen, edited by R Nyord and K. Ryholt. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, Forthcoming.

Silverman, David P., ed. *Searching for Ancient Egypt*. Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1997.

Silverman, David P., Josef Wegner, and Jennifer Houser Wegner. *Akhenaten & Tutankhamun: Revolution and Restoration*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006.

Simpson, William Kelly. *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*. New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum and the University Museum, 1974.

—. *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976.

—. *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos*. New Haven: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, 1995.

Simpson, William Kelly, ed. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Smith, G. Elliot. *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: The Royal Mummies*. Paris: IFAO, 1912.

Smith, Vanessa. "Modeling the Mechanics of Temple Production in the Middle Kingdom." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2010.

Smith, William Stevenson. "Paintings of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom at Bersheh."

AJA, 1951: 321-332.

—. *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Smither, Paul C. "The Writing of Htp-di-nsw in the Middle and New Kingdoms." *JEA*

25.1 (1939): 34-37.

Snape, Steven R. "Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos." Unpublished Ph.D.

Dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1986.

Spalinger, Anthony J. "Thoth and the Calendars." In *Revolutions in Time: Studies in*

Ancient Egyptian Calendrics, edited by Anthony J. Spalinger, 45-60. San

Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1994.

—. "Chauvinism in the First Intermediate Period." In *Chronology and Archaeology in*

Ancient Egypt (the third millennium B.C.), edited by Hana Vymazalová and

Miroslav Bárta, 240-260. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts,

Charles University in Prague, 2008.

—. "The rise of the Solar-Osirian theology in the Ramesside Age, new points d'appui." In

Mythos & Ritual: Festschrift für Jan Assmann zum 70. Geburtstag, edited by B.

Rothöhler and A. Manisali, 257-275. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2008.

—. *The great dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II: a Solar-Osirian tractate at Abydos*.

Leiden: Brill, 2009.

- Spaul, C. H. S. "review of: The Terrace of the Great God, by William Kelly Simpson." *JEA* 61, 1975: 283-284.
- Spencer, A. J. *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1979.
- Spencer, Patricia. *Amara West II: The Cemetery and the Pottery Corpus*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2002.
- Steindorff, Georg. *Aniba I*. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935.
- . *Aniba II*. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1937.
- Stewart, David. "On Defining Myth: comparisons of myth theory from an Egyptological Viewpoint." In *Current Research in Egyptology, 2011*, edited by Heba Abd el Gawad, Nathalie Andrews, Maria Correias-Amador and Veronica Tamorri, 189-199. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012.
- Sullivan, Celeste. "Evidence in the Pyramid Texts for the Existence of Two Dialects of Old Egyptian." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Brown University, 1994.
- Swelim, Nabil, and Aidan Dodson. "On the Pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its Canopic Equipment." *MDAIK* 54 (1998): 319-334.
- Szpakowska, Kasia. *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*. Malden: Blackwell, 2008.
- Tavares, Anna, and Mohsen Kamel. "Memphis: A City Unseen." *AERAGram* 13.1 (2012): 1-7.

- Taylor, John. *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- te Velde, Hermann. "Dämonen." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, 980-984. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975.
- . *Seth: God of Confusion*. Leiden: Brill, 1967.
- Teeter, Emily. "Power Behind the Throne: Khaemwaset." *KMT* 1, no. 4 (1990): 41-45; 63.
- Terrace, Edward. *Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom*. New York: G. Braziller, 1969.
- The American Heritage College Dictionary*. 3rd Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1993.
- Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.
- Thorel, G. "Les salles voutées du groupe I." In *Le Ramesseum*, X, 28-51. Cairo: Centre d'Etudes et de Documentation sur l'Ancient Egypte, 1976.
- Tillier, Anaïs. "Sur la place d'Horus dans l'ennéade hélilopolitaine." *ZÄS* 140 (2013): 70-77.
- Tobin, Vincent A. "Mytho-Theology in Ancient Egypt." *JARCE* 25 (1988): 169-183.
- Trampier, Joshua. "Reconstructing the Desert and Sown Landscape of Abydos." *JARCE* 42 (2005-2006): 73-80.

van der Molen, Rami. *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Vandersleyen, Claude. *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur du Nouvel Empire*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1971.

—. *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, Vol. 2: De la fin de l'Ancient Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998.

