

AMENHOTEP SON OF HAPU:  
SELF-PRESENTATION THROUGH STATUES AND THEIR  
TEXTS IN PURSUIT OF SEMI-DIVINE INTERMEDIARY  
STATUS

By

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A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree  
of Master of Research (Egyptology)

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University of Birmingham  
April 2014

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## Abstract

The name of Amenhotep son of Hapu is well-known to scholars. He was similarly distinguished in ancient times as one who reached extraordinary heights during life and whose memory was preserved for centuries after death. This thesis engages with the premise that an individual constructed monuments for commemoration and memorialisation, and thus that the individual was governed by this motive during their creation. Two statues of Amenhotep in particular are believed to have served as mediators between human and god, and by exploring the ways in which he presented himself on the nine contemporary statues which are currently known (all but one originating at Karnak) it is argued that he deliberately portrayed himself as a suitable intermediary, encouraging this form of remembrance. This conclusion is reached through an examination of the features and context of each statue and how they contributed to the identification as intermediary, and by an examination of the titles and epithets which appear within the texts. Finally, it is suggested that his lifetime success, intermediary status and eventual deification were products of past traditions and of New Kingdom attitudes towards religion and politics, traditions and attitudes of which he, as a learned man, was thoroughly aware.

## Acknowledgements

The year of research of which this study is the result would not have been possible without the generous scholarship from the College of Arts and Law, University of Birmingham. Of course thanks go to my supervisor Dr Anthony Leahy for all his guidance, direction and for countless suggestions for useful resources, and to my advisor Dr Gareth Sears for reading some of the early work and providing feedback. Thanks also to Dr Martin Bommas for the initial suggestion of studying intermediaries and deified humans. In addition, thanks must go to both Dr Bommas and to Dr Troy Sagrillo for providing valuable comments on several aspects of the thesis as it neared completion.

I also owe much gratitude to the organisers and attendees of the Rosetta Forum (formerly IAA Forum) for allowing me to present an early version of Chapter Three and for their useful questions. Similarly, thanks are given to the members of Birmingham Egyptology and the Birmingham Egyptology Forum, whose growing success has provided many an opportunity for discussions and debates on various topics, allowing for my own personal development and increased knowledge within the subject area. Finally, thanks go to my parents Richard and Alison and my partner Luther for proof-reading, giving suggestions for consistency and clarity through spelling, punctuation and grammar, as well as providing a great deal of support in many other ways.

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## **CHAPTER ONE:** **INTRODUCTION: THE INTERMEDIARY IN ANCIENT EGYPT**

Amenhotep son of Hapu is well-known and well-studied, with a large volume of publications dedicated to him or which refer to his life and deification.<sup>1</sup> It is accepted that he was an important administrator who became an intermediary between the god Amun and people and then was elevated to god himself in the Ptolemaic period, alongside the architect of Djoser, Imhotep. The evidence for both men has been collated by Wildung in a single volume documenting their rise.<sup>2</sup> However, only Galán has considered and contextualised Amenhotep as an intermediary, and whilst his article contains much valid information, at four and half pages long (with three and a half of notes) it does not do justice to this phenomenon, which is closely linked to the religious and political attitudes of the New Kingdom, but also finds its place in the sphere of ‘personal religion’ in a broader chronological sense.<sup>3</sup>

An intermediary is to some extent a product of the people. They dictate and justify the need for such an individual,<sup>4</sup> as after that monument has been created it is largely in the hands of the people using it as to whether its intermediary status is remembered and retained, or perhaps even formed in the first place. The purpose of this thesis is to argue that Amenhotep son of Hapu, and therefore potentially other creators of such monuments remembered as intermediaries, in fact had a role in the development of that status, in other words that he *intended* to ensure that his memory was preserved after death, as more than the ordinary

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<sup>1</sup> This thesis cannot claim to list in its bibliography every single work that refers to Amenhotep, but the main publications are included. The brief *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* entry (Helck 1975) is a suitable starting point and contains many references.

<sup>2</sup> Wildung 1977a. See also Wildung 1977b, in English, which is less detailed but is less of a catalogue of evidence and also includes a section on deified pharaohs.

<sup>3</sup> Galán 2002. These ideas will be discussed more in Chapter Four.

<sup>4</sup> In a circular fashion, the actions and views of the people may have been dictated by the state, as Bickel (2002: 82) writes that both facets of religion (state and individual) were implemented and furthered by the elite. So, intermediaries were an idea proposed by the elite, but adopted and hence maintained by the people. Here it should be said that the term ‘state’, and similar, in terms of religious practice is used throughout this current work, not to draw parallels with modern states but purely as a means of juxtaposing and comparing religious practices prevalent within pharaonic ideology and localised or domestic practices which were not necessarily actively endorsed by the king. Of course such neat categories of religious practice did not exist – indeed, the very presence of intermediaries is but one indication that there was some overlap.



deceased. Limitations of space mean not all aspects of Amenhotep and his rise to intermediary and deified status can be covered. For instance, his mortuary temple is not addressed in depth, but it was certainly significant, probably being a cult centre.<sup>5</sup> Instead, the focus will be on the surviving statuary created by him (as opposed to monuments representing him but constructed by others after his deification), which would have been among the first objects to receive particular cultic attention from the ancient Egyptians themselves and therefore made a significant contribution to his (posthumous) reputation. Their texts, in transliteration and English translation, are contained in Appendix One for reference.

It is argued in Chapter Three that the titles and epithets upon these statues were carefully selected to emphasise his good character and qualities which, in combination with the general content, would recommend him as an ideal mediator between the people and the gods. In Chapter Four further contextualisation of intermediaries complements Galán's work, and it is proposed that the political and religious situation of the Eighteenth Dynasty was not only favourable to advancing Amenhotep's reputation, but also that he himself read the climate well and was aware of past traditions and thus made an informed and astute decision to offer his services as an intermediary. He was consciously pursuing that role, which would guarantee his name would long be remembered, and his success is evidenced by his elevation to deity, which he may or may not have foreseen.

Before that, however, it is worth looking at the statues themselves in more detail, which is the purpose of Chapter Two. There the conditions whose fulfilment was perhaps required before a monument could claim intermediary status are applied to Amenhotep's statues in turn, unearthing a number of problematic issues as a result. It is questioned whether

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<sup>5</sup> See Robichon and Varille 1936; Karkowski, Winnicki and Brecciani 1983: 99; Murnane 1998: 219-220 (on its protection from ruin). His tomb, another possible centre for worship, is not addressed either, as its location is not confirmed – Bidoli (1970: 12-13) claims, albeit cautiously, to have identified it in Qurnet Murrai, but Wildung (1977a: 288-289) suggests that this rock tomb might have been the original construction, left unfinished and exchanged for a better tomb when Amenhotep continued climbing the social ladder.

or not the conditions are in fact at all necessary or at least held the same weight in the eyes of the ancient onlooker.

Amenhotep may be seen as an archetypal mediator, but Egyptian society called for individuals to hold similar roles in a variety of situations. Some are connected, as is implied in Chapter Four, being examples of religious attitudes towards access to deities. Others are merely secular, administrative situations, but it is suggested in Chapter Three that Amenhotep's administrative roles during life may have influenced how he was seen after death, and so differing situations in which mediating individuals featured are perhaps more linked than at first glance.

#### The varied situations in which intermediaries can be found

As the word suggests, an intermediary can be defined as one who mediates between two parties, relaying back and forth to create a situation in which both parties agree, are content or are reconciled. In studies of ancient Egypt the term can be applied in many different contexts, and the following list can only hope to address some of them:

- 1) The King was the ultimate intermediary between people and the gods, but on a symbolic level, this being an element of Pharaonic ideology – only rarely would individuals, especially of lower status, have direct contact with a pharaoh.
- 2) Ambassadors from Egypt and other countries no doubt acted as mediators and messengers in diplomatic relations.<sup>6</sup>
- 3) The elite could act as messengers and spokespersons for the King, dealing with petitions and facilitating access to the King's authority, acting in the King's stead, especially if they were based far from the royal and administrative capital.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See for instance, Berridge 2000: 217-218.

<sup>7</sup> This type of position comes through in some titles, as will be shown in Chapter Three.

- 4) In oracular consultations, a statue was believed to act as an intermediary for the deity – a physical medium for the god to inhabit. Also, the priests bearing the image would interpret the proclamations of the god in response to the questions submitted.<sup>8</sup>
- 5) Statues sitting out and inside tombs and temples would entreat passers-by to engage with the deceased or deity within, with the statue mediating. Tomb stelae, false doors and other wall decoration could have acted in the same way.
- 6) In terms of temple activities, the priests would have had an active intermediary role, receiving offerings directly from devotees, or taking them from where they had been left and placing them before the cult image.<sup>9</sup>
- 7) ‘Ancestor busts’, best known from Deir el-Medina, were a form of monumental intermediary through which offerings and appeals could be made to deceased ancestors.<sup>10</sup>
- 8) Similarly, letters to the dead and the bowls on which they were inscribed mediated between the living and the dead.<sup>11</sup>
- 9) In the latter two cases, the deceased themselves acted in an intermediary role – the letters often request that they use their influence in the next life to entreat a god for help or to confront an enemy who is affecting the supplicant.

Returning to the basic definition of an intermediary, it is clear that not all situations to which this modern term is applied in Egyptian studies conform exactly, for in most cases there would be no scope for compromise: the intermediary would *not* move back and forth

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<sup>8</sup> See for example, Stadler 2008: 7-8. Kees (1960) discusses the title *hm-ntr whm*, ‘prophet [god’s servant] who repeats (the message)’, as a rank associated with oracular consultations (see also Velde 1982: 162).

<sup>9</sup> On occasion, the offerings were directly consumed by the priesthood; the act of maintaining the priesthood, who in turn maintain the cult, indirectly pleases the gods. The ‘Reversion of Offerings’ is also attested, whereby the spiritual nature of the offerings would be consumed by the main deity, then other statues, including that of the King if applicable, then onto funerary chapels. The actual provisions would be taken as a salary in kind by officiating priests. An Eighteenth Dynasty Memphite statue of a royal scribe, Amenhotep, details this process very clearly (Petrie, Wainwright & Gardiner 1913:33-36).

<sup>10</sup> Friedman 1985; Fitzenreiter 1994; Exell 2008; Keith 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Wente 1990: 210-220; El-Leithy 2002.

between the parties, and the petitioner would simply have to accept the decision or outcome.<sup>12</sup> The first situation, whereby the King was expected to maintain *ma'at* (cosmic order), shall not be addressed here, because of its symbolic nature, and neither will the second – it is a matter of state, whereas this study focuses on a provision of intermediaries involving ‘ordinary’ Egyptians.<sup>13</sup> Situation 3) and probably 4) are the only types where the supplicant could hope to receive a direct response to their question. In situations 5)-9), the process of applying to a deity or individual through a mediator would be one-way. The hope instead was that the request would be heeded and the life of the supplicant would be affected accordingly, thereby providing an indirect response.<sup>14</sup>

One might question the frequency of applications to the pharaoh or the elite from those further down the hierarchical scale, and most oracular consultations probably occurred on festival days or during processions, although Vleeming and McDowell point out that none of the known dates of Deir el-Medina oracles occurred on festival days.<sup>15</sup> Conversely, the types of requests made in which there would be no direct response – consulting ancestors and visiting intermediary statues and stelae – would have fitted more easily into the daily routines of the people and so, for the most part, they had to be content with addressing their prayers and requests and hoping they would be considered by the recipient. It was this one-way route upon which an intermediary travelled. This does suggest something about the attitude towards religion and piety amongst the people, in that they were often confident enough in an intermediary and the recipient to act in their best interests without engaging in direct (or

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<sup>12</sup> The one case from Deir el-Medina in which the defendant is unhappy with the verdict given by an oracle (O. Gardiner 4) indicates that this was possible, but uncommon (McDowell 1990: 183). Questioning the gods in this way would undoubtedly have been frowned upon and may have caused disapproval among the community, a situation which would not benefit the defendant.

<sup>13</sup> Non-royal, non-elite and most likely illiterate.

<sup>14</sup> There is the possibility that people visiting temples made their requests to the priests who then consulted the gods, and then brought the response to the person. Amuletic decrees (see Edwards 1960), presumably available to be purchased at temples, would have been another potential way of providing an immediate response. They were believed to be the words of the god and were personalised for the one who was to benefit.

<sup>15</sup> Vleeming 1982: 187; McDowell 1990:113-114.

perceivable) contact and discourse.<sup>16</sup> The very presence of mediating individuals and objects facilitating a connection between human and god implies that this connection was seen to be effective for the granting of wishes and similar, for if the people were not satisfied that their requests were likely to be answered, they would have no desire to contact the gods in the first instance, let alone through mediators.

Situations 5) and 6) best relate to the study of Amenhotep son of Hapu and his statues, but his titles as they appear on these statues suggest that during life he participated in the two situations which could invoke a direct response from the person or deity petitioned: requests to the King through elite ‘spokesmen’, which would have likely been regarding some administrative or legal matter, and oracular consultation, which could theoretically involve requests about anything including legal and personal issues. This experience undoubtedly helped him develop a reputation as a wise and dependable person to whom people could entrust their petitions and prayers.

The following study will base itself around the outlook of Amenhotep himself, and how he perceived his own monuments, his reputation and the political, cultural and religious attitudes of those around him. As such, there is less consideration of the perspective of those for whom intermediaries were provided, but it is imperative that there is an awareness of this perspective. Amenhotep was, after all, creating monuments to be seen, remembered and used by the people, and he needed something that could be understood by all, of both high and low status. Different rates of education, literacy and awareness of the past would require a combination of iconography, texts and oral tradition which would make these monuments accessible and comprehensible to all, even if in different ways. In doing so, Amenhotep would

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<sup>16</sup> A parallel could be drawn with some modern faiths, such as the Abrahamic religions – when a believer prays to God or writes down a prayer, in a designated place of worship or otherwise, they do not necessarily expect to receive a direct or immediate response (experiencing a vision or hearing His voice, for instance), but rather place their trust in God to carry out their wishes, the completion of which being the only response needed.

prove his suitability as a mediator for the elite and lower classes alike, which no doubt contributed to his rise to full deity in later periods. Whilst this thesis cannot address his rise, it is hoped that a close study of his self-presentation in his statues and his intentions thereof can bring something new to the study of this extraordinary man.

**CHAPTER TWO:**  
**INTERMEDIARY CRITERIA, WITH REFERENCE TO THE EIGHTEENTH**  
**DYNASTY STATUES OF AMENHOTEP SON OF HAPU**

Due to their number, the statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu (see table below and Fig.1) are of special interest, and two in particular are often cited as an example of statues placed outside temples to receive the prayers and offerings of those who could not enter. But what was it that lent them, and other intermediaries, their significance? Where they were situated is clearly an important factor – they were positioned between accessible and inaccessible space (either inaccessible to non-royals and non-priests for reasons of sanctity, purity and mystery, or inaccessible to all humankind in a metaphysical sense). What was written on them is often key to understanding their role, for some texts encourage passers-by or visitors to give their offerings and prayers to them and indicate that these will be passed to the desired recipient. The form of the intermediary, especially with regard to the body position of the individual, is another possible criterion. All three criteria perhaps contributed to the intermediary associations of these monuments, but depending on the audience the significance of each defining characteristic would have held different weight.

Nine contemporary statues bear the name of Amenhotep,<sup>17</sup> seven of which were collated in a 1968 (posthumous) publication by Varille who assigns them the letters A-G. For

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<sup>17</sup> Two other fragments exist: the first, an unprovenanced, undated fragment, Cairo CG 942 (Borchardt 1930: 167), of the knee of a cross-legged figure, was believed by Wildung (1977a:294) to be contemporary, but by Varille (1968: 145) Graeco-Roman. What text there is preserves little more than Amenhotep's two scribal titles, the name of his father and hometown, and some reference to 'seeing the sun-disk (*im*), the living eye (*w3dy.t*) of [Re(?)...]'. Because the dating and context is uncertain, this fragment is not discussed.

The second is in a private Brussels collection, and preserves two hands supporting a curved table (damaged). The text is a dedication to the Hermopolitan Thoth (*hnty Hsrt*), and it has been suggested to be one of a set of statues outside the tomb of Amenhotep (Kruchten 1992: 365). This fragment is also not included here, in part because, even if it is Eighteenth Dynasty (Kruchten 1992: 365-366), it seems have a different context and is certainly a very different type of statue to the others discussed here.

Two further statues were made in later periods when he was a minor deity: one tentatively identified as him dated to the Ptolemaic period (Teeter 1995: 232), and the other – now just a base – dated to the Saite period, with an inscription by a daughter of Psammetichus I calling upon Amenhotep as a healer (Wild 1958: 406-413).

ease, this system is followed, with additional statues H and I which were unknown at the time, published by Collombert (2002) and Habachi (1974) respectively.<sup>18</sup>

	<b>Form</b>	<b>Material and Height</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Current location</b>
<b>A</b>	Kneeling Hands flat on thighs	Grey/black granite H: 1.42m	Karnak Seventh pylon (north face)	Cairo Museum CG 42127
<b>B</b>	Cross-legged scribe Unrolled papyrus  Damaged: only legs and base remain	Black granite H (remaining): 0.34m	Unknown Karnak from the texts	British Museum EA 103
<b>C</b>	Cross-legged scribe Unrolled papyrus	Black granite H: 1.30m	Karnak Tenth pylon (north face)	Cairo Museum JE 44862 = Luxor J4
<b>D</b>	Cross-legged scribe Unrolled papyrus	Black granite H: 1.30m	Karnak Tenth pylon (north face)	Cairo Museum JE 44861
<b>E</b>	Block form	Limestone H: 1.00m	Karnak Third pylon (east face)	Cairo Museum CG 583 CG 835 (fragment)
<b>F</b>	Block form  Damaged: head missing	Black granite H: 0.65	Karnak Temple of Mut	Cairo Museum JE 36498
<b>G</b>	Standing  Damaged: three fragments; legs restored in plaster	Black granite H: unknown to Varille	Karnak Temple of Khonsu	Cairo Museum CG 551
<b>H</b>	Cross-legged scribe Unrolled papyrus  Damaged: only legs and base remain	Granite H of base: 0.12m	Esna Originally Karnak	On site, behind the Ptolemaic temple
<b>I</b>	Cross-legged scribe Unrolled papyrus  Damaged: only legs and base remain	Grey granite H: 0.50m	Athribis	On site?

<sup>18</sup> Statue I was also published by El-Alfi in 1987, the work of whom was completed by Gohary in 1992. It seems neither was aware that Habachi had already worked on the monument.



### Comments on the dating of the statues

Of the nine statues, all are datable to the Eighteenth Dynasty, or at least can be assumed to be due to stylistic similarities. Statue A has been the focus of some debate over whether or not it was a Middle Kingdom statue reused,<sup>19</sup> but current thinking is that it was of Eighteenth Dynasty origin.<sup>20</sup>

The question remains as to whether some or all are likely to be posthumous, or whether all were created during Amenhotep's lifetime. It is generally agreed that he lived to around eighty years old, dying sometime between the *Sed*-festivals of Year 30 and Year 34 of Amenhotep III, with evidence pointing to late Year 30 or Year 31 in particular.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, it has been suggested that statue A, naming him as an eighty-year-old man, was erected just before his death,<sup>22</sup> with his heavy brow, sunken eyes, straight, almost pouting lips, nasolabial lines and well-rounded stomach intended as an accurate, less-idealised rendering of his appearance. However, these features were probably intended to be iconographic, stressing longevity, wisdom and privilege, realism being incidental.

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<sup>19</sup> The main proponents of this view were Engelbach in 1930 and Schoske (1987: especially pages 16-17 and 20), both stressing details on the wig and apron as evidence for Middle Kingdom dating.

<sup>20</sup> Sourouzian 1991: 342. Scott (1989: 294) suggests that the restoration could actually be later than Amenhotep – an act of piety.

<sup>21</sup> Varille (1968: 12) and Robichon & Varille (1936: 28) state it as Year 31, using the evidence of a Twenty-First Dynasty decree currently in the British Museum (EA 138), supposedly a copy of a document recording the visit of Amenhotep III to Amenhotep's mortuary temple and the establishment the cult priesthood (presumably a cult would not be set up unless the individual had died). This will be used here as the year of death, despite the potential problems arising from using a *copy* of a document from a different period. Wildung (1997a: 291; 1977b: 88) and Murnane (1991: 10, 57) suggest Year 34, and Kozloff (2012: 224) Year 36 when the building programme of Amenhotep III diminished. Reeves (2001: 91) even suggests he lived into Akhenaten's reign. Most promoting a later date of death cite pot labels from Malkata, some of which are dated to Year 34 and the bear designation 'royal scribe, Huy' (Hayes 1951: 100). Whilst Amenhotep son of Hapu did bear that title and nickname, the numerous pot labels name many 'royal scribes', many 'Amenhoteps' and many 'Huys' and it seems very difficult to prove that this is our Amenhotep.

<sup>22</sup> Varille 1968: 3.

The inscriptions can provide clues for dating. The statement, *iw=i r km rnp(.w)t 110*, ‘I will complete 110 years’,<sup>23</sup> seen as a perfect age,<sup>24</sup> was not to be taken literally. This indicates either that this statue *is* posthumous – he has died at eighty but will achieve the desired age in the afterlife – or that the statue desires to endure as a separate entity.<sup>25</sup> In any case, it is certainly feasible that this statue, and others, was *started* and intended to be placed in Karnak during his lifetime. Statue A gives Amenhotep the title *imy-r pr n s3.t-nsw hm.t-nsw S3.t-Imn*, ‘overseer of the estate of the King’s daughter and King’s wife Satamun’ [*current author’s emphasis*]. Satamun became one of her father Amenhotep III’s queens at the time of his 30 year *Sed*-festival,<sup>26</sup> so it can be assumed that Amenhotep set up the statue in the time between this union and his death. The text that covers his garment greets Amun, saying ‘I have come to you to eat your food and to be in your temple.’<sup>27</sup> Varille inserts ‘(à demeure)’, ‘(permanently)’, as again the desire to endure is implied.<sup>28</sup> Amenhotep’s inscription then extols his good character, and it appears that he is presenting a case for his suitability as if being judged by the god. This seems best suited to someone who is deceased and is journeying on to another, more sacred domain, but such self-presentation could be anticipatory: in order for the god to allow the image of a *living* man in his temple, Amenhotep may have felt the need to prove his numerous good qualities to Amun as if he were undergoing the judgement process in the afterlife. Although another inscription on the same

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<sup>23</sup> Statue A, Text 1, Line 9.

<sup>24</sup> Janssen and Janssen 1996: 67. The number occurs numerous times in the literature throughout Egyptian history. The Old Kingdom ‘Instruction of Ptahhotep’ states that Ptahhotep himself reached this age because of the good deeds he performed during life (Lichtheim 1973: 76), and the magician Djedi in P. Westcar (P. Berlin 3033) which dates to the Hyksos Period, is of this age (Lichtheim 1973: 218). Compare also Genesis chapter 5 on the inexplicably long-lived patriarchs, and chapter 50, verses 22 and 26, which reflect the Egyptian ideal.

<sup>25</sup> Jansen-Winkel 1993: 221.

<sup>26</sup> Kozloff 2012: 192. Varille (1968: 12-13) also adopted this line of thought, although he admits room for doubt, as in any case the titles ‘King’s daughter’ and ‘King’s wife’ could refer to two different kings.

<sup>27</sup> Statue A, Text 1, Line 2: *ii.n=i n=k r snm k3(.w)=k r wnn m r-pr=k Imn*.

<sup>28</sup> Varille 1968: 6. The translation of *k3(.w)* as ‘food’ is also taken from Varille. The whole phrase may alternatively have implications of being nourished by the ‘*ka*’, ‘soul’, of the god.

statue states that the King permitted Amenhotep to set up this statue,<sup>29</sup> even a semi-divine, living king was subordinate to the gods; it was Amun whose opinion was the most decisive, hence Amenhotep must prove his worth.

Statues C, D and G all bear cartouches of Amenhotep III on the right forearm and chest. C also speaks of Nebmaatre, the King's prenomen, in the text on the base and E similarly mentions Nebmaatre and 'son of Re Amenhotep'.<sup>30</sup> Of the remaining four, none bear cartouches, but the damage sustained by B, H and I means the upper body of each no longer survives. The text on the papyrus of statue B gives Amenhotep son of Hapu the title *imy-r pr n s3.t-nsw*, an abbreviated form of the title on statue A, providing further weight to the contemporary, Eighteenth Dynasty dating. Statue F does not bear easily-identifiable dating criteria, nor is it scribal and so cannot be identified with the others of this type (though on closer inspection it may bear similarities with E, another block statue). However, the text begins with several *htp-di-nsw* (offering-which-the-king-gives) offering formulae to five goddesses: Mut, Sekhmet (both restored by Varille), Wadjet, Bastet and Khesmetet. Varille's restoration is based upon evidence indicating that these goddesses were united in the Temple of Mut at least during the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep III,<sup>31</sup> so this statue also probably belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty. In general, similarities in the phrasing, titles and iconography, especially of the scribal statues, would suggest that all were created at a similar time. Closer dating is much more difficult to determine, although certain inscriptions refer to events in his career, suggesting that they were written towards the end of his life. Statue C mentions the Year 30 *Sed*-festival, or perhaps the preparations, in the past tense, giving an approximate date of creation for C (and D?). It seems reasonable to assume that the King's permission, for the statues at Karnak at least, was given at the same time, most likely in the

<sup>29</sup> Statue A, Text 2, the inscription on the base starts, [*di m hs.w*]*t n.t hr-nsw r hw.t-ntr n Imn m Ip.t-sw.t*, 'Given as a favour from the King for the Temple of Amun in Karnak'. For a detailed study on this phrase from the Middle Kingdom through to the Third Intermediate Period, see Delvaux 2008.

<sup>30</sup> Statue E, Text 13, Lines 12 and 15 respectively.

<sup>31</sup> Varille 1968: 52.

years preceding or just after the Year 30 *Sed*-festival.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Amenhotep's large mortuary temple was probably authorised around the same time as the statues and the former must have been started before the 30-year jubilee;<sup>33</sup> if, for example, it had been a reward for the organisation of the festival *after* the event, it may not have been finished, since Amenhotep died later in Year 30 or in Year 31 (see note 21).

Varille believes that the epithet *mꜣḥrw*, 'justified' (lit. 'true-of-voice'), is an effective indicator that an individual is deceased,<sup>34</sup> though this is not necessarily to be relied upon and may have some other motive governing its use.<sup>35</sup> If all the statues were created or started during his lifetime, as is likely, he must not have expected to live much longer, given his age, and so the texts are written as if he had passed away and had been judged to be 'true-of-voice'.<sup>36</sup> Varille's doubt that someone would be vain enough to glorify themselves whilst alive is a tenuous argument for the posthumous creation of these statues; who else would have written these texts and why, if not Amenhotep himself?<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Galán 2002: 221.

<sup>33</sup> Robichon & Varille 1936: 28. Murnane (1991: 58) believes its construction took place as early as Year 20.

<sup>34</sup> Varille 1968: 2.

<sup>35</sup> On statue A, the two occurrences of *mꜣḥrw* appear directly after the name of Amenhotep's mother Itu. In B-I, the epithet follows his own name (or *assumed* to where the inscription is damaged) in almost every case. On A, the epithet bears a feminine ending *mꜣḥt-hrw* agreeing with the mention of his mother, but it is inconceivable that the father Hapu is still alive (being at least late-nineties) and the sole occasion in which his name (given five times in total) is qualified by the epithet is in the long biographical text of statue E (Text 13, Line 9). This inconsistency allows for the possibility that *all* had died before statue A was completed, but gives room for doubt.

<sup>36</sup> Statue I may be earlier in date than at least some of the rest, for statue E speaks of Amenhotep III turning his mind towards the upkeep of Athribis and its local deity, and Habachi (1974: 28) believes that statue I may have been erected at the same time as these royal benefactions.

<sup>37</sup> There is no evidence that he had a wife or children who could finish the statues for him, and none of the inscriptions name an individual who completed them on Amenhotep's behalf. He certainly had the authority to order that his statues be completed in his name if he died before they were finished, and in this case, it must be conceded that whilst Amenhotep may have composed these texts (or supervised their composition), his associates may have completed the physical creation of the statues and their inscriptions after his death.

### The applicability of the ‘intermediary criteria’ to statues A-I

The three criteria that might explain the designation of certain statues as intermediary have been given above: physical context, texts and pose. The nine statues will now be discussed briefly to assess the applicability of these criteria and if they would have likely been considered to hold mediating roles. Statues C and D will be dealt with last, they are generally agreed already to have been intermediaries.

#### *Statue A (kneeling; Cairo Museum, CG 42127)*<sup>38</sup>

This statue was discovered on the inner (northern) face of the seventh pylon at Karnak. This was not the outermost pylon of the southern wing of the temple at the time of Amenhotep III, for Hatshepsut saw to the construction of the eighth pylon, and Tuthmosis III the seventh.<sup>39</sup> Consequently the number of people who had access to the statue may have been more limited than if it had been situated by the eighth pylon. Certain areas of Karnak, however, may have been accessible to the public, especially the open courtyards through the first few outer pylons. Either way, the specific archaeological context cannot provide us with definitive evidence of an intermediary role, despite the potential significance of doorways in this phenomenon (see below).

As for the texts, the one on the apron, orientated towards the reader, consists mainly of praise to Amun followed by the presentation of Amenhotep’s good character. The text running around the base indicates that the statue was permitted to be erected by the King, and then lists several titles. These titles, and those on the apron, are mainly administrative, emphasising a close relationship with the royal family. The only religious titles are *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Ḥrw Ḥnty-ḥty*, ‘overseer of the prophets of Horus *Khentikhety*’, and *sšm(.w)*

<sup>38</sup> Varille 1968: 4-13, plate I; Helck 1958: 1827-1829; Porter and Moss 1972: 169.

<sup>39</sup> Blyth 2006: 53, 84; Sullivan 2010: 8.

*ḥb(.w) n <Imn>*, ‘leader of the festivals of <Amun>’. The former refers to the local god of Athribis,<sup>40</sup> and hence was probably held when Amenhotep lived in his hometown. For remarks on Amenhotep’s titles and their potential link to an intermediary role, see Chapter Three. In brief here, although the context of a religious festival has connotations of intermediary roles for the priests and the god involved, neither of the two titles, or any of the others on A, *explicitly* refer to roles performed that helped the public gain access to the gods. However, such titles may have alluded to responsibilities of mediation during life and therefore suggest his suitability for that role in monumental form.

The pose, whereby Amenhotep is kneeling with his hands palm down on his thighs,<sup>41</sup> could be a suitable type for an intermediary; he awaits someone to approach, and is poised so that it would be easy to ‘stand up’ in order to pass on the message. However, certainly not all statues demonstrating the pose are considered intermediary. All things considered, it seems that this statue has no definitive feature allowing us to designate it as intermediary with certainty.

*Statue B (cross-legged scribe; British Museum, EA 103)*<sup>42</sup>

The details of the discovery of statue B are unknown – the provenance of the Temple of Amun at Karnak can be extrapolated only from the texts. Unfortunately, the specific location is needed to comment on intermediary potential.

The texts appear on an unrolled papyrus resting upon the kilt (the signs face towards Amenhotep) and on and around the base. They are similar to the texts of statue A, in content if not in phrasing. The titles given are administrative, and there is no mention of a religious responsibility at all. The introductory designation of *ir.ty n nsw ḥw.wy n bi.t*, ‘the two eyes of

<sup>40</sup> Wildung 1977b: 84. On the god himself, see Vernus 1978: 367-416 and the references contained within.

<sup>41</sup> Scott 1989: xvii, pose E.

<sup>42</sup> Varille 1968: 14-17, plate II; Helck 1958: 1829-1830; Porter and Moss 1972: 288.

the King of Upper Egypt, the two ears of the King of Lower Egypt’, seems to suggest that he acted in the King’s stead, possibly as intermediary between him and the people. The texts offer no further clues towards identifying this statue as intermediary.

Though broken from the waist up, it is clearly scribal: cross-legged, holding a papyrus with a now-broken left hand and right hand poised to write. The scribal palette can be seen on the left thigh. This is the most common type of statue of Amenhotep from the Eighteenth Dynasty and it was probably preferred because among his most common titles were *sš nsw sš nfr.w*, ‘royal scribe, scribe of recruits’. The advantages of a form that implies wisdom, patience (as with the kneeling attitude of statue A), thorough education and elite status may have also been a deciding factor in his choice, and furthermore these qualities are ideal for an intermediary, to be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. Care should be taken to avoid skewed interpretation, however: it is tempting to state that the scribal pose was a great factor in the designation as intermediary in ancient times because of the belief and knowledge that scribal statues C and D were treated as such. As far as can be understood here, statue B was not the same.

