

Thebes in the First Millennium BC

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Edited by

Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka
and Kenneth Griffin

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P U B L I S H I N G

Thebes in the First Millennium BC,
Edited by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin

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FOREWORD

“Egypt in the First Millennium BC” is a collection of articles, most of which are based on the talks given at the conference of the same name organised by the team of the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP), an Egyptian-American Mission working under the auspices of the Ministry of State for Antiquities (MSA), Egypt in Luxor in 2012. The organisers of the conference Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, and Kenneth Griffin intended to bring together a group of speakers who would share the results of their recent field research in the tombs and temples of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties in Thebes and other archaeological sites, as well as addressing a variety of issues relevant to different aspects of Egyptian monuments of this period.

Papers based on the talks of the participants of the conference form the bulk of this volume. However, we found it possible to include the papers of a few scholars who could not attend the conference, but whose contributions are pertinent to the main themes of the conference and could enrich the content of the present volume. Therefore, this volume covers a much wider range of sites, monuments, and issues as well as a broader chronological span. Discussions of the monuments of Abydos and Saqqara, along with the Libyan tradition, enrich the argument on interconnections, derivations, innovations, and archaism. The diversity of topics cover the areas of history, archaeology, epigraphy, art, and burial assemblages of the period.

Aidan Dodson deliberates on chronological issues of the early Kushite state by re-examining the identity of Osorkon IV and related monuments. His paper gives a historical and cultural introduction to the Kushite Period and the whole volume.

The papers of the General Director of the Middle Area of the West Bank Fathy Yaseen Abd el Karim, and Chief Inspector of the Middle Area Ramadan Ahmed Ali, open a large section in the volume dedicated to different aspects of research and fieldwork in the Theban necropolis. They concern the preservation and development of the necropolis, an incredibly important matter which assumed a new dimension after the demolition of the Qurna villages and clearing of the area being undertaken by the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) teams. Numerous tombs found under the houses need immediate safety measures to be applied as well as archaeological and research attention. The conservation, preservation, and recording of the elite tombs in the area are amongst the most relevant issues in the Theban necropolis today.

David Aston and Anthony Leahy examine the royal burials of Thebes and Abydos. Both papers present a remarkably large number of burials related to the royal families of the First Millennium BC. This time period in the Theban necropolis is traditionally associated with elite tombs, with the royal monuments often neglected. Research on the royal aspect of these sites provides a deeper perspective to the study of the elite tombs of the period.

The papers on the elite tombs of the Theban necropolis address a variety of aspects of work in this group of monuments such as archaeology, conservation, epigraphy, and burial assemblages, as well as relevant issues as archaism and innovations of the decoration and interconnections between the tombs of different parts of the necropolis. The areas of archaeology and conservation of the necropolis are presented by the papers of the Director of the SACP Elena Pischikova, and its leading conservator Abdelrazk Mohamed Ali. These papers give a summary of the re-discovery, excavation, conservation, reconstruction, and mapping work done in the tombs of Karakhamun (TT 223) and Karabasken (TT 391) over a period of eight years, with emphasis on the 2012 and 2013 seasons. This section is complemented by a paper on the fieldwork in another “forgotten” tomb of the South Asasif necropolis, Ramose (TT 132), by Christian Greco. The archaeological work in the South Asasif necropolis has resulted in the uncovering and reconstruction of a large amount of new architectural, epigraphic, and artistic information, some of which is presented in this volume for the first time.

The new project in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), undertaken by Louise Gestermann and Farouk Gomaà, is another invaluable piece of information which, together with the work of Greco in the tomb of Ramose, and Molinero Polo in the tomb of Karakhamun, modifies our understanding of Kushite and early Saite burial compartments and their semantics within the tomb complex. The paper on the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs of el-Khokha by Gábor Schreiber widens our perception of the geographic disbursement of Kushite tombs in the Theban necropolis. The amount of intrusive Twenty-fifth Dynasty burials within the primarily New Kingdom site of el-Khokha gives confidence that we may expect similar results from the numerous Qurna missions. Special attention paid to such intrusive burials in different areas may build a solid basis for our better understanding of Kushite presence and activities in Thebes in the future.

The epigraphical studies of Kenneth Griffin, Miguel Molinero Polo, and Erhart Graefe within the tomb of Karakhamun, and Isabelle Régen in the tomb of Padiamenope, concern the reflection of tradition and innova-

tions in the texts of the Book of the Dead, the Amduat, the Book of the Gates, and the Ritual of the Hours of the Day, as well as their new architectural and contextual environment. The comparative research of these texts in different tombs will eventually lead to a better understanding of the reasons for selections of certain traditional texts, reasons for their adjustments, as well as their interpretations in the new contexts of temple tombs of the period.

Although Kushite and Saite tombs demonstrate a rich variety of architectural, textual, and decorative material they are all interconnected by certain aspects and concepts. The next group of papers by Silvia Einaudi, Filip Coppens, Robert Morkot, Aleksandra Hallmann, and Carola Koch concern such aspects, relevant to most of the monuments. Silvia Einaudi raises the incredibly important question of interconnections and inter-influences between the tombs of the Theban necropolis, origins of certain patterns and traditions within the necropolis, and their transmissions from tomb to tomb. Filip Coppens and Aleksandra Hallmann concentrate on smaller elements of the tomb complexes, such as a piece of garment or a single architectural feature, to track it within a group of monuments. Thus, Coppens traces similarities and differences in the Sun Court decoration in different tombs, its connection with the temple concept, and discusses its symbolic and ritual meaning in temple tombs. Robert Morkot discusses the sources and chronological developments of archaism in royal and elite monuments. Carola Koch addresses the Saite approach to Kushite monuments by re-examining the phenomenon of the erasure of Kushite names during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

A large group of papers on the burial assemblages and other finds in elite tombs enrich and expend the discussion of the burial complexes of the First Millennium BC. Eltayeb Abbas, Simone Musso and Simone Petacchi, Cynthia Sheikholeslami, and Alessia Amenta discuss the issues of construction techniques, workshops, and iconography of coffin decoration and its ritual meaning. Julia Budka and Salima Ikram discuss finds in the tomb of Karakhamun. Budka analyses Kushite pottery found in the burial compartment and its usage in a Twenty-fifth Dynasty temple tomb, while Ikram remarks on the faunal material from the First Pillared Hall. Kate Gosford broadens the boundaries of the discussion with some burial assemblages from Saqqara.

