Repopulating the court of the seventh pylon at Karnak:
A study of graffiti in context

Volume I: Text and Bibliography

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford
Hilary 2019

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Abstract

The present work aims to demonstrate the relevance of the study of graffiti in a carefully defined temple context as a means to gain insights into the use and transformation of sacred space by the people who could access it. Access to temples was arguably highly controlled, and probably only restricted groups of people were allowed in certain areas of the temple. This raises important questions concerning temple accessibility, daily movements of temple staff, reactions to religious events, and the functioning of rules of decorum, which established what could conveniently be exhibited on the temple walls and what not, along with their possible breach.

Chapter 1 discusses potentials of the study of graffiti in temples and issues of definitions. Here, material agency is proposed as a productive theoretical framework. Comprised in Part I of the thesis are Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 presents an overview of the architectural history of the southern processional way in its main phases of transformation (construction, decoration, and partial demolition), while Chapter 3 presents a survey of secondary epigraphy along the southern processional way, with detailed descriptions of graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon.

Part II, comprising Chapters 4, 5 and 6, introduces the three categories of graffiti that will be analysed through specific case studies: 1) graffiti as individual's self-display (Chapter 4); 2) graffiti as individual expressions of devotions (Chapter 5); 3) community graffiti as possible votive loci (Chapter 6).

The results of this analysis, discussed in the concluding remarks in Chapter 7, are intended to serve as a point of reference for the study of similar corpora from other Egyptian temples, while providing an approach that may speak to figurative graffiti, still too often neglected, of other ancient civilizations (Nubia, ancient Greece, the Roman empire, etc.).

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Conventions

Cahiers Traunecker's unpublished notebooks with notes, photos and sketches of his 1070s survey of the graffiti in Karnak. Now in the Griffith Institute archive, Oxford.

CK *Cachette de Karnak* database unique identifier: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/

CR3 Court of the third pylon

CR5 Court of the fifth pylon

CR6 Court of the sixth pylon

CR7 Court of the seventh pylon

CR8 Court of the eighth pylon

CR9 Court of the ninth pylon

CR10 Court of the tenth pylon

KIU Karnak Identifiant Unique in the SITH database

PY2 Second pylon

PY3 Third pylon

PY4 Fourth pylon

PY7 Seventh pylon

PY8 Eighth pylon

PY9 Ninth pylon

PY10 Tenth pylon

SITH Système d'Indexation des Textes Hiéroglyphiques: a database collecting all scenes and inscriptions in the Amun temple complex. http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak

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© CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

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http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck288

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1 Introduction

Nihil durare potest tempore perpetuo;
Cum bene sol nituit, redditur oceano;
Descrescit Phoebe, quae modo plena fuit.
Ventorum feritas saepe fit aura l[e]vis.

Nothing is able to endure forever;
Once the sun has shone brightly, it returns to the ocean;
The moon grows smaller, who just now was full;
The savagery of winds often becomes a light breeze.

CIL 4.9123
Milnor 2014: 69–70, fig. 1.4

The epigram opening this chapter is an elegy that was once incised on a door of a shop in Pompeii (9.13.4). The graffito itself, in its material form, does not exist anymore. All that is left of it today is an epigraphic record that passes on to us this reflection on the transient condition of life and nature. It is difficult not to read in these words the graffito's contemplation of its own ephemerality. More than a millennium separates this Pompeian graffito from those treated in this thesis. In Karnak, the graffiti that survive are generally succinct and laconic in comparison with their more literary Pompeian counterparts. The few extant texts in Karnak bear no more than a title and a name and the majority consists of images of gods, men, barques, and other often unintelligible scribbles. Although differing in language, content, and context, they were all made by people intent on leaving a material trace of their passage that — they hoped — could transcend time.

This thesis examines a corpus of graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon (henceforth CR7) in the Amun complex at Karnak. This temple area has been selected for the great number and variety of graffiti present there, numbering hundreds of texts, images, and other marks that were added onto the walls through the centuries. This corpus is quite distinct from other graffiti in Karnak in that it is partly integrated into the primary decoration, which provides a chronological reference that is crucial for assessing the development of graffiti in this and other temple areas. It is an extraordinary example of the widespread practice of graffiti writing in a fully functioning temple (e.g. Frood 2010; 2013).

Graffiti redefine space, adding layers of meaning to the surfaces on which they are inscribed (Darnell 2013: 74–8). In Karnak, their presence did not correspond to a process of partial desacralization (Navrátilová 2010: 311–12), or total desacralization, as it has been argued in regard to the temple of Tuthmose III at Deir el-Bahri (Dolinska 2007: 79–80). Nor does this graffiti correspond to the absence of sacredness altogether, as Cruz-Uribe (2008: 218–24)

postulated for other graffitied temple areas. Rather, their addition to an active sacred space implies transformation (e.g. Frood 2010; 2013), which is one of the aspects I set out to explore.

The present work aims to demonstrate the relevance of the study of graffiti in a carefully defined temple context as a means to gain insight into the use and transformation of sacred space by the people who could access it. Access to temples was arguably highly controlled, and probably only restricted groups of people were allowed in certain areas of the temple (e.g. Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004: 111–12; Frood 2013: 295). This raises important questions concerning temple accessibility (Navrátilová 2010: 319; Frood 2013), daily movements of temple staff (Frood 2010), reactions to religious events, and the functioning of rules of decorum, which established what could properly be displayed on the temple walls and what not (Baines 2007: 15), along with possible breaches of those rules (Frood 2010: 116). The results of my analysis are intended to serve as a point of reference for the study of similar corpora from other Egyptian temples, while providing an approach that may speak to figurative graffiti, still too often neglected, of other ancient civilizations (Nubia, ancient Greece, the Roman empire, etc.).

1.1 Why a thesis on graffiti in Karnak?

The stimulus for research on graffiti in the temple of Karnak came about while investigating the New Kingdom Appeals to the Living, a textual genre which addresses an audience from beyond the grave (Salvador 2014, with references). Reactions to these texts are known from some visitors' graffiti inscribed in tombs — mostly from the Theban necropolis, where Ragazzoli is conducting extensive work — attesting not only to an interaction between dead and living, but also to the development of a New Kingdom scribal practice of visiting tombs as part of a pious cultural exercise (Ragazzoli 2017, with references). Therefore, I propose that graffiti are important sources that may disclose information about social practices that would otherwise remain unknown.

The Karnak complex was the major state temple in Egypt during the New Kingdom, and a prominent one in later times. It is a goldmine of information for all specialists of ancient Egypt, who continue to research its different aspects, expanding knowledge and improving the preservation of such a rich and composite site.[1]

Our knowledge of Karnak, however, is skewed towards official state religion and royal historical accounts, while information about the people who managed and lived in the temple remains fragmentary and scattered, even though archaeological investigations and the study of

[1] A sense of the wide range of research activities that are undertaken every year onsite can be gained by consulting the annual activity reports of the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak (CFEETK), available online (http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/les-publications/bibliographie/).

material culture continue to greatly expand our understanding of specific sectors of the temple (e.g. Millet and Masson 2011, with references; Durand 2019, with references). The ubiquity of royal discourse among the rich decorative programme carved on its walls, including scenes and texts, contributes to conveying a picture of the temple as the rulers' expression of their closeness and devotion to the gods, overshadowing the fact that that this was also a vibrant and busy place, once populated by people who worked and lived here. There were priests of different ranks who took care of cultic activities, scribes who administered the temple revenues, butchers, bakers and brewers who produced food offerings to be distributed among divine (first) and private statues, before they were eaten by staff members, but there were also carpenters, sculptors, workmen and draughtsmen, who contributed in different ways to embellishing and expanding the temple. In other words, this was 'le peuple de Karnak' (Traunecker 1982a).