*Statue E (block; Cairo Museum, CG 583 + CG 835 [fragment])*<sup>43</sup>

The ‘grande statue biographique’<sup>44</sup> was found on the inside (east face) of the third pylon, the latter erected by Amenhotep III, the westernmost pylon at the time. In the process of building this pylon, that of Tuthmosis II had been removed along with much of his Festival Hall.<sup>45</sup> The new pylon was set further east, and therefore the wall of the southern axis did not quite join to the temple proper. Unless a temporary structure such as a mudbrick wall was also constructed, this new project would have left an opening that would allow some form of access without passing through a doorway or pylon, though one can imagine temple staff

<sup>43</sup> Varille 1968: 32-49, plates V-VIII; Helck 1958: 1813-1826; Porter and Moss 1972: 77.

<sup>44</sup> Varille 1968: 32.

<sup>45</sup> Blyth 2006: 105; Sullivan 2010: 13.

guiding visitors towards the great entrances. Nonetheless, if the aim was to limit access for the public, then it would seem counterproductive, even from a symbolic viewpoint. That this gap was not properly filled until Seti I built the Hypostyle Hall between the second and third pylons<sup>46</sup> perhaps indicates a relaxed attitude toward public access to the first one or two courtyards (presuming they had not already been allowed there, which is still possible). If so, the public would have come across statue E, and therefore it would have been accessible as an intermediary. The significance of the positioning on the *inside* of the pylon and further comments regarding access to temples will be discussed in relation to statues C and D below.

The texts cover almost all the available space on the body of Amenhotep and also appear around the base and on the back pillar. The majority of the main text is praise of Amenhotep's many admirable qualities, partly in second person, and partly in the voice of Amenhotep himself. From Line 12, it becomes more narrative, enumerating his career and stressing the role of the King in his various promotions. The text on the back pillar is similarly biographical. The base bears two texts running in opposite directions, which are a more promising sign of an intermediary nature, or at least interaction with passers-by. The text running round the right side is damaged but appears to be further self-praise. The other, however, is an appeal text: Amenhotep calls to 'dignitaries of the King, prophets, *wab*-priests, lector-priests, noblemen, people of [Thebes(?)], they who pass before my statue'.<sup>47</sup> He promises them that they will be loved by their King and gods if they recite the *hṯp-di-nsw* formula in his favour. This appeal suggests that Amenhotep wished to receive offerings to nourish his own *ka*, and in return appears to promise royal and divine favour, and therefore has intermediary connotations. It is probably, however, a type of rhetoric by which Amenhotep is eager for provision for his own well-being, offering an incentive, which is a method utilised by others, not just Amenhotep. This type of statue and its texts (biography

<sup>46</sup> Blyth 2006:146-147; Sullivan 2010: 15.

<sup>47</sup> Statue E, Text 15: *sḥ.w nsw hm.w-ntr wḥb.w hry.w-hb sr.w ḥnh.w n.w...s:w3t=sn hr twt=i*



and appeal) is reminiscent of statues in a funerary context (see Chapter Four). Indeed, at one point Amenhotep is named ‘the Osiris’.<sup>48</sup> There is a small possibility, on this basis, that the statue was originally in his tomb or mortuary temple and moved later or even that there were multiple copies in various locations.<sup>49</sup> Even if funerary in origin, this does not preclude intermediary function: a statue could mediate between the living outside a tomb and the deceased sealed inside. The appeal text on statue E suggests that Amenhotep expected all types of people to see and interact with it – those of high authority, religious personnel and the general populace.

Statue E is a block statue showing Amenhotep seated with his knees pulled up to his chest and his arms crossed, covered completely by a robe. This form was developed in the Middle Kingdom and continued to be popular throughout the first millennium.<sup>50</sup> From the New Kingdom they are known to have served as door-keepers or intermediaries,<sup>51</sup> though as an intermediary type it is attested mainly from the Ramesside period onwards, as shown by the numerous statues of ‘les chauves d’Hathor’, ‘the bald ones of Hathor’.<sup>52</sup> Unlike these ‘chauves’, the texts do not state explicitly that he bears a mediating relationship between human and god (though of course it is possible a statue could be used in that way despite the lack of such texts), and so there is no proof of an intermediary nature. Conversely, the pose is one of privilege, calmness and respect, all necessary attributes for one in a mediating position,<sup>53</sup> and the appeal text suggests interaction with passers-by.

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<sup>48</sup> Statue E, Text 13, Line 1.

<sup>49</sup> Pers. comm. Dr M.A. Leahy. The same could hold true, of course, for other statues, even if there is little or no clear indication of a funerary origin. Galán (2002: 222) sees them all as tomb statues whose owner was privileged enough to gain permission to place them in a more sacred and more visited building – a temple.

<sup>50</sup> Schäfer 1974: 51-52.

<sup>51</sup> Schulz 2011: 6.

<sup>52</sup> These statues often support a Hathoric emblem (arch-sistum and face of the goddess) and hold a hand to their open mouths as if eating or drinking. A particularly good example is of Inhernakht (Clère 1995: 98-103).

<sup>53</sup> Schulz 2011: 6.

*Statue F (block; Cairo Museum, JE 36498)*<sup>54</sup>

The other block statue attributed to Amenhotep was discovered in the Temple of Mut at Karnak. Unfortunately, the precise context of the statue is unknown and the general temple context is not sufficient for further comment.

The text on the front of the robe refers to the offering rituals to five goddesses and lists titles held by Amenhotep, whose *ka* is also the beneficiary of these rituals. The text on the back pillar is similar. Like statue A, the title ‘leader of the festivals of Amun’ appears, which potentially indicates an intermediary role during life. Another title is *r s:hrr n rhy.t*, ‘mouth which makes mankind content [alternatively ‘peaceful]’.<sup>55</sup> This title, like others, hints at the role of spokesperson or mediator. Although this does not prove that the statue bore an intermediary function, perhaps his responsibilities during life reflect somewhat upon this permanent monumental form.

As a block statue nothing can be added to what was said for E. They are similar artistic types, although a comparison of the texts suggests different functions.<sup>56</sup>

*Statue G (standing; Cairo Museum, CG 551)*<sup>57</sup>

The final statue covered by Varille was discovered in the Temple of Khonsu. Yet again, this cannot give us a strong indication of an intermediary function other than that the temple context is suitable for such a purpose.

The texts (on the kilt, on the base and on the back pillar), much like the statue from the Temple of Mut, are chiefly references to the *hṯp-di-nsw* rite and titles of Amenhotep. The statue is significantly damaged, but the texts were probably never more elaborate than similar

<sup>54</sup> Varille 1968: 50-53, plates IX-X; Helck 1958: 1831-1832; Porter and Moss 1972: 268.

<sup>55</sup> On the continuing debate surrounding the access of the *rhy.t*-people to temples, see Griffin 2007 (and the references within).

<sup>56</sup> In particular, note the different format: statue E is characterised by long, narrative, biographical texts, whereas statue F devotes less space to the inscription and the longer of the two (Statue F, Text 17) is just offering formulae and a list of titles..

<sup>57</sup> Varille 1968: 54-56, plate XI; Helck 1958: 1835-1836; Porter and Moss 1972: 244.

texts from his other statues. The two titles discussed above, ‘mouth which makes mankind content and ‘leader of the festivals of Amun’, also feature.

Statue G, though now in three parts and partially reconstructed, shows Amenhotep striding. Schäfer wrote that these statues, which were placed so they would be viewed from the front, expressed a quality either of willingness to obey a higher power, or of superior dignity that requires respect.<sup>58</sup> Either would be suitable in this case, for Amenhotep is there to serve Khonsu but also exudes a certain dignity to which visitors to the chapel would respond with respect. Similar respect could be and was accorded to statues in other poses – the scribal statue for example – but perhaps the confident stride encouraged visitors to pay homage and pass on their prayers and supplications. Nonetheless, the combination of context, texts and pose is not a definite indicator of intermediary function.

*Statue H (cross-legged scribe; Esna)*<sup>59</sup>

Whilst statue H was found in Esna, its texts suggest that its original context was the Temple of Amun at Karnak, but again nothing is known of the specifics.

The texts, on the papyrus (orientated towards Amenhotep) and around the base, run in a similar vein to those of statues A and B, in that they address Amun(-Re), praising him and implying that Amenhotep has come before him to stay in his temple, from what can be reconstructed allowing for the many lacunae. There appears to be nothing else of special significance.

Like statues B and I, this is a scribal statue of which only the legs and base remain, and it cannot be said definitively whether or not this was intermediary. Nothing further can be added to what has been and what will be said (Chapter Four) regarding the scribal statue and its relationship to the role of intermediary.

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<sup>58</sup> Schäfer 1974: 312.

<sup>59</sup> Collombert 2002.

*Statue I (cross-legged scribe; Athribis)*<sup>60</sup>

This statue, with only legs and base remaining, was discovered at Athribis, Amenhotep's hometown. Exact context is unknown, and in any case it is likely that this statue was created for a different purpose and audience to the others (see Chapter Three).

The texts, on the papyrus (orientated towards Amenhotep) and on top of and around the base, refer to the upkeep of the religious cult, presumably of Horus *Khentikhety* for whom Amenhotep was 'overseer of prophets'. They too mention a role in festivals (*imy-r k3.wt m ḥb(.w) sd ntr.w*, 'overseer of the works of the *Sed*-festivals of the gods'), but aside from his usual titles, there is no indication of intermediary purpose.

The statue, though damaged, is clearly in the form of a cross-legged scribe. What has been said about the scribal pose above remains true here. Here the purpose of the monument was to record visually his success after furthering his career in the King's court and, as Habachi writes, to attest to his constant loyalty to his hometown.<sup>61</sup>

*Statues C and D (cross-legged scribes; Cairo Museum, JE 44862 + JE 44861)*<sup>62</sup>

In the study of intermediaries, statues C and D are the most relevant, and the texts indicate that Amenhotep intended their use in this way. They are clearly a pair or part of a series including B and maybe others. They are almost identical in style and dimensions, and both bear inscriptions on the papyrus and around the base.

The statues were placed next to each other at the tenth pylon, being near to the colossi of Amenhotep III on the other side. Both colossi and pylon were started during the reign of that King under the direction of Amenhotep son of Hapu, but only finished under

<sup>60</sup> Habachi 1974; Vernus 1978: 29-30.

<sup>61</sup> Habachi 1974: 33. Although created after Amenhotep left Athribis, it is possibly earlier in date than the other eight statues (see note 36).

<sup>62</sup> Varille 1968: 18-25, plate III (C), 26-31, plate IV (D); Helck 1958: 1834-1835, 1832-1833; Porter and Moss 1972: 188.

Horemheb.<sup>63</sup> So, how useful are two intermediary statues sitting at an unfinished doorway some distance from the main temple as it was in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty? Surely visitors felt disconnected from their god (although the spiritual symbolism of a pylon as an entrance to the sacred complex may have been enough, physically linked to the temple proper or not)?<sup>64</sup> Apparently discovered on the north side of the tenth pylon,<sup>65</sup> visitors would have had to pass *through* the gateway to see the statues, which rather defeats the purpose for which they were created. Furthermore, the inscriptions contain no specific indication of their location within Karnak, though their references solely to Amun would indicate that they were not attached to smaller shrines. It is therefore suggested here that their findspot was not their original location.<sup>66</sup> Under Horemheb, the completion of the southern axis, up to and including the tenth pylon, was accompanied by the construction of the second pylon, and the statues may have been moved during or after these major works.<sup>67</sup> Another possibility is when Seti I added the Hypostyle Hall (see note 46), connecting the second and third pylons properly for the first time and thus essentially making the gateway of the third pylon an interior space. The functionality of the statues depends on their accessibility and visibility, so enclosing them within a pylon and roofed courtyard would reduce their effectiveness.

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<sup>63</sup> Galán 2002: 221. Blyth (2006: 109-110) discusses the doubts surrounding who built the ninth and tenth pylons. Also see Azim 1982: 145-149. Some unquestioningly attribute these monuments to Horemheb (Sullivan 2010: 14; Scott 1989: I, 283).

<sup>64</sup> Galán (2002: 225) believes that they mediated for the semi-deified colossi of Amenhotep III as well as Amun, because distance from the god's image was a significant factor in communication. See Chapter Four.

<sup>65</sup> Interestingly, many scholars do not note their specific position, and in some cases imply that they sat on the *south* side of the pylon, such as the ambiguous statements of Wildung (1977b: 84 – 'beside the main entrance on the south of the temple'), Morenz (1973: 102 – 'in front of Pylon X') and Pinch (1993: 344 – 'in front of the 10th pylon'). Kozloff and Bryan (1992: 18) are slightly more explicit – the statues were found 'on the other side of the pylon' to the pair of colossi of Amenhotep III (on the disputed identity of these colossi, see Azim 1982: 149). Confusion may have arisen from the original publication of the pylon and the statues – Legrain 1914 – whereby it is reported that the statues of Amenhotep and Paramessu were found next to the colossus of Ramesses II (possibly usurped from an earlier pharaoh) at the east wing of the north façade (Legrain 1914: 15-16), but noted later that the colossus and statues (of Amenhotep) were in fact on the south side (Legrain 1914: 17)! Cross-checking with other sources, including the photographs at the time of discovery (see Fig.2) and Schwaller de Lubicz (1999: 709, 713) confirms that the statues sat on the north façade.

<sup>66</sup> Legrain (1914: 29) came to the same conclusion (note that Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 18 misinterpret him entirely!), as did Scott (1989: I, 283), believing that the relocation of the statues of Amenhotep and Paramessu accompanied the construction of the tenth pylon near the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Helck (1964: 6, 12-13) suggests the third pylon. See also Galán 2002: 226, note 1.

<sup>67</sup> See also Delvaux (1992: 47-53), who discusses the statues and their location, suggesting that in fact Ramesses II may have given the order for them to be moved or rearranged, and they had always been intended to sit there.

This brings into play the issue of general accessibility to temples, touched upon above. It is agreed that the ordinary man was not granted access to the sanctuary containing the image of the deity, but scholars tend to make rather vague and ambiguous assertions. For instance, Brand writes: ‘for the larger populace, denied access to the inner chambers of the temples, the numerous icons of the gods appearing in exterior wall decoration became foci for their piety’.<sup>68</sup> What does he mean by ‘inner chambers’? Broadly speaking, anything within the walls of the temple proper was ‘inner’, but the term could equally correspond to areas deep within the temple, with the outermost courtyards being accessible. Brand’s emphasis on the images of gods on exterior walls could be read to imply that the public had access to these but not to anything within the walls. If this is taken as true, statues C and D were either inaccessible for direct contact at the tenth pylon or were originally in a different place to where they were discovered. That they were found inside the tenth pylon suggests, with this interpretation of Brand in mind, either 1) that at some point they were no longer considered intermediary; or 2) that attitudes towards accessibility in temples changed.

If, on the other hand, we assume that the public *did* have access to the outer courtyard or courtyards of the temple,<sup>69</sup> then it is possible that the statues had never been moved, and occupied their original position. Visitors to the temple would pass through the pylon and the statues would be on their right, side by side and awaiting supplication. Yet it is still noteworthy that the statues were on this side of the doorway, as one cannot escape the symbolism of a figure patiently waiting beside a doorway for visitors to arrive: the implication is that the waiting figure will welcome these guests and take them, or in this case take their offerings and prayers, through the doorway and inside. Here, going through the

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<sup>68</sup> Brand 2007: 65.

<sup>69</sup> Pinch (1993: 336-337) writes that the textual evidence referring to temple visitors in the the *wb3*, perhaps the area in front of the main entrance of a temple, fits with the presence of intermediaries outside gateways (though this does not tally with Amenhotep’s statues being *inside* the pylon) but that some inner shrines were accessible. For instance, the triple shrine in the Ramesside forecourt of Luxor Temple, and perhaps the court itself, was ‘a place of supplication, of hearing the petitions of gods and men’ (El-Razik 1975: 128), which Bell (1997: 168) believes was accessible (cf. Griffin 2007: 73).

doorway would result in leaving the temple! Thus I explain my reluctance to conclude definitively that the tenth pylon (north face) was the original context of statues C and D. Clearly more detailed work will need to be carried out, especially concerning public access to temples and regarding the physical appearance of the statues and their surrounding context at Karnak, in an attempt to gauge whether or not it was possible that they were moved. These reservations could be applied to any statue unless they mention a specific place or object with implied proximity.

The inscriptions on the papyri describe the career of Amenhotep, focusing on different roles Amenhotep held – C names him *wp(w).ty nsw*, ‘royal messenger/representative’ (another term with implications of an intermediary role) as well as describing religious functions such as the ‘leader of the festivals of Amun’, and D focuses on his roles of architect or builder: *imy-r k3.wt*, ‘overseer of the works’. On both statues the texts of interest are those on the bases, whereby Amenhotep unmistakably entreats visitors to the temple to approach him with their prayers.<sup>70</sup> Thus the texts significant to devotees were not on the papyri (which incidentally are orientated inwards and therefore are not immediately readable to someone facing the statue), but those that face outwards. The common reading of the text on the base starts, understandably, with what would appear to be the start when standing directly in front of the statue (on the facing side, starting at the far right): ‘for the *ka* of the prince and mayor, the royal scribe, the scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, justified.’<sup>71</sup> Galán, however, argues that this is in fact the final statement, and the text begins after this, in the middle of the facing side: ‘O people of Karnak’ (C) and ‘O Upper and Lower Egypt’ (D).<sup>72</sup> One argument in favour of the latter interpretation is that both texts mention, partway through, the desire that the *ḥtp-di-nsw* rite be performed for Amenhotep. In offering formula utilising these phrases, the formula

<sup>70</sup> Statue C, Text 9 and Statue D, Text 12.

<sup>71</sup> Varille 1968: 24, 31. Morenz (1973: 102) leaves this statement out completely, so it is unclear where he would consider it to belong within the text.

<sup>72</sup> Galán 2002: 222.

always comes first, and ‘for the *ka* of N’ rounds off the texts.<sup>73</sup> Nonetheless, one might argue for the logical reading of a text from the start of the line when standing directly opposite the statue. There are cases where the text *does* start from the middle of the facing side, such as statue B, but there are two lines running around the base in opposite directions so the orientation of the hieroglyphs makes the starting point clear. Closer investigation of statue inscriptions generally is required in future work to identify how frequently texts on statues begin in the way Galán supposes here.

The most telling words given in the text are: ‘I will report your petitions (because) I am the reporter of this god’ (C), and ‘Come to me. I will report what you say to Amun in *Ipet-sut*’ (D). The key words here are *smi* (report), *spr.w* (petitions), and *wḥm.w* (reporter/herald), all indicating mediation and transmission of messages to the authority, the god.<sup>74</sup> The role has clearly been appropriated consciously.

In studying the texts on the base, one encounters two practical problems. Firstly, a visitor would not be able to see immediately what was asked of him or her, as each text runs around all four sides. This is easily solved by walking around the statue, although offerings laid there might obstruct the way.<sup>75</sup> In addition, the statues at some point were placed next to the statues of Paramessu, the pylon, a colossus and each other, so the texts around the back and sides may have been harder to access due to the simple matter of space (Fig.2). Secondly, a more perplexing issue is that even if the texts were easily accessible, how many of the devotees would have been able to read them? Literacy among the ancient Egyptians is a whole study of its own, but certainly comes into play here.<sup>76</sup> The intermediary in state religions was available to those who had no direct access to a god housed within the

<sup>73</sup> Leprohon 2001: 570; inferred to some extent in Barta 1968: xiv, including note 3. For the offering formulae of this time period, see Barta 1968: 85-106.

<sup>74</sup> Galán (2002: 223) believes that similar phrases (titles and epithets) used in an *administrative* context in the New Kingdom seem to reflect a growing awareness of the affairs of the people.

<sup>75</sup> Pinch (1993: 347) notes that there is no evidence for votives being dedicated to such intermediaries, but acknowledges that they may simply have been collected by resident priests.

<sup>76</sup> Baines 1983 and Baines & Eyre 2007.



sanctuary, the non-elite who would in all likelihood have had little education. Even a grasp of written language would not be enough to understand the formal, archaising hieroglyphic texts. The words could be and probably were shared orally, but that would require an initial reader. Perhaps priests were allocated to this task,<sup>77</sup> or maybe those with the specific title *iry-ꜣ*, often translated as ‘door-keeper’, interacted with visitors in this way.<sup>78</sup>

Perhaps the main determining factor for the definition of these statues as ‘intermediary’ is the appeal text that they contain but, for the reasons above, the necessity of an appeal in achieving such status is questionable. Even for those that could read, one should not necessarily assume that they would have needed to if they were already aware of the statue’s function and of Amenhotep’s reputation as a man of great power. The texts were there as a record if ever the information was required, but this does not mean that they were read every day. Alternatively, their primary purpose was not to be read at all by human eyes, but to guarantee and preserve magically Amenhotep’s spiritual longevity, and to be read by those who could ensure that he remained for eternity in the position of spokesperson, namely the gods.

These two statues are scribal, Amenhotep’s head being slightly bent as he writes or reads. As with the other scribal statues, the iconography of the wise, patient man is significant but, as the other scribal statues appear not to have been explicitly intermediary, the pose may not be a key factor in itself.

The statues retain the traces of countless visitors – the hieroglyphs on the papyri are worn where they were touched by supplicants, which is rather astonishing considering the

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<sup>77</sup> Lanoit (2012: 256) suggests that appeal texts can indicate certain roles of passers-by: those who read aloud (scribe), others who listen (the *rmt* people) and others who witness (priests), with particular mention of CG 20017 (incorrectly referenced by Lanoit as 20016), which reads: *ss nb šd.t(y)=f(y) rmt nb.t sdm.t(y)=sn wꜥb nb mꜣꜥ.t(y)=f(y)...*, ‘every scribe who reads, all people who hear, all *wab*-priests who see...’ (Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 16).

<sup>78</sup> Pinch 1993: 346. Clère (1968: 143-144) discusses two Ramesside statues whose inscriptions call them ‘door-keepers’ (‘gardiennes de porte’), at least one holding the position during life. He argues that the title should be considered as one of the designations utilised by intermediaries often in combination with each other, including *wꜥm.w*, ‘reporter’ and *bꜣk*, ‘servant’.

statues were carved from granite.<sup>79</sup> The lack of wear on the other statues could suggest that they were not cult objects.<sup>80</sup> Touching would be one way to get closer to the divine world and would ensure that Amenhotep received the requests and offerings brought to him. This practice may have been one of the steps by which Amenhotep was elevated to the status of divinity since the visitors were in direct contact with him, physically as well as spiritually. He was accessible and this was more than could be said for the state gods; it seems only natural that the relationship with intermediaries would transform into full worship. In fact, the continuous veneration of his statues may have eventually been interpreted as he himself being the object of worship rather than a medium through which the people could access the god, and hence he became the beneficiary of this practice, but this idea must remain speculative.

### Summary and further thoughts

The statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu, created or at least started by him towards the end of his life, are worthy of note, not least for the number within the same temple complex. He was certainly making a statement, even more so when proclaiming that he was given royal permission. What is not entirely clear is the purpose for which they were created, but it is likely that such monuments would have had a different effect on different groups of society. For instance, he may have been competing with his fellow statesmen, or demonstrating his favoured life in Thebes to those who knew of his beginnings. To those of humbler status, the number and quality of the statues is a definite sign of wealth and authority. As with any monument, it is geared towards preserving the memory of the individual after death, and Amenhotep devised a novel way of doing so: *openly* portraying himself as a mediator between the people and the god.

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<sup>79</sup> Wildung 1977b: 88; Delvaux 1992: 47.

<sup>80</sup> Collombert (2002:159), writing of statue H. These statues may simply not have been accessible.

As has been seen, the three criteria set out at the beginning – context, texts and pose – can be hesitantly applied and fulfilled in many cases, but intermediary function is only certain for statues C and D, partly from the wear on the papyri, but also from what can be gleaned from the oft-quoted texts around the base.<sup>81</sup> In choosing those texts, a conscious decision was made to offer his services. As a result, it seems that the most important criterion of the three was the texts (and thus probably their orientation on the monument), however this will need to be confirmed with studies of other known intermediaries.<sup>82</sup> Intermediary monuments were aimed at a social group of whom a high proportion would be illiterate, who would need the texts communicating to them by those who could read. In this respect it is possible that it was the elite who first used these statues as intermediaries, thereby encouraging this practice to trickle down the social hierarchy.

The other two criteria are necessary, but less important. Pose was a general marker of status and character, but was probably just incidental since scribal statues B, H and I seem not to have been viewed akin to C and D. As for context, a position where a mediating role would be relevant is of course key, but it is very difficult to be certain of how specific this position had to be: smaller monuments may have been moved in antiquity, accessibility of temples is still not fully understood and the importance attached to the symbolism of doorways is uncertain.

Amenhotep's monuments will have benefited from his being a well-known and well-respected high official and will have demanded similar respect. Even though most seem not to have been considered mediators, it is likely that they enjoyed the reverence accorded to C and D on a more modest scale. Visitors to Karnak would be presented with constant reminders (excepting statue I) of this important man and his excellent qualities. Supplicants may have

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<sup>81</sup> Statue E is probably the next likely, therefore, to have had some intermediary function, as it is the only other extant statue bearing an appeal text, indicating some kind of interaction with passers-by.

<sup>82</sup> Such as 'les chauves d'Hathor' (Clère 1995), or the three mentioned in the introduction of Chapter Four below.

presented their offerings and prayers at the tenth pylon, but this would not stop them appealing to other statues to ensure their prayers were heard and Amenhotep was satisfied.

**CHAPTER THREE:**  
**THE TITLES AND EPITHETS OF AMENHOTEP SON OF HAPU: PRE-EMPTYING**  
**AN INTERMEDIARY ROLE?**

There is no doubt that the inscriptions chosen for a monument would have had certain significance for the person represented or by whom it was created, if different. The appeal texts and other phrases upon the statues C and D of Amenhotep play a significant part in his identification as an intermediary by modern scholars, and probably by the ancients too. It may be surmised that Amenhotep himself aimed to preserve his memory and indeed achieve this exalted state, and it seems likely that the texts chosen to go on his statues were a key element in that process. The self-presentation – through titles, epithets and (auto)biographical narratives – as one bearing a special connection to the divine sphere, with whom people could entrust their requests, strengthened his suitability for respect and reverence. The idea that he had an active role in conveying his own extraordinary characteristics has previously been briefly acknowledged but not properly supported.<sup>83</sup>

What is proposed, therefore, is a closer look at the titles and epithets included on the statues from Karnak in an attempt to infer an intention to emphasise certain roles and characteristics that would prove his suitability as an intermediary between lower class and elite or royal and ultimately between human and god. The statue from Athribis (statue I) is included in the tabulation, but there should be some element of distinction between that statue and those from Karnak. The sheer number found at Karnak indicates that a message more than pure commemoration or dedication to the gods was intended, and could suggest that Amenhotep was trying to cater to the local audience. One of the stimuli for Amenhotep may have been the growing need for intermediaries to provide access to state gods (see Chapter Four), and the Temple of Karnak would be an ideal location due to both the growing

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<sup>83</sup> Wildung 1977a: 2.

prominence of Amun-Ra as a state god and Amun's inherent quality as the 'hidden one' (in other words, incomprehensible and intangible).<sup>84</sup> This is in opposition to deities like Horus *Khentikhety* – as a local god, his devotees may have had a closer personal relationship with him without as great a need for mediators.

The possibility that more statues existed at Athribis should not be discounted entirely (especially when it is taken into account that only a fraction of the evidence survives in the Delta region),<sup>85</sup> but this could also be held true of Karnak; it seems acceptable to assume that, however many statues originally existed in antiquity, Karnak and greater Thebes held a number significantly greater than Athribis, if only because Amenhotep spent his most illustrious years in the southern capital. The texts on statue I are also different enough in form to suggest that it was not created either at the same time, by the same person, or both, as the other scribal statues (B, C, D and H), which are all 'Given as a favour from the King'. For these reasons, the titles from statue I are distinguished here: for a title appearing five times in total on statues A-H and once on statue I, the total given will be 5 (1).

As has been acknowledged in the previous chapter, not all the statues at Karnak may have originated there,<sup>86</sup> and therefore accepting them together as a cohesive group in the temple all feeding into Amenhotep's image is problematic. This cannot be easily overcome, and for simplicity the statues discovered at Karnak (and the one found in Esna) will be assumed to have come from somewhere in the temple.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Hart 1986: 5; Assmann 1995: 136-139.

<sup>85</sup> On Athribis, see Vernus 1978.

<sup>86</sup> Meyer 1982: 54-58 points out that it is in fact almost impossible to differentiate between private statues intended for tombs and those for temples from the texts.

<sup>87</sup> Why a statue would be moved either within a location or from a different place entirely is hard to explain with any certainty. One of many conceivable possibilities is that by the time Horemheb completed the tenth pylon, the veneration of Amenhotep son of Hapu as an intermediary and perhaps a demi-god was fully underway. Statues C and D may have been moved under Horemheb's orders – having the statues at his pylon attracted visitors to that axis of the temple, benefiting Horemheb by association.

### Titles, ‘official’ titles and epithets

When identifying titles and epithets, the problem arises of how to distinguish the former from the latter.<sup>88</sup> Quirke in particular stressed the importance of making the difference clear, despite the difficulty of doing so. After the lead of Fischer, Quirke names nominalised and participial phrases ‘pseudo-titular epithets’.<sup>89</sup> He defines titles as words designating an individual in direct conjunction with the name, rather than in the main body of the text, and suggests that an ‘official’ title, namely one that refers to actual roles held by the bearer of that designation (rather than one held for epithetical purposes), is extant from *more than one* source.<sup>90</sup> To facilitate the organisation of the titles and epithets surviving on the statues of Amenhotep, I have acted mainly at my own discretion when deciding between title and epithet, a method used by Ward,<sup>91</sup> which is perhaps a crude process but is suitable for current aims. However, deeper analysis of titles especially does require awareness that some may not indicate an actual role held by the individual, whereas others may have represented genuine, official duties. Nonetheless, they all have something to say about the individual to whom they are attached and the context in which they appear.

### Amenhotep and his titles

Four tables in Appendix Two show that forty different titles and seventy epithets have been identified. If one works along Quirke’s lines, the number of different *official* titles is much smaller, totalling sixteen. Epithetical phrases have generally been split into separate, short elements, although some consecutive epithets are similar thematically and

<sup>88</sup> See, for instance, Doxey 1998: 1.

<sup>89</sup> Fischer 1985: 1; Quirke 1996: 671.

<sup>90</sup> Quirke 2004: 1; Quirke 1996: 671. A significant problem is of course, though it is not relevant in this situation, that we may only have one source of information on that individual.

<sup>91</sup> Ward 1982: 1. For a similar outlook, with broad definitions of titles as opposed to epithets, see Baer 1960: 4.

grammatically.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, some related titles are treated separately. For instance, *sš nsw*, ‘royal scribe’, and *sš nsw m3<sup>c</sup> mr=f*, ‘true royal scribe, his beloved’ are distinguished, since the latter is repeated exactly more than once and therefore must have constituted a compound phrase.<sup>93</sup>

The number of attestations for each title and epithet allow for some initial conclusions: as would be expected for a man with so many scribal statues, the titles which appear most commonly are those pertaining to scribal duties, namely *sš nsw sš nfr.w*, ‘royal scribe, scribe of recruits’, and their variants. ‘Royal scribe’ occurs 19 (1) times whereas ‘scribe of recruits’, though often juxtaposed with ‘royal scribe’, is not as common, with a total of 11 occurrences, and variants appear 6 (2) times.<sup>94</sup> The ancient designations *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t* and *h3.ty-<sup>c</sup>* (almost always paired), here rendered as ‘prince’ and ‘mayor’, are also extremely common, occurring 15 (3) and 13 (3) times respectively, but with an overall total of 36 (3) the scribal titles are in the clear majority.

Other fairly common titles are:

- *htm-bi.t*, ‘seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt’ (7 times).
- *imy-r hm.w-ntr n Hr.w (Hnty-hnty)*, ‘overseer of prophets of Horus (*Khentikhety*)’ (5 (1) times).
- *sšm(.w) hb.w n Imn*, ‘leader of festivals of Amun’ (5 times).
- *imy-r k3.wt*, ‘overseer of the works’ (4 (1) times).

<sup>92</sup> An example where I have not split such phrases into their constituent parts is *dd n hh.w hsb n h3.w dmd n r{f}.f hfn.w*, ‘One who gives millions, one who counts thousands and one whose pen totals hundreds of thousands’.

