

ROYAL IMAGES IN PRIVATE TOMBS AT THEBES IN THE EARLY RAMESSIDE PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

Cultural memory is a relatively new area of study within Egyptology. It is, however, a key issue in the understanding of how society functioned. Important work has been done by scholars such as Assmann on the subject and this study hopes to build on that by taking the case of depictions of kings in Theban tombs, and discussing what they may tell us about the role of the king in the lives of the people. This study will focus on three types of scene; the king as a part of everyday life, the king as a historical figure, and the king as a 'divine' being. This will allow a more detailed study of how the king, and kingship, was understood by people who were not members of the royal court, or holders of high office. Conclusions will be drawn about the scenes both as symbols of how kingship was understood, and as records of the ways in which the king, and the state, played a part in the lives and cultural memory of ordinary Egyptians.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE) (Cairo).
BACE	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (North Ryde).
BM	British Museum.
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) (Cairo).
CdÉ	Chronique d'Égypte; Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles (Brussels).
EES	Egypt Exploration Society.
GIA photo	Griffith Institute Archive Photo (held in the Griffith Institute Archives, University of Oxford).
GM	Göttinger Miszellen (Göttingen).
Hild.	Hildesheim Museum.
Kaskal	Kaskal. Journal of History, Environment, and Cultures of the Ancient Near East.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston/Princeton/New York/Cairo).
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (EES, London).
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago).
KMT	KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt (San Francisco).
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie. 7 vols., W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds.) 1972-, Wiesbaden.
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung

	Kairo (DAIK) (Mainz/Cairo/Berlin/Wiesbaden).
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art.
MMA Photo	Metropolitan Museum of Art Photo, taken by the Egyptian Expedition (held in the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).
OIES	Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey (University of Chicago).
PIFAO	Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (Cairo).
RdÉ	Revue d'Égyptologie (Paris).
RT	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris).
Schott Photo	Schott Photo, taken by Prof. Siegfried Schott, University of Göttingen (held in the Griffith Institute Archives, University of Oxford).
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg).
UCP	University of Chicago Press.
UMI	UMI Dissertation Services.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Berlin/Leipzig).

INTRODUCTION

Egyptian kingship has been frequently discussed by Egyptologists, who look at state monuments and inscriptions in order to understand the ideology of the Egyptian institution. Less frequently studied are the ways in which kingship was understood by the lower levels of society¹. Was the pharaoh viewed in the same way by the common people as he was depicted on official monuments, and what part did he play in their lives through images and institutions? Modern sociologists have often differentiated between 'high' and 'low' culture, implying that the 'low' culture of ordinary people is both separate from, and inferior to, the culture of the elite². But can one truly draw such a definite distinction – were the cultures of the different social groups in Egypt really so separate? This study will look at the way in which lower levels of society viewed the king, in order to understand how their culture and traditions were linked with the ideas of the state. It will also look at how these traditions became embedded in the lives of communities, such as at Deir el-Medina, and in their cultural memory.

Cultural memory is a term coined by Assmann³ as a development of Halbwach's notion

1 The 'lower level' of society examined in this study includes all those who were buried in the Theban necropolis outside of the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens in the early Ramesside Period.

2 Mannheim (1956: 184) suggests that the distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture is based on the class distinctions within society. The concept of 'high' and 'low' culture has been the focus of much debate in recent Egyptology, and in sociology. The Frankfurt school tended to emphasise the importance of low culture (Storey 2006: 49-56, Goodall 1995: 23), while Assmann discussed the importance of 'Hochkultur' (see Assmann: 1984, 2006 for more discussion of the term and its meaning). Baines (1987) examined the importance of this dichotomy and helped to encourage a view of high and low culture as being two sides of the same coin. Richards (2005: 13) suggests that there were, in fact, scales of social differentiation including those at local, regional and national levels. In contrast to the theory of bifurcation noted by Baines, she stresses the importance of a middle class, or classes, between the upper and lower ones (Richards 2005: 15). It is this connection between levels of society that this study hopes to discuss further.

3 See Assmann (2006: 1-30) for discussion of how to define 'cultural memory'.

of collective memory. Halbwachs (1992: 25) postulates that all memories have a social basis, and that memory is a social construction that is largely shaped by present social concerns. He emphasises the importance of memory in reaffirming familial bonds (Halbwachs 1992: 65)⁴, and its tendency to erase anything that might threaten these bonds (Halbwachs 1992: 182). Assmann takes this idea further, suggesting that memory has not only a social but a cultural basis (Assmann 2006: 1) in which tradition is key (Assmann 2006: 8)⁵. Assmann argues that cultural memory encapsulates the memories that are too far in the past to be encapsulated by communicative memory⁶, and those that have been disowned by collective⁷ and bonding memory as being damaging to the collective identity of the group (Assmann 2006: 27).

This study will focus on depictions of royalty in private tombs at Thebes, in order to examine the issues more fully. The first chapter will discuss the ways in which the king played a part in the everyday lives of the people, looking at statue cults, temple estates and personal titles⁸. This will further our understanding of how the state was involved in the lives of the people, and the willingness with which the people accepted this involvement. The second chapter will look at the king as a historical figure, studying the 'kinglists'⁹ found in private tombs. This will lead to discussion of the importance of royal genealogy and knowledge of history for ordinary people, and whether there was a public adoption of royal attempts to legitimise its rule through genealogy, as seen in official

4 See Assmann (2006: 5-9) for a discussion of 'bonding memory'.

5 Assmann (2006: 8) notes that this is in opposition to Halbwachs, who treats memory and tradition as separate entities.

6 Assmann (2006: 3) defines this as the social aspect of individual memory, which "grows out of intercourse between people".

7 This is discussed alongside 'bonding memory' in Assmann (2006: 5-9).

8 As the essay will discuss, the actual person of the king played very little part in the lives of people. What this study will look at is how ideas of the king, and images of kingship, were felt by the people to be relevant to their lives.

9 'Kinglists' in the context of private tombs in Thebes will be defined more fully in ch. 2 (p. 30). It included both images of rows of kings and lists of cartouches.

kinglists such as the list of Seti I at Abydos (David 1973: 196). In the third chapter this study will examine images of the king with the gods, and as the subject of worship and praise by the deceased. This will question whether the king was viewed on a similar level as the gods, and how this may have affected the way in which his role was understood by the people. One must also wonder whether temples, which connected the king with the gods, were a key source for knowledge of the pharaoh in the lives of ordinary people. The final chapter will look at certain other aspects which are relevant to all scenes of the king. These include the crowns of kingship, epithets, and objects held by kings in depictions. Discussion will focus mainly on the place of the king, but issues relating to the queen and her role will also be discussed. By looking at these issues it will be possible to gain a fuller understanding of the way in which kingship, and queenship¹⁰, was viewed by the people, and whether it mirrored that which the state attempted to impose. In its entirety, this study will examine the importance of tradition and cultural memory in reinforcing ideas about the king, as the representative of the state, and its effectiveness as a uniting factor for the people.

The focus of this study will be the Theban necropolis in the early Ramesside Period¹¹ for several reasons. The reign of Ramesses II was one in which the cult of the ruler was heavily promoted by the state¹² and so it offers a good opportunity to examine whether these ideas were adopted by the people. That this period comes soon after the Amarna

10 Because the focus of this study is the pharaoh, aspects such as chapter headings will refer to the king only. This does not, however, preclude discussion of queenship at certain points.

11 The focus will be primarily from the beginning of the dynasty until the reign of Merenptah, with special emphasis on the reign of Ramesses II. Some tombs have been included whose dates go outside of these reigns – they are either tombs that have been dated to a wide period (spanning one or two dynasties) or whose dates are disputed with some putting them in the early Nineteenth Dynasty and others dating them either earlier or later (see app. 1 for details).

12 The 'cult' is that in which worship of the king as a divine being was encouraged, as the evidence discussed by Habachi (1969) demonstrates.

period and its related upheavals¹³ also makes it interesting, allowing discussion of how people understood kingship following what was a period of great change. Any study is also constrained by the evidence, and this period offers a wealth of both tombs and writing, largely thanks to the settlement of Deir el-Medina. The Theban Necropolis comprises several parts, namely Deir el-Medina, Qurnet Murai, Sheik abd el-Qurna, el-Asasif, el-Khokha and Dra abu el-Naga (Map. 1). Each site contains many tombs ranging from workmen to high officials (Maps. 2-8¹⁴)¹⁵. Of approximately 130 tombs here from the early Ramesside Period, 48 contain depictions of kings¹⁶, comprising 75 scenes. Of these scenes, 43 are of Amenhotep I (who appears in 47 scenes) and Ahmose-Nefertari (who appears in 44 scenes) only, while 29 show other kings, and the identities of the figures in three are uncertain¹⁷. Other kings who appear more than four times include Thutmose I (who appears in four scenes), Thutmose III (four scenes), Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep (five scenes), Seti I (five scenes) and Ramesses II (seven scenes) (app. 15). 35% of the 20 scenes of the king as a part of everyday life show the living king at the time, while none of nine scenes of the king as a historical figure include the reigning pharaoh, and 11.5% of the 61 scenes of the king as a divine being depict the current king¹⁸. All categories of scenes discussed occur several times in the upper areas of the tombs¹⁹ (app. 8), which were open to the public (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 14). This means that the scenes would have been visible to the people who visited

13 See Shaw (2000: 272-287) for an overview of the Amarna Period.

14 The tombs that are relevant to this study have been marked with a square.

15 Examples of this are the tombs of User (Vizier of Thutmose III), TT61 and TT131, which represent the higher level of society, and the tomb of Khabekhnet, Servant in the Place of Truth, TT2, which represents the lower social ranks of tomb owners.

16 See app. 1 for a list of the tombs.

17 See app. 3, 4 and 5 for details of the scenes.

18 Scenes of the king as a part of everyday life that include the reigning king are found in TT23, TT106 (fig. 35), TT157 (figs. 38, 39), TT216, TT217, A14 and C7, while the scenes of the living king as a divine being occur in TT23 (three scenes) (figs. 26, 27), TT106 (two scenes), TT157 (figs. 38, 39), TT216, TT341 (figs. 51, 52), and C7.

19 The upper areas include the hall, chapel, court and shrine (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 14).

the tombs, which may account for any copying of scenes that occurred.

Any study will encounter limitations, and these will be looked at fully in the following chapters. However, some must be addressed before continuing any further discussion. One of the main criticisms will, undoubtedly, be that the Theban Necropolis (in particular Deir el-Medina) is not representative of the rest of Egyptian society. Part of the issue when looking at Theban private tombs is that they tend not to belong to the lowest levels of society²⁰, which limits their relevance when discussing society as a whole (even the workers at Deir el-Medina, who were not elite, were skilled craftsmen (Lesko 1994: 1)). It is questionable whether conclusions on the beliefs of ordinary Egyptians can be drawn when much of the evidence comes from the elite classes, and literate sections, of society. This study will, therefore, qualify any conclusions that may be drawn accordingly. But, by including the entire Theban necropolis, and drawing comparisons with other sites where appropriate²¹, this essay will ensure as balanced a discussion as is possible. It is arguable that until there are many more studied sites with which to create comparisons, it is not possible to judge which sites represent general society and which do not²². It has not been possible to obtain copies of all the depictions mentioned in this study and so it has been necessary to rely in some cases on descriptions given in Porter and Moss (1960) and in other works. Due to the reliance in some cases on secondary material, it is possible that a small number of relevant scenes have been missed from this research, but it is hoped that this will not alter the

20 The costs involved in building and decorating a rock cut tomb on the west bank at Thebes must, surely, have excluded the lower levels of society.

21 Sites such as Pi-Ramesse and Saqqara provide good comparisons. Discussion of Pi-Ramesse can be found in Habachi (1952) and Habachi (1969), with more detail in Bietak (1985). Details on aspects of Saqqara are in Martin (1985), Martin (1987) and Navrátilová (2007). The discussion by Malek (1984) on Saqqara in the New Kingdom is extremely brief, but may be of use in finding more references.

22 One is also faced with the issue of whether any one site can ever truly represent society.

conclusions made. Another issue is the frequent use of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari²³ as examples. This essay includes all kings depicted in private tombs but a large amount of evidence involves this couple²⁴. Again, it may be suggested that they are not typical examples, but, arguably, they represent a specific type of belief in kingship and show how kings may be viewed by the populace.

23 The 'queen' in private Theban tombs is almost always Ahmose-Nefertari, which makes it difficult to draw conclusions about 'queens' in general. However, it is still worth discussing the ways in which she is depicted to compare images of queenship with images of the king.

24 Forty-seven of 72 relevant scenes include only these two royal figures.

CHAPTER 1

THE KING AS A PART OF EVERYDAY LIFE²⁵

There is a lack of evidence of direct interaction between the king and the non-elite in the localities during this period, but royal visits to the villages may have occurred sporadically. O.Cairo 25560 records Seti II visiting Thebes for the Opet festival and crossing the river to the west bank, but the text stops before it reveals the reason for this trip (Janssen 1997:152), and Exell (2006: 59) suggests that depictions and stelae from the Khenu-chapel at Deir el-Medina show that Ramesses II came to the village in person to “inaugurate the rebuilt Hathor-temple and Khenu-chapel”²⁶. There is, however, a lack of administrative documents from Deir el-Medina that mention Ramesses II visiting the temple, and so it is uncertain whether or not such a visit took place. Depictions of the king in tombs suggest that, despite the lack of direct contact between ordinary people and the king, he remained an important part of the life of the people, or at least his imagery did.

1.1 LOCATION AND CONTEXT OF SCENES:

Scenes of the king as a part of everyday life are spread throughout the Theban necropolis, with three tombs containing the scenes at Deir el-Medina, five at Dra Abu el-Naga, five at Sheik Abd el-Qurna and one at Qurnet Murai (app. 7). Nine of the relevant

²⁵ See app. 4 for details of scenes.

²⁶ These stelae representations show Hathor as anthropomorphic and, according to Exell, probably depict a ceremony in the main Hathor temple, while stela BM EA 328, which was found in the Khenu-chapel, appears to be connected with a cult of Hathor and the king (Exell 2006:59). See Exell (2006:60) for discussion of the positioning of the stelae outside of the temple proper.

tombs date to the reign of Ramesses II (although TT216 may be from the slightly later reign of Seti II), and one from the reign of Merenptah, while two are from the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I. The other two date from the Nineteenth to Twenty-first Dynasties but cannot be pinpointed to a specific reign (app. 6). This type of scene, therefore, was not restricted to any one reign, although it was prevalent in the first three reigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The varied locations of the tombs (and lack of obvious connection between the men who owned them, such as positions within the same temple cults²⁷) makes it more likely that they were designed independently and were not the result of a 'fashion' within a specific group²⁸. The scenes occur almost exclusively in the halls of tombs (app. 8, 16)²⁹ which may be because their content, which recorded events in the lives of tomb owners, was felt to be more suitable for the outer areas of the tomb which housed the cult of the dead and were open to the public, rather than the inner, more sacred areas that were the realm of the dead (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 14). 44.7% of scenes adjacent to those of the king as a part of everyday life are scenes of the gods, while 18.4% and 26.3% respectively are other scenes of kings and scenes of the deceased with members of their family (app. 9). The variety of scenes found adjacent to scenes of the king as a part of everyday life suggests that they were not deliberately linked with any other type of scene³⁰. Eight scenes include the reigning king, which suggests that events relating to the living king, as well as deceased kings, were seen as important by the people buried on the west bank at Thebes in the early Ramesside Period³¹.

27 This is discussed below (p. 22)

28 This issue will be discussed in ch. 2 (pp. 33-5).

29 19 out of 20 examples.

30 The frequency of scenes of the gods adjacent to scenes of the king as a part of everyday life may be explained by the high numbers of scenes of the gods throughout tombs, such as in TT2, wherein 24 out of 26 scenes described by Porter and Moss (1960: 6-9) include a depiction of at least one deity.

31 It is notable that four of these scenes show the deceased being appointed or rewarded by the king (eg: figs. 38, 39), while a fifth shows the deceased approving a statue of the king (fig. 35). This suggests

1.2 FESTIVALS:

Festivals³² are depicted in several private tombs in Thebes³³. TT31 includes a depiction of the festival of Thutmose III in which the royal barque is in procession before the temple, and received by priests and priestesses of Monthu (fig. 31). A second scene in this tomb shows a festival of Monthu which includes the deceased tomb owner offering to a barque of Thutmose III (fig. 28). A similar scene of Thutmose III occurs in TT19, which shows the barque of the king before his temple (fig. 19), and is combined with that of a festival of Amenhotep I³⁴. TT277 contains a scene depicting statues of Teye and Amenhotep III being dragged in a procession (figs. 43, 44). TT51 includes the festival procession of Thutmose I in which the royal statue is both dragged (fig. 32), and in a barque on the lake.

It is important to note the inclusion of large numbers of people in festival scenes (app. 10). Apart from in TT277³⁵, the usual number of people involved in procession scenes is between 10 and 30. All involve at least four priests³⁶ and in some the majority, or all, of the figures are priests (e.g. TT2, TT31, TT344). Four out of the 14 scenes include men rowing or steering boats, which is a reminder that boats played an important part in

that the scenes were biographical, intended to depict the career of the deceased. This is discussed further below (pp. 54-6).

32 Altenmüller (1977: 171-191) writes that the main factor of a festival is its periodicity, which may be determined by agricultural, astronomical, mythological or political source. He divides festivals into five types: Die Feste des Himmels, Die Feste der Zeitläufte, Regionale Feste, Politische Feste and Individualfeste.

33 See app. 3 for details of scenes and references.

34 See below (pp. 27-30) for discussion of the role of Amenhotep I as an oracle.

35 The number of people in this scene is approximately 73, but this is difficult to verify as the scene continues onto several walls.

36 In some cases, the men included in this figure do not have obvious priestly titles. However, their shaven heads imply that they are priests.

certain processions³⁷. Only two out of 14 scenes include women holding sistra (both in TT31) which suggests that the presence of such women was not common³⁸, although seven of the 14 scenes show female watchers, or mourners, (who have their hands held up). Male watchers are also included in seven scenes, so that, in total, 11 of the 14 scenes include people who were not priests or priestesses watching the procession. This shows that many people were involved in, or witnessed, festivals of deceased kings and were, in this sense, connected with him³⁹. One must not assume that the numbers shown in festival scenes in tombs are an accurate depiction of the exact numbers of people at the festivals, as it is likely that they were restricted by space, time and aesthetic preference. However, the scenes create an impression of many people and, therefore, one must assume that events such as this involved a 'crowd'. Without written evidence it is difficult to speculate as to the exact numbers of people, but mention of such crowds in later periods gives some idea. Herodotus claims that “men and women are wont to assemble there [at Bubastis] to the number of seven hundred thousand” (Godley 2004: 347). One must not accept this number unquestioningly as exaggeration is likely, and it is important to remember that Herodotus was writing about a divine festival rather than a royal one⁴⁰, but it does demonstrate that large crowds were present at festivals in the Late Period, which may give an idea of the numbers of people who took part in earlier periods. One must also remember that this scene is only a part of the festival and more people are likely to have been involved at other points⁴¹. The public festivals of kings

37 This issue is discussed below (pp. 16-17).

38 Of course, this may have been due to aesthetic preference.

39 Festivals may have occurred in several contexts; these included within local communities and villages (such as the *hꜥ* festivals discussed by McDowell (1992: 101-2)), in temple compounds (such as those that occurred on sacred lakes like those seen in TT19, fig. 18) and along the Nile (such as as the Festival of the Joyous Union discussed by Watterson (1998: 105-111)).

40 There may not, however, have always been a clear distinction between 'royal' and 'divine' festivals and cults (see p.17 for more discussion).

41 See below (pp. 26-7) for a discussion of the size of temple estates.

had, it could be argued, a double purpose – the first was to appease the gods and provide for the deceased in the afterlife (which could also be achieved through private cults within the temples); the second was both to demonstrate the power of the state to the people and to bring them together under a common aim, thus creating a unity within the community. The success of the second aim depended on the willingness of the people to support the festivals – Schudson (1995: 355) suggests that “to pass on a version of the past, the past must be encapsulated into some sort of cultural form”, and so, perhaps, the festivals found in Egyptian society can be understood as coming under such a 'cultural form'. Nora (1984: 1) saw features such as folk songs, flags, national monuments and celebrations, and national days of remembrance as the basis of national [collective] memory. Perhaps, therefore, these festivals must be seen as forming a basis for the collective memory of the groups that participated in them. The crowds depicted in tomb scenes suggest that large numbers of people attended the festivals and, in a sense, became more closely integrated into both the community and the state through them. The simple fact that the tomb scenes exist at all implies that the tomb owners integrated them into their own tradition and memory.

Many people depicted in festivals were priests and priestesses (app. 10)⁴². Two of the male titles found in festival scenes are *wꜥb* and *ḥm-ntr*. The *ḥm.w-ntr* prepared offerings and performed rituals amongst other things (Shafer 1998: 10), and so it is likely that they would have been involved in festivals. The *wꜥb*-priest performed the lesser tasks required for maintaining the temples and the rituals⁴³ (Shafer 1998: 11), which may have

42 A good example can be found in TT31 (fig. 31). In the top register are men with the titles *ḥm-ntr* and *wꜥb*. Below are women who are *šmꜥ* (*n Mntw*).

43 In the New Kingdom the *wꜥb*-priests were divided into four phyles that rotated on a monthly basis, and their wives often served as temple singers and sistrum players (Shafer 1998: 15). Haring (1997: 223-4) discusses the implications of this system in allowing *wꜥb*-priests to also function as workmen.

included carrying the divine image in processions⁴⁴. They were not particularly high-ranking positions but were, according to the depictions in private tombs, necessary for the carrying-out of rituals and festivals. This shows that it was not only the elite priests who had roles within festivals - all levels of personnel played a part. The crowds of people who witnessed processions⁴⁵ show that it was not just members of the priesthood, or even the temple employees, who were involved in the event, but members of the wider community. An example of lay men who were involved in festivals are those rowing the boat in TT31 (fig. 31)⁴⁶. Their roles could be seen as mundane, simply that of transporting the priests and shrine to the temple, but they were vital to the completion of the ritual. One must be careful not to assume that only the men and women who played an active part in the ritual itself (e.g. the priests) had a connection to the god, or the king. Simply being a part of the process may have been enough to reinforce the memory of the king and create the illusion of a connection between the person and the pharaoh⁴⁷.

One must also look at the role of women within festival scenes in private tombs. Some women are depicted holding their hands over their faces (figs. 13, 31). In both festivals and funerary processions, these women have a specific role which involves watching and reacting to the events that unfold. A textual example of this can be found in

p.Ramesseum E⁴⁸, dating to the Middle Kingdom, in which line 70 speaks of the '*m33wt*'

('those who watch'). The '*k[nwt]*' ('wailing women') are mentioned in line 83⁴⁹. This

44 Sauneron (2000: 92) suggests that the men may have taken turns carrying the barque in processions.

45 Depictions in the *Gm-p3-Itn* of Akhenaten, for example, show crowds of people lining the route of a procession in the Sed-festival of the king (Redford 1999: 57).

46 The lack of priestly titles, along with the lack of shaven heads, suggests that these men were not priests.

47 An example of this is female 'watchers', as discussed in the next paragraph.

48 See Gardiner (1955) for a copy of the text. A satisfactory translation has yet to be published, and Gardiner's comments in this article assume that the text reads in an incorrect order so that his comments must be read with some caution. Helck (1981) provides a more accurate reading of the text, with a more likely sequence of the text, but it is still not satisfactory.

49 The majority of the word is missing but the determinative clearly points to this understanding of the

shows that the role of the women was to observe the rituals and mourn, which contrasts with the men mentioned in the text whose roles were more practical⁵⁰. That is not to say that female roles were necessarily viewed as less vital than that of the men – that they have been included in tomb depictions suggests that their presence held symbolic importance.

Herodotus claimed that “no woman is dedicated to the service of any god or goddess” (Godley 2004: 317) but depictions in private tombs at Thebes, such as that of TT31, contradict this claim. The women depicted in this tomb had roles that included more than watching - they can be seen holding sistra (fig. 31). In the description of the scene Davies and Gardiner (1948: 20) call the women in TT31 “chantresses of Mont[hu]”. However, the sistra may also suggest a link to the goddess Hathor (Blackman 1921: 151)⁵¹. In TT31 two of the women who are holding sistra are referred to as *šmꜣyt* (fig. 31), whom Blackman (1921: 145) claims were musician priestesses who “rattle the sistrum before them”. He also argues that “almost every woman who dwelt in or near Thebes during the New Kingdom seems to have served as a musician priestess” (Blackman 1921: 145) – this may be an overestimation of the numbers of women who held this role, but it demonstrates that the numbers of *šmꜣwt* (and *hnywt*) were high. While not dismissing a possible link to Hathor, Onstine (2005: 12) also suggests that the women may have been connected to Meret, and goes on to link them with her role in announcing the king at festivals. Evidence for titles relating to female musician

line (Bommas 2008b).

50 The male roles included 'carrier of the forelegs of animals (*hryw hps.w*' (line 92)) and carrier of the ointment (*hryw mnḥwt*' (line 89)), as well as officiating (*hm-pr m pr-wr*' (line 59)).

51 Blackman (1921: 151) suggests that, by the Ptolomaic period, all temples had songstress priestesses attached to them and goes on to link their role with Hathor; he claims that through holding and rattling the sistrum the priestesses were not only representing the goddess, but were invoking her, so much so that certain members of this priesthood were referred to as “Hathors”. The goddess Hathor had a link with the royal family (as will be discussed in more detail in ch. 3, pp. 56-60).

priestesses can also be found in other contexts, such as on temple walls. One instance is in an inscription of Ramesses II, which describes female citizens greeting the king with joy and music (Duemichen 1867: pl. VIII). Another inscription, at Dendara, gives five titles of musician-priestesses (Duemichen 1865: pl. VIII) – the titles in this temple date from Ptolemaic times, which shows that the importance of musician priestesses continued beyond the Pharaonic period. Onstine (2005: 29-32) suggests that the higher numbers of *šmꜥwt* at certain times may be linked to a perceived need by the state to legitimise the position of the king. She points to higher numbers of women in this role in the reigns of Ramesses II and Hatshepsut, where legitimisation of the royal line may have been more tenuous, and argues that women were encouraged to partake of this role as a way of creating a link between them and the state which would tie them to the religious and political order, a link that they may then pass down to their children⁵².

Notably, the holding of a priestly title did not necessarily mean a position outside of society. Evidence from sites such as Deir el-Medina suggests that members of the community could serve as priests for various cults whilst continuing in another profession. p.BM10053 from the Twentieth Dynasty records men holding the position of *wꜥb*-priest alongside that of a workman; it notes a priest who was also a coppersmith (Peet 1930: pl. XVII)⁵³, as well as one who held the positions of gardener and goldsmith (Peet 1930: pl. XX)⁵⁴. There are also examples of *wꜥb*-priests who were also scribes,

52 The title *šmꜥwt* first appears regularly in the reign of Hatshepsut where five women held the title; between her reign and the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Onstine (2005: 27) cites 103 *šmꜥwt*. In the Ramesside Period she counts 274 *šmꜥwt*, of whom 26 date to the reign of Seti I, 190 to Ramesses II, 53 to Merenptah, and the rest to later, or uncertain, reigns (most of whom were affiliated with Amun). The Twentieth Dynasty shows a reduction in the number of *šmꜥwt* (Onstine 2005: 29-30). Of the *šmꜥwt* in the early Ramesside Period, 14 are linked with Hathor (although only one of these can be definitely said to have lived in Thebes), and 7 are linked with Isis (of which 2 lived in Thebes) (Onstine 2005: chart 7).

53 p.BM 10053 rt.3, 19: The line begins *wꜥb-ḥmty*.

54 p.BM 10053 vs.3, 6: Haring (1997: 223) appears to read this as *wꜥb-kꜣrꜣ* although he transliterates the second word as *kꜣmꜣ*.

such as Menkheperresonb in the temple of Thutmose III, and Ptahemheb, in the temple of Amenhotep III (Haring 1997: 223)⁵⁵. Therefore, the people depicted with religious titles in Theban tombs in the Ramesside Period may also have been workers and ordinary⁵⁶ members of the communities in which they lived, showing that it was not only a separate priestly class that had a connection with the cults of gods and kings, but also people who had roles within the local community⁵⁷.

The use of secular titles within temples and in festivals shows that it was not just priests who were involved in the running of cults. Haring (1997: 240-241) states that roles for the laity within temple complexes included stewards of the house (*imy-r pr ʕ3 (n) pr*) and overseers of cattle (*imy-r iḥ.w*)⁵⁸. Scribes (*pr-ḥd*) held an important role, as did workmen such as stonemasons (*ḥrty-ntr*), templesmiths (*ḥmt.y nbw.y*) and carpenters (*ḥmw.w*). Precincts also employed gardeners (*k3r.y.w*) and warders (*ʕš3*), as well as army personnel such as army scribes (*sšmšʕ*) and troop commanders (*ḥr.y-pd.t*) (Haring 1997: 243-246)⁵⁹. This shows that the temples provided work and wages for many people, and

55 Haring (1997: 223-4) warns caution when discussing men who held multiple roles; in the case of scribes, he suggests that scribal duties may have been carried out by *wʕb*-priests while attending the offering cult, so that they saw no real distinction between the two positions. He also warns that in some cases where multiple titles are found inscribed in tombs, this may represent the progression of a career rather than titles held simultaneously. However, he writes that this was unlikely to be the case for the combinations of *wʕb*-priest with workmen's titles. He explains these combinations by suggesting that the men held priestly office within the phyle system (acting as priests for three months out of the year) and carried out workmen's duties for the other nine, either within or outside of the temple precinct, possibly with houses in their own neighbourhoods. Although the examples in this book refer mainly to a slightly later period than that being studied here, they demonstrate that holding a secular title alongside a priestly title was not unusual in Egypt.

56 The term 'ordinary' here refers to people who lived and worked within the community for the majority of the time and did not have a separate status.

57 One must remember that in the Old and Middle Kingdoms priests acted in a part-time capacity and it was only in the New Kingdom that full-time priests began to be appointed, although many remained part-time (Shafer 1998: 9). In the Eighteenth Dynasty positions such as 'Chief of the servants of the God of Upper and Lower Egypt', as well as his deputies, were full-time roles (see Shafer 1998: 14 and Helck 1982 for more details on priests). Further evidence can be found in the Nineteenth Dynasty for the temple of Anubis near the pyramid of Senwosret II in the Fayoum, which had six permanent priests and four phyles, each consisting of 11 men (Sauneron 2000: 53-4).

58 The title *imy-r iḥ.w* is found, for example, in TT31.

59 See Haring (1997:225-248) for detailed discussion on the various secular roles within temple precincts

employed members of many different trades. It is arguable that the king only truly became a part of the lives of the people when they played a role in his memorials, in this case festivals, and it was only when the king became a part of the lives of the people that he could be fully integrated into the cultural memory of the community.

As mentioned earlier, the royal barks used in festivals were often rowed on water. TT51 shows the royal statue in a bark on the lake, while TT277 includes a scene of two boats, one of which contains a shrine (fig. 43). This scene closely resembles that of TT51, suggesting that such events were not uncommon in the lives of ordinary people. TT31 also includes a scene of two boats, one rowed by five men, and the other containing a royal bark (fig. 31). Certain titles in the temple of Thutmose IV show the importance of boats within the cult. One was *'imy-r dp.w.t 'Imn n t3 hwt Mn-hpr:w-R'* ('Overseer of boats of Amun in the mansion of Menkheperure') (Haeny 1998: 100). The sacred lake at Karnak (Christophe 1951: 17-18, pl. ii) and that of Dendara (Porter and Moss 1939: 40), both of which are known to have been used in festivals, show the importance of lakes in such events, although they were not the only setting in which boats were used in festivals. The Feast of the Joyous Union included the towing of Hathor aboard her barque up the Nile from Dendara to Edfu (Watterson 1998: 105-6)⁶⁰. This supports the idea that images were rowed on bodies of water as part of festivals. The use of boats may have served to increase the sense of drama and importance of the festivals, thus helping them to remain in the memory of the people who witnessed them. There is no evidence of such a lake at the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, whose statue is depicted

and what they entailed. A large amount of Haring's evidence comes from the time of Ramesses III, but this does not preclude its being relevant to the earlier New Kingdom.