The last section of the volume is dedicated to the new archaeological research at Karnak presented by Nadia Licitra, Christophe Thiers, Pierre Zignani, Laurent Coulon, Aurélia Masson, Stéphanie Boulet, and Catherine Defernez. Their papers concern different areas of the temple complex such as the temple of Ptah, the Treasury of Shabaqo, the “palace”

of the God's Wife Ankhnesneferibre in Naga Malgata, and offering magazines as well as the new evidence of ceramic production at Karnak in the chapel of Osiris Wennefer. Another Karnak paper introduces a new technology, with Elizabeth Frood and Kathryn Howley describing the use of Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) as a means of studying graffiti at the site.

Most of the information included into this volume is being published for the first time. We feel that the research presented here brings together a range of current studies on royal and elite monuments of the period, putting them into a wider context and filling some gaps in First Millennium BC scholarship. This time period is still one of the least researched and published area of study in Egyptology despite the numerous recent developments in field exploration and research. The present volume offers a discussion of the First Millennium BC monuments and sites in all their complexity. Such aspects of research as tomb and temple architecture, epigraphy, artistic styles, iconography, palaeography, local workshops, and burial assemblages collected in this publication give a new perspective to the future exploration of these aspects and topics. We hope that the present volume will inspire new comparative studies on the topics discussed and bring First Millennium BC scholarship to a new level.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the Minister of Antiquities Mohamed Ibrahim and the Ministry of State for Antiquities for their support in organising the conference “Thebes in the First Millennium BC” in Luxor in October 2012 and permission to work in the South Asasif necropolis. We are grateful for the support our Egyptian-American team, the South Asasif Conservation Project, has received over the years from Dr. Mohamed Ismail Khaled, Director of the Department of Foreign Missions MSA, Dr. Mansour Boraik, Director General of Luxor Antiquities until 2013; Ibrahim Soliman, Director of Luxor Antiquities; Dr. Mohamed Abd el Aziz, General Director for the West Bank of Luxor; Fathy Yassen Abd el Kerim, Director of the Middle Area; Ramadan Ahmed Ali, Chief Inspector of the Middle Area; Ahmed Ali Hussein Ali, SCA Chief Conservator and Director of the Conservation Department of Upper Egypt; Afaf Fathalla, General Director of the Conservation Department of Upper Egypt; the MSA conservation team; and all our team members and volunteers. We are very grateful to our sponsors, IKG Cultural Resources, directed by Anthony Browder (USA), and the South Asasif Conservation Trust, directed by John Billman (UK). Without all this help and support we would not have been able to accomplish the field work and research included in the present volume.

Special thanks to the participants of the conference, particularly to our Luxor colleagues Nadia Licitra, Christophe Thiers, Pierre Zignani, Laurent Coulon, Claude Traunecker, Isabelle Régen, Louise Gestermann, and Farouk Gomaà who showed their sites to the participants.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

THE QUARTER OF THE DIVINE ADORATRICES AT KARNAK (NAGA MALGATA) DURING THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY: SOME HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL

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Abstract: The residential quarter of the Divine Adoratrices at Karnak has been recently more accurately identified to the north of the enclosure of Amun and to the west of the enclosure of Montu, in the area of the modern village of Naga Malgata. Although now mostly destroyed, a large building of Ankhnesneferibre, interpreted as a “palace”, can be partially reconstructed from archival documents. Several hitherto unpublished inscribed blocks of the same date, seen on the art market in the 1930s or kept in various museums, probably come from this area. They provide evidence of the reverence in which Ankhnesneferibre held the “dynastic lineage” of her predecessors in the office of Divine Adoratrice.

At Karnak, the Osiris chapels built by the Saite god’s wives of Amun Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre are now the most visible remains of their constructions.¹ However, an important part of their building activity took

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¹ See Christophe 1951, 29–48; Coulon and Defernez 2004; Traunecker 2010; Coulon 2011b.

place to the north of the enclosure of Amun and to the west of the enclosure of Montu. In this area, now covered by the modern village of Naga Malgata,² Twenty-sixth Dynasty remains were found in the 1920s, including a “columned building” of Nitocris decorated with scenes showing the induction of the God’s Wife³ and a large edifice of Ankhnesneferibre.⁴ Though poorly documented at the time of its discovery and now mostly destroyed, the latter building could be partially reconstructed from archival documents dating from the first half of the twentieth century.⁵ This reconstruction led us to identify it as Ankhnesneferibre’s residence and the whole area as the quarter of the god’s wives, which was probably also the living place of the members of her administration and her female followers.⁶ Unfortunately, the inscribed material found by Pillet in Ankhnesneferibre’s building was very scarce. However, several documents can be added to this body of epigraphic evidence, if we take into account the numerous inscribed blocks sold on the art market soon after the discovery of this monument. In this paper, I aim to present several hitherto unknown reliefs which, although their exact provenance cannot be ascertained, were found in all probability in Naga Malgata, in or around the building found by Pillet. They shed new light on the theological framework and dynastic ideology of the institution of the God’s Wife at the time of Ankhnesneferibre.

I. Reconstructing the Quarter of the Divine Adoratrices

From the Third Intermediate Period until the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the residence of the Divine Adoratrice and her entourage is rarely mentioned in the Theban documentation. The Kushite stela of Ankh-Osorkon mentions the construction of the palace (*pr*) of Amenirdis I,

² That is “the place where things (i.e. antiquities) are picked up”.

³ Christophe 1951, 97–112; Koch 2012a, 52–53, 131–133. Additional views of the reliefs are kept in the Archives Clère at the Griffith Institute, in the Archives Varille at the University of Milan, and at the Centre Golénischeff in Paris. See Coulon and Laisney forthcoming, figs. 52–68.

⁴ It was erroneously identified as the temple of Osiris *Pameres* by Pillet 1925, 19–23, a view already challenged by Dewachter 1979, 12–15.