<sup>93</sup> *sš nsw m3<sup>c</sup> mr=f* is much less common than *sš nsw* and the former appears on statues which also bears the latter. It is therefore unlikely that it refers to a different status of ‘royal scribe’; either the shorter phrase is an abbreviation or the longer is an extension (a minor difference, but a difference that would put one of the titles as the earlier, original designation). The inclination is towards the longer title being an extension which was developed to provide more variety to the text, creating another opportunity to prove one’s worth.

<sup>94</sup> *sš nsw hry tp nfr.w*, ‘royal scribe at the head of the recruits’, is obviously a combination of the two main scribal titles, but here has been classed as a variant of ‘royal scribe’. The Athribis statue bears a variant of *sš nfr.w*, that of *imy-r nfr.w*, ‘overseer of recruits’. This has not been included in the total of scribal titles, but it surely is connected to these roles.



- *t3w hw (hr imn.t n nsw)*, ‘fan-bearer (to the right of the King)’ (4 times).

Those appearing more than once but in significantly fewer numbers were perhaps not considered as important or wide-reaching:

- *imy-r pr n s3.t-nsw*, ‘overseer of the estate of the King’s daughter’ (3 times).
- *smr wꜣ(.ty)*, ‘sole friend’ and *smr ʕ3 n mr.wt*, ‘friend, great of love’ (3 times each).
- *mḥ-ib*, ‘confidant’ (2 (1) times).
- *wḥm(.w)*, ‘reporter’ (2 times).
- *r s:hrr n rhy.t*, ‘mouth which makes mankind content’ (2 times).<sup>95</sup>
- *sm n ḥw.t nbw*, ‘*sem*-priest of the temple of gold’ (1 (1) time).

### The significance of titles for an intermediary role

The main aim of this chapter is to attempt to show that Amenhotep deliberately chose particular titles and epithets that would emphasise his suitability as an intermediary. Certain functions may have portrayed him as having mediating responsibilities in the court and a close relationship to the gods, developing his (posthumous) reputation. Therefore, the majority of these designations shall here be assessed to ascertain their meaning and the possible reasons behind their selection.

### Scribal functions: *sš* and its variants

The potential significance behind the abundance of the scribal titles, the scribal form and the context of scribes generally is to be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. All

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<sup>95</sup> This is probably in fact a pseudo-titular epithet, but it is included under titles for reasons which are explained below.

that needs to be said here is that his roles as a scribe seem to have been considered the most important, indicated by their ubiquity and by the proximity of the relevant titles to his name. As has been alluded to previously, scribes may have been particularly suitable for a situation in which an intermediary role was the aim. In other words, emphasis of his scribal functions may have facilitated the change in attitude towards him from being high official to associate and messenger of the gods.

Markers of status: *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t*, *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t r ḥd n Gb*, *ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup>*, *ḥtm-bi.t* and *s<sup>c</sup>h*

Writing in 1954, Helck noted that the earliest attestation of ‘prince’ is in the titles of Imhotep, under Djoser in the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>96</sup> With many attestations at least as far back as this time, it is likely to have been an older title with its roots in Early Dynastic times, perhaps even laying claim to being one of the original titles of the newly formed Egyptian state.<sup>97</sup> As a young title, it probably indicated that the bearer held royal authority on a local level, though it has been suggested that it referred to a close companion of the King, which has slightly different connotations to pure regional authority.<sup>98</sup> As time went on, its frequency on elite monuments implies that it became a marker of status rather than of true authority and actual roles.<sup>99</sup> The title appears in the Ramesside ‘Onomasticon of Amenemope’ directly after the royal designations, which must be significant even if it had not been associated with actual responsibilities for some time. Though Gardiner warns against relying on the order of the list as genuine hierarchy, the author was clearly aware that the title referred to powerful men with

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<sup>96</sup> Helck 1954: 55.

<sup>97</sup> For references to attestation and detailed discussion, see Jones 2000: I, 315 (Old Kingdom); Ward 1982: 102 (Middle Kingdom); Al-Ayedi 2006: 219 (New Kingdom).

<sup>98</sup> Helck 1954: 55.

<sup>99</sup> See Doxey 1998: 27 for the distinguishing of the elite from the lower classes. The reading of the word is still disputed in the scholarship resulting in difficulty of interpretation to some extent; some lean towards *iri-p<sup>c</sup>.t*, meaning ‘one appertaining to the *pat*-people’ (in other words, the elite men), while others have preferred to see the first sign to be the word *r*, ‘mouth’. Gardiner (1947: 14\*-19\*) evaluates the changing attitudes towards the etymology. More recently, Franke (1984: 211) preferred the reading *iri-p<sup>c</sup>.t*.

close connections to royal influence, even at this much later stage in time.<sup>100</sup> Amenhotep, as with most members of the elite, entered this tradition, making an immediate statement to the reader of his high connections and personal authority. The variant ‘prince attached to the White Chapel of Geb’<sup>101</sup> appears only once, and as such might refer to a particular event and specific role therein rather than a long term position.<sup>102</sup> Appropriately, the suggestion of a connection between *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t* and the *Sed*-festival would tie in well with the context of the statue on which the title appears,<sup>103</sup> for Amenhotep describes the celebration of the 30-year *Sed*-festival.<sup>104</sup> That Amenhotep, a non-royal, is shown in the *Sed*-festival reliefs at Soleb surely proves that he had a direct contribution to this event, and that his participation was appreciated by his pharaoh.<sup>105</sup> As suggested above (pages 12-13), the permission for Amenhotep to set up his Karnak statues was probably concurrent with – and thus a reward for – the *Sed*-festival and the preceding preparations.

*ḥ3.ty-ḥ*, ‘mayor’,<sup>106</sup> is another title with its origins at least as far back as the early Old Kingdom, again originally implying some local authority (replacing village and tribal chiefs and bearing military power<sup>107</sup>), but adopting symbolic and honorific meaning in later periods; its close proximity to ‘prince’ in most cases suggests that it was a similar mark of status.<sup>108</sup> Gardiner seemed to feel that it was best rendered ‘prince’ for the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but ‘mayor’ in Ramesside texts to reflect the decreased independence held by these

<sup>100</sup> Gardiner 1947: 38.

<sup>101</sup> Ward 1982: 102; Doxey 1998: 273; Al-Ayedi 2006: 293.

<sup>102</sup> Quirke (2004: 2-3), while not strictly stating this theory, uses examples which illustrate the idea that titles with wider and longer-lived attestations should be taken less literally than those more specific and less common.

<sup>103</sup> Helck 1954: 56.

<sup>104</sup> Statue C, Text 8. Only on two other occasions is the festival mentioned, one being as part of a laudatory phrase as part of the biographical narrative of statue E (Text 13, Line 15), and the other as part of a larger title on statue I (Text 2), ‘overseer of works in the *Sed*-festivals of the gods’. In the latter, the *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t* title is not expanded, most likely because Amenhotep is referring to another element of the responsibility he bore during the festivals.

<sup>105</sup> Porter and Moss 1952: 170 (5)-(6); Varille 1968: 61-63; Wildung 1977a: 291-292.

<sup>106</sup> Jones 2000: I, 496-497; Ward 1982: 104; Al-Ayedi 2006: 315.

<sup>107</sup> Helck 1954: 20.

<sup>108</sup> Although there has been some uncertainty concerning how it is to be read (Gardiner 1947: 15\*), it is generally seen as a compound, with the *nisbé* of the word for ‘front’ and the arm as a separate element, as indicated by the transliteration (Sethe 1906: 98).

officials.<sup>109</sup> Decreased independence in the role is irrelevant if the title is used honorifically (like *r-p<sup>ε</sup>.t*), which is the preferable interpretation here: there is no evidence that Amenhotep had authority over a provincial area as ‘mayor’, either by way of a town-name adjoining the title (‘mayor of X’) or in his biographical narratives.

‘Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt’ is yet another Old Kingdom title that appears regularly in the monuments of later periods.<sup>110</sup> It implies that the bearer had authority over sealed things, generally assumed to be goods (materials and foodstuffs) kept in the storehouses, granaries and treasuries.<sup>111</sup> It may quite easily have integrated with the role of scribe, recording the passage of goods, but there is no indication in the texts of the statues that Amenhotep was specifically involved in storehouses, so again, it is likely that this title is honorific in nature.<sup>112</sup> Even in the Middle Kingdom, it was a prefix to a wide variety of titles to indicate national scope,<sup>113</sup> suggesting that there was no single situation for which a ‘seal-bearer’ was specifically required. It probably indicates an administrative role in which the title-holder had access to and responsibility for various areas and information that for others were restricted.

*s<sup>ε</sup>h*, ‘dignitary’, ‘noble’,<sup>114</sup> as well as *špsy*<sup>115</sup> and *sr*<sup>116</sup> which have similar meanings, may not be true titles, but adjectival descriptors or markers of status and, like ‘prince’ and ‘mayor’, distinguish the individual from the lower classes and even from his elite peers.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Gardiner 1947: 31\*.

<sup>110</sup> Jones 2000: II, 763-764; Ward 1982: 103 (*‘r-p<sup>ε</sup>.t ḥ3ty-<sup>ε</sup> sd3wty-bity’*); Al-Ayedi 2006: 453-457. Why only the King of the northern regions is represented may have significance that is now lost to us, stemming from some original purpose. If Helck (1954: 92) is correct in suggesting that the title may have originated under Den in the First Dynasty, it may refer back to a role present in the north which existed before the unification of Egypt.

<sup>111</sup> Uphill 1975: 250.

<sup>112</sup> His responsibility for the estate of the princess Satamun (see below) may have involved controlling of storage facilities and supplies going in and out, but this is not specified.

<sup>113</sup> Quirke 2004: 12.

<sup>114</sup> Jones 2000: II, 881; Doxey 1998: 366-367; Al-Ayedi 2006: 482-483 (note also the designation carried by Rekhmire ‘Second royal dignitary’ (number 1636), suggesting that there may have been some sort of hierarchy and therefore some roles attached to the title *s<sup>ε</sup>h*).

<sup>115</sup> Jones 2000: II, 988-989; Ward 1982: 174-175 (*šps*); Fischer 1985: 96; Doxey 1998: 386 (*špss*).

<sup>116</sup> Jones 2000: II, 909 (translates ‘official/magistrate’, suggesting that Jones considered the Old Kingdom title to have had associated functions); Ward 1982: 153; Doxey 1998: 374-375; Al-Ayedi 2006: 500-501.

<sup>117</sup> Doxey 1998: 27. See also Ward 1982: 153 on the epithetical nature of *sr*.

These terms are therefore often used in conjunction with groups of people: ‘dignitary at the head of the favoured ones’, or ‘true noble who is in the midst of everyone’, for example.<sup>118</sup> Such statements are not uncommon for (auto)biographical texts, for their aim was to laud the owner of the monument and, where possible, claim their superiority over their colleagues, in order to prove their competence and prestige.<sup>119</sup> That all instances of these phrases appear on statue E, the ‘grand statue biographique’, comes as no surprise therefore; wherever this statue was placed originally, whether in Amenhotep’s tomb, at the funerary temple or at Karnak, its primary aim would have been to convince the reader of his superiority in stature and ability. This kind of reputation would have facilitated the transition from respected nobleman to venerated intermediary.

It seems an appropriate time to discuss very briefly the idea of honorific titles generally, those which were so traditional that they had all but lost their original functions and become an indication of rank, including those above and others such as *smr wꜥ.ty* (see below). This ‘progressive cheapening’ of titles occurred well before Amenhotep’s time,<sup>120</sup> but many did not lose their relative rank as, for example, *r-pꜥ.t* continues to appear frequently at the head of title lists, thus indicating that those who bore it still understood its significance as a mark of high status. I would also argue that what Baer holds for the Old Kingdom was also true for the New Kingdom – that such honorific titles still may have held ceremonial function when appropriate.<sup>121</sup> Amenhotep’s title *r-pꜥ.t r ḥd n Gb* is a potential example, whereby his role as ‘prince’ was broadened temporarily for the *Sed*-festival. If we consider the most commonly mentioned titles on Amenhotep’s statues – the two main scribal titles and the rank titles ‘prince and mayor’ – it is clear that he was stressing what he considered his most

<sup>118</sup> Statue E, Text 13, Lines 2 and 7 respectively.

<sup>119</sup> Doxey 1998: 152.

<sup>120</sup> For the term ‘progressive cheapening’, see Baer 1960: 7. Baer’s work is dedicated to determining Old Kingdom systems for the ranking of titles in terms of their importance, be they functional or honorary. He refers often to Helck’s ideas on the development of archaic titles and their importance to an individual’s authority (in particular Helck 1954: 111ff), though unlike Helck, does not believe these titles had inherent magical power (Baer 1960: 6).

<sup>121</sup> Baer 1960: 6.

important functional roles and his high position relative to his contemporaries. Similarly, not only do *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t* and scribal titles appear most often in significant positions at the start of title strings or immediately before Amenhotep's name, but they are also the only two types of designation to appear as stand-alone titles (usually before his name),<sup>122</sup> showing us either was considered sufficient to identify him and to demonstrate his rank without further specification of roles.<sup>123</sup>

Responsibilities in the religious sphere: *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Hr.w (Hnty-hty)* and *sšm(.w) ḥb.w n Imn*

Despite the majority of his statues seeming to link very closely to the cults of Amun in Karnak, and to a lesser extent Mut and Khonsu, Amenhotep does not appear to have held many positions of responsibility that brought him into contact with deities, which one would think would be a necessary attribute to qualify as a mediator between human and god. His account of his career does not detail promotion within the religious sphere. However, two titles, both of which appear a fairly large number of times, refer to responsibilities attached to a cult.

The title of his early life which he retains throughout his career in Thebes (and from the number of occurrences on the statues, 5 (1), remained something he was fairly proud of), is 'overseer of prophets (literally, 'god's servants') of Horus *Khentikhety*'. Amenhotep never details the assumed career path by which he eventually became 'overseer',<sup>124</sup> so perhaps he

<sup>122</sup> 'Prince': Statue E, Texts 15 and 16. Scribal titles: Statue B, Text 6; Statue E, Text 13, Lines 1, 2, 7, 9 and 11; possibly Statue E, Text 14, Line 9; Statue F, Text 18; Statue G, Text 20. See also Statue C, Text 9 and Statue D, Text 12, where it is only *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3.ty-<sup>c</sup> sš nsw sš nfr.w Imn-ḥtp*.

<sup>123</sup> This statement disregards Statue F, Text 17, where titles appear independent of each other in several, separate, consecutive phrases to describe Amenhotep. With the repetitive format and the proximity of these phrases to each other, physically and textually, it is a different situation to a title being the only one in a text, or occurring unaccompanied by others in a long text.

<sup>124</sup> In early periods, this title may have indicated that the bearer was himself not a *ḥm-ntr*, but held a secular role, organising the officiants in the cult and the administration of the temple, but not participating in the ritual

felt his other, mostly secular positions of authority all but eclipsed a career in the services of a local god.<sup>125</sup> That statue E suggests that he only had access to secret learning when he arrived in Thebes and after appointment as royal scribe ('I entered, moreover, the sacred books...I revealed all their mysteries',<sup>126</sup>) may be simply a narrative device to emphasise his effectiveness as a scribe, and does not necessarily mean he had no knowledge of sacred texts before this promotion, or that Thebes was the only place with such an archive.

'Leader of festivals of Amun' (5 times),<sup>127</sup> however, suggests more clearly an active role directing rituals and processions. Whilst it may refer to an organisational role in terms of managing the provision of food and materials for religious celebrations and devising the schedule, one could also understand a level of access to the god's image, perhaps acting as an intermediary between the people and the image and interpreting divine messages during oracular processions. This is reflected in a phrase on the Athribis statue, *sšm(.w) ntr m d.t=f*, 'leader of the god in his body'.<sup>128</sup> This does not specify the god, and the context does not make it clear – this statue was erected after his promotions in Thebes, but the following title in the list is 'overseer of prophets of Horus *Khentikhety*, so it could refer either to Amun or the Athribite deity. Its findspot perhaps means that Horus *Khentikhety* was to be understood, but that in itself does not prove that Amenhotep engaged in similar activities (playing the same part in processions for instance) when he was *still living* in Athribis; what could be meant is that his experience in Theban religious festivals entitled him only at that later date to assume the position of 'leader' of Horus *Khentikhety*, even if he never fulfilled this role in

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activities (Fischer 1962: 66, on a Sixth Dynasty official) – the expectations and responsibilities of 'overseers' probably changed with time. Hayes (1951: 101) indicates that 'overseer of prophets' was a title held by senior priests of *local* deities, rather than those of national gods. For further references for this title, see Jones 2000: I, 171 (*hm-ntr*); Ward 1982: 35ff; Al-Ayedi 2006: 81ff.

<sup>125</sup> Compare with Bakenkhons' detailed description of a career in the cult of Amun (Kitchen 1980: 297-299).

<sup>126</sup> Statue E, Text 13, Line 12.

<sup>127</sup> Al-Ayedi 2006: 518-519 (the title does not appear, in this form, in indexes of the titles in early periods): it was perhaps a New Kingdom title that emerged with the rising prominence of the cult of Amun.

<sup>128</sup> Habachi 1974: 29. An alternative translation was suggested to me: 'one whom the god guides in his body' (pers. comm. Dr M.A. Leahy). 'His' could still refer to the god with similar oracular connotations, or it may refer to the body of Amenhotep, 'guided' through life by divine forces.

reality. Whatever the case, Amenhotep did place a certain amount of importance upon his religious roles, and perhaps this was one of the ways he emphasised his suitability as a mediator, in particular a mediator between earthly and divine worlds.

Practical, administrative and military duties: *imy-r k3.wt*, *imy-r pr* and *ir.ty n nsw ꜥnh.wy n bi.t*

‘Overseer of the works,’<sup>129</sup> which appears 4 (1) times, may be one of the titles with fewer attestations, but Amenhotep describes his career as a builder or architect (the construction of colossal statues of the pharaoh) in significant detail and with enough pride on statue E that this third and final major promotion was clearly important to him. Other major construction projects, such as at Karnak and Athribis, were likely completed under his direction. Perhaps it was this expertise that earned him the right to build his own mortuary temple, on a grand scale and royal ground plan, as well as numerous statues. This may not have been a role involving much mediation, but reminding people of his skills as an architect emphasised his contributions to the ritual landscape of Thebes in which he was now entitled to share. This contribution added to his renown and perhaps justified his appropriation of an active intermediary role within that landscape.

*imy-r pr*, literally meaning ‘overseer of the estate’ but usually rendered ‘steward’,<sup>130</sup> also appears only a few times (3 appearances on the Karnak statues), each time with some connection to the King’s daughter Satamun. In other words, he oversaw the workings and supply of the estate belonging to the princess. Aside from the prestige that comes with such a close connection to the royal family, there is not much that can be said about this title in relation to Amenhotep’s role as a mediator, and it was apparently not one of his primary

<sup>129</sup> Jones 2000: I, 261; Ward 1982: 51; Al-Ayedi 2006: 135. See also Eichler 2000: 151-155, on this title within the domain of Amun, for while Amenhotep’s title relates to the king’s monuments, much of the work will have been carried out in the domain of Amun (including Karnak), and to a large extent for the god’s benefit.

<sup>130</sup> Jones 2000: I, 114; Ward 1982: 21-2; Al-Ayedi 2006: 26.



functions. Similarly *imy-r mnmn.t*, ‘overseer of cattle’,<sup>131</sup> is concerned with the organisation of herds, here specified as belonging to Amun (therefore property of the temple estates). It is only mentioned once, in conjunction with one occurrence of ‘overseer of the house’, and so was either a position assumed once for a specific reason (the *Sed*-festival?), was acquired late in his career so he had less opportunity to refer to it, or was not considered particularly important, though the latter seems unlikely given the suggestion that this was the highest ranking title in the administration of the livestock of Amun and could be combined with other high-ranking titles.<sup>132</sup>

*ir.ty n nsw ꜥnh.wy n bi.t*, ‘the two eyes of the King of Upper Egypt and the two ears of the King of Lower Egypt’ is a curious title which appears only once. It is more strictly a ‘pseudo-titular epithet’ which first appears on monuments in the New Kingdom.<sup>133</sup> First reading suggests that it gave Amenhotep jurisdiction in the King’s stead, when required: the King’s representative. Elements of vigilance and protection from danger and threats to royal power are also plausible, corroborated by some extended variants of the title referring to areas in Egypt or foreign peoples. The number of military leaders (who would be best suited to a defensive role) holding this title is small, however: most examples are from individuals bearing administrative titles.<sup>134</sup> The idea of listening ears is particularly pertinent, since it relates to the idea that a cross-legged scribe is a good listener, ready to write what is told to him. The title may suggest that he held an intermediary position in the court and administration, which then transferred into the divine sphere: those who trusted him to relate their problems and requests to the King then trusted him to do so to the god. For an alternative

<sup>131</sup> Also written as *imy-r ih.w* (Gardiner 1947: 27\*; Al-Ayedi 2006: 12-13) or *imy-r k3.w* (Jones 2000: I, 160), the latter alternatively being translated as ‘overseer of bulls’ (Ward 1982: 51).

<sup>132</sup> Eichler 2000: 78 (*jmj-r3 jhw n Jmn*).

<sup>133</sup> Al-Ayedi 2006: 172-175.

<sup>134</sup> Al-Ayedi 2006: 174-175, numbers 597 and 605 are the variants of the title held by the ‘commander of the troops’ Amenmose (Theban Tomb 42). It may be noteworthy that only in these variants, held by the same man, does the Retjnu (inhabitants of Syria and Palestine) feature. The other versions of the title are less specific, with the majority referring to the lands of Egypt, and only one version including the Nine Bows (Al-Ayedi 2006: 175, number 604).

interpretation, one might look to later periods where the phrase becomes quite common, especially ‘the two eyes of the King of Upper Egypt’.<sup>135</sup> This specific part of the designation is then usually followed by ‘in *Ipet-sut* (Karnak)’ which may indicate that, with the progression of time, the title ‘eyes of the king’ acquired associations with temple practice for Amun in Karnak, the bearer being a priest performing rituals on the king’s behalf (being the king’s eyes). If it can be understood in a similar fashion for the Eighteenth Dynasty, it may have implications for how we see this title as it relates to Amenhotep and his royally-bestowed roles. The title is only given once, but in a prominent position, being one of the first titles to be read on the front of the base of statue B (suggesting that Amenhotep considered it important, even if it was not an official designation), and its context supports the above view of acting on the king’s behalf, for Amenhotep goes on to state, ‘I have performed *ma<sup>c</sup>at* for the Lord of *ma<sup>c</sup>at*’; the upholding of *ma<sup>c</sup>at* was a prerogative and responsibility of the king (or here, someone acting in his stead). Hence, Amenhotep links himself to the king, Amun and religious function in a single phrase.

If there is a military element to the preceding pseudo-titular epithet, one might expect further indication of military responsibility. These are in fact very rare on the statues of Amenhotep (which inclines one to believe that some other function was indicated), there being only three phrases which hint at a military role: *hry hr-h3.t qny.w*, ‘chief at the head of the brave’,<sup>136</sup> *hry-tp mnfy.t wr.t*, ‘chief of the great infantry’,<sup>137</sup> and *hry-tp Šm<sup>c</sup>.w Mh.w*, ‘chief of Upper and Lower Egypt’,<sup>138</sup> though even the last may in actuality have administrative connotations. Each appears only once, and only the first with a little explanatory context of how, as ‘scribe of recruits’, he assigned people to certain battalions and placed these troops in

<sup>135</sup> For examples from the Twenty-Second and -Third Dynasties, see Jansen-Winkel 1985: 11, 26-27, 36, 47, 67, 89, 102, 120, 121, 185 (*ir.ty nsw*); 85 (*‘nh.wy bi.t*); 89, 114, 86 (*ir.ty nsw ‘nh.wy bi.t*).

<sup>136</sup> Faulkner 1953: 40; Schulman 1962: 104, 110 (both on the meaning of *qni*, ‘brave’).

<sup>137</sup> Fischer 1985: 24; Faulkner 1953: 40; Schulman 1962: 19-21, 94; Chevereau 1994: 42-44 (Amenhotep – source 5.04).

<sup>138</sup> Doxey 1998: 349 (*hry-tp [Šm<sup>c</sup>.w] T3-mhw*); Al-Ayedi 2006: 428.

order to monitor the borders and the Nile Delta and turn back foreigners.<sup>139</sup> A single sentence, ‘I was made chief at the head of the brave in order to smite the Nubians of Sehel’, follows, without elaboration. This would suggest that it was a single event, perhaps known to the people who read the text (at least those who were contemporaries). ‘Chief of the great infantry’ is the last in a list of several titles; that it is given alongside some of his more common titles implies that it was significant to him, but it may have been included to put forward the idea of a well-rounded individual holding positions of responsibility in various contexts: administration (for example, scribe and steward), religious and funerary rites (for example, leader of festivals and *sem*-priest) and the military. What is clear is that he certainly does not emphasise his military function as much as others. His role as ‘scribe of recruits’ was probably an administrative position that happened to be in the military sphere or possibly was not military at all in some cases.<sup>140</sup> Habachi in fact believed that Amenhotep held no military role at all, in contrast with Varille.<sup>141</sup> To judge from the description of the erection of colossal statues in statue E, text 13, his role of ‘scribe of recruits’ intersected with his role as ‘overseer of the works’, for he recruited the help of the army for this building project (otherwise a non-military event). To recruit and manage a workforce (and mediate between them and the king) was a large part of the latter role.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Statue E, Text 13, Lines 13-15.

<sup>140</sup> Schulman 1962: 103; Murnane 1991: 12. See also Chevereau 1994: 56-58, 216-222 (Amenhotep – sources 8.01, 31.06 and 31.27).

<sup>141</sup> Habachi 1974: 29; Varille 1968: 58 (and also Kákosy 1968: 112, where Amenhotep is called a soldier). Habachi’s opinion is one with which I agree, believing Amenhotep’s ‘military’ functions to have been administrative in nature, even ‘chief of the great infantry’: Amenhotep describes what at first reading is an active role as a soldier and military leader in order to demonstrate the effectiveness of his skills of organisation in this military context, not to suggest that he actually led troops into battle.

<sup>142</sup> Eichler 2000: 154.

Interaction with others: *wpw.ty*, *wḥm.w* and *r s:hrr n rhy.t*

*wpw.ty*, ‘messenger’,<sup>143</sup> is known at least as far back as the Old Kingdom. Though it appears only once, on statue C, it contributes to the image of a mediating role which C and D are trying to create. The description on the papyrus that Amenhotep acted as royal messenger for his King, bringing people to Karnak for the first *Sed*-festival, is surely an example of a situation in which Amenhotep was effective as a messenger for the King, in order to support his claims to be a ‘reporter’ of Amun given on the front of the statue. Even if it was only a temporary position for that event,<sup>144</sup> it was still a significant appointment considering the importance of the occasion, and if it was an honorific or symbolic title, diplomatic, heraldic and mediating connotations can be imagined nonetheless.<sup>145</sup>

Like *wpw.ty*, *wḥm.w* has its origins in the Old Kingdom or earlier and may have been symbolic or honorific.<sup>146</sup> Literally meaning ‘one who repeats’, it is generally rendered as ‘herald’ or ‘messenger’, or similar.<sup>147</sup> Varille in fact translates it as ‘intermediary’, which may suit the context,<sup>148</sup> but here a more literal rendering (‘reporter’) is preferred to avoid loading the text with meaning unnecessarily. On the other hand, Varille’s interpretation may be close to what Amenhotep was trying to achieve in calling himself the *wḥm.w* of the god, and it is possible that a connection to oracular function was intended.<sup>149</sup> Unlike on statue C, the

<sup>143</sup> Jones 2000: I, 379; Ward 1982: 85; Doxey 1998: 285; Al-Ayedi 2006: 229-234.

<sup>144</sup> See Valloggia 1976: 244-245 for the temporary nature of the *wpw.ty nsw*, for example in expeditions abroad, as well as its use to denote an ambassador or representative. Also Quirke 2004: 24.

<sup>145</sup> Valloggia (1976: 242) notes that one of the most common professional qualifications held by bearers of the title *wpw.ty nsw* in the Eighteenth Dynasty was ‘(royal) scribe’, suggesting that great wisdom and experience was a prerequisite for such an appointment.

<sup>146</sup> Jones 2000: I, 405; Ward 1982: 89-90; Doxey 1998: 288-289; Al-Ayedi 2006: 258-262.

<sup>147</sup> For instance: Gardiner 1957: 562 (‘herald’); Faulkner 1962: 67 (‘herald, reporter’); Erman and Grapow 1971: I, 344 (‘Sprecher’);

<sup>148</sup> Varille 1968: 31. Clère (1968: 143-144) links it with other ‘intermediary’ titles and phrases.

<sup>149</sup> Pinch 1993: 346. Morenz (1973: 103) notes the similarity in function of an intermediary like Amenhotep and oracles in the sphere of personal religion: people bringing their affairs to the temple and engaging in a specific procedure to relate those affairs to the god. He also points out that oracular sources such as Apis and Mnevis often employed similar phraseology as intermediaries (*wḥm.w*, ‘messenger’ and *s:ʿr*, ‘to let ascend’, ‘to present’). Otto (1938: 25-26) points out that the epithet of Apis, (*ʿnh*) *wḥm.w n Pth*, ‘(living) reporter of Ptah’ exists from the Eighteenth Dynasty.

occurrence of ‘reporter’ on statue D is not supported by an example on the papyrus, which instead describes his achievements as architect. However, it explains why those statues are in Karnak to start with: as a reward from the king, in part due to the successful construction works undertaken. The link is therefore drawn between the King placing Amenhotep’s image in the temple and being placed there ‘for hearing the words of supplication’.<sup>150</sup> In other words, Amenhotep is drawing attention to the royal patronage, implying a royally-bestowed right to act as reporter for the god.

‘Mouth which makes mankind content’ is another title (pseudo-titular epithet) which suggests the role of reporter or herald. It is non-existent or perhaps rare before the New Kingdom, and in fact this specific title is fairly unique.<sup>151</sup> Nevertheless it is likely to be similar in meaning to older and more common titles such as *r nsw*, ‘royal spokesman’ and *r P nb*, ‘mouth of every Pe-ite’, which is why here it is considered a title. This designation could indicate that he occupied a role in administration, diplomacy or even religious cults in which he acted as a representative and mediator in order to maintain *ma<sup>c</sup>at*, civility and peace, assuaging the worries of the populace (possibly in response to petitions). It is not necessarily an ‘official’ title, but an indicator that his roles in life required him to be such a person. Appearing once on both statues F and G, there may be significance for the cults and offerings (especially the offering-which-the-king-gives) of Mut and Khonsu, but this is unclear.<sup>152</sup> It may simply be that they were erected at similar times and thus included similar phrases, although their form and the structure of the texts do not immediately suggest that they were

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<sup>150</sup> Statue D, Text 12.

<sup>151</sup> Al-Ayedi (2006: 310-311, numbers 1045-1047) lists three similar titles, but none that exactly match that of Amenhotep son of Hapu: ‘spokesman who makes peace in the temple [sic] (*r.w-pr.w*)’ [one reference given], ‘spokesman who makes peace in the palace (*s3*)’ [one reference given] and ‘spokesman who makes peace in the whole land’ [ten references given]. The title is not given in Jones 2000, Ward 1982 or Fischer 1985, though ‘royal spokesman’ and ‘mouth of every Pe-ite’ (see main text) are in Jones 2000: I, 490-492, Ward 1982: 101 and also Doxey 1998: 331.

<sup>152</sup> Al-Ayedi (2006: 310) does provide a reference for the third title in note 151 above, where the statue was also dedicated in the Temple of Mut in Karnak during the time of Hatshepsut (Benson and Gurlay 1899: 315-317), but given that most of the other examples were discovered in tomb contexts, nothing conclusive can be taken from this.

part of a set. Either way, the title is certainly far from common but it would have contributed to the image of a reporter, spokesman and intermediary.

Relationship to the King: *t3w hw*, *mh-ib* and *smr*

As to be expected for any official wishing to affirm the quality of his character, Amenhotep places a great deal of emphasis on his relationship with the King; Doxey writes that during the Middle Kingdom devotion was fundamental to an individual's moral worth,<sup>153</sup> and plausibly little changed into the New Kingdom. Not only does Amenhotep attribute his success to the benefaction of Amenhotep III, but various titles imply a close connection to royal power.