⁶⁰ This feast celebrated the marriage between Hathor of Dendara and Horus of Edfu. Watterson (1998: 105) suggests that the journey took 14 days to complete, during which the barque also visited several other shrines that bordered the Nile, and that the Nile "must have been thronged with people watching".

as being rowed in a bark in TT31 (fig. 31), although this does not preclude there having been one. However, Thutmose III is known to have built the temple of Monthu at Armant and it is likely that this is the temple depicted in scenes of his festivals in TT31 and TT19⁶¹. The temple in the depiction in TT31 (fig. 31) has the same name as the temple of Monthu at Armant and supports the idea that the festivals of Monthu and Thutmose III occurred at that site, although unfortunately the temple has not survived intact and so it is difficult to confirm whether there was a sacred lake in the New Kingdom on which the festival may have taken place⁶². The town of Armant (Iuny) lies about 12km south of Thebes, and so it is reasonable that men buried at Thebes could have been involved in festivals there. That there is an archaeological basis for the depictions of statues of Thutmose III being rowed on a lake makes it more likely that the scenes depicted were actual events rather than merely symbolism. It is also a reminder that festivals related to deceased kings did not only take place at the temples which have been designated, in modern times, 'Mortuary Temples'⁶³.

61 Mond and Myers (1940a: 15) state that a main reason for dating the temple to the reign of Thutmose III is the existence of the depiction in TT31 of the festival of Monthu and Thutmose III. This makes it difficult to use the dating of the temple as proof of the accuracy of the depiction. However, other artefacts, including a stela of Thutmose III just inside the pylon (Mond and Myers 1940a: 25) lend weight to the theory that the temple was built under Thutmose III.

62 See Porter and Moss (1937:152), and Mond and Myers (1940b: pl. ii) for maps of the site showing a pylon of Thutmose III and the sacred lake. The majority of surviving evidence at the site comes from the Ptolemaic Period, but the pylon of Thutmose III along with two sphinxes and foundation deposits from his reign (Mond and Myers 1940a: 3) prove that there was a temple in the New Kingdom. Texts of Ramesses II (Mond and Myers 1940b: pl. viii) show that the site was in use at during his reign. Mond and Myers (1940b: pl. 84) labelled the lake "Cleopatra's Lake", and have linked it with the "Mammisi of Cleopatra" (Mond and Myers 1940a: 9), but this research has found no evidence that a lake did not exist in the New Kingdom.

63 There has been much discussion about whether there was a fundamental difference in the minds of the Egyptian people between 'mortuary' and 'divine' temples. Modern scholarship tends to understand the term 'Mansion of millions of years' as designating a mortuary temple although it does not correspond directly to any Egyptian word. Adolf Erman admits this much when he writes of temples "das wir heute den Totentempel nennen" ("that we nowadays call the Mortuary Temple") (Erman 1936: 56). This implies that the term has been coined in modern times and was not a direct translation of Egyptian. Early New Kingdom engravings at the quarries of Tura link the the term to temples that are not thought to have served a mortuary purpose - *'r hwwt.f nt hḥ m [rnp(w)t]...hwt Pth hwt ntr nfr...'* (Sethe 1906: IV.25, line 9-10) ('for the Houses of Millions [of years]...the temple of Ptah, the temple of the Good God...'). The use of the plural 'Houses of Millions of Years' suggests that it was not simply the term for the mortuary temple of the king, of which there would have been only one, and that it is followed by a list of temples dedicated to gods (although *'ntr nfr'* could be understood as referring to

Next to the temple depicted in TT19, which was dedicated to Monthu, are the cartouches of Thutmose III, '*Mn-hpr-R'*' (fig. 19), which shows that kings linked themselves to specific gods through the building of temples⁶⁴. Such practices occur throughout Egypt, such as in the temple of Seti I at Abydos; this temple contains seven chapels – six are dedicated to gods (namely Horus, Isis, Osiris, Amun-Re, Horakhty and Ptah) while the seventh is dedicated to the king himself (Mariette 1869:17)⁶⁵. Some scholars have seen this temple as an example of an attempted self-deification by Seti I⁶⁶, which may be the primary aim of the scenes, but it provides good evidence that scenes linking the king with the gods were popular at this time in official monuments, perhaps as a way for the pharaoh to legitimise his position. The practice of connecting the king with the gods extended to the temples on the West Bank at Thebes. The temples there were principally dedicated to Amun alongside the king, and often included chapels to other gods, as demonstrated by the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri⁶⁷. Exell (2006: 51) notes that

the pharaoh) supports the view that the term 'House (or Mansion) of Millions of Years' could be used to refer to many temples (Haeny 1998: 89-90). This would suggest that modern distinctions between 'mortuary' and 'divine' temples are, in fact, arbitrary. Evidence, such as the festivals of deceased kings at non-mortuary temples as seen in the private tombs at Thebes, supports this view. Ullmann emphasises the importance of a threefold cult group in Houses of Millions of Years; the patron god of the area, the ennead and the cult statue of the king (Ullmann 2002: 664) which she sees as a possible representative of the king's *k3* (Ullmann 2002: 662). She also concludes that there was importance attached to the cult of ancestors in these temples (Ullmann 2002: 663). However, she rejects the suggestion that these temples were in any way mortuary (Ullmann 2002: 668), linking them instead with the renewal of royal power (Ullmann 2002: 667).

64 Raymond (1969: 43-52) suggests that the foundation of every temple or institution was equated with the time of the first creation. Therefore, in additions to linking the king with the god (or gods) worshipped in each temple, this linked the king, as the official founder of each temple, with the role of the creator god.

65 See Mariette (1869: pl. III) for a plan of the temple with the seven chapels, labelled E-K towards the rear of the temple. See el-Sawy (1987) for discussion of the features of depictions of the king in the chapel of Seti I.

66 See el-Sawy (1987) for a discussion of the deification of Seti I at Abydos, in particular in a scene wherein he is represented as a "Great God" (el-Sawy 1987: 226-7, fig. 1). Calverley and Broome (1933: viii) state that "the seven deities consist of the Osirian Triad, the great gods of Thebes, Heliopolis and Memphis respectively, and lastly king Sethos I himself, who is conceived of as already dead and dependant upon the pious acts of a son and successor".

67 It contained a chapel to Amun, and shrines to Anubis and Hathor, as well as dedications to the queen (Werbrueck 1949: figs. 1, 7).

Ramesses II promoted himself both through integration with the local deities and by cult activity at Thebes, in particular at Deir el-Medina. By connecting himself to a god, and building temples dedicated to that god, the ruler was allocating himself a place in the festivals dedicated to that deity, even if only in the sense that the temple used for the festival was built by that king. Images of festivals in private tombs such as TT31, which connect with the king with a god, suggest a public acceptance of this agenda. Jonker (1995: 179) suggests, however, that the main concern when setting up a personal statue (and, one supposes, endowing a temple) was to ensure that the individual remained in the minds of the gods, and that their remembrance by mortals was a secondary concern. It is, therefore, important to remember that temples were created, not just to underline the king's position among humans, but to secure his place with the gods.

McDowell (1992: 101) notes that several of the festivals at Deir el-Medina were referred to as '*h*' ('appearance') -festivals of the statue of a particular king, which not only served to keep alive the memory of that king, but also helped to retain knowledge of key dates in their reign⁶⁸. If this is true of '*h*'-festivals then perhaps one may attribute other festivals of kings to specific events, such as the death or succession of a pharaoh. Barta argues in favour of this theory; he includes a list of festivals relating to kings of the pharaonic period, and links them to one of four events – the death, succession, burial and coronation of each pharaoh (Barta 1980: 51-52). However, in the case of some kings, such as Amenhotep I, there were too many 'appearances' to make such a theory feasible⁶⁹. Perhaps certain of the festivals were related to events but others were not⁷⁰.

68 In the later case of a festival of Ramesses III it can be shown to correlate to the king's accession (Helck 1966: 234), and McDowell (1992:101) argues that the same may be true of festivals of other kings that were celebrated in the New Kingdom.

69 McDowell (1992: 101-2) includes a table of seven festivals of Amenhotep I and another of two festivals of the same king.

70 This leads to the difficult question of why some festivals commemorated events and others appear to

Spalinger (1996: 71) suggests that, in the writing of feast lists, it was not the chronological order of feasts that was important but the mention of the “key festivals”⁷¹, which implies that their actual dates were not important.

The use of palanquins⁷² to transport statues of kings during festivals may also give an insight into how they were viewed. Haeny (1998: 100, note 79) writes that this form of transportation was usually reserved for the living king, and occasionally for the gods⁷³. In tombs at Thebes, however, priests are seen carrying statues of deceased kings on palanquins⁷⁴. One could understand this as evidence of deceased kings being given the same deference and treatment as living ones, or, alternatively, the use of the same form of transport for kings and gods could demonstrate a link between the two in the minds of the Egyptian people. Silverman (1995: 66) suggests that the Egyptian people perceived several aspects embodied in the pharaoh including the human holder of the office, the office itself and the administration. This suggests that they saw a difference between the mortal king and the eternal office of kingship (eternity being something that the mortal king lacked but that the gods achieved). While the epithet *s3 R^c* supports the idea that, when he took office, the pharaoh “received divine status retroactively” (Silverman 1995:

have not. If one accepts that the commemoration of political events (such as accessions) were promoted by the state, as seems likely, then it is possible those which commemorated events were state feasts while those that did not may have been based on local traditions.

71 Spalinger's discussion of New Kingdom private feast lists focuses almost exclusively on the Eighteenth Dynasty and he notes that such lists are rare at Thebes in the Nineteenth Dynasty (Spalinger 1996: 72). He also notes the lack of recorded feasts relating to mortuary temples in the lists, which makes analysis of the dating of these feasts difficult (Spalinger 1996: 71), although he does suggest that the regularity of feasts was abandoned in the Ramesside Period (Spalinger 1996: 175), which supports the idea that dates of feasts were not afforded great importance in the Ramesside Period.

72 See Haeny (1998: 100, note 79) for discussion of the *k* (which Haeny translates as “palanquin”) in Egypt.

73 The Wörterbuch states that the *kni* was a “litter (of the king and Osiris)” (Erman and Grapow 1931: 52.1)

74 The title given to one priest of *'w3h mww n p3 kni n nswt Mn-hpr:w-R^c'* ('Distributor of the water for the Palanquin of king Menheperure') (Otto 1952: 112) shows that this form of transportation was used for the image of Thutmose IV, while images of Amenhotep I being transported on one can also be found (fig. 16).

72), literature such as *The Tale of the Two Brothers* emphasises the king's mortal aspects⁷⁵ (Lichtheim 1976: 203-211). Perhaps the problem of defining the status of the king lies in the fact that the Egyptians had no term for a being between humanity and the gods, labelling things either as human or divine (Baines 1995: 9). The king, however, existed between these two worlds, neither fully divine nor fully human. Ockinga (1995: 92) stresses the importance of the *b3w* as a “manifestation of [the king's] divine power...with which he has been imbued by the gods”, suggesting that the king did not hold divine status except that which has been given to him by the gods. Bell's discussion of the royal *k3* implies a similar concept, that the *k3* of the king was greater than that of others because of the power and position given to him by the gods (Bell 1985: 256-8)⁷⁶. Ockinga goes on to suggest that statues could be used as the seat of a person's *k3* and, as such, played a role in the cult of living kings (Ockinga 1995: 97). Royal statue cults, therefore, may have been directed towards the royal *k3* rather than towards the mortal person of the king, which may explain the use of palanquins in this context.

1.3 PERSONAL TITLES:

Several men had a connection to a specific king by way of a title or position⁷⁷. Khonsu (TT31) was the 'Overseer of the cattle of Thutmose IV' (fig. 31), while Userhat (TT51) was the 'First Prophet of the royal ka of Thutmose I' (fig. 33). Sebekmose (TT275) and

⁷⁵ One example of this is when the king is angry about the smell of the lock of hair that the washermen cannot rinse out of his clothes. The pharaoh is ignorant of the hair, and its importance, until a washerman discovers it and tells him (Lichtheim 1976: 206).

⁷⁶ The importance of the *k3* is further discussed by Ockinga (1995: 94) who sees it as an “instrument of the king through which he is active in the world”, and notes that private dedications were sometimes made to the king's *k3* as opposed to the king himself. Ockinga (1995: 96) uses examples of the stela of viceroys of Ramesses II in Amarah, Wadi es-Sebua and West Silsilah, which show them offering to a statue of the *k3* of the king, to support this idea.

⁷⁷ Twelve out of 47 men had titles relating to specific kings (or temples linked with a king), and another five held titles naming either the 'Lord of the Two Lands' or the 'King's House'. See app. 2 for details of titles, and app.11 for a chart of the distribution of titles relating to each king.

Amenomonet (TT277) had titles relating to Amenhotep III, namely “Head *wꜥb*-priest, divine father in the temples of Amenhotep III” (Gauthier 1920: 8) and “Divine father of the mansion of Amenhotep III” (Vandier d’Abbadie 1954: 35)⁷⁸. These titles are clearly displayed in tombs, which shows that they were highly valued by the holders. Scenes in which the deceased received a reward or office from the king also suggests that such positions and royal appointments were highly valued⁷⁹. People who held titles such as the ones mentioned above had a more personal link with the pharaoh than simply through participating in festivals. Through such titles the king became part, not just of what they did, but of who they were; he became a part of their identity.

The title *n nb t3.wy* was added to the titles of many workers at Deir el-Medina, which Černý (1927: 191) notes that the term is often attached to the name of Amenhotep I⁸⁰, but this was not always the case⁸¹. If it is taken to be a more general term connecting the workers with the living king⁸² it suggests that the pharaoh was held in high esteem by them. However, this practice could be seen as merely the copying by workmen at Deir el-Medina of titles that they found in the royal tombs they created. Evidence from private stelae suggests that the Egyptian people copied images that they saw on temple walls – one example of this is the smiting stelae of the Ramesside period⁸³. It is possible

78 It is possible that the titles in TT275 and TT277 referred to the same role within the cult. A similar issue occurs in the temple of Thutmose I where three titles describe the same role. The titles are *ḥm-ntr tpy m ḥnmt-ꜥnh*, *ḥm-ntr tpy n ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ* and *ḥm-ntr tpy n k3 nsw n ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ* (Otto 1952: 115-6).

79 Scenes in TT23, TT106, TT157 (figs. 38, 39) and TT217 show this. Autobiographical scenes which include the king are discussed further in ch. 3 (pp. 54-6)

80 See Černý (1927: 191) for text from TT335 which he translates as “*wꜥb*-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands, king Djeserkare, justified, son of Re, Amenhotep of the Town, servant in the Place of Truth.” This, along with other examples, links the phrase ‘Lord of the Two Lands’ with Amenhotep I.

81 Černý (1927: 192) notes that the term may refer to a living king, and was sometimes attached to a figure who was depicted making offering to other kings.

82 The importance of titles relating to the living king is discussed further below (pp. 76-7).

83 See Petrie (1909a: pl. 8(2)) for an example. The king is depicted smiting a foe before Ptah (showing the connection of such images with the gods) with four ears below the scene. Swan Hall (1986: 28) notes the frequent occurrences of smiting scenes on the exterior walls of temples in the New Kingdom,

that the people who requested smiting stelae did not have a full understanding of the meaning of the scenes contained within them⁸⁴, but they had seen them on temple walls and, therefore, connected them to the gods. A smiting stela noted by Petrie (1909a: pl. 8(2))⁸⁵ also includes several ears – this appears to be an attempt to include as many 'religious symbols' as possible on one stela⁸⁶. Perhaps the inclusion of '*nb t3.wy*' in tombs and other private monuments is another example of the practice of including 'religious symbols' in private contexts⁸⁷. However, this is not a picture but text and the men who wrote in the royal tombs (and in the workers' tombs) would have been fully literate and likely to have understood what they were writing. This view is supported by Janssen in his discussion of literacy in Ancient Egypt⁸⁸. Therefore, one must accept that the choice to include this phrase was deliberate and with full comprehension. By choosing to place it in their own tombs, and linking it with their own names and titles,

thus possibly making them visible to those Egyptians who were not allowed to enter the inner areas of temples, using the example of two scenes of Seti I smiting enemies in the exterior of the hypostyle hall at Karnak. She also discusses the production of scarabs and amulets of Thutmose III inscribed with smiting scenes (Swan Hall 1986: 17) which suggests that smiting scenes may have entered popular consciousness in ways other than those seen on temple walls. Schulman (1988: 47) agrees that private smiting scenes may be imitations of monumental ones but also suggests that both monumental and private smiting scenes may have been representations of actual events at which the private dedicators were present (Schulman: 1988: 49-52). Goebis (2007: 279) also discusses the importance of imagery of the pharaoh with reference to smiting scenes found on the outer walls of temples, suggesting that such imagery had a twofold purpose; firstly it “reinforced to the general population the image and myth of the pharaoh as preserver of *maat* and Egypt”, and secondly it “represented a symbolic shield against all threats to the order of the universe”.

84 The 'meaning' is that which was intended when the images were created on walls of temples and monuments. Therefore, it is the meaning as understood by the state.

85 See above (fn. 81) for more details.

86 The inclusion of ears in private scenes may also be linked to contratemple such as that of Ramesses II at Karnak (Barguet 1962: 225) which Sadek (1987: 46) says was dedicated to Amun and Ramesses II “who hears prayers”. The link between such temples and ear iconography can be seen in the stelae of the enclosure wall of the temple of Ptah “who hears prayer” which shows the walls decorated with ears (Sadek 1987: pl. XVIII). It is possible that these monuments were the source of inspiration behind ear stelae.

87 This leads to the question of why this title was singled out as holding symbolic power. It is possible that this was the title by which workers at Deir el-Medina were known in their lifetimes and so they copied it onto their tomb walls.

88 Janssen rejects Baines and Eyre's hypothesis that there were “around twenty fully literate persons” at Deir el-Medina (Baines and Eyre 1983: 90), claiming that a larger proportion of men, and women, were either literate or “semi-literate”, which he defines as a person who was not competent in writing but who could recognise sufficient hieratic signs to read simple texts - he uses evidence of the uncertain succession of the role of chief workman (which required literacy) as well as the literature and letters found on ostraca (Janssen 1992: 82)

tomb owners, and artisans, gave it a place in their own lives, and demonstrated their connection with the king as his chosen workers. Ramesses II is known to have promoted his cult throughout Egypt; there are over 60 stelae dedicated to him from Pi-Ramesses⁸⁹, and colossal statues at many sites (Exell 2006: 61). Door jambs from Qantir also support the idea that there was a cult of the ruler during the Ramesside Period⁹⁰. Therefore, it is quite possible that the stelae, doorjambs, and use of *nb t3wy* in tombs are all evidence of the success of Ramesses II's efforts to integrate his cult into the everyday lives of his workers, again using active cults to promulgate his place in the traditions and cultural memory of the people⁹¹.

1.4 MORTUARY ESTATES:

Mortuary estates played an important role in New Kingdom Egypt, both economically

89 See Habachi (1952: 529-544 and 1969: 28-39) for details of each of the Horbeit stelae. There are several important points to note about these stelae. The first is that many belonged to people of little or no social status, which shows that the beliefs depicted on them were held by lower member of society as well as higher ones. Secondly, many show the deceased before a statue of the king (usually Ramesses II but there are also ones to other kings such as Ramesses III (Hild. 379) (Habachi 1952: 536) and Ramesses IV (Hild. 422) (Habachi 1952: 538)). This suggests that there were statues of the king erected around Qantir for the public to make offerings and worship to. While most of the forms of Ramesses II are limited to Qantir, one form (Ramesses-Meryamun-Son of the Rulers) can be found on statues at Abu-Simbel, Luxor Temple, the Ramesseum and Bubastis (Habachi 1952: 553) which shows that some of the forms of Ramesses II found on the stelae may have been national cults rather than local ones. All of this supports the idea of a concerted effort, particularly in the reign of Ramesses II, to encourage a cult of the ruler. Ockinga sees these stelae as depicting statues representing the king's *k3* (Ockinga 1995: 97) – see above (p. 21) for more discussion of this issue.

90 Fragments of about 20 doorways have been found in the area. They include the names of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, and seem to show the owner kneeling with either one or both arms raised in adoration in front of the cartouches (Habachi 1952: 490). Interestingly, one such image belongs to a *wꜥb*-priest called Tyroy, who Habachi (1952: 497) identifies with the priest named in the conspiracy trials of the Turin Papyrus – this suggests that the creation of such doorways was not caused by any real loyalty to the king but either by a fashion, or by a desire to appear loyal. Similar doorways have been found at Amarna and Deir el-Medina which shows that any beliefs identified with them were not limited to Qantir. An example from Deir el-Medina is no.50081, which shows cartouches of Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari and Seti I (Tosi and Roccati 1972: 297). Another lintel, also probably originally from Deir el-Medina (although found at Medinet Habu) is discussed by el-Sabbahy (2003) and includes the names of Amenhotep I, Ramesses II and Thutmose IV.

91 Although the title *nb t3wy* was not specific to Ramesses II it is reasonable to assume that during his reign it was connected with him as he was living holder of the title.

and socially⁹². In TT31 there is a depiction of activity relating to the mortuary estate of the king; herdsmen are shown bringing animals before the deceased, who has the title 'imy-r k3.w Mn-hpr.w-R' ('overseer of the cattle of Thutmose IV'), and his wife (fig. 31)⁹³. This is especially interesting as Khonsu is known, from titles in his tomb, to have been a 'prophet' of Thutmose III (Davies and Gardiner 1948: 12). This shows that it was possible to be connected to more than one estate in one's lifetime. Therefore, it may be suggested that there was not a great symbolic importance in belonging to a mortuary estate, as those who held titles did not necessarily see themselves as 'belonging' to a specific king, and may become connected with another at any time. Perhaps this shows a focus by the people on the eternal aspect of the office of kingship, rather than on the individual king through which the office was able to function on earth (Silverman 1995: 67). Holding positions in more than one cult, therefore, did not necessarily show split loyalty between kings, but a continued loyalty to the concept of eternal kingship and to Horus⁹⁴, so that belonging to more than one estate did not reduce its importance in a person's life but merely demonstrated a high social standing within the community.

Beneath the festival scene in TT31 (fig. 31) cows and goats can be seen being herded towards the deceased. That the estate had control of so many animals suggests that it must have had considerable wealth and, thus, economic power. The men depicted herding the animals would have also been employed by the temple⁹⁵, which is a reminder of the range of jobs that were linked to royal foundations and shows the

92 See above (pp. 14-16) for some discussion of the jobs and positions involved within temple estates.

93 Although it is possible that these animals are being offered to the deceased simply as a food offering, the inclusion of his title of 'overseer of the cattle of Thutmose IV' in the scene implies that the offering of cattle is linked with his holding this title.

94 See Goebis (2007: 281) for discussion of the links between the king and Horus.

95 Haring (1997: 254-5) also discusses the use of temple cattle by workmen to cultivate their own fields, which demonstrates the wide range of ways in which temples played a part in everyday life.

considerable role that they played in the lives of the Egyptian people. Numbers of temple personnel from other temples give an idea of the numbers of people involved in carrying out ritual tasks. At Thebes, by the time of Ramesses III, there were over 80,000 male personnel in the employ of the estate of Amun⁹⁶, although this estate was unusually large, and not all of these people would have been involved in festivals. At Heliopolis there were over 12,000, while at Memphis were 3,000 (Grandet 1994: 89). Calendars from temples show the huge amounts of food and provisions that were needed to run festivals and temple rituals in the Ramesside Period, all of which would have needed large amounts of staff to tend the animals, work the fields, and control the property. The calendar of Ramesses II at Abydos includes huge lists of bread needed for the feast of Osiris and goes on to list the animals involved in the ritual and sacrifice, which included a bull, long-horned oxen, long-horned oryx, a *rnk*-bull, a crane, gazelles and geese (el-Sabban 2000: 42, 55). So, through temple estates, the pharaoh was the provider of jobs and wages, and of prestige through the giving of titles relating to his estate. This encouraged the idea of a beneficent pharaoh who provided for his people even after death - “above all, the king was the builder of the temple, and it was he who endowed it with personnel, land, cattle and material wealth” (Haring 1997: 204). Of course, the idea that endowing such things automatically guaranteed respect for the king from the people is untrue (Silverman 1995: 57). Evidence such as pornographic graffiti of Hatshepsut⁹⁷

96 See Grandet (1994: 235-6) for a breakdown of where the workers were based. This translation lists the total number of people as 86,486. Haring (1997: 175) states that the lists are “concerned mainly with the new endowments of Ramesses III” and may not have been “incorporated administratively within the domains of existing temples”. In the case of this list, 62,626 people (out of the total 86,486) were given to Medinet Habu (although not all at once), and worked throughout Egypt “in the northern and southern districts” (Haring 1997:175). Grandet's translation supports this view, listing the 62,626 people under the heading “Le château de roi de Haute et Basse-Égypte Ousermaâtre-Méryamen v.s.f., dans le domaine d'Amon dans le(s) partie(s) sud et nord (du pays)..” (Grandet 1994:235).

97 These images have been published by Manniche (1977: 21, fig. 4). Romer (1982: 157-60) suggests that these scenes were a form of political satire commenting both on the unusual nature of having a female pharaoh and her alleged affair with her chief steward Senenmut. Wente (1984: 53) argues that the scenes were not aimed at her affair with Senenmut, but were intended solely to show the “absurdity of Hatshepsut's acting as king”.

show that public opinion of the pharaoh may not have always followed the respect shown in private tomb scenes.

1.5 ORACLES AND AMENHOTEP I:

It would not be possible to conclude a discussion on the role of kings in everyday life without examining the role of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina. The large number of depictions of Amenhotep I (who appears in 63% of all images of royalty in this period) and Ahmose-Nefertari (who appears in 59% of all images of royalty in this period), including those in scenes of festivals (35% of festival scenes include either Ahmose-Nefertari or Amenhotep I⁹⁸), may be linked to their perceived position as founders and 'protectors' of the village of Deir el-Medina. Their place in the lives of villagers may have been, in many ways, anomalous, but it does clearly demonstrate that past kings and queens could be a vibrant part of present day life. Festivals of Amenhotep I, such as that seen in TT19 (figs. 18, 22), appear to have been similar to those of other kings, but one must remain aware of an added symbolism in scenes of statues of this king. TT2 contains several depictions of statues of Amenhotep I, which include two of his statue being carried in a palanquin by priests with the deceased or his wife standing before it (figs. 1, 4). Černý (1927: 170) suggests that scenes such as the ones in TT2 may depict Amenhotep as an oracle⁹⁹, which would seem to be a reasonable assumption. Other written sources from Deir el-Medina, such as o.10269 Berlin¹⁰⁰ and o.Gardiner 4¹⁰¹,

98 Some of these scenes contain images of Amenhotep I or Ahmose-Nefertari alongside another king.

99 The forms of Amenhotep in these scenes are 'Amenhotep of the town' (fig. 4) and 'Amenhotep of the Beautiful name of [favourite]' (fig. 1) (see below, note 103, for details of this epithet), both of which may have been forms of oracles of Amenhotep I.

100 This describes the role of an oracle in solving a dispute about property (Černý 1927:178).

101 This text details the sculptor Kaha calling on Amenhotep I to settle a dispute over stolen clothes (Černý 1927:178).

show the importance of such oracles in the lives of the villagers. There were also cases in which the oracle of Amenhotep I was required to solve a dispute over who should have the right to be buried in a specific tomb (Černý 1927:185). Here, the king was not just depicted within the tomb, but was instrumental in the creation of it. Černý (1927:185) also suggests that the ramp leading to the tomb of Kaha would have held the processions of Amenhotep I, like those seen in private tomb scenes at Thebes. However, the evidence for this is circumstantial, and so it cannot be said with any certainty whether this was the case.

Certain epithets are used for Amenhotep in scenes in private Theban tombs in this period that have been linked to his role as an oracle. One example is '*p3 dmi*' ('of the town') (Černý 1927:167) (fig. 4), which refers to Deir el-Medina (Borghouts 1994: 119). Another common epithet found again, for example, in TT2, is '*m rn nfr n p3...*' ('of the beautiful name of...')¹⁰² (Černý 1927:167). Sadek (1987: 133, 135) argues that there were at least 6 forms of statues of Amenhotep I – Amenhotep of the garden, of the court, navigator on the water, the favoured of Hathor¹⁰³, of the town, of the beautiful name of favourite - he suggests that each form was responsible for a certain type of problem (for example one may be responsible for solving property disputes)¹⁰⁴. More examination is required before any conclusion can be reached on this hypothesis but it seems likely that the villagers did recognise a difference between the various forms of Amenhotep I that they depicted on the walls of their tombs.

¹⁰² Černý refrains from translating the last sign of the epithet. Sadek (1987: 133) transcribed it as '*ibib*' meaning 'favourite'.

¹⁰³ This epithet is discussed by Betrò (2008: 90), who suggests that it is, in fact, an incorrect translation of a list of gods.

¹⁰⁴ Černý (1927: 168) suggests that the different forms of Amenhotep I were depicted with different headdresses. Therefore, the different forms of Amenhotep I which are depicted in tombs at Thebes may have been copies of the different statues of the king that appeared at various events. This leads to the possibility that the same is true of depictions of other kings.

Oracles of deceased kings can be found elsewhere in Egypt, albeit irregularly. There was an oracle of Ahmose at Abydos in the New Kingdom; Harvey (1998: app. 1.449-452) includes a list of personnel of the cult of Ahmose at Abydos which shows that the cult was important in the area, while Stela Cairo J.E. 43469 describes a land dispute which was put before the barque oracle of Ahmose in the reign of Ramesses II (Harvey 1998: 121 and Legrain 1916: 162 and plate). Oracles of pharaohs, therefore, were not restricted to Amenhotep I or, indeed, to the Theban area. Harvey (1998: 118-120) argues that there was a settlement 'belonging'¹⁰⁵ to Ahmose at Abydos in the New Kingdom, which may be used to explain the existence of this oracle, in much the same way as the 'belonging' of Deir el-Medina to Amenhotep I may be used to explain his oracle there. This is supported by Ventura's discussion of the cults of Snofru and Amenhotep I (Ventura 1985: 283)¹⁰⁶.

The use of the king as an oracle introduces a more active element to his position in the life of the people. Festivals served to keep alive his memory, but in his role as an oracle he could play an active part in the community, actually affecting individual lives. This gave his image a potency and relevance to the community that simple memorials could not. Schudson (1995: 348) writes that over time memory tends to become more vague and loses its "emotional intensity". This would reduce its importance in the cultural memory of the community. The activity of oracles of deceased kings within the community helped to counteract this, and meant that the memories of the kings who served as oracles remained effective. Halbwachs (1992: 73) claims that ancestors only

¹⁰⁵This term does not suggest that the town was owned in a literal sense, or even that the king necessarily founded the town but that it came to be seen as being connected to his cult.

¹⁰⁶See discussion below (p. 42) for more details.

survive in the memory if they remain “at least fictitiously in contact” with the living.

Oracles allowed people to have such contact with royal ancestors and, therefore, helped to keep their memory alive.