⁵ A full publication of these documents and a detailed historiographical and archaeological study of the Saite buildings at Naga Malgata will appear in Coulon and Laisney forthcoming. The first part of the present contribution is a short summary of the main results of this article.

⁶ On this staff, see Graefe 1981; Koch 2012a.

which is located on the divine ground (*s3tw-ntr*), in its northern part.⁷ Another major source is the autobiographical text of Ibi, carved on his stelophorous statue (Cairo JE 36158).⁸ Through this inscription, we learn that, in year 26 of the reign of Psamtek I, Ibi was appointed by this king to be Chief Steward of his daughter Nitocris and to restore the estate of the God's Wife in Thebes, which had "fallen into ruin". Here are some of the constructions referred to by Ibi:⁹

(20) "I built her (Nitocris) *wabet* on the south side of the house of the Harem of Amun, as an eternal construction, with everything [...] (21) . . . (made of) gold within it. I built her house in the pure domain of her father Amun, being what her father Re did for her in the primordial occasion: 100 cubits in length (lit. in height), 100 cubits in width (22) . . . (23) . . . I built a temple beside it for her lord Osiris Wennefer in excellent construction, with her lord in it [...] (24) like Re in his mountain".

The exact locations of Nitocris' constructions are not given in the inscription in its current state of preservation. However, as Ibi is depicted on the reliefs of Nitocris' "columned building" at Naga Malgata and those found reused nearby in the Ptolemaic "temple haut" in the sanctuary of Amun-Re-Montu,¹⁰ the area of Naga Malgata was therefore considered as a good candidate.¹¹ A re-examination of the other Saite remains discovered by Pillet in 1924 has led us to confirm this view. When the French archaeologist first visited the site, the *sebbakhin* had just exposed on the edge of the village a very large building with mud-brick walls and stone doorjamb. The building could be reliably dated, as a lintel found in situ is inscribed with Ankhesneferibre's cartouche.¹² In Pillet's report, only one photograph of the building was published,¹³ with no plan, and this is probably the reason why this building has received only little attention, particularly as it was later almost completely destroyed.¹⁴ However, the relatively precise description of the building given by Pillet can be used together with hitherto unexploited photographs taken at the time of the discovery (fig. 29-1), and several aerial views (RAF 1921, IGN 1964), among other documents. These archives allowed Damien Laisney, topog-

⁷ Chicago, Oriental Institute 12149. See recently Koch 2012a, 53.

⁸ Graefe 1994.

⁹ Lines 20–24; see Graefe 1994, 91; Ritner 2009, 591–592.

¹⁰ Christophe 1951, 105, 119.

¹¹ Graefe 1994, 98.

¹² Pillet 1925, 21–22.

¹³ Pillet 1925, pl. VII.

¹⁴ Coulon 2011a, 39, fig. 34.

rapher at the CNRS, and myself to propose a partial reconstruction of the plan of the building of Ankhnesneferibre in its context (fig. 29-2). Its most important feature is certainly the large columned courtyard, which occupies the main part of the building. The main entrance was on the west side, this axis being marked by a succession of three granite thresholds. There was also a gateway on the north side (fig. 29-1) and the presence of a large granite threshold in the southern part of the building indicates that an access also existed from the south. The enclosure wall, which was well preserved on its east side, is particularly large and high. In any case, this building differs architecturally from the temples of this period and would have been more appropriately defined as a palace.¹⁵ Several features of this building can be put forward to support this interpretation, such as the casemated platform, square and asymmetrical plan, large columned hall,¹⁶ although each of them taken separately is not necessary critical.



Fig. 29-1: The building of Ankhnesneferibre at Naga Malgata, seen from the north in 1924 (photograph M. Pillet © Archives Pillet, MOM, Lyon).

¹⁵ For Late Period palaces, see recently Pagliari 2010.

¹⁶ See the structure of the palace of Apries at Memphis surveyed by Kemp 1977.

Actually, there is a striking similarity between the configuration of Ankhnesneferibre's building at Naga Malgata and the description of the palace (*pr*) of Nitocris by Ibi. The dimensions of Ankhnesneferibre's square building (approx. 53 x 53m) fit perfectly the dimensions of Nitocris' palace (100 x 100 cubits). Ibi describes Nitocris' house as "being what her father Re did for her in the primordial occasion", which would imply that there was an archetypal plan for the God's Wife's house. Therefore, it can be supposed that Ankhnesneferibre either renewed Nitocris' house or built a new palace of her own on the same model.

Ibi also mentions the construction of an Osiris chapel in the immediate vicinity of Nitocris' house. If the same configuration was adopted at the time of her successor, the chapel of Osiris Wennefer and Osiris *Pameres*, whose gate was found in the area, might have been built next to her palace.

As for the so-called "columned building of Nitocris",¹⁷ its identification as the *wabet* mentioned by Ibi remains uncertain, but very plausible.¹⁸ The location of this *wabet* "on the south side of the house of the Harem of Amun" is worth noting. The Harem of Amun was composed by the "recluses" and female musicians who were at the service of the Divine Adoratrice.¹⁹ It seems logical that the palace of the Divine Adoratrice and the harem were part of the same quarter. If the "columned building" is the *wabet*, then this would lead to the conclusion that the Harem of Amun was settled in the northern part of Naga Malgata. Using the plan given in the *Description de l'Égypte* and those published by Wilkinson, Lepsius, and others, we were able to reconstruct partially the surroundings of the buildings of Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre, including some gates and buildings (i.e. "Ruines du nord") seen at the beginning of the nineteenth century and now destroyed. Additional data on this sector have been brought to light by the archaeological survey led by Brock in the Naga Malgata area during the operations carried out by the Luxor Dewatering Project in 2003–2004.²⁰ Not far from the ruins recorded in the nineteenth century, remains of Kushite buildings in situ (including a colonnade inscribed with the names of the god's wives) have been identified in the foundations of the modern houses, which give precious indications on the extension of the quarter of the Divine Adoratrices as early as the twenty-fifth dynasty.

¹⁷ Its orientation is similar to the building of Ankhnesneferibre but their gates are not exactly on the same axis.

¹⁸ Koch 2012a, 53.

¹⁹ See Yoyotte 1961; Koch 2012a.