'Fan-bearer' is known from the New Kingdom onwards, with the full writing 'fan-bearer to the right of the King' appearing in large numbers of elite monuments.<sup>154</sup> Gardiner draws attention to Theban tombs which show two fan-bearers beside the throne, suggesting that there was one to the right and one to the left, the latter not being represented in the known titles.<sup>155</sup> Even if not understood literally, it can be assumed that Amenhotep was part of the entourage of the King,<sup>156</sup> an attendant and councillor with direct access to the sovereign, and it is possible that he spoke on his sovereign's behalf as mediator in certain situations. It appears only four times, but is still worthy of note.

Similarly, *mh-ib*, literally 'one who fills the heart (of the King)', is often translated as 'confidant', or 'favourite', suggesting that this was an individual very close to the King: a

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<sup>153</sup> Doxey 1998: 80.

<sup>154</sup> Pomorska 1987: 99-226 (a detailed list of the bearers of the title); Al-Ayedi 2006: 633-639.

<sup>155</sup> Gardiner 1947: 23\*. Gardiner proposes that the omission of *hr wnm*, what is written on Amenhotep's statues as *hr imn*, 'to the right', could refer to a fan-bearer to the left, but this would mean Amenhotep acted as fan-bearer both to the right and the left during his career, unless he was just using an abbreviated form. It may be that 'to the right' is just idiomatic, meaning 'close to'.

<sup>156</sup> Pomorska 1987: 31 ('fan-bearer' as an honorific title from the reign of Amenhotep III); Kozloff and Bryan (1992: 45) point out the prestige of the title, in that it was an honour bestowed on the favoured few.

friend. Whilst it may not have had true responsibilities attached to it,<sup>157</sup> it is used as an indicator of a special, supporting relationship with the ruler as well as an expression of efficacy.<sup>158</sup> It appears, however, only 2 (1) times. Nonetheless, the concept of Amenhotep being a friend to the King is not confined to this designation, for those referring to him as *smr*, ‘friend’, appear six times, in two forms: *smr ʕ n mr.wt*, ‘friend great of love’ and *smr wʕ.ty*, ‘sole friend’.<sup>159</sup> Again this may not, at least by this point in time, have been associated with particular functions,<sup>160</sup> but is a device cementing Amenhotep’s reputation as an official with experience of interaction with his royal and semi-divine superiors. The addition ‘great of love’ may indicate that the bearer is especially beloved of the King or alternatively may refer to the great love and devotion that the individual displays for his King.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Though see Jones 2000: I, 446-449 for some Old Kingdom compound titles which imply certain responsibilities or domains in which this title was held.

<sup>158</sup> Doxey 1998: 144.

<sup>159</sup> Jones 2000: II, 891-895; Ward 1982: 151; Al-Ayedi 2006: 492-497; Doxey (1998: 164) believes ‘courtier’ might be a better rendering than ‘friend’ or ‘companion’. ‘Friend great of love’ does not appear in these indexes as a compound phrase, suggesting it may have just been a common combination of a titular designation with an epithet – an extended form, just as ‘true royal scribe, his beloved’ is an extended form of ‘royal scribe’ (see note 93).

<sup>160</sup> Helck 1954: 24-26.

<sup>161</sup> Gardiner 1947: 20\*.

### The epithets: themes and implications

The majority of the numerous epithets extant on the statues of Amenhotep appear only once, on statue E, which is unsurprising considering the (auto)biographical nature of the texts upon it. In fact, they constitute 89% of the total number of different epithets, so rather than considering how the number of times each is used is significant, the main themes are extracted, for all contribute to the construction of Amenhotep's character, working alongside the titles.<sup>162</sup> The only epithets to appear more than once are:

- *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*, 'true-of-voice' ('justified'), 31 (3) times), also accompanying the names of his parents.
- *m3<sup>c</sup>*, 'one who is true, 2 times.
- *wr ḥsw.t hr nsw/ḥm=f*, 'great of favour from the King/His Majesty', 2 times.
- '...*m m-<sup>c</sup> ḥsy.w*, '...among the favoured ones', 2 times (only an indirect epithet).

It is unsurprising that 'true-of-voice' should appear so frequently considering that Amenhotep is claiming the right to be in the Temple of Amun for eternity and therefore is attempting to attain the status of a justified spirit, one who has been judged worthy of a position in the sacred sphere.<sup>163</sup> 'One who is true' may be related in meaning.

Being favoured and receiving honours and promotions because of exemplary qualities is one theme identifiable from the epithets, especially if it distinguishes Amenhotep from his peers and stresses a close relationship to the King. This type forms the majority of the epithets and includes: *imy-ib tkn m nb=f*, 'the favourite who is near to his lord', *wr m ḥr=f*, 'great in his (the King's) sight', *pr ḥsw m stp-s3*, 'one who is issued with favours in the palace', *s:ḥnt*

<sup>162</sup> For general reference for the various epithets and their themes, see Doxey 1998. This may be focused on the Middle Kingdom, but offers a well-structured and accessible discussion (including full indexes), and the interpretation of many epithets can certainly also be applied to the New Kingdom.

<sup>163</sup> See the previous chapter on the use of 'true-of-voice' in the dating of monuments.



*ḥr mnḥw šhr.w=f*, ‘one who is promoted on account of the excellence of his counsels’, *wᶜ n bi.t mrr=f*, ‘unique one of the King of Lower Egypt, his beloved’ and so on. Several refer to him as *wᶜ*, ‘unique one’, another attempt to distinguish himself from other high officials. These may be fairly ordinary self-laudatory phrases, but the very number of statues set up (especially the number ‘given as a favour from the King’) corroborates their claims and suggests that to some extent there may be an element of truth in them.<sup>164</sup>

Another major impression the epithets supply is that of intelligence, patience and eloquence, some with particular reference to writing, including: *whᶜ-ib m md.t-ntr m šh-ib mdd šhr.w*, ‘one who is skilled in sacred words because of intelligence and the understanding of ideas’, *ir ḥpw s:mnḥ tp-rd=f*, ‘one who makes law and makes his regulations effective’, *ḥmy.n=f ib*, ‘he who is ingenious’, *gm ts sw m gm wš*, ‘one who finds the speech when it is found damaged’. These kinds of epithets suit a scribe.

As with his titles, there are very few epithets which may relate to military activity, such as *iw ḥr mdd rk(w)=f*, ‘a dog striking his enemy’, though there are elements of turning away bad things: *rwtj sw dg=f šd ḥrw*, ‘one who repels him who he sees reading with the voice’, and *bwt grg*, ‘one who detests falsehood’. He himself is supposedly known by the Two Lands for *iqrw bi3=f*, ‘excellence of his character’, and for being *hr iwn*, ‘pleasing of nature’. In other words, he refers to his country-wide renown for beneficent actions for the good of the King and for Egypt generally, as well as outstanding moral integrity.

Although none of these phrases are plainly to do with an intermediary function, what seems apparent is that the epithets chosen are mostly concerned with proving his relationship to the King and making him stand out from the rest of the officials in court, which are certainly not unusual themes for epithets. However, by stressing proximity to royalty, he legitimises his huge presence at Karnak and Thebes generally, including his mortuary temple.

<sup>164</sup> Habachi (1985: 161) suggests that the same might be true for Heqaib at Elephantine, partially explaining the great veneration he was accorded after death.

Such a relationship explains why so many of his statues were permitted by Amenhotep III. References to intelligence, patience and knowledge is also a common theme for elite epithets, but it lends further weight to his presentation as a well-educated, patient scribe waiting for people to approach with their petitions. His personal attributes are mostly to do with his high social standing and his intellectual achievements, rather than physical strength, bravery or wealth, for instance.

#### Comparative material: Mentuhotep and Senenmut

Amenhotep was not the only Egyptian official to have received permission to set up a great number of statues in Karnak. The Middle Kingdom treasurer and vizier Mentuhotep and the courtier of Hatshepsut, Senenmut, were both recipients of similar favour from their pharaohs. However, neither is remembered in the same way as Amenhotep, and some explanation may lie in their choice of texts, titles and epithets. A full like-for-like comparison of Amenhotep with Mentuhotep and Senenmut will not be undertaken here for reasons of length, but the general ideas put across in the statues of the latter two men will be identified.

Mentuhotep had eleven statues of himself at Karnak, many of which are scribal, and there are possibly more that were damaged, destroyed or usurped, even, perhaps, by Amenhotep.<sup>165</sup> His scribal statues therefore engage with the scribal tradition and the wisdom accorded to those respected men, to be discussed further in the following chapter. Unfortunately, most of the statues from Karnak are in a poor state of preservation, so in order to understand the designations he included on his monuments, his cenotaph stela from Abydos<sup>166</sup> has been consulted and must suffice in providing the general nature of his titles and

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<sup>165</sup> For the statues of Mentuhotep, see Mariette 1875: I, 43-44; II, pl.8; Legrain 1906: 22-23, 27-28; Porter and Moss 1972: 96, 109, 143; Romano *et al.* 1979: 26-29; Simpson 1991: 335-336. For the possibility of usurpation, see Schoske 1987: 16-17, 20; Simpson 1991: 336; Sourouzian 1991: 342 (in response to Schoske).

<sup>166</sup> Lange & Schäfer 1902b: 150-158.

epithets.<sup>167</sup> He is known as a vizier, a role which seems to have involved judicial authority.<sup>168</sup> This is likely to have included an element of mediation, but significantly his vizieral titles only appear twice, on the cenotaph stela and on a statue from Lisht.<sup>169</sup> They have not survived on the Karnak statues; even though these are fragmentary, one would expect that a title appearing many times would leave some trace. Whilst elements of judicial responsibility are hinted at elsewhere,<sup>170</sup> he did not include this most prestigious of titles, the most likely explanation being that the statues were created before he became vizier. Since, as has been suggested, he only acquired vizieral responsibilities and titles shortly before he died, he may not have had long to act in that role regardless of its importance to him.<sup>171</sup>

The most frequent titles which appear, aside from the usual ‘prince’ and ‘mayor’, pertain to the treasuries, granaries and practical administration of the lands belonging to the King and gods, such as *imy-r sd3w.ty(?)*, ‘overseer of the treasury’ and *imy-r pr.wy-ḥd imy-r pr.wy-ḥd nbw*, ‘overseer of the double treasury (of silver), overseer of the double treasury of gold’. The functions which were attached to these titles were probably fairly practical and organisational, and would not have required much mediation (unless he was required to negotiate or haggle for particular goods on behalf of another!). Despite frequently portraying himself as a scribe, the references to his scribal roles are more in the vein of epithets from biographical texts: ‘good of listening’ and ‘excellent of speech’. Some even suggest an element of secrecy, superiority and withdrawal from the public world: ‘guarded of speech’, ‘head of secrets in the House of Life’, and although Amenhotep also mentions the acquisition of restricted knowledge, his openness to interaction with others balances and even complements the secretive origins of some of his knowledge (the secret religious texts of

<sup>167</sup> Of course, the problems in comparison, it being a funerary monument rather than one present in a temple, cannot truly be overcome (the mortuary temple of Amenhotep has not been used to supplement the titles and epithets of his statues for a similar reason).

<sup>168</sup> Allen 2003: 15.

<sup>169</sup> Simpson 1991: 338.

<sup>170</sup> See, for example, Side 1, Line 3 of the cenotaph stela: *ḥry-tp wdꜥ-md.t*, ‘leader of judgement’, and Line 10: *sdm.w mꜥb3y.t*, ‘judge of the Hall of Thirty’.

<sup>171</sup> Allen 2003: 25.

which he speaks). The number of times a scribal title describes Mentuhotep is actually rather low,<sup>172</sup> so there is less reason to consider the epithets mentioned above to be linked to and to substantiate a scribal career than Amenhotep's epithets.

Senenmut had around twelve statues in Karnak (and many more besides).<sup>173</sup> Unlike Amenhotep, many of whose statues seem to have been created towards the end of his life, the statues of Senenmut are believed to have been erected at different times during his career.<sup>174</sup> He too places emphasis on his role in the supplies of the treasuries and granaries, his responsibilities as a 'steward' (*imy-r pr*) of Amun and sometimes of the King,<sup>175</sup> and being an architect. Several may also refer to his role in the coronation and jubilees of Hatshepsut but these references are likely to be related to her own ideology and legitimation rather than a wish to detail a situation involving the performance of intermediary functions. Many phrases are shared by the statues of Senenmut and Amenhotep, especially those concerned with his relationship to the King (for example, 'confidant' and 'sole friend') and to his peers (for example, 'without his equal', and *wr wr.w* 'great of great ones'), and in general they are more similar in tone than the texts of Mentuhotep, but this is likely caused by the use here of Mentuhotep's funerary monument (different contexts and different audiences), and by the different time period in which they were created.

Elements of Senenmut being a spokesman do come across, but not in quite the variety of ways seen on the statues of Amenhotep. On Chicago 173800, Hatshepsut is said to have made him *r hry n pr=f*, 'supreme mouth of his house',<sup>176</sup> elsewhere he is described as the

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<sup>172</sup> CG 42044, which is not a scribal statue, nonetheless describes him as 'prince and mayor, scribe, Mentuhotep' (note that he is not called a 'royal scribe'); the cenotaph stela (Side 1, Line 18) names him 'overseer of the documents (*sš*) of the King', which is presumably a similar role requiring scribal skills.

<sup>173</sup> See Porter and Moss 1972: 134, 144, 182, 262, 278-279, 280 (Meyer (1982: 35) provenances this at Sheikh abd el-Gurna instead), 286; Meyer 1982: 29-34, 36-37, 39-40, 44, 45(?); Dorman 1988: appendix 2; Keller 2005.

<sup>174</sup> Exactly when is a subject of debate, see Dorman 1988, especially pages 110-113.

<sup>175</sup> Dorman (1988: 1) points out that Senenmut's primary title is concerned with Amun, rather than with Hatshepsut as might be expected for one so close to this ruler. However, this does not change the fact that this position is administrative, dealing with supply, rather than implying direct engagement with the cult and the cult image as has been suggested for Amenhotep son of Hapu.

<sup>176</sup> On the garment, Line 5.

‘mouth of Nekhen’,<sup>177</sup> and then ‘leader of the festivals for gods’,<sup>178</sup> all of which could indicate a role as a spokesman or mediator. However, there are few situations detailed in which he could have fulfilled these roles, such as religious or royal festivals, and moreover all three phrases are only given once. Where he does call himself a ‘reporter’, it is in the context that he tells the words of the King to other courtiers (‘reporter of the speech of the King of Lower Egypt to the courtiers (*smr.w*)’), rather than situations in which he comes into contact with the lower classes. The only title with more substantial intermediary connotations is that of *imy-r ḥnwty*, ‘overseer of the audience chamber’, usually translated as ‘chamberlain’,<sup>179</sup> which appears four times.<sup>180</sup> It suggests that he was present as a mediator and a representative of the King, perhaps when those lower down the social scale came for advice or judicial enquiries, although its etymology may imply something more exclusive.<sup>181</sup> Interaction with the lower classes is indicated by the fairly common title *ḥry mr.w n Imn*, ‘chief of the serfs of Amun’ (appears 5 times on the Karnak statues<sup>182</sup>), but this is always in the context of the supplies of the storehouses and the upkeep of the fields. He was a controller and director, probably with little actual contact with his subordinates, rather than being approachable and open to receiving petitions.

Just as for Amenhotep, study cannot be confined to the texts alone, and the context and pose of the monument may be telling also. The scribal pose of Mentuhotep has already been noted; for Senenmut, the pose of his statues may add more weight to the suggestion that he was not aiming for posthumous recognition in the way Amenhotep was. Seven or eight of

<sup>177</sup> Cairo Museum, CG 579, Line 14.

<sup>178</sup> CG 579, Line 17.

<sup>179</sup> Al-Ayedi 2006: 23-24.

<sup>180</sup> British Museum, EA 174, Line 3 (on back pillar), and on the front and right of the stool; EA 1513, Line 8 (on front of garment); Cairo Museum CG 42116, on the left of the base.

<sup>181</sup> Gardiner (1947: 44\*) writes that it was a space where only courtiers were received, and that the second element is a compound, probably deriving from *ꜥ*, ‘area, region’ and *ḥnwty*, ‘inner’. In this case Amenhotep either acts as a representative of the King, or simply organises and monitors the gathered courtiers, tying in with the situation in which he describes himself as ‘reporter’. Quirke (2004: 27), on the Middle Kingdom use of the title, saw its responsibility over the delivery of supplies for the royal family.

<sup>182</sup> CG 579, Line 11 (on the top of the sistrum); Chicago 173800, Line 8; CG 42114, Line 4 (on the front of the statue); CG 42116 (on the left of the base); CG 42117 (on the top of the base, right).

the Karnak statues show him holding the princess Neferura, and he is therefore portrayed as her tutor and protector. He is interested in her welfare (and clearly valued the relationship<sup>183</sup>), which distances him somewhat from the people who may have otherwise chosen to come to him as a mediator. It is true that after the princess died, some of his statues show him holding a naos-sistrum emblem in front of him, a form known to have been used for intermediary statues in later times,<sup>184</sup> but it is clear from the texts that an intermediary function is not the aim. Pose, then, cannot be seen as an indicator of intermediary role in itself, but it can provide supporting evidence for or against the designation of a person as such.

Both Mentuhotep and Senenmut, important officials of their time, will have engaged with members of the lower classes and a certain amount of mediation therein might be expected, but these are not the roles that they are choosing to stress: both are keen to show that they are involved in the organisational activities of the treasuries and granaries. Appeal texts as they appear on statues C and D of Amenhotep are non-existent, instead being the typical funerary example, calling to passers-by to perform offering rites for their *ka*,<sup>185</sup> whereas Amenhotep asks for those people to conduct the same rites, but also to entrust him with their prayers. It seems that Mentuhotep and Senenmut did not intend for their image and their memory to be venerated in quite the same way as Amenhotep.

### Concluding remarks

It cannot be proven that Amenhotep made a very deliberate selection of particular titles and epithets in order to support his claims to being an intermediary between god and humans, but certainly many of them can be seen in this light. He emphasises in particular his

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<sup>183</sup> Roehrig 2005: 112.

<sup>184</sup> See Clère 1995 on such statues, mainly from the Ramesside period.

<sup>185</sup> For instance, Senenmut's statue CG 579, lines 21-22.

scribal functions and his relationship to the King, and many of his titles indicate some level of mediation performed during life which would legitimise the claims of statues C and D.

Of the other officials Mentuhotep and Senenmut, who both created large numbers of statues, neither was venerated in the same way as Amenhotep, despite certain elements of their statues showing similarities to those of Amenhotep, such as the scribal pose of Mentuhotep, or designations suggesting intermediary roles, such as Senenmut's title of 'chamberlain'. To a certain extent this may have been the way they portrayed themselves by their monuments, but it is likely that the context, both religious and political, had an effect. Visual evidence pre-New Kingdom is geared towards the King, as the embodiment of Horus, and his interactions with the gods, whereas the non-royal man is not seen to have this connection (even if they did in reality). As for Senenmut in the New Kingdom, the emphasis given by his statues is likely to have been affected by the political context of his time; not only was the ideology of Hatshepsut, and therefore her officials, geared towards her legitimisation and building programme, but Senenmut was in charge of her daughter Neferura, and therefore bore the responsibility of tutoring her and strengthening her own legitimacy (before she died), rather than interacting closely with people lower down the social scale. The religious and political climate is to be discussed more in the following chapter.

It is not claimed that the only reason for Amenhotep assuming the position of intermediary, and eventually deity, was the way he presented himself in his titles and epithets. Here the low rates of literacy, requiring methods of self-presentation other than texts, must again be acknowledged. However, in these designations can be seen a certain intention to portray himself in a particular way. This may well have been a true reflection of the positions he held and the qualities he demonstrated in life, but alternatively this emphasis may have resulted from his desire to be remembered as a wise, intelligent and patient man whose interactions with the King and the gods qualified him to attain intermediary status for the

benefit of the ordinary man. Simply by achieving this status, Amenhotep already assumed the position of semi-divine individual, but whether he really anticipated his ascension to full deity is unknown.



#### **CHAPTER FOUR:** **AMENHOTEP SON OF HAPU AND INTERMEDIARIES IN CONTEXT**

The purpose of this chapter is to supplement the contextualisation of Amenhotep as an intermediary already undertaken by Galán (2002) including the presence of statues in temples generally, the texts of Amenhotep in relation to funerary and legal or administrative texts, and the dead, kings and gods as intermediaries.

Amenhotep was not remembered because he put himself forward as an intermediary. That was just *how* he was remembered, and he himself saw it as a suitable context in which his name could be set in stone (literally and figuratively), so emphasised his achievements appropriately.<sup>186</sup> If he was only remembered on the strength of his claim to be an intermediary, then it would be worth asking why the memory of others with comparable claims was not similarly retained (similar questions were asked briefly of Mentuhotep and Senenmut above). Two other New Kingdom statues, one bearing the cartouche of Amenhotep III and another whose date is set with less certainty to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty, also profess to be the *whmw* of their god, willing to report petitions,<sup>187</sup> and another from the reign of Amenhotep III expresses similar claims, but states himself to be ‘one who shakes the sistrum’, instead of *whmw*.<sup>188</sup> If the only criterion necessary for remembrance and elevation to a great extent was willingness to act as mediator, then these three men, and others like them in later periods, would have been held in much the same esteem as Amenhotep. The number of monuments he left behind attests to other contributing factors. He indeed occupied an extremely high position in court, as shown by his titles and his biographical narrative, but there may also have been an element of luck: he lived at a time when attitudes towards

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<sup>186</sup> This is based upon the suggestions of the previous chapter – his self-presentation through titles and epithets.

<sup>187</sup> Respectively Cairo CG 901 and CG 627 (Borchardt 1930: 145 and 1925: 173-175), both headless, sistrophorous statues; Kees 1960: 140; Morenz 1973: 102.

<sup>188</sup> Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 242 (number 38, the scribe Neferrenpet). Being a sistrum-player has connotations of communication and message-giving, for the sistrum would bring forth the deity (in this case Hathor) for the receiving of offerings, prayers or indeed petitions (see Simmance 2012 on music in communication).

Egyptian religion were more receptive to the idea that a non-royal could be on a level with kings after death. The Memphite High Steward Amenhotep was also an official of Amenhotep III so therefore may also have benefited from the contemporary political and religious situation. On one of his statues the biographical text refers to the ‘House of Nebmaatre United-with-Ptah’, a temple of Amenhotep III perhaps set up as a counterpart to that at Kom el-Hettan.<sup>189</sup> Baines believed that the statue of this Amenhotep shows signs of wear that pointed to its veneration and use as intermediary (Baines does in fact imply that all statues of elite men set up in the New Kingdom could function as intermediaries, including Senenmut).<sup>190</sup> However, even if this is true, the issue remains why he was never deified. Perhaps he did not have Amenhotep son of Hapu’s luck or was not as assertive in court or bold in his claims to excellence.<sup>191</sup> This study will, for now, stay with Amenhotep son of Hapu, looking at some select contextual elements that may have contributed to his own elevated state.

### Scribes and the scribal tradition

From the titles preserved on his monuments, it seems that the positions Amenhotep felt most defined him were those connected to scribal functions. This was not a unique position, but it is noteworthy that it continued to define him when he was elevated to deity, as it did for his companion in deification Imhotep.<sup>192</sup> A scribe was educated, well-read and presumably well-spoken, but also excelled at writing and listening. Amenhotep had placed

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<sup>189</sup> Petrie, Wainwright and Gardiner 1913: 35 (pages 33-36 are the original publication of this statue, now in the Ashmolean Museum (1913.163)); Morkot 1990: 325-326.

<sup>190</sup> Baines 1991: 183-184 (see also his note 163).

<sup>191</sup> His rise is characterised by some as ‘extraordinary’ (Wildung 1977b: 83) or ‘meteoric’ (Murnane 1998: 218). To an extent this is a result of Amenhotep’s own portrayal of his speedy promotion from respectable unknown to high official; his reputation in Athribis must in fact have been significant, for he was not chosen at random.

<sup>192</sup> For one of many examples for Amenhotep named as a scribe in later periods, see the inscriptions on the statue (dated c.250 BC), in Wildung 1977a: 251-255. The Late Period bronze statuettes of Imhotep (Wildung 1977a: 47) often show him on a seat with an unrolled papyrus on his lap.

himself in a long tradition of scribes and sages renowned for their writings;<sup>193</sup> by his time, there were a great number of genres (teachings, poems, tales) covering countless texts, attributed to men renowned for their wisdom.<sup>194</sup> The oft-quoted Ramesside P. Chester Beatty IV (verso) demonstrates the high regard in which these men, and writing generally, were held:

Is there one like Hardjedef? Is there another like Imhotep? None of our kin is like Neferti, or Khety, the foremost among them. I give you the name of Ptahemdjehuty, of Khakheperreseneb. Is there another like Ptahhotep, or the equal of Kaires?...Death made their names forgotten but books made them remembered!<sup>195</sup>

Even if they were not actually responsible for the writings attributed to them,<sup>196</sup> the important considerations are that, firstly, they were ascribed these texts, and therefore the true author or the one who commissioned the text thought that the name was worth using, and secondly, that it was supposedly the strength of their writing that proved their worthiness for remembrance. True, this text would have been written by a scribe, someone with a vested interest in eulogising his profession, but nevertheless it is still significant that these names had survived in the record for so long. P. Chester Beatty IV implies that being an ordinary scribe is inferior to a scribe who *authors* texts;<sup>197</sup> Gardiner even suggests that the latter is “the nobler task”.<sup>198</sup>

We have no surviving evidence that Amenhotep composed texts, either through the surviving

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<sup>193</sup> Quirke (2004: 15) writes of his reluctance to translate as ‘scribe’ or ‘writer’ because of more modern connotations of those words, instead using an ‘equally coloured term “secretary”’ (in the sense of a political Secretary). While this implies a great difference between the roles of scribes like Amenhotep and of the great Egyptian literary writers, I would still argue that bearing the title ‘scribe’ would link that person to the literary figures of the past.

<sup>194</sup> See Parkinson 2002: 75-78 on the rank and role of Middle Kingdom authors, almost certainly different from the stated author. He believes that they occupied a middle ground in the social hierarchy (Parkinson 2002: 77), which gave them the benefit of viewing levels both above and below for informing their work.

<sup>195</sup> Lichtheim 1976: 177. For *editio princeps*, see Gardiner 1935 (this section of the *verso* pages 38-39).

<sup>196</sup> Associating texts with renowned figures from history was commonplace (Williams 1990: 20).

<sup>197</sup> This is quite unusual, for similar texts (P. Sallier II or P. Anastasi VII and P. Lansing – see Lichtheim 1973: 184-192; 1976: 168-175 for translations and references to other publications and commentaries) speak of the scribal professions relative to other professions, a structure which P. Chester Beatty IV does eventually revert to (Gardiner 1935: 41).

<sup>198</sup> Gardiner 1935: 40.

text itself or exhortations like the above. This does not mean that he never did, of course, but if not, this clearly did not affect the esteem in which he was held by others. His veneration can be attributed to his intellectual and moral qualities, demonstrated by epithets relating to his efficiency, dedication and intelligence,<sup>199</sup> and his association with scribes will have strengthened that image – the social status of a scribe was one which others envied and to which they aspired.<sup>200</sup> A scribe would have to work hard to succeed in learning, therefore earning the respect of their contemporaries by demonstrating intelligence and tenacity. A hard worker will do well; implied is that the unworthy or incapable will fail.<sup>201</sup> Aside from the social standing and prosperity that is demonstrated by the receipt of education itself, bearing such knowledge would allow access to a variety of positions with the administration, civil, military and religious alike.<sup>202</sup> Thus, although P. Chester Beatty IV is of a later period to Amenhotep, it seems reasonable to believe that the general ideas contained within it are representative of a long-held fascination for past traditions and of an enduring respect for authors and scribes, men who bore significant authority in life and were able to record compositions and information which could be used and copied for centuries afterwards.

Scribal statues also have a long history. Initially reserved for the tomb (one of many types of statues used to mediate between the deceased sealed within the tomb and the living passing by without, or to provide biographical information), the Middle Kingdom saw them appearing in a temple context<sup>203</sup> and the New Kingdom was perhaps the pinnacle of their stylistic development.<sup>204</sup> Though Scott makes a distinction between cross-legged statues (and others) bearing scribal equipment and those that do not, only calling the former proper ‘scribe

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<sup>199</sup> Wildung 1977a: 295-296; Coulon 2009: 73-74 (dealing with a potential miswriting on statue E – see Appendix One, note 303).

<sup>200</sup> Romano *et al.* 1979: 28; Perdue 2008: 20.

<sup>201</sup> Schneider 2008: 41-42, in discussing the Demotic ‘Book of Thoth’, (Jasnow and Zauzich 2005: especially, for example, pages 226-232).

<sup>202</sup> Kákosy (1968: 115), in studying the later cults of Amenhotep and Imhotep, suggests that they had importance in the funerary sphere as patrons of the dead, since wise men, or ‘sages’, were seen to have secret knowledge that would aid the passage through the underworld.

<sup>203</sup> Scott 1989: I, 426.

<sup>204</sup> Scott 1989: I, 271 and 426-428.

statues’,<sup>205</sup> similar ideas are conveyed even without this equipment (patient, good listener, and so on), so it seems that the various related statue types were accorded similar respect.<sup>206</sup> Choosing to use this style harked back to its ancient origins, acting as a tangible aspect of, and home for, the deceased and therefore fulfilling an intermediary role in a funerary context. More abstractly, the statue type had seen years of use and thus each was imbued with a shared knowledge of the centuries. It has been put forward that the New Kingdom saw a new development in the facial expression of the scribe statue, exemplified by statues C and D, resulting in a sense of ‘other-worldliness’: Amenhotep’s gaze is directed neither at someone standing in front of him nor at his papyrus,<sup>207</sup> the latter being fairly rare in any period.<sup>208</sup> He appears calm and contemplative. Whilst this may just be stylistic preference of the New Kingdom, there may also have been a conscious decision made to show him in this way, to show that physically he inhabited the earth but intellectually he was on a higher plane of existence. That this expression does not occur on later statues known from their texts to have held an intermediary function is more to do with their form (mostly block statues), which required the head to face forward or be angled slightly up – this ‘other-worldliness’ is best suited to a scribe, lost in thought. Scott does not explicitly indicate that other contemporary scribe statues share this feature, though it may be visible on Berlin 2294 of Khai<sup>209</sup>, on Louvre

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<sup>205</sup> Scott 1989: I, 417.

<sup>206</sup> It is also sometimes difficult to confirm what is intended by hieroglyphs on the kilt: is this meant to indicate a papyrus? See Leahy 2011: 200, whereby Somtutefnakht clutches the hem of his kilt, corresponding to Scott’s Pose F (Scott 1989: I, xvii), a pose Leahy here believes indicates the presence of a papyrus.

<sup>207</sup> Scott 1989: 290. This does assume that the eyes, which would presumably have been filled in in paint (which no longer survives due to the centuries of exposure to the sun, wind and human hands), were fixed on that spot not turned downwards. There is no precedent for this, but it would seem sensible not to have the face turned down away from the viewer, whereas the eyes themselves could be fixed on the papyrus. The original colours would alter our view of these statues considerably, after being accustomed to neutral stone colouring; the alertness of expression of the Fifth Dynasty seated scribe, Louvre E 3023 (Andreu, Rutschowskaya and Ziegler 1997: 62-63), is achieved in part by the rendering of his eyes in white and black stones.

<sup>208</sup> The head of a Fifth Dynasty statue of Ptahshepses, CG 83 (Borchardt 1911: 66-67, pl.19), very clearly bends to read, and is unusual for its time as a result.

<sup>209</sup> Vandier 1958b: pl. CXLIX, 1. This is also referenced in the discussion of the typical scribal pose of the New Kingdom (Vandier 1958a: 448).

E 1154 and E 1153 of Nebmeretuf,<sup>210</sup> and on the later (possibly Twentieth Dynasty), almost sad-looking CG 42162 of Ramesesnakhtu.<sup>211</sup>

### Deified individuals

Others before and after Amenhotep enjoyed elevation beyond the ordinary dead, though it is true that Amenhotep was one of the few to enjoy prolonged veneration, with royal patronage.<sup>212</sup> Most were worshipped on a local level: examples of this kind before Amenhotep are Heqaib at Elephantine<sup>213</sup> and Isi at Edfu,<sup>214</sup> and after Wedjarenes at Hu (Hut-sekhem).<sup>215</sup> The cult of Amenhotep himself seems not to have extended outside the Theban area, despite him becoming an official god of the pantheon. This is unlike Imhotep whose cult not only appears to have developed over a more significant period of time (even if the evidence up until the Ptolemaic period is fairly meagre) but also exists outside the area where he was based (Memphis and Heliopolis). Since deification of humans became widespread in later Egyptian history, especially during the Ptolemaic and Roman times,<sup>216</sup> the majority of deified individuals, be they localised or more widespread, existed after Amenhotep's time, although this does not discount the possibility of lack of evidence previously, which would not be surprising for divinities restricted geographically and temporally during a more ancient era. The zenith of the cults of Imhotep and Amenhotep nonetheless coincides with the increased evidence of deified individuals in those later periods, so it seems that there was a freer attitude towards deification (or its display) at that time. The practice did however precede Amenhotep

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<sup>210</sup> Vandier 1958b: pl. CL, 1-2; Andreu, Rutschowskaya and Ziegler 1997: 121-122.