Vasiljević, Vera. "Die Herstellung einer Harfe in den Szenen des Holzhandwerks auf Pfeiler XVI des Grabes des Anchtifi in Moalla." *SÄK* 24 (1997): 313-326.

Vercoutter, Jean. "Excavations at Mirgissa I (October - December 1962)." *KUSH* 12 (1965): 57-62.

—. "Excavations at Mirgissa II (October 1963 - March 1964)." *KUSH* 13 (1965): 62-73.

—. "Excavations at Mirgissa III." *KUSH* 15 (1967-1968): 269-279.

—. *Mirgissa I*. Paris: Ouvrage publié par la Direction Générale des Relations Culturelles, Scientifiques et Techniques, 1970.

—. *Mirgissa II*. Paris: Ouvrage publié par la Direction Générale des Relations Culturelles, Scientifiques et Techniques, 1975.

—. *Mirgissa III*. Paris: Ouvrage publié par la Direction Générale des Relations Culturelles, Scientifiques et Techniques, 1976.

- Vernus, Pascal. *Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics*. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1990.
- Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian. "Textiles." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 268-298. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- von Beckerath, Jürgen. *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1997.
- von Pilgrim, Cornelius. *Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996.
- Wace, Alan. *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide*. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1964.
- Wadell, William. *Manetho*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Ward, William. *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1982.
- Ward, William. "Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context." *AJA* 91, no. 4 (1987): 507-532.
- Weeks, Kent R., ed. *Atlas of the Valley of the Kings*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000.
- Wegner, Josef. "The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III: A Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1996.

- . "The Nature and Chronology of the Senwosret III-Amenemhat III Regnal Succession." *JNES* 55.4, 1996: 249-279.
- . "Excavations at the Town of 'Enduring-are-the-places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos'." *JARCE* 35, 1998: 1-44.
- . "The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations." *MDAIK* 57, 2001: 281-308.
- . "From Elephant-Mountain to Anubis-Mountain?" In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Janet Richards, 459-475. Cairo: SCA, 2007.
- . *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*. New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History and University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2007.
- . "The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos." In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, David P. Silverman and Josef Wegner, 103-168. New Haven and Philadelphia: Yale NELC and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009.
- . "A Decorated Birth-Brick from South Abydos." In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 447-496. New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009.

- . *A Group of Miniature Royal Sarcophagi from South Abydos*. Vol. II, in *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Houser Wegner, 351-377. Cairo: SCA, 2010.
- . "External Connections of the Community of Wah-sut During the Late Middle Kingdom." In *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, edited by Zahi Hawass, Peter der Manuelian and Ramadan Hussein, 437-458. Cairo: SCA, 2010.
- . "Kings of Abydos: Solving an Ancient Egyptian Mystery." *Current World Archaeology* 64 (2014): 20-27.
- . "The Palatial Residence of *Wah-sut*: Modeling the Mayor's House at South Abydos." *Expedition: The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Volume 56, No. 1, (2014): 24-31.
- Wegner, Josef, and Kevin M. Cahail. "Ancient Reuse: The Discovery of a Royal Sarcophagus Chamber." *Expedition: The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Volume 56, No. 1 (Spring 2014): 19-23.
- Wegner, Josef, and Mohammed Abu el-Yazid. *The Mountain-of-Anubis: Necropolis Seals in the Senwosret III Tomb Enclosure at Abydos*. Vol. I, in *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, edited by Ernst Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman and A. Schwab, 399-415. Leuven: Peeters, 2006.

- Wegner, Josef, Vanessa Smith, and Stine Rossel. "The Organization of the Temple NFR-
KA of Senwosret III at Abydos." *Ägypte und Levante* 10 (2000): 118-122.
- Weingarten, J. *The Transformation of Egyptian Taweret into the Minoan Genius*. Partille:
Paul Astrom, 1991.
- Wengrow, David. *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformations in North-
East Africa, 10,000 to 2650 BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Wente, Edward. *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990.
- Wilkinson, Alix. *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1971.
- Wilkinson, John Gardiner. *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. Edited
by Samuel Birch. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1876.
- Wilkinson, Richard. *Reading Egyptian Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.
- . *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2000.
- Willems, Harco. *Chests of Life*. Leiden: Ex Orient Lux., 1988.
- Winlock, Herbert. *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*. New York:
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1921.
- . "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at thebes." *JEA* 10 (1924): 217-
277.
- . *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1937.