The potential of graffiti as an alternative source for the study of temples' cultic activities and daily life has already been highlighted by Frood (2010; 2013) and Kockelmann (2013). A remarkable example comes from the temple of Philae. There, a primary inscription on the north gate of the second east colonnade (CO II), leading to the inner courtyard between the two pylons — called 'the gate of going to and fro of every man of this temple' — formally denies access to all outsiders/foreigners, unless they are granted a special priestly permission and are supervised during the tour (Kockelmann and Winter 2016: 166–68, 171–73, nos 70 and 73). The presence of a graffito by a Cretan individual on one of the columns of CO II — beyond the mentioned gate — attests to the fact that this prescription was actually put into practice and that the Cretan visitor decided to commemorate the very special occasion by leaving (or commissioning) a graffito (Bernand 1969: 289–91, no. 47).[2]

A thesis on the graffiti of the court of the seventh pylon, therefore, complements studies such as Kockelmann's and Frood's mentioned above, and contributes to repopulating Karnak by producing a more balanced picture of the functioning and the transformations of this temple over long periods of time.

1.2 Graffiti in Karnak: current state of research

In the last fifteen years, graffiti have become an important area of research within Egyptology, as demonstrated by the increasing number of recent publications on graffiti in necropoleis (e.g. Verhoeven 2012; Navrátilová 2015; Hassan 2016; Ragazzoli 2018a–b; Staring 2018), desert areas

[2] I am very grateful to Holger Kockelmann for showing me this example during a wonderful tour of Philae in 2015.

(e.g. Darnell 2013; Dorn 2014; Enmarch 2015; Dorn 2018) quarry sites (e.g. Nilsson 2018; Tallet 2018), and temples (e.g. Cruz-Uribe 2008; Dijkstra 2012; Jasnow and Di Cerbo 2013).

In Karnak, the large corpus of graffiti in the precinct of Amun-Re, comprising the temple of Ptah, was surveyed and meticulously recorded by Claude Traunecker in the 1970s (Traunecker 1979; 1982a). His remarkable scientific endeavour resulted in a mostly unpublished collection — now part of the Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford. This is the starting point for any study of graffiti typology and distribution in this context. Studies of graffiti in specific sectors of the temple have since been undertaken, most notably Jacquet-Gordon's work as part of the Chicago House Expedition on the graffiti on the Khonsu temple roof, which was published in 2003, now partly continued by Degardin (2009; 2010), and Frood's ongoing projects on the temple of Ptah and the eighth pylon (Ragazzoli and Frood 2013: 32–3; Frood in press). Research on specific kinds of graffiti across the temple are also been developed by Devauchelle and Widmer (2015; see also Widmer and Devauchelle 2017), who focus on demotic graffiti, and al-Taher, who researched figurative and textual graffiti of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods for his doctoral thesis (al-Taher 2017).

These offer important comparanda for my work, attesting equally, if perhaps differently, to the interaction of people with the temple. However, major interpretive analyses are lacking, especially for figurative graffiti, which are often considered too laconic to yield useful information.

1.3 Defining graffiti in Karnak

Despite the growing number of Egyptological publications focusing on graffiti, no straightforward definition has yet been proposed. Attempts at providing a clear and comprehensive description of what graffiti are have thus far proven inadequate to describe corpora in different sites. Navrátilová's (2010: 309–10) point-by-point response to Cruz-Uribe's (2008: 199 ff.) definition in 16 points has become emblematic in this respect.

Most scholars now agree that graffiti are 'an integral part of Egyptian writing practice and of official culture' (Parkinson 1999: 92; Fischer-Elfert 2003; Ragazzoli 2011; Frood 2013; Ragazzoli 2013a), in contrast with Peden (2001: xxi), who describes them as 'casual inscriptions free from social restraints'. However, graffiti present too many variables to be narrowed down to a simple and clear-cut definition. As suggested by Staring (2018: 81) and Navrátilová (2010: 309–12), graffiti are site-specific and subject to change depending on context and time (for an overview of different categories, see Staring 2011: 146–47). For instance, a graffito carved along a desert road by a member of a royal expedition to a quarry site differs substantially from a painted

hieratic graffito left by a scribe while visiting a tomb chapel. As Frood (2013: 288) states, temple graffiti are distinctive and possibly relate to aspects of the temple's functions and uses.

The term 'graffito', past participle of the Italian verb 'graffiare' (scratched), was introduced to define the inscriptions that were incised on the walls of Pompeii, when they started to be documented in the second half of the 19th century (Benefiel 2018: 101). Today this term is infused with negative connotations of illicitness and subversiveness, deriving almost inevitably from associations with contemporary street art and frequent misconceptions relating to it (Ragazzoli, Harmanşah, and Salvador 2018: esp. 6–9).

Although admittedly inadequate to describe the wide range of secondary epigraphic material treated in this thesis, 'graffiti' (plural of 'graffito') remains a useful umbrella term to define all inscriptional practices outside of the primary decoration and texts, following definitions proposed by Cruz-Uribe (2008: 205–06), Frood (2013: 286), and Ragazzoli (2018a: 407). Here, 'primary' and 'secondary' are not used with reference to their chronology, such as something that came before or after something else. 'Primary' is everything that fits in the normative decorative scheme of the temple as defined by *la grammaire du temple*, a term coined by Derchain (1962) to define a set of rules inferred from the observation of recurring patterns in temple decoration, mainly based on the Ptolemaic temple of Horus at Edfu. 'Secondary' is therefore everything that does not fit in this scheme. In the thesis, 'secondary epigraphy / inscriptions / drawings / marks, etc.' and 'graffiti' are used interchangeably.

Most relevant for this thesis is the definition of the properties that graffiti possess. Following Fleming (2001: 43), who defines them as 'pieces of writing with a physical extension', I consider graffiti as 'materialisations' of their authors' presence and interaction with the space — in this case the temple — which continue to exist and engage with the world, independently of their creators. Along the same lines, Keegan (2011: 166) describes graffiti in Pompeii as 'memorialising certain speech-acts of pedestrianism', which is in essence what Frood claims for the graffiti in Karnak and Luxor:

> This material foregrounds the presence, movements, and activities of the people who managed temples in the first millennium. The inscription of graffiti was their practice, so it has wide-ranging political, religious, and spatial implications. As a strategy to assert the legitimacy and authority of priestly groups, seen here particularly with Pinudjem's inscriptions in Luxor, some graffiti appear closely comparable to more traditional forms of self-presentation, especially statues and stelae, which can similarly appropriate parts of temples, especially outer areas such as open courts. (Frood 2013: 298)

While embracing all definitions provided above, I argue that caution should be paid in defining graffiti in temples as 'claiming and appropriating space'. 'Appropriation' conjures up ideas of ownership. This fits with most graffiti in tomb contexts, in which the visitors sought to make the tomb chapel a little bit their own, so as to benefit from the sacred properties in it (van Pelt and Staring in press). However, in temples this should be verified on a case-by-case basis. I agree with Frood (2010: 105) that graffiti of high-ranking people, such as those she treats in her article, did claim ownership of specific temple areas, and expressed some sort of 'territoriality' within the temple, which must be linked to prestige and status. However, most graffiti I deal with in this thesis are much simpler and inconspicuous. As it emerges from the case studies in part II of this thesis, inscribing a graffito in Karnak most often represented an act of donation, through which an individual entrusted one's 'material extension' — i.e. the graffito, here understood in the frame of distributed personhood (Gell 1998) — to the temple space, hoping for it to endure there and participate in the temple's life. The emphasis lies on the desire to become part of the temple, rather than to own parts of it.

1.4 Research questions and method

The corpus of graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon is analysed thorough four core research questions:

1. When were the graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon inscribed and who left them?
2. How do graffiti inform us about the use and accessibility of the court of the seventh pylon and the southern axis more generally?
3. What was the motivation for inscribing graffiti in CR7?
4. What kinds of social processes did graffiti mobilize and how do these inform us about the use and transformation of sacred space over long stretches of time?

Most graffiti in this corpus are pictorial and anonymous, so providing an answer to these questions is challenging in a number of ways. Tackling the dating issue is complicated by the fact that graffiti, as a practice, are still created in Karnak nowadays, as attested by the growing number of Arabic names chalked on the walls. If the difference between these and a hieratic scribal inscription is fairly obvious, that between images of boats of the Third Intermediate Period and those of Roman or Medieval times is not always as evident.