²⁰ Brock [2004].

II. Some Unpublished Reliefs of Ankhnesneferibre

As for the epigraphic material found by Pillet in the building of Ankhnesneferibre, it only includes a lintel and some fragments of door-jambs. However, the origin of several other inscribed blocks can reasonably be ascribed to this area, as they share common features with those found in situ and appeared on the art market soon after the discovery of Pillet. Most of this hitherto unpublished material was recorded by Jacques Jean Clère and is only accessible through his “Fiches Antiquaires” and archives kept in the Griffith Institute and the Louvre. In 1935, Clère spent several weeks in Thebes, taking photos and recording monuments related to the god’s wives of Amun and their followers, on behalf of Mme Gauthier-Laurent, who was preparing a thesis on this subject. At the same time, he would also take many photographs of objects, which were sold by art dealers in Luxor. Few of them eventually found their way in museums. Most of the reliefs presented here were recorded as they were in possession of the antiquary Mahmoud Mohasseb, whose family had long-established connexions with illegal diggers working around Karnak-North.²²

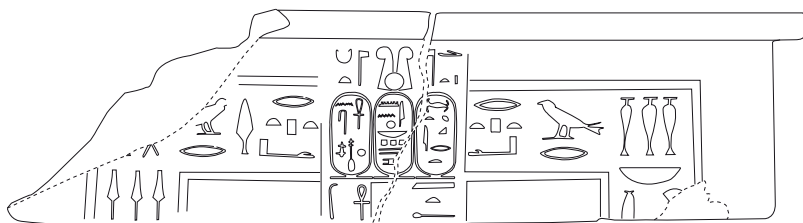


Fig. 29-3: Lintel Clère ANT 35/Mohasseb 4 (author’s drawing after Clère’s photographs and handcopy).

Doc. 1: Lintel Clère ANT 35/Mohasseb 4

The full publication of this block is given elsewhere (fig. 29-3).²³ However, the similarity of this lintel with the one found by Pillet in the building of Ankhnesneferibre²⁴ is worth mentioning here, as it advocates a similar provenance of the other reliefs of Ankhnesneferibre sold by Mohasseb. Whereas the lintel found by Pillet shows a central cartouche with the name

²² Dewachter 1979, 23–25; Coulon and Laisney forthcoming.

²³ Coulon and Laisney forthcoming, fig. 42.

²⁴ Pillet 1925, 21–22.

of Ankhnesneferibre, this one reads: “beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands”.²⁵

Doc. 2a: Lintel Clère ANT 35/Mohasseb 3

References: Unpublished. See Clère’s “Fiches Antiquaires” ANT-35 (“était M3”) - Louvre, DAE (original) and Griffith Institute, Mss Clère 04.01 (xerox copy). (description, transcription). Photo print: Mss Clère 14.04. Négatifs Clère A4/16, /17 and /18.

Provenance: Unknown. Seen by J. J. Clère at Mohasseb’s shop in Luxor in 1935.

Dimensions: (After J. J. Clère): 129 x 47.5cm.

Material: Sandstone.

Description: On each side of a central panel composed of three feathered cartouches, each above a *serekh*, two scenes show the God’s Wife playing the sistra in front of Khonsu (left), falcon-headed and wearing the solar-disc, and Atum (right), human-headed and wearing the double crown; the two gods are seated on a throne before a table laden with offerings (fig. 29-4).

Painting: Traces of colours recorded by J. J. Clère: red stripes on the feathers of the cartouches. Hieroglyphs *jb*, *nfr*, *r*^c, *nst* coloured in red. Crown of Lower Egypt (in the double crown of Atum) also painted in red.

Central panel:

Left: (*dw3t-ntr ꜥnh.n.s-nfr-jb-Rꜥ*) – “(The Divine Adoratrice Ankhnesneferibre)”

Right: (*s3t drt-ntr Nt-jqrt*) – “(Daughter of the God’s Hand, Nitocris)”

Middle: (*mr(y) Jmn-Rꜥ nb nswt t3wy*) – “(Beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two lands)”

Left scene:

Label: *jrt s[š]šty* [. . .] – “Playing the sistra [. . .]”.

The Divine Adoratrice: *dw3t-ntr (ꜥnh.n.s-nfr-jb-Rꜥ) <s3t> drt-ntr (Nt-jqrt) m3ꜥt-hrw hr Ws[jr . . .]* – “The Divine Adoratrice (Ankhnesneferibre), <daughter of> the God’s Hand (Nitocris), justified in the presence of Os[iris . . .]”.

Khonsu: *Hnsw-m-W3st Nfr-htp* – “Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep”
dd mdw dj.n.<i> n.t ꜥnh w3s nb – “Words spoken: <I> have given to you all life and dominion”.

²⁵ On the name of Amun in a cartouche, see the commentary on Doc. 2a-b.

dd mdw dj.n.<i> n.t dd w3s nb – “Words spoken: <I> have given to you all stability and dominion”.

dd mdw dj.n.<i> n.t snb nb – “Words spoken: <I> have given to you all health”.

Right scene:

Label: *jrt sššty* [. . .] – “Playing the sistra [. . .]”

The Divine Adatrice: *dw3t-ntr* (*ḥn̄.n.s-nfr-jb-R*) *s3t dṛt-ntr* (*Nt-jqrt*) *hr Wsjr wn-nfr* – “The Divine Adatrice (Ankhesneferibre), daughter of the God’s Hand (Nitocris), <justified> in the presence of Osiris Wennefer”.

Atum: *Jtm nb ʔwy Jwn{t}<w>*: “Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and Heliopolis”.²⁶

dd mdw dj.n.<i> n.t ḥn̄ w3s nb – “Words spoken: <I> have given to you all life and dominion”.

dd mdw dj.n.<i> n.t dd w3s nb – “Words spoken: <I> have given to you all stability and dominion”.

dd mdw dj.n.<i> n.t <s>nb²⁷ nb – “Words spoken: <I> have given to you all health”.

Doc. 2b. Lintel Mougins Museum of Classical Art nr. 4

References: Catalogue “*Antiquities*”. *Christie’s London*. 25 October 2007, nr. 46, p. 32 (with photograph); Clayton 2011, 48, fig. 29.