Winlock, Herbert, and Dorothea Arnold. *Tutankhamun's Funeral*. New York:

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010.

Wodzińska, Anna. *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 2: Naqada III - Middle Kingdom*.

Boston: Ancient Egypt Research Associates, Inc., 2009.

—. *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 3: Second Intermediate Period - Late Period*.

Boston: Ancient Egypt Research Associates, Inc., 2010.

—. *A Manual of Egyptian Pottery, Vol. 4: Ptolemaic Period - Modern*. Boston: Ancient

Egypt Research Associates, Inc., 2010.

Yamazaki, Naoko. *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind: Papyrus Berlin 3027*. Berlin:

Achet Verlag, 2003.

Youssef, Ahmad. *From Pharaoh's Lips: Ancient Egyptian Language in the Arabic of*

Today. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003.

Zitman, Marcel. *The Necropolis of Assiut: Text*. Leuven: Peeters, 2010.

INDEX

A

Abet..... 199, 226
 Abydos 0, 1, vii, xix, xx, xxi, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 27,
 37, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 54, 57, 58, 61, 63, 67, 69, 70,
 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91,
 93, 94, 99, 109, 115, 116, 118, 119, 122, 123, 125,
 126, 128, 132, 134, 137, 139, 141, 145, 146, 147,
 148, 153, 155, 157, 166, 170, 172, 174, 175, 178,
 179, 180, 181, 182, 185, 188, 189, 190, 193, 199,
 203, 209, 210, 212, 213, 215, 218, 220, 221, 222,
 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235,
 236, 239, 241, 242, 250, 252, 257, 261, 265, 267,
 268, 269, 271, 285, 289, 291, 292, 296, 297, 299,
 300, 301, 302, 303, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311,
 312, 313, 315, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 325, 328,
 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 340, 341,
 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351,
 354, 359, 362, 363, 365, 368, 386, 387, 390, 396,
 399, 400, 401, 403, 405, 407, 408, 410, 411, 412,
 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 429, 470,
 475, 476, 480, 481, 486, 488, 490, 491, 499, 513,
 514, 515, 527
 North Abydos.... xix, 1, 3, 11, 14, 23, 27, 45, 61, 88,
 89, 93, 147, 172, 173, 175, 216, 217, 218, 220,
 234, 236, 301, 309, 343, 414, 420, 524, 526,
 527, 531, 544
 North Cemetery.. 94, 125, 126, 159, 185, 261, 285,
 327, 342, 343, 344, 345, 349, 399
 South Abydosxxii, 1, 5, 7, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22,
 23, 24, 25, 27, 38, 60, 63, 74, 75, 76, 77, 94,
 172, 173, 174, 179, 189, 190, 209, 212, 213,
 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225,
 226, 233, 234, 236, 237, 256, 291, 300, 301,
 334, 340, 343, 348, 350, 363, 396, 403, 418,
 419, 476, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525,
 526, 527, 530, 539, 540, 542, 543, 544, 559
 Abydos Dynasty..... 16, 17, 20, 21, 190, 219
 Ahmose ... xx, 11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77,
 87, 180, 181, 291, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300,
 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310,
 311, 313, 314, 316, 318, 319, 321, 330, 331, 335,
 336, 337, 339, 340, 341, 343, 345, 346, 348, 349,
 362, 363, 388, 389, 410, 413, 414, 417, 418, 419,
 420, 476, 478, 479, 486, 519, 530, 531, 532, 533,
 542
 Akhenaten.14, 315, 316, 317, 333, 426, 457, 458, 463,
 465, 466, 486, 502, 538, 546, 548, 549
 Amara West xxi, 399, 403, 404, 405, 411, 523
 Amarna xxi, 316, 318, 331, 338, 352, 363, 396, 403,
 410, 414, 417, 420, 426, 427, 429, 430, 431, 436,
 457, 458, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 475, 479,
 483, 485, 487, 505, 515, 535, 564