This often-unimpressive appearance, together with the abundance of secondary imagery in comparison with their textual counterparts, has led scholars, such as Traunecker (1991a), Dils (1995), and Brand (2004; 2007), to interpret this graffiti as products of uneducated people who, it is implied, could not have belonged to the temple staff. Therefore, it is argued that graffiti along

the southern processional way are proof positive of the accessibility of this temple area by non-temple staff, at least during major festival celebrations Cabrol (2001: 720–31). I argue that this interpretation, still widely shared among scholars, cannot be accepted *a priori*, because it is essentially based on the application of decontextualized western aesthetic criteria, which produce two equations: first, 'figurative equals illiterate', and second, 'all temple staff must have been highly educated'. Such assumptions lead to the question of accessibility and use of CR7 and the southern processional way more broadly, which are two key themes recurring throughout this thesis. I argue that patterns of distribution and features of graffiti in CR7 and the southern axis may hint at people's different ways of engaging with this temple area at different times.

This idea is inherently connected with the reasons behind this practice and the kinds of social dynamics that graffiti may have generated. Addressing the possible reasons behind individual acts of carving in this area may seem straightforward, at least for all graffiti that were inscribed while the temple was still active, on which this thesis focuses. They all engage with a sacred space and therefore they are all devotional to different extents. However, the selection criteria behind each graffito (its content, size, position on the wall, etc.) are much more difficult to grasp. What prompted a person to draw an image of Amun choosing his ram form instead of the more common anthropomorphic aspect? Why was his name not written instead? Was this a matter of literacy and status? How did this graffito interact with the wall, with the primary decoration, with other graffiti in the same area, and with the surrounding space? What kind of reactions did its presence prompt, if any? As I propose in section 1.5, and develop further in the introduction to the second part of this thesis, a material approach to graffiti sheds light on these aspects.

In line with current approaches, my interpretative analysis integrates palaeographic and context analyses of textual and figurative graffiti in CR7, while building on comparisons with discrete groups of graffiti elsewhere at Karnak. Graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon number some hundreds, so detailed analysis necessarily focuses on particular clusters. Deep levels of comparative analysis were made possible through my collaboration with Elizabeth Frood on her ongoing Karnak projects at the Ptah temple and the eighth pylon, as well as a six-month internship (2014–2015) at the CFEETK, working for the Karnak Documentation Project under the direction of Sébastien Biston-Moulin, during which I had the possibility to familiarize myself with the graffiti in most areas of the Amun precinct.

Direct analysis of the material was undertaken during fieldwork seasons between 2013 and 2018. Given the considerable size of this corpus, and due to time limitations, all graffiti have been recorded through photography, making sure to capture them under different light

conditions (at different times of the day and the year, whenever possible), so as to minimize distortion created by shadows. Traditional epigraphic methods (tracing on a sheet of acetate directly against the wall) were adopted to record the most challenging textual graffiti located on the west wall, when this technique was still permitted.[3] Thanks to Ellen Jones, orthophotography was tested on some badly eroded textual graffiti, which however did not yield improved readings, due to the extent of the surface damage.

During the internship at the CFEETK I entered roughly 50% of my corpus in SITH (Système d'Indexation des Textes Hiéroglyphiques), a database collecting all scenes and inscriptions in the Amun temple complex (Biston-Moulin and Thiers 2018). Once completed and revised, these entries will be openly accessible to anybody for consultation. Reference to these entries (KIU: Karnak Identifiant Unique) is provided in the catalogue entries, but not in the main body of the thesis.

1.5 Theoretical framework: graffiti seen through material agency[4]

The growing attention that has been devoted in the last fifteen years or so to graffiti practices in many ancient societies, from ancient Greece to Bronze Age Anatolia and Medieval Europe (e.g. Baird and Taylor 2011; Keegan 2014; Champion 2015; Benefiel and Keegan 2016; Ragazzoli, Harmanşah, and Salvador 2018), has led to an increasing recognition that graffiti need to be approached from an anthropological perspective, and not just for their textual content. Pioneers in this respect have been Fleming's 2001 publication about Early Modern English graffiti, and Baird and Taylor's 2011 edited volume on ancient Roman and Greek graffiti. Particularly, the introductory chapter of the latter (Baird and Taylor 2011: 1–17, esp. 9 ff.) constitutes a reference point for anyone approaching this kind of studies. While advocating an approach that takes into account the materiality and the context of graffiti, Baird and Taylor open up new interpretative avenues, through which graffiti can be read as socially-connective acts and can be analysed for the 'dialogues' they initiate with one other and their surrounding space.

This approach was taken up and further developed in the introduction to the 2018 *Scribbling through history* book (Ragazzoli, Harmanşah, and Salvador 2018), a collection of edited essays about graffiti in the ancient and contemporary world, in which aspects of graffiti materiality and connectedness are highlighted, among other things. Harmanşah's and Ragazzoli's essays in that volume show how, at times, graffiti *create* a monument, rather than adding meaning

[3] In 2017 Egyptian authorities issued a ban on traditional epigraphic recording (copies on acetate against the wall).

[4] This approach has been inspired by a stimulating theory reading group on Alfred Gell organized in Oxford by Leire Olabarria at the end of 2016. I am grateful to her for introducing me to a previously unexplored world of theories and anthropology.

to it. They are acts of 'place-making'. The case of MMA 504 at Deir el-Bahari is emblematic: although this place was originally meant to be a rock-cut tomb, the site remained unfinished; the following addition of clusters of graffiti transformed that cave into a place of aggregation where scribes hung out in the shade and negotiated their professional identity (Ragazzoli 2017).

Having the ability to engage with their surrounding space and even create monuments, graffiti can be considered as active social or cultural agents:

> 'Material culture does not just exist. It is made by someone. It is produced to do something. Therefore it does not passively *reflect* society — rather, it *creates* society through the acts of social agents'. (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 6; the second emphasis is my own)

The attribution of social agency to material culture builds on Gell's 1998 volume, in which he postulated that agency belongs to both human beings and things. According to Gell (1998: 19), although things have an impact on people and the surrounding space, they cannot be considered as self-sufficient agents, since they are made by a human authority and hence they are subordinate to it.

Admittedly, graffiti are secondary to humans, as they need a human agent to exist in the first place. However, I argue that, in a society such as ancient Egypt, in which statues of gods and people could be indwelled by spirits and were very much alive, so much so that they needed sustenance like human beings, graffiti were a bit more than 'agents by proxy', to use a term introduced by Meskell (2004: 52-3). Although they are imbued with their creators' intentions (e.g. to preserve memory, to belong to a community, to establish a contact with the gods, etc.), I maintain that graffiti have the ability to *behave* differently from what expected of them. An example of this is provided by a group of four highly formal secondary scenes that were left in the stairway of the eighth pylon, currently investigated by Frood. Two of these graffiti were left by wealthy people who worked in Karnak for the high priest Roma (Roy). As I will discuss in chapter 4 in regard to a cluster of graffiti on the west wall of CR7, such graffiti were not just displaying their identities and piety to their gods, but they were also negotiating their belonging to a restricted and privileged group of colleagues. As 'secondary agents', they were enacting their authors' wish to take part in that community. One of these is the graffito of a draughtsman named Bakenwerel, depicted in adoration. Over two thousand years later, a western tourist named Wi/85, while seeing these graffiti, was prompted to react to them and incised his name and date next to Bakenwerel's adoring figure (Fig. 1.1).