1.6 CONCLUSION:

The king played an important part in the lives of the people; he provided them with employment (in the form of temple estates, as well as, in the case of Deir el-Medina, with jobs in the Valley of the Kings), he was central in religious and festival life, and he gave them a sense of identity (through aspects such as personal titles relating to the king). By integrating himself into the life of the people, and allowing them to play an active role in his monuments (as priests, as lay temple employees, or by taking part in festivals) he ensured that his memory would remain potent in the minds of the people, thus giving himself a position in the cultural memory of the community. This role continued long after the king had died. Even while alive, the king was visible to the people only through statues and monuments so it is not surprising that, in many ways, royal involvement in local life continued after the death of the pharaoh in much the same way as it had done during his life. One must ask whether a pharaoh that was never truly 'alive' for the people could ever truly be 'dead'.

CHAPTER 2

THE KING AS A HISTORICAL FIGURE¹⁰⁷

2.1 LOCATION AND CONTEXT OF SCENES:

There are seven tombs in the Theban necropolis whose depictions stand out as having what may be termed a 'kinglist'¹⁰⁸, or a depiction of the king with members of his family (beyond that of the queen). These are TT2 (three scenes) (fig. 2, 3)¹⁰⁹, TT4 (fig. 8), TT7¹¹⁰, TT10 (figs. 10, 11)¹¹¹, TT19 (fig. 14)¹¹², TT306¹¹³ and C7 (fig. 58)¹¹⁴. The tombs are found at three sites in Thebes – Deir el-Medina (four tombs), Dra Abu el-Naga (two tombs) and Sheik Abd el-Qurna (one tomb) (app. 7) and there is no obvious pattern, within the necropolis, in the locations of the tombs containing the depictions (maps: 2-4,

¹⁰⁷See app. 3 for scene details.

¹⁰⁸This study uses the term 'kinglist' in its loosest sense. Redford (1986: 1) defined this term as a list that "set out; a) to arrange the names in correct historical sequence, b) to give for each name the length of the reign, and c) to note conscientiously any gaps in (a) or (b)." Clearly the examples noted here are not true 'kinglists' in this sense (in fact Redford (1986: 2) states only one such list in the Ramesside Period, the Turin Canon, although he suggests that there were originally many more such documents that have not survived), but they are, to all intents and purposes, lists of kings (albeit in illustrated form) and for this reason will be referred to as 'kinglists'.

¹⁰⁹Lepsius (1849-1858: 2[a]) refers to this scene as belonging to TT9. It contains a scene of the deceased offering to two rows of kings and queens. Redford (1986: 48) names the figures as Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Seqenenre Tao, Ahhotep, nine queens, Sapair, Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep, Ahmose, Sekhentenre, Kamose, five princes and four queens. See also Snape (1985: 181) for discussion of who is depicted in this scene. See Hollender (2009: 93-4) for a full list of figures in this scene.

¹¹⁰This scene includes an image of Ramose adoring Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Horemheb and Thutmose IV (Černý 1927: 175).

¹¹¹One of these shows Kasa and his son before Seti I, Ramesses I and Horemheb (fig. 10). The second is of Penbuy and his brother before Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Seti I, Ramesses I and Horemheb (fig. 11).

¹¹²This shows the deceased offering to two rows of kings and queens. They are recognisable as Ahmose-Nefertari, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III on the top row, and Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I on the lower row.

¹¹³This shows two rows of seven cartouches, which Porter and Moss translate as being those of "Ahmose Nefertari, Sekenre-Ta'a. Amenhotep I, Queen Tamer..., Queen (cartouche blank), Queen Nabtau, Senwosret I, Queen Ahmose, Kamose, Queen Sentsonb, In..., and another" (Porter and Moss 1960: 384).

¹¹⁴The kings are Thutmose I-IV and Amenhotep II and III, alongside Horus.

8). The relevant tombs date almost exclusively from the reign of Ramesses II (six out of seven tombs) (app. 6), which suggests that ideas relating to royal genealogy may have been particularly prevalent in the reign of Ramesses II. Although the scenes are not restricted to one area of the tombs, the hall was the favoured location with five out of nine scenes occurring there. Other such scenes can be found in the chapel, shrine and burial chamber (app. 8, 16). 43.5% of adjacent scenes are of the gods, and 30.4% of adjacent scenes are other scenes of kings (app. 9). This shows a tendency towards linking this type of scene with other scenes of royalty¹¹⁵, but the link must not be overly stressed as several other types of scenes can be found next to the scenes discussed in this chapter. The percentage of scenes of the deceased and their family found next to scenes of the king as a historical figure is very low (4.3%) in contrast to the percentage of this scene found next to the scenes discussed in other chapters¹¹⁶. This may be merely coincidence but it may suggest that the commonly followed ordering of tomb decoration placed these two types of scenes separately. None of the scenes discussed in this chapter include the reigning king¹¹⁷, which suggests that he was generally seen as separate to royal ancestors¹¹⁸.

2.2 KINGLISTS AND ROWS OF KINGS:

¹¹⁵The high number of scenes of the gods in adjacent positions can be explained by the high numbers of scenes of the gods throughout tombs, as discussed above (p. 8).

¹¹⁶28.6% adjacent to scenes of the king as a part of everyday life and 23.9% adjacent to scenes of the king as a divine being.

¹¹⁷The scene in TT19 includes Seti I, who, if the dating of Porter and Moss (1960: 32) is taken to be correct, was the reigning king. However, where possible, this study adheres to the dating of Kampp (1996a) who dates the tombs to the reign of Seti I - Ramesses II, which implies that by the time the tomb was built, the reigning king was likely to have been Ramesses II, so that Seti I was technically 'deceased'.

¹¹⁸Redford (1986: 45-51) describes all of the private kinglists found in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties, both within tombs and in other contexts, and of 20 lists, only three can be said to have definitely included the reigning king (TT359, Deir el-Medina stela 88 and Deir el-Medina stela 79). This leads to the question of whether use of royal genealogy could be effective in legitimising the reigning king, if he was not usually connected with these ancestors by ordinary people.

The geographical variation of the tombs containing kinglists (app. 7) suggests that there was no real connection between them and, therefore, their decoration. It is, however, possible that there was a connection in life that is not obvious in the tombs, such as links within the Theban community (through trade, social activity, employment). One must also remember that the same craftsmen may have been responsible for several constructions and it is, therefore, possible that the tombs discussed may have shared an artisan. An interesting example is that of TT10. This tomb housed two men, Penbuy and Kasa, and their families. Within the tomb are separate scenes for each, and each has included a row of kings being praised by the deceased and his family. Kasa (fig. 10) has included the same rulers as Penbuy (fig. 11) but without the inclusion of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari. The reproduction of almost identical scenes suggests either that the content of one affected that of the other¹¹⁹, or that both scenes were inspired by a single, other, source. If this is possible within shared tombs, it may be possible in a wider context. Vandier D'Abbadie (1935b: 26) cites the example of the tomb of Nefer-Abou (TT5), arguing that, based on the style, it was probably painted by the same artist who painted TT211, TT219, TT323, TT335, TT336 and TT356. This shows the possibilities of links between tombs that were not geographically connected¹²⁰. The

¹¹⁹The reason for which Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari were omitted from the scene of Kasa is unclear. It is possible that Penbuy held a position within a cult of the royal couple and this inspired their inclusion (while a lack of such a position in Kasa's case led to their omission), although one would expect to find this among Penbuy's titles if it were so. Alternatively one may look to artistic preference, or issues of space available for the scene. Redford (1986:52) suggests that the inclusion of certain figures may be related to the importance of certain numbers (namely 3 (the triad), 9 (the ennead) and 14 (relating to the royal ka)) – kings were either included or rejected in an attempt to create a group of the correct size, rather than for solely historical reasons. In this tomb the kings are in groups of 3 (Kasa) and 5 (Penbuy), which neither supports nor fully contradicts this theory.

¹²⁰See Wachsmann (1987: 12-25) for more detail on pattern books, which is discussed in more detail below (p. 34). Keller (1991: 50) suggests that the draughtsmen responsible for tomb decoration would have received instruction in order to learn “both the proper method of rendering the sacred images and their appropriate wall arrangement”. This may explain similarities in tomb design between seemingly unconnected tombs.

kinglists discussed in this chapter all have strong similarities. The deceased is depicted adoring or making offerings to the kings, who are seated in rows¹²¹, with the only exception being in TT306 where there are not kings, but cartouches. Such close similarities may show a connection between the scenes. That six out of seven tombs with kinglists are from the same reign (albeit a very long reign) supports the idea that they were the result of a popular idea at the time, or that the inclusion of the scene in one tomb encouraged its inclusion in others. Wachsmann (1987: 4) questions whether the sources of tomb depictions were primary (taken from real life) or secondary (copied from other depictions, so that the artist presumably never saw the original subject). Kings depicted in the kinglists in private Theban tombs in this period were clearly copied from secondary sources (as most of the kings were long dead when tombs were decorated) although statues at festivals may have acted as sources of information for tomb depictions. It is, however, possible that the depictions were derived from a single, secondary source such as a 'pattern book'¹²² or an earlier tomb¹²³. Wachsmann (1987:12)

121 Redford (1986:51) reminds the reader that the features of these scenes, including the offering formulae, the furniture and the objects being offered, were virtually indistinguishable from those used in scenes of offering to the gods. He also notes (Redford 1986: 45) that they do not differ in any fundamental way from scenes of offering to the deceased by their family. This would suggest that the similarity between scenes of offering to the gods and scenes of offering to kings was caused at least partly by artistic style, and not only by a perceived connection between the royal ancestors and the gods.

122 Wachsmann (1987:13) postulates that "hypothetical sets of original drawings" may have existed in so-called "pattern books" from which artists drew inspiration when creating tomb depictions. This idea is supported by Der Manuelian's discussion of "musterbücher" (Der Manuelian 1994: 28). Keller (1991: 53-4) suggests that ostraca or papyrus drawing were used as "small scale patterns" from which large scale images were copied onto temple or tomb walls. Bietak and Reisner-Haslauer discussed the subject in relation to the Saite tomb of Ankh-Hor with Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, especially that of TT39 – they argue that *musterbücher* which was collected in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was responsible for the connection between the tombs (Bietak and Reisner-Haslauer 1978: 232ff with particular reference to 232-240).

123 It is feasible that artists may have visited existing tombs to prepare for creating new monuments, and may have copied the scenes that they saw into new tombs (Wachsmann 1987:12). Davies posited a similar thesis when comparing the tomb of Aba at Deir el-Gebrawi with that of another Aba in Thebes in the seventh century BC (TT36); he notes that the scenes have been altered in the later tomb, with new material inserted, but states that "the coincidence alike of the groups and inscriptions is so considerable [in the tomb of Aba at Thebes] that this can only be accounted for by direct copying from the tomb of Aba at Deir el-Gebrâwi" (Davies 1902: 36-7). Der Manuelian (1994: 28) disagrees with this conclusion, suggesting instead that the later tomb may have taken ideas from other Saite tombs in the area, such as that of Montuemhet (TT34), which contain scenes of everyday life similar to those in

argues that “the close imitation of objects, figures and entire scenes in the private tombs at Thebes makes it obvious that there exists some form of relationship between the various renditions of any given 'stock scene'”¹²⁴. The suggestion that scenes were included because they were 'fashionable' appears to contradict the idea that deceased kings were a part of the cultural memory of the community – these images were included not because they had meaning for the tomb owner, but because the tomb owner wanted to integrate himself into a specific group by emulating its artistic fashions. It is important to remember, however, that by depicting these kings, the tomb owner was helping to support their place in the traditions of the community, no matter what the reasons for their inclusion. Just because a depiction was part of a 'fashion' does not mean it cannot also be a part of the cultural memory of the people.

2.3 MORTUARY TEMPLES AND CULTS:

The answer as to why specific kings were depicted in kinglists may lie in the mortuary temples on the West Bank at Thebes (McDowell 1992: 97). The scene in TT19 (fig. 14) allows a good comparison with the West Bank temples. If the names of the depicted kings are compared to a map of the temples on the West Bank (map. 9) one can see that

the two tombs of Aba. Of course, this idea does not preclude copying of existing tombs by later artisans, although here the tombs are from a similar period.

124o. Cairo 25646 has a list of kings from Ahmose to Ramesses II (recto) and cartouches of Horemheb and Mentuhotep I (verso), but has no introduction or explanation. It has been understood by Sauneron (1951: 47) as being composed by, or for, a student scribe. Redford (1986: 40) suggests it was a scribe's copy intended to guide an artist when creating a kinglist within a private tomb. Both views allow one to understand this list as an example of Wachsmann's pattern book, which suggests that such lists were in use in the New Kingdom. Perhaps such scenes followed what Baines has termed “decorum” (Baines 1990). He argues that knowledge was restricted to the elite and access to it was tightly controlled (Baines 1990: 6-17), and goes further to suggest that the images (and texts) that were displayed on monuments and in private contexts were dictated by rules linked with this rigid protection of knowledge (Baines 17-21). This means that certain scenes would have been deemed acceptable in tombs and others would not.

10 out of the 13 recognisable figures had mortuary temples in the vicinity¹²⁵. Perhaps, therefore, mortuary estates and their related cults allowed members of the Theban community to retain knowledge of deceased kings, whilst also making them relevant enough to early Ramesside workers to encourage their depiction in tombs. The absence of Akhenaten from any rows of kings depicted in the tombs (or, indeed, from any tombs depictions at all in this period) supports this theory as there were no functioning monuments to Akhenaten in the Theban vicinity in the Ramesside Period - he had become completely detached from the 'cultural memory' of the Theban people¹²⁶. This could explain his absence from tomb depictions, and also support the idea that inspiration for depictions within private tombs came from the active cults and monuments of the pharaohs. However, Hatshepsut is also not found in any tomb depictions. As the pharaoh who ordered the construction of the *dsr-dsr.w* temple at Deir el-Bahri (Shaw 2000: 241), which played a central part in the Beautiful Festival of the Valley¹²⁷, one cannot say that there were no surviving traces of her reign at Thebes in the Nineteenth Dynasty¹²⁸. Therefore, one is forced to question whether one can really attribute the inclusion of pharaohs in tomb depictions solely to the existence of their

125Those who appear in the depiction but who do not appear to have built mortuary temples in the area are Ahmose and Ramesses I (both of whom built at Abydos) and Thutmose I (who may have built on the West Bank at Thebes but this temple has not been found and may not have survived into the Ramesside Period).

126There were up to four monuments erected by Akhenaten at Thebes towards the beginning of his reign, the largest of which was the *Gm-p3-Itn*. There may have also been a *hwt-bnbn*, as well as building called *Rwd-mn.w* and *Tni-mn.w* (Redford 1999: 56-8). Murnane (1999: 183) notes, however, that the dismantling of these buildings was begun soon after the end of the Amarna Period, by the reign of Horemheb, and the blocks used to build new monuments. Therefore, despite the existence of monuments to Akhenaten, parts of which may have survived intact through the Ramesside Period (this seems likely as a few colossi remained intact until they were found by Chevrier in 1925 (Redford 1999: 55)), one can be reasonably certain that no functioning cult existed relating to these temples beyond the Eighteenth Dynasty.

127This festival may have existed as early as the Middle Kingdom on a local level – Graefe (1986: 187) suggests that it descended from the Valley Festival of Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep. However, it grew in importance in the Eighteenth Dynasty, with the temple of Hatshepsut as a key location in the festival route (see map in Wilkinson 2000: 95).

128It is, however, uncertain if Hatshepsut's link with this temple would have been referred to in the Ramesside Period.

monuments in Western Thebes – this may have been merely one of several factors. Perhaps one must look at the 'history' documented by pharaohs in official monuments – although this may not have acted directly as a source of knowledge for the builders of private tombs, it is evidence of the 'royal ancestors' that were officially recognised and may have been publicised in various ways (such as in state festivals or cults). Jonker (1995: 235) writes that “forgetting is an essential element in the process of remembering”, noting that those who had “no place in the past could make no contribution to the present” (Jonker 1995: 238). Therefore, by excluding individuals such as Hatshepsut and Akhenaten from the memory of the country the state was attempting to prevent any ideologies connected with them from affecting the ideas of the present¹²⁹. In the Eighteenth Dynasty there was an attempt by certain pharaohs to use genealogy, and knowledge of history, to legitimise their rule. The Tuthmoside rulers encouraged the worship of royal ancestors in the form *k3-mwt.f* and kings such as Amenhotep I restored Middle Kingdom monuments (Redford 1986: 171). From the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Beautiful Festival of the Valley involved taking a statue of Amun to mortuary temples on the West Bank, thus becoming a state commemoration of royal ancestors (Bell 1998: 137). Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty scarabs also grouped current kings with kings of the Twelfth Dynasty (Hayes 1959: fig. 24). This desire to link current kings with rulers of the past continued into the Nineteenth Dynasty with emphasis laid on offerings to ancestors in temple rituals (Redford 1986: 193). Royal king lists also became more common on royal monuments in this period. Ramesside examples are that of Seti I at Abydos which lists the kings from the First

¹²⁹Gaballa gives the example of a text from the reign of Ramesses II which refers to the reign of Akhenaten as the “enemy from Akhetaten” (Gaballa 1977: 25) and allots 59 years to the reign of Horemheb, consisting mainly of the years of kings who were erased from the line of succession (Gaballa 1997: 30).

Dynasty onwards (David 1981: 196)¹³⁰, and the 400 Year Stela of Ramesses II which claims to trace back the line of kings for 400 years (Kitchen 1996: 117)¹³¹. Kinglists demonstrate a clear wish by the pharaoh to be seen as the descendant of a long line of pharaohs. The depictions of the Min Festival at the Ramesseum show another official image of a line of kings, in this case statues of 14 royal ancestors (Lepsius 1849-1858: 162-3)¹³². The depiction of the Min festival is a reminder that rows of kings in official contexts were not just depicted on temple walls, they were involved in festivals, as has already been seen with the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. Perhaps it was events such as these that made the idea of royal ancestry accessible to the people, as it is more likely that the people would have had access to parts of official festivals, than that they would have been intimately familiar with texts and depictions on temple walls¹³³.

In some cases, kinglists can be found in other private contexts, such as in graffiti. One example, from Deir el-Medina, shows Pay, son of Ipu, together with the sculptor Piay,

130 This list includes 76 kings listed in 38 columns, subdivided into 3 registers. The first two registers list kings from Menes to Menmaatre. At the top of the list is the line “an offering which the king gives to king Name” and each column in the third register includes alternately “as the gift of King Menmaatre, king of Upper Egypt” and “as the gift of King Seti Merenptah, king of Lower Egypt” - one may, therefore, see the list as representing the royal ancestors in a ritual that was performed on their behalf (David 1973: 196-8).

131 The text reads, “His Majesty commanded...a great stela...bearing the name of his forefathers, in order to maintain the name of the father of his fathers...” (Kitchen 1996: 117). See Murnane (1995: 192-6) for discussion of the dating of this stela.

132 See Redford (1986: 34-6) for discussion of the full scene in which the kingship is reaffirmed in front of the 14 ancestors, and a second, smaller scene, in which eight or nine royal statues are depicted.

133 Spencer (1984: 64) argues that the *wsḥ.t ḥb.yt* was open to members of the public, but suggests that it was only accessible to certain members of the public at specific times. Bommas (2000: 211) agrees that members of the public had access, but suggests that the *wsḥ.t ḥb.yt* was an area of the temple that was constructed for the commemoration of events that a larger amount of people would have been able to access. By accessing these areas of the temple, they would be able to witness and, therefore, be convinced of, the power of the king (Bommas 2000: 213). A text from the temple of Khnum at Elephantine supports this idea, saying that the king “made for him [Khnum] a *wsḥ.t ḥb.yt* in order that all the *rhyt* may see what he makes for him” (Bommas 2000: 176). Griffin (2007: 81) disagrees, concluding that the common people (*rhyt*) “were present in the temple[s] metaphysically and not physically”, which supports the idea that ordinary people were not familiar with interiors of temples. He states that if the public were not able to access the *wsḥ.t ḥb.yt* (which, as has been discussed, is uncertain), they would not have been able to access other parts of the temple, such as sanctuaries and even possibly the hypostyle hall, which were considered more sacred (Griffin 2007: 78-9).

reverencing cartouches of Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I (Spiegelberg 1921: 66).

This demonstrates, again, an awareness of the succession of kings. Other royal names that can be found in graffiti in the Theban necropolis include Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Amenhotep III, Horemheb and the early Ramesside kings (Spiegelberg 1921: 156-8)¹³⁴. Although the graffiti did not usually include more than two or three names, they demonstrate a knowledge of kings, both past and present, and show that they were seen as important enough to be written down. Graffiti may be a truer representation of the ideas that were important to the community at the time, as they were more spontaneous than tomb depictions and were less likely to be the result of careful planning. The fact that short kinglists appear in the graffiti suggests that they were a part of the cultural memory of the community.

It would appear, therefore, that the inclusion of kinglists in private tombs in the period demonstrates a private continuation of the official legitimisation of the ruler based on the 'ancestors' that were promoted by the state in monuments and festivals. A connection between the kings mentioned in official monuments and the kings depicted in private tombs can be found with the king Senekhtenre; this king is mentioned on the offering table of *Kn-hr-hpš.f*¹³⁵, and again in TT2 although it has been spelt “Sekhtenre”.

Winlock (1924: 221) states that the only other reference to this king in the Nineteenth Dynasty is in the kinglist of Thutmose III at Karnak¹³⁶. Perhaps the mention of this king

¹³⁴Spiegelberg's study of graffiti in the Theban Necropolis is just one of several studies of the topic. More examples can be found in Černý (1956) and Černý and Sadek (1969-74).

¹³⁵McDowell (1992: 96) notes that three separate kinglists may be attributed to this individual: The offering table discussed here, o.Cairo CG 25646, which names the kings from Ahmose to Ramesses II, and a copy of the Liturgy of Amenhotep I (discussed below, p. 43).

¹³⁶See Prisse d'Avennes (1847: pl. i) for details of the Karnak kinglist. Redford (1986: 43) notes the inclusion of “Senakhtenre” and “Sequenre” on the offering table of Qenherkhepshef (naming Sequenre Tao as the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty). He also records the inclusion of “Sequenre Tao” and “Sekhtenre (sic)” in the TT2 kinglist (Redford 1986: 48). These are the only two instances of these names in the early Ramesside Period recorded by Redford. Ryholt (1997: 277) notes the mention of “Sequenre, the son of Re, Tao” in a copy of the Book of the Dead from tomb 47 in the

on a kinglist at Karnak led to his inclusion in two private kinglists, thus supporting the idea that private lists imitated the ones found in official contexts. Vansina (1985: 96-7) argues that not everyone had access to all knowledge about the past, and that the public only knew what the state chose to tell them, which shows the importance of the state in promoting the role of the king in the tradition and cultural memory of the people.

McDowell (1992: 95-105), however, disagrees with Vansina's claim, purporting several ways in which people could gain knowledge, including monuments, literature, festivals and private archives.

A second possibility is that tombs of kings were sources of knowledge in the Nineteenth Dynasty. The inclusion of Senekhtenre in TT2 and on the offering table of *Kn-hr-hpš.f* again provides an example. P.Abbott mentions two tombs belonging to Seqenenre Tao (Peet 1930: 38)¹³⁷. Winlock (1924: 243-5) argues that the second king is Senakhtenre Tao¹³⁸. This would mean that the tomb of Senekhtenre was still in existence as late as the Twentieth Dynasty, and may explain his inclusion in tomb scenes. It may also explain the absence of Akhenaten from private tomb scenes (as he had no official tomb at Thebes), and Hatshepsut (whose body was probably abandoned soon after her death and

Valley of the Queens, and dates this individual to the beginning of the Seventeenth Dynasty. He also discusses a “Senakhtenre” who, he notes, is only attested on the offering table of Qenherkhepshef, TT2 and the Karnak kinglist (Ryholt 1997: 278). In this, he is in agreement with Winlock.

137Peet's translation states that there were two pyramid tombs of Seqenenre Tao “making a second king Taʿo” (Peet 1930: 38).

138Winlock (1924: 243-5) bases his argument on the unlikelihood of two kings in close succession sharing both a prenomen as well as personal names. He points out that p.Abbott notes that there were “two kings Taʿo” and not “two kings Sekenenr”. He concludes that the syllable *nht* (strong) was substituted for the syllable *kn* (strong) when the field notes of the scribes were transcribed into the formal document, so that the elder *S-kn-n-Rʿ* was, in fact, *S-nht-n-Rʿ*. Redford includes both “Seqenenre Tao” and “Sequentenre” in the kinglist from TT2 (Redford 1986: 48), as well as “Senakhtenre” and “Seqenenre” in the list from the offering table of *Kn-hr-hpš.f* (Redford 1986: 43) but does not include any discussion of who these kings may have been. Ryholt (1997: 279-80) dismisses Winlock's suggestion, and claims that the P.Abbott simply mentions the same king, Seqenenre Tao, twice (for reasons that are unclear), and goes on to suggest that the nomen of Senakhtenre may have been Siamun.

so had no recognised burial site in the Nineteenth Dynasty¹³⁹). As the builders of the royal tombs it is possible that the workers of Deir el-Medina may have had knowledge of all the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, although this does not explain the knowledge of deceased kings held by Thebans who were not resident at the village. Here, again, one can see the importance of the state in supporting local traditions, although less deliberately than through state cults and monuments. It is also important not to forget the value of oral tradition in helping memories to survive, meaning that knowledge of old tombs may have been passed down orally along with other historical knowledge; Hutton (1993: 16) notes that memory is “first conceived as a repetition”, which implies that it is through oral tradition that memories enter society's consciousness.

Maspero (1882: 112) suggests that the workers of Deir el-Medina were a kind of religious community who maintained the cults of kings who were buried at Thebes. There is not enough evidence of such activity to prove this theory definitively, but the idea that cults of deceased rulers played a part in the lives of the villagers of Deir el-Medina (indeed, in the lives of the Theban people in general) does seem likely¹⁴⁰. Items such as offering tables and stelae from the temple at Deir el-Medina have the name of Amenhotep I on them, which suggests that cultic activity relating to him occurred there, and Černý (1927: 170) argues that there may have been a temple at Deir el-Medina dedicated to Thutmose III. McDowell (1992: 100) states that “almost all the kings...who were honoured [in private tombs at Thebes] had a cult in the Theban area which is sufficient to explain the interest in them”. Yet while this may explain scenes of festival

139Reeves (1990: 17) suggests that after her death the body of Thutmose I, whom she had buried with her, was moved from KV20 into KV38, while “Hatshepsut's burial, however, seems to have been left to its fate...”.

140The importance of cults was discussed in greater detail in ch.1.

and cultic activity relating to deceased kings¹⁴¹, it does not fully explain why some artists chose to draw a kinglist, as opposed to depicting an event from their own life, such as a festival¹⁴². This does not mean, however, that personal experience did not play a part in the selection of kings to be included in tomb depictions. Schudson (1995: 385) argues that in order to be retained in the memories of the people, the past must be contained in a cultural form, such as a festival, that people could experience personally. The owner of TT7, Ramose, has included a depiction of himself offering to four kings, all of whom may have been included for personal reasons – Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari were local 'deities', Horemheb was the ruler when he was born, and Thutmose IV was the king in whose cult he originally served (Redford 1986: 61)¹⁴³. Ventura (1985: 283) suggests that areas around mortuary installations were seen to 'belong' to the pharaoh being commemorated, which led in some cases to the veneration of that pharaoh and would, again, provide the people that lived there with a sense of personal connection to the king¹⁴⁴. It is possible that the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari at Deir el-Medina may have been begun by workers who had previously worked at a site that 'belonged' to the pair (possibly a cult monument at Dra Abu el-Naga) and who then moved to Deir el-Medina (Ventura 1985: 283). This, again, shows the importance of mortuary temples in continuing the memory of deceased rulers. Assmann (2005: 13) states that the idea of continued existence in the world of the living after death was important for the Egyptian people, stating that building tombs ensured that the owner “did not fall out of the life of the land as a social geographical and

141 This is true provided one assumes that the depictions of festivals showed actual events.

142 Depictions of festivals are discussed in greater detail in ch. 1 (pp. 9-21).

143 Redford (1986: 61) goes on to include in this example Seti I (who Ramose depicts elsewhere) because “his early appointments were at his behest”, and Ramesses II (who is depicted in other parts of the tomb) because, he suggests, Ramose was his secretary before his accession.

144 He uses the example of Snofru's pyramids at Dahshur, suggesting that his cult in Sinai was a result of workers from Giza, who had been employed around his mortuary installation, being sent to Sinai (Ventura 1985: 283).

cultural space” - royal mortuary installations were built, at least in part, for the same reason.

The organisation of the figures in private kinglists, however, suggests more than simply knowledge of names gained from the existence of temples and official kinglists. The kings depicted in TT19 (fig. 14), for example, are organised with an understanding of chronology¹⁴⁵. This knowledge may have come from royal kinglists, but archaeological evidence points to other possible sources of knowledge. Many bricks from Deir el-Medina include the name of Thutmose I (Lesko 1994: 7), who was probably responsible for the building of structures containing these bricks¹⁴⁶. This introduces the idea that certain kings were seen as a part of the 'history' of certain groups or areas (such as the founder of a village), which may have encouraged more detailed remembrance of their reign, or place in the history of the country. Another possible source of knowledge was religious ritual. The daily liturgy of Amenhotep I included Amenhotep I, Ramesses II and 14 ancestors as well as several gods (Gardiner 1935b: pl. 53a)¹⁴⁷, and the Festival of Min and Beautiful Festival of the Valley¹⁴⁸ also included images of royal ancestors. These were events in which detailed knowledge of past kings may have been accessible to certain members of society and demonstrates, again, the importance of 'active'

145The kings are shown in chronological order beginning with Nebhepetre Mentuhotep and Ahmose, and ending with Seti I (with the usual exceptions).

146Lesko (1994: 7) suggests that, although a large proportion of inscribed bricks from the site give the name of Thutmose I, the village may have been founded by Amenhotep I which would explain the strength of his cult there.

147The list of kings in this instance (11, 7) reads: Ramesses II, Ramesses I, Horemheb, Amenhotep III, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep II, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Amenhotep I, Ahmose, Kamose, Senwosret I, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep. However, Gardiner (1935a: 90) corrects the mis-ordering of Thutmose I and Thutmose II, and includes the name of Thutmose III in his translation, basing his alteration on the evidence of 12, 11-13 where the omitted king is included and the order corrected (thus concluding that the variation in 11, 7 is, in fact, a scribal error). A detailed study of the ritual can be found in Bacchi (1942).

148This is discussed above (pp. 36, 37).

remembrance of the past¹⁴⁹. Knowledge of genealogies were best relayed to the people not through temple kinglists, but through festivals and rituals that they could both witness and take part in, even if only as a 'watcher'¹⁵⁰. Through these events the community felt connected to the kings of the past whose statues were paraded in front of them, and were able to integrate them into their own cultural memory. When one looks at the images of royalty in private tombs it becomes clear that that they are depictions, not of the king or queen, but of a statue of them¹⁵¹. This is an important distinction. When one looks at festival depictions it is clear that the artist has painted the statue of the king that was used in the festival in order to represent the scene faithfully. However, if the same images are used in kinglists, one is forced to suggest that it was only through these statues that the people were able to connect themselves with the king, and that they did not see the king as a living being¹⁵², but as an image who existed only in the form of statues - the cult of the king was more important to them than the king himself¹⁵³.

Kinglists at other sites are hard to come by, largely because private tombs in good condition from this period are not numerous. However, a kinglist, thought to be from the tomb of Tjuneroy, can be found at Saqqara which lists the Egyptian kings from the First Dynasty down to Ramesses II (Martin 1991: 123)¹⁵⁴. This shows that the idea of

149Interestingly, private genealogies do not occur in private tombs at Thebes. Evidence, such as a text regarding the inheritance of a statue from p.Turin (Helck 1961: 197) shows that people had knowledge of their family history but, unlike royal genealogy, did not place it in their tombs.

150The importance of 'watching' was discussed in ch. 1 (pp. 12-13).