Amenemhat I.....30, 35, 36, 75
 Amenemhat III.... 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 63, 73, 74, 75, 76,
 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 106, 107, 111,
 125, 134, 154, 162, 252, 253, 271, 309, 413
 Amenemhat IV 39, 40, 42, 43, 84, 86, 87, 88, 259, 296,
 309
 Amenhotep I.....76, 310, 313, 419
 Amenhotep II..... 295, 340, 427
 Ameny-Qemau42, 45, 84, 85, 86
 Amunhotep III..... 313, 428, 431
 Aniba xxi, 345, 368, 399, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 411,
 418, 501, 531
 Ankhtifi 32, 142, 204
 Anpyxix, xx, 102, 103, 144, 221, 222, 225, 246, 248,
 523, 525
 Anubis..... 48, 105, 151, 182, 216, 260, 286, 440, 452,
 454, 460
 Apophis 297, 298
 apotropaia 3, 44, 121, 149, 150, 153, 155, 156, 174,
 227, 230, 231, 232, 235, 236, 449, 526
 Assiut.....37, 92, 130, 141
 Asswan 37

B

Beni Hasan.... xix, xx, 43, 139, 142, 201, 203, 204, 205,
 211, 212, 213, 214, 265, 277
 Book of Caverns..... 319
 Book of Gates 319
 Book of the Dead....232, 319, 409, 434, 441, 443, 444,
 450, 453, 500
 Buhenxix, 93, 94, 99, 120, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134,
 135, 136, 145, 146, 147, 148, 171, 175, 186, 187,
 188, 297, 367, 523, 524, 527

C

catenary.....356, 357, 377, 386
 coffin 45, 68, 95, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 116, 119,
 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 129, 137, 138, 141, 144,
 145, 148, 150, 152, 157, 158, 164, 191, 398, 422,
 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432,
 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 439, 443, 444, 446, 451,
 452, 492, 503, 505, 514, 515, 524, 546, 547, 550,
 551, 552, 553
 Coffin
 Black-typexxi, 423, 424, 546, 547, 548, 549, 553
 Daily Life-type 436
 Yellow-type 431, 440, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550
 Coffin Texts44, 49, 50, 53, 60, 150, 151, 152, 153, 156,
 444, 447, 448, 450
 column.... 114, 133, 148, 244, 255, 275, 276, 277, 278,
 279, 281, 282, 414, 429, 440, 443, 528

Commemoration 238, 239, 241, 243
coregency 37, 40, 43, 48, 107, 316

D

Dedetneshmet 60, 249, 259, 268, 271, 529
Dedut-Min 199, 218, 225, 226
Deir el-Medina 244, 399, 409, 410, 411, 412, 415, 418,
419, 507, 513, 542
Dendera 49
Djehuty xx, 205, 223, 224, 225, 244
Djer 56, 57, 328, 329
Duamutef 426, 452, 454
dwarf 121, 193, 247, 276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282,
283, 528

E

Ennead 47, 49, 105, 325, 332

G

Geb 47, 48, 53, 332, 452

H

Hapy 440, 452, 453
Harageh 41
harvest 209, 213, 215
Hathor 49, 50, 109, 191, 232, 286, 324, 338, 491
Hatshepsut 30, 305, 306, 332, 333, 426, 438, 493
Hawara 39, 40, 83, 84, 233
Heliopolis 53, 233, 281
Hemispherical cup 108
Hierakonpolis 350, 447
hkr.t-nswt-w^c.tjt 197, 525
Hor (Awibre) 45, 46, 159
Horemheb xxi, 21, 30, 317, 318, 326, 349, 363, 383,
399, 414, 420, 426, 429, 431, 437, 439, 440, 441,
442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454,
457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466,
469, 475, 488, 513, 514, 515, 533, 534, 541, 542,
547, 551
Horus 31, 32, 35, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 59, 75, 108,
117, 120, 142, 145, 152, 154, 162, 248, 288, 293,
315, 323, 325, 332, 425, 426, 429, 430, 440, 451,
452, 464, 466
Hotep 118, 273
Hyksos 298

I

Ibi-iau 196, 197, 225, 226
limeru xx, 346, 347, 531
Ikhnofret 37, 57, 58, 59, 60, 301
Imsety 429, 440, 452, 453, 464, 465, 466