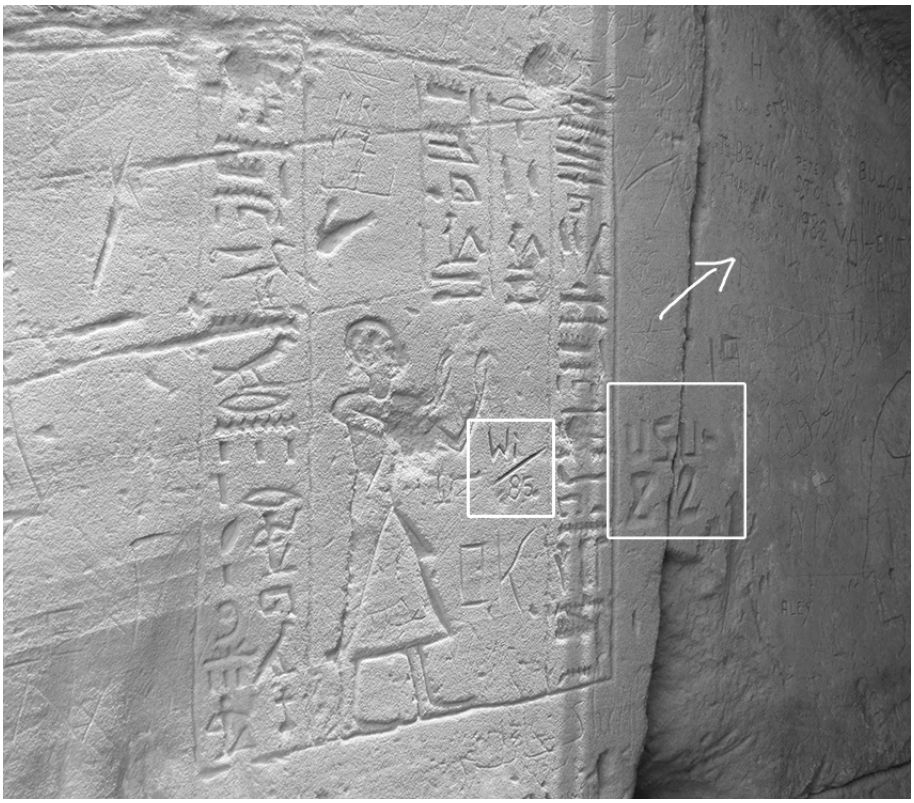


Fig. 1.1 Ramessid and 1980s graffiti in dialogue. The arrow indicates additional contemporary graffiti. Inside stairway of the eighth pylon (top end, north side). © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

This exchange was probably not the intention of Bakenwerel when he commissioned his graffito in this part of the temple. But rather than seeing this as an 'unintended consequence' resulting merely from the tourist's agency (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 102–03), I acknowledge the autonomy of Bakenwerel's graffito in engaging with his world, even though this does not correspond anymore to that of his creator.

In this respect, a productive approach is provided by the discussion of anthropocentrism in material agency theories, which question the primacy of human agents over material agents. Knappett and Malafouris (2008: xi-xii) propose that agency is determined by the interaction between people and things, whose final product is a 'new hybrid agent'. I agree with Malafouris's approach for which:

> agency and intentionality should be understood as distributed, emergent and interactive phenomena rather than as subjective experiences. The clay on the potter's wheel should not be construed as the external passive object of the potter's intentional states, but as a functionally co-substantial component of the intentional character of the potting experience. (Malafouris 2008)

Seeing through the concept of a distributed agency between the human and the material components, graffiti acquire new meaning. If it is true that without Bakenwerel that graffito would not have existed, it is also true that without the graffito Bakenwerel would not have

negotiated his belonging in that area of the temple, in other words he would not exist today. This is just one of the possible approaches to graffiti that I consider productive for teasing out social interconnections in the southern processional way, and useful for understanding how people interacted with the sacred space in CR7.

1.6 Organization of the work

This present work is organised in two volumes. Volume 1 contains the main body of the thesis in seven chapters, including the introduction and the final discussion. The bibliography is provided at the end of this volume. The second volume includes the catalogue of all graffiti in CR7, the plates, and two appendixes. While the second volume is self-explanatory, this section provides a concise description of the organization of the first volume.

Volume 1 opens with the current introductory chapter (1), in which I set out my research goals and method. Here, I discuss potentials of the study of graffiti in temples and issues of definition as well as proposing material agency as a productive theoretical framework.

Following chapter 1, the core of Volume 1 is divided into two parts. Part I, comprising chapters 2 and 3, is introduced by a brief introduction: 'Contextualising the graffiti'. As the title suggests, emphasis is placed on the importance of studying the graffiti in relation to their context. There, I argue that graffiti take meaning from the way people engaged with the structure on which they are embedded and its surrounding space. Meaning of graffiti and use of space are inherently linked, and a transformation of the latter corresponds to changes of the former.

One of the goals of this first part is to cast light on levels of accessibility and the possible functions of CR7 through its main phases of transformation. This is examined in relation to the southern processional way as a coherent space of which CR7 was part. For this reason, I explore the connection between CR7, the main temple axis (east-west), and the rest of the processional way through time.

Chapter 2, 'Architectural development of the southern processional way', presents a summary of the main hypotheses concerning the architectural history of the southern processional way in its main phases of transformation (construction, decoration, and partial demolition). For the sake of clarity, the decorative scheme of this temple area is only briefly touched upon; a more detailed presentation is provided in chapter 3, when relevant for the graffiti discussed. Sections 2.1 to 2.4 proceed chronologically by phase, from the still debated origin of the southern processional way, to the transformations that it underwent in Roman and Christian times. Due to the many gaps in the documentation of the Karnak enclosure walls, its development is discussed separately in section 2.5. This chapter ends with a more analytical

discussion of the accessibility of CR7, drawing on the data presented in the previous sections (2.6). The starting point for this discussion is that some architectural alterations affected the accessibility of certain areas. An example may be the transformation that the festival hall of Tuthmose II/Tuthmose IV underwent when the third pylon was added under Amenhotep III, which caused a presumably semi-public space to become more private. Within the pharaonic period, which is the timeframe that concerns the graffiti I focus on in Part II, I identify four main phases of architectural transformation of CR7. These correspond to the reigns of Tuthmose III, Amenhotep III, Horemheb, and Ramesses IX respectively. Based on these four architectural phases, I develop hypothetical circulation models, highlighting the distinction between processional and service pathways. These models show how certain areas became more or less easy to reach through time, however they fail to provide information as to who and when circulated through these spaces. I argue that the different types of wall scenes and texts, displayed along the southern processional way and forming an integral part of it, may inform on the possible functions and uses of this area. Patterns of distribution of religious and secular scenes, usually thought to correspond to more or less restricted areas, complement the discussion and conclude the chapter.

Chapter 3, 'Graffiti along the southern processional way', offers a topographically arranged summary of the types and distribution of graffiti along the southern axis, which forms the basis for comparative analysis in the second part of this thesis. Graffiti in CR10, CR9 and CR8 are treated generically, while those in CR7 are presented in relation to the architecture and the different phases of decoration of the courtyard. Figures of graffiti types and patterns of distribution are provided at the end, together with four generic phases of inscription (3.3). Graffiti clustered in different areas according to the period, which certainly has to do with the way this area of Karnak was used through time.

Part II comprises the three core analytical chapters of this thesis, in which selected case studies from the corpus in CR7 are analysed and discussed. Moving away from typological categories of graffiti (textual, figurative), which I used for the survey in chapter 3, in this second part I explore three categories of graffiti as defined by two main criteria: their content (focusing on the self or the god); and their authorship, i.e. whether it is made by a single individual or a group of people. The three categories that emerge are: 1) graffiti as individual's self-display, which I analyse in chapter 4; 2) graffiti as individual expressions of devotion, which I discuss in chapter 5; 3) community graffiti as possible votive loci, which I develop in chapter 6.

Chapter 4, 'Graffiti as self-display: fashioning a professional milieu', presents a group of textual and figurative graffiti that reflect their creators' identity, connecting it to other such

graffiti, their surrounding space, the people who could see and react to them, and ultimately the gods that inhabited this temple and were carried out in procession. Here, I build my discussion explicitly upon the work on graffiti in the Theban necropolis by Ragazzoli (2018a-b with references). I focus on the main cluster of such graffiti on the west wall to argue that, depending on their location, proximity to other graffiti or relative isolation, they spoke to a well-defined professional community expressing either their sense of belonging to it, or their separation from it. If it is true that graffiti are socially connective, their meaning is further defined by their context.

Chapter 5, 'Individual expressions of devotion', explores the processes behind the selection of certain divine iconographies as opposed to others. Taking a cluster of pictorial graffiti on the west massif of the seventh pylon as case study I explore the possible meanings of ram protomes and squatting Amun figures, and the way they possibly evoke more or less approachable aspects of the god.

Chapter 6, 'Community graffiti: secondary votive loci' examines implications of graffiti whose realization required collective efforts and that did not benefit any individual in particular, (no name of dedicator is attested), but rather a group of people, a community. To do so, I focus on a large scene on the east wall representing a king between the paws of a ram-headed sphinx, and on two smaller scenes below it, each depicting a king offering to a god. In this chapter definitions of graffiti are challenged.