151This is also suggested by McDowell (1992: 102-3). As discussed earlier, Ockinga (1995: 97) suggests that statues may represent the *k3* of a person as opposed to the mortal aspect. Therefore, by depicting statues used in festivals people were actually depicting the royal *k3* through which "the king is active in the world" (Ockinga 1995: 94).

152This is especially striking when one notes that none of the nine examples of the kings as a historical figure in private tombs in this study include the reigning king at the time.

153Kantorowicz discusses a similar idea with regards medieval kingship: He notes that the funerary effigy of Francis I of France was attended as though it were the king himself, while the body of the actual king was, after only a few days, placed in a separate hall (Kantorowicz 1997: 425-6). Therefore, the image of the king, in this way, took the place of the real king.

154Redford (1986: 23) attributes the absence of certain kings, such as the Eighth Dynasty, to a lack of

including royal lists in private tombs extended beyond Thebes. In this instance the tomb owner was the chief lector priest of deified rulers, and this may have been his reason for including such a list¹⁵⁵. Possibly it was expected of him, or even ordered by the royal court at Memphis, a practice that may also have occurred at Thebes¹⁵⁶. One must also remember that the tomb of his brother Paser, who held the role of Overseer of the Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands (Sharpe 1837: 2), created at a similar time, does not include such a list. It would seem here that the inclusion of deceased kings was linked not to family ideas or fashions, but to the job of the tomb owner. Kinglists from other periods also show that such scenes were not confined to the early Ramesside Period¹⁵⁷. Redford (1986: 196) claims that scenes of offering to a list of royal ancestors in private tombs became common in the Nineteenth Dynasty, and while there is not enough evidence from Thebes for this claim to be entirely verified, it does imply that such scenes were considered, by some members of society at least, to be of importance throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

By including kinglists in their tombs, Egyptians were not only demonstrating their knowledge of royal lineage, they were also expressing an interest in these figures as

available space on the stela; in an attempt to list kings reaching back as far as Menes the scribe was forced to remove the kings who did not have contemporary mortuary cults or a place in the Memphite *nis hkn.w*. This supports the idea that the existence of cults in the vicinity may have affected which kings were included in private kinglists. In any case, despite these alterations there was not enough space and the list stops short of Menes.

155 Redford (1986: 21-22) notes that the text identifies the ceremony as the “[performance of the *hṯp-di-nsw* for the ki]ngs of Upper and Lower Egypt and for Osiris, through the agency of King Usermare Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses Maiamun”. This implies that the ceremony was connected with his position within the royal cult and may have been a representation of his role within it.

156 There is no evidence that such a practice occurred at Thebes, but it seems possible that court demands may have affected the content of private tomb scenes, and until evidence appears to the contrary, this must be considered as a possibility. Such demands may have taken the form of direct requests, or may have simply originated from a need to obey decorum (see Baines 1990).

157 TT359 (of Inerkhaou) from the Twentieth Dynasty includes a scene of the deceased worshipping two rows of kings, queens and princes (Bruyère 1933: pl. viii). And in TT65, from the reign of Ramesses IX, is a depiction of the deceased libating before statues of 12 deceased kings (Lepsius 1849-1858: 235).

more than just the pharaoh - they were personalising them. This suggests that the workers saw the ruler not only as a symbol of generic 'kingship' but also as an individual with individual accomplishments, and a specific place in the history of the country¹⁵⁸.

Silverman (1995: 66-7) suggests that, while the people saw the king as an intermediary between them and the gods, they viewed him as a concrete being who played an active role on this earth, having clear human origins and an individual personality despite his holding the eternal office of kingship. Perhaps it is this perceived human individuality that can be seen, to a degree, in kinglists in private tombs. Silverman (1995: 67) states that the kinglists “visibly document this concept of the constant divine office being animated by the individual, changeable ruler”. The scenes of Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari and Merytamun in TT2 (fig. 2) and TT4 (fig. 8), and the kinglists in TT359 (Stewart 1976: 56)¹⁵⁹ suggest a knowledge of, and interest in, the king as part of a family (which supports the suggestion that these scenes showed an interest in the king as an individual and not merely as the holder of the office of kingship). This is reminiscent of scenes of private ancestors that also occur in the period¹⁶⁰, and would suggest that the genealogy of rulers who had died was thought to deserve the same place in private memory as that of personal ancestors.

2.4 CONCLUSION:

While kinglists suggest a knowledge of royal genealogy by ordinary people, they do not

¹⁵⁸Redford (1986: 54) suggests that this was not the case, and looks at the example of the crowns worn by kings in kinglists. See below (p. 75) for more detail.

¹⁵⁹Petrie (1896: 333) states that TT359 includes Amenhotep I “and then his brother and sisters (Meryt'amen, Sat'amen, Sa'amen, Kames, Hent'ta'meh...Turs and Aahmes...and Sa'pa'iry)”.

¹⁶⁰Although large groups of ancestors do not occur in private tombs at Thebes in the period, scenes of the deceased with relatives can be found, which emphasise the place of the deceased as part of a family group. One example of this is the scene of the deceased with members of his family offering to his parents in TT111, which dates to the reign of Ramesses II (Pillet 1930: fig. 99, 103).

mean that there was a deliberate attempt by the people to learn such things. It is highly likely that these kinglists were inspired by the same source as festival scenes – that of the royal cults. Certain festivals¹⁶¹ allowed the people to see what was essentially a 'kinglist' in the form of a festival procession. Knowledge gained from these events may have been added to by knowledge gained from other sources, such as royal tombs and temple inscriptions, but it is likely that active involvement in festivals and cults was the overriding factor in encouraging kinglists in private tombs. One must not, however, overemphasise the importance of the idea that ordinary people gave royal 'ancestors' a place in their lives equal to that of private ancestors. The inclusion of kinglists may have been the exception rather than the rule. While it seems reasonable that knowledge of royal genealogy was becoming more widespread, it certainly was not all-encompassing in terms of tomb imagery. Although the existence of kinglists in private tombs suggests some interest in royal genealogy by ordinary people, the small number of tombs which include such scenes suggests that it was not of overreaching importance to tomb owners in the period.

¹⁶¹These festivals included the Min Festival and the Beautiful Festival of the Valley.

CHAPTER 3

THE KING AS A DIVINE BEING¹⁶²

One important issue when understanding the role of the pharaoh is that of his relationship with the gods and how this was perceived by the people. It would not be possible to examine every relevant scene in detail, so this study will look at certain issues relating to the subject. It will look primarily at the place of the king in scenes of offering and worship, in which he either accompanies or replaces the gods, as well as his relationship to certain deities. There are a large variety of deities depicted with royal figures in private Theban tombs at the time, but those found most frequently are Hathor (14 times), Osiris (seven times), Re-Horakhty(-Atum) (four times) and Anubis (four times) (app. 12a). Another 16 gods are depicted less than three times each. The distribution of kings depicted with gods is largely what would be expected, given the prevalence of images of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in tombs in the area. 16 gods are shown with Amenhotep I and 12 with Ahmose-Nefertari, and 12 gods are shown with them exclusively, while only Hathor and Horus are shown with more than three different royal figures (app. 12b). Hathor is depicted with Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep (which may be due to her connection with his temple at Deir el-Bahri) and Ramesses II, (which may have been caused by increased support of her cult during the reign of Ramesses II¹⁶³). Horus is shown with eight different kings, although six of these can be explained by a depiction of a row of kings alongside Horus in C7 (fig. 58). This study will look at the two gods found most commonly with royal

¹⁶²See app. 5 for scene details.

¹⁶³This is discussed below (p. 59).

figures, Hathor and Osiris, as well as depictions of Anubis with royal figures – this is because Anubis is the only god to be found more commonly with a queen, Ahmose-Nefertari, than with any king¹⁶⁴, which will allow discussion of the place that a queen may have had in beliefs relating to the divine.

3.1 LOCATION AND CONTEXT OF SCENES:

Scenes of the king as a divine being are found in 42 tombs at all sites in the Theban necropolis, although primarily at Deir el-Medina (12 tombs), Dra Abu el-Naga (16 tombs) and Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (11 tombs) (app. 7¹⁶⁵). Interestingly, there are no scenes of censuring and libating to the king at Deir el-Medina which may indicate a fashion among the tomb owners there¹⁶⁶. The relevant tombs date from the reign of Ramesses I to the Twenty-first Dynasty (app. 6), and although they are prevalent in the reign of Ramesses II (as is the focus of this study) no real pattern can be found, which suggests that such scenes were in use throughout the Ramesside Period. The scenes can be found in all areas of the tombs (app. 8, 16) and, again, no overriding pattern is evident, although a high percentage can be found in the hall (36 out of 61 scenes) and chapel (11 scenes). While the scenes most commonly found adjacent to scenes of the king as a divine being are other scenes of gods (40.1%) and scenes of the deceased with their family (24.6%), there is a wide variety of types of scenes found adjacent (app. 9¹⁶⁷).

¹⁶⁴Ahmose-Nefertari is depicted three times alongside Anubis, while Amenhotep I is only shown two times (this does not include the scenes in which the deceased is led towards Amenhotep I as part of the weighing of the heart in TT219, as it does not depict the god and the king 'together' in the same sense as the other scenes do).

¹⁶⁵App. 6c-g shows the geographical distribution of each type of scene discussed in this chapter separately. The figures given here are a combination of all of the scenes of the king as a divine being.

¹⁶⁶See above (pp. 33-5) for a discussion of fashions within tomb building.

¹⁶⁷Again, the data given in app. 8c-g and 9c-g is for each type of scene discussed in this chapter separately, while the figures given here are for all of the scenes combined.

Only seven of the relevant scenes include a depiction of the reigning king, three of which are scenes in which the deceased is being rewarded or appointed to office by the king, and one in which the king himself is offering to a god (fig. 27). This suggests that autobiographical scenes of the king as a 'divine' being were not particularly common¹⁶⁸.

3.2 OFFERINGS TO THE KING

Forty-one out of the 47 tombs in this study contain scenes in which the king receives offerings or worship¹⁶⁹ from the deceased. This position is usually reserved for the gods and suggests an elevated position for the pharaoh in the minds of the people. Scenes of worship can be found in 21 tombs¹⁷⁰, while offering scenes can be found in nine¹⁷¹.

Scenes in which the deceased cens and libates before the king occur in nine tombs¹⁷².

From this it is clear that such scenes were quite common. Interestingly, only one of 41 tombs discussed in this chapter includes scenes both of worship of the king and offering to the king - TT216. In all other cases, tombs show either one or the other. Only two tombs, TT19 (see fig. 23 for scene of cens and libating) and TT106 (see fig. 36 for scene of cens and libating), show a scene of cens and libating as well as a scene of worship. There appears to be little correlation between which type of scene is used and which king is depicted, although Horemheb, Ramesses I, Seti I and Ramesses II appear

¹⁶⁸The importance of autobiographical scenes will be discussed later.

¹⁶⁹'Offering' scenes are those in which the deceased holds an item of offering to the king, and often includes a table of offerings, while scenes of 'worship' are those in which the deceased's hands are empty, and are often held up in praise. One encounters difficulty in defining certain scenes, such as that in TT332 where one sees the deceased "with a sistrum before Ahmose-Nefertari" (Porter and Moss 1960: 399) – the deceased is clearly holding an object (which suggests that this is an 'offering' scene) but there is no suggestion of the object being offered to the king. In cases such as this this study will refer to the scene as 'worship' as this seems to be a closer comparison.

¹⁷⁰These are TT2, TT4, TT7, TT10, TT16, TT19, TT23, TT41, TT106, TT134, TT141, TT149, TT157, TT216, TT250, TT285, TT300, TT332, TT344, TT375 and C7 (see app. 5 for details)

¹⁷¹These are TT31, TT51, TT210, TT216, TT219, TT296, TT302, TT341 and A12 (see app. 5 for details).

¹⁷²These are TT19, TT44, TT54, TT106, TT153, TT178, TT277, TT306 and A18 (see app. 5 for details).

in a higher frequency of scenes of worship, while earlier Eighteenth Dynasty kings and queens are found more often in scenes of offering and of censuring and libating (app. 13)¹⁷³. This could suggest that there was little perceived difference between scenes of offering, censuring and libating, and worship, and that use of one or the other was merely due to personal preference on the part of the tomb owner or artisan¹⁷⁴. Perhaps the choice of scenes was affected by the rituals and festivals, or images on state monuments, that the tomb owner had witnessed involving statues of the king – Schudson (1995: 346) writes that “memory is located in institutions rather than in individual minds” which suggests that what can be seen in tomb depictions represents the ideas and traditions of institutions, which are reproduced by individual people but based in state ideology. Tomb scenes could be seen as representations of the 'memories' that existed within institutions, such as temples, rather than within the individual minds of the tomb owners. Even if this is the case, it could be argued that by putting these scenes in their tombs the tomb owners were individualising them, thus taking them out of the context of the institutions in which they normally existed.

Ramesses II promoted his godly position on state monuments with depictions of offerings being made to his image, and in some cases the scenes show Ramesses II offering to a deified image of himself¹⁷⁵. An example of this is in the second court of his temple at Abu Simbel where his human form is seen censuring and libating to his deified

¹⁷³It is notable that most of the scenes include Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.

¹⁷⁴The degree to which the tomb owner was responsible for the decoration of the tomb as opposed to the artisan is difficult to ascertain. Keller (1991:60-7, 2001: 85-7) discusses the role of artisans and suggests that they had an effect on the decorative motif. A scene from TT82 in which the tomb owner offers to the architect and artists of the tomb (Davies (Nina) and Gardiner 1915: pls. vii, viii) also suggests that the artisans may have had responsibility for what was included in the scenes, or that they may have occasionally altered them for their own benefit.

¹⁷⁵Habachi (1969: 28) suggests that Ramesses II presented himself in four different aspects at Pi-Ramesse, based on a letter from Pabasa to his master, Amenemhope. These aspects are god, herald, vizier and mayor. Here, he is not only giving himself divine status, but ensuring that he holds all power within his capital.

image, with the text stating that he is “giving incense to Ramesses-Meramen” (Habachi 1969: 5)¹⁷⁶. It is possible, therefore, that scenes such as this became popular in private contexts in the Nineteenth Dynasty¹⁷⁷ because of the agenda of the king, who commissioned depictions of himself in deified form in order to reinforce his position as the divine pharaoh. Perhaps people saw the king, when depicted on temple walls, in the same light as the gods with whom he was shown¹⁷⁸, leading them to reproduce images of both in private tombs and shrines¹⁷⁹. Buildings such as the Ramesseum contained many images of the king, and such images may have been observed by the people who lived on the West Bank. In the case of Deir el-Medina it is also possible that similar scenes were used in the creation of royal tombs and then brought back to the private tombs of the workers¹⁸⁰.

One cannot, however, attribute scenes of offering to a king solely to the ideas of Ramesses II. If this were true then one would expect a vast majority of such evidence to include him while, in fact, many stelae from Deir el-Medina are dedicated to Amenhotep

I. One example of this is stela N. 50034, of Amenemope, from the early Nineteenth

¹⁷⁶As discussed earlier such scenes may show the king offering to a statue of his *k3* (Ockinga 1995: 97). Murnane (1995: 86-7) discusses the position of Ramesses II as a living god further.

¹⁷⁷An example of this is a stela belonging to Rahotep, found at Pi-Ramesse, showing Ramesses II acting as an intermediary between a worshipper and a statue of himself (Habachi 1969: 34, fig. 21).

¹⁷⁸Goebs (2007: 287) uses the example of the king as the official performer of rituals for the gods, which would have been depicted on monuments, to show that the king was seen as the mediator between man and the gods throughout Egyptian history, relating it to his role as the maintainer of maat.

¹⁷⁹Smiling stelae, which have been mentioned in ch. 1 (p. 23), may be used to support this view. Images of kings in the smiting pose were found in areas of temples that ordinary people may have seen (see Bommas (2000: 211-213) and Griffin (2007) for discussion of which parts of the temple were accessible to ordinary people), such as on the front of the first pylon at Medinet Habu (OIES 1930: pl. 6). This scene is from the reign of Ramesses III, but scenes, such as that of the king in a smiting pose on the north wall of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Amun at Karnak (Wilkinson 1994: 188) reminds one that such images were in use in the earlier part of the New Kingdom as well. That they were copied onto private stelae suggests that people viewed them in much the same way as they viewed images of the gods, who were also copied from temple walls onto private objects. Swan Hall (1986: 17) argues, however, that such images may have come from other sources, such as mass produced scarabs, and Schulman (1988: 49-52) suggests that some people may have witnessed actual ceremonies and recorded them in scenes such as smiting scenes.

¹⁸⁰This idea was discussed with reference to the epithet *nb-t3.wy* in ch.1 (pp. 23-5).

Dynasty, which is dedicated to Amenhotep and Ahmose Nefertari (Tosi and Roccati 1972: 67). The top register shows the king and queen seated on thrones, while in the lower register are Amenemope and Amennakht with their hands held up in adoration. The pose of the two men suggests that Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari held a position close to that of godliness in the minds of the people at Deir el-Medina, as it is the same position held by worshippers on stelae and depictions dedicated to gods¹⁸¹. Goebis (2007: 283-5) stresses the importance of the myths of kingship, such as the contending of Horus and Seth, and of royal epithets in emphasising the divine nature of the pharaoh, and perhaps it was features such as these that encouraged the people to see the king as a divine being rather than focusing on his mortal self.

TT332 shows the deceased before Ahmose-Nefertari without the inclusion of a king, which demonstrates that the queen's position was not solely one of supporting the pharaoh. The elevated position of the queen is clear in the Amarna Period in depictions such as that in the *hwt-bnbn* at Karnak in which Nefertiti is shown as the leading worshipper of the Aten (Redford 1984: fig. 7). The temple dedicated to Nefertari at Abu-Simbel (Dodson 2002: 58) demonstrates that Ramesses II also afforded the queen an elevated position alongside himself. Ahmose-Nefertari was given the title 'God's Wife of Amun' as seen on the donation stela of Ahmose-Nefertari¹⁸², which emphasised her importance as the mother of the heir to the throne, and that she also held an important position in private tomb scenes implies that her elevated position was accepted by the people. It is, however, important to remember that it is Ahmose-Nefertari, and not

¹⁸¹This can be seen in depictions of the gods in all of the Theban tombs that have been looked at. Examples are that of TT2 (fig. 7) where the deceased is depicted before Re and Osiris as well as Amenhotep I, and in TT23 (fig. 27) where Merenptah is depicted offering to Atum – although the king holds *M3ʿt* in one hand, the other is held up in adoration.

¹⁸²Gitton (1976) discusses the importance of this stela.

queens in general, who held an important position in private tombs at Thebes – her elevated position may have been as 'co-founder' (in the eyes of the people) of Deir el-Medina and as a 'local deity', the consort of Amenhotep I, rather than in her position as a queen. Therefore, one must not use her position to argue that the people gave queens, in general, a high position alongside the pharaoh.

While a high percentage of scenes of offering or worship in Theban tombs in the early Ramesside Period depict Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari¹⁸³, scenes from other periods do not follow this pattern. Approximately 76 scenes in tombs from other reigns include depictions of the deceased worshipping, or offering to a king, and in almost all of the depictions the king shown is the reigning pharaoh of the time¹⁸⁴. For example, a scene in TT47 shows men before Amenhotep III in a kiosk (Säve-Söderbergh 1957: pl. 31, 33, 34), and a scene in TT60 depicts the deceased before Senwosret I (Davies 1920: pl. xvi¹⁸⁵). There are even images of the deceased before Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten), such as in TT55 (Davies 1941: pls. xxix-xxxi). Therefore, it cannot be said that Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari were the only royalty to be depicted in private

¹⁸³Only 19 out of 61 relevant scenes depict other royal figures. Three of these show the deceased being rewarded by the living king (TT23, TT106, TT157 (figs. 38, 39)), and another three show the deceased in front of or offering to the living king (TTTT106, TT216, C7). One scene shows the living king offering to the bark of Atum (TT23, fig. 27), and two scenes include Merytamun, the daughter of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari (TT2 (fig. 2), TT4 (fig. 8)). The other 10 scenes show the deceased with a deceased king or queen.

¹⁸⁴75 of these scenes show the deceased in front of the reigning king at the time (the exception being in TT256 which shows the deceased in front of Thutmose III despite being dated to the reign of Amenhotep II – however, as the reign of Thutmose III immediately preceded that of Amenhotep II, it is possible that the owner of the tomb, or the artist, was alive during the reign of Thutmose III). Of the 76 scenes, only nine date from after the Amarna Period (those dated to Amenhotep IV are classed as being pre-Amarna as they name Amenhotep IV and not Akhenaten), and only four scenes are from after the Eighteenth Dynasty (in TT148 and TT222 which are from the later Ramesside Period). This suggests that scenes of the deceased before the living king, which may be seen as autobiographical, were almost exclusive to the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, although they continued to occur until the reigns of Ramesses II and Merenptah. The only type of scene that is found almost equally in the pre- and post-Amarna period is that of the deceased being rewarded or appointed to office by the king – seven such scenes are pre-Amarna and five are post-Amarna (although only two are from after the period discussed in this work).

¹⁸⁵This copy of the scene shows only the head of the king and the cartouche.

tombs as the subject of worship, but that they were the only figures to be depicted frequently after their deaths. Other kings were included in images during their reign but appear to have fallen out of favour afterwards (although they can occasionally be found in festivals and kinglists¹⁸⁶). This suggests that Amenhotep and Ahmose-Nefertari were viewed as 'local deities' while other kings were seen solely as monarchs whose importance began and ended with their role as pharaoh. This contradicts the evidence of kinglists in private tombs at Thebes which suggest that the individuality of kings was recognised and afforded respect even after the death of the pharaoh. It implies, instead, that individual kings, as mortal beings, were only afforded divine status while they held the office of pharaoh. This divine status was passed on, along with the crown, to the next king on his accession. Praise of a living king can be seen as depicting an 'autobiographical' event in the life of the tomb owner¹⁸⁷, while the worship of a deceased king is likely to have had a further symbolic meaning (perhaps relating to his position as a 'local deity')¹⁸⁸. One must not, however, underestimate the importance of linking oneself to the king through one's biography – inscriptions in the New Kingdom (as for other periods) demonstrate that great pride was taken in describing how the deceased was honoured by, or served, the king, although such texts are less common in the Ramesside Period than in the earlier New Kingdom (Frood 2007: 1). An example of this genre is the biographical text of Paser in TT106; here can be found two texts, one addressed to Seti I and the other to Ramesses II, which begin with epithets of the king and then list his promotions to office (Frood 2007: 149-156). That there are biographies addressed to both kings in whose reign Paser lived, and that many phrases are repeated

¹⁸⁶See ch. 1 and 2, and app. 3 and 4, for discussions of these scenes.

¹⁸⁷An example can be found in TT157, where the deceased is shown being appointed as the High Priest of Amun before Ramesses II (the reigning king) and Nefertari (figs. 38, 39).

¹⁸⁸Silverman (1995: 63) notes, however, that autobiographical tomb inscriptions emphasise the “divine-like nature” of the king and present him as more than human (although still as less than a god).

in both, although the address to Ramesses II is shorter, suggests that it was not loyalty to a specific pharaoh that was important to the writer, but loyalty to the pharaoh as a representative of the state and the gods. The pharaoh was “the embodiment of divine power on earth” (Goebs 2007: 281) who sat on the “throne of Horus of the living” (Goebs 2007: 283), and this position demanded the loyalty of the people. This supports the idea that it was not personal service of a specific king that was important but an emphasis (through repetition) on the loyal character of the tomb owner and his service to the state of Egypt. The king held importance as the representative of the state and the gods, not as an individual. It was the divine office that was important, an office that received its legitimisation through the gods and was dependant upon them (Baines 1995: 14). One could argue, therefore, that the king held an important position in the lives, and the cultural memory of the people not as an individual person but as a representative of central and divine authority. Autobiographies of the New Kingdom stress the importance of loyalty to the state, and by revering the pharaoh as the representative of the state, the people were continually reaffirming their loyalty. Malek (2000: 242) notes, in his discussion on Middle Kingdom royal cults, that a king or his statue may be a “manifestation” of a god, but this does not necessarily make the king himself a god. Therefore, one must be careful when discussing the deification of royal figures as no written evidence has been found explaining exactly what beliefs were held by the Egyptians relating to them.

3.3 THE KING WITH HATHOR:

One common scene depicts the king with the goddess Hathor, who is in the form of a

cow¹⁸⁹. Usually she is depicted protecting him; TT4 (fig. 8), TT216, TT285, TT326 and TT357 (fig. 54) depict the Hathor cow protecting Amenhotep I, while TT23 (fig. 26) and TT341 show her with Ramesses II. TT19 (fig. 17) and TT377 also include Hathor protecting the king although the identity of the king is less certain¹⁹⁰. The relatively wide spread of scenes of the king with Hathor, both chronologically and geographically (app. 6f, 7f) suggests that the ideas behind it were not confined to a specific group.

The goddess Hathor was closely linked with the pharaoh in belief (Bleeker 1973: 51). As the wife, and mother, of Horus¹⁹¹ (who was closely identified with the king) it is understandable that she had a close relationship with the pharaoh. Of course, this was not her only persona, and it was in her guise of a cow-goddess that she played a key role in Theban tombs. One aspect of her personality was as the nurturing and protective mother of the king, a fact that is emphasised when the king was referred to as the 'son of Hathor'¹⁹². The king was also closely connected with the '*K3 mwt.f*' ('bull of his mother') theology - in this theology the god Amun approached the queen (who was linked with Hathor) in the guise of the king and caused her to conceive the next pharaoh¹⁹³. There is also clear evidence of the link between the queen and Hathor in the Ramesside period, for example at Abu Simbel where the small temple is dedicated to Nefertari as Hathor

189Arafa (2005: 137) suggests that her position as the mistress of the mountain and the protector of the Theban necropolis in the form of a cow has its origins in her status as the Celestial Cow.

190See app. 5 for details of the scenes.

191This connection can be seen simply by looking at the Egyptian spelling of Hathor – *hwt-hr* – which can be translated 'House of Horus' (Gardiner 1957: 494, 580), an allusion to her role as his mother.

192One example of this is PT 208 of Unas, which says "You are Horus, Osiris' son: You are Unis, senior god, Hathor's son; you are Geb's seed" (Allen 2005: 57). The emphasis on Osiris and Hathor as the parents is a reminder of the close connection of Hathor with Isis, who was often seen as the wife of Osiris and mother of Horus, a position that is clear in the Great hymn to Osiris of Amenmose (Lichtheim 1976: 83-4). Royal depictions show Hathor suckling the pharaoh, an example being that of Seti I at Abydos, which shows five images of Seti I being suckled by the goddess. In each he wears a different headdress and is suckled by a different personification of the goddess (Mariette 1869, pl. 25). Collier (1996: 105) also notes that this identification of the queen with Hathor was reflected in theology, wherein the king was Horus, the son of Hathor.

193See See Collier (1996:100-104) for a discussion of the Kamutef theology.

(Dodson 2002:58).

Another goddess with similar connection to the king, in her role as his mother, was Isis¹⁹⁴, yet interestingly, depictions of her protecting the king in private tombs at Thebes are not found in the early Ramesside Period. Perhaps the reason for the prevalence of Hathor in scenes of the king lies in the existence of the cult of the cow-goddess at Deir el-Bahri, which was closely linked with the temples of several pharaohs – Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Amenhotep I, Thutmose III and Hatshepsut¹⁹⁵. It is this connection of Hathor with temples of pharaohs, reinforced by the active nature of the cult at Deir el-Bahri¹⁹⁶, and the Beautiful Festival of the Valley¹⁹⁷, that is copied onto tomb walls. Kitchen (1993: 208) notes the existence of songstresses of Isis¹⁹⁸ in the Nineteenth Dynasty at Deir el-Medina¹⁹⁹, showing that there was a cult involving her, but there appears not to have been a cult of Isis on the scale of the cult of Hathor at the time, on

194Lesko (1999: 156) suggests that she was a divine personification of the Egyptian throne, which emphasises her connection with the person of the king. Witt (1971: 30) notes that Isis could often be equated with Hathor, and took on many of her attributes such as the imagery and the sistrum (a Greek hymn to Isis calls her the “bearer of the sistrum”). Tobin (1991: 193) suggests that Hathor was the maternal source of the life of Horus, while Isis was the source of the position of Horus as a political figure. In this way, both goddesses were maternal figures for Horus and for the pharaoh. Their close connection can be seen in the temple of Nefertari at Abu Simbel where the two goddesses are shown together crowning the queen with the double-plume and sundisk, the crown that both goddesses are also wearing (Lesko 1999: 121).

195A variety of Hathor imagery can be found at Deir el-Bahri (Arafa 2005: 138); images of the pharaoh protected by the Hathor cow can be found there in official shrines such as that of Thutmose III (Blumenthal 2001: 36, fig. 24 and Lesko 1999: 109), is a likely source for depictions in private tombs. High numbers of votive cows – for example, Pinch (1993: 161) mentions 45 “glaze cows” - at Deir el-Bahri show that the cult was popular in the New Kingdom among ordinary people. See Pinch (1993: 3-12) for a discussion of the site, and Pinch (1993: 160-173) for details of cow votives at Deir el-Bahri and other Hathor shrines).

196Many votives have been found at the site which were dedicated to the cow goddess Hathor, showing that ordinary people were involved in activity at the site. See Pinch (1993: 160-163) for details of the votives.

197This, again, connected Hathor with the kings and queens of Egypt through its route which involved both the temples at Deir el-Bahri and the temples of deceased kings (Graefe 1986: 187).

198Kitchen mentions a “chantress of Isis” on a tomb stela of Hormin in the reign of Seti I (s.Berlin 7274 and 7305).

199Onstine (2005) includes four provenanced examples of songstresses of Isis in the reign of Ramesses II, and one from the “Nineteenth Dynasty”. Those dating to Ramesses II are numbered 417, 496, 659 and 757. Another, from the Nineteenth Dynasty, is numbered 561 (Onstine 2005: 118-133). Of these, two (417 and 757) can be traced back to Thebes, while the other three are from Abydos.

the west bank at Thebes²⁰⁰. This may explain the lack of scenes of Isis with the king in private tombs at the time.

Blumenthal (2001: 48) suggests that the link between the Hathor cow and royal ancestors was emphasised at Deir el-Medina in the reign of Ramesses II. This is supported by Exell's discussion of the evidence linking Ramesses II to the Khenu-chapel at Deir el-Medina and the "Hathor cow worshipped within it" (Exell 2006:54)²⁰¹. Scenes of Ramesses II with Hathor, therefore, may have been the result of a deliberate attempt by Ramesses II to link himself with Hathor in the minds of the people. This does not, however, fully explain the scenes of Amenhotep I being protected by Hathor²⁰². Surely, if the prominence of Hathor at Deir el-Medina was linked to Ramesses II, one would find more scenes of him with the goddess than of Amenhotep I. One must also remember that images of Hathor in private tombs do not only come from Deir el-Medina, but from other sites on the West Bank as well, which suggests that images of Hathor in tombs were caused by reasons other than a Ramesside Hathor cult at the workmen's village²⁰³. Perhaps images of Amenhotep I with Hathor may be seen as an amalgamation of the cult of Amenhotep I with the Hathor cult linked with Deir el-Bahri. Here, two active cults, which both had a place in the cultural memory of the community, may have become connected in the minds of the people.

200As of yet no evidence of a large Isis cult has been found.

201See Exell (2006:54) for discussion of several images within the Khenu-chapel which include Ramesses II and demonstrate the link between the king and the goddess.

202The high percentage of scenes involving Hathor and Amenhotep I may be explained by the fact that a large majority of depictions of a king with the gods in private tombs at Thebes, and in Deir el-Medina in particular, show Amenhotep I (44 out of 60 scenes of a king with the gods include Amenhotep I). However, the reason for the existence of these scenes in the first place must still be addressed.