<sup>211</sup> Legrain 1909: 29, pl. XXVI.

<sup>212</sup> Von Lieven 2010: 1-2.

<sup>213</sup> Habachi 1985; Franke 1994.

<sup>214</sup> Alliot 1938; Weill 1940.

<sup>215</sup> Collombert 1995. Wedjarenes is also unique as the only known woman to be deified aside from royals (Collombert 1995: 77).

<sup>216</sup> Von Lieven 2010: 2.

on a smaller scale, and it is likely that he was aware of these people and their cults, especially since he was quite widely travelled.

Imhotep, though there is scant evidence for his cult until the New Kingdom,<sup>217</sup> seems to have been continuously remembered in some form for his achievements and wisdom.<sup>218</sup> Although the location of his tomb is not certain, it is possibly at Saqqara near the Step Pyramid.<sup>219</sup> This would not only associate him with the great monument he himself in all likelihood created, but also would attach his funerary cult to that of the King. Amenhotep may have been modelling himself on this choice (and exploiting the advantage of having the support of the pharaoh) when he constructed his funerary temple amongst those of the New Kingdom pharaohs, notably behind that of Amenhotep III.<sup>220</sup> He shared many attributes with his forebear, as a scribe and architect, and both were similarly elevated within the royal court. These similarities may suggest that Amenhotep attempted to emulate Imhotep in order to achieve memorialisation in the same way (remembrance, veneration and special ritual attention). Although there is no evidence for Amenhotep explicitly linking himself to Imhotep during his lifetime, it is possible that his encouragement of this association was to influence the emergence of their joint cult.<sup>221</sup> They are seen together on the same, relatively small scale, and in similar poses but their own characteristic dress, at Karnak being worshipped by Ptolemy IX Soter II.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> For his name in the New Kingdom 'scribe's libation', which refers to a special rite accorded to Imhotep, see Gardiner 1902/3 and Wildung 1977a: 19-20.

<sup>218</sup> Wildung 1977b: 34.

<sup>219</sup> Wildung 1977a: 13-14 on the location of the tomb.

<sup>220</sup> Robichon and Varille 1936: 27.

<sup>221</sup> This early association may have also resulted in both becoming healing deities.

<sup>222</sup> Porter and Moss 1972: 104 (312) - here named as Ptolemy X; Wildung 1977: 211-214; Ritner 2011: 105 and Figure 6.7. The main recipient is Ptah, which may be significant for the positioning of Imhotep (venerated as 'son-of-Ptah') in a higher register than Amenhotep, closer to the offerings. It has been noted that from Ptolemy IV, Ptolemaic kings, including Ptolemy IX, regularly bore 'the chosen of Ptah' in their praenomen (Ritner 2011: 100) and that the Memphite god enjoyed particular reverence, lending further weight to the choice of god in this scene. Thus, Amenhotep is depicted here more due to close associations with Imhotep, rather than because the prominence of his local cult made him an essential part of Ptolemy IX's ideology.

The cult of Pepinakht Heqaib at Elephantine may bear some similarities with that of Amenhotep. Amenhotep would in all probability have passed through Elephantine on his way to Soleb, a journey presumably made when overseeing the construction of the temple of Amenhotep III,<sup>223</sup> but it is difficult to know if he was aware of the cult and sanctuary of Heqaib, as the sanctuary appears to have been buried during the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>224</sup> Nonetheless, for a cult which had existed for so long and had been such a part of religious life on the island<sup>225</sup> to leave no trace seems somewhat improbable, even if Heqaib was no longer actively worshipped by the time of the New Kingdom. His tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa appears to have been the origin of his cult,<sup>226</sup> and the area was probably still accessible.<sup>227</sup> Heqaib's cult appears to have started shortly after his death – something which cannot be proven for Imhotep – showing that an individual could be perceived as a deity when he was still in living memory.<sup>228</sup> This could apply to Amenhotep, especially since he started the process of such a cult himself by leaving his temple and statues. The earliest suggested evidence for Amenhotep being worshipped as a deity is in the Ramesside Theban Tomb 359 of Inherkhau, showing the tomb owner offering incense to two lines of kings and queens, with a scribal figure sitting at the back, named 'Huy' (see Fig.3), believed from iconographic similarities to other representations with more specific captions to be Amenhotep son of Hapu, although this evidence is contested.<sup>229</sup> If the problems with this identification (see note

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<sup>223</sup> Varille 1968: 61; Wildung 1977b: 88.

<sup>224</sup> Habachi 1985: 159.

<sup>225</sup> Franke 1994: 127-128, 145-146.

<sup>226</sup> Habachi 1981: 13-15.

<sup>227</sup> The area was used for a small number of burials in the New Kingdom and later (Edel 1984: 54).

<sup>228</sup> Habachi 1985: 160; Franke 1994: 118, 143.

<sup>229</sup> Porter and Moss (1960: 422 (4)) rather ambiguously note that the deceased censuses 'before two rows of seated kings, queens and princes, with Huy, painter, at end of lower row'. No more details of Huy's identity are given, nor clarity of his exact role in this scene – is he benefiting from the censuring or is he just present? See also Varille 1968: 104-111; Wildung 1977b: 89-90. The only title given above Huy is *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t*, 'prince', though it could be argued that there is space for *ss nsw*, 'royal scribe', lost over time. However, on the problems with assuming this is Amenhotep son of Hapu based on his nickname Huy and the title 'royal scribe', see Chapter Two, note 21. An alternative identity given to this figure is that it is Inherkhau's grandfather, an artist also named Huy, perhaps the one responsible for the decoration of the tomb (see the reconstruction and commentary of the tomb on Osirisnet.net (Benderitter 2012: 2)). On the other hand, Cherpion and Corteggiani (2010: 59-60) agree with what they call 'the unanimous belief of today' that this is Amenhotep son of Hapu, with reasons given.



229) are overlooked and this is agreed to be Amenhotep, then it seems that he was classed among these great figures of the past and himself deified. It may be that this scene represents an on-going veneration of Amenhotep which has its origins in the decades *before* this tomb was constructed, fairly soon after Amenhotep's death. He may have been aware that this honour had also been rapidly accorded to Heqaib in an earlier era, and this was what he was aiming for. Heqaib is a case where wisdom was not necessarily the guiding factor behind his deification. The focus of the texts in his tomb façade autobiography is on his military deeds in Nubia and along the Red Sea coast,<sup>230</sup> and since Elephantine is in the southern border region, a military deity is particularly relevant.<sup>231</sup> Even if Heqaib himself was not actively instrumental in the development of his cult, the very fact that a cult celebrating a renowned military figure arose shows that there was a need for that kind of deity in the area (although the monuments found in the sanctuary actually have little indication of military emphasis<sup>232</sup>). Parallels can be seen with the elevation of Amenhotep in that an intermediary, and later a relatable and personable deity, became *relevant* in the developing religious climate at Thebes and Egypt generally (see below). Another similarity of Amenhotep to Heqaib is that the latter is recorded as having lived for a long time, and is sometimes given the name *Tni*, 'the aged one'.<sup>233</sup> This would be an indication of divine favour and wisdom; though his experiences are mainly military, the initial section of his autobiography is of his actions as a caring and fair administrator. They are typical exhortations for an autobiography, but there may be elements of truth in it, considering his posthumous reputation. People respected him for his experience

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<sup>230</sup> Habachi 1985: 161.

<sup>231</sup> Schlott (1989: 234) wrote that the 'heroes' of the people were scribes and administrative officials, rather than military figures, despite the military age of the New Kingdom. Perhaps, therefore, Heqaib is an exception.

<sup>232</sup> Most of the inscriptions on the statues, stelae and offering tables are simple *hṯp-di-nsw* formulae and family names, and are dedicated to more than one Elephantine deity, offering little scope for emphasising Heqaib's military nature. He is occasionally called 'warrior' (Habachi 1985: 107-108). Only a minority of the monuments are dedicated by or represent military men (for example, see Habachi 1985: 59 (Amenemhet, *sš mšꜥ*, 'army scribe') and Habachi 1985: 75-76 (Senbebu, *imy-r mšꜥ*, 'general, military officer')). Most dedicatees are in administrative positions rather than military, but this does not preclude the dedication of smaller objects and offerings, which have not survived, by military men passing through the area.

<sup>233</sup> Habachi 1985: 161-162.

and thoughtfulness as well as his military exploits.<sup>234</sup> This probably made him an attractive deity to the military and non-military alike.

### Appeal texts

The appeal texts on statues C and D demand a little discussion.<sup>235</sup> The ‘appel aux vivants’ has its origins in the late Fourth to early Fifth Dynasty funerary context,<sup>236</sup> and although a specific study is yet to be undertaken on the New Kingdom appeal texts, it is clear that in the New Kingdom it was reinterpreted in cases such as these two statues (the focus is, at least nominally, on the benefit for the suppliant, rather than primarily for the individual depicted or the god).<sup>237</sup> It is possible this change was at least partly influenced by the transition of (scribal) statues from being placed in the tomb to being placed in temples.<sup>238</sup> This is not to say that its original function was lost: Amenhotep’s statue E contains an appeal text of the traditional sort, adding credence to the idea that it was originally in his tomb or mortuary temple (see Chapter Two).<sup>239</sup>

Of the three contemporary intermediaries (see notes 187 and 188), one hints at an appeal text (CG 627), the text on the right side of the sistrum the individual holds including ‘(who?) come to see the lady of heaven. I am the servant (*hm*) of Isis in Coptos’. The preceding lacuna may not necessarily have included an appeal, but this text acknowledges that people visited the sanctuary with the aim of communicating with the goddess. The few signs

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<sup>234</sup> Habachi 1985: 161.

<sup>235</sup> See Galán 2002: 222 on their links with funerary texts.

<sup>236</sup> Saint Fare Garnot 1938: 107.

<sup>237</sup> The overall grammatical structure of these New Kingdom appeal texts remains the same as it was - see Lanoit 2012: 253-259 for a discussion of the grammatical elements making up direct appeals in the Middle Kingdom, and also Lichtheim 1992: 155-190.


<sup>238</sup> Scott 1989: 206-207; Lichtheim (1992: 161-162) notes the change in the object of appeal texts to temple personnel in some Middle Kingdom texts, even for monuments associated with tombs.

<sup>239</sup> Statue E, Text 15. New Kingdom temple statues also bear these traditional texts. Lichtheim (1992: 172-180) provides a few New Kingdom examples of traditional appeals (calling to passers-by for some kind of offering ritual to be performed) from both tomb and temple contexts.

immediately after the lacuna and before the above extract are reminiscent of the *ʿnh.w tpy.w t3*, ‘those who live upon the earth’, a common feature of Middle Kingdom appeal texts.<sup>240</sup> This statue, probably later than Amenhotep,<sup>241</sup> may represent a continued use of the appeal text in an intermediary context after Amenhotep started the trend.

### Religious and political attitudes of the New Kingdom

The development of religion into the New Kingdom has been the focus of some debate, mainly how far ‘personal religion’ (religious beliefs and practices of the individual and their personal interaction with the gods thereof) was a product of the New Kingdom and whether the seeming lack of evidence before that period results from artistic conventions and ‘decorum’.<sup>242</sup> What is clear is that there *is* more evidence for closer relationships between individuals and the state gods,<sup>243</sup> as well as increased manifestation of religion in the home, ‘ancestor busts’ being an example.<sup>244</sup> Whilst those who were not the highest elite or royalty could depict themselves in the presence of the god in art, they still did not have direct access to cult images in temples and required someone or something to mediate. Even if this practice existed before the New Kingdom, it was only from then on that an individual could *explicitly* state that he was a mediator, and in this case, it appears that the first non-royal individual to do so was Amenhotep son of Hapu, and perhaps other officials under Amenhotep III. If he

<sup>240</sup> Lanoit 2012: 254. Borchardt (1925: 174) recorded these signs as  but the water-sign may have been miswritten or misread, *t3* being intended instead.

<sup>241</sup> As noted above, the dating of this statue is uncertain, given as Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty. This uncertainty suggests that shows stylistic traits seen in the later period, so if it is indeed Eighteenth Dynasty it is likely that it is from the latter half (therefore later than Amenhotep son of Hapu).

<sup>242</sup> See Luiselli 2008 for a succinct overview of the various schools of thought and how the phrase ‘personal religion’ has been variously contested and substituted; on decorum, see Baines 1991: 138, 179.

<sup>243</sup> Bickel 2002: 74-75.

<sup>244</sup> For example, see Friedman 1985; Exell 2008; Keith 2011. See also Ritner 2008 on general household religion. Of course we must bear in mind that the apparent increase in religious practices at home in the New Kingdom may be biased by dates of the best-surviving villages (Deir el-Medina and Tell el-Amarna, both New Kingdom or onwards).

was among the first, this might partly explain why he went on to enjoy further veneration and deification: in very prosaic terms, he was the original and the best.

A key element of intermediaries is listening. It has been argued that the New Kingdom authorities appear to be more concerned with listening to the affairs of the ordinary people,<sup>245</sup> corresponding to another phenomenon characteristic of the time: the ‘hearing ear’, evidenced by the existence of ear votives and ear stelae,<sup>246</sup> probably representing the god’s ears or ability to hear.<sup>247</sup> Together with eye votives and stelae,<sup>248</sup> these are symptomatic of new attitudes regarding deities’ awareness of prayers and how a suppliant was to guarantee their prayers be heard. Such an outlook is also reflected in the name of the shrine of Ramesses II at Karnak, ‘the Temple of Amun-Ra, Ramesses-who-hears-prayers’.<sup>249</sup> The introduction of explicit claims to be an intermediary represents another strand of these attitudes, in effect acting as the ‘hearing ear’ of the god. The inscriptions of intermediaries and ear-stelae use similar words, such as *spr.wt*, ‘petitions’, and *s:nmḥ*, ‘supplications’ or ‘suppliant’.

One might question why an intermediary statue of the type exemplified by Amenhotep was really necessary, when other options to be close to the god presented themselves: the King and his statues and reliefs and in particular contra-temples. The contra-temple at Karnak constructed by Tuthmosis III<sup>250</sup> would have been the closest anyone not a member of the priestly-classes could get to the divine image, which was kept on the interior of the wall at that point. The statues or reliefs within the contra-temple would act as intermediaries; the contra-temple itself, it has been pointed out, acted like a false door,<sup>251</sup> which shows that many of the ideas used for personal interaction with the gods derived from the interaction with the

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<sup>245</sup> Galán 2002: 223, judging from certain titles and epithets.

<sup>246</sup> Pinch 1993: 246-253; for some examples, see Morgan 2004: 70-126 and Martin 2005: 102-108.

<sup>247</sup> Pinch 1993: 250-251. Also Murray 1933: 143.

<sup>248</sup> Pinch 1993: 253-259.

<sup>249</sup> Sullivan 2010: 16.

<sup>250</sup> Sullivan 2010: 8. The ‘Temple of Amun-Ra, Ramesses-who-hears-prayers’ was constructed near to the contra-temple. Other small shrines and relief scenes may have acted in a similar fashion.

<sup>251</sup> Brand 2007: 61.

deceased.<sup>252</sup> Galán pointed out that at the tenth pylon, statues C and D were rather far from the god. Distance being an important factor in communication, he suggests that these statues were in fact intermediaries to the colossal statue by which they sat.<sup>253</sup> Though possible, if they sat there originally, the potential for Amenhotep's statues to mediate for the cult image should not be discounted. He was simply offering another means by which visitors could communicate with the god. Supplicants could very well pray or present offerings to more than one monument (statues, contra-temple and relief) to guarantee that their prayers be heard. Also, by sitting at a pylon, regardless of which one, Amenhotep was being discerning, setting himself up as one of the first things visitors would see upon entering the temple or an inner courtyard, and drawing their interest and veneration. The disadvantage of distance compared to the contra-temple would have been mitigated by the character of Amenhotep himself: being a relatively 'ordinary' person, a statue of him was much more relatable than an impersonal relief scene or the King, especially in the guise of scribe – someone who knew first-hand the needs of the people, but who also had a good relationship with the King and with the gods.<sup>254</sup> Wildung suggests that Amenhotep characterised himself as one who had achieved greatness through promotion, without becoming too far removed from his fellow men,<sup>255</sup> and this balance would increase the attraction of his statue as a focus for worship. He was also providing a balance between state religion and 'personal religion', which as Bickel points out

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<sup>252</sup> This includes, of course, the use of statues (scribal or otherwise) outside tombs.

<sup>253</sup> Galán 2002: 225. There is yet more confusion over the arrangement of the statues at the tenth pylon (see Chapter Two, including notes 65-67): Galán appears to believe that the scribal statues were at the base of the colossus of Amenhotep III described by a *iwn-mw.t=f*-priest represented on the base as 'the image of Amun-Re'. This statue was on the south façade of the pylon, therefore actually on a *different* side to the scribal statues (see Schwaller de Lubicz 1999: 710-712). The scribal statues were by a northern façade colossus, usurped by Ramesses II, of which the identity of the original owner of the north façade colossi is also disputed: Legrain (1914: 29) believes Horemheb and Varille (1968: 18, 26) thinks Amenhotep III. If indeed Horemheb, it is difficult to believe Amenhotep would have *intended* to mediate for the colossus of a later pharaoh – only Amenhotep III would be relevant as one under whom Amenhotep son of Hapu served and met success – so Galán's suggestion for the purpose of the scribal statues seems unlikely in this case (of course, his statues may have originally sat by the colossus of his own pharaoh).

<sup>254</sup> Schlott (1989: 234) suggests constant dealing with the people as 'scribe of recruits' and 'overseer of the works' lent him a conversational tone with the ordinary people.

<sup>255</sup> Wildung 1977a: 296.

are not opposites, but two strands of the same beliefs, operating at different levels.<sup>256</sup> An intermediary was a concept familiar to the people from the funerary and domestic spheres, here applied to a higher level of worship – the state gods.<sup>257</sup> This point in the New Kingdom oversaw the bringing together of these two facets of religion, implemented and encouraged by the elite.<sup>258</sup>

It is interesting to note that neither Imhotep nor Hekaib or other deified individuals claimed to be intermediaries, but are often assumed to have undertaken that role because of their deification,<sup>259</sup> and, in the case of Imhotep, because his later coupling with Amenhotep meant he shared some characteristics and functions of his Theban counterpart (and *vice versa*). This role is attributed to them, perhaps by the ancients, or at a later date by modern scholars who assume that there was some unstated mediation involved. This supposition is not unfounded or implausible, especially when it is considered how tomb statues, false doors and ‘ancestor busts’ could act as middle-men despite bearing no or very little inscription, for example. However, it seems that the ability to occupy that role openly was a New Kingdom innovation, its rise paralleled and probably caused by the similarly frank claims of pharaohs like Amenhotep III to be divine (during life),<sup>260</sup> claims thought to have first emerged after the first *Sed*-festival.<sup>261</sup> It has in fact been stated that since Amenhotep III rose from King to god during life, he was hierarchically one stage further away from his court, and from his subjects. Officials consequently rose in status (not in title) to fill that void, represented by the number

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<sup>256</sup> Bickel 2002: 66. The unconflicting relationship and coexistence of these two strands is highlighted in Velde 1982: 162.

<sup>257</sup> Letters to the dead, a phenomenon which is suggested in the Introduction to have involved mediation, show that this kind of consultation of higher powers using intermediaries was a long-standing practice (Wente 1990: 211-216 has many pre-New Kingdom examples dating as far back as the Sixth Dynasty), but only in the New Kingdom did it truly manifest itself in monumental form and within state temples.

<sup>258</sup> Bickel 2002: 66, 74, 82.

<sup>259</sup> Suggested, for example, by the broad statement of Wildung (1977b: 31) – ‘[“ordinary” humans of extraordinary powers] came to be considered as the ideal mediators between man and king and man and god’.

<sup>260</sup> Such claims have antecedents in the preceding reigns, such as increased solar ideology in the reign of Tuthmosis IV. In fact, the reign of Amenhotep III was the culmination of many features which exist during the reigns of his predecessors. See Bryan 1998.

<sup>261</sup> Johnson 1990: 37; Johnson 1996: 67-72; Kozloff 2012: 191.

of statues dedicated and increased personal property.<sup>262</sup> The increased evidence for personal interaction with the gods is likely also to be a factor: the statues of Amenhotep as an intermediary were in response to a growing need for opportunities for interaction with the gods. Put simply, he was reading the religious climate well and using this to his advantage.

Egyptian religion and politics were highly integrated, and the situation in which Amenhotep found himself was a positive factor in how he was viewed during life and after death. That the reign of Amenhotep III was affluent and successful, yet relatively peaceful, and that Amenhotep son of Hapu occupied a very privileged position within that system, meant that he benefited from elevated status from the off. It is difficult to know if he had built up a reputation in his early career, resulting in his summons to the royal court, or if he was opportunistic, asserting himself (only stressing that he was summoned by the King to justify his rise), but either way he became a major player in the King's court, and the prosperity of the reign allowed him ample opportunity to demonstrate his prowess in various situations, including the royal building programme. Without such a powerful patron in the King who himself revelled in his own prosperity, Amenhotep may not have achieved such fame, which in the centuries to come, eclipsed that of his sovereign.

The changes in religious iconography of the early New Kingdom and personal interaction with the gods therein contrast starkly with the ideology of the Amarna period. Akhenaten appears to have developed to an extreme the idea that the King was an intermediary between god and man. Perhaps Akhenaten felt he was making improvements, returning centralisation and coherence to the religious system which was moving too much towards the individual – a reaction to the growth in personal piety.<sup>263</sup> It also brought the focus

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<sup>262</sup> Kozloff 2012: 197; Hurry (1926: 34-35) wrote of this in terms of the introduction (or the expansion) of Imhotep's cult.

<sup>263</sup> Pers. comm. Dr M.A. Leahy; hinted at in Hornung 1999: 27-28, 55-56.

and power back to him, nullifying the evermore heightened position inherited by the elite which had been made available when Amenhotep III deified himself.<sup>264</sup>

Despite these changes, the need for an intermediary in some form was still recognised. It would also be naïve to think that the royal and elite images of the royal family being the only individuals in the presence of the sun-god were necessarily representative of actual practices countrywide and further down the social scale, especially since these new ideas were short-lived and mainly focused around Akhetaten (from current knowledge). Though other gods were nominally no longer part of the state religion, the Temple of Karnak was still there, for instance, and so were the statues within it.<sup>265</sup> Although the statues of Amenhotep were subject to the proscription of Amun's name, later restored, this was not consistent even on each individual statue.<sup>266</sup> It is impossible to know exactly when this removal occurred, but even if it was early in the reign of Akhenaten, it seems unlikely that the statues were abandoned during this period. The appeal texts on statues C and D, with roles that were officially within the remit of Akhenaten alone, were not removed, indicating that an individual claiming these functions was not considered contrary to the royal ideology (alternatively removing that much text required too much effort for justification!). This would seem a little puzzling if we are to believe that Akhenaten made himself sole intermediary in reaction to the increase in non-royal, individual interaction with the gods. Nevertheless, that a distinct contrast *can* be recognised between the growing, pre-Amarna, religious individuality (so-called 'personal religion') and the pharaoh-focused approach of the Amarna period shows that Amenhotep son of Hapu had lived his life in a time of freer religious attitudes; not only could spirituality be expressed through various media on a personal level but also, although the intervention of mediating individuals was still required for the non-elite to gain access to

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<sup>264</sup> Redford 1984: 164-165.

<sup>265</sup> Redford (1984: 153) writes that the once-thriving centres of Thebes and Memphis stood idle and temples were virtually shut down. It seems unlikely, however, that they were forgotten!

<sup>266</sup> Statue A is an example where not all the names of Amun had necessarily been chiselled away (Varille 1968: 6, note 1).



the state gods, these individuals were not restricted to royalty as it was in earlier times and under Akhenaten. The elite, including Amenhotep, had more power, which appears to have been encouraged to some extent by their kings, especially Amenhotep III.<sup>267</sup>

### Summary

Amenhotep son of Hapu may have been deliberately creating a particular image for himself. He was aware of the tradition of wise men, scribes and deified individuals, and wished to enhance his own reputation by emphasising similar attributes alongside his own successes and outstanding moral qualities. In setting up statues as intermediaries in the Temple of Amun at Karnak, he was developing already-existing ideas in the funerary and religious sphere to arrive at something new, a phenomenon which was made possible by the religious attitudes of the New Kingdom and its pharaohs, and in particular the political and religious agenda of Amenhotep III. He was responding to a more open need for ways to interact with the (state) gods, and in doing so ensured his own name was remembered for centuries.

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<sup>267</sup> Baines 1991: 183.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The life and life after death of an individual as distinguished and well-known as Amenhotep son of Hapu is a rich resource within the field of elite presentation and religion. This thesis has necessarily had to restrict itself to a relatively short period of time and has looked at the ways Amenhotep represented himself upon his statues, in the context of his role as intermediary between people and god. The application of ‘intermediary criteria’ – context, texts and form – to each statue suggests that the texts carry the most weight when identifying these statues as intermediary types, which explains why the texts of statues C and D, which bear telling words and phrases, are the most cited. The form of the statues contributes to the character portrait of the individual, especially when it is considered that most visitors to Karnak were illiterate, but since some statues are scribal like C and D but were probably *not* used as intermediaries it seems form is not the most important factor. Location is significant too, and probably was more so to the Egyptians themselves, but it has been shown that the original location of these monuments is not certain.

Whilst only statues C and D can be said definitively to have been treated as intermediaries – worn down papyri being physical evidence of their continued veneration – the large number of other statues erected in Karnak (statue I must be kept somewhat separate) was in part motivated by the desire to portray himself as a trustworthy messenger. His intention to present C and D as mediators would have been formulated when these statues were being planned and created, and it seems that this was at a similar time for most, if not all, of the statues. It is likely, therefore, that Amenhotep held the same attitude towards all of his monuments and their purpose – whether this was solely to support the claims of C and D or whether they had another additional function for memorialisation is unknown, but he must have realised the great impression of such a large corpus of statues. They would form a cohesive group *with* C and D (coupled with other great monuments attesting to his

exceptional qualities such as his own temple or the royal monuments whose constructions he oversaw), reaffirming and building upon his reputation.<sup>268</sup> Also, statues A, B and E-I may not have been meant primarily for an intermediary purpose, but that would not preclude their use as such – they were there if required.

The motivation to demonstrate his suitability for his chosen role at Karnak is illustrated to some extent by the themes running through his titles and epithets which were selected and emphasised: not only did he occupy positions of high authority during life in which he developed experience, wisdom and patience, but he was placed in situations in which he acted as mediator between people and king or people and god. Other individuals who placed large numbers of statues within the temple do not seem to have the same emphasis in their texts, which may explain in part why they were not remembered and venerated in the same way as Amenhotep. Future comparative studies of known intermediaries and deified individuals may corroborate these conclusions.<sup>269</sup>

Another significant point is that Amenhotep III endorsed these monuments and their function. The formula ‘given as a favour from the King’ and the high quality of workmanship may indicate that at least some of the statues were products of the royal workshops.<sup>270</sup> That a non-royal individual was able explicitly to take on a religious role that had been until then reserved for the King’s own ideology, and do so with the King’s approval, not only shows the power that Amenhotep held but also suggests that there was a change in attitudes towards religious practice. An awareness of the developing religious and political milieu of the times,

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<sup>268</sup> As a side note, for those that do not accept all the statues were created at a similar time with similar purposes, a compromise could be reached in that it was *only* the statues ‘given as a favour from the King’ (A-D and H) which were planned and created together. This would explain the different foci and textual forms of the other three Karnak statues – different forms intended for a different type of memorialisation.

<sup>269</sup> Clère (1968: 142, 146) suggests that one of the two individuals whose statues he studies was a ‘door-keeper’ during life, but that the other was not. Designating themselves as ‘door-keeper’ is, however, indicative that they wished to be remembered in that way and the title itself may have intermediary connotations (Clère 1968: 144).

<sup>270</sup> See Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 238 on the resemblance of private sculpture to that of the king, implying workshops that at least communicated with the royal workshops. This is, of course, only if there were separate royal and non-royal workshops – the contrary (private sculpture being produced in royal workshops, or at least workshops with royal endorsement) is a possibility, especially where such sculpture is said to have been permitted by the king.

as well as various aspects of culture and religion in the past, such as the respected scribal tradition and deified individuals, seems to have benefited Amenhotep in that he could fulfil a role that was becoming increasingly relevant and could justify his own worthiness to assume that role, setting a precedent for later individuals to lay claim to the same role.<sup>271</sup> He was responding to the need of the people for what is deemed *Gottesnähe* ('closeness to a god') in the New Kingdom,<sup>272</sup> but to do so he needed to prove that he was approachable, one with connections high up but nevertheless one of the people himself, a position termed *Volksnähe* ('closeness to the people').<sup>273</sup> In emphasising his scribal duties and situations in which he interacted with the people such as during festivals of Amun, his image was of a modest, wise and spiritual man (presumably this was fairly close to his actual personality, otherwise his credibility may have suffered). This was an image which was emulated by others such as Horemheb and Paramessu (Ramesses I),<sup>274</sup> and which lasted through to the Ptolemaic period when he shared his deification with fellow scribe and architect Imhotep. Amenhotep's self-presentation was, therefore, extremely successful, perhaps more so than he would ever have foreseen.

In the study of intermediaries, two perspectives are important: that of those who created the monuments and that of those who used them. This thesis has been more concerned with the first, but the views of those for whom the monuments were intended are important to consider nonetheless. In this respect, it is hoped that future research and comparison with similar phenomena in other cultures will elucidate the development of intermediaries and deified humans, and their relevance to the population of Egypt as a significant element of personal religion.

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<sup>271</sup> For instance, the bald Hathoric priests in Clère 1995.

<sup>272</sup> Assmann 1984: 14; Luiselli 2011: 10-11 (and references contained within).

<sup>273</sup> Schlott 1989: 234. Schlott regards this as an essential quality of ancient 'heroes' such as Amenhotep.

<sup>274</sup> Delvaux 1992: 52 (on the scribal statues as a representation of a great builder and an intercessor).

## **FIGURES**

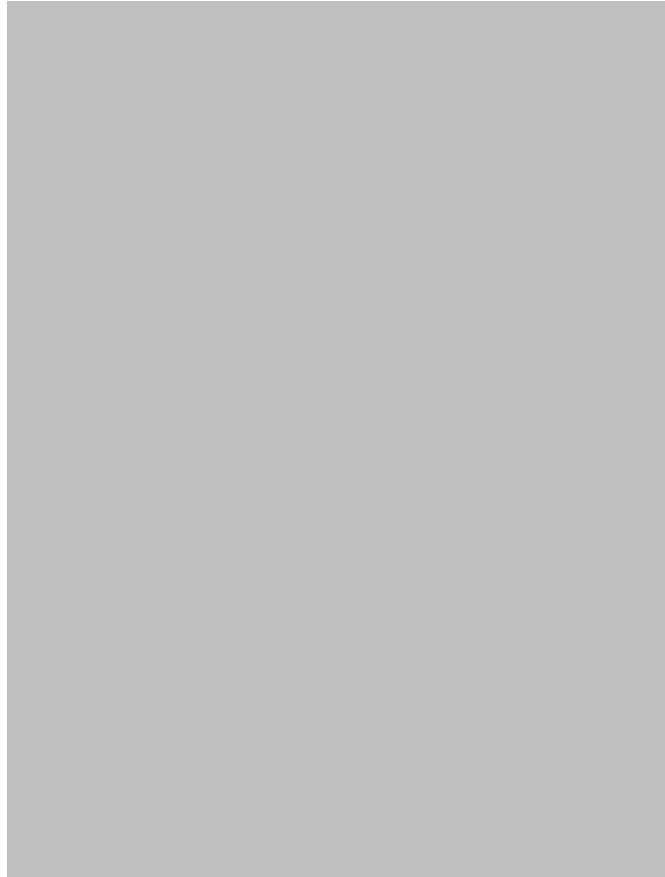


**Fig.1**

Main enclosure of the Temple of Karnak.

Detail from Schwaller de Lubicz 1991: 650.

[labels in red indicating the pylons and green indicating the approximate positions of the statues as they were found are my additions – statues B and H are in arbitrary positions as their original positions within the temple are unknown. The Temple of Mut is not shown, so only the general direction to the findspot of statue F is given].