In the 'Concluding remarks' in chapter 7 I briefly summarize the results of my analysis, readdressing the core research questions in the light of what presented in the previous chapters. Overall, volume one of this thesis aims to explore the complex relationships between the material and textual life of graffiti on CR7 in Karnak, with an eye towards gaining a deeper understanding of the social and cultural spaces of the temple.

PART I

Contextualising the graffiti

When visiting a monumental site such as Karnak it is all too easy to forget that the temple complex one sees today, with its sphinx avenues, its colossal hypostyle hall, and its ten pylons, results from millennia of manipulations, enlargements, and demolitions. The Amun temple remained active for about 2300 years, from its foundation in the Middle Kingdom (see 2.1.1) until the ban of all pagan temples in 356 AD (Blyth 2006: 234). During this time rulers expressed their power and devotion to the gods by commanding the temple's expansion and the redesign of existing structures; at the same time, and especially from the New Kingdom onwards, other people marked their presence and devotion by leaving graffiti on the temple's surfaces that they could access. When Karnak gradually stopped being used as a sacred building some of its structures were abandoned and quickly covered by sand and debris; others were converted by local communities into settlements and more graffiti were added. The biggest impact on the pharaonic buildings, in Karnak and in most Egyptian sites, is however quite recent. In the 19th century the ancient structures, made much more accessible by the stable political climate under Mohamed Ali, became increasingly exposed to the cupidity of agents of the antiquities market on the one hand, and exploited to an industrial scale as quarries for saltpetre factories on the other (for Karnak: Azim 2012a: esp. 409–19). The graffiti production of the time was very prolific and European travellers and explorers left their signatures and dates of their visits throughout the ancient monuments (for an overview of the 19th century graffiti in Karnak, see De Keersmaecker 2009).

Karnak remains a site in constant evolution; year after year the temple is reshaped by projects of restoration, reconstruction, and excavation, but also by the inevitable exposure of its architecture to natural erosion and other anthropic factors. Although no longer an accepted practice, modern tourists continue to inscribe themselves into its history (see e.g. Ragazzoli 2013b, a radio interview about the graffito left by a Chinese teenager in the Luxor temple). All of these layers of transformation complicate the analysis of the buildings visible today; this needs be considered when examining ancient graffiti practices in Karnak. Graffiti are intrinsically embedded in the architecture and they acquire meaning from their position on a given structure but also, and perhaps mostly, from the way their author engaged with the space surrounding that structure at a certain time. Reconstructing their context of production is therefore crucial to understanding their meaning.

Taking this as a starting point, the following two chapters present the context of the graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon not only by analysing them topographically within the court, but also by investigating the relationship between this court, the main temple, and the rest of the processional way through time. Chapter 2 sets out the architectural evolution of the southern processional way chronologically, so as to shed light on levels of accessibility and the possible functions of this area through its main phases. This provides the foundation for chapter 3, which includes a survey of the graffiti that have been left throughout this area, presenting their distribution from the outermost part of the temple, then proceeding north to the court of the seventh pylon (3.1). The corpus of graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon is described in relationship to each structure in section 3.2. For the sake of clarity and convenience courtyards are abbreviated as CR + number while pylons as PY + number, following the French convention adopted by the CFEETK.

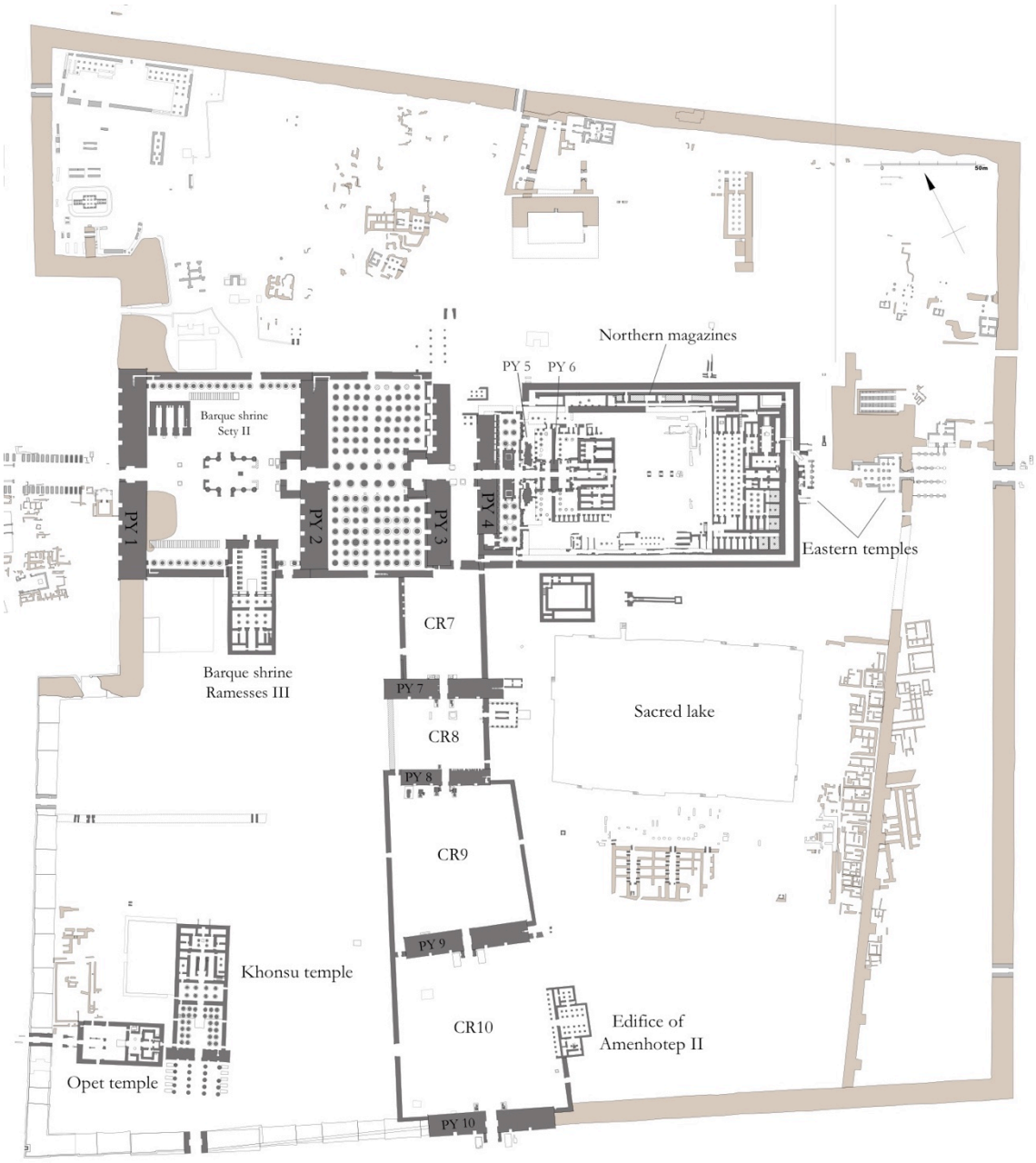


Fig. I.1 The Amun precinct in its current state (based on 2016 CFEETK plan).

2. Architectural development of the southern processional way

The southern approach to the Amun temple is composed of four open-air courtyards separated by four pylons that are conventionally numbered from 7 to 10 — from the one closest to the main temple axis (north) to the most exterior (south) (Fig. I.1). In this chapter I establish its main phases of architectural development and alteration. The decorative scheme is here treated only briefly so as not to further complicate an already complex picture; a general discussion of the distribution of sacred and secular scenes along the southern axis is provided in section 2.6.3, in relation to the accessibility of this area. More detailed description of the decoration of CR7 is presented in chapter 3, in connection with a contextual survey of my corpus of graffiti.

The bulk of the architectural development of the southern processional way was achieved during the 18th dynasty in an effort to 'monumentalize' — invest in durable large stone buildings as opposed to mudbrick ones — the temple's southern route that had probably been in use for some time before. Most of the structures that are visible today were built in less than two centuries, from the reign of Hatshepsut (ca. 1479 BC) to that of Horemheb (ca. 1292 BC). During this time the southern approach, as well as the central area of the Amun temple, were enormous construction sites undergoing constant development and expansion. This should be borne in mind when considering the accessibility of the southern processional way and the impact that those works may have had on people's perception of sacredness and the decorum of this area.