203It also suggests that copying from royal tombs was not responsible as this would, again, cause such scenes to be found only at Deir el-Medina. Blumenthal (2001: 43) states that the Hathor cow does not feature in royal tombs at this time, Hathor's only inclusion in the tombs of the pharaohs being in human form. She includes the notable exceptions of the tomb of sons of Ramesses II, and that of Nefertari (which does, however, support the view that this form of Hathor was important in the reign of Ramesses II).

Hathor was also the local deity, and protector, of the Theban necropolis (and of necropoleis in general within Egypt) in the New Kingdom and protected all the people who were buried there, whether royal or commoner (Bleeker 1973: 44)²⁰⁴. This is emphasised by the inclusion of the mountain in several of the scenes that include Hathor, for example in TT357 (fig. 54). The tombs at Thebes were cut into hillsides and so the mountain may be seen as a generic allusion to the place of burial. However, it may also be understood as showing el-Qurn, the pyramid-shaped mountain which overlooked the necropolis, and in particular the Valley of the Kings. One of the epithets of Hathor was “Mistress of the West” (Lesko 1999: 102)²⁰⁵ and it may be in this capacity that she is depicted in tombs. If this were the sole reason for her inclusion, however, one would expect her to be depicted as such, with an *Imnt*-headdress, rather than in her cow-form. One must assume, therefore, that the inclusion of the Hathor cow is related to the cult at Deir el-Bahri and that images found in temple contexts were responsible for the inclusion of Hathor scenes in private tombs at Thebes.

3.4 THE KING WITH OSIRIS

Another god who appears with the king in seven tomb scenes is Osiris. Scenes of him occur in TT2 (fig. 7), TT134, TT219 (fig. 41), TT250 (fig. 42), TT290 (fig. 48), TT341 (fig. 52) (in the form Ptah-Sokar-Osiris) and TT375 (see app.5 for details). Four of these

²⁰⁴Bleeker (1973:43) also discusses the custom at the Beautiful Festival of the Valley wherein, after the public procession, families would present their deceased with the sistrum and necklace, both of which were attributes of Hathor. Schott (1953: 42, 112) includes an inscription from this which reads “stretch out the hand to take the necklace...of Hathor, the mistress of inebriety”. This, again, shows the link between Hathor and the deceased.

²⁰⁵Willems (2001: 261) discusses the importance of the “Beautiful West” in the Coffin texts, linking this person with Isis, rather than with Hathor.

tombs are at Deir el-Medina²⁰⁶, while two are at Sheik abd el-Qurna²⁰⁷ and one is at Dra abu el-Naga²⁰⁸. One must remember that Osiris was closely connected with death and the afterlife²⁰⁹ and, for this reason, was common in Egyptian tombs. Therefore, it is possible that scenes of the king with Osiris were not due to a connection between the pharaoh and the god, but were a combination of scenes of gods of the afterlife (in this case Osiris) and of the king, both of whom were important, but for separate reasons. This idea is supported by the fact that there is no typical scene of Osiris and the king, which suggests that their being pictured together may have been coincidence rather than deliberate planning. Rather than analysing all scenes of Osiris with the king, whose relationship has been frequently discussed²¹⁰, this study will focus on one unusual image of Amenhotep I in which he appears to take the place of Osiris.

Černý (1927:176) observes that, in a scene in TT219, Amenhotep I helps with the weighing of the heart. There appears to be a cartouche *dsr-k3-R*^c which supports the hypothesis that the figure sat on the throne in the scene is the king. Bruyère also mentions this scene in his excavation reports, stating that “Le défunt est entraîné par Anubis vers un trône...du roi Amenhotep I, ainsi que l'indiquent les cartouches alternés qui décorent les côtés du trône” (Bruyère 1928: 72)²¹¹. In other depictions of the weighing of the heart a god usually sits upon a throne watching the weighing, and this god is frequently Osiris²¹². If, therefore, Amenhotep I has been depicted in his place this would imply a great elevation in the position of the king at this time. Not only was he

206These are TT2, TT216, TT219, TT250 and TT290.

207These are TT134 and TT341.

208This is TT375.

209Griffiths (1980: 173-184) discusses his role as the ruler and judge of the dead.

210See Griffiths (1960: 24-6) for a discussion of Osiris and his link to the deceased king.

211Unfortunately copies of the scenes are in bad condition and so it is difficult to verify the accuracy of this claim, but that both Černý and Bruyère have noted it suggests that it is correct.

212A good example is that in TT19 (Foucart 1935: pl. xvii-xix).

seen as existing alongside the gods, but he may take the role of the gods at important events such as this. Perhaps the king may be seen here as a manifestation of the god²¹³. While modern understanding of the pharaoh's relationship with the gods has ranged from Frankfort's belief in his divinity (Frankfort 1948: 5) to Posener's attempt to encourage more emphasis on his human attributes (Posener 1960: xv), Baines' description of the place of the king seems the most accurate; he states that the king “manifested on earth aspects of the gods, but he was himself only a god in so far as there was no term for a being intermediate between human and god” (Baines 1995: 9). By putting Amenhotep I in the place of Osiris, the artist was not necessarily attributing fully divine status to him, but may have been acknowledging the close links between the king and Osiris²¹⁴. One is forced to question whether this was a role ascribed to Amenhotep I in his position as a local deity of the area, or to the pharaoh more generally. Again, one must be careful not to assume general beliefs based on one depiction, but its existence does lead to the possibility that Amenhotep I was viewed in such a way. This scene cannot be found in any official contexts, and so it is unlikely that it has been copied into the tomb from a monument. It is possible that the tomb owner amalgamated a well known funerary scene, the weighing of the heart, with an image from his own life, a statue of Amenhotep I (used, for example, in a festival) to create this unusual scene. Without a clear copy of the scene it is difficult to verify whether the Amenhotep depicted is a statue, but it is a likely hypothesis²¹⁵.

3.5 THE KING WITH ANUBIS

213Malek (2000: 242) states that a king or his statue may be a manifestation of a god although this does not necessarily make the king himself a god.

214See Griffiths (1960: 24-6) for a discussion of Osiris and his link to the deceased king.

215It has been suggested above (p. 44) that the majority of images of royal figures depicted in tombs were, in fact, depictions of statues of the person.

Černý (1927: 162) notes that Amenhotep I does not appear alone with Anubis in depictions in private tombs at Deir el-Medina but is always accompanied by Ahmose Nefertari. This may be classed simply as a coincidence, but Černý saw this as an important indication of the link between the god and the queen, stating that “celle-ci est évidemment en connexion étroite avec Anubis” (Černý 1927: 162). Scenes of Anubis with royalty appear in TT4 (fig. 9), TT219, TT250 (fig. 42) and TT290 (fig. 48) in the relevant period²¹⁶. All of these tombs are from Deir el-Medina. It is possible, therefore, that there may be a direct link between the use of Anubis in these scenes. In TT250 Anubis is depicted with just Ahmose-Nefertari, while in the others he is shown with both Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I. He is not depicted at any point with just Amenhotep I.

One link that has been postulated between Anubis and Ahmose-Nefertari is their colour. In several scenes Ahmose-Nefertari is shown as a black figure which links her to Anubis (Černý 1927: 162). Schäfer (1986: 71) states that the male was usually depicted as darker than the female in group depictions, with the man coloured a “reddish-brown” while the woman tended to be “yellow”. This suggests that Ahmose-Nefertari's dark colouring in certain scenes was unusual and may have had a symbolic element²¹⁷, possibly linking her to Anubis. However, Schäfer (1986: 71) also writes that “in groups where individual elements...obscure one another...artists do not scruple to paint the figures alternately light and dark”. Here, one is left to wonder whether, in depictions of

²¹⁶TT219 may have been built towards to the end Ramesses II's reign or possibly during the reign of Merenptah, and TT290 was created either in the reign of Ramesses II or the Twentieth Dynasty.

²¹⁷This is, of course, provided one rejects the suggestion that she was Nubian and, therefore, had dark skin in real life.

Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari as a pair, there was an aesthetic reason for depicting the queen as black rather than a symbolic one. One must also remember that Ahmose-Nefertari is not always depicted as being black. Of 53 relevant scenes mentioned by Hollender, 33 show Ahmose-Nefertari with black skin²¹⁸ while five depict her as gold, nine were not coloured and the colour of the other five scenes is uncertain (Hollender 2009: 158-169). Interestingly, the scenes of Ahmose-Nefertari with Anubis do not all show her darkened skin; of three scenes, one shows her with gold skin, one with black and one is not certain (Hollender 2009: 158-169) – perhaps this points to another explanation for her colouring. Or perhaps the presence of Anubis himself was seen, in TT250 where she is shown with gold skin alongside Anubis, to negate the need for her black skin. Black was the colour of resurrection and regeneration and this has been suggested as an alternative reason for her dark colour²¹⁹, while Manniche (1982: 10) argued that her blackness represented a stage in the transformation before rebirth. Another possible hypothesis is that her black colouring was intended to link her with Osiris in her role as the mother of the king who, as the wife and sister of Osiris, gave birth to Horus (Mercer 1942: 148)²²⁰. Theories such as these imply that the reasons for figures being depicted as black may not be connected with Anubis, and so contradict the suggestion that images of a black Ahmose-Nefertari show a perceived link between her and Anubis.

218This number may be either 33 or 34 – Hollender (2009: 166) writes that the colour of Ahmose-Nefertari in tomb A8 is “gelb (?) oder verblichenes schwarz”.

219The use of the root '*km*' both for the colour black and for the Nile Valley (Gardiner 1957: 597, Erman and Grapow 1926: 123) is a reminder that the colour was linked with the idea of inundation, rebirth and fertile soil.

220Images of Osiris were often black and he was occasionally referred to as “the black one” (Taylor 2001: 166) so it is possible that this colour was linked with him in the minds of the people. Of course, the idea that this could be a reason for the black colour of royal figures in tombs is unproven (and leads to the question of why Ahmose-Nefertari was depicted as black rather than the king, who had a far closer connection with Osiris) and one cannot be sure that ordinary Egyptians had any real understanding of such symbolism even if it did exist at state level.

Depictions of other royal figures who appear to be shaded in black also suggest that Ahmose-Nefertari's black colouring in the scenes mentioned above was for a reason other than a link with Anubis²²¹. An example is a depiction from TT54 (fig. 34), which appears to show a black Amenhotep I beside a white Ahmose-Nefertari, although Hollender (2009: 259) records that Ahmose-Nefertari is depicted as black, stating that the colour has faded. It is possible, therefore, that both Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I were depicted as black in this tomb, which would imply that any symbolism, whether it relates to Anubis or not, is linked with the king as well as the queen, rather than being specifically linked to Ahmose-Nefertari²²².

It has been suggested, in this study, that most of the images of royalty found in private Ramesside tombs at Thebes were, in fact, depictions of statues²²³ – if this is the case then it is likely that the image of a black Ahmose-Nefertari was a copy of a statue used in a festival, or festivals. This idea is supported by depictions of a black Ahmose-Nefertari within a festival context (fig. 15). If this was the case then it contradicts the suggestion that Ahmose-Nefertari was depicted as black to represent a connection with Anubis, implying, instead, that her colouring was dependant upon which cult statue was chosen

221It is, however, difficult to be sure, without examining photos, whether original images were black or if this is a misrepresentation by modern artists. This issue is highlighted by Hollender's comment on the scene in TT161, about which she notes that Ahmose-Nefertari is red in Lepsius' drawing, but black in Davies' publication (Hollender 1991: 132). Strudwick (2001: 32-5) discusses the issues involved in accurately recording the colour used in private tombs at Thebes.

222Another suggestion, made by Staehelin, is that the colour is representative of Ahmose-Nefertari as an incarnation of the black Hathor cow (Staehelin 1977: 1069-1070). The idea of a link to Hathor would fit with the black image of Ramesses II in TT23 (fig. 26), as he is linked with Hathor in this scene. Blumenthal (2001: 35) also mentions a relief in the Kestner Museum in Hannover that shows a black-skinned king, from the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, suckling an udder, probably belonging to Hathor. This supports the idea that there was a link between the use of black skin and the Hathor cow. Blumenthal's suggestion that Ramesses II encouraged the link between Hathor and royal ancestors (Blumenthal 2001: 48) could explain the link between Hathor and royal figures at this time (for details see earlier discussion on the Khenu-chapel at Deir el-Medina, p. 7, and on Hathor, pp. 56-60).

223This has been the conclusion reached by this study in the previous chapters (see, for example, p. 44)

for depiction within a tomb²²⁴. This throws further doubt on Černý's suggestion of a link between Ahmose-Nefertari and Anubis. Therefore, depictions of Anubis and Ahmose-Nefertari must not be taken as an example of a link between a queen and a god. Anubis was only depicted with royal figures in four tombs in the early Ramesside Period and so it is far more likely that the high percentage of appearances of Anubis with Ahmose-Nefertari were due to the preference of the tomb owners.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Images of the king were inserted into scenes of the gods, and occasionally took the place of divine figures in private tombs at Thebes. This does not mean, however, that the king was viewed as divine alongside the members of the pantheon. While he was afforded a degree of worship, it was in many ways similar to that afforded to the deceased themselves (similar scenes of offering to the deceased, or their family, can be found in most private tombs in Thebes²²⁵). The king was depicted alongside a wide range of gods, and it seems that the choice of gods was due to local cults, and beliefs relating to death (such as Hathor, whose cult was strong in the area, and Anubis, who was closely linked with funerary belief). Autobiographical reports may have been responsible for the content of scenes of worship to living kings. Although one may attribute certain images of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari to a more lasting belief in the pair as holding a type of 'divine' status, for the most part one is left to conclude that the king was afforded

²²⁴This leaves one with the question of why certain figures were depicted as being black in a festival and ritual context, rather than why they were shown as being black in a funerary context. Therefore, perhaps the answer lies in beliefs relating to rituals rather than beliefs about the afterlife. Unfortunately there is not space to discuss this issue further in this study, but it is an important distinction and is worth more investigation.

²²⁵A good example can be found in TT2, in which a man offers to Ramose (the owner of TT7) and his wife, and a man offers to the parents of the deceased (GIA Photo 1993).

worship and offering in his role as pharaoh, in the same way that he was given worship at festivals (with the implied connections to the divine) and not as a fully divine being. Lorton (2003: 3-4) writes that one must think “in terms of two personas that inhabited a king”, that of his “individual human persona” and that of his “divine royal persona” - this second persona was eternal and so, in a sense, while individual kings died and were replaced, there was only one king and this was the “divine royal persona”. Baines (1995: 6) notes that the pharaoh was a “human mortal with a divine role in an 'everlasting' office”. As such, while each mortal king lived and died, the 'king' as a concept was eternal. Silverman (1995: 65) suggests that the king became fully divine at his accession to office, which shows the distinction between the mortal king (which Silverman calls *hm*) and the office of kingship, which was represented by the fivefold titulary. The king's divinity, therefore, was reliant upon his holding the office of kingship.

CHAPTER 4

OTHER ASPECTS RELATING TO THE KING

When looking at a depiction of the pharaoh one does not simply analyse the scene as a whole, but looks at the image of the king himself, noting details such as how he is dressed and what items are depicted with him. It is by analysing these aspects alongside the rest of the scene that one comes to a full understanding of how the role of the pharaoh was perceived. This study will look at three such aspects; his headdresses, the items he holds, and the epithets he is given, in order to gain further insight into how the owners of the Theban tombs understood the place of the king²²⁶. Goebis notes that ordinary people may not have understood the full ideology behind the crowns depicted in their tombs but suggests that there must have been “underlying conceptual structures” shared by various classes, or else communication between the levels of society would not have been possible and “one of the primary aims of royal rituals and symbols – the securing of political power and thus social stability – would not have been achieved” (Goebis 2008: 375). This implies that it was through symbols such as crowns that the state invoked beliefs allowing it to legitimise itself in the eyes of the people.

4.1 HEADDRESSES AND CROWNS:

Bruyère states that Amenhotep I was depicted in only three different crowns at Deir el-

²²⁶It is important to remember that while the owners of the tomb were, in theory, responsible for its decoration, the artists may have had a noticeable effect on the images and texts that appear. Keller's study of the artists who created the decoration in TT359 suggests that they may have personalised them in some ways, an example being Nebnefer's inclusion of his own, and his brother's, names in a prayer (Keller 2001:87).

Medina – the *nms*²²⁷, the *hprš*²²⁸ and the *šwt.y*²²⁹ (Collier 1996: 118). This appears to be correct when the scenes are examined. However, other crowns are found worn by kings in depictions in tombs at other sites on the west bank at Thebes (app. 14²³⁰), and several crowns are a combination of two or more forms. The most common headdresses worn by royal figures in depictions in private tombs at Thebes²³¹ are the *hprš* (30 occurrences in scenes of kings), the *nms* (21 occurrences) the *šwt.y* (19 examples on both male and female royal figures)²³² and the flat, vulture crown (26 occurrences worn by female figures) (app. 14).

The *šwt.y* is most commonly found in scenes of worship of, and offering to, the king²³³ and the *hprš* is the most common headdress found in scenes of festivals and processions of the king²³⁴, although with four depictions in scenes with the gods. The *nms* is not used in scenes of the king as a part of everyday life, and it is notable that in four out of the five examples of this headdress being worn on its own²³⁵ by Amenhotep I are in scenes in

227The *nms* was the headcloth that covered the head and hung part way down the back, and in front of the shoulders – Collier (1996: 69) notes that the striped *nms* showed that the cloth was tied at the back of the head, under the hair, while the plain *nms* indicated that it was not tied.

228The *hprš* (as opposed to the cap crown) was, by the Ramesside period, a tall caplike crown (see Davies (W) (1982)) for a discussion of the origins of the *hprš*). It was “bulbous at the front with an angle that rose from a ridge along the sides of the crown” (Collier 1996:110).

229The *šwt.y* consisted of two feathers, either straight (probably falcon feathers) or curved (ostrich) (Collier 1996: 53-4). Bruyère (1939: 176) refers to this crown as a form an *št* crown.

230It is important to note that several scenes of the king can be classed in more than one category (for example some scenes of a kinglist can also be understood as scenes of the king as a divine being.) Therefore, the total number of scenes in which the king is wearing each crown does not match with the total given in each category (for example, there are seven instances of the king wearing the *hprš* in scenes from chapter one, eight from chapter two, and seven from chapter three. But the total number of scenes of the king in this crown is only 20).

231These figures are based on the depictions available to this study.

232This may be because a large proportion of depictions are of Amenhotep I and these are two of the three crowns that he is most commonly found wearing (as Bruyère noted).

233Based on the depictions which are available to this study, and those described in Hollender (2009: 158-169), 16 examples of the king or queen wearing the *šwt.y* are in scenes of praise and offering to the king, while it is only found six times in scenes of the king as a historical figure, and one in a scene of the king as a part of everyday life.

234Ten out of 16 images of the king as a part of everyday life show him wearing the *hprš*.

235This means without the *nms* being combined with a second headdress.

which he appears with other deceased pharaohs (Hollender 2009: 158-169)²³⁶. Perhaps certain headdresses were commonly associated either with specific events or scenes, or with aspects of kingship. Goebs (2007: 290) writes that the large variety of crowns worn by the king is linked with the “multipart character of the royal titulary”. She goes on to assert that it was through receiving the crowns at his coronation that the king achieved divine status (Goebs 2007: 290). As such, the headdresses worn by the king are more than decoration, they represent aspects of the royal persona. Davies (W) (1982: 75) notes that Egyptian scenes depict the king performing the same rituals in the same clothes and ornaments but with different crowns, thus making it difficult to analyse whether certain crowns had specific functions. This may be true, but there could still be a tendency towards depicting a certain headdress in a certain situation. If one understands the images of the king as representing statues, then this may help to show what specific statues were used for. For example, it would be likely that the *hprš* was used in festivals of the king, while the *nms* may have been used in ancestor rituals (which combined idea relating to the king as a historical figure with those of the king as a divine being).

The *šwt.y*, as mentioned above, was confused with the *3tf* by Bruyère in his excavations at Deir el-Medina²³⁷, and for good reason. It is significant that Collier (1996: 37) analysed them together (alongside the *sšm*), labelling them both “crowns of the Netherworld”. The two crowns can often be seen together – Barguet (1951: 207, figs. 4-5) noted that, at Deir el-Bahri, sphinxes wearing the *šwt.y* are juxtaposed with

²³⁶These scenes are in TT2 (with a row of kings) (fig. 3), TT10 (with Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I) (fig. 11), TT7 (with Horemheb and Thutmose IV) and TT306 (with a line of kings). The exception is found in TT285, where he is depicted as being protected by the Hathor cow.

²³⁷Describing a stela from the tomb of Meri Sekhmet in which Amenhotep clearly wears the *šwt.y*, Bruyère (1930: 40, pl. IX) states “Amenhotep Ier, coiffé de la perruque capsulaire et de l'Atef”.

sphinxes wearing the *3tf*, which he understood as linking the *šwt.y* with the king and the *3tf* with his *k3*, and it may be that they represented two parts of a connected idea. If this is true then it is of interest that it is the *šwt.y* rather than the *3tf* that is represented in Theban tombs²³⁸. Collier has examined the coronation depiction of Hatshepsut on a block from Karnak, on which the pharaoh is shown being crowned with the *šwt.y* by Mut and with the *3tf* by Hathor and suggests that, while the *3tf* represented kingship in the netherworld²³⁹, the *šwt.y* represented kingship in the real world (Collier 1996: 60)²⁴⁰. Therefore, by depicting the king wearing the *šwt.y*, tomb builders may have been linking him with his role as a king in this world. Another possible link of the *šwt.y* and *3tf* crowns is with Osiris. Early Egyptologists thought that the *3tf* and Osiris crowns were variants of the same crown (Collier 1996: 44). Collier disagrees with this²⁴¹ but the similarity between the two is indisputable. Interestingly, while Osiris can be seen wearing both the *3tf* and the Osiris crown, the king is only depicted in the *3tf*²⁴². Therefore, while royal crowns may be worn by gods, perhaps to suggest a link with the king, divine crowns were not worn by the king. They were for the gods only. Whether this shows an understanding by the people of this distinction, or whether the scenes were merely copies, mirroring the distinction made by the state in festivals and on temple

238This is especially interesting if one recalls the idea that most depictions of royal figures in private tombs were, in fact, depictions of statues which, according to Ockinga, were commonly used to represent the king's *k3* (Ockinga 1995: 97). If this were the case then one would expect royal figures in tomb depictions to be wearing the *šwt.y*, which is not always the case (images such as that of Amenhotep I in a procession in TT2 (fig. 1) show statues wearing the *hprš*). If Barguet's claim is to be taken as correct, then this implies that many of the statues depicted in scenes in private tombs represent the king himself and not his *k3* (this is, of course, if one accepts that Ockinga's suggestion is accurate, and that it was applied by the Egyptian people to their own lives).

239Several studies have linked the *3tf* to the netherworld – Abou-Bakre (1937:23) used funerary inscriptions when discussing the *3tf*, which supports the view that it represented the deceased king as opposed to the living one.

240This appears to be a contradiction with her earlier statement that both were “crowns of the Netherworld” (Collier 1996: 37).

241See Collier (1996: 44-51) for discussion of the links between the Osiris and *3tf* crowns.

242Hollender (2009:169) suggests, however, that Amenhotep I is depicted wearing the *3tf* crown in a depiction in TT44, and notes that he also wears it in depictions in TT41 and TT217. Without reproductions of these scenes, however, it is difficult to verify this claim.

walls without any real understanding by the tomb owner is uncertain.

The use of the *šwtj* as a headdress of the queen may be because of a belief that the two feathers represented the two horizons, east and west, and that the flat base symbolised Khemmis, where Isis raised her son Horus (Mercer 1942: 148), which links to the nurturing and maternal aspect of queenship. However, it also reiterates the close links between the iconography of kings and queens, as the *šwtj* is also worn by the pharaoh in depictions. Troy (1986: 126) argues that the *3tf* developed an association with the king while the *šwtj* became an “established part of the iconography of royal women”²⁴³. Its importance can be seen in the epithet used for both Nefertiti and Nefertari of *ʕnt m šwtj* (pleasing in the two feathers) (Troy 1986: 126)²⁴⁴. Here, one can see the passing of iconography from the pharaoh to his consort, emphasising the queen's importance as an official figure.

One difficulty when looking at the symbolism of the *hprš* is that the crown connected with this term appears to have changed in the course of pharaonic history (Davies (W) 1982)²⁴⁵. However, to avoid confusion, this essay will use the term *hprš* to refer to the blue crown. The *hprš* has often been seen as a crown of war as it is frequently worn in scenes of conflict and its aftermath, such as in the scenes representing the Libyan

243However, one must remember that this crown continued to be used for kings as well as queens throughout the Ramesside Period and so must not be solely seen as a crown of queenship in the latter part of the New Kingdom, as table 26 in Collier (1996: 138) shows.

244This epithet can be seen in several places, such as in the Tomb of Panehsy at Thebes (Davies 1905: pl. vii) and on statues of the queen (Legrain 1909: 20, pl. xvii). See Troy (1986: 127) for full details of the use of this epithet.

245Davies notes that the earliest mentions of the *hprš* can be found in the Second Intermediate Period, although the determinative used was that of the cap crown; one example is the Karnak Stela of Neferhotep III on which one reads that he was *ʕprw m hprš* (adorned with the Khepresh) with the cap crown used as a determinative (Davies (W) 1982: 69, pl. VII). It is not until the New Kingdom that one finds a representation of the *hprš* in its form of the blue crown, beginning with a 'transitional' form (which appears to be somewhere between that of the cap crown and blue crown) seen on two statues of Ahmose at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Davies (W) 1982: figs.12-13).

campaign of Seti I at Karnak; in these scenes he is depicted riding in a chariot whilst wearing the blue crown (OIES 1986: pl. 27)²⁴⁶. However, a large number of New Kingdom depictions of this crown are in scenes of the king offering to, or receiving gifts from, the gods. These include Amenhotep III at Soleb (Giorgini 1998: pl. 41) and Seti I at Abydos (David 1981: 37), as well as depictions of Akhenaten from the Great Temple at Amarna (Roeder 1969: T2). This could suggest that it represented the king as a servant of the gods. Davies (W) (1982: 75) has suggested that it was, in fact, a crown of coronation. If this view is taken, then perhaps one must understand the *hprš* as a symbol of the legitimacy of kingship. Collier (1996: 123) agreed with this hypothesis, claiming that the *hprš* implied that its owner was the “living heir of kingship from a line of deceased kings”²⁴⁷. Bryan emphasises the importance of making a distinction between the living king and the deceased king, and implies that the *hprš* was a headdress used by the living king, stating that it denoted the image (*twt*) of the gods, a king who had not yet merged with them but was their representative (Bryan 2007:158)²⁴⁸. This does not fit with images found in private Theban tombs, in which deceased kings are depicted wearing the *hprš*. If one accepts Bryan's hypothesis on the symbolism of the crown, one is forced to conclude that the use of the *hprš* as a headdress for deceased kings demonstrates a lack of understanding, by the Egyptian people, of the symbols that surrounded them²⁴⁹. However, it may be concluded that the Egyptians saw certain deceased kings as 'living' through the acts of their festivals and processions – they

246In one instance he is holding the reigns, in the other he is in the smiting pose whilst crushing enemies underneath the chariot.

247This is especially interesting when one notes the similarity with the symbolism of the *šwt.y* which has also been linked to the idea of kingship in this world (as discussed above, p. 71).

248Bryan's study focuses on images of Amenhotep III in the *hprš* (and in particular a statue of him) and basis her conclusion mainly on images of Amenhotep III and Ahkenaten (Bryan 2007: 156-58). Therefore, one cannot assume that these conclusion are accurate for images of king in the early Ramesside Period.

249Goebis (2008: 375) disagrees, suggesting instead that non-royal people must have had some understanding of the symbolism of such objects (as discussed above, p. 68).

remained an active part of the life of the people and, therefore, were not viewed as 'deceased'²⁵⁰. This may help to explain why the *hprš* is commonly found in depictions of statues of the king carried during festivals, for example in a festival procession of Amenhotep I depicted in TT2 (fig. 1), as these scenes show an event that celebrated the image of a 'living' king. Hardwick's conclusion on the meaning of the crown appears to support this idea, stating that the blue crown “emphasises the position of the king in this world...by not focusing on his divine attributes” (Hardwick 2003:121). However, Hardwick (2003: 119-120) also suggests that the blue crown was worn in depictions of the king, especially in the early New Kingdom, when he was active (such as hunting or fighting) thus emphasising his mortal aspects, which was not the primary aim of festivals (in which the king is often depicted wearing the *hprš*)²⁵¹. Therefore, one must not overstate the connection between the *hprš* and the 'living' king, especially as it is also worn by the king in scenes of offering, in scenes with the gods (figs. 6, 33, 47, 51), and in kinglists (fig. 14)²⁵². Perhaps the use of the same crowns in different contexts in depictions shows that the images in private tombs were copies of statues of kings seen at public events (Redford 1986: 53). They were, therefore, copied complete with the crown that was worn by the statue regardless of the scene in which the image was used.

It has been suggested that certain groups, or dynasties, of kings were depicted in certain ways (for example wearing certain crowns) (Redford 1986: 54), which implies that they

²⁵⁰One must remember that the king himself did not play an active role in the lives of the ordinary people, and that they related to him largely through festivals, statues and substitutes. It is possible that they would not have seen any difference between the statue of a king who was, technically, living, and the statue of a king who was, technically, dead. Earlier discussions on the divinity of the king, and the 'eternal' office of kingship may also explain the lack of distinction between 'living' and 'dead' pharaohs.

²⁵¹By emulating divine festivals in which images of the gods were carried in processions (such as the Beautiful Feast of the Valley), it would appear that similar festivals involving the statue of a king were intended to emphasise the divinity of the pharaoh.

²⁵²Six of the twelve kings depicted in this scene are wearing the *hprš*. They are Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III and Horemheb. Amenhotep II is wearing the *nms* while the other kings wear the uraeus, with or without the band.

were not seen as single pharaohs with individual attributes, but as part of a group²⁵³. In TT19 the use of the *hprš* for the Thutmoside kings (fig. 14) can be seen as supporting this theory²⁵⁴. However, in this scene, Horemheb and Amenhotep III are also depicted in the *hprš* which suggests that the explanation is not a simple grouping of kings. Although all of the kings in the *hprš* are from the Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep II is shown, instead, in the *nms*, which implies that the kings were not grouped chronologically. One must question why Amenhotep II alone is depicted in the *nms* – did he hold a specific importance for the owner of the tomb, or was there a cult statue of Amenhotep II in the region that was dressed in the *nms*²⁵⁵? In the kinglist in TT2 (fig. 3) all of the kings are shown wearing the *nms*, the queens wear the vulture crown, and the princes have a sidelock, and the scene involving Kasa in TT10 (fig. 10) also shows all of the kings wearing the *nms*. These images suggest that the kings were simply depicted in the headdress known either to the tomb owner, or the artist, with no real attempt to imitate a known image or to identify the kings in groups.

As mentioned earlier, the crown most commonly found worn by the queen in depictions is the flat, vulture crown. This is one of the oldest known female crowns. Troy (1986: 117) states that the earliest depictions of royal women wearing the crown date from the Fifth Dynasty, with it also being “outlined on determinatives of the name of royal mother Khentkaues I at Giza”, although it is possible that the headdress was in use

253 Again, this may be linked with the idea of each king being a personification of eternal kingship (Silverman 1995: 67).

254 Redford (1986: 54) suggests that the Thutmosids, especially Thutmose I, III and IV were usually depicted in the *hprš*.