**Fig.2**

The statues of Paramessu, later Ramesses I, left, and those of Amenhotep son of Hapu, right, as they were found at the tenth pylon, Temple of Amun, Karnak. Though they may not have been placed this way originally, clearly at some point in time the arrangement left the texts around the base of Amenhotep's statues difficult to access, perhaps indicating that the texts were either well-known, or were not considered important to his function and thus their being read (by human eyes, at least) was not required.

For this image and others of the tenth pylon at the time of their original publication, see Legrain 1914: plates I-III.

**Fig.3**

Detail from the scene on the south east wall of TT 359 (Inherkhau), which in full shows the tomb owner and his wife honouring and offering incense to royal figures of the past. The figure of the 'prince [and royal scribe?] Huy', kneeling on a pedestal with palette and pen raised, is thought by some to be Amenhotep son of Hapu being worshipped alongside these illustrious royals. This opinion is contested, but if true this scene is the earliest known example of the active veneration of Amenhotep.

After Lepsius 1900: plate 2 (d), reproduced in Cherpion and Corteggiani 2010: 19 (plate 30).

**APPENDIX ONE:**  
**TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF STATUES A-I**

Though the statues of Amenhotep have already been published and though in some cases (especially statues C and D) the texts have been reproduced many times, there has yet to be a modern synthesis of all the known statues and their texts with accompanying transliteration. The three main publications of the statues (Varille 1968, Habachi 1974, Collombert 2002) contain the transcription of the hieroglyphs and translations in French translations, and Collombert's is the only one to provide a transliteration, but then only of certain phrases. Here is produced, as far as is known, the first translation of all the thus far known contemporary statues of Amenhotep in English, and whilst I do not profess to be an expert, they are fit for the purpose of this study. When the reading proved more difficult to ascertain, the other publications have been consulted; this shall be indicated. It was, unfortunately, impractical to include the hieroglyphic transcriptions, especially since I have been unable to study the statues in person. The reader is directed to the above publications for these and for more images of the relevant statues.

A few points about translation:

Varille's translations flow rather poetically, but here they tend towards more literal renderings, as it avoids too much interpretation being forced upon the text from the outset. A reader can then use this in conjunction with the transliteration to decide what is intended by certain phrases. However, where the sense of text or the structure becomes more than a little unintelligible or inelegant, the translation has erred away from the literal meaning, and in some cases this is provided in square brackets.

The use of brackets is as follows:

- ( ) Transliteration: signs missing from the text, perhaps for abbreviation.  
Translation: words added for better sense, or to correspond to the above additions.
- [ ] Transliteration: lacunae and restorations therewith. Ellipses within [...] are for short and longer lacunae alike (reference to the hieroglyphic text would be required).  
Translation: as above, but also for literal renderings of certain phrases.
- { } Transliteration only: incorrect or additional sign used.
- < > An omission in the original, probably through error.



**Statue A, Text 1 (on the apron, in one row and ten columns; orientated outwards, reads right to left)**

- (1) *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> ḥtm-bi.t sš nsw sš nfr.w Imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw n Km-wr* (1) Prince and mayor, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, royal scribe, scribe of recruits, Amenhotep son of Hapu of *Kem-Wer*.<sup>275</sup>
- (2) *dd.f ii.n=i n=k r snm k3(.w)=k r wnn m r-pr=k Imn p3(w).ty t3.wy ntk nb n nty hr p.t* (2) He says: I have come to you to eat your food<sup>276</sup> and to exist in your temple, Amun, primeval god of the Two Lands. You are Lord of those who are under the sky,
- (3) *m ntr ḥnmm.t nty m p.t hr sw3š nfrw=k n wr=k [...] nb i3 nfrw=k sdm=k nis* (3) as god of mankind who is in heaven, (they are) paying homage to your perfection on account of your greatness [...]every[...] are adoring your perfection. May you listen to one who summons (you).
- (4) *ntk is R<sup>c</sup> nn hr-ḥw=f di=k wn=i m-m ḥsy.w iry.w m3<sup>c</sup>.t ink m3<sup>c</sup>* (4) You are indeed Re with none beside him. May you cause that I am among the favoured ones who perform *ma<sup>c</sup>at*.<sup>277</sup> I am one who is true.
- (5) *n rdi.n=i hr-gs n sm3 m ir(.w) bw-dw n rdi=i ḥnh hr qsn=f m nty r-ḥt=i hr k3.wt* (5) I have never acted with partiality [lit. on the side] and have never associated with one who performs evil. I have never given life<sup>278</sup> to he who is irksome when under my authority during the works.
- (6) *n nis s pw m tp-m3<sup>c</sup>=i mkḥ3=i r sdm dd=f n rdi ir.tw ḥ3w n ḥ<sup>c</sup>mw=i* (6) There is not a man summoned beside me whom I ignore when listening to his words, (but) without allowing verbosity to be practised. I do not confront
- (7) *ir(.w) r=i n rdi=i hr=i r sdm iwms r sdwy ky m iš.t=f iw qd=i mtr=f ir.yt* (7) one who acts against me. I do not pay attention [lit. place my face in order to listen] to falsehood in order to slander another with his possessions.<sup>279</sup> My reputation, it testifies to that which is done
- (8) *n=i iw.w m-b3ḥ hr nb in m33 wi nḥt=f mi-qd=i n wr ḥpr.wt n=i mtrw* (8) for me in the presence of everyone. The one who sees me, he wishes to be like me, because of the greatness of that which has happened to me, proof
- (9) *n m3<sup>c</sup>.t m i3wy ph=i rnp.t 80 wr ḥsw hr-nsw iw=i r km rnp.(w)t 110 n k3 n sš nsw sš* (9) of *ma<sup>c</sup>at* in old age. I have reached 80 years, great of favour from the King (and) I will complete 110 years. For the *ka* of the royal scribe, scribe of
- (10) *nfr.w smr 3 n mrw.t imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Hr w Hnty-ḥty nb Km-wr Imn-ḥtp* (10) recruits, friend great of love, overseer of prophets of Horus *Khentikhety*, Lord of *Kem-wer*, Amenhotep
- (11) *ir n s3b Ḥpw ms n nb.t-pr Itw n Km-wr m3<sup>c</sup>.t-ḥrw hr Wsir* (11) begat by the dignitary Hapu, born of the lady of the house Itu of *Kem-wer*, true-of-voice (fem.) before Osiris.

<sup>275</sup> Athribis.

<sup>276</sup> Possibly a reference to the practice of the reversion of offerings (see Petrie, Wainwright and Gardiner 1913: 36). However, *snm* could also mean supply, so there is a possibility that Amenhotep is offering his services to Amun as one who will bring in and receive offerings intended for the god, on his behalf.

<sup>277</sup> Varille's translation (1968: 6) is 'Voici que je suis parmi les favoris pratiquant la Justice', 'Here I am among the favourites practising Justice', implying the use of particle *mk* to start rather than the verb *di* as I have rendered here. It is true that the arm holds a cake, while elsewhere *di* is written with just the arm, though this is not a particularly strong argument, even for such finely-crafted, presumably well-planned statues. Gardiner (1957: 178-179, §234) acknowledges the use of *mk* in the sense of the French 'voici', but the example given involves the dependent pronoun. The wish 'may you cause that I am among the favoured ones', as I have read it, would seem better suited to the context: after all, Amenhotep son of Hapu was given permission to set up statues from the King, but the ultimate decision lay with Amun and he remains respectful of that power; he goes on to demonstrate his good qualities as evidence for his suitability.

<sup>278</sup> Presumably this is less sinister than it sounds, with the meaning that he has never helped or promoted troublesome individuals.

<sup>279</sup> Varille (1968: 5) says that the sky hieroglyph written is an error and the pool is intended.

**Statue A, Text 2 (around the base, a single line; reads right to left from the right edge of the facing side)**

[*di.w m ḥs*] *w.t n.t ḥr-nsw r ḥw.t-ntr n Imn m Ip.t-sw.t n r-p.t ḥ3.ty-ḥtm-bi.t smr w.ty t3.w ḥw ḥr imn.t n nsw imy-r k3.wt n nsw m mn.w=f wr.w inn.w m 3.t nb.t mnḥ.t imy-r pr n s3.t-nsw ḥm.t-nsw S3.t-Imn ḥnh=ti imy-r mnmn.t n Imn m Šm.w Mḥ.w imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Ḥrw Ḥnty-hty nb Km-wr sšm(.w) ḥb(.w) n <Imn> Imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw ms n nb.t-pr Itw [m3ḥ-rw]*

[Given as a fav]our from the King to the temple of Amun in *Ipet-sut* for the prince and mayor, the seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole friend, fan-bearer to the right of the King, overseer of the works of the King namely his great monuments which were brought in all valuable and precious stones, overseer of the estate of the King's daughter and King's wife Satamun, may she live, overseer of the cattle<sup>280</sup> of Amun in Upper and Lower Egypt, overseer of prophets of Horus *Khentikhety*, Lord of *Kem-wer*, leader of festivals of <Amun>,<sup>281</sup> Amenhotep, son of Hapu and born of the lady of the house Itu [true-of-voice].

**Statue B, Text 3 (on the unrolled papyrus, in fourteen columns; orientated inwards, reads right to left)**

- (1) *di.w m ḥsw(.t) n.t ḥr-nsw r ḥw.t-ntr*
- (2) *n Imn m Ip.t-sw.t n r-p.t ḥ3.ty-ḥ*
- (3) *ḥry-tp Šm.w Mḥ.w wr ḥsw.t ḥr ḥm=f sš nsw*
- (4) *sš nfr.w imy-r pr n s3.t-nsw wr Imn-ḥtp m3ḥ-rw*
- (5) *dd=f ii.n(=i) ḥr=k nb ntr.w Imn*
- (6) [*nb ns.wt*] *t3.wy ntk Rḥ ḥ m p.t*
- (7) *shd*
- (8) *t3*
- (9) *m nfrw 3ḥt ir=f pr*
- (10) *m nn.w ḥ m ḥbb.t ms*
- (11) *tnwy psd.t 3(.t)*
- (12) *wn rh d.t=f wtt sw*
- (13) *m ḥpr.w=f ds=f sš nsw*
- (14) *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Ḥrw nb Km-wr Imn-ḥtp m3ḥ-rw*

- (1) Given as a favour from the King to the temple
- (2) of Amun in *Ipet-sut* for the prince and mayor
- (3) chief of Upper and Lower Egypt, great of favour before His Majesty, royal scribe,
- (4) scribe of recruits, overseer of the estate of the great King's daughter, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.
- (5) He says: (I) have come before you, Lord of gods, Amun
- (6) [Lord of the thrones] of the Two Lands. You are Ra who appears in the sky,
- (7) illuminating
- (8) the land
- (9) with the perfection and gloriousness of his eye,<sup>282</sup> which goes out
- (10) in the primeval waters, appearing in the water, giving birth
- (11) to a number of the great ennead,
- (12) one who knows his body and begat himself,
- (13) as he who came into being of himself. Royal scribe,
- (14) overseer of prophets of Horus, Lord of *Kem-wer*, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.

<sup>280</sup> This could alternatively be transliterated as *k3.w* (Jones 2006: I, 260) or *ih.w* (Al-Ayedi 2006: 16).

<sup>281</sup> Varille (1968: 8, note 6) observes that the name of the god was damaged, one would assume during the Amarna period, and restored at a later date. See also Statue H, Text 1. It may be that the damage and subsequent restoration resulted in the missing name of Amun, or it may have been scribal error in the first instance, or perhaps a conscious effort to save space: the name of Amun can serve for both the god and the theophoric name.

<sup>282</sup> Varille (1968: 15) indicates, with twice-written (*sic*), that he thinks this writing is incorrect and as such I have followed the general meaning of his translation with regard to the 'eye' of the sun-god. Alternatively it may be 'the perfections of the deeds he has done', as a reference to beneficence.

**Statue B, Text 4 (around the base, a single line; reads right to left, from the middle of the facing side)**

*r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> ḥtm-bi.t mr nb t3.wy sš nsw  
t3.w ḥw Imn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw dd=f ii.n(=i) r m3  
nfrw=k nb ntr.w (I)tm nb W3s.t nsw t3.wy  
di=k w(i) m r-pr=k snm m k3(.w)=k  
sw3d=k rnp.wt=i wn=k w(i) m šms.w=k sn  
t3 m ḥw.t-ntr=k m hr.t-hrw mn(.t)*

Prince and mayor, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands, royal scribe, fan-bearer Amenhotep, true-of-voice. He says: (I) have come in order to see your perfection, Lord of the gods Atum, Lord of Thebes, King of the Two Lands. May you place me<sup>283</sup> in your temple, sharing in your food. May you make my years prosperous when I am in your following, kissing the ground in your temple, daily [lit. in the course of the day, daily].

**Statue B, Text 5 (around the base, a single line; reads left to right, from the middle of the facing side)**

*(r-p<sup>c</sup>.t) ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> ir.ty n nsw ḥnh.wy n bi.t sš  
nsw Imn-ḥtp [m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw] dd=f r-ntt ir.n=i  
m3<sup>c</sup>.t n nb m3<sup>c</sup>.t rh=k w(i) ḥ<sup>c</sup>=f im=s r tr nb  
di=k hnty=i tp t3 m ḥw.t=k šps.t d.t sp sn*

(Prince)<sup>284</sup> and mayor, the two eyes of the King of Upper Egypt, the two ears of the King of Lower Egypt, royal scribe, Amenhotep, [true-of-voice]. He says as follows: I have performed *ma<sup>c</sup>at* for the Lord of *ma<sup>c</sup>at*, (because) I know he rejoices over it at all times. May you place my statue upon the ground in your noble temple forever and ever.

**Statue B, Text 6 (on the top of the base, a single line in front of the figure; reads right to left)**

*ḥtp hr d3.w m hr.t-hrw m ḥb.w n Imn m  
Ip.t-sw.t n k3 n sš nsw Imn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

Enjoying provisions daily<sup>285</sup> at the festivals of Amun in *Ipet-sut*, for the *ka* of the royal scribe Amenhotep, true-of-voice.

**Statue C, Text 7 (two cartouches)**

On his right chest: *Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>*

Nebmaatre

On his right shoulder: *Imn-ḥtp ḥq3 W3s.t*

Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes

**Statue C, Text 8 (on the unrolled papyrus, in fifteen columns; orientated inwards, reads right to left)**

- (1) *di.w m ḥsw(.t) n.t hr-nsw r ḥw.t-ntr nt*
- (2) *Imn m Ip.t-sw.t n r-p<sup>c</sup>.t r ḥd n Gb*
- (3) *sš nsw sš nfr.w Imn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw s3 Ḥpw  
n Km-wr*
- (4) *dd=f iw ir.n=i wpw.ty nsw n ḥm=f m*
- (5) *in.t n=f rmt W3s.t wn m nd.wt m*

- (1) Given as a favour from the King to the temple of
- (2) Amun in *Ipet-sut* for the prince attached to the White Chapel of Geb,
- (3) royal scribe, scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, true-of-voice, son of Hapu of *Kem-wer*.
- (4) He says: I have acted as royal messenger of His Majesty namely
- (5) bringing to him the people of Thebes who exist as

<sup>283</sup> Cf. note 277: what was noted from Gardiner §234 could indeed apply here, giving the alternative '*mk wi m r-pr=k*' (Varille (1968: 16) translates 'Me voice dans ton temple'), but again the more deferential rendering is preferred.

<sup>284</sup> This is shared with the other line and is counted twice in the totals of titles (Chapter Three and Appendix Two).

<sup>285</sup> See Varille 1968: 3 for a brief discussion of this phrase and other examples of its use.

- (6) *pr nsw r ḥw st w<sup>c</sup>b r-nḥḥ n 'Imn nb ns.wt t3.wy* (6) the royal estate in order to make it pure forever for Amun, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands
- (7) *m ḥb-* (7) for the first
- (8) *sd tpy* (8) *Sed*-festival
- (9) *n ḥm=f* (9) of His Majesty.
- (10) *rdi.n w(i) nsw r snhy* (10) The King placed me to record
- (11) *pr 'Imn di=i w<sup>c</sup>b.w m* (11) the estate of Amun. I set up the wab-priests [lit. I put the wab-priests in the place]
- (12) *s.t [...] s3* (12) [...] behind(?)
- (13) *m t3(?) [...] [dhn].n w(i)* (13) on the ground(?) [...] The King [appointed]
- (14) *nsw r sšm(.w) ḥb(.w) n 'Imn m ḥb.w=f* (14) me as leader of festivals of Amun for all his
- (15) *nb.w mḥ.n=i '3b.t=f nb.t m ḥr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb* (15) festivals and I provided all his provision daily [lit. in the course of the day, of every day].

**Statue C, Text 9 (around the base, a single line; reads right to left from the right edge of the facing side)**

- n k3 n r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> sš nsw sš nfr.w 'Imn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw i rmt n.t Ip.t-sw.t 3bb.yw m33 'Imn mī.w n=i smi=i spr.wt=tn ink whm.w n ntr pn rdi.n wi Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> r whm dd.wt t3.wy ir.w n=i ḥtp-di-nsw nis.w ḥr rn=i m ḥr.t-hrw mī ir.wt n ḥsy* For the *ka* of the prince and mayor, royal scribe, scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, true-of-voice. Oh people of *Ipet-sut*, those who desire to see Amun, come to me. I will report your petitions (because) I am the reporter<sup>286</sup> of this god.<sup>287</sup> Nebmaatre caused me to repeat the words of the Two Lands. Perform for (me) the offering-which-the-king-gives. Summon my name daily like that which is done for a favoured one.

**Statue D, Text 10 (cartouches)**

- On his right chest: *Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>* Nebmaatre
- On his right shoulder: *'Imn-ḥtp ḥq3 W3s.t* Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes

**Statue D, Text 11 (on the unrolled papyrus, in fourteen columns; orientated inwards, reads right to left)**

- (1) *di.w m ḥsw(.t) n.t ḥr-nsw n r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> ḥtm-* (1) Given as a favour from the King for the prince and mayor, seal-
- (2) *bi.t smr w<sup>c</sup>(.ty) sš nsw sš nfr.w 'Imn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw dd=f* (2) bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole friend, royal scribe, scribe of recruits Amenhotep, true-of-voice. He says:
- (3) *iw rdi.n w(i) nsw r imy-r k3.wt m dw n* (3) The King placed me as overseer of the works in the mountain of
- (4) *bi3.t r ḥrp mn.w n it 'Imn m Ip.t-sw.t* (4) sandstone, in order to control the monuments of (his) father Amun in *Ipet-sut*
- (5) *iw in.n=i mn.w wr.w '3.w m* (5) I brought about very great monuments, namely

<sup>286</sup> Varille 1968: 31 translates *whm.w* as 'intermédiaire' (and the same for Statue D, Text 12). Whilst this interpretation may be correct based upon what we know of Amenhotep and upon the assumption that Amenhotep was attempting to stress an intermediary role, 'reporter' is preferred here as it is clearer and indeed more specific regarding the role indicated by the title: the transmission of messages. See Chapter Three, page 45.

<sup>287</sup> A similar construction is discussed, for example, on the Ramesside statue of Minmose - Clère 1968: 137.

- (6) *twt.w n ḥm=f m ḥmw.t rh.t*  
 (7) *hr pw*  
 (8) *m*  
 (9) *Ṛwnw Mḥ.w r Ṛwnw Šm<sup>c</sup>.w*  
 (10) *ḥtp=sn st=sn ḥr imn.t*  
 (11) [...] *i*  
 (12) *nb wi(?) [...] iw*  
 (13) *ir.n n=i nb=i sp n 3ḥ.t di.n=f*  
 (14) *twt=i m pr Ṛmn rh.n=f wn.n=f n dt*

- (6) the statues of His Majesty of skilled workmanship  
 (7) which were carried out<sup>288</sup>  
 (8) from  
 (9) Heliopolis of Lower Egypt to Heliopolis of Upper Egypt.<sup>289</sup>  
 (10) They rest (in) their place in the west  
 (11) [...]  
 (12) [...] My  
 (13) Lord performed for me a deed of benevolence: he placed  
 (14) my image in the house of Amun. He knew it would be there for eternity.

**Statue D, Text 12 (around the base, a single line; reads right to left from the right edge of the facing side)**

*n k3 n r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> sš nsw sš nfr.w Ṛmn-ḥtp  
 m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw i Šm<sup>c</sup>.w Mḥ.w ir.t nb.t m3.t itn  
 iw.w m-ḥd ḥnt r W3s.t r snmḥ n nb ntr.w  
 mi.w n=i smi=i dd(.w)=tn n Ṛmn m Ṛp.t-  
 sw.t ir.w n(=i) ḥtp-di-nsw qbḥ.w n=i m ntt  
 m <sup>c</sup>=tn ink whm.w n dd nsw n sdm md.wt  
 n.t <s>nmḥ r s:<sup>c</sup>r.t hr.wt idb.wy*

For the *ka* of the prince and mayor, royal scribe, scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, true-of-voice. Oh Upper and Lower Egypt, everyone [lit. every eye] who sees the sun-disk, those who come downstream and upstream to Thebes in order to make supplication to the Lord of the gods, come to me. I will report what you say to Amun in *Ipet-sut*. Perform for (me) the offering-which-the-king-gives. Present libations to me with that which is in your hand (because) I am the reporter whom the King has placed for hearing words of supplication<sup>290</sup> (and) in order to present<sup>291</sup> the affairs of the Two Banks.

**Statue E, Text 13 (on the robe, in seventeen horizontal lines; reads right to left):**

(1) [*ḥtp-di-nsw...Wsir...ḥry-ib*] *igr.t nsw-  
 bi.t ḥq3 d.t Pth-Skry nb Šty.t Inpw nb T3-  
 dsr psd.t n rsy.t mhy.t imn.ty i3b.ty im.w p.t  
 im.w t3 im.w dw3.t di=sn ḥ3 m t ḥnq.t <ḥ3  
 k3.w 3pd.w> ḥ3 m šs mnḥ.t ḥ3 m sntr mrḥ.t  
 ḥ3 m ḥtp.w <sup>c</sup>q.w ḥnq.w rnp.wt mi-qd ḥ.t nb.t  
 [nfr.t...w<sup>c</sup>f(?)] <sup>c</sup>.wy di=sn b<sup>c</sup>ḥ s:w<sup>c</sup>b=f*

(1) [Offering-which-the-king-gives...(to) Osiris<sup>292</sup>...who dwells in] the realm of the dead, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of eternity; to Ptah-Sokar, Lord of *Shetyt*,<sup>293</sup> to Anubis, Lord of *Ta-Djeser*;<sup>294</sup> to the ennead of the south, the north, the west and the east, who are in heaven, who are on earth, who are in the underworld, (so that) they may give thousands in bread and beer, [thousands in oxen and fowl],<sup>295</sup> thousands in alabaster and clothing, thousands in incense and oil, thousands in

<sup>288</sup> Varille's translation (1968: 27): 'qui ont été conduites'.

<sup>289</sup> Heliopolis and Thebes, respectively.

<sup>290</sup> See Varille 1968: 31, note 4: the s-bolt appears to have been missed from *s:nmḥ*. Pinch (1993: 344) has a different approach, however, believing it to read *nmḥ*, 'poor man', perhaps in the sense of 'humble' or 'commoner'. This is plausible and would support the idea that intermediaries were for those of lower status who had limited access to sacred areas. The initial part of the appeal, however, is more inclusive ('everyone').

<sup>291</sup> The verb *s:<sup>c</sup>r* could also be rendered 'to cause to ascend', in this case up to the god, to whom Amenhotep 'presents' the affairs of the people.

<sup>292</sup> Varille (1968: 38) also suggests the inclusion of 'to Amun'.

<sup>293</sup> Sanctuary of Sokar (Faulkner 1962: 273).

<sup>294</sup> 'The Sacred Land', in other words, the necropolis (Faulkner 1962: 293).

<sup>295</sup> There is no lacuna, but it appears that the 'oxen and fowl' part of the offering formula is missing. Varille (1968: 33) inserts (*sic*) after '*t ḥnq.t*', 'bread and beer', presumably for this reason.

*Dḥwty wdn=f n Wsir sš nsw m3<sup>c</sup> mr=f Imn-  
ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

(2) [...] *smd.t ḥb.w nb.w n.w p.t n.w t3 ḥb  
nb sšm.w m 3bdw m 3ḥ.t pr.t Dḥwty tp rnp.t  
r nfry.t snm ntr.w im=sn pr.t-ḥrw n 3ḥ.wt sš  
nsw Imn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw sm3=k ḥt m-m ir.w  
s<sup>c</sup>h=t m-tp ḥsy.w pr=k <sup>c</sup>q=k ib=k [...] n  
[i]it sm3 n=k šms.w Ḥrw s:w3d=k mdw n  
nb <sup>c</sup>nh b3 n p.t*

(3) [...] *iw=w ḥr m-<sup>c</sup> pw ir=k r=n ḥtp=sn  
ḥr šs m-ḥt=k win=sn tp t3 nn tw im=f ib=k  
n=k n wn=k tp t3 ḥ3.ty=k ḥr st=f n  
ḥpr.w=k ḥtp=k t ḥnq.t mi wn=k im.w ḥ.t ḥr  
šsp dd.wt n k3 n w<sup>c</sup> [n bi.t(?)...t3.wy] šhn.t  
ḥ3.ty m išt iry wstn*

(4) [...] *pr(?)=f ḥtp.n=f ns.t=f pr im <sup>c</sup>rf=f  
n=f ḥsy.w rwd sw m iy.wt rw.wt sdm md.wt  
n k3p št3 sr ḥmy.n=f ib ḥr i(w)n m3<sup>c</sup> ndw.t-r  
ir hpw n im.w <sup>c</sup>h s{y}šm(.w) [...] tm m-ḥt  
hn.t šny [...]*

(5) *r ḥ3y ḥr-gs <sup>c</sup>[...] md.wt s:hn.wt s.t=f dd  
m ḥr n smr.w nsw m md.wt pr.t m hnw <sup>c</sup>h  
ḥrr.w ḥr ir.t.n=f nb.t nn kt=f ḥr wny.w  
ir(.w) wd.w mi wdd.wt nn rdi.t pr.w ḥft hpw  
sš iqr n wn m3<sup>c</sup> tp-ḥsb n ḥ.t nb.t dd n ḥḥ.w  
ḥsb n ḥ3.w dmd n <sup>c</sup>r{f}=f ḥfn.w s<sup>c</sup>h špsy ti  
sw [ḥr] t3 [...]*

offerings, provisions, gifts, all vegetables, all [good] things [...bending(?)] the two arms (so that) they may cause the Inundation to purify and Thoth to offer<sup>296</sup> to the Osiris, the true royal scribe, his beloved, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.

(2) [...] the half-month festival and all festivals of heaven and earth, every festival which is lead in Abydos in the *akhet* season and the *peret* season, and the Thoth-festival, at the head of the year to the end, in which the gods consume invocation-offerings for *akhu*-spirits. Royal scribe Amenhotep, true-of-voice, you united the things among that which has been done, you being a dignitary at the head of the favoured ones. You go out and you enter, your heart [...] The following of Horus united for you. You caused the staff of the Lord of life to flourish and the *ba* of heaven

(3) [...] Why do you act against us?<sup>297</sup> They rest on the bier after you. They refuse (to be) on the earth if you are not in it. Your heart is of you like when you existed on earth. Your heart was in its place during your different ages.<sup>298</sup> You are satisfied by bread and beer like when you existed, that which is in (your) belly from the accepting of that which is given, for the *ka* of the sole [one of the King(?)...of the Two Lands,] one who advances the heart through whatever was done,<sup>299</sup> one who travels freely

(4) [...] his house. He has rested (upon) his throne, going out therefrom (in order that) he might enclose for him favours which increase because of the comings and goings and the hearing of words of the secret chamber (by) the nobleman, he who is ingenious [lit. skilful of heart], pleasing of nature, true of counsel which is made law by those who are in the palace, leader(?) [...] <sup>300</sup> mankind accompanying the foremost of the enclosure [...]

(5) to the outer parts(?) [...] the words which advanced his seat(?), which was placed upon the head [lit. face] of the royal friends because of the words which came from the interior of the palace, one who is pleasing on account of every action by him without pettiness against people, one who does what is commanded like it was ordered without causing (it) to go against the law, excellent<sup>301</sup> real scribe who is accurate in all things, one who gives millions, one who counts thousands and one whose pen totals hundreds of thousands, august dignitary when he was [upon] the

<sup>296</sup> Presumably these suffixed masculine pronouns are resumptive: '(so that) they may cause the Inundation, it purifies, and Thoth, he offers to the Osiris'.

<sup>297</sup> Here guided by Varille's translation (1968: 38). In the preceding lacuna, he inserts 'the living say to you: (?)', explaining the third person suffixes. This lacuna is large, so the full context to this odd question will remain unknown.

<sup>298</sup> See Faulkner 1962: 189, perhaps with the meaning that he has been good of heart throughout life and remains so after death. These parallel sentences use different words which are here both translated as 'heart'. This would suggest that they are intended to be distinguished in meaning, referring to his spiritual side or intellect, his desires, his conscience or less probably his physical heart.

<sup>299</sup> See Gardiner 1957: 407-408, §500 on the interrogative use of *išt*.

<sup>300</sup> Various individual signs and groups left untransliterated and untranslated.

<sup>301</sup> A confusion in writing resulted in the yodh of *iqr* being placed before the *sš*-sign.

(6) *hnn md.wt i[...] h3 shr.w n.w hd-ib  
rw.ty sw dg=f šd hrw sd.ty m3<sup>c</sup> nsw-bi.t mn  
hs.wt m stp-s3<sup>c</sup> nh wd3 snb w<sup>c</sup> n bi.t mrr=f  
wr wr.w s<sup>c</sup>h smr.w w<sup>c</sup> hr-hw=f n imy<sup>c</sup> h hrp  
i3.wt nb.t n nsw smr 3 n mr(w).t iry rd.wy n  
nb t3.wy r.tw=f m-m šny.t spd r hr tsw  
imy-ib [t]kn m nb=f*

(7) *w<sup>c</sup> mn<sup>c</sup>h iw.ty sn.w=f shn.t hr mn<sup>c</sup>hw  
shr.w=f s{t}nn nsw r mit.t=f rh t3.wy iqrw  
{t}bi3=f<sup>c</sup> q ib n nsw m3<sup>c</sup> mr=f shn.t s3=f  
mhw.t=f sš nsw Imn-htp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f ink  
špsy m3<sup>c</sup> m-q3b tm.w sdm-ib pw d<sup>c</sup>r=f sh  
hpp.wt mi nty ib hft={s} gm tsw ti sw m gm  
wš nb s3rw.t mh-ib ity ir(.t) 3h.t n Hrw=f  
s:mn<sup>c</sup>h mnw=f r rdi sh3=f mn r-nh<sup>c</sup>h m S.t-  
dsr*

(8) *s:ndm ib hrw n qsn.t htm-bi.t tkn h<sup>c</sup>w  
ntr pr hs.w m stp-s3 dd n=f nsy.w i3w n wr  
n 3h(.w)=f n nsw<sup>c</sup> q hrw hft-hrt{f} m k3.wt  
nb.t iw.ty rh s:phr hpr.wt dr sp tpy smhw  
ir.n=f st=sn 3h h3.ty d<sup>c</sup>r=f mn.w r s:w3h rn  
wr n nb=f dd tp-r ir m db<sup>c</sup>.w=f sšm(.w) n  
hnmm.t iw.ty hpr.w sfw m shr.w=f nn h3 3  
tp-m ir.t.n=f n wn.t hpr sp hsy m<sup>c</sup>=f*

(9) *ir.t n=f iw.ty hn 3 mn<sup>c</sup>h rh it.t m w3h-ib  
s:wrđ nh n Hrw=f twri hr rn=f s:w3š  
b3w=f snsy hm=f r tr nb ir hpw s:mn<sup>c</sup>h tp-*

earth [...]