This project of monumentalization was realised in two main phases: the first two courtyards (CR7 and CR8) were largely developed under the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III and are tightly linked with the evolution of the central area of the Amun temple; the last two courtyards (CR9 and CR10) were completed during Horemheb's reign and were conceived as extensions of the first two courtyards. Other, more minor changes to the existing structures were undertaken in the 19th and 20th dynasties and also later, from the 21st dynasty down to Graeco-Roman and Christian times, although after the Ramessid period the changes mostly involved the decoration rather than the architecture.

2.1 An early origin for the southern processional way?

The Amun temple in Karnak dates back at least to the 11th dynasty, as suggested by Zimmer's discovery in 1985 of a small sandstone column (Luxor J 841) inscribed in the name of a king Antef, Antef II or III (Ullmann 2005: 167; Gabolde L. 2018: 172–74). The text mentions that the monument to which the column belonged had been dedicated by this king to the god Amun-Re,

making this the earliest evidence of a building dedicated to Amun-Re in Karnak (Le Saout, Maarouf and Zimmer 1987: 294–7).

It is not clear when the southern processional way was added to the main (west-east) temple axis. Excavations conducted in the court of the ninth pylon by Van Siclen (2004: 29) between 1996 and 2002 revealed some Middle Kingdom structures, including a north-south mudbrick wall aligned with the west end of the eighth pylon that possibly belonged to an early enclosure wall. However, the presence at this time of a mudbrick pylon somewhere in this area, as suggested by Van Siclen (2004: 29–30), is hypothetical and not supported by archaeological evidence.

The barque shrine of Senwosret I that was found reused in the core of the ninth pylon — not to be confused with the White Chapel — attests to some Middle Kingdom processional activities in Karnak (e.g. Azim 1982; Blyth 2006: 18–19). The shrine was still accessible during the Amarna period, some 500 years after it was made, as indicated by the defacements of the Amun names on it. It may have remained in use until Horemheb's reign, when it used as construction material. Its large size suggests that it may have been located not far from the ninth pylon (Traunecker 1982c: 124, n. 16), which would imply that some processions took place along the southern axis. More Middle Kingdom monuments have been found along the southern processional way, such as two twice life-size seated royal statues dated to the 13th dynasty still located to the north of the west massif of the seventh pylon (Legrain 1901: 270; PM II^2: 168 [E–F]) as well as two colossal statues of Senwosret III (Cairo CG 42011 and 42012), whose bodies and heads were recovered in 1900 and 1903 south of the eighth pylon and in the cachette respectively (Legrain 1906c: 9). Long-distance movements of large stone monuments are well attested in Karnak, but the presence of these monuments and mudbrick structures along the southern processional way strongly suggests that this area was already used in the Middle Kingdom (see also Gabolde L. 2018: 264, 351–53). However, the layout of the area south of the main temple axis before the New Kingdom remains obscure.

Gitton (1976: 80, n. ao) proposed that an early version of the court of the seventh pylon might be referred to in a passage of the so-called Donation stela of queen Ahmose-Nefertari (PM II^2: 73). The text, dated to the reign of Ahmose and originally carved on a stela engaged in a wall, was discovered in fragments inside the north massif of the third pylon (Chevrier 1936: 137, pl. II (1); 1947: 172–73; Muhammed 1966: 149, pl. 5). Ahmose's reign was crucial for the Amun temple at Karnak, as it marked the beginning of its transition from a regional temple to the large state temple complex into which it developed through the course of the New Kingdom. The text deals with the queen's endowment or surrender (*imyt-pr*) — understanding of this word is problematic

(see Gitton 1976: 67–8 with earlier references; cf. Menu 1977 and Gitton 1979) — of the function of second prophet of Amun. Gitton's interpretation of the existence of a courtyard south of the main temple axis is based on a passage mentioning 'the portable barque of Amun in his feast of Khoi[ak in the] southern […] (*pꜣ sšm-n-ḫw ỉmn m ḥb=f n kꜣ ḥr* […]*yt rsyt*: Helck 1975: 102–3, ll. 21–2). The context of this excerpt and the house determinative after the lacuna […]  suggest that the word refers to some sort of architectural element or temple space, which Gitton (1976: 80, [ao]) proposed to read as [*ḥb*]*yt* (*Wb* 3: 60.17) 'festival hall' that is attested without the common  determinative (e.g. on Hatshepsut's red chapel, KIU 1265,3). However, this suggestion should be rejected since, to my knowledge, no festival hall is attested in Karnak before Tuthmose I. A more plausible reading is that proposed by Helck (1975: 102), who restored the lacuna as [*wꜣḏ*]*yt* (*Wb* 1: 269.6-9; Spencer 1984: 68–71), 'columned hall with *wꜣḏ*-columns'. The first attestation of a wadjit hall associated to the temple of Amun at Karnak dates to the reign of Sobekhotep IV (Helck 1969), thus supporting Helck's restoration. Thus, the term *rsyt* could refer to the southern half of the wadjit hall, which was located in the main temple area. Therefore, this passage does not support the existence of a courtyard along the southern axis at the time of Ahmose.

At the beginning of the New Kingdom only two large monuments are attested south of the main temple: a southern mudbrick pylon and a southern stone gateway, both mentioned in an inscription on 5 blocks belonging to the bark shrine of Amun of Tuthmose III, which were found by Chevrier in his 1953-1954 campaign among the debris on the north-west side of the second pylon. It is unclear whether the pylon and the doorway were associated. Tuthmose III claims to have replaced it ('then my Majesty made it as […]' *ʿḥʿ.n ỉr.n st ḥm=*(*ỉ*) *m* […], Nims 1969: 69–70, fig. 7, col. 16) — possibly referring to both or just the pylon — with the seventh pylon. The gateway has been attributed to Amenhotep I after Legrain's discovery in the south-east corner of the court of the seventh pylon of parts of a limestone lintel bearing his name and mentioning his 20 cubit high southern door, to which the lintel seems to have belonged (Legrain 1903: 14–16; PM II^2: 133–4; Gabolde L. 2016: 246). According to Graindorge (2000: 30, 32, pl. 3), the door would have been embedded in a mudbrick wall — she does not specify whether an enclosure wall or a pylon — probably forming at that time the southernmost entrance to the Amun temenos. She suggests the area close to the eighth pylon as its possible location, based on the colossal statue of Amenhotep I on the southern façade of the eighth pylon (PM II^2: 176 [N]), which may have stood in front of the gateway. Given its size the statue is probably close to its original location. Whatever monument Tuthmose III replaced with the seventh pylon — whether it belonged to Amenhotep I or to another predecessor — it must have been located along the

southern axis and coexisted briefly with the eighth pylon. No mudbrick pylon has been identified in CR8 (Azim 1980a) or CR9 (Van Siclen 2004; 2005), even though Van Siclen's reports seem to suggest otherwise — archaeological data are often difficult to distinguish from his hypothetical reconstructions. The mudbrick structure that he unearthed south of PY8 seems to belong to a non-better specified New Kingdom enclosure wall, and not to a pylon.

I tentatively propose that the southern mudbrick pylon, which was replaced by Tuthmose III, was located somewhere either at the current location of the seventh pylon, or north of it, the absence of its foundation being due to the later excavation of the cachette (Larché 2016: 74–5, n. 24, pl. 5). While this hypothesis is built on negative evidence, it would explain why the eighth pylon (Hat.-Tut. III) was built so far from the main temple, and why the seventh pylon (Tut. III) was erected north of it rather than south, where it would have had more visibility.