255 Redford (1986: 53) suggests that the use of certain headdresses shows an attempt to copy specific cult statues, which shows, again, the importance of cult images in creating the cultural identity of the people; he uses the example of the row of kings in TT284, in which the kings wear the white crown, the *ibs*, and the red crown, and suggests that these were used to convey the “plurality of crowns a cult image might wear”.

earlier. It was linked with the goddess Nekhbet, who had a role as the mythical mother and protector of the king: PT 509 of Pepi I reads “[May you defend him Nekhbet]. When you have [defended] Pepi, Nekhbet...this Pepi shall be served” (Allen 2005: 178). Another passage says that “Your mother is the great wild cow who dwells in Nekheb” (Faulkner 1969: Utt. 412). In her role as mother and protector, Nekhbet has been associated with Mut, who had a role as the mother of the gods, and was the wife of Amun, a position symbolically held by the queen in her role of *hm.t-ntr n Imn* from the time of Ahmose-Nefertari onwards (Troy 1986: 97)²⁵⁶. The presence of a child on the donation stela of Ahmose-Nefertari, believed to be the successor of Ahmose (Troy 1986: 97), further emphasises the importance of the queen in legitimising the position of the heir as the son of the god. Therefore, by depicting her in the vulture crown, perhaps the artist intended to emphasise her role as the mother of the king and wife of the god.

4.2 EPITHETS:

This subject has already been touched on in relation to the oracle of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina, and so this chapter will look at the more general epithets used by all of the kings represented, as these can give a wider picture of how the pharaoh was viewed.

One epithet commonly used for the king was *ntr-nfr*, and Malek (2000: 241) comments that this epithet was used by living kings. That this epithet can be found repeatedly in temple depictions representing the reigning king supports this hypothesis²⁵⁷. Quinn (1991: 172) claims that many of the epithets found in tombs at Thebes were usually

²⁵⁶The donation stela of Ahmose Nefertari documents her being given this title. Further discussion of this stela can be found in Gitton (1976).

²⁵⁷An example can be found in the temple at Abydos (Calverley and Broome 1935: pl. xi).

attached to a living king, including *ntr-nfr*, *nb-t3.wy* and *nb-h^c.w*. All of the epithets mentioned here are found in private tomb depictions of kings on the west bank at Thebes²⁵⁸, which again suggests that the deceased kings represented in tombs there were considered to be 'living'²⁵⁹. This can be more easily understood as part of a funerary culture in which the dead were not separate from the living but existed, in many ways, alongside them. Evidence such as letters to the dead, mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms²⁶⁰, and ancestor busts of the New Kingdom²⁶¹ attest to this. However, there was a perceived distinction between the living and the dead, and the Egyptian language had many words to describe the state of a being after death, such as *3h* (Gardiner 1957: 550)²⁶², which shows that the continued presence of the dead in everyday life did not prevent the Egyptians from distinguishing between the living and the dead²⁶³. All of the epithets used in tombs are also found in temple contexts²⁶⁴, and so it is possible that they were seen as a part of the 'name' of the king and copied as such. If this were the case then one must, again, question whether people truly understood the implications of what they were writing²⁶⁵.

258An example of this is the scene of the festival procession of Thutmose I in TT51 (fig. 32). Here the king is referred to as *nb-t3.wy* and *nb-h^c.w*.

259This idea can be linked with the symbolism of the *šwt.y* and *hprš* crowns which may have had a similar meaning.

260See Gardiner and Sethe (1928) for examples of letters to the dead.

261See Friedman (1985) and Harrington (2005).

262Demarée (1983: 192) remarks that the *3h*, unlike concepts such as the *b3* and *k3*, represents an entity that is separate from the human being. Otto (1975: 50) defines the *3h* as denoting the “mighty dead” (“Mächtigen Toten”), a view that Demarée accepts, although Demarée also notes that the term *3h* can also be applied to gods (Demarée 1983: 276).

263Demarée discusses the importance of *3h ikr (n R^c)*, suggesting that this designates an *3h* who has “reached a privileged positions which enables him to act with godlike powers” (Demarée 1983: 253). In this position the spirit may act either to help or to harm those who are alive (Demarée 1983: 277).

264An example of the use of these epithets can be found in an image of Seti I at Karnak where the king is referred to as *nb-t3.wy* and *nb-h^c.w* (OIES 1986: pl. 27). Obviously the scenes mentioned here may not have been directly accessible to ordinary people, but the use of the epithets discussed was so common that they would have been visible to ordinary people in certain areas of temples. We must also remember that people who served as priests may have had access to less public areas.

265One must also remember that ordinary people may not have fully differentiated between living and dead kings as neither played a regular part in local life except through statues and festivals (see above, p. 30)

When looking at epithets of the queen, most of the evidence relates to Ahmose-Nefertari, and so it is arguable that the epithets used may relate to her rather than the 'queen' in a more general sense. She is frequently referred to as the *hm.t-ntr*²⁶⁶, occasionally with the addition of *n'Imn*. This links to her role as the wife of Amun, and may serve to connect her further with Hathor, in her role as the mother of the king²⁶⁷. The use of *nb.t t3.wy*²⁶⁸ as an epithet for the queen emphasises her link to the pharaoh in his role as *nb t3.wy*, but it also gives her a place of her own as the female ruler of the land. This emphasises her importance in the ideology of the country. Again, there may be a link between the use of this epithet and the increased importance of the queen in the New Kingdom, which reached its apex in the reign of Akhenaten with the elevation of Nefertiti to a position above that of any queen before her²⁶⁹. The title *nb.t t3.wy* is first found in the titulary of royal women in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, in the reign of Ahmose (Troy 1986: 135) although it was used as an epithet for the goddesses Wadjet and Bastet from the Fifth Dynasty (Borchardt 1913: pls.35, 70). This supports the idea that the adoption of this title by the queen was linked to her increased importance in the New Kingdom²⁷⁰.

4.3 ITEMS HELD BY THE KING:

266An example can be found in TT2 (fig. 6).

267This was discussed earlier with reference to the king's title *k3 mwt.f* (p. 57).

268This can be seen in TT106 in the scene of offering to the king and queen (fig. 36).

269Arnold (1996: 94, figs.14-15) suggests that the presence of depictions of Nefertiti on the sarcophagus of her husband in place of the usual goddesses implies that she was raised to divine status alongside him.

270Troy (1986: 134-136) discusses the increased importance of the queen and the emergence of this title in the New Kingdom; she links it to the title *hnwt-t3.wy* (Lady of the Two Lands), suggesting that the two titles were complimentary and demonstrated her role as a "symmetric equivalent to the male role [of king]."

Depictions of the king in Theban tombs usually include items being held by the royal figures, which may help towards further understanding of how the king was perceived by the owners of the tombs. Goebis (2007: 290-291) argues that items such as staffs and sceptres were important in helping the king to appear as the divine being represented in the ideology of kingship after his transformation at his coronation. The pharaoh is most commonly depicted in private Theban tombs in the period with a combination of three items; the flail, the *ꜥnh*, and the *ḥkꜣ*. While the *ꜥnh* is found in the possession of both kings and queens, the flail and the *ḥkꜣ* are only held by the king in depictions²⁷¹.

The *ḥkꜣ* (crook) is one of the most recognisable symbols of rule. Its use as the hieroglyph for 'ruler' demonstrates how closely it was connected with the concept of kingship, although interestingly Gardiner (1957: 583) specifies that the term *ḥkꜣ* can only be translated as 'ruler' when followed by a determinative of a king holding the flail. This is a reminder of the importance of both in the iconography of kingship²⁷². It is possible that both the crook and the flail were taken from the imagery of the god Andjety, who was depicted in the Predynastic Period holding both items (Newberry 1929: 84). Andjety was then assimilated in the god Osiris of Busiris, and passed this insignia on to him, from where it became linked with the king (Newberry 1929: 84)²⁷³.

The flail can also be found separately from the crook in First Dynasty depictions of

271In the depictions available to this study, the king holds the Flail 36 times, the *ḥkꜣ* 42 times, and the *ꜥnh* 22 times. The queen also holds the *ꜥnh* 22 times. However, it must be remembered that several of the images are damaged and so it is difficult to be sure which items are included, and in others it is possible that the artist recording the scene has missed an item. An example of this can be found in a scene in TT54 (fig. 34), in which the pose of the king, whose right hand is empty, directly mirrors that of a scene in TT51 (fig. 33) in which the king holds the *ꜥnh*. This implies that the figure in TT54 was holding an *ꜥnh*, although it is not included in the reproduction.

272Shalomi-Hen (2006: 110) discusses the importance of the crook and flail in “classifiers” of royal names in the Old Kingdom, noting that royal cartouches can be followed by the sign of a seated king holding the flail and, sometimes, the crook. He also cites the use of the same sign for the word *'niswt-bitj.w'* in the Autobiography of Weni (Shalomi-Hen 2006: 111).

273Griffiths (1980: 138) disagrees, suggesting that the insignia of Andjety may have passed to the king, and from him to Osiris when the dead king became Osiris.

King Den during the rituals of the Sed-Festival (Petrie 1900: pl. 15²⁷⁴). One function of this festival was the renewal of the rulership of the king²⁷⁵. It is, therefore, possible, that the symbolism of the flail was connected with this idea. Some scholars have suggested that it may be a ladanisterion (Newberry 1929: 87)²⁷⁶ and, therefore, its use in depictions of the pharaoh could underline the shepherding role of the pharaoh. This is supported by the identification of the *ḥk3* as a shepherd's crook (Newberry 1929: 84). Evidence from ostracae links the idea of a shepherd with Amun – Posener (1975: 202) discusses this in reference to the ostracae from Qurna using the example of no.12212 which reads *'Imn-R^c p3 mniw n ḥr nb'* ('Amun-Re, the shepherd of all people').²⁷⁷ Possibly, therefore, the use of the crook and flail in the New Kingdom linked the king to Amun the shepherd, although they have also been connected with both Min and Osiris, among others, in depictions (Newberry 1929: 86). The actual function of the flail, however, remains open to interpretation, with other scholars seeing it as a whip, and a fly-whisk²⁷⁸. Despite this, the use of the crook and flail by both gods and kings, regardless of their origins, can be understood as emphasising the interrelation of the role of the king and the role of the gods.

The *ḥnḥ* is also commonly held by the king and queen. It is held in a variety of scenes although not usually in those of festivals²⁷⁹. There is debate over the origin of the

symbol, with Gardiner (1957: 508) seeing it as a sandal strap²⁸⁰, Westendorf (1966: 1-4)

274This ebony tablet from Abydos shows Den holding the flail, and also running between six markers.

275See Martin (1984: 782-790) for a discussion of the Sed Festival.

276This was used by early goatherds to collect the precious substance ladanum (Newberry 1929: 87).

277See also Luiselli's discussion of p. Boulaq 17, which also refers to the shepherding role of the king (Luiselli 2004: 24).

278Newberry (1929:86-94) rejects these suggestions, concluding that it was linked to the collection of ladanum.

279An exception can be found in a scene in TT19, where a statue of the king can be seen holding the *ḥnḥ* (fig. 16).

280See Gardiner (1957: 508) for references both supporting and contradicting this identification of the sign, which he defines as a "tie or sandal-strap (as symbol of life known as 'the ankh')".

understanding it as a girdle-tie which he linked to the “knot of Isis”, Barta (1972: 6) arguing that it was connected with the cartouche of the king's name²⁸¹, and Baines (1975: 21) suggesting that it may have had a link to sundisks in its later usage. However, it is generally accepted that the symbol represented life, which included but was not restricted to eternal life, as seen in the translation of the word *ʕnh* as 'life', and *ʕnhw* as 'the living' (Gardiner 1957: 557)²⁸². It can often be found held by the gods in royal tomb depictions and is used, when held to the mouth of the deceased, to show them being granted life (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 120). It is, therefore, of interest that the king and queen are frequently depicted in private Theban tombs holding an *ʕnh*-sign. This could put them in a position similar to that of the gods who carry the *ʕnh*, or it could illustrate that the king depicted is in possession of the *ʕnh*, having been imbued with it by the gods, as scenes of the king receiving the *ʕnh* in depictions in royal tombs of the period show²⁸³. Goebis (2007: 181) suggests that images of the king receiving the *ʕnh* from the gods represent the king being fashioned in the gods' image. It is important to note that the king is never depicted offering the *ʕnh* to a deceased person in the Theban tombs that have been studied here, this is the right of the gods only. This suggests that there was a perceived difference between the deceased king (who possessed the *ʕnh*) and the gods (whose right it was to bestow the *ʕnh*).

4.4 CONCLUSION:

281Baines (1975:18) notes that the sign with which Barta connects the *ʕnh* is green, which contrasts with the common use of blue when writing an *ʕnh* sign.

282Other terms, such as *dt nhh* were used to clarify when the term 'eternal life' was meant (*ʕnh dt nhh*). However, while the word appears to have meant only 'life', except when followed by other terms, the symbol in the hand of a deceased person may have been understood as representing the continuation of life in the afterlife, essentially 'eternal life'. This is a reminder that there was a fine distinction between the living and the dead who continued to exist in the afterlife.

283A scene from the tomb of Ramesses II shows the king in front of Re-Horakhty, who holds the *ʕnh* (Lepsius 1849-1858: 172[g]).

The crowns, epithets and other items that have been discussed support the idea that, after his reign, the king was not seen as 'dead' in the same way that ordinary members of society were (this can be seen especially in the epithets used), but neither was he given the same position as the gods, although links between the king and the divine were constantly alluded to, for example through the use of crowns and insignia that were shared with deities²⁸⁴. When one looks, however, at the crowns and epithets, as well as other objects, in tomb scenes, it is debatable whether these aspects represent the beliefs of the tomb owners or are simply copies of what they saw in their lives. Perhaps the objects found in these scenes merely demonstrate the aspects of kingship that were emphasised in official imagery. However, the fact that they occur in tomb scenes suggests that the imagery entered into the cultural memory of the people, even if they did not fully understand the implications.

²⁸⁴As has been suggested throughout this study, the king held a position between that of man and god. As a mortal being who became divine through the office he held, he was not fully human but nor was he fully a god (Baines 1995: 6).

CONCLUSION

The study of cultural memory in Ancient Egypt is a relatively new one. Assmann, in particular, has discussed the issue in great detail²⁸⁵. However, what studies have often failed to do is look at specific case studies to support their theories. This study has attempted to do just this; it has examined specific evidence that has allowed detailed conclusions to be drawn on the nature of cultural memory in Egypt by showing the diverse ways in which the king, and other members of the royal family, were represented in private tombs at Thebes. The king was seen as a part of a royal genealogy alongside other deceased pharaohs, as well as alongside the gods. Most importantly, however, he was seen as a part of everyday life, and it is this role that afforded the king a place in the cultural memory of the people. Halbwachs (1992: 24)²⁸⁶ emphasised the importance of the present in shaping one's understanding of the past, claiming that history can only be kept alive through re-enactments, festivals and other rituals. This study supports Halbwachs' hypothesis, but it goes one step further, suggesting that rituals were important to allow not only a connection with the past, but also with certain aspects of the present. The state was able, therefore, to use public events and festivals to forge a connection between itself and the localities. This connection was strengthened by the interaction of ordinary people with establishments such as mortuary estates. The majority of images of the king in private tombs which have been discussed are, in fact, depictions of a statue of the king. Here, one can see that it was through these statues which played an active part in the lives of the communities, that the people felt a

²⁸⁵Assmann (2006) is one example of his work on the subject.

²⁸⁶Halbwachs' study on 'Collective memory' (Halbwachs 1992) is fundamental in understanding this complex topic.

connection with the pharaoh, rather than through the person of the king himself. It appears that these images replaced the actual person of the king in the minds of the people, so that when they came to depict the pharaoh in their tombs they were unable to produce an accurate likeness of the king, but could, instead, replicate his statue. Redford's discussion about which crowns were used in representations of rows of kings (Redford 1986: 54) also leads one to wonder if images of the king in private tombs were less depictions of individuals and more representations of the idea of the king as the head of the state²⁸⁷. Frankfort (1961: 46) writes that "Egyptian monuments and texts...hid the individuality of the kings under generalities." Whether this is entirely true is debatable, but one must wonder whether local understanding of the king was, at least in part, fulfilling this theory.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there was very little distinction made between 'living' and 'deceased' kings in tomb scenes. Kinglists in private tombs gave some sense of genealogy and their exclusion of the living king may suggest some understanding of the difference between the living king and his ancestors, but the same cannot be said of other scenes of the king. The people did not have a connection with the king as a person, so they were not affected by his death, or his succession by another king - the statues that they used in festivals and rituals, and the images on temple walls, were unchanging. There is some evidence of royal activity in the villages, but it is sparse²⁸⁸, and it likely that these visits were highly irregular, the gaps perhaps being punctuated by visits from royal officials. Therefore, the images present at the frequent rituals and festivals in the

²⁸⁷Kantorowicz (1997: 364-372) discusses the distinction between the king as a person and the king as a representative of the crown in medieval political theory, and the issues relating to this distinction. Although this book focuses on a different society, it does emphasise the importance of seeing the person of the king as separate from the state.

²⁸⁸See above (p. 7) for a discussion of o.Cairo 25560 which records a visit of Seti I to the West Bank at Thebes.

localities achieved a role in the cultural memory of the community that the pharaoh himself, through his infrequent appearances, could not. The depictions of the king with the Hathor cow that are found in private tombs at Thebes, are further evidence that it was active cults that were most successfully integrated into the cultural memory of the people – Hathor, and particularly the Hathor cow, had an important cult at Deir el-Bahri in the Ramesside Period, and it is likely that the tomb builders on the West Bank would have at least been aware of this, if not actually patrons of it²⁸⁹. Therefore, images of the king with the Hathor cow can be seen as an amalgamation of two cults, one royal and one divine, which were both active in the lives of the villagers.

Of course, the fact that local identification with the king focused on statues of him rather than on the actual person of the pharaoh does not mean that the state had failed to exert its control over the localities. Assmann (2006: 91) writes that “memory is a system that is imposed from outside and can only be sustained by state power”. Many of the festivals and rituals found in the Egyptian localities were state sponsored (such as the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, and the Min Festival at Thebes), and others were probably derived from them, or based in chapels that were sponsored by the state (such as seen at the Hathor and Khenu chapel at Deir el-Medina (Exell 2006: 59)). Therefore, the statue cults that dominated the West-Bank at Thebes can be seen as examples of the state successfully integrating itself into the lives of the people on a level that they were able to connect with. By allowing imagery of himself to become a part of the everyday lives of the villagers, the pharaoh was giving himself a relevance that no amount of official visits could match. If this is true then one is left with the question of how much

²⁸⁹Evidence of patronage of the cults at Deir el-Bahri can be found on the stela of Qenherkhepshef, a Nineteenth Dynasty scribe from Deir el-Medina, who records his many pious acts including spending the night in the forecourts of shrines (Pinch 1993: 352).

of the imagery found in tombs can be seen as representing the individual beliefs of the people, and how much was merely a copy of official ideology. Was there a fundamental distinction between the imagery of the elite and that of the ordinary people, between 'high' and 'low' culture? It appears that the culture of the common people in many ways emulated that of the elite and the state, and it was through this that the state attempted to legitimise its position and create a united population. Images which amalgamated more than one cult, such as those of Amenhotep I with Hathor (fig. 8), suggest that ordinary people assimilated these state sponsored images and personalised them, so that the 'low' culture of Egypt did not just copy the 'high' culture, but adapted it to their own needs.

The omission of certain figures from private tomb scenes in the Ramesside Period can also be seen within this framework, as the state must reject certain aspects of history in order to maintain the traditions and cultural memory that best serves its aims. The cases of Hatshepsut and Akhenaten²⁹⁰ are good examples of this. Assmann (2006: 3) notes that “forgetting is just as important as remembering” in creating cultural and communicative memory and traditions. Therefore, the rejection of certain subjects within the scenes that have been studied teaches as much as the inclusion of others, and, again, shows a public acceptance of state doctrine.

The state, through ritual and tradition, encouraged a certain view of the world and of the king, and the depictions that have been studied must be seen as a result of that. It has been shown that the cultural memory of the localities, which was represented in tomb depictions, was to a large extent dependant upon the people's involvement in active cults, and interaction with royal mortuary estates. 'Kingship' was an ideal that was

²⁹⁰This was discussed above (p. 36).

integrated into their everyday lives, thus creating a connection with the state that was, in other ways, so detached.

MAPS

[Not available in the digital version of this thesis]

FIGURES

[Not available in the digital version of this thesis]

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Tomb details

No.	Name ²⁹¹	Site ²⁹²	Date ²⁹³
2	Khabekhnet	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II
4	Ken	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II
7	Ramose	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II
10	Penbuy and Kasa	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II
14	Huy	Dra abu el-Naga	19/20 Dynasty
16	Pinehas	Dra abu el-Naga	Ramesses II-Merenptah
19	Amenmose	Dra abu el-Naga	Ramesses II (Ramesses I-Seti I)
23	Tjay (To)	Sheik abd el-Qurna	(Merenptah)
31	Khonsu	Sheik abd el-Qurna	Ramesses II
41	Amenemopet	Sheik abd el-Qurna	Horemheb-Seti I (Ramesses I – Seti I)
44	Amenemheb	Sheik abd el-Qurna	20 Dynasty (Ramesside)
51	Userhat	Sheik abd el-Qurna	Ramesses I-Seti I
54	Huy (Kenro)	Sheik abd el-Qurna	Ramesses II (early 19 Dynasty)
106	Paser	Sheik abd el-Qurna	(Ramesses I-Seti I)
134	Thauenary (Any)	Sheik abd el-Qurna	20 Dynasty (19 Dynasty)
137	Mosi	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	(Ramesses II)
141	Bakenkhons	Dra abu el-Naga	20 Dynasty (Ramesside)
149	Amenmose	Dra abu el-Naga	20 Dynasty (Ramesside)
153		Dra abu el-Naga	Late 19 Dynasty (Seti I)
157	Nebwenenef	Dra Abu el-Naga	Ramesses II
178	Kenro (Neferrenpet)	el-Khokha	Ramesses II
194	Djutenheb	el-Asaif	Ramesses II
210	Raweben	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II
216	Neferhotep	Deir el-Medina	(Ramesses II-Seti II)
217	Ipuy	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II
219	Nebenmaat	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II-Merenptah.
250	Ramose	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II

291Names and their spellings are based on the information given in Porter and Moss (1960). Gaps denote where there is no name in Porter and Moss (1960) and also not be found in any other source.

292See maps for position of sites, and of tombs within sites.

293Dating is based on that given in Kampp (1996a: 140-143). Those given in brackets relate to the dating given in Porter and Moss (1960) where they do not agree with Kampp's findings, or where Kampp does not give a date.

275	Sebkmosé	Qurnet Murnai	Late 18 Dynasty (Ramesside)
277	Amenomonet	Qurnet Murnai	20 Dynasty (Ramesside)
285	Iny	Dra abu el-Naga	20 Dynasty (Ramesside)
290	Irinufer	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II/20 Dynasty
296	Nefersékheru (Pasaba)	el-Khokha	Ramesses II
300	Anhotep	Dra abu el-Naga	Ramesses II
302	Paraemheb	Dra abu el-Naga	(Ramesside)
306	Irdjanen	Dra abu el-Naga	20-21 Dynasty (19-21 Dynasty)
326	Pashedu	Deir el-Medina	(Ramesside)
332	Penernutet	Dra Abu el-Naga	(Ramesside)
335	Nakhtamun	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II
341	Nekhtamun	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	20 Dynasty (Ramesses II)
344	Piay	Dra abu el-Naga	Ramesses II
357	Tutikermakhtuf	Deir el-Medina	Ramesses II
375		Dra abu el-Naga	(Ramesside)
377		Dra abu el-Naga	Late 19 Dynasty/20 Dynasty
384	Nebmehyt	Sheik abd el-Qurna	(19 Dynasty)
A12	Nebwenenef	Dra Abu el-Naga	(Ramesside)
A14		Dra Abu el-Naga	(Ramesses II)
A18	Amenemopet	Dra Abu el-Naga	(Ramesside)
C7	Harmosi	Sheik abd el-Qurna	(Ramesses II)

Appendix 2: Titles of Tomb Owners

No.	Name	Titles ²⁹⁴
2	Khabekhnet	Servant in the Place of Truth.
4	Ken	Chiseller of Amun in the Place of Truth.
7	Ramose	Scribe in the Place of Truth.
10	Penbuy and Kasa	Servants in the Place of Truth.
14	Huy	Wab-priest of Amenhotep, the favourite of Amun.
16	Panehsi	Prophet of 'Amenhotep of the Forecourt'.
19	Amenmose	First Prophet of 'Amenhotep of the Forecourt'.
23	Tjay (To)	Royal scribe of the dispatches of the Lord of the Two Lands.
31	Khonsu	First Prophet of Menkheperre.
41	Amenemopet	Chief Steward of Amun in the Southern City.
44	Amenemheb	Wab-priest in front of Amun.
51	Userhat	First prophet of the royal ka of Thutmose I.
54	Huy (Kenro)	Wab-priest; Head of the Magazine of Khonsu.
106	Paser	Governor of the town; Vizier
134	Thauenary (Any)	Prophet of Amenhotep who navigates on the sea of Amun.
137	Mosi	Head of works of the Lord of the Two Lands in every monument of Amun.
141	Bakenkhons	Wab-priest of Amun
149	Amenmose	Royal scribe of the table of the Lord of the Two Lands; Overseer of the huntsmen of Amun.
153		
157	Nebwenenef	First prophet of Amun.
178	Kenro (Neferrenpet)	Scribe of the treasury in the estate of Amun-Re.
194	Djutenheb	Overseer of marshland dwellers of the estate of Amun; Scribe of the temple of Amun.
210	Raweben	Servant in the Place of Truth.
216	Neferhotep	Foreman.
217	Ipuy	Sculptor
219	Nebenmaat	Servant in the Place of Truth.

²⁹⁴These are based on the titles given in Porter and Moss (1960). Any gaps denote where there is no information given in Porter and Moss (1960) and the information cannot be found in any other source.

250	Ramose	Scribe in the Place of Truth.
275	Sebkmosé	Head wab-priest; Divine father in the temples of Amenhotep III, and Sokar.
277	Amenomonet	Divine father of the mansion of Amenhotep III.
285	Iny	Head of the Magazine of Mut.
290	Irinufer	Servant in the Place of Truth.
296	Nefersékheru (Pasaba)	Scribe of the divine offerings of all the gods; Officer of the treasury...in the Southern City.
300	Anhotep	Viceroy of Kush; Governor of the South Lands; Scribe of the table of the Lord of the Two Lands.
302	Paraemheb	Overseer of the magazine.
306	Irdjanen	Door-opener of the estate of Amun.
326	Pashedu	Foreman.
332	Penernutet	Chief watchman of the Granary of the estate of Amun.
335	Nakhtamun	Wab-priest of Amenhotep (I) Lord of the Two Lands; Chiseller of Amun; Servant in the Place of Truth.
341	Nekhtamun	Head of the altar in the Ramesseum.
344	Piay	Overseer of the herds of Amun-Re in the Southern City; Royal scribe of the herds of Amenhotep I.
357	Tutikermakhtuf	Servant in the Place of Truth.
375		
377		
384	Nebmehyt	Priest of Amun in the Ramesseum.
A12	Nebwenenef	Overseer of marshland dwellers of the estate of Amun.
A14		
A18	Amenemopet	Prophet of Amun-Re; Secretary; Chief of scribes in the estate of Amun.
C7	Harmosi	Head custodian of the treasury in the King's mansion on the west of Thebes.

Appendix 3: Appendix to Chapter 1 (The King as part of Everyday Life)

Tomb	Location	Description	References	Fig.
2	Hall	(9) Deceased with wife offers on braziers to statue of Amenhotep I in palanquin carried by priests, and statue of Amun.	GIA Photo 1993 [left]	1
2	Hall	(11) [Deceased] before statue of Amenhotep I in palanquin carried by priests, and statue of Amun, both protected by Maat.	Černý 1927: 167, fig.14; Lepsius 1849-1858: 2 [c]; GIA Photos 1994 [left], 1995.	4
2	Pyramid	Deceased adores royal statue and Hathor cow in mountain.		
14	Hall	(1) (i) Priests before two royal statues in palanquins. (ii) Female mourners and priest before royal statues.	Baud 1935: pl.iii Werbrouck 1938: fig. 6	12 13
14	Hall	(5) Priest censes before Amenhotep I and [Ahmose-Nefertari] in palanquins carried by priests with mourners below.		
19	Hall	(3) Valley festival and funeral procession: i. [Bark] of Mut and bark of Amun-Re towed on canal, [statue of Amenhotep of the forecourt in palanquin carried by priests], and men acclaiming. ii. Bark with statue of Ahmose-Nefertari dragged from temple.	Foucart 1935: pls.ii-iv, vi, ix, figs. iv-vi.	16 15
19	Hall	(4) Festival of Amenhotep I and funeral procession: i. 2 scenes: a. [bark of Amenhotep I on lake with female mourners and men dragging royal statue]. b. single-stick and wrestling, and bark of Thutmose III before his temple. iib. bark of Ahmose-Nefertari towed on lake with trees, heaps of offerings, and female mourners, and 2 statues of Amenhotep I in palanquins with priests in front of temple.	Foucart 1935: pls. xi-xvi	22 19 20 21 18
23	Hall	(18) Deceased with courtiers		

		rewarded before Merenptah with souls of Pe and Nekhen and winged goddess.		
31	Hall	(4/5/6) Festival of Montu, 4 scenes: i. Usermontu, Vizier, and his brother Huy, Prophet of Montu, offer bark to Montu, all in bark towed by 2 military boats abreast, with father of deceased and his 3 sons censuring and libating above. ii. Deceased offers to bark of Tuthmosis III in kiosk. iii. Arrival of bark of Montu with Usermontu and Huy and 2 tugs, followed by priests and priestesses, including Userhet, Steward of Queen Teye. iv. Arrival of bark of Montu carried by priests at temple of Armant, showing statue of hawk protecting the king, and deceased with ba libating to [bark] in shrine.	Davies and Gardiner 1948: pls. x-xiii	28 28 29 30
31	Hall	(8) Festival of Thutmose III, with royal bark in procession before temple, received by priests and priestesses (songstresses of Montu). Herdsmen with dogs bringing cows and goats before deceased, Ruia, and family, with standard of estate of Thutmose IV in front.	Davies and Gardiner, 1948: pl. xv; Wreszinski 1923: I.128-30; Farina 1929: pl. clxxxii;	31
51	Hall	(5) Festival procession of Thutmose I: Men bringing supplies and deceased leaving temple adores royal bark; royal statue dragged, and in bark on lake.	Davies 1927: pls. xvi Wreszinski 1923: 173 (called tomb 50).	32
106	Hall	(5) Deceased rewarded and acclaimed by courtiers before [Seti I] followed by Maat, with souls of Pe and Nekhen in front of him (all in kiosk).	MMA photos: T.2908-9	
106	Hall	(6) Deceased outside temple approves statue of Seti I.	MMA photos: T.2905-6; Lepsius 1849-1858: 132 [p]	35
157	Hall	(8) Deceased, followed by fanbearer and priest with text of appointment in year I as High Priest of Amun, before Ramesses II and (Merymut) Nefertari in palace window.	Schott photos: 6627-9	38 39
216	Hall	(13) [Men] before Ramesses II in		

		kiosk.		
217	Hall	(2) Deceased with officials rewarded and acclaimed before Ramesses II in palace window with captives on sides.	Bruyère 1926a: 39-40, figs. 27, 70.	
277	Hall	(2/3) 3 scenes: i. Statues of Teye and Amenhotep III dragged in procession. ii. Boat with shrine towed on lake. iii. Deceased censuring and libating before statue of Neb-Ment, Queen Neferys (probs Ahmose-Nefertari), and Hathor cow in mountain.	Vandier d'Abbadie 1954: pls. Vi-viii, x, xiii, xv Hermann 1936: pl.6 [a,c].	43 44 46 45
344	Hall	(8) [Statues of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari] in palanquins carried by priests.	Petrie 1909b: pl.xxxix	53
A14	Hall	[Deceased before] Ramesses II in palace window.		
C7	Hall	Deceased adores bark of Ramesses II, and adores bark of Ptah-Sokar.		