Provenance: Unknown. The sale catalogue gives the following indication: “Australian Private Collection, acquired prior to the present’s owner arrival in Australia in the late 1940s”.

Dimensions: 75 x 52cm.

Material: Sandstone.

Description: Same structure as Doc. 2a, but only the right part of the central panel and the right scene are preserved. The God’s Wife is presenting Maat to Atum, seated on a throne before a table laden with offerings. A situla is depicted under the table (fig. 29-4).

Painting: Many traces of colours are preserved. On the side of the throne, a *sema*-sign is painted in white on red. The *w3s* motif on the base of the throne is hardly visible. The feathers of the cartouches are decorated with red vertical stripes.

²⁶ On this epithet of Atum, see Mysliwiec 1979, 88–97; *LGG* III, 778a–779a.

²⁷ The *s* is replaced by the top of the *w3s*-sceptre.

Central panel:**Left:** Destroyed.**Middle:** (*dw3t-ntr Šp-n-wpt*) – “(The Divine Adoratrice Shepenwepet)”**Right:** (*dw3t-ntr Jmn-jr-dj.s*) – “(The Divine Adoratrice Amenirdis)”**Left scene:** Destroyed.**Right scene:****Label:** *hnk* [. . .] *n* [. . .] – “[Pres]enting (?) [Maat] to [...]”**The Divine Adoratrice:** *dw3t-ntr (ḥnh.n.s-nfr-jb-Rḥ) s3t-nsw (Psmṯk) ḥh[.tj] m[j] Rḥ dt* – “The Divine Adoratrice (Ankhnesneferibre), royal daughter of (Psamtek) (II), may [she] live [li]ke Re eternally”.**Atum:** [*Jt*]*m nb 3wy Jwnw* – “[At]um, Lord of the Two Lands and Heliopolis”.*dd mdw dj.n.<i> n.t ḥnh w3s nb* – “Words spoken: <I> have given to you all life and dominion”.*dd mdw dj.n.<i> n.t snb nb* – “Words spoken: <I> have given to you all health”.*dd mdw dj.n.<i> n.t 3wt-jb nb* – “Words spoken: <I> have given to you all joy”.**Commentary:**

In Doc. 2a, the name of Amun is inscribed in the central cartouche, surrounded by the names of Ankhnesneferibre and her adoptive mother.²⁸ Divine cartouches with the name of Amun are found on Theban monuments as early as the New Kingdom, but become more frequent from the Third Intermediate Period.²⁹ As far as the monuments of the god’s wives are concerned, they are attested on bronze statuettes of Amun³⁰ and on several loose or reused blocks found in Karnak.³¹

In Doc. 2b, the cartouches contain the names of deceased Divine Adoratrices. If reading from left to right, the following succession can be restored: [Nitocris] – Shepenwepet (II) – Amenirdis (I), as the same sequence of cartouches is attested on a block from Karnak-North.³² If we adopt the same reading order than in Doc 2a, an alternative restoration is:

²⁸ For a similar composition, see Doc. 1 (Clère-ANT 35/Mohasseb 4).

²⁹ See e.g. Traunecker 1993, 85–86, fig. 2; *LD Text* III, 42. For further references, see Assmann 1995, 148–149.

³⁰ E.g. London BM EA 60042 (= PM VIII/2, 802-002-610); see also Leclant 1961, 80.

³¹ Block Karnak, Cheikh Labib 93CL634 (unpublished); block reused in the quay at Karnak-North (Varille 1943, 1, pl. III, 3).

³² Christophe 1951, 47 [nr. 3]. See also el-Nubi and Gabolde 1998, 29–30.

[Shepenwepet II] (left) – Amenirdis (I) (right) – Shepenwepet (I) (middle).³³ In any case, we have here the dynastic lineage of the living God's Wife. Furthermore, in Doc. 2a, the epithet of Nitocris, "justified in the presence of Osiris Wennefer",³⁴ emphasises the position of Ankhesneferibre as heiress.

The gods who are depicted in the scenes on each side of the central panel of the lintels are Atum and Khonsu (at least in Doc 2a). In Thebes, Atum and Montu are the gods who are in charge of leading the king or the Divine Adoratrices into the temple,³⁵ "signifying his [/her] recognition by the chief solar deities of Lower and Upper Egypt",³⁶ before he/she receives the royal crown from Amun-Re. However, occasionally, Khonsu would replace Montu,³⁷ and we can assume that this is the case here, which would explain his representation as a falcon-headed god wearing the solar disc. Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep is a manifestation of Khonsu-Re, a combination well attested in Theban Temples.³⁸ This solar Khonsu stands as a Theban counterpart to the Heliopolitan god Atum,³⁹ and, from an iconographical point of view, the association of the two gods is strongly reminiscent of the parallelism, frequently encountered on Theban monuments, between Atum and Re-Horakhty.⁴⁰ In any case, the presence of

³³ See Medinet Habu, PM II², 479 (37) (and the corrections by Koch 2012a, 160; but a reliable edition of the texts is still needed): Nitocris makes offerings in front of Shepenwepet II, Amenirdis I, and Shepenwepet I (partly hidden by the perpendicular wall). Traces of the name of Nitocris, king's daughter of Psamtek I, are still legible; see also PM II², 479 (41, II); Koch 2012a, 160–161: Nitocris makes offerings to Shepenwepet II, whose genealogy is traced back to Shepenwepet I; the statue base London BM EA 713 also shows the cartouches of Shepenwepet II and her adoptive mother and grandmother, Amenirdis I and Shepenwepet I. See Jansen-Winkeln 2009, 334 [51.128].

³⁴ For such additions, see the inscriptions of the funerary chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu: *m3't-hrw hr Wsjr* (Daressy 1901, 10).

³⁵ Myśliwiec 1979, 223–224.

³⁶ Klotz 2012, 150.

³⁷ Myśliwiec 1982, 285–286; see for instance a scene showing Seti I being led into the temple by Khonsu and Atum on the west wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall (Nelson 1981, pl. 149).

³⁸ Cf. Dégardin 2000; on "Khonsu-Re, Lord of Thebes", see also Klotz 2012, 99–100.