Intef 54, 246, 299, 303, 413
Interior Overseer 274
Iru 138, 256
Isis 48, 49, 50, 57, 58, 59, 60, 105, 191, 323, 325, 332,
435, 436, 446, 470, 497
Itji-tawy 14
ivory 8, 9, 107, 111, 120, 121, 134, 149, 150, 153, 156,
161, 162, 168, 227, 230, 236, 449, 509

J

Jema-jb xx, 346, 347, 348, 531
jr-j-p^c.t 193

K

Kamose 297, 298, 414
Keki 267
Khasekhemwy 52, 363
Khentiamenti 13, 27, 54, 73, 74, 286
Khentykhety 269, 271
Khety xix, 32, 203, 204
Khuinutef xx, 193, 248, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265,
266, 268
kingship 28, 29, 30, 47, 48, 53, 142, 291, 292, 293,
315, 316, 331, 333, 334, 349
kohl. 107, 110, 112, 117, 119, 120, 127, 134, 146, 162,
163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 549
Kom el-Sultan 55, 56, 74, 115, 128, 313, 326, 418, 419
Kumma 37

L

Lady of the House 199
Lahun xix, xx, xxii, 23, 41, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102,
103, 104, 105, 108, 111, 130, 137, 144, 145, 156,
159, 169, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 183, 184, 185,
187, 188, 206, 218, 220, 221, 222, 234, 236, 237,
243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 276, 277,
278, 283, 287, 288, 364, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524,
525, 526, 527, 528
Cemetery 900 99, 182, 183, 520
Lisht xx, 114, 139, 150, 159, 205, 218, 220, 222, 224,
229, 231, 233, 525, 526

M

m^ch^c.t 57, 73, 74, 241, 301, 310, 311, 312, 321, 328,
329, 330, 331, 364
mastaba 86, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 116, 126, 127,
128, 143, 146, 147, 163, 220, 221, 223, 225, 240,
241, 242, 246, 311, 356, 400, 520
Meir xix, xx, 113, 144, 201, 204, 205, 208, 209, 220,
222, 227, 229, 525
Menes 30, 139, 296, 333
Mentuhotep II 13, 76, 233, 296, 314

Mentuhotep III13, 314
 Merenptah319, 389
 Mereret38
 Middle Cemetery 27, 185, 217, 241, 267, 343, 344
 Mirgissa..... xix, 36, 37, 93, 94, 99, 109, 120, 122, 134,
 135, 136, 137, 145, 170, 175, 184, 187, 188, 355,
 524
 mirror 91, 116, 117, 119, 122, 127, 134, 162, 163, 164,
 165, 167, 168, 215, 234
 Montu193, 346, 521, 531
Mountain of Anubis... 66, 180, 182, 188, 364, 395, 412

N

Nakht..... xx, 269, 270, 271
 Naqada.....350, 563
 Nebipusenwosret.....xix, 61, 62, 75, 241
 Nectanebo I.....55
 Neferher.....269, 271
 Neferuptah..... 39, 43, 44, 87
 Nefret-net-resi124, 145
 Nekhet197
 Nephthys.....48, 58, 105, 446, 497
 nomarch..... 30, 32, 33, 139, 142, 292, 293, 294
 Nomarch141, 142, 143
 Nubia..... 35, 36, 37, 38, 135, 140, 403, 411, 414
 Nut47, 48, 105, 232, 282

O

oracle419, 420, 531, 543
OsirisO, 1, vii, 11, 12, 13, 14, 27, 37, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49,
 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64,
 66, 69, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 89, 93, 100, 105, 109,
 115, 118, 119, 139, 159, 172, 173, 185, 196, 233,
 241, 242, 248, 255, 267, 273, 282, 286, 288, 293,
 301, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 313, 314,
 319, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329,
 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 342, 343, 347, 348, 349,
 364, 401, 414, 417, 419, 420, 443, 446, 450, 451,
 454, 470, 500, 503, 516
 Overseer of the House196
 Overseer of the Offering Tables of Amun193, 194
 Overseer of the Stable 21, 318, 469, 533, 534, 536,
 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 551, 552, 553

P

pds.t.....155
 pectoral..... 114, 161, 495, 496, 497, 547, 549
 Peribsen52
 pHarris.....281, 283, 446, 528
 population.18, 19, 24, 92, 95, 105, 131, 172, 175, 176,
 177, 178, 179, 335, 340, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349,
 350, 363, 395, 515, 516, 519, 530, 542
 population density178