Appendix 4: Appendix to Chapter 2 (The King as a Historical Figure)

Tom b	Location	Description	References	Fig.
2	Hall	(10) Deceased offers to two rows of kings, queens and princes. These are Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Seqenenre Tao, Ahhotep, nine queens, Sapair, Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep, Ahmose, Sekhentenre, Kamose, five princes and four queens (Redford 1986: 48).	Lepsius 1849-1858: 2 [a]	3
2	Hall	(12) [Deceased] before Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari and Princess Merytamun.	GIA photo 1985	2
2	Entrance to inner room of burial chamber	(25) Lintel=Cartouches of Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, [Meryt]amun and [Nebhepet]re-Men[tuhotep], and Buto of Depet as serpent.	Bruyère 1926b: 46.	
4	Chapel	(8) Ahmose-Nefertari and Merytamun on either side, and statue of Hathor cow protecting Amenhotep I in centre.	Černý 1927: 174, pl.iv	8
7	Chapel	(3) Man adores Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Horemhab and Thutmose IV.	Černý 1927: 175	
10	Shrine	(6) Double scene: i. Penbuy and brother, Penshenabu, before Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, [Seti I?], Ramesses I and Horemhab. ii. Kasa and Son before Seti I, Ramesses I and Horemhab.	Lepsius 1849-1858: 173 [b, c]	11 10
19	Hall	(4) [Deceased and priests before two rows of seated kings and queens]. These are Ahmose-Nefertari, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III on the top row, and Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Horemheb, Ramesses I and Seti I on the lower row.	Champollion 1845: pl.clxxxiv; Foucart 1935: pl.xii.	14
306	Hall	(5) Two rows of 7 cartouches – Ahmose-Nefertari, Sekenenre-Taa, Amenhotep I, Ah, Tutankhamun, Queen Tamer..., Queen (cartouche		

		blank), Queen Nebtau, Senwosret I, Queen Ahmose, Kamose, Queen Sentsonb, In..., and another, and deceased censing and libating to dressed 'zad-pillar' in kiosk.		
C7	Hall	Row of kings (Thutmose I, II, III, IV, Amenhotep II, III) and Horus.	Champollion 1844: 517-8.	58

Appendix 5: Appendix to Chapter 3 (The King as a 'Divine' Being)

Tomb	Location	Description ²⁹⁵	References	Fig.
2	Court	(3ii) Deceased and family before Amun and Ahmose-Nefertari.	GIA photo:1987	5
2	Hall	(12) [Deceased] before Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari and Princess Merytamun.	GIA photos: 1984-6	
2	Burial chamber	(24) Khons and wife before Re, Osiris and Amenhotep I; deceased and wife before Amenhotep (twice depicted) and Ahmose-Nefertari.	Černý 1927: 168, pl.i; Bruyère 1926b: pl.viii,ix.	6, 7
2		Triad of gods - Amun, Mut and Khonsu. To the right are Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.	Černý 1927: 167.	
2	Pyramid	Deceased adores royal statue and Hathor cow in mountain.		
4	Chapel	(7ii) Deceased, Henutmehyt, and her son, before Anubis, Hathor, Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.	Černý 1927: 174, pl.iv. GIA photo: 2014.	9
4	Chapel	(8) Ahmose-Nefertari and Merytamun on either side, and statue of Hathor cow protecting Amenhotep I in centre.	Černý 1927: 174, pl.iv.	8
7	Chapel	(3) Man adores Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Horemhab and Thutmose IV.	Černý 1927: 175.	
10	Chapel	(5) People adore Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.		
10	Chapel	(6) Double scene: i. Penbuy and brother, Penshenabu, before Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, [Seti I?], Ramesses I and Horemhab. ii. Kasa and Son before Seti I, Ramesses I and Horemhab.	Lepsius 1849-1858: 173 [b, c].	11 10
16	Hall	(6) Deceased and wife with bouquet adore Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.	Baud and Drioton 1928: 22-30, fig.11-12.	
19	Hall	(4) Deceased with son Becknay and	Foucart 1935: pls. ix.	17

²⁹⁵Based, where given, on descriptions given in Porter and Moss, *A Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings I: The Theban Necropolis (Part I: Private Tombs)*. Numbers in brackets refer to the scene number in this volume.

		wife adore Hathor-cow in mountain protecting king.		
19	Hall	(6) Double scene: Right: [Deceased with son Beknay and wife] censes and libates to Re-Horakhty-Atum, Amenhotep I, Hathor and Western goddesses. Left: [Deceased, mother and daughter(?)] before 3 divinities and king.	Foucart 1935: pls. xxiii-xxv;	23 24
23	Hall	(18) Deceased with courtiers rewarded before Merenptah with souls of Pe and Nekhen and winged goddess.		
23	Hall	(22) Baboons adoring and souls of Pe and Nekhen before bark containing Merenptah offering to Atum.	Duemichen 1869: pl. xlv[f]	27
23	Hall	(24) Deceased adores Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.	Lepsius 1849-1858: 199 [d].	25
23	Shrine	(43) Hathor cow in mountain protecting Ramesses II.	Lepsius 1849-1858: 199 [h]	26
31	Hall	(4) Deceased offers to bark of Thutmose III.		
31	Shrine	(15) Deceased offers bark of Amun-Re to Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep.	Davies and Gardiner 1948: pls.xli.	
41	Hall	(16) Deceased and wife adore king and queen.		
44	Hall	(5) Deceased adores Ptah and Sekhmet, and with wife offers incense and libation to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.		
51	Hall	(9) Deceased with mother, wife and daughter, offers on braziers to Thutmose I and Ahmose-Nefertari.	Davies 1927: 6-10, pls.v-viii.	33
54	Hall	(5) Deceased and family cense and libate to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.	Davies 1922: 54, fig.5.	34
106	Court	(B;a) Two registers: I. Deceased before Seti I. ii. Hymn to Seti I.	MMA photos: T.2937	
106	Hall	(B;d) Deceased censes and libates before [Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari].	Champollion 1845: clxx [1]	36
106	Hall	(5) Deceased rewarded and acclaimed by courtiers before [Seti I] followed by Maat, with souls of Pe and Nekhen in front of him (all in kiosk).	MMA photos: T.2908-9	

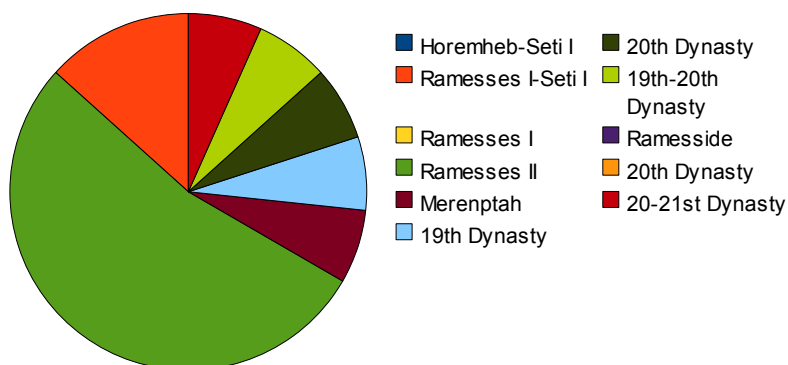
134	Inner room	(13) Double scene: Deceased and son adore Re-Horakhty and Ahmose-Nefertari, and adore Osiris and [Amenhotep I]		
134	Inner room	(14) Double scene: Deceased and son adore Re-Horakhty and Amenhotep I, and adore Osiris and Ahmose-Nefertari.		
141	Hall	(6i) Sarcophagus in boat, boats, and deceased and wife before Amenhotep I and [Ahmose-Nefertari].	Baud 1935: 165-6, pl.xxvi.	
149	Hall	(5) Deceased, and wife(?), before Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.		
153	Hall	(1) Deceased, followed by women, censers and libates before deified Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari and Thutmose III, in kiosk.	Baud 1935: fig. 82.	37
157	Hall	(8) Deceased, followed by fanbearer and priest with text of appointment in year I as High Priest of Amun, before Ramesses II and (Merymut) Nefertari in palace window.	Schott photos: 6627-9	38 39
178	Hall	(2) Deceased censers and libates before Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.	MMA photos: T.2859	
210	Chapel	(1) (Father with Ipuu (brother?) and family, offers on brazier to Re-Horakhty, Ptah, Hathor, Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.)	Černý 1927: 175, pl. iv, Bruyère 1928: 17, 19, figs.12-14.	40
216	Hall	(13) [Men] before Ramesses II in kiosk.		
216	Inner room	(18) Deceased offers on brazier to Hathor cow in mountain protecting Amenhotep I.		
219	Chapel	(5) Weighing of the heart – the deceased is led by Anubis towards Amenhotep I seated on a throne.	Černý 1927: 175.	
219	Outer burial chamber	(8) Wife playing flute, offers bouquet on censer to Osiris, Amenhotep. I, Hathor and Ahmose-Nefertari in front of a mountain.	Ross 1931: 167, Bruyère 1928: fig. 57, Černý 1927: 175	41
250	Chapel	(6) Deceased adores Osiris and wife adores Amenhotep I. Below are Ahmose-Nefertari and Anubis in the same position, adored by 2 processions of the family.	Bruyère 1927: 63-6, 71-2. pl.vi. Černý 1927: pl.vi	42
277	Hall	(2/3) Deceased censers and libates	Vandier d'Abbadie 1954:	45

		before Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep, Nefrys (probably Ahmose-Nefertari) and Hathor cow in mountain.	pls. vi-viii, xiii, xv, xviii. Hermann 1936: pl.6 [a,c],	
277	Hall	(7) Deceased censes and libates to Amenhotep III and Queen Teye.	Vandier D'Abbadie 1954: pls. xix, xx	47
285	Hall	(10) Deceased and wife before Hathor cow protecting Amenhotep I(?) in mountain, with western hawk and stela.		
285	Hall	(10ii) Deceased and wife before [Amenhotep I] and Ahmose-Nefertari.		
290	Chapel	(2) Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari facing Osiris and Anubis.	Bruyère 1924: 15-23, pl.x.	48
296	Hall	(2) Deceased with offerings before Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.		
300	Inner room	(6) Deceased and wife adoring Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.		
302	Hall	(3) Deceased and parents, all kneeling, followed by daughter, offer to [Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari] in kiosk.		
306	Hall	(2/3/4) Deceased censes before Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I.		
326	Chapel	Amenhotep I protected by Hathor cow in canoe.		
332	Hall	(4) Deceased with sistrum before Ahmose-Nefertari.		
335	Burial chamber	(26) Amenhotep I with Buto and Neith.	Bruyère 1926a: 154-60, 167, figs.104-7, Černý1927: 168, pl.ii.	49 50
341	Hall	(5) Son, musicians, officials with bouquets, before Ptah-Sokar-Osiris seated with bearded Ramesses II behind him.	Davies (Nina) 1936: pl.c; Davies and Gardiner 1948: pl.xxiii-xxiv. Herman 1936: pl.6[b]	51 52
344	Hall	(7) Deceased adores Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.	Gauthier 1908: 156.	
357	Chapel	(3) Hathor cow in mountain, Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari;	Bruyère 1930: 72-4, fig.32.	54
375	Hall	(1) Deceased and wife adore Osiris, Nephthys, Horus, Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.		
377	Hall	(2) Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari seated and Hathor cow		

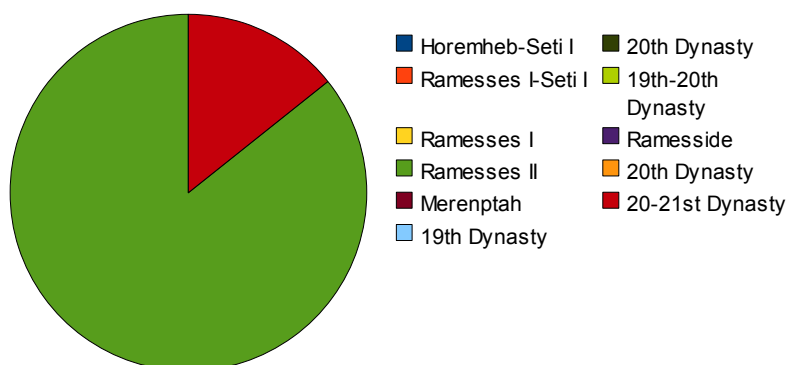
		protecting king(?)		
384	Hall	(2) Ahmose-Nefertari adoring bark of Re with two feathers on her head.		
A12		Deceased offers to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.		
A18	Hall	Double scene: i. Deceased censes before Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari. ii. Deceased libates to Amenhotep I and Queen Ahhotep.	Champollion 1845: cliii [2-4], ccxxxi [1]	55 56 57
C7	Hall	Row of kings (Thutmose I, II, III, IV, Amenhotep II, III) and Horus.	Champollion 1844: 517-8.	58
C7	Hall	Deceased adores barque of Ramesses II, and adores barque of Ptah-Sokar.		

Appendix 6: The dates of scenes of the king in private Theban tombs

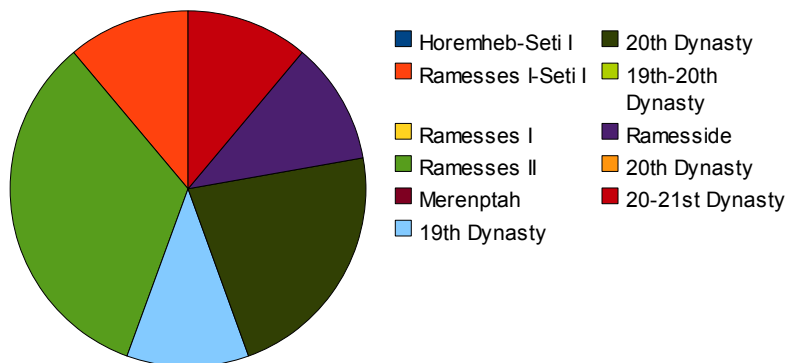
6a. The dates of tombs with scenes of the king as a part of everyday life



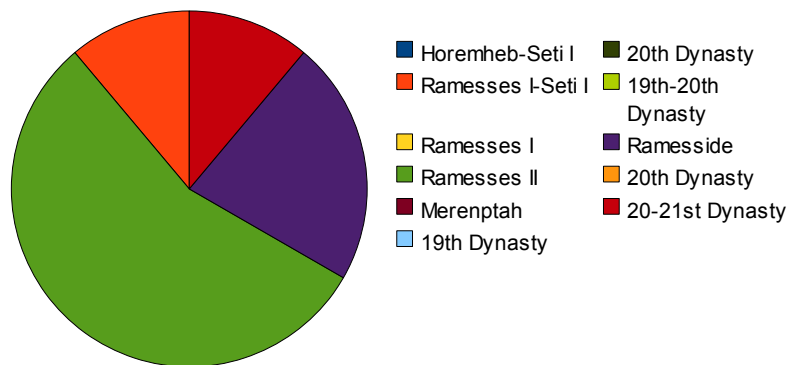
6b. The dates of tombs with scenes of the king as a historical figure



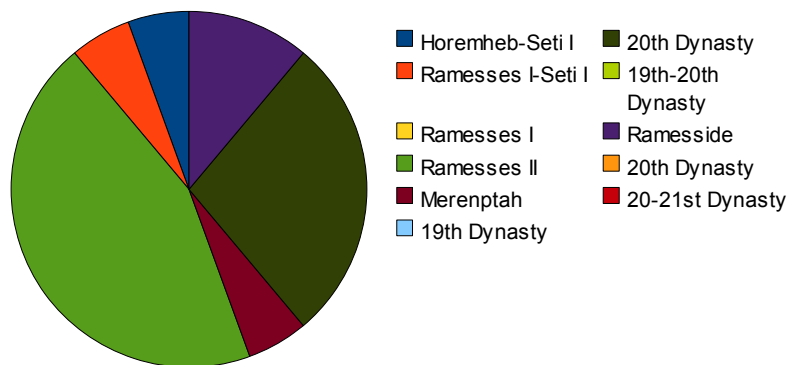
6c. The dates of tombs with scenes of censuring and libating to the king



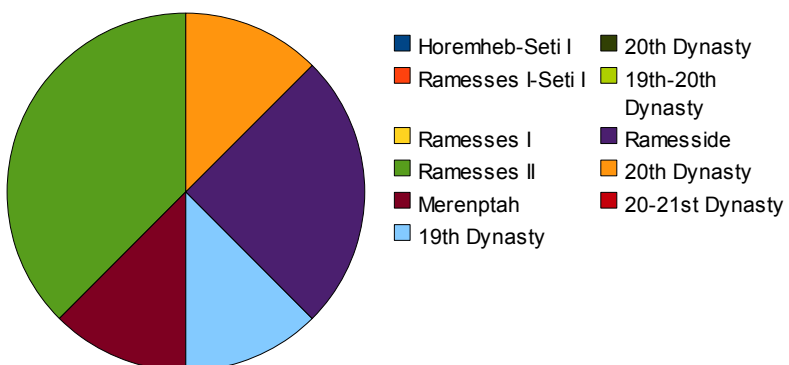
6d. The dates of tombs with scenes of offering to the king



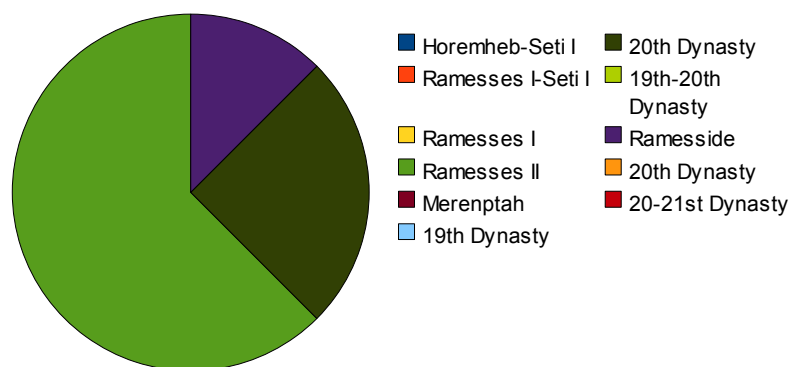
6e. The dates of tombs with scenes of worship of the king



6f. The dates of tombs with scenes of the king with Hathor

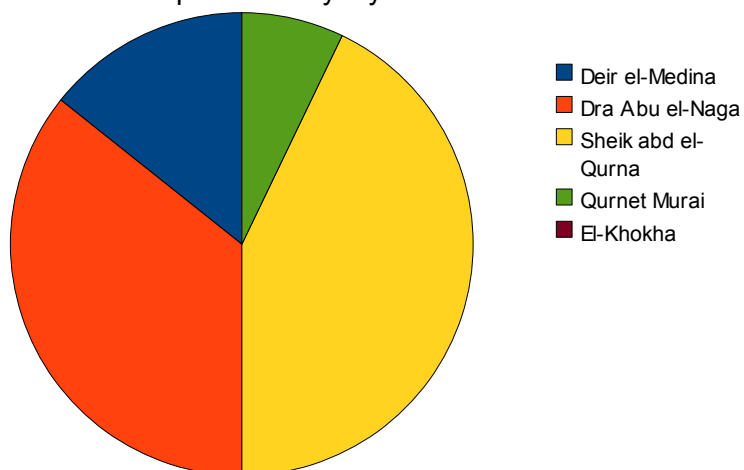


6g. The dates of tombs with scenes of the king with Osiris

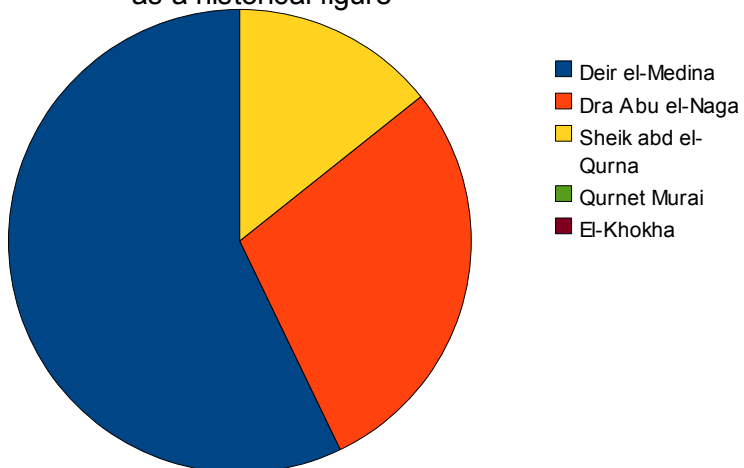


Appendix 7: The locations of scenes of the king in private Theban tombs organised by site

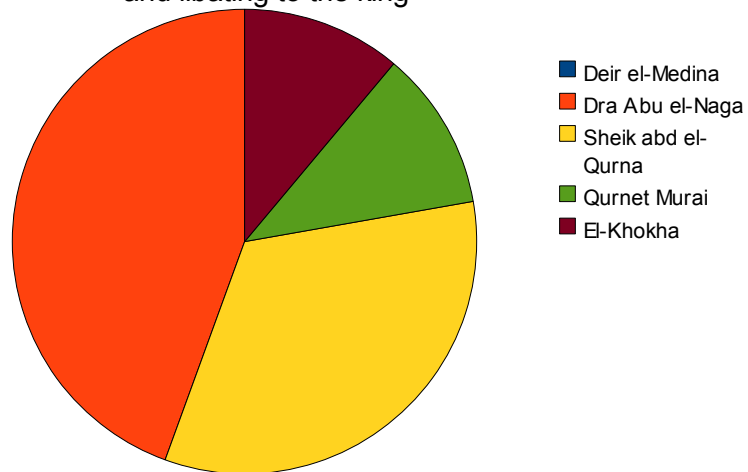
7a. The location of tombs with scenes of the king as a part of everyday life



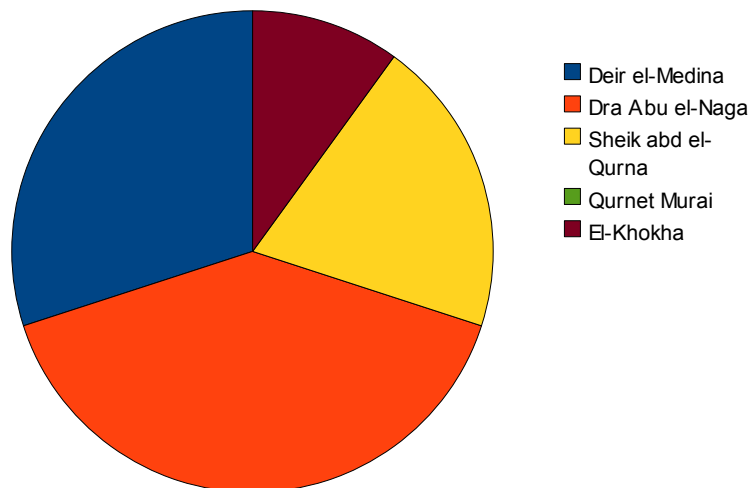
7b. The location of tombs with scenes of the king as a historical figure



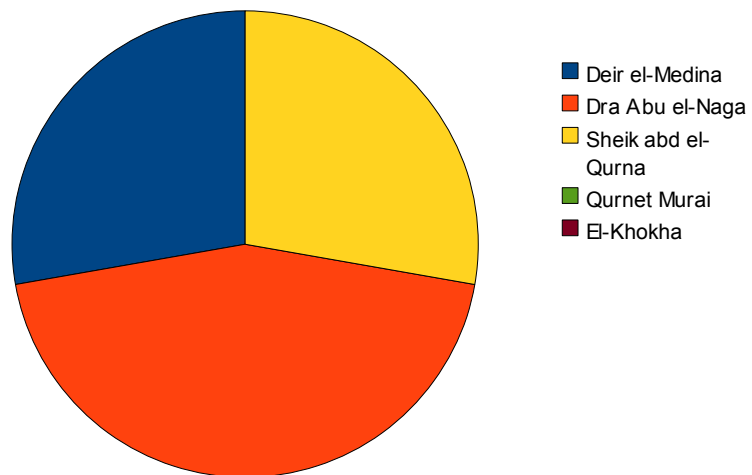
7c. The location of tombs with scenes of censuring and libating to the king



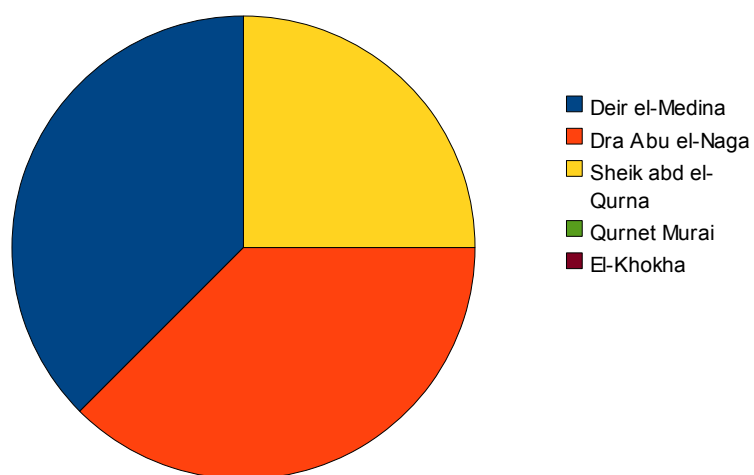
7d. The location of tombs with scenes of offering to the king



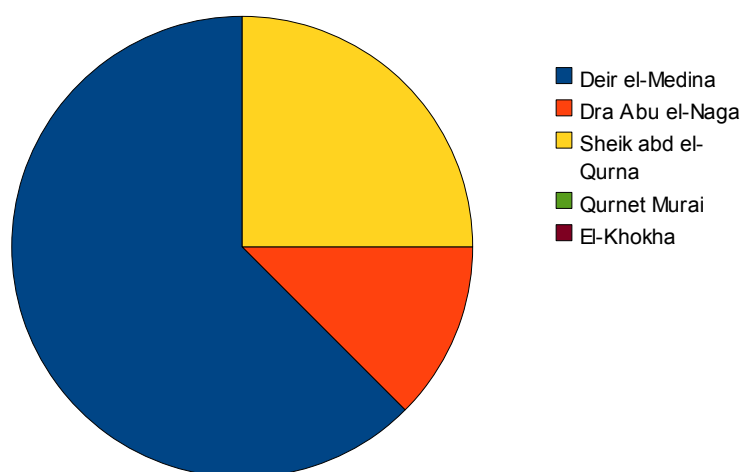
7e. The location of tombs with scenes of worship of the king



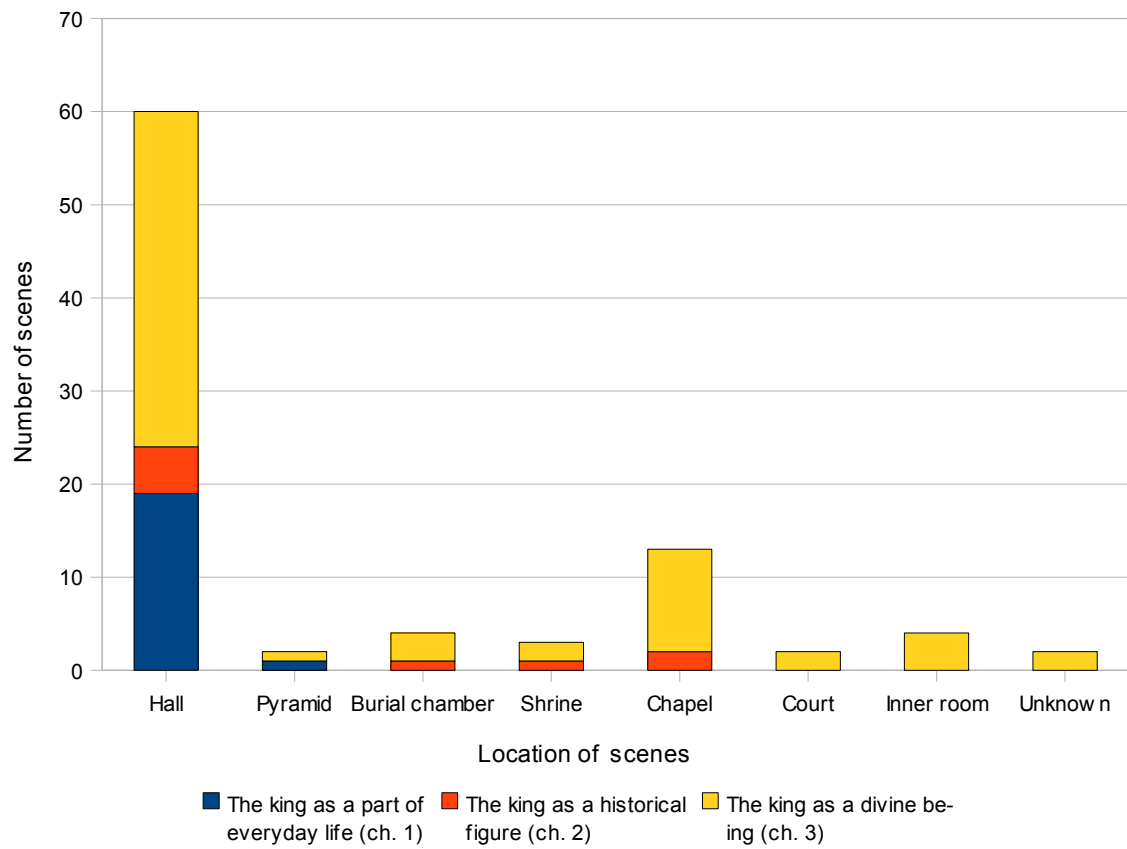
7f. The location of tombs with scenes of the king with Hathor



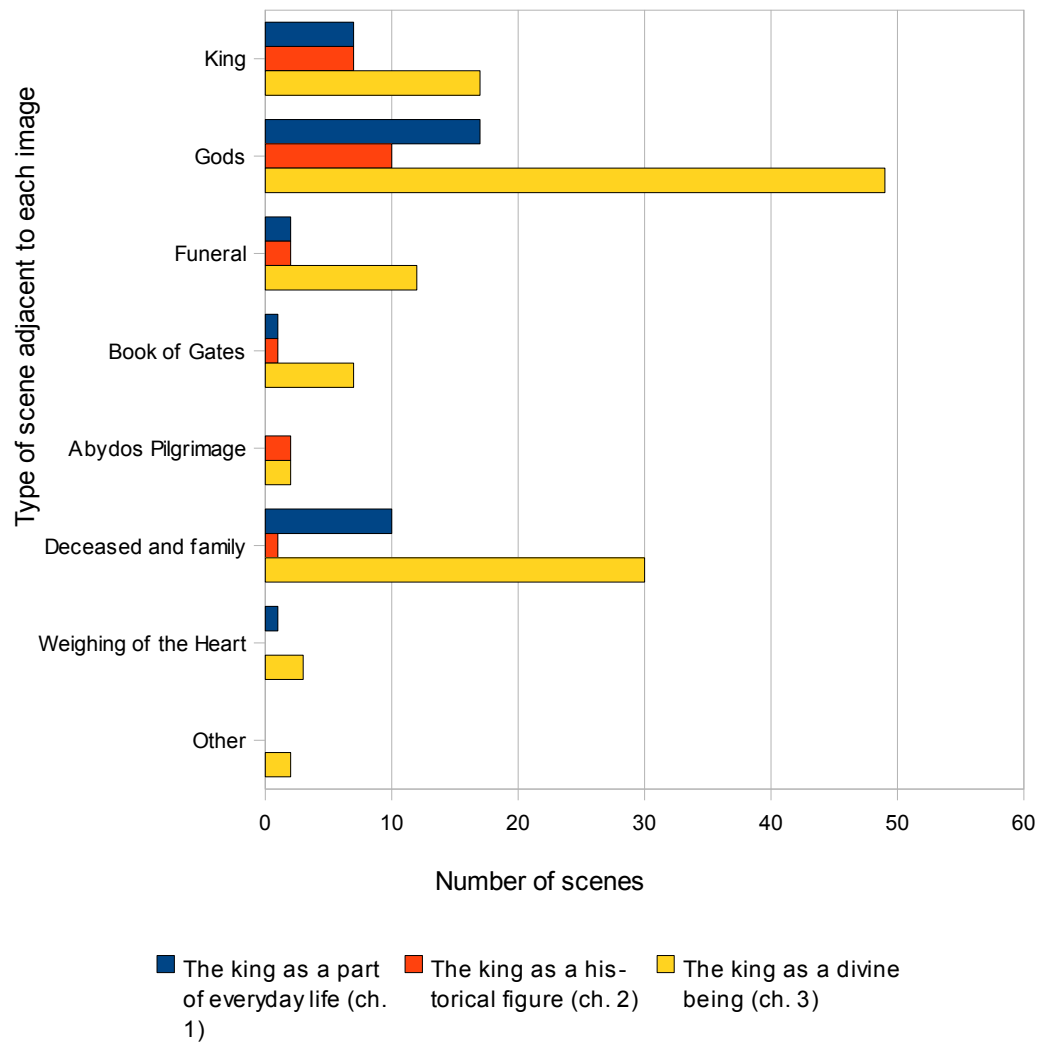
7g. The location of tombs with scenes of the king with Osiris