³⁹ Cf. for instance, the similar appearance of Re-Horakhty-Atum in Myśliwiec 1979, 71.

⁴⁰ Cf. Myśliwiec 1983.

these two gods can only be explained here through the theological context of the induction of the God's Wife⁴¹ or its commemoration.

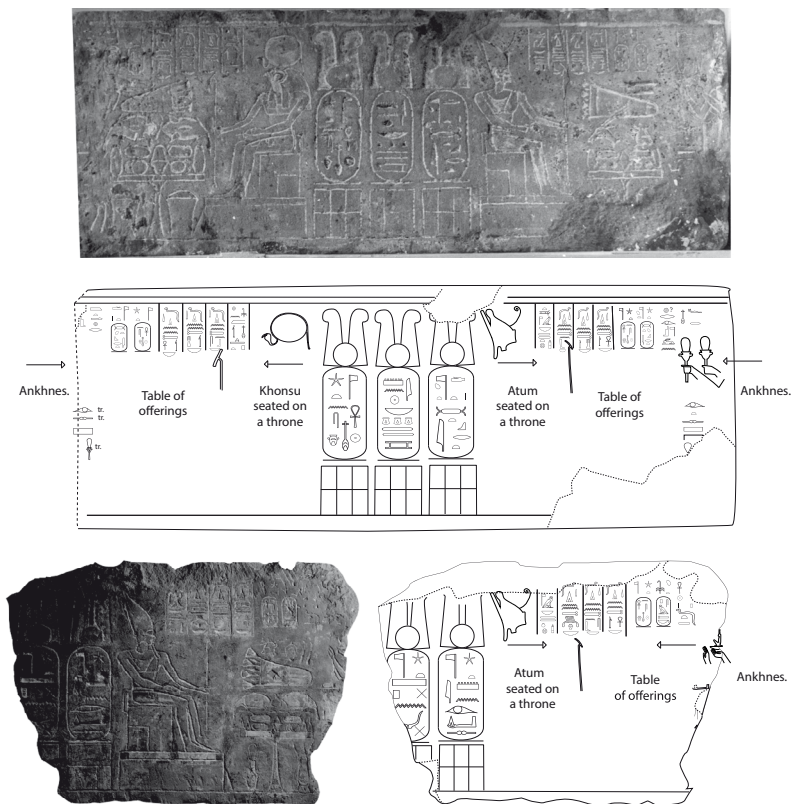


Fig. 29-4: Doc. 2a–b: Reliefs Clère ANT 35/Mohasseb 3 (photo J. J. Clère, courtesy Oxford, Griffith Institute; author's drawing after Clère's photo and handcopy) and Mougins, MMCA nr. 4 (photo courtesy MMCA; author's drawing after photo and personal collation).

⁴¹ A brief account of Ankhnesneferibre's induction, which took place after the death of Nitocris in 586 BC, is given in the so-called "Adoption Stela", for which see Leahy 1996.

Doc. 3. Block Clère ANT 35/Mohasseb 1

References: Unpublished. See Clère's "Fiches Antiquaires" ANT-35 ("était M1") – Louvre, DAE, and Griffith Institute, Mss Clère 04.01. (description, transcription, photos). Négatifs Clère A3/10 and 11 (poor quality but including the lower fragment in its right place) and C78/42 (here fig. 29-5).

Dimensions: 48 x 46cm (in two fragments).

Material: Sandstone.

Description: On the left, the God's Wife, wearing the modius supporting a vulture protecting the two *uraei*, is seated on a throne, holding an *ankh* in the left hand; the right half of the scene is destroyed. To the right, there is a column of inscription of larger size, and, further right, a feathered cartouche facing left, above a *nwb*-sign.

Painting: No traces recorded.

Left scene:

The Divine Adoratrice: *dw3t-nt[r]* (*ḥnḥ.n.s-nfr-jb-Rḥ*) *ḥnḥ.tj s3t drt-ntr (Nt-jqrt) m3ḥt-[hrw]* – "The Divine Adoratrice (Ankhesneferibre), may she live, daughter of the God's Hand (Nitocris), just[ified]".

Column of text: *dj.n.<ṯ> n.t ḥnḥ w3s nb snb nb 3wt-jb nb mj Rḥ [d]t* – "I (Amun?) have given to you all life and dominion, all health, all joy like Re [for]ever".

Cartouche: (*mry Jmn-Rḥ nswt ntrw*) – "(Beloved of Amun-Re, King of the Gods)".

Commentary:

In the left scene, the God's Wife is seated and a rite is probably performed in front of her.⁴² As for the cartouche of "Amun-Re, King of the Gods", this form of Amun is usually paired with another one, "Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands".⁴³ The two names occur in symmetrical cartouches on a cornice inscribed with the name of Nitocris.⁴⁴

⁴² Cf. e.g. Nitocris seated in front of a table of offerings in the "columned building" at Naga Malgata. Cf. Christophe 1951, 105–106; Coulon and Laisney forthcoming, fig. 63.

⁴³ Traunecker 2010, 178. See also the two symmetrical scenes in the arc of the stela recording the adoption of Ankhesneferibre (Leahy 1996, 148).

⁴⁴ Cornice Karnak, Cheikh Labib, without number (Christophe 1951, 124 [nr. 27]; Coulon and Laisney forthcoming, fig. 66). For an earlier attestation, see Varille 1950, 252.

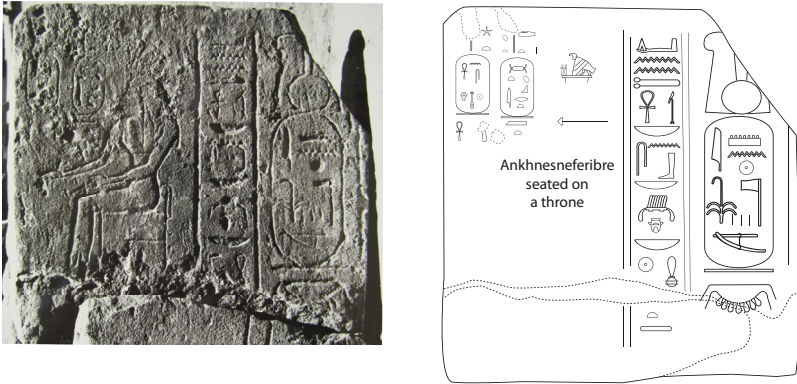


Fig. 29-5: Doc. 3 – Lintel (?) Clère ANT35/Mohasseb 1
(photo J. J. Clère, courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford; author's drawing
after Clère's photos and handcopy).