(6) one who considers the words [...] one who turns away harmful counsels [lit. counsels of annoyance(?)], one who repels him who he sees reading with the voice, true (foster) child of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>302</sup> one who is firm of favours in the palace l.p.h, unique one of the King of Lower Egypt, his beloved, great of great ones, dignitary of the friends, unique one among those who are in the palace, controller of all the offices of the King, friend great of love, one who is at the two feet of the Lord of the Two Lands, he who is raised among the entourage, eloquent [lit. sharp of utterance] and patient(?) [lit. pleasing/peaceful of speech], the favourite who is near to his lord,

(7) unique one who is devoted without his equal, one who is promoted on account of the excellence of his counsels, one whom the King distinguishes from his peers, one of whom the Two Lands knows the excellence of his character, one who truly enters the heart of the King, his beloved, one whose wisdom has promoted his family, royal scribe Amenhotep, true-of-voice. He says: I am a true noble who is in the midst of everyone, one who understands [lit. listens to the heart]<sup>303</sup> when he circulates the council hall. Strange things are normal [lit. like that in the heart] (in) his presence, one who finds the speech when it is found damaged, lord of wisdom, confidant [lit. one who fills the heart] of the sovereign, one who does good for his Horus, one who strengthens his monuments to cause his memory to be firm forever in *Set-Djeser*,

(8) one who makes the heart happy on a day of misfortune, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt who is near to the body of the god,<sup>304</sup> one who is issued with favours in the palace, one to whom the kings give praise for the greatness of his deeds for the King, one who enters (during) the day, daily, into all works, one who is not able to overturn anything which has been done since the first time, not knowing what created them, one who is helpful of heart (when) he searches for monuments to cause the great name of his Lord to endure, one who speaks an utterance and acts with his fingers, leader of mankind who does not exist in confusion<sup>305</sup> concerning his plans. There is no 'would that' regarding what he has done. There does not occur a weak act in his way

(9) of acting. One who indeed does not command, one who is firm of opinion (but) who takes with patience, one who takes an oath for his Horus, one who shows respect for his name, one who pays honour to his power, one who

<sup>302</sup> Varille (1968: 39) appears to have missed 'nsw', his translation only referring to the 'roi du nord'. The (honorific) transposition of signs here is a little odd; an alternative reading is 'sd.ty nsw m3<sup>c</sup> bi.t', to be translated as two separate elements, but it may just be 'symmetry', surrounding the phrase with elements of the royal title (many thanks to Dr M.A. Leahy for these suggestions).

<sup>303</sup> See Coulon 2009: 71-74 for a different reading (*skm-ib*), but with similar connotations.

<sup>304</sup> In other words, the King, who is a god incarnate, a semi-divine being upon earth.

<sup>305</sup> Faulkner 1962: 224: 'does not exist in a muddle'.

*rd=f<sup>c</sup>h3.w sw hr hr.t=f nb.t s3q sw hr hr.wt  
tw.t.w=f gmh w3 hft k3.wt=f sš nsw sš nfr.w  
Imn-htp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ir n s3b Hpw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms  
n nb.t-pr Itw m3<sup>c</sup>.t-hrw pr=k r p.t d3=k bi3  
snsn=k*

(10) *m sb3.w ir.tw n=k hkn.w m wi3  
nis.tw=k m m<sup>c</sup>nd.t m3=k 3bdw sp=f hpr Dw  
hr hft sr.t.n=f dg=k in.t m hpr.w=s hr sšm  
sin.t m mw s:hnty s.t=k (m) mskt.t sk.n R<sup>c</sup>  
hfty.w=f m3=k Hrw hr nfry.t Dhwti M3<sup>c</sup>.t  
hr <sup>c</sup>.wy=f m3=k Itn wgb=f hr dw.w st.wt=f  
tk3 qrs=k hpr 3hw=f hr šnb.t=k*

(11) *ntry.ti 3h.ti spd.ti t3w.w n fnd=k k3 iw.t  
H<sup>c</sup>py s:iwh=f t3 di=f rnp.wt sqb=f šb.w  
df3.w rwd mty.w=k 3h 3h.t di=s 3h.wt m  
imny.t pr.t-hrw n 3h.w <sup>c</sup>nh ib=k n d.t  
s:mn.t.ti nn w3s šms=k ntr w<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>.w wstn.ti  
mi w<sup>c</sup> m šmsw=f sš nsw m3<sup>c</sup> mr=f Imn-htp  
m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f ink wr hry-tp wr.w wh<sup>c</sup>-ib m  
md.t-ntr m sh-ib mdd shr.w*

(12) *s:hn.t ity <sup>c</sup>nh wd3 snb k3=f hs.n wi ntr  
nfr nsw-bi.t Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> s3 smsw n Hr-3h.ty  
dhn.kwi r sš nsw hry-tp(=f) bs.kw(i) grt hr  
md3.t-ntr m3.n=i 3h.w Dhwti spd=i m-m  
št3.w=sn pg.n=i itn.w=sn nb.w ndnd.tw  
m-<sup>c</sup>=i fm sp(.w)=sn nb(.w) whm.n n=i*

worships His Majesty at all times, one who makes law and makes his regulations effective, one who fights him over all his property, but is wary of it over the possessions of his peers, one who looks (back) a long time ago regarding his works, royal scribe, scribe of recruits Amenhotep, true-of-voice, begat by the dignitary Hapu, true-of-voice, born to the lady of the house Itu, true-of-voice. You go up to heaven. You cross the mining-region. You associate

(10) with the stars. Praises are made for you in the Sacred Bark, and you are summoned to the day-bark. You see the *abdu*-fish (in) its deed. It happened that the Evil One fell in accordance with what it<sup>306</sup> had foretold. You see the *bulti*-fish in its form leading the boat in the water, advancing your seat (in) the night-bark when Re destroyed his enemies. You see Horus at the end and Thoth and Ma<sup>c</sup>at in his arms. You see the sun-disk when it rises over the mountains. Its rays illuminate<sup>307</sup> your tomb, its sunlight being upon your breast,

(11) it<sup>308</sup> being divine, beneficial and restored to order. The winds are upon your nose, and then the Nile comes. It inundates the land. It gives vegetables and it doubles the food-offerings and provisions. Your muscles are strong, the arable land is beneficent. It gives good things as daily offerings and invocation-offerings for the glorified.<sup>309</sup> Your heart lives for eternity, you being enduring without ruin.<sup>310</sup> You follow the god, one to one, travelling freely, like one of his following, true royal scribe, his beloved, Amenhotep, true-of-voice. He says: I am a great one at the head of the great ones, one who is skilled in sacred words<sup>311</sup> because of intelligence [lit. counsel of the heart] and the understanding of ideas,

(12) one whose fortune is advanced by the sovereign, l.p.h.. The good god, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatre, eldest son of Horakhty favoured me. I was appointed as royal scribe under (his) authority [lit. head]. I entered, moreover, into the sacred books. I saw the good deeds of Thoth. I was skilled in their secrets and I revealed all their mysteries. Advice was taken from me

<sup>306</sup> The *adju*-fish.

<sup>307</sup> The wrong determinative was used here, being a rush with single shoots (Gardiner Sign List M22) rather than the fire-brand (Gardiner Sign List Q7).

<sup>308</sup> Presumably referring to the 'breast', as the feminine stative endings agree with this noun.

<sup>309</sup> *3h* and its variants are used four times in close proximity here, in addition to having been used once at the start of Line 11. Though having different translations, it does indicate some mastery of the language, either by Amenhotep himself or another skilled scribe, perhaps an intentional play on words: the emphasis is placed upon glorification, beneficence and plenty, all desirable states of being, especially by one who enters a temple as Amenhotep does.

<sup>310</sup> In the transcription this is actually spelled *d<sup>c</sup>m* but is a miswriting (Faulkner 1962: 55, 320).

<sup>311</sup> *md.t* is here written with plural strokes, suggesting a plural or a collective: 'words' or 'speech'. *md.t-ntr*, literally 'god's words', is presumably a reference to hieroglyphs, thus the text demonstrates Amenhotep's proficiency in this respect. This interpretation is favoured by the *Wörterbuch* (Erman and Grapow 1971: II, 180-181), unless the expression is part of a longer phrase referring to documents in which these words are written. However, Faulkner's (1962: 122) suggested translation of 'sacred writings' could indeed imply religious, mythological, magical and secret, thus restricted, documents (not just words or the hieroglyphic script generally), which are further alluded to in Line 12.



*nb=i hs.wt nsw-bi.t Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup>f.n=f n=i ir.t nb(.t)*

(13) *shwy(.t) rdi.w (sn) hr s.t-hr=i m sš nsw hry-tp nfr.w ts.n=i d<sup>c</sup>m.w n.w nb=i hsb r=i tnw.t hh.w di=i s:rwd m s.t dn.wt=sn mdw i3w m s3-mr=f htri=i pr.w m tnw iry iwd.n=i is.wt pr.w=sn mh=i nd.t m tp.w h3q.wt hf.wt.n hm=f hr pri s:ip.n=i ts.wt=sn nb.t ts.n=i w3s.w*

(14) *di=i is.wt hr-tp w3.t r šn<sup>c</sup> h3s.tyw hr s.t=sn inh.w idb.wy m s3wy hr hns nmi.w-š<sup>c</sup>y ir.n=i m-mit.t hr-tp m3<sup>c</sup> r-h3.wt r<sup>c</sup>f hr ts.wt=i hrw-r is.wt r<sup>c</sup>pr nsw ink is sšm(.w) w3.wt=sn rhn=sn hr tp.t-r=i ir.n=i r hry hr-h3.t qny.w r hw.t Sty.w St.t shr.w nb=i m ib h3=i*

(15) *nmi=i inh wi r=f inq.w shr.w=f t3.w nb.w pd.t nb.t nty hr-gs(.wy)=fy ink is hsb{i} h3q.t n.t nht.w hm=f ti wi hr-h3.t=sn iry=i m dd.n=f mdd.n=i m dd.wt=f m hr (n)=i gm.n=i st m 3h.wt m nht hmti n=i nb=i hs.wt=i s3 R<sup>c</sup> Imn-htp hq3 W3s.t pw ntf di.w n=f nhh hb(.w)-sd=f nn hn.t(y)=fy di w(i) nb=i r imy-r k3.wt nb.t*

(16) *smn.n=i rn n nsw n d.t n sny.n=i r iry.wt dr-b3h qm3.n n=f dw bi3.t ntf is iw<sup>c</sup> (I)tm ir.n=i m mry.t ib=i hr hrp=i mi.ty=f m hw.t=f tn wr.t m 3.t nb.t rwd.t mi p.t nn swt ir.t(y).fy st dr rk grg t3.wy{.fy} hrp.n=i k3.wt n twt.w=f 3 n wsh q3(.t) r iwn=f hd.n nfrw=f bh.n.t 3w=f mh 40 m dw špsy n bi3.t*

regarding all their matters. My lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatre repeated favours for me. He combined for me everyone

(13) who were assembled, placing (them) under my supervision as royal scribe at the head of the recruits. I raised the troops of my lord. My pen counted a quantity of millions. I caused their families(?) to grow in the place and (caused) the staff-of-old-age to be the *sameref* [lit. the son whom he loves] and I taxed the estates with a census thereof. I separated the companies (from) their estates and I filled (them with) serfs from people who are captives whom His Majesty defeated upon battlefield. I assigned all their battalions and I raised those who had fallen.

(14) I placed the companies at the head of the road in order to turn back foreigners from their place, those who surround the Two Banks in order to keep an eye on the travelling of the Sand-Dwellers. I did likewise upon the bank of the river mouths, which were enclosed by my battalions as well as the royal fleet. I was indeed leader of their ways. They relied upon my utterances. I acted as chief at the head of the brave in order to smite the Nubians of Sehel. The counsels of my lord were as a shelter around me.

(15) I travelled and his speech surrounded me. His counsels gathered together all the lands and every foreigner who is at its two sides. It was me indeed who counted the plunder of the victories of His Majesty when I was at their head. I acted according to what he had said and I pressed on with the command he had given (to) me,<sup>312</sup> and I found it to be profitable and victorious. For a third time, my Lord gave to me my favours, he who is son of Ra, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, given to him an eternity of his *Sed*-festivals without its end. My Lord placed me as overseer of all the works.

(16) I made the name of the King endure for eternity. I did not imitate that which had been done formerly and created for him the mountain of sandstone. Indeed it is the heritage of Atum. I acted with the love of my heart in my controlling of his likeness in this his great temple, in every valuable and hard stone like heaven. It is something which has never been done since the time the Two Lands were founded.<sup>313</sup> I controlled the work of his statues, greater of width and height than his columns. Its beauty eclipsed the pylon and its height [lit. length] was 40 cubits in the noble mountain of sandstone

<sup>312</sup> Faulkner 1962: 174 (definition of *hr*).

<sup>313</sup> Varille (1968: 42) translates: 'Jamais certes personne n'aura fait et ne fera chose semblable depuis le temps de l'établissement des Deux Terres', indicating future as well as past tense. The use of the *sdm.ty=fy* would support this future tense, but conflicts with the following *dr*, 'since'. As such, the translation given here refers only to the past, but the implication is that this event is unique and will remain that way for eternity.

(17) *hr-gs.wy R<sup>c</sup> (I)tm hws.n=i hm.tiw shn.t*  
*n sw smn.w m hwt.t tn wr.t mn mī p.t mtr=i*  
*im=tn iy.w hr-s3=n mš3 tm.w m-qd w<sup>c</sup> hr*  
*st-hr=i ir=sn m ršwt ib=sn 3w hr nhm hr*  
*s:wš3 ntr nfr mni=sn r W3s.t m h<sup>c</sup>.wt mn.w*  
*h<sub>tp</sub> hr st=sn n m-h<sub>t</sub> nh<sub>h</sub>*

(17) at the two sides of Re and Atum. I constructed *khementiu*-boats<sup>314</sup> and travelled southward to it, (it being) established in this great temple, firm like heaven. It is my fame for you who come after us. The whole army, all together, were under my supervision. They acted with great joy of their hearts, shouting and applauding the good god. They moored at Thebes in joy, the monuments resting in their place forever [lit. for after eternity].

**Statue E, Text 14 (on the back pillar, in ten columns; reads right to left)**

(1) [...]

(2) [...] *mr.yt s:mnh=i* [...] *m(?)=ht* [...]

(3) [...] *i(?)kf<sup>c</sup>=f hr p{t}ri ist sw mī Mnw*  
*rnp.t mdd iw sš.n=i* [...] *=f n d.t r.w-pr.w*  
 [...]

(4) [...] *ist wi m dd wrh šs3.kw(i) m*  
*hm.t=sn ib=i m iw rh s:hnt.kw(i) m<sup>c</sup> nb=i*  
*wr.kwi m hr=f iw ir.n(=i) mrr.wt rmt<sub>h</sub> hss*  
*ntr.w* [...]

(5) [...] *ir.w* *n=i h<sub>tp</sub>-di-nsw m<sup>c</sup>=tn r=f*  
*ir.n=i 3h.wt ir.w n=i ir.wt n=tn hr-ntt is ink*  
*iw<sup>c</sup>(w) grg niw.t=f dr tw3=s m s.t nb.t ir.n*  
*nb=i 3h.wt n ntr=i Hnty-h<sub>ty</sub>* [...]

(6) [...] *n nb[=i] mr=f rs(.y) š=f mh.ty*  
*s:thn m hrr(.w)t hr-tp m3<sup>c</sup>(.w)=sn ink*  
 [...] *=sn hrp st hr-ntt wi mt.t qd (n) niw.t=f*  
*ir.n=f pr ntr=i niw.t=i nfr.wy sw* [...]

(7) [...] *hr imny.t=f iw s:3.n nb=i niw.t=i*  
*wr.t h3.w=i m nb ht tp-t3=i iw qrs.n(=i)*  
*it=i m whm ir(w).n s3-mr=f sm3 n t3 {m}*  
*mw.t=i h<sub>tp</sub>* [...]

(8) [...] *s:hnt(?) nb=i hrt=i m rdi sm3.t=i t*  
*hnq.t hr-s3 n hb sdd.wt n=i m-<sup>c</sup>w hpr hr=k*  
*in nb idb.wy nn šw3 iry n=f mit.t iw*  
*ir.n.(tw) m3<sup>c</sup>.t* [...]

(1) [...]

(2) [...] that which is loved(?), I make effective(?) [...] after [...]

(3) [...] he makes requisition upon the battlefield. Indeed he is like Min of the year of distress [lit. year of striking]. I wrote his [...] for the serfs of the temples [...]

(4) [...] Indeed I was one who causes the anointing (since) I was skilled in their craft. My heart was one which knows. I was promoted by the hand of my Lord and I was great in his sight. (I) performed that which is beloved of the people and that which is favoured of the gods [...]

(5) [...] Perform] for me the offering-which-the-king-gives with the contents of your hand (because) I performed that which is good. Perform for me what is performed for you because indeed I am the heir who has established his town, driving away its poverty in every place. My Lord performed that which is good for my god Khentikhety [...]

(6) [...] My] Lord [created(?)] his southern lake and his northern lake, which were made dazzling with flowers upon their banks. I was their [...], controlling it, because I am one who is a precise builder of his town. He made the house of my god of my town. How beautiful it is [...]

(7) [...] with its daily offerings. My Lord made my great town great.<sup>315</sup> My kindred are Lord after my being upon the earth. (I) buried my father anew, acting as *sameref*, and interred [lit. united with the ground] my mother, who rests(?) [...]

(8) [...] My Lo[rd promoted(?)] my affairs namely causing that I unite the bread and beer after the festival. That which is recounted about me: ‘what happened to you by the Lord of the Two Banks? There is no poor man for whom the like has been done’. *Ma<sup>c</sup>at* has been performed

<sup>314</sup> Literally an ‘eight-boat’. The name is probably linked to the size of the boat or the number of oars. For references, see Jones 1988: 142-143 (definition given as ‘a kind of boat’).

<sup>315</sup> In this section Amenhotep lauds his king’s beneficence towards Athribis. Whilst this urban development is certainly not unique to Athribis – mentioned here only because of Amenhotep’s personal connection – and whilst there may have been some element of reward for Amenhotep’s successful career in the Theban court, the nature of the god Horus Khentikhety in the New Kingdom may also be significant, in that he was becoming progressively linked with Heliopolitan solar iconography (Vernus 1978: 393-402). Being a Horus-deity (thus bearing intrinsic links with pharaonic ideology) and a solar deity, he in fact had parallels to the likewise imcreasing solar ideology of Amenhotep III himself, therefore providing the king with an even greater incentive to undertake a major building programme in Athribis.

(9) [...] *sš nsw m³<sup>c</sup> mr=f Imn-ḥtp m³<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*  
*dd=f ink m³<sup>c</sup> bwt grg dr isf.t* [...] *hnn.wt*  
*ink sb³ d[r] nwdw.t ʕq(3)* [...]

(10) [... *špss.w(?)*] *ir.n(=i) m³<sup>c</sup>.t nn mhy*  
*hr=s n tny iw.ty r wr hr.t* [...] *iw=i* [...] *r*  
*hr.t-ntr ni[w.t](?)=fn[hḥ]* [...]

[...]

(9) [...] true royal scribe, his beloved, Amenhotep, true-of-voice. He says: I am one who is true, one who detests falsehood, one who drives away wrongdoing, [one who repels(?)] that which causes turmoil. I am a surveying-tool who drives away fluctuation, and a straight line(?) [...]

(10) [... wealth...]. I performed *ma<sup>c</sup>at* without being forgetful of it and without distinguishing between that which has nothing and that which is great of possessions [...] I was [...] to the necropolis of his town forever [...]

**Statue E, Text 15 (around the base, a single line; reads right to left, from the middle of the facing side)**

[*r-p<sup>c</sup>.t Imn-ḥtp*] *p dd=f i s<sup>c</sup>h.w nsw hm.w-ntr*  
*w<sup>c</sup>b(.w) hry.w-ḥb sr.w ʕnh.w n.w [W3s.t(?)]*  
*s:w3.t=sn hr twt=i mry tn nsw n rk=tn ḥsy*  
*tn ntr.w nb.w niw.wt=tn dd=tn ḥtp-di-nsw*  
*h3 m t hnq.t* [...]

[The prince Amenhotep]<sup>316</sup> he says: Oh dignitaries of the King, prophets, *wab*-priests, lector priests, noblemen, people of [Thebes(?)]<sup>317</sup> they who pass before my statue. The King of your time will love you and the gods of your towns will favour you (if) you say an offering-which-the-king-gives of thousands in bread and beer [...]

**Statue E, Text 16 (around the base, a single line; reads left to right, from the middle of the facing side)**

[*(r-p<sup>c</sup>.t) Imn-ḥtp m³<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*] *dd=f ink hm 3ḥ.t*  
*[m(?)] ib iw.ty di=f sw hr-gs iw* [...] *m*  
*ib=f iw hr mdd rq(w)=f m3 n qnw* [...]

[(The prince) Amenhotep, true-of-voice]. He says: I am a servant of that which is good [in(?)] the heart, he who does not act with partiality [lit. place himself on the side] [...] in his heart, a dog striking his enemy, one who sees bravery(?)<sup>318</sup> [...]

**Statue F, Text 17 (on the robe, eight columns, one row and a further eight columns; reads right to left)**

- (1) [...]  
 (2) [...]  
 (3) [*ḥtp-d*] *i-nsw W3dy.t nb.t pr-wr*  
 (4) *ḥtp-di-nsw B3st.t hnt.t pr pn*  
 (5) *ḥtp-di-nsw Šsmt.t hr.t-ib Išrw*  
 (6) *di (n)=sn pr.t-ḥrw m r-pr=sn*  
 (7) *m ḥb.wt n.t imny.t*

- (1) [Offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Mut...]  
 (2) [Offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Sekhmet...]<sup>319</sup>  
 (3) [Offering-which-the-ki]ng-gives (to) Wadjyt, lady of *Per-wer*.  
 (4) Offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Bastet who is in front of this house.  
 (5) Offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Shesmetet who resides in *Isheru*.  
 (6) To them given invocation offerings in their  
 (7) temple, namely rituals [lit. festivals] of daily offerings

<sup>316</sup> Varille (1968: 49) here includes ‘justifié’, although he does not include this in the transcription, even within the square brackets as in Text 16 (despite indicating in his note 1 that the inscription was symmetrical). The transcription of Borchardt (1925: 139) in fact differs in that he reads remnants of the *m³<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw* in Varille’s Text 15, rather than the *ḥtp*-sign. For consistency, even if an error, Varille’s transcription is followed here.

<sup>317</sup> The insertion of ‘Thebes’ is after Varille 1968: 49.

<sup>318</sup> The following lacuna makes ‘*m3 n qnw*’ fairly difficult to understand, as the purpose of the ‘*n*’ is unclear without context. It may be a Late Egyptian feature, whereby some transitive verbs of Middle Egyptian started taking an indirect object (pers. comm. Dr M.A. Leahy).

<sup>319</sup> These two lines are restored by Varille (1968: 51-52).

- (8) *p3.t ir ḥss.t m ḥrt-hrw n r<sup>c</sup> nb* (8) of *pat*-loaves, doing what is favoured daily.
- (9) *[n k3 n r-p<sup>c</sup>].t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> ḥtm-bi.t smr w<sup>c</sup>(.ty) r s:hrr n rhy.t* (9) [for the *ka* of the prin]ce and mayor, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole friend, mouth which makes mankind content,
- (10) *[sš nsw] sš nfr.w Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (10) [royal scribe], scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.
- (11) *t3w ḥw ḥr imn.t n.t nsw Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (11) Fan-bearer to the right of the King, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.
- (12) *imy-r k3.wt nb.t n.t ns.w Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (12) Overseer of all the works of the King, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.
- (13) *sšm(.w) ḥb(.w) n Ḳmn Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (13) Leader of festivals of Amun, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.
- (14) *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Ḳrw nb Km-wr Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (14) Overseer of prophets of Horus Lord of *Kem-wer*, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.
- (15) *imy-r pr n s3.t-nsw wr.t Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (15) Overseer of the estate of the great King's daughter, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.
- (16) *sm n ḥw.t nbw Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (16) *Sem*-priest in the temple of gold, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.
- (17) *ḥry-tp mnfy.t wr.t Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (17) Chief of the great soldiery, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.

**Statue F, Text 18 (on the back pillar, in two columns; reads right to left)**

- (1) [...] *nb.t Ḳšrw psd.t n.t r-pr=s di(.tw)=sn šsp šb.w pr* (1) [Offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Mut],<sup>320</sup> Lady of *Isheru*, and the ennead of her temple. They are caused to receive food offerings which come forth
- (2) [...] *pr.t ḥr wdḥw n k3 n sš nsw sš nfr.w Ḳmn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (2) [...] a coming forth upon the table of offerings, for the *ka* of the royal scribe, scribe of recruits, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.

**Statue G, Text 19 (cartouches)**

- On his right chest: *Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>* Nebmaatre
- On his right shoulder: *Ḳmn-ḥtp ḥq3 W3s.t* Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes

**Statue G, Text 20 (on the pleated robe, one column; reads right to left)**

- prr.t nb.t ḥr wdḥw n Ḳnsw m [...]* A coming of everything upon the table of offerings of Khonsu in [Thebes for the *ka* of the royal scribe Amenhotep, true-of-voice.]<sup>321</sup>

**Statue G, Text 21 (on the back pillar, two columns; reads right to left)**

- (1) *ḥtp-di-nsw Ḳnsw [m W3s.t di=f ḥ<sup>c</sup>(w)] 3w m r-pr=f 3ḥ wsr ḥn<sup>c</sup> [...] ḥss.wt b<sup>c</sup>ḥ(.t) tp t3 m-ḥt wn-ḥr(=f)* (1) Offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Khonsu [in Thebes. He causes a long] lifetime in his temple and (causes) glory and strength together with [...] abundant favours upon the earth after (his) public appearance,
- (2) *n k3 n r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> r s:hr[r n rhy.t] [...]* (2) for the *ka* of the prince and mayor, mouth which makes [mankind content] [...] palace, confidant of the

<sup>320</sup> Restored by Varille (1968: 53), but with an ellipsis indicating that there may be space for further epithets.

<sup>321</sup> Restored by Varille (1968: 55).

*ḥ.t mḥ-ib n nsw m s:mnḥ.t mn.w [...]* King because of the effective establishment of the  
*sšm(.w) ḥb(.w) n Imn [Imn]-ḥtp m3ḥ-hrw* monuments [...], leader of festivals of Amun,  
 [Amen]hotep, true-of-voice.

**Statue G, Text 22 (on the top of the base, in several small, much damaged lines; reads right to left)**

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| (1) <i>r-p[ḥ.t ḥ3.ty-ḥ...]</i> | (1) Prin[ce and mayor...]                                       |
| (2) <i>htm-[ḥi.t...]</i>       | (2) Seal-bearer of [the King of Lower Egypt...]                 |
| (3) [...]                      | (3) [...royal scribe, Amenhotep, true-of-voice]. <sup>322</sup> |

**Statue H, Text 1 (on the unrolled papyrus, in thirteen columns; orientated inwards, reads right to left)**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>ḏi.w m ḥsw(.t) n.t ḥr-nsw r ḥw.t-ntr n Imn</i>                              | (1) Given as a favour from the King to the temple of Amun   |
| (2) <i>[m] Ip.t-sw.t n r-pḥ.t ḥ3.ty-ḥ wḥ n nb=f ḥnt t3.wy</i>                      | (2) [in] <i>Ipet-sut</i> , for the prince and mayor, unique one of his Lord who is in front of the Two Lands,             |
| (3) <i>smr ḥ3 n mrw.t imy-r ḥm.w-ntr (n) Ḥrw Hnty-ḥty sš nsw</i>                   | (3) friend great of love, overseer of prophets (of) Horus <i>Khentikhety</i> , royal scribe,                              |
| (4) <i>sš [nfr.w(?)] sšm(.w) ḥb.w n &lt;Imn&gt; Imn-ḥtp ḏḏ=f i{ḥḏ}-ḥr=k Imn-Rḥ</i> | (4) scribe [of recruits(?)], leader of the festivals of <Amun> Amenhotep. <sup>323</sup> He says: Hail to you Amun-Re     |
| (5) <i>Rḥ pw nb Ip.t-sw.t i{ḥḏ}-ḥr=k ntr ntr.w</i>                                 | (5) It is Re who is Lord of <i>Ipet-sut</i> . Hail to you, god of gods,   |
| (6) <i>shḥ(?) wr smsw imy-b3ḥ nb p.t nb t3</i>                                     | (6) great power(?), elder, <sup>324</sup> ancestor [lit. one who comes before], the Lord of heaven and the Lord of earth, |
| (7) <i>[nb(?)] ḥr.w ḥr.w</i>   | (7) [Lord(?)] of those who are below and those who are above.   |
| (8) [...]  | (8) [...]   |
| (9) [...] <i>pw ph n</i>   | (9) It is [...] who has reached   |
| (10) [...] <i>m wḏ n k3=k špss=k</i>   | (10) [...] according to the command of your <i>ka</i> , you who are noble   |
| (11) [...] <i>ḥr ir=i m3ḥ.t ḏi=k wn=i m-m</i>                                      | (11) [...] I practised <i>maḥat</i> . <sup>325</sup> May you cause that I be among  |
| (12) <i>ḥsy.w n.tyw m r-pr {nb} r-pḥ.t ḥ3.ty-ḥ</i>                                 | (12) the favoured ones who are in your temple. The prince and mayor,  |
| (13) <i>sš nsw m3ḥ mr=f t3w ḥw ḥr im[n.t n.t nsw(?)] Imn-ḥtp m3ḥ-hrw</i>           | (13) true royal scribe, his beloved, fan-bearer to the rig[ht of the King(?)], Amenhotep true-of-voice.                   |

<sup>322</sup> This restoration is my own. There are several small lines, but only a little text preserved. Other titles and epithets were probably included – it is impossible to know which he chose for such a limited area, but ‘royal scribe’ is one that can be safely guessed.

<sup>323</sup> His name is written erroneously with a double *ḥtp*-sign.

<sup>324</sup> Collombert (2002: 138) suggests this transliteration due to its presence in solar hymns, but the first upright sign is not certain.

<sup>325</sup> See Collombert 2002: 138 for a suggested restoration of the transliteration for lines 9-11.

**Statue H, Text 2 (on the left side of the base, a single fragmentary line; reads right to left)**

[...] *Imn(?)* [...] *w<sup>c</sup>b.w hry.w-ḥb it.w-ntr* [...] Amun(?) [...] *wab*-priests, lector-priests and god's fathers. Amun-Re will favour you [...] <sup>326</sup>  
*ḥsy tn Imn-R<sup>c</sup>* [...]

**Statue H, Text 3 (on the right side of the base, a single, extremely fragmentary line; reads left to right)**

[...] *r wn s* [...] [...] in order to be [...]

**Statue I, Text 1 (on the unrolled papyrus, in ten columns; orientated inwards, reads right to left)**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>ir.t s:3ḥ.w s:ḥtm sbi</i>                                     | (1) Performing glorifications, destroying the rebel, <sup>327</sup>         |
| (2) <i>šd.t dw3.w m hrt-hrw n Wsir prr.n=f</i>                       | (2) reciting praises daily for Osiris when he goes                          |
| (3) <i>r-ḥ3y ip sšr(w) r mḥ šnw.t</i>                                | (3) outside. Counting the corn in order to fill the granary                 |
| (4) <i>pr-ḥd r<sup>c</sup>f.n=f špss</i>                             | (4) and the treasury, he has added to the wealth                            |
| (5) <i>pr pn mḥ</i>  | (5) of this estate (by) filling   |
| (6) <i>hr n gs.wy(?)ḥw.t-ntr=f m</i>                                 | (6) up of both sides <sup>328</sup> of his temple with                      |
| (7) <i>ḥw df3.w ḥ3w-ḥr ḥt m-tp</i>                                   | (7) food, provisions and an abundance of offerings at the start of          |
| (8) <i>rnp{w}.t m ḥb(.w)t n.t imny.t</i>                             | (8) the year in rituals [lit. festivals] of daily offerings                 |
| (9) <i>in r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> mḥ-ib n nsw mrr=f</i> | (9) for(?) <sup>329</sup> the prince and mayor, confidant of the King, his  |
| (10) <i>sš nsw imy-r nfr.w Imn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw</i>            | (10) beloved, royal scribe, overseer of recruits, Amenhotep, true-of-voice. |

**Statue I, Text 2 (on the top of the base, a single line in front of the figure; reads right to left)**

*r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> imy-r k3.wt m ḥb-sd ntr.w sš* Prince and mayor, overseer of the works in the *Sed*-  
*nsw m3<sup>c</sup> mr=f Imn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* festival of the gods, true royal scribe, his beloved, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.

**Statue I, Text 3 (on the base, a single line on the facing edge; reads right to left)**

*r-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> sm n ḥw.t nbw sšm(.w) ntr m* Prince and mayor, *sem*-priest in the temple of gold, leader  
*d.t=f imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Hrw Hnty-ḥty sš* of the god in his body, <sup>330</sup> overseer of prophets of Horus  
*nsw m3<sup>c</sup> mr=f Imn-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* *Khentikhety*, true royal scribe, his beloved, Amenhotep, true-of-voice.

<sup>326</sup> This is potentially an appeal text, which would continue to request the performance of *ḥtp-di-nsw* offerings for Amenhotep's *ka*. This suggests a possible intermediary function. See Chapter Two, note 81 on statue E's potential intermediary role due to its appeal text.