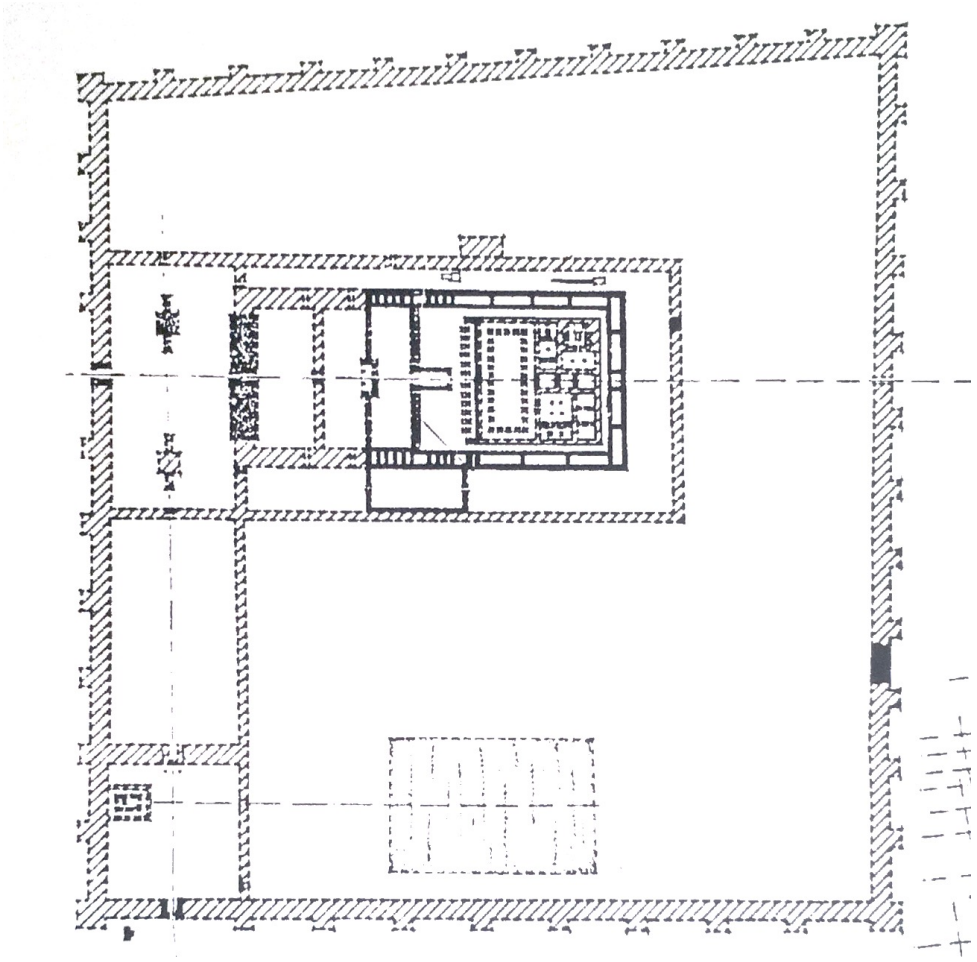


Fig. 2.1 Hypothetical reconstruction of the enclosure walls at the time of Amenhotep I with the southern gateway and a mudbrick pylon along the southern processional way. Drawn by Carlotti (Graindorge 2000: pl. 3).

2.2 From Hatshepsut to Horemheb: the main phase of development

2.2.1 The eighth pylon

The eighth pylon, dated to the coregency of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III on the basis of its decoration (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 258), is the earliest stone-built monument that is still standing along the southern processional way. This pylon is distinctive for a number of reasons. For example, it is the only pylon known to have been encircled at its base by a 45 cm thick limestone wall, which is only partially preserved, mostly on the north façade of the west massif. Sections survive on the south façade but in considerably worse condition. This architectural element appears to have been part of the original design of the pylon, since the west wall built under Tuthmose III to connect the eighth to the seventh pylon had to remove part of it (Azim 1980a: 98). The wall was later inscribed with titularies of Ramesses IV and VI.

The original decoration is preserved only in a few areas, such as in the upper registers of the northern façade, where Hatshepsut's name was systematically replaced by those of her husband Tuthmose II some time after her death. Another original scene is on the lower side of the east massif, where Tuthmose I is depicted praising Amun for having placed Hatshepsut on the throne. The southern façade originally bore a long text in columns that was later erased, seemingly under Tuthmose III; new decoration seems not to have been undertaken until the reign of Amenhotep II, when the scenes of this king smiting enemies were added (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 260–1, n. 6). The surface of the eastern end of the eastern massif is lowered by a few centimetres. It is unclear whether this was done to delete decoration on this side. No trace of any underlying inscription remains and the absence of any decoration on the west end of the pylon may be an indication that both sides were originally undecorated. The east end was later inscribed with scenes of high priests of the 19th and 20th dynasties. On the same side a small door opens to a long and narrow staircase leading up to the pylon's roof.

Another distinguishing feature of the eighth pylon is that, of the four pylons on the southern processional way, it has the highest concentration of royal colossal statues in front of the southern façade. One wonders whether this is due to the visibility of this pylon from the south before the ninth pylon was added under Horemheb's reign. Until this time PY8 was the southernmost pylon, possibly separated from the exterior by Amenhotep I's southern gateway and a mudbrick enclosure wall (see 2.1). This was replaced with a 2.5 m thick mudbrick enclosure wall, probably under Tuthmose III, parts of which have been found extending south of the western edge of the pylon (Van Siclen 2005: 188; see fig. 2.2). At the time of Tuthmose III the tops of the existing colossi[5] and the pylon, with its imposing size and towering flag masts, must

[5] The westernmost colossus was added under the reign of Amenhotep II (PM II²: 176 (M)).

have been visible from outside the wall, where archaeological evidence of a Second Intermediate Period – 18th Dynasty settlement has been found (Azim 1980b: 161; Graindorge 2000: 30, n. 18 with references).

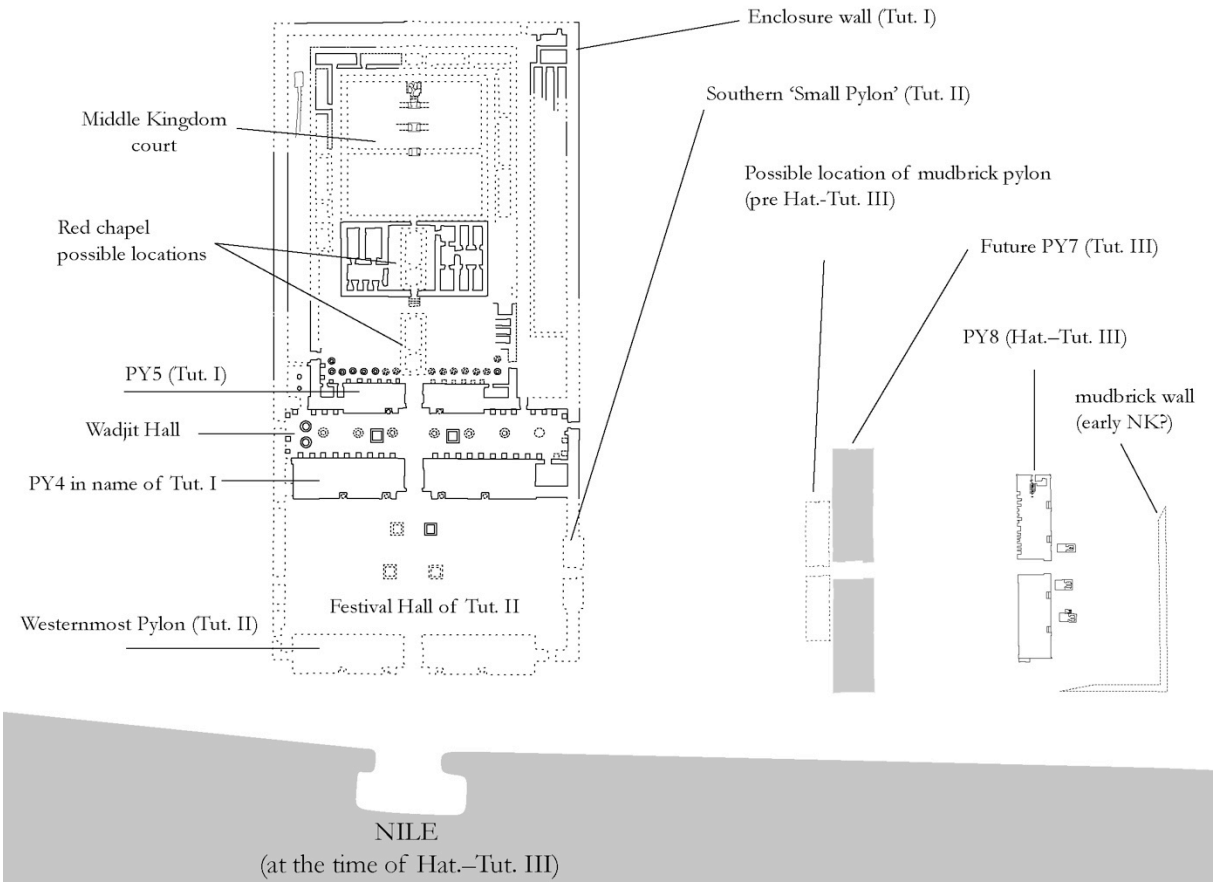


Fig. 2.2 Plan of the Amun temple at the time of the coregency of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III. Reconstructed walls are in dotted lines (After CFEETK key plan 2016 and Carlotti 1995: pl. 6; Position of the Nile, after Boraik, Gabolde, Graham 2017). For a different positioning of the red chapel, see Biston-Moulin 2012: 84, fig. 3.