Portal Temple of Ramesses II55, 56, 60, 324, 326, 327,
 328, 330, 342, 363, 417
 Ptolemy V 56
 pygmy 276, 282, 283
 pyramid ...14, 15, 18, 38, 63, 67, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 92,
 140, 183, 188, 189, 222, 243, 300, 301, 303, 305,
 309, 310, 311, 323, 336, 337, 339, 341, 343, 344,
 345, 346, 362, 368, 386, 389, 402, 403, 404, 405,
 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 416,
 417, 418, 521, 523, 530, 542
 Pyramid Texts 48, 283

Q

Qebehseuef 100, 452, 454

R

Ramesses I...xx, 76, 315, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322,
 331, 333, 349, 476, 534, 536, 538, 540
 Ramesses II xx, 55, 56, 60, 87, 291, 296, 315, 319, 322,
 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 330, 332, 333, 334,
 342, 349, 363, 389, 399, 403, 414, 417, 419, 426,
 430, 497, 514
 Ramesu..... 21, 318, 469, 533, 534, 539, 542, 551, 552,
 553
 Rekhmirexxi, 70, 80, 150, 211, 340, 353, 354
 Renefiker 138, 255

S

Sahure 30, 32
 Saqqara.....51, 66, 84, 85, 445, 479
 sarcophagus . 21, 45, 67, 68, 83, 86, 88, 100, 102, 103,
 104, 106, 111, 120, 122, 124, 125, 127, 138, 148,
 161, 305, 383, 423, 426, 427, 429, 437, 439, 440,
 441, 443, 444, 445, 446, 450, 451, 452, 453, 458,
 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 469, 515,
 541, 542
 scarab 108, 111, 117, 120, 131, 134, 153, 154, 161,
 162, 163, 164, 165, 277, 339, 495, 497, 498, 500,
 537, 547, 549
 Sehel..... 36
 Sehetepib 274
 Sehetepibre..... 42, 62, 63, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 295
 Sekhmet xxi, 29, 490, 491
 Senebefxx, 193, 225, 226, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265,
 268, 521
 Senebkay (Useribre) ... 3, 16, 17, 21, 22, 190, 191, 198,
 200, 207, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 224, 225, 227,
 249, 521, 525
 CS.9xix, xx, 20, 22, 191, 192, 194, 195, 197, 198,
 200, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 213,
 215, 216, 217, 218, 224, 225, 249, 525
 Senenmut 425, 460
 Senwosret I 13, 14, 36, 55, 56, 140, 188, 189, 201, 295

Senwosret II 35, 41, 45, 97, 111, 114, 175, 259
 Senwosret III . xix, xx, 27, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 57,
 58, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77,
 79, 80, 81, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 106, 107,
 114, 134, 139, 141, 143, 156, 158, 162, 173, 174,
 175, 179, 180, 182, 188, 189, 190, 191, 219, 226,
 230, 232, 235, 236, 252, 253, 266, 268, 271, 273,
 274, 284, 291, 295, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306,
 307, 308, 309, 332, 335, 336, 337, 340, 341, 345,
 349, 359, 360, 362, 363, 364, 369, 381, 388, 389,
 390, 412, 515
 Sequenre Tao II297
 Seth 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 58, 230, 450
 Seti I49, 56, 57, 59, 81, 87, 291, 296, 315, 316, 318,
 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328,
 331, 332, 333, 334, 346, 349, 363, 417, 420, 437,
 537, 540, 543
 Shalfak.....37
 Shena xix, 394
 Smenkhkare315, 316, 317
šmꜥ.w..... 41, 64, 79, 80, 89, 388, 558, 559, 560
 Sobekhotep (I)..... 35, 42, 43, 86, 87, 88, 89, 125, 145,
 191, 218, 269
 Sobekneferu.39, 40, 43, 86, 87, 88, 107, 126, 296, 309
 Soleb 316, 399, 411, 418, 440, 531
 Sonbef 42, 43, 86, 87, 88, 89
 South Abydos Tomb Census.....365
 stela...10, 15, 31, 37, 41, 46, 48, 51, 52, 57, 58, 60, 61,
 62, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 89, 101, 102, 113, 114,
 118, 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, 147, 161, 165, 166,
 168, 174, 187, 190, 193, 199, 202, 206, 208, 216,
 218, 220, 224, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 244,
 246, 247, 248, 249, 251, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260,
 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 271, 273,
 274, 277, 286, 288, 289, 298, 300, 310, 311, 318,
 321, 328, 329, 332, 339, 342, 343, 344, 389, 396,
 399, 402, 407, 410, 411, 412, 415, 419, 424, 469,
 521, 524, 527, 528, 529, 532, 534, 535, 537, 538,
 539, 540