<sup>327</sup> Habachi 1974: 27 translates this as 'rebels', though the plural is not indicated in the hieroglyphs. As a singular word, it may refer to a 'rebel' in the abstract, or to a specific enemy, perhaps Seth (pers.comm. Dr M.Bommas) especially given the mention of Osiris in the next line.

<sup>328</sup> What is actually written is *gs* but presumably the dual is meant.

<sup>329</sup> The use of *in* rather than *n* would suggest a translation of 'by' instead of 'for'. Habachi (1974: 27) chooses the latter, and it would seem the better fit in terms of sense and context.

<sup>330</sup> Alternative translation: 'one whom the god guides in his body' (see Chapter Three, note 128).

## **APPENDIX TWO:** **TABLES OF TITLES AND EPITHETS**

The first two tables (page numbers 97-99 and 100-103) constitute the titles extracted, first by title and then ordered by statue. The second two tables (page numbers 104-109 and 110-113) document the same treatment for epithets. For the titles, a location highlighted in red indicates an example where the title does not appear in direct conjunction with the name of Amenhotep son of Hapu, meaning it is not immediately juxtaposed with a name or in a list of titles preceding the name (in other words, appearing within the narrative of the text). Although this is not given further study in the main body of this thesis, the proximity of a title to the name, or the order in which a list of titles appear before the name, may indicate the relative importance given to them, or perhaps has some chronological value. This will require further investigation elsewhere.

The locations, and any brackets surrounding them, correspond to the translations given in Appendix One. As such, this includes cases in which the phrase has been restored in lacunae or is shared by two lines running in opposite directions (in the latter case the designation is counted twice, as that would have been the effect), and one instance where a title was written over the top of another (both counted).<sup>331</sup> Unrestored lacunae may of course have held other titular and descriptive phrases, or added to the numbers of those already attested.

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<sup>331</sup> Statue H, Text 1, Line 4, where it appears that *sšm(.w) ḥb.w n 'Imn*, 'leader of festivals of Amun', has been written over the original titles of *sš nfr.w*, 'scribe of recruits' (Collombert 2002: 138).

Table One: *listed by title*

Title (number of different titles: 40)	Translation	Location (Statue, Text, Line/additional lines)	Total (excl. statue I)	Total (incl. statue I)
<i>imy-r pr n s3.t-nsu [hmt.-nsu S3.t-Imn]</i>	overseer of the estate of the King's daughter [and King's wife Satamun]	A, 2; B, 3, 4; F, 17, 15	3	N/A
<i>imy-r mnmn.t n Imn m Sm<sup>c</sup>.w Mh.w</i>	overseer of the cattle of Amun in Upper and Lower Egypt	A, 2	1	N/A
<i>imy-r nfr.w</i>	overseer of recruits	I, 1, 10	N/A	1
<i>imy-r hm.w-ntr n Hrw [Hnty-hty]</i>	overseer of prophets of Horus [Khenikhety]	A, 1, 10; A, 2; B, 3, 14; F, 17, 14; H, 1, 3; I, 3	5	6
<i>imy-r k3.wt</i>	overseer of the works	A, 2; D, 11, 3; E, 13, 15; F, 17, 12; I, 2	4	5
<i>ir.ty n nsu rnh.wy n bi.t</i>	the two eyes of the King of Upper Egypt, the two ears of the King of Lower Egypt	B, 5	1	N/A
<i>wpw.ty nsu</i>	royal messenger	<b>C, 8, 4</b>	1	N/A
<i>whm.w</i>	reporter	<b>C, 9; D, 12</b>	2	N/A
<i>mh-ib</i>	confidant	<b>E, 13, 7; G, 21, 2; I, 1, 9</b>	2	3
<i>mt.t qd (n) niw.t=f</i>	precise builder of his town	<b>E, 14, 6</b>	1	N/A
<i>r s:hrr n rhy.t</i>	mouth which makes mankind content	F, 17, 9; G, 21, 2	2	N/A
<i>r-p<sup>c</sup>.t</i>	prince	A, 1, 1; A, 2; B, 3, 2; B, 4; (B, 5); C, 9; D, 11, 1; D, 12; [E, 15]; [[E, 16]]; [F, 17, 9]; G, 21, 2; G, 22, 1; H, 1, 2/12; I, 1, 9; I, 2; I, 3	15	18



<i>r-p̄.t r ḥd n Gb</i>	prince attached to the White Chapel of Geb	C, 8, 2	1	N/A
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ</i>	mayor	A, 1, 1; A, 2; B, 3, 2; B, 4; B, 5; C, 9; D, 11, 1; D, 12; F, 17, 9; G, 21, 2; [G, 22, 1]; H, 1, 2/12; I, 1, 9; I, 2; I, 3	12	15
<i>ḥry ḥr-ḥ3.t qny.w</i>	chief at the head of the brave	<b>E, 13, 14</b>	1	N/A
<i>ḥry-tp mnfy.t wr.t</i>	chief of the great infantry	F, 17, 17	1	N/A
<i>ḥry-tp Šmḥ.w Mḥ.w</i>	chief of Upper and Lower Egypt	B, 3, 3	1	N/A
<i>ḥrp i3.wt nb.t n nsw</i>	controller of all the offices of the King	<b>E, 13, 6</b>	1	N/A
<i>ḥtm-bi.t</i>	seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt	A, 1, 1; A, 2; B, 4; D, 11, 1-2; <b>E, 13, 8</b> ; F, 17, 9; [G, 22, 2]	7	N/A
<i>s3-mr=f</i>	sameref [lit. the son whom he loves]	<b>E, 14, 7</b>	1	N/A
<i>sḥ m-tp ḥsy.w</i>	dignitary at the head of the favoured ones	<b>E, 13, 2</b>	1	N/A
<i>sḥ smr.w</i>	dignitary of the friends	<b>E, 13, 6</b>	1	N/A
<i>sḥ špsy</i>	august dignitary	<b>E, 13, 5</b>	1	N/A
<i>sm n ḥw.t nbw</i>	sem-priest in the temple of gold	F, 17, 16; I, 3	1	2
<i>smr ʕ n mr.wt</i>	friend great of love	A, 1, 10; <b>E, 13, 6</b> ; H, 1, 3	3	N/A
<i>smr wḥ(.ty)</i>	sole friend	A, 2; D, 11, 2; F, 17, 9	3	N/A
<i>sr</i>	nobleman	<b>E, 13, 4</b>	1	N/A

<i>sš iqr n wn m3<sup>c</sup></i>	excellent real scribe	<b>E, 13, 5</b>	1	N/A
<i>sš nfr.w</i>	scribe of recruits	A, 1, 1/9-10; B, 3, 4; C, 8, 3; C, 9; D, 11, 2; D, 12; E, 13, 9; F, 17, 10; F, 18, 2; [H, 1, 4]	10	N/A
<i>sš nsw</i>	royal scribe	A, 1, 1/9; B, 3, 3/13; B, 4; B, 5; B, 6; C, 8, 3; C, 9; D, 11, 2; D, 12; E, 13, 2/7/9/12; [F, 17, 10]; F, 18, 2; [G, 20]; H, 1, 3; I, 1, 10	19	20
<i>sš nsw m3<sup>c</sup> mr=f</i>	true royal scribe, his beloved	E, 13, 1/11; E, 14, 9; H, 1, 13; I, 2; I, 3	3	5
<i>sš nsw hry-tp nfr.w</i>	royal scribe at the head of the recruits	<b>E, 13, 13</b>	1	N/A
<i>sšm(.w)... [s written with dual strokes]</i>	leader...	<b>E, 13, 4</b>	1	N/A
<i>sšm.w w3.wt=sn</i>	leader of their ways	<b>E, 13, 14</b>	1	N/A
<i>sšm(.w) ntr m d.t=f</i>	leader of the god in his body	I, 3	N/A	1
<i>sšm(.w) hb(.w) n Imn</i>	leader of festivals of Amun	A, 2; C, 8, 13-14; F, 17, 13; G, 21, 2; [H, 1, 4 (restored over the top of 'scribe of recruits')]	5	N/A
<i>sšm.w n hnmm.t</i>	leader of mankind	<b>E, 13, 8</b>	1	N/A
<i>sd.ty m3<sup>c</sup> nsw-bi.t</i>	true (foster) child of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt	<b>E, 13, 6</b>	1	N/A
<i>špsy m3<sup>c</sup> m-q3b tm.w</i>	a true noble who is in the midst of everyone	<b>E, 13, 7</b>	1	N/A
<i>ḫw ḫw [ḫr imn.t n nsw]</i>	fan-bearer [to the right of the King]	A, 2; B, 4; F, 17, 11; H, 1, 13	4	N/A

**Table Two: titles listed by statue**

Statue	Titles present	Location (Statue, Text, Line/Additional lines (if appropriate))
<b>A</b>  <b>Form:</b> Kneeling, hands flat on thighs <b>Material:</b> Grey/black granite <b>Height:</b> 1.42m <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, seventh pylon (north face) <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, CG 42127	overseer of the estate of the King's daughter and King's wife Satamun overseer of the cattle of Amun in Upper and Lower Egypt overseer of prophets of Horus <i>Khentikhety</i> overseer of the works prince mayor seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt friend, great of love sole friend scribe of recruits royal scribe leader of festivals of Amun fan-bearer to the right of the King	A, 2  A, 2  A, 1, 10; A, 2 A, 2 A, 1, 1; A, 2 A, 1, 1; A, 2 A, 1, 1; A, 2 A, 1, 10 A, 2 A, 1, 1/9-10 A, 1, 1/9 A, 2 A, 2
<b>B</b>  <b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus [Damaged: only legs and base remain] <b>Material:</b> Black granite <b>Height: (remaining):</b> 0.34m <b>Provenance:</b> Unknown. Karnak from the texts <b>Current Location:</b> British Museum, EA 103	overseer of the estate of the great King's daughter overseer of prophets of Horus the two eyes of the King of Upper Egypt, the two ears of the King of Lower Egypt prince mayor chief of Upper and Lower Egypt seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt scribe of recruits royal scribe fan-bearer	B, 3, 4  B, 3, 14 B, 5  B, 3, 2; B, 4; (B, 5) B, 3, 2; B, 4; B, 5 B, 3, 3 B, 4 B, 3, 4 B, 3, 3/13; B, 4; B, 5; B, 6 B, 4
<b>C</b>  <b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus <b>Material:</b> Black granite <b>Height:</b> 1.30m <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, tenth pylon (north face) <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, JE 44862	royal messenger reporter prince prince attached to the White Chapel of Geb mayor scribe of recruits royal scribe leader of festivals of Amun	<b>C, 8, 4</b> <b>C, 9</b> C, 9 C, 8, 2 C, 9 C, 8, 3; C, 9 C, 8, 3; C, 9 C, 8, 13-14

<p>= Luxor J4</p>		
<p><b>D</b></p> <p><b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus  <b>Material:</b> Black granite  <b>Height:</b> 1.30m  <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, tenth pylon (north face)  <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, JE 44861</p>	<p>overseer of the works  reporter  prince  mayor  seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt  sole friend  scribe of recruits  royal scribe</p>	<p>D, 11, 3  <b>D, 12</b>  D, 11, 1; D, 12  D, 11, 1; D, 12  D, 11, 1-2  D, 11, 2  D, 11, 2; D, 12  D, 11, 2; D, 12</p>
<p><b>E</b></p> <p><b>Form:</b> Block  <b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Height:</b> 1.00m  <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, third pylon (east face)  <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, CG 583 and CG 835 (fragment)</p>	<p>overseer of the works  confidant  precise builder of his town  prince  chief at the head of the brave  controller of all the offices of the King  seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt  <i>sameref</i> [lit. the son whom he loves]  dignitary at the head of the favoured ones  dignitary of the friends  august dignitary  friend, great of love  nobleman  excellent real scribe  scribe of recruits  royal scribe  true royal scribe, his beloved  royal scribe at the head of the recruits  leader...  leader of their ways  leader of mankind  true (foster) child of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt  a true noble who is in the midst of everyone</p>	<p>E, 13, 15  <b>E, 13, 7</b>  <b>E, 14, 6</b>  [E, 15]; [(E, 16)]  <b>E, 13, 14</b>  <b>E, 13, 6</b>  <b>E, 13, 8</b>  <b>E, 14, 7</b>  <b>E, 13, 2</b>  <b>E, 13, 6</b>  <b>E, 13, 5</b>  <b>E, 13, 6</b>  <b>E, 13, 4</b>  <b>E, 13, 5</b>  E, 13, 9  E, 13, 2/7/9/<b>12</b>  E, 13, 1/11; E, 14, 9  <b>E, 13, 13</b>  <b>E, 13, 4</b>  <b>E, 13, 14</b>  <b>E, 13, 8</b>  <b>E, 13, 6</b>  <b>E, 13, 7</b></p>
<p><b>F</b></p>	<p>overseer of the estate of the great King's daughter  overseer of prophets of Horus</p>	<p>F, 17, 15  F, 17, 14</p>



<p><b>Form:</b> Block          [Damaged: head missing]  <b>Material:</b> Black granite  <b>Height:</b> 0.65m  <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, Temple of Mut  <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, JE 36498</p>	<p>overseer of the works          mouth which makes mankind content          prince          mayor          chief of the great infantry          seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt          sem-priest in the temple of gold          sole friend          scribe of recruits          royal scribe          leader of festivals of Amun          fan-bearer to the right of the King</p>	<p>F, 17, 12          F, 17, 9          [F, 17, 9]          F, 17, 9          F, 17, 17          F, 17, 9          F, 17, 16          F, 17, 9          F, 17, 10: F, 18, 2          [F, 17, 10]: F, 18, 2          F, 17, 13          F, 17, 11</p>
<p><b>G</b>  <b>Form:</b> Standing          [Damaged: three fragments; legs restored in plaster]  <b>Material:</b> Black granite  <b>Height:</b> unknown (to Varille 1968)  <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, Temple of Khonsu  <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, CG 551</p>	<p>confidant          mouth which makes mankind content          prince          mayor          seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt          royal scribe          leader of festivals of Amun</p>	<p>G, 21, 2          G, 21, 2          G, 21, 2; G, 22, 1          G, 21, 2; [G, 22, 1]          [G, 22, 2]          [G, 20]          G, 21, 2</p>
<p><b>H</b>  <b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus          [Damaged: only legs and base remain]  <b>Material:</b> Granite  <b>Height of base:</b> 0.12m  <b>Provenance:</b> Esna, originally Karnak from the texts  <b>Current location:</b> On site, behind the Ptolemaic temple</p>	<p>overseer of prophets of Horus <i>Khentikhety</i>          prince          mayor          friend, great of love          scribe of recruits          royal scribe          true royal scribe, his beloved          leader of festivals of Amun          fan-bearer to the right of the King(?)</p>	<p>H, 1, 3          H, 1, 2/12          H, 1, 2/12          H, 1, 3          [H, 1, 4]          H, 1, 3          H, 1, 13          [H, 1, 4 (restored over the top of 'scribe of recruits')]          H, 1, 13</p>
<p><b>I</b>  <b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus          [Damaged: only legs and base remain]  <b>Material:</b> Grey granite  <b>Height:</b> 0.50m</p>	<p>overseer of recruits          overseer of prophets of Horus [<i>Khentikhety</i>]          overseer of the works          confidant          prince          mayor</p>	<p>I, 1, 10          I, 3          I, 2          I, 1, 9          I, 1, 9; I, 2; I, 3          I, 1, 9; I, 2; I, 3</p>

<b>Provenance:</b> Athribis <b>Current location:</b> On site?	<i>sem</i> -priest in the temple of gold royal scribe true royal scribe, his beloved leader of the god in his body	I, 3 I, 1, 10 I, 2; I, 3 I, 3
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Table Three: listed by epithet

Epithet (total number of different epithets: 69)	Translation	Location (Statue, Text, Line/additional lines)	Total (excl. statue I)	Total (incl. statue I)
<i>3ḥ ḥ3.ty</i>	one who is helpful of heart	E, 13, 8	1	N/A
<i>iw ḥr mḏd rq(w)=f</i>	a dog striking his enemy	E, 16	1	N/A
<i>iw<sup>(w)</sup> grg nīw.t=f</i>	the heir who has established his town	E, 14, 5	1	N/A
<i>iw.ty dī=f sw ḥr-gs</i>	he who does not act with partiality	E, 16	1	N/A
<i>iw.ty ḥn 3</i>	one who indeed does not command	E, 13, 9	1	N/A
<i>iw.ty rḥ s:phr ḥpr.wt ḏr sp tpy</i>	one who is not able to overturn anything which has been done since the first time	E, 13, 8	1	N/A
<i>ib=i m iw rḥ</i>	my heart was one which knows	E, 14, 4	1	N/A
<i>imy-ib [t]kn m nb=f</i>	the favourite who is near to his lord	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
<i>ir ḥpw s:mnh tp-rd=f</i>	one who makes law and makes his regulations effective	E, 13, 9	1	N/A
<i>iry rd.wy n nb t3.wy</i>	one who is at the two feet of the Lord of the Two Lands	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
<i>ir(.w) wḏ.w mī wḏḏ.wt nn rdi.t pr.w ḥft ḥpw</i>	one who does what is commanded like it was ordered without causing (it) to go against the law	E, 13, 5	1	N/A
<i>ir(.t) 3ḥ.t n Hrw=f</i>	one who does good for his Horus	E, 13, 7	1	N/A
<i>ʿr.tw=f m-m šny.t</i>	he who is raised among the entourage	E, 13, 6	1	N/A

$\zeta h_3.w sw hr hr.t=f nb.t s_3q sw hr hr.wt$ $tw.t.w=f$	one who fights him over all his property but is wary of it over the possessions of his peers	E, 13, 9	1	N/A
$\zeta q ib n nsw m_3\zeta mr=f$	one who truly enters the heart of the King, his beloved	E, 13, 7	1	N/A
$\zeta q hrw hft-hrt\{\} m k_3.wt nb.t$	One who enters (during) the day, daily, into all works	E, 13, 8	1	N/A
$w^{\zeta} n bi.t mrr=f$	unique one of the King of Lower Egypt, his beloved	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
$w^{\zeta} n nb=f hnt t_3.wy$	unique one of his lord who is in front of the Two Lands	H, 1, 2	1	N/A
$w^{\zeta} mn h iw.ty sn.w=f$	unique one who is devoted without his equal	E, 13, 7	1	N/A
$w^{\zeta} hr-hw=f n imy \zeta h$	unique among those who are in the palace	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
$wr wr.w$	great of great ones	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
$wr m hr=f$	great in his sight	E, 14, 4	1	N/A
$wr hry-tp wr.w$	great one at the head of the great ones	E, 13, 11	1	N/A
$wr hsw(.t) hr nsw/hm=f$	great of favour before the King/His Majesty	A, 1, 9; B, 3, 3	2	N/A
$wh^{\zeta} ib m md.wt-ntr m sh-ib mdd shr.w$	one who is skilled in sacred words because of intelligence and the understanding of ideas	E, 13, 11	1	N/A
$wstn [...]$	one who travels freely	E, 13, 3	1	N/A



<i>bwt grg dr isf.t [...] hnn.wt</i>	one who detests falsehood, one who drives away wrongdoing, [one who repels(?)] that which causes turmoil	E, 14, 9	1	N/A
<i>pr ḥsw m stp-s3</i>	one who is issued with favours in the palace	E, 13, 8	1	N/A
<i>m-m ḥsy.w</i>	...among the favoured ones	A, 1, 4; H, 1, 11-12	2	N/A
<i>m3 n qnw...</i>	one who sees bravery...	E, 16	1	N/A
<i>m3c</i>	one who is true	A, 1, 4; E, 14, 9	2	N/A
<i>m3c nḏw.t-r ir ḥpw n im.w cḥ</i>	true of counsel which is made law by those who are in the palace	E, 13, 4	1	N/A
<i>m3c-ḥrw</i>	true-of-voice (justified)	A, 1, 11 (fem.); [A, 2]; B, 3, 4/14; B, 4; [B, 5]; B, 6; C, 8, 3; C, 9; D, 11, 2; D, 12; E, 13, 1/2/7/9/11; E, 14, 9; [E, 16]; F, 17, 10/11/12/13/14/15/16/17; F, 18, 2; [G, 20]; G, 21, 2; [G, 22]; H, 1, 13; I, 1, 10; I, 2; I, 3	31	34
<i>mn ḥs.wt m stp-s3 cḥ wḏ3 snb</i>	one who is firm of favours in the palace l.p.h	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
<i>mnḥ rḥ ṯt.t m w3ḥ-ib</i>	one who is firm of opinion (but) who takes with patience	E, 13, 9	1	N/A
<i>mr nb t3.wy</i>	beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands	B, 4	1	N/A
<i>mrr=f</i>	his beloved	I, 1, 9-10	N/A	1
<i>nb s3rw.t</i>	lord of wisdom	E, 13, 7	1	N/A

<i>rw.ty sw dg=f šd hrw</i>	one who repels him who he sees reading with the voice	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
<i>rḥ t3.wy iqrw {t} bi3=f</i>	one of whom the Two Lands knows the excellence of his character	E, 13, 7	1	N/A
<i>hnn md.wt...</i>	one who considers the words...	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
<i>hr i&lt;w&gt;n</i>	pleasing of nature	E, 13, 4	1	N/A
<i>ḥrr.w ḥr ir.t.n=f nb.t nn kt=f ḥr wny.w</i>	one who is pleasing on account of every action by him without pettiness against people	E, 13, 5	1	N/A
<i>ḥ3 šḥr.w n.w ḥd-ib</i>	one who turns away harmful counsels	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
<i>ḥm 3ḥ.t [m(?)] ib</i>	a servant of that which is good [in(?)] the heart	E, 16	1	N/A
<i>ḥmy.n=f ib</i>	he who is ingenious	E, 13, 4	1	N/A
<i>ḥsy</i>	favoured one [only an indirect epithet]	C, 9	1	N/A
<i>š.w3š b3w=f</i>	one who pays honour to his power	E, 13, 9	1	N/A
<i>š.wrd ḥḥ n Hr w=f</i>	one who takes an oath for his Horus	E, 13, 9	1	N/A
<i>sb3 dr nwdw.t ḥq...</i>	a surveying-tool who drives away fluctuation and a straight line(?)...	E, 14, 9	1	N/A
<i>spd m-m š3.w=s n</i>	skilled in their secrets	E, 13, 12	1	N/A
<i>spd r hr tsw</i>	eloquent and patient(?)	E, 13, 6	1	N/A
<i>s.mnh mn.w=f r rdi šh3=f mn r-nhh m</i>	one who strengthens his monuments to	E, 13, 7	1	N/A

<i>S.t-dsr</i>	cause his memory to be firm forever in <i>Set-Djeser</i>			
<i>snasy hm=f r tr nb</i>	one who worships His Majesty at all times	E, 13, 9	1	N/A
<i>s.ndm ib hrw n qsn.t</i>	one who makes the heart happy on a day of misfortune	E, 13, 8	1	N/A
<i>s:hn.t ity ḥnh wḏ3 snb k3=f</i>	one whose fortune is advanced by the sovereign l.p.h.	E, 13, 12	1	N/A
<i>s:hn.t h3.ty m isst ury</i>	one who advances the heart through whatever was done	E, 13, 3	1	N/A
<i>s:hn.t hr mnḥw šhr.w=f</i>	one who is promoted on account of the excellence of his counsels	E, 13, 7	1	N/A
<i>s:hn.t s3=f mhw.t=f</i>	one whose wisdom has promoted his family	E, 13, 7	1	N/A
<i>s{t}nn nsw r mit.t=f</i>	one whom the King distinguishes from his peers	E, 13, 7	1	N/A
<i>sḏm-ib pw ḏr=f sh</i>	one who understands when he circulates the council hall	E, 13, 7	1	N/A
<i>šs3 m hm.t=sn</i>	skilled in their craft	E, 14, 4	1	N/A
<i>gm tsw ti sw m gm wš</i>	one who finds the speech when it is found damaged	E, 13, 7	1	N/A
<i>gmh wᶜ ḥft k3.wt=f</i>	one who sees a long time ago regarding his works	E, 13, 9	1	N/A
<i>twri hr rn=f</i>	one who shows respect for his name	E, 13, 9	1	N/A
<i>dd wrh</i>	one who causes the anointing	E, 14, 4	1	N/A

$dd\ n=f\ n_{sy.w}\ i\ 3w\ n\ wr\ n\ 3h(.w)=f\ n_{nw}$	one to whom the kings give praise for the greatness of his deeds for the King	E, 13, 8	1	N/A
$dd\ n\ hh.w\ hsb\ n\ h\ 3.w\ dmd\ n\ r\ \{\} =f\ hfn.w$	one who gives millions, one who counts thousands and one whose pen totals hundreds of thousands	E, 13, 5	1	N/A
$\bar{d}d\ tp-r\ ir\ m\ \bar{d}b^c.w=f$	a man who speaks an utterance and acts with his fingers	E, 13, 8	1	N/A

**Table Four: *epithets listed by statue***

<b>Statue</b>	<b>Epithets present</b>	<b>Location</b> (Statue, Text, Line/Additional lines (if appropriate))
<b>A</b>  <b>Form:</b> Kneeling, hands flat on thighs <b>Material:</b> Grey/black granite <b>Height:</b> 1.42m <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, seventh pylon (north face) <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, CG 42127	great of favour before the King/His Majesty ...among the favoured ones one who is true true-of-voice (justified)	A, 1, 9 A, 1, 4 A, 1, 4 A, 1, 11 (fem.); [A, 2]
<b>B</b>  <b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus [Damaged: only legs and base remain] <b>Material:</b> Black granite <b>Height: (remaining):</b> 0.34m <b>Provenance:</b> Unknown. Karnak from the texts <b>Current Location:</b> British Museum, EA 103	great of favour before the King/His Majesty true-of-voice (justified) beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands	B, 3, 3 B, 3, 4/14; B, 4; [B, 5]; B, 6 B, 4
<b>C</b>  <b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus <b>Material:</b> Black granite <b>Height:</b> 1.30m <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, tenth pylon (north face) <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, JE 44862 = Luxor J4	true-of-voice (justified) favoured one [only an indirect epithet]	C, 8, 3; C, 9 C, 9
<b>D</b>  <b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus <b>Material:</b> Black granite <b>Height:</b> 1.30m <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, tenth pylon (north face) <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, JE 44861	true-of-voice (justified)	D, 11, 2; D, 12



<p><b>E</b></p> <p><b>Form:</b> Block  <b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Height:</b> 1.00m  <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, third pylon (east face)  <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, CG 583 and CG 835 (fragment)</p>	<p>one who is helpful of heart  a dog striking his enemy  the heir who has established his town  his who does not act with partiality  one who indeed does not command  one who is not able to overturn anything which has been done since the first time  my heart was one which knows  the favourite who is near to his lord  one who makes laws and makes his regulations effective  one who is at the two feet of the Lord of the Two Lands  one who does what is commanded like it was ordered without causing (it) to go against the law  one who does good for his Horus  he who is raised among the entourage  one who fights him over all his property but is wary of it over the possessions of his peers  one who truly enters the heart of the King, his beloved  One who enters (during) the day, daily, into all works  unique one of the King of Lower Egypt, his beloved  unique one who is devoted without his equal  unique among those who are in the palace  great of great ones  great in his sight  great one at the head of the great ones  one who is skilled in sacred words because of intelligence and the understanding of ideas  one who travels freely  one who detests falsehood, one who drives away wrongdoing, [one who repels(?)] that which causes turmoil  one who is issued with favours in the palace  one who sees bravery...  one who is true  true of counsel which is made law by those who are in the palace  true-of-voice (justified)  one who is firm of favours in the palace l.p.h  one who is firm of opinion (but) who takes with patience lord of wisdom</p>	<p>E, 13, 8  E, 16  E, 14, 5  E, 16  E, 13, 9  E, 13, 8  E, 14, 4  E, 13, 6  E, 13, 9  E, 13, 6  E, 13, 5  E, 13, 7  E, 13, 6  E, 13, 9  E, 13, 7  E, 13, 8  E, 13, 6  E, 13, 7  E, 13, 6  E, 13, 6  E, 14, 4  E, 13, 11  E, 13, 11  E, 13, 3  E, 14, 9  E, 13, 8  E, 16  E, 14, 9  E, 13, 4  E, 13, 1/2/7/9/11; E, 14, 9; [E, 16]  E, 13, 6  E, 13, 9  E, 13, 7</p>
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	<p>one who repels him who he sees reading with the voice  one of whom the Two Lands knows the excellence of his character</p> <p>one who considers the words...  pleasing of nature</p> <p>one who is pleasing on account of every action by him  without pettiness against people</p> <p>one who turns away harmful counsels  a servant of that which is good [in(?)] the heart  he who is ingenious</p> <p>one who pays honour to his power  one who takes an oath for his Horus</p> <p>a surveying-tool who drives away fluctuation and a  straight line(?)...  skilled in their secrets</p> <p>eloquent and patient(?)</p> <p>one who strengthens his monuments to cause his memory to  be firm forever in <i>Set-Djeser</i></p> <p>one who worships His Majesty at all times</p> <p>one who makes the heart happy on a day of misfortune</p> <p>one whose fortune is advanced by the sovereign l.p.h.</p> <p>one who advances the heart through whatever was done</p> <p>one who is promoted on account of the excellence of his  counsels</p> <p>one whose wisdom has promoted his family</p> <p>one whom the King distinguishes from his peers</p> <p>one who understands when he circulates the council hall  skilled in their craft</p> <p>one who finds the speech when it is found damaged</p> <p>one who sees a long time ago regarding his works</p> <p>one who shows respect for his name  one who causes the anointing</p> <p>one to whom the kings give praise for the greatness of his  deeds for the King</p> <p>one who gives millions, one who counts thousands and one  whose pen totals hundreds of thousands</p> <p>a man who speaks an utterance and acts with his fingers</p>	<p>E, 13, 6  E, 13, 7</p> <p>E, 13, 6  E, 13, 4  E, 13, 5</p> <p>E, 13, 6  E, 16  E, 13, 4  E, 13, 9  E, 13, 9  E, 14, 9</p> <p>E, 13, 12  E, 13, 6  E, 13, 7</p> <p>E, 13, 9  E, 13, 8  E, 13, 12  E, 13, 3  E, 13, 7</p> <p>E, 13, 7  E, 13, 7  E, 13, 7  E, 14, 4  E, 13, 7  E, 13, 9  E, 13, 9  E, 14, 4  E, 13, 8</p> <p>E, 13, 5  E, 13, 8</p>
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<p><b>F</b></p> <p><b>Form:</b> Block  [Damaged: head missing]  <b>Material:</b> Black granite  <b>Height:</b> 0.65m  <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, Temple of Mut  <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, JE 36498</p>	<p>true-of-voice (justified)</p>	<p>F, 17, 10/11/12/13/14/15/16/17;  F, 18, 2</p>
<p><b>G</b></p> <p><b>Form:</b> Standing  [Damaged: three fragments; legs restored in plaster]  <b>Material:</b> Black granite  <b>Height:</b> unknown (to Varille 1968)  <b>Provenance:</b> Karnak, Temple of Khonsu  <b>Current location:</b> Cairo Museum, CG 551</p>	<p>true-of-voice (justified)</p>	<p>[G, 20]; G, 21, 2; [G , 22]</p>
<p><b>H</b></p> <p><b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus  [Damaged: only legs and base remain]  <b>Material:</b> Granite  <b>Height of base:</b> 0.12m  <b>Provenance:</b> Esna, originally Karnak from the texts  <b>Current location:</b> On site, behind the Ptolemaic temple</p>	<p>unique one of his lord who is in front of the Two Lands  ...among the favoured ones  true-of-voice (justified)</p>	<p>H, 1, 2  H, 1, 11-12  H, 1, 13</p>
<p><b>I</b></p> <p><b>Form:</b> Cross-legged scribe, unrolled papyrus  [Damaged: only legs and base remain]  <b>Material:</b> Grey granite  <b>Height:</b> 0.50m  <b>Provenance:</b> Athribis  <b>Current location:</b> On site?</p>	<p>true-of-voice (justified)  his beloved</p>	<p>I, 1, 10; I, 2; I, 3  I, 1, 9-10</p>



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### Abbreviations

*AJA*: American Journal of Archaeology  
*ASAE*: Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte  
*BIFAO*: Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale  
*GM*: Göttinger Miszellen  
*JEA*: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology  
*JNES*: Journal of Near Eastern Studies  
*MDAIK*: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo  
*RdÉ*: Revue d'Égyptologie  
*SAK*: Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur  
*UEE*: UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology  
*ZÄS*: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

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