Doc. 4a. Stela London BM EA 1744

References: PM VIII/3, 803-079-750; Simpson 1982, 233–234, fig. 2.

Provenance: “Acquired in 1931 from the stock of the then recently deceased Mohammed Mohasseb, the well know antiquary from Luxor” (Simpson 1982, 234).

Dimensions: Height: 143cm; width: 51cm; thickness: 10cm (source: British Museum Database).

Material: Sandstone.

Description: Ankhneseferibre, on the left, receives life from Nephthys, on the right, under the protection of a vulture with outstretched wings, holding two *shen*-rings (fig. 29-7).

The Divine Adoratrice: *dw3t-ntr* (*ʕnh.n.s-nfr-jb-Rʕ*) *ʕnh.tj* - The Divine Adoratrice (Ankhneseferibre), may she live!

Nephthys: *Nbt-hwt nb<t> pt* – Nephthys, Mistress of Meaven.

Doc. 4b. Stela Clère ANT 35/Mohasseb, without number

References: Letter of J. J. Clère to Mrs Gauthier-Laurent – 19 May 1935 (Griffith Institute, Mss Clère 14.04; excerpt copied by J. J. Clère on one of

his “Fiches Antiquaires” ANT-35, kept at the DAE, Louvre) with sketch.⁴⁵ Clère mentions that the stela is broken in two fragments. We suppose that the lower part is the fragment Boston MFA 1981.3, for which see PM VIII/3, 803-079-200; Simpson 1982, 231–232, 234–235, fig. 1; Simpson, in Brovarski ed, 1987, 62–63.

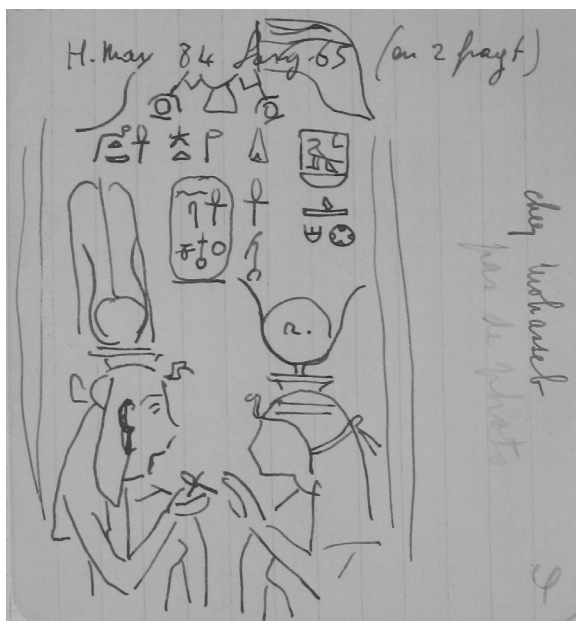


Fig. 29-6: Doc 4b – Stela ANT 35/Mohasseb, without number (sketch by J. J. Clère. Courtesy Musée du Louvre, DAE).

Dimensions: Clère: max. height: 84cm; width: 65cm[?]; Boston, MFA 1981.3: height: 51cm; width: 53.8cm. We suppose that the width given by Clère is erroneous; as a matter of fact, it does not fit the proportions of his drawing.

Material: Sandstone

⁴⁵ Contrary to his habit, Clère only made a rough drawing of the monument and could not take any photograph, as he himself explains: “Jeudi soir, à Louxor, je suis allé chez Mohasseb — j’ai pu copier (croquis) le dernier fragment des D[ivines] A[doratrices], qui se trouve dans la partie fermée de son magasin. Je n’avais pas mon Leica et comme Mahmoud préférerait prendre le frais sur sa porte, plutôt que rester debout dans son magasin, il n’a pas voulu attendre que j’aie chercher mon appareil”.

Description: Ankhnesneferibre, on the left, receives life from Hathor Nebethetepet, on the right, under the outstretched wings of a vulture holding two *shen*-rings (figs. 29-6–7).

Painting: Red colour on the solar-disc of Hathor (Clère).

The Divine Adoratrice: *dw3t-ntr* (*nh.n.s-nfr-jb-R*) *nh<.tj> dt* – “The Divine Adoratrice (Ankhnesneferibre) may <she> live eternally”.

Nebethetepet: *Nbt-hꜣpt dj<ꜣ> nh w3s* – “Nebethetepet, who gives life and dominion”.