T

Temple Cemetery..... xxi, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 133, 189,
 268, 335, 340, 342, 344, 345, 357, 359, 360, 361,
 362, 363, 364, 365, 368, 370, 373, 375, 376, 378,
 380, 381, 382, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391,
 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 399, 400, 401, 402, 412,
 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 429,
 430, 431, 433, 435, 436, 437, 466, 467, 468, 470,
 471, 473, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 487, 488,
 489, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 500, 502, 504, 505,
 506, 507, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516,
 517, 519, 530, 531, 532, 533, 542, 543, 546, 554,
 563
 TC.10.....376

TC.11 ... 20, 360, 362, 365, 367, 376, 387, 391, 393,
 394, 395, 397, 398, 401, 404, 415, 487, 509,
 510, 515, 549
 TC.19 ... 21, 189, 360, 362, 365, 366, 367, 379, 381,
 387, 391, 398, 415, 423, 433, 467, 492, 493,
 511, 513, 516, 550
 TC.20xxi, 21, 318, 361, 365, 368, 376, 382, 386,
 387, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 397, 407, 408,
 416, 417, 418, 420, 423, 429, 434, 435, 437,
 438, 439, 466, 467, 468, 469, 471, 472, 474,
 481, 482, 483, 485, 492, 493, 498, 499, 501,
 504, 505, 506, 511, 512, 513, 515, 516, 533,
 534, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 551
 TC.7 368
 TC.9xxi, 20, 360, 363, 365, 366, 367, 371, 372, 387,
 388, 392, 393, 397, 398, 415, 423, 425, 428,
 429, 430, 431, 432, 434, 467, 468, 469, 470,
 471, 473, 480, 495, 496, 504, 507, 508, 509,
 513, 514, 547
 Tetisheri.. 181, 297, 300, 309, 310, 311, 363, 389, 413,
 542
 Thutmosis II..... 313
 Thutmosis III xx, 56, 295, 309, 311, 312, 313, 332, 425,
 426, 428, 431, 475, 488, 492, 493, 514
 tomb U-j 11
 Turin King List38, 39, 40, 41, 47, 49, 84, 151, 152, 190,
 275, 296, 440
 turtle..... 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 464
 Tutankhamun ... 59, 315, 316, 317, 333, 363, 420, 426,
 431, 462, 463, 466, 481, 504, 515, 541, 551
 Tutankhaten 315, 316

U

Umm el-Gaab 11, 12, 27, 31, 51, 56, 57, 59, 63, 75,
 185, 239, 241, 301, 308, 311, 327, 329, 349, 350,
 356, 363, 364, 365, 401, 418, 419, 420
 Uronarti 37

V

Valley of the Kings 69, 303, 305, 322, 413, 485, 491
 vault 132, 147, 148, 165, 166, 167, 168, 189, 356, 357,
 358, 359, 361, 366, 369, 371, 374, 377, 379, 381,
 384, 386, 390, 391, 393, 394, 397, 399, 400, 401,
 402, 406, 416, 469, 498, 541

W

Wah-sut...xix, xx, 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 69, 70, 71, 72,
 77, 80, 81, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 110, 130, 138, 142,
 156, 172, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 187, 188, 193,
 227, 230, 234, 235, 236, 237, 243, 247, 248, 249,
 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 262, 264,
 265, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 277, 278, 279, 280,
 283, 286, 287, 288, 308, 328, 335, 336, 337, 338,

339, 340, 341, 349, 360, 363, 364, 388, 420, 519,
520, 521, 523, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 543
Building Exx, 110, 254, 275, 286, 287, 288
Wepwawet..... 61, 62, 75, 267
Wepwawet-nakht the Younger.....267

Z

zḏ-rꜥ 31