Appendix 8: The location of scenes of the king in private Theban tombs

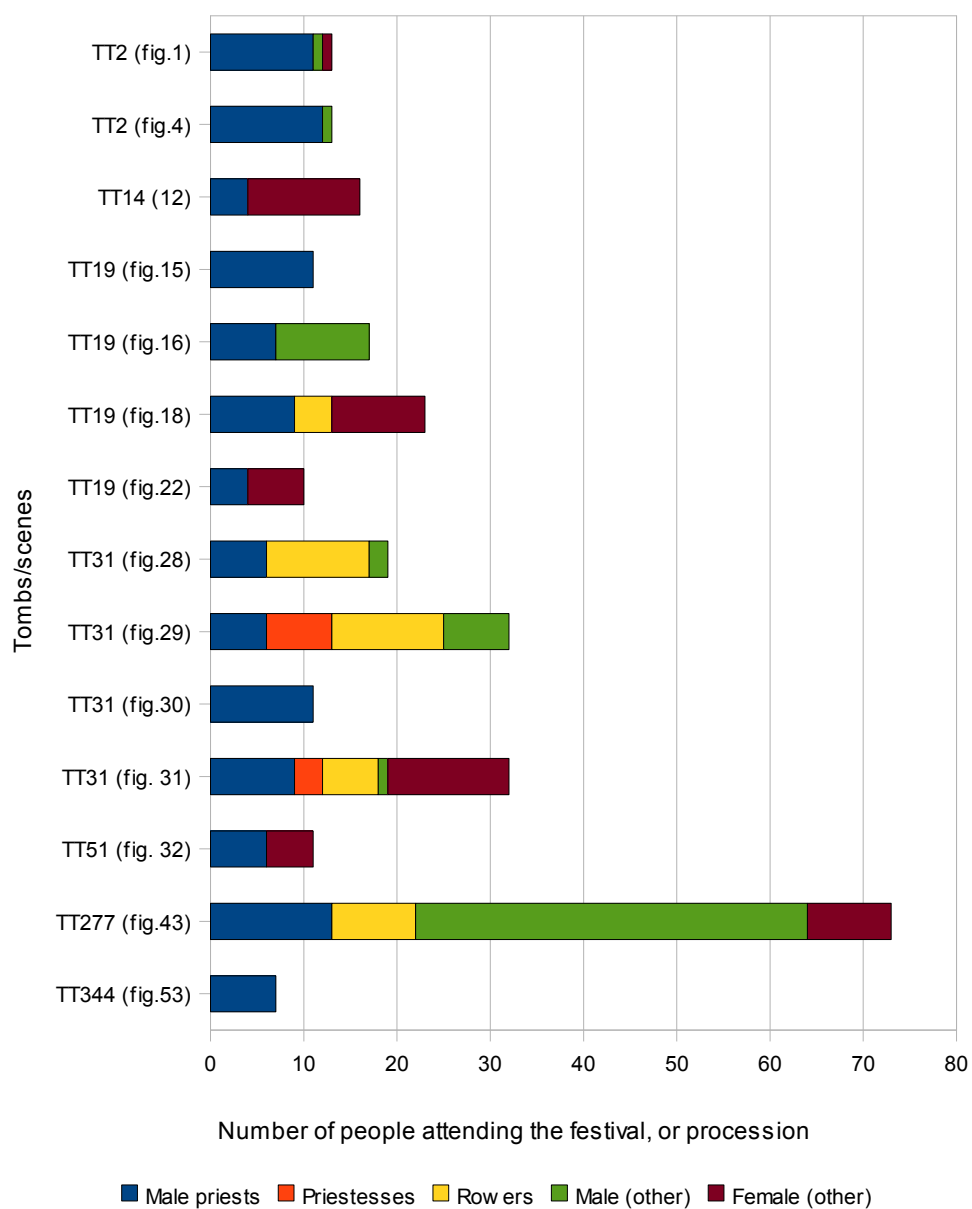


Appendix 9: The Scenes found adjacent to scenes of the king in private Theban tombs²⁹⁶

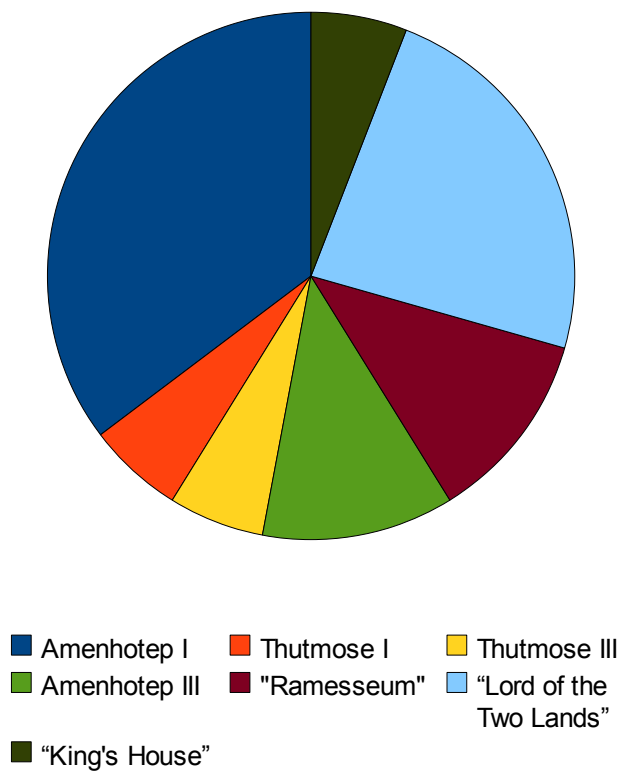


²⁹⁶This information has been based on the information given in Porter and Moss (1960). It has been, at times, difficult to identify which scenes classify as being 'adjacent' to the scenes relevant to this study, and so the figures given in this table may be open to variation.

Appendix 10: The sizes of gathered crowds in private Theban tomb scenes in which the king is a part of a procession or festival

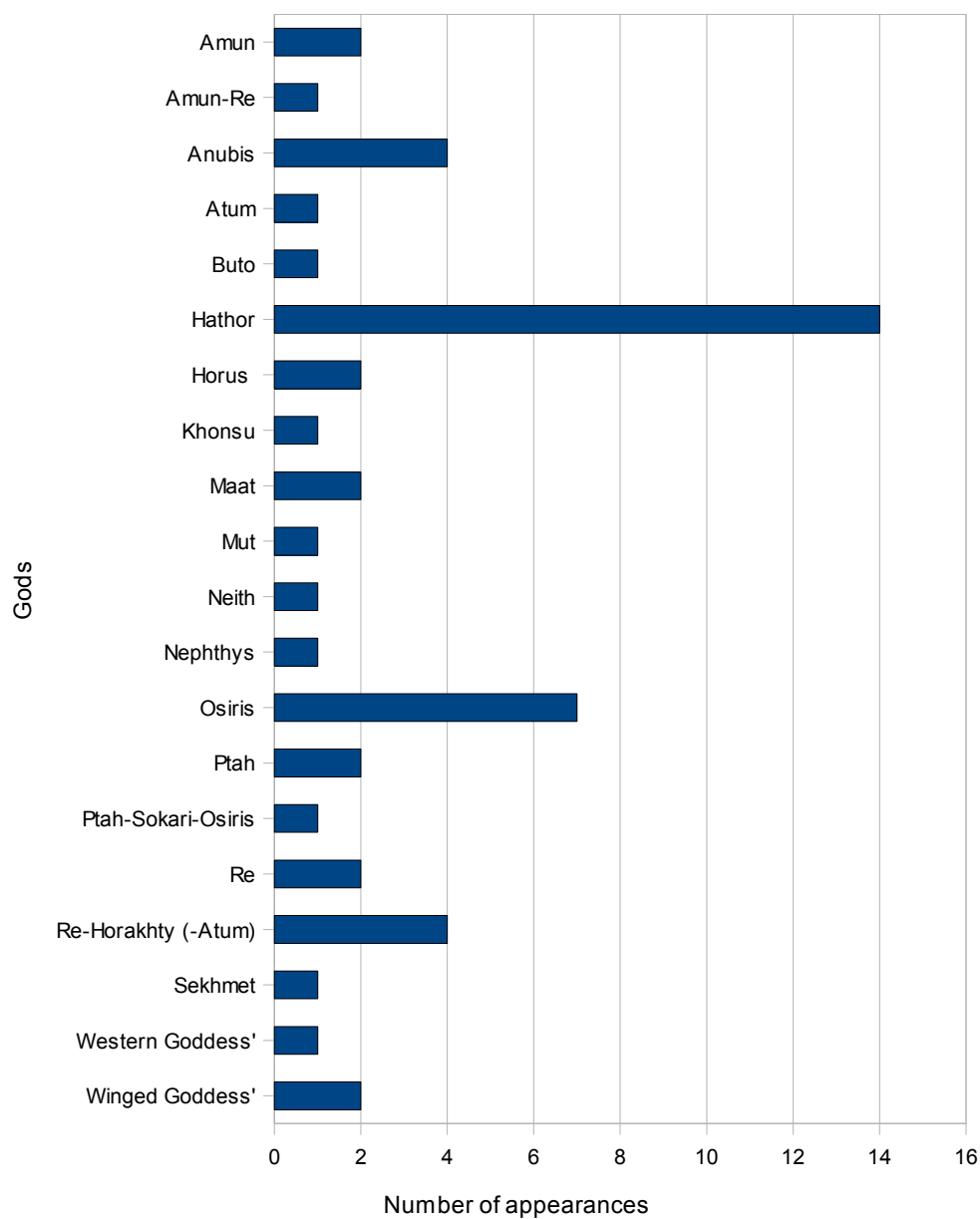


Appendix 11: The distribution of kings' names in titles of the owners of private Theban tombs



Appendix 12: The frequency of depictions of gods with royal figures in private Theban tombs

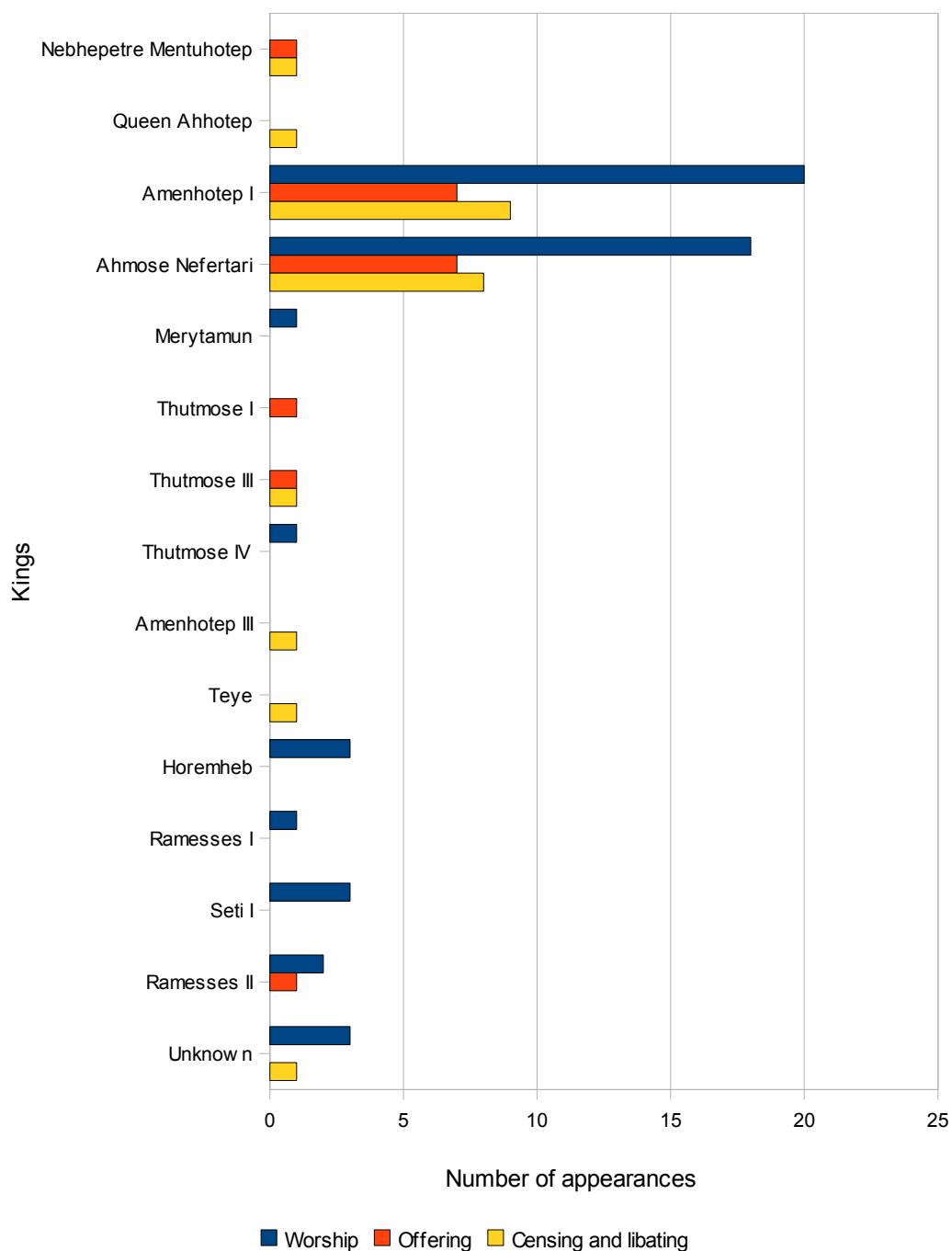
12a. The number of appearances of each god in scenes of royal figures



12b. The kings found depicted with each god in tomb scenes.

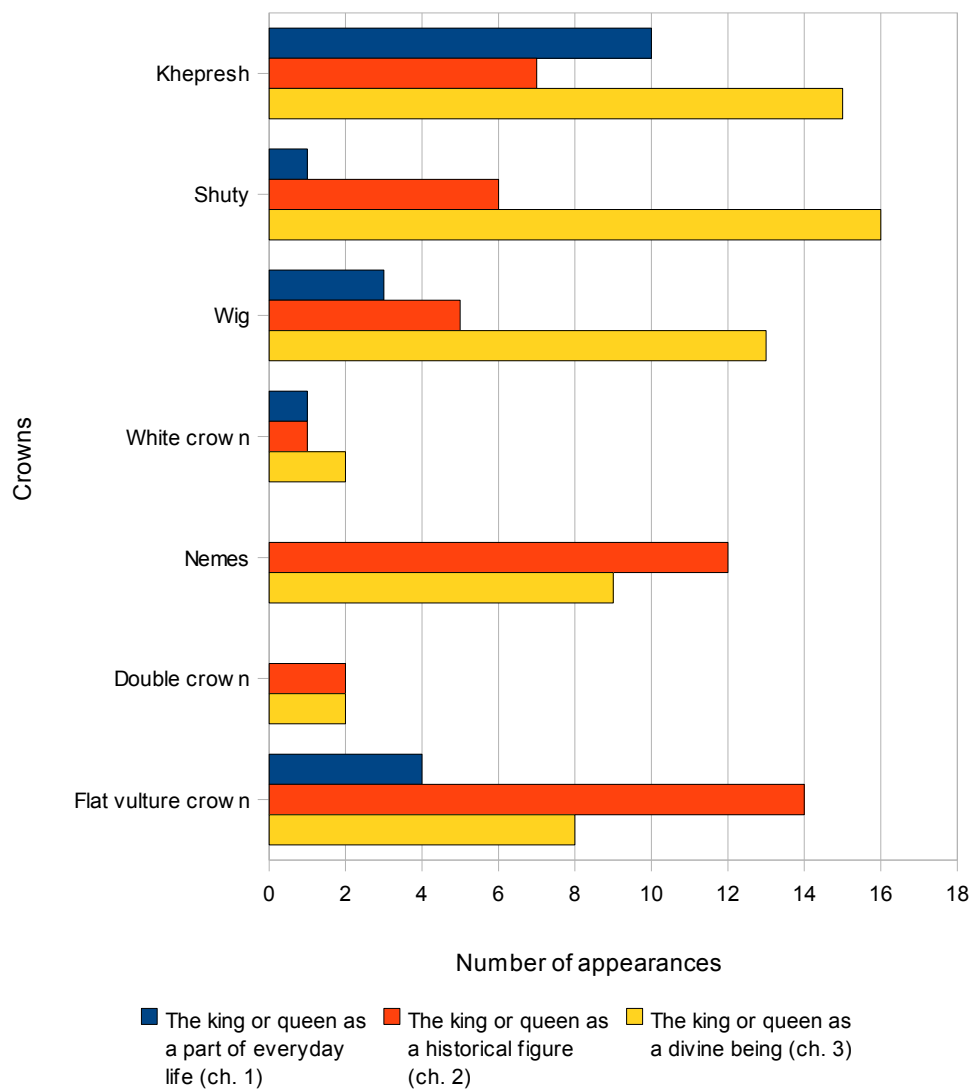
God	King											
	Nebhepetre Mentuhotep	Amenhotep I	Ahmose-Nefertari	Thutmose I	Thutmose II	Thutmose III	Amenhotep II	Thutmose IV	Amenhotep III	Seti I	Ramesses II	Merenptah
Amun		X	X									X
Amun-Re	X											
Anubis		X	X									
Atum												X
Buto		X										
Hathor	X	X	X								X	
Horus		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Khonsu		X	X									
Maat		X								X		
Mut		X	X									
Neith		X										
Soul of Nekhen										X		X
Nephthys		X	X									
Osiris		X	X									
Soul of Pe										X		X
Ptah		X	X									
Ptah-Sokar-Osiris											X	
Re		X	X									
Re-Horakhty(-Atum)		X	X									
Sekhmet		X	X									
Western Goddess		X										
Winged Goddess												X

Appendix 13: The number of appearances of each king in scenes of censing and libating, offering, and worship in private Theban tombs

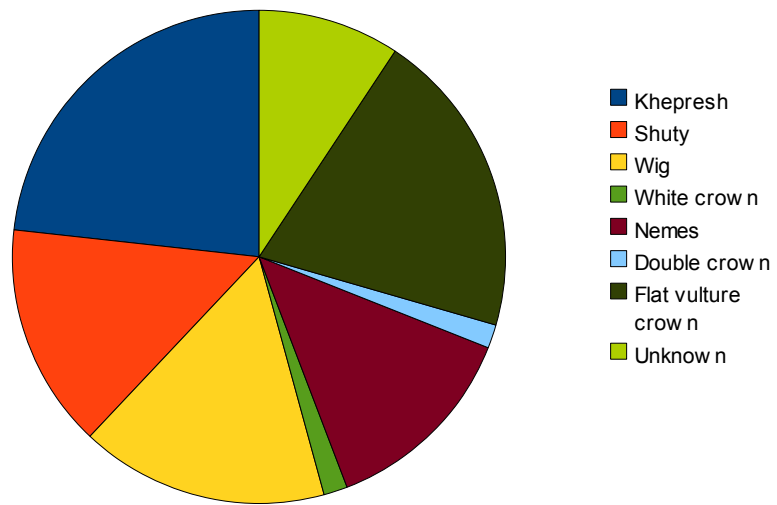


Appendix 14: The crowns worn by royal figures in scenes in private Theban tombs

14a. The number of appearances of each crown organised by type of scene

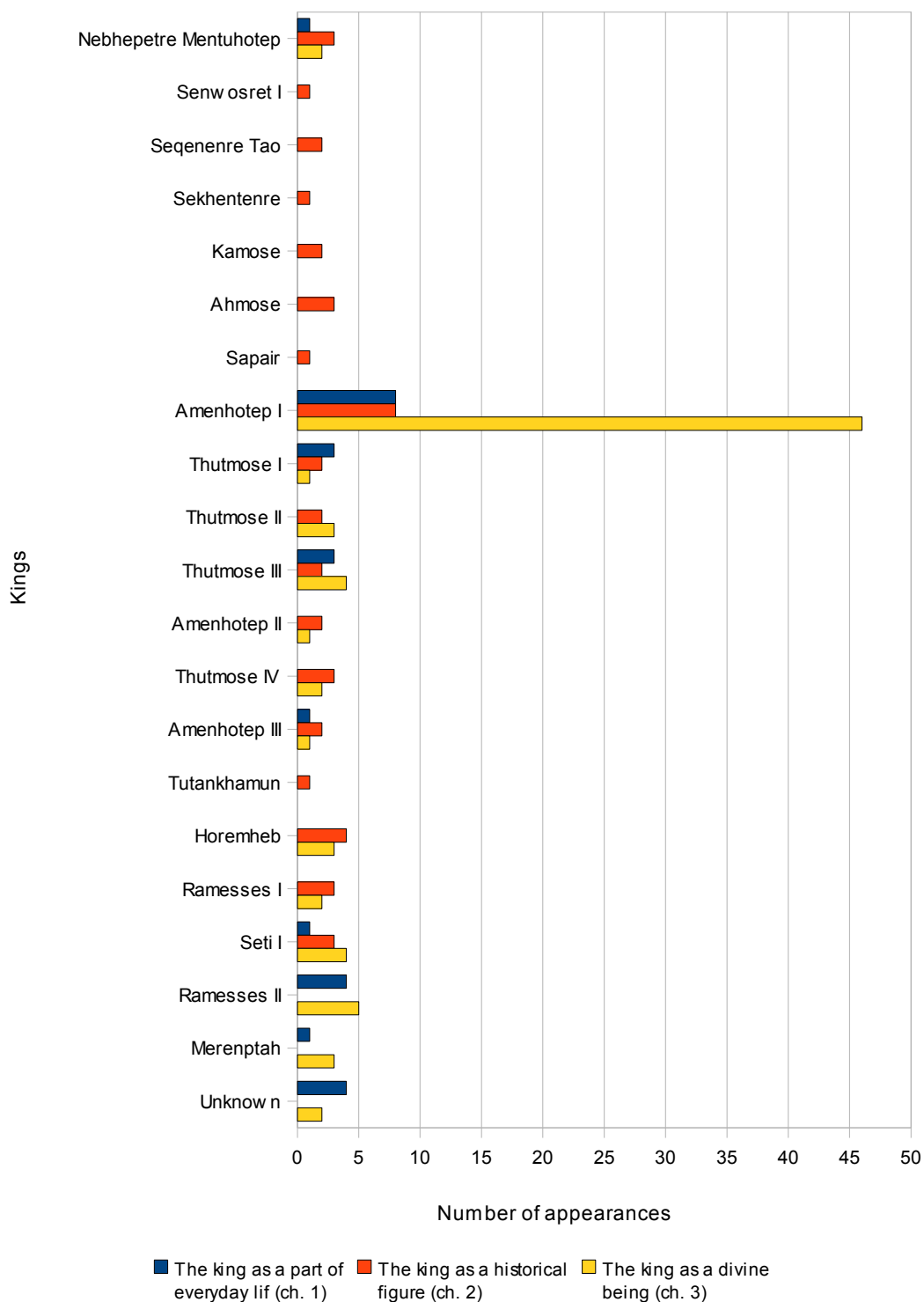


14b. The distribution of appearances of each crown worn by royal figures

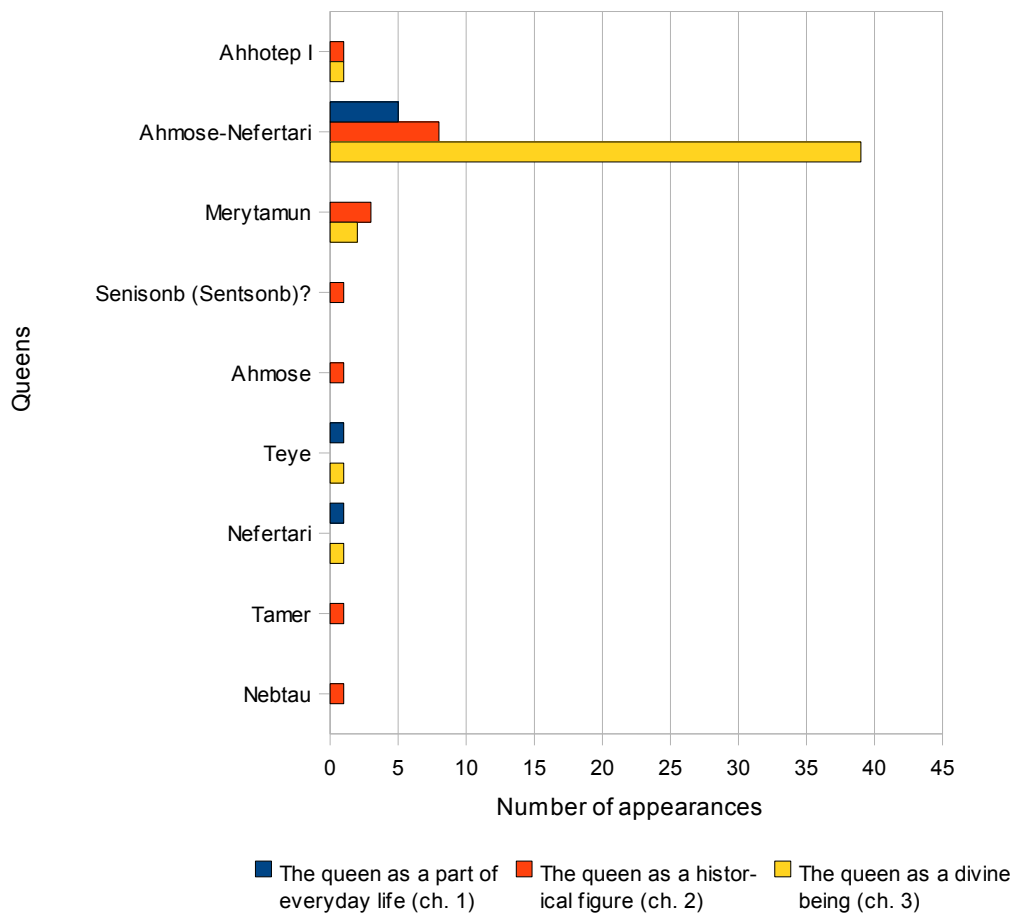


Appendix 15: The number of times each royal figure is depicted in scenes in private Theban tombs

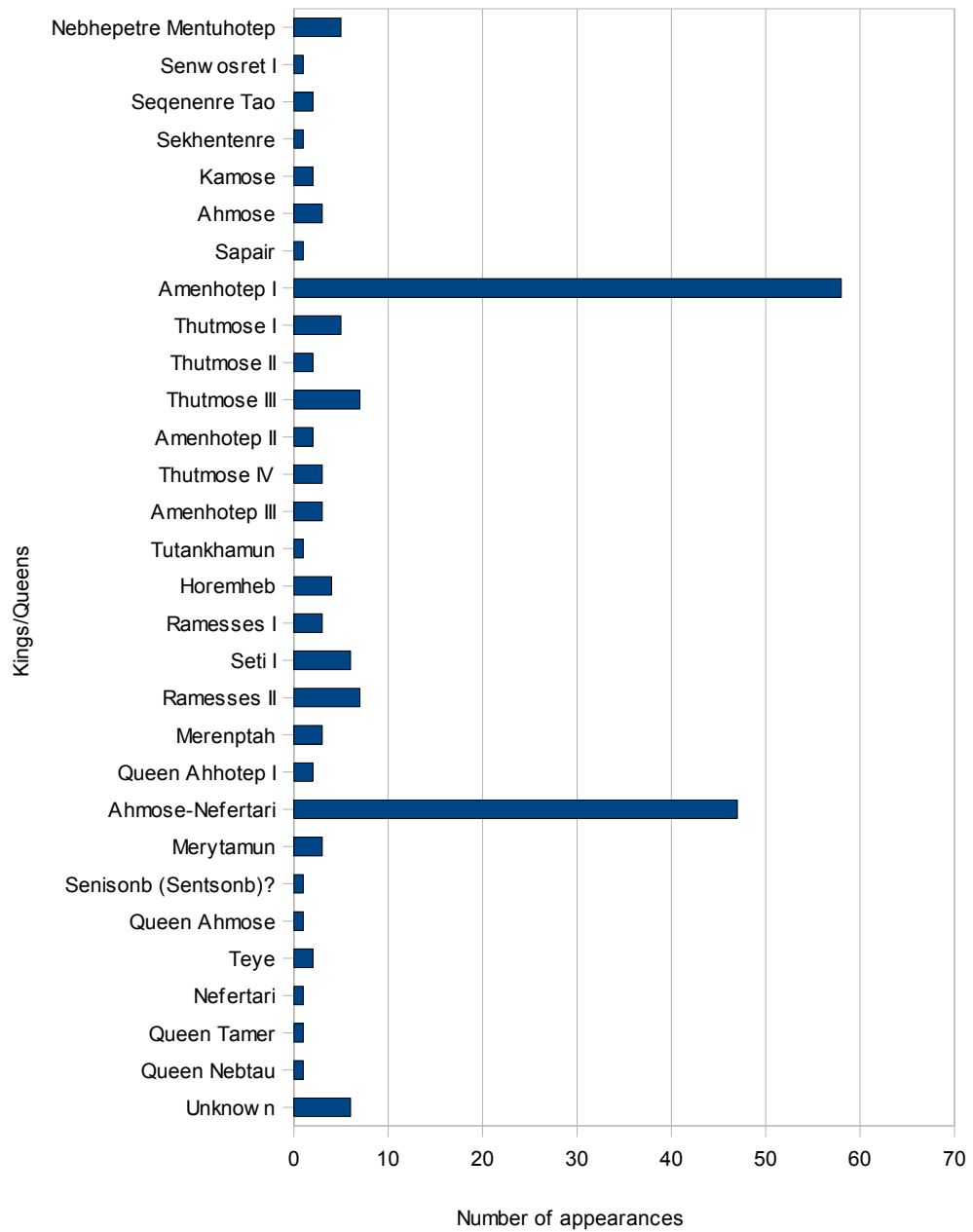
15a. The number of appearances of each king



15b. The number of appearances of each queen



15c. Total number of appearances of each royal figure



Appendix 16: Tomb plans

Where possible the images have been taken from Hollender (2009) in order to produce as updated a version of the plans as possible. In some cases this has not been possible and so the copies have been taken from Porter and Moss (1960). TT326, A12, A14, A18 and C7 do not have plans and, so, have not been included. The numbers on the plans relate to the scene numbers given in apps. 3-5, which have been taken from Porter and Moss (1960).

[Not available in the digital version of this thesis]



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