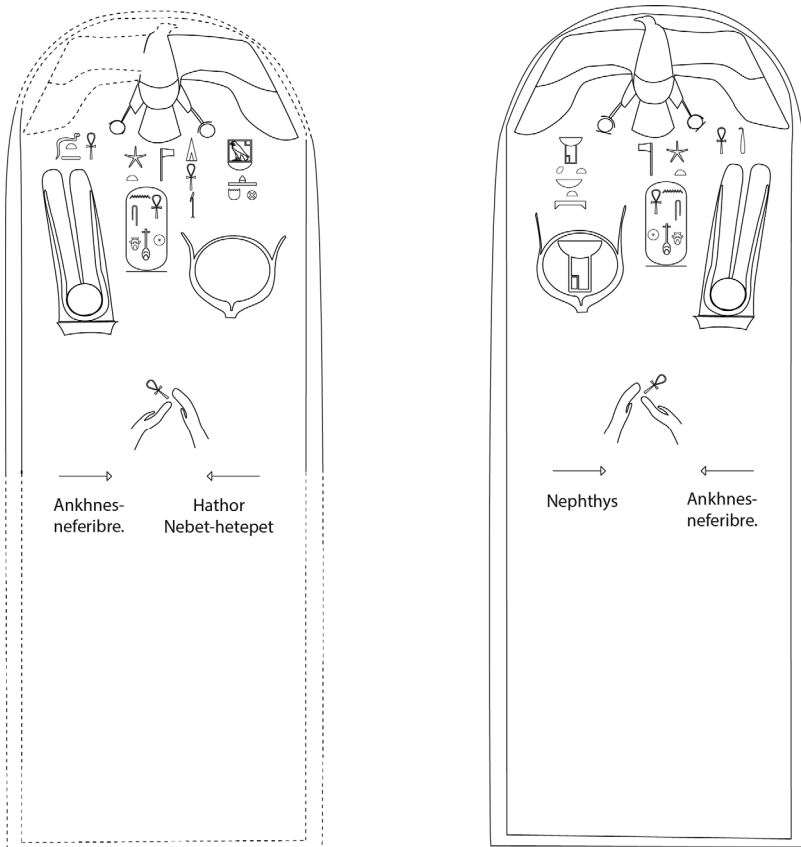


Fig. 29-7: Doc. 4a–b – Schematic reconstruction of the stela Clère ANT35/Mohasseb, without number (b, left), and London BM EA 1744 (a, right). (author’s drawing after Clère’s sketch and the photograph published in Simpson 1982, 233, fig. 2).

Commentary:

These stelae were both sold by the antiquaries Mohasseb and sons in the 1930s, which may advocate a common provenance. In its publication of the Boston fragment, Simpson has suggested a connexion between the two documents, but could not go further. Clère's drawing allows us to propose that both monuments were originally erected together.

A scene showing a goddess giving life to the God's Wife Ankhnesneferibre is also attested in the so-called Chapel of Osiris Lord of Eternity-*neheh*, where the representation of Isis, bearing the Hathoric headdress, is symmetrical to Harsiese's one.⁴⁶ As for Doc. 4b, the connection of the God's Wife with the Heliopolitan goddess Hathor-Nebethetepet is not difficult to explain: the latter is well known as the God's Hand of Atum, and, as such, is the divine counterpart to the Divine Adoratrice of Amun.⁴⁷ The presence of Nephthys is more difficult to explain, unless we consider that there was originally a group of (4?) stelae, including a representation of her sister Isis. In this case, one can imagine that these stelae would have been erected as "frontier-stelae" around a sacred area.

Conclusion

The reliefs published in this paper are and will certainly remain without certain provenance. However, it can be reasonably argued that they were found in the quarter of the Divine Adoratrices, and more specifically, in the area of the "palace" of Ankhnesneferibre. Several facts support this assumption: most of them were sold by the same antiquary, Mahmoud Mohasseb, whose family was known to fund illegal excavations in the area of Naga Malgata; among the blocks, a lintel is very similar from a stylistic and epigraphic point of view to the one found in situ by M. Pillet; finally, the decoration of the reliefs has little to do with the Osiris chapels or the funerary monuments built by the god's wives at Karnak and Medinet Habu; it is mostly centred on the God's Wife and her relation to Amun and the Heliopolitan gods. Primarily, it refers to the rites of the induction of the God's Wife and her role as the occupant of the "throne of Tefnut",⁴⁸

⁴⁶ PM II², 192 B, 1, d.; cf. Traunecker 2010, 160 [nr. 10], figs. 4–5.

⁴⁷ Koch 2012a, 65 with references; Shepenwepet II and Hathor Nebethetepet are depicted on a fragment of intercolumnar wall found in the village of Naga Malgata, to the north of Amun-Re-Montu temple at Karnak-North, during the excavations carried out by the Luxor Dewatering Project. Cf. Brock [2004], fig. 26.

⁴⁸ On the theological background and the specific rites of the institution of the God's Wife, see Leclant 1957; and recently Ayad 2009; Koch 2012b.

which is also the main theme of the reliefs discovered by M. Pillet in the columned building of Nitocris at Naga Malgata.

Another distinctive feature of these reliefs is that not only the living God's Wife is celebrated, but also her predecessors Nitocris, Shepenwepet II, Amenirdis I, and perhaps Shepenwepet I. The decoration of the funerary chapels of the god's wives at Medinet Habu illustrate the reverence in which Nitocris herself held her adoptive mother Shepenwepet II and her predecessors,⁴⁹ even after the Nubian kings, their fathers and brothers, were doomed to *damnatio memoriae*. At Karnak, Nitocris would also associate her predecessors to her monuments,⁵⁰ as exemplified by a block from a dismantled chapel of Nitocris reused in a intercolumnar wall of the Bubastite Gate⁵¹ as well as the much-discussed lintel Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 29251bis.⁵² The blocks published here show that Ankhnesneferibre had the same preoccupation with her dynastic lineage. As the successive god's wives all probably lived at Naga Malgata, this quarter had naturally become a "dynastic residence".

Finally, although so many uncertainties remain concerning the original configuration of this quarter of the Divine Adoratrices, the identification of Ankhnesneferibre's palace and the new elements brought by the reliefs published here allow us a better appreciation of the importance of this sector during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This quarter, including the residence of the Divine Adoratrice and her harem, increased under the Nubian and Saite rule as a large and autonomous extension of the domain of Amun and where the rites of the institution of the god's wives would be celebrated in vast and richly decorated buildings.

⁴⁹ See footnote 33 above. The alignment of the funerary chapels of the successive god's wives at Medinet Habu reflects obviously the same preoccupation. On this continuity, see also Leclant 1965, 363.

⁵⁰ This association of the deceased god's wives to the cult is already attested during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. See London BM EA 713 (footnote 33 above). At Karnak, the chapels erected by Shepenwepet II show the deceased Amenirdis I playing an active role in the cult, due to her prestige as an intercessor before Osiris. Cf. Coulon 2012, 52, 55–56.

⁵¹ Christophe 1951, 47. Another block reused in the same wall and mentioning Ibi may belong to the same construction of Nitocris.

⁵² See Koch 2012a, 45–46, whose interpretation is convincing. A photograph of the lintel (including a recently added fragment) is published in Ziegler 2008, 183, fig. 64. As Jansen-Winkeln (2009, 337) already argued, Amenirdis "II", daughter of Taharqo, probably never reached the position of Divine Adoratrice, and is therefore not included in the dynastic lineage of the Saite god's wives.

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