At the time of Hatshepsut the temple of Amun was accessed from the west through a large pylon that, together with a smaller pylon to the south and a wall to the north, constituted the festival hall of Tuthmose II (Gabolde L. 1993). This has been interpreted by Luc Gabolde (1993) as a semi-public space that elite people not belonging to the temple could access to attend special ceremonies, such as the presentation of tribute from foreign countries, award of the gold of honour, parades organized in celebration of the gods, and possibly *sed*-festivals (Gabolde L. 1993: 55–61). The hall was delimited to the east by a pylon of Tuthmose I (PY4), which is still visible (Gabolde L. 2012: 463–65); Larché proposes that this pylon was built under Hatshepsut in the name of her father to replace his older mudbrick pylon (Larché 2007: 450–55; Letellier and Larché 2013: 19). Except for the fourth pylon, whose doorway still bears traces of inscriptions

added in the name of Tuthmose IV, Shabaka, Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies (KIU 272), none of the other monuments are now visible, having being dismantled in the reign of Amenhotep III to make room for a new entrance pylon (PY3).

The small pylon opening the hall to the south, inscribed with a text of Tuthmose II (Gabolde L. 1993: 37–8) and belonging to his festival hall, suggests that he had already initiated the project of monumentalization of the southern processional way, possibly as a way to connect the main temple with the southern mudbrick pylon and gateway of Amenhotep I. Hatshepsut's eighth pylon probably continued that plan. Its connection to the main temple however continues to pose problems (Fig. 2.2). The idea of connecting sidewalls between PY8 and the south side of the festival hall is all too tempting: the existing eastern walls of CR7 and CR8 are perfectly in line with one another, thus appearing like relics of a previous wall presumably connecting PY8 to the southern end of PY4. In addition, the west wall of CR7, if extended southwards, would terminate against the west end of PY8 (Fig. 2.3).

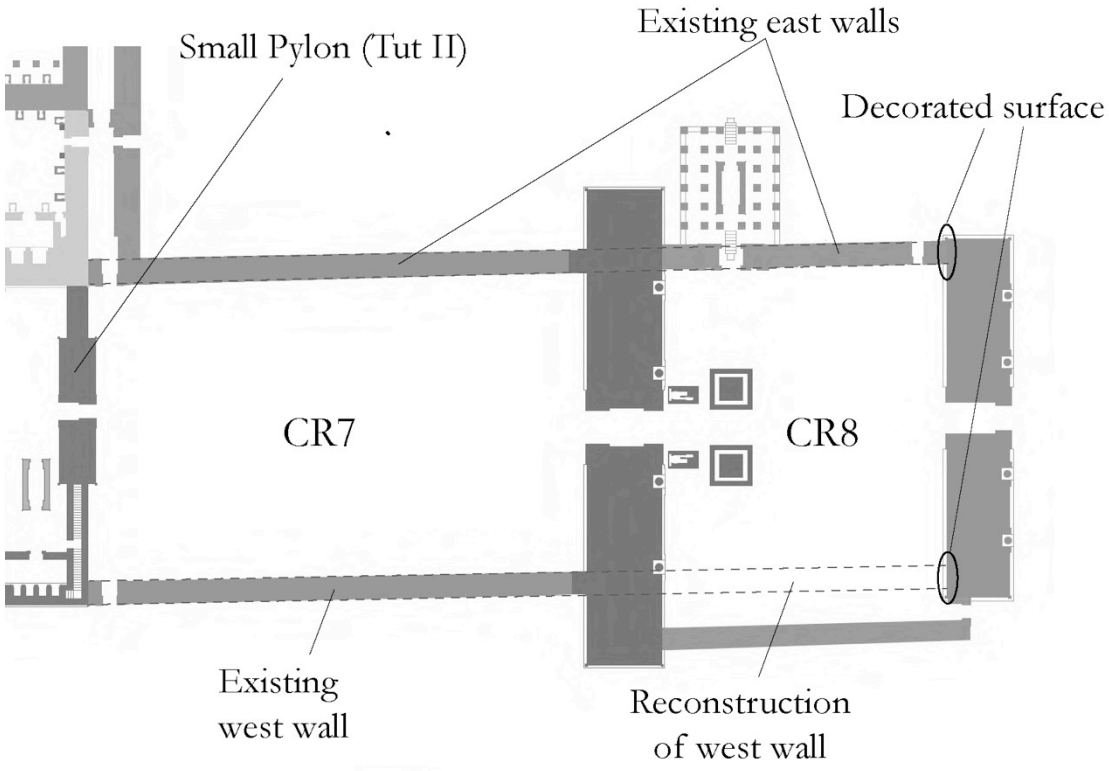


Fig. 2.3 Hypothetical reconstruction (dotted lines) of Hatshepsut's sidewalls of PY8 covering the decoration (After Letellier and Larché 2013: pl. 4).

This appealing reconstruction, proposed by Larché (Letellier and Larché 2013: pl. 4), is problematic, as it does not consider that Hatshepsut's decoration on the north façade of PY8 covers all available surface, not leaving any blank space for sidewalls to lean against. It is hardly

imaginable that the original plan required the decoration to be partly covered by sidewalls. Even if that had been the case, part of the low limestone wall encircling the pylon at its base would have had to be removed, as it was done on the eastern end of the east massif of the pylon (north façade), when the sidewall connecting PY8 with PY7 was added under Tuthmose III. That the north façade of the western massif is still encircled by the low limestone wall further demonstrates that no western sidewall was ever built againt the eighth pylon.

The problem as to whether and how PY8 was connected with the main temple remains unresolved. So far it looks as though Hatshepsut's pylon, in its original plan, was meant to be separated from the earlier mudbrick pylon and the main temple and possibly enclosed by a mudbrick wall (Fig. 2.2).

The huge investment of resources in this area of Karnak under the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III is certainly, if perhaps not exclusively, linked to its important ceremonial role in connection with the temple complex dedicated to Mut, about 350 m to the south, and that dedicated to Amun of Luxor, some 2 km further south, now called Luxor temple. The eighth pylon and its possible courtyard were conceived as the permanent stage for the annual festival of Opet during which the power of the king was rejuvenated (e.g. Darnell 2010). This festival is first attested during the reign of Hatshepsut (Golvin 1993: 46–53). At that time it took place during the second month of the harvest season (*šmw*) for eleven days, from the 15th to the 26th day, although it became longer over time. Scenes on the red chapel of Hatshepsut (Golvin 1993) record that the processional barque of Amun journeyed by land to Luxor temple, leaving from the red chapel, going through the processional way and stopping at six barque stations before arriving at Luxor, where it rested in a tripartite shrine in the name of Hatshepsut — the one later modified by Ramesses II and now placed in the north-west corner of the first courtyard (Golvin 1993: 50) — located outside the temple. This reveals that an early version of the great dromos was already there, linking Karnak to Luxor with six barque shrines (stations), although, unlike the dromos of Nectanebo I that we see today, this was without sphinxes and was probably 100 m to the east (Boraik, Gabolde and Graham 2017: 121–22). The return journey to Karnak was fluvial. When it reached the riverbank (no scene is preserved of the arrival at the quay), the barque returned to the festival hall of Tuthmose II where Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III performed some rituals. Before going back to the red chapel, the shrine stopped at its last station, which was the calcite shrine of Amenhotep I, now reconstructed in the open air museum (Graindorge and Martinez 1999; Cabrol 2001: 504–07).

Processions were also occasions for people to engage more or less directly with the god through oracles (overview: Černý 1962). Members of the royal family used oracles to legitimize

their positions, as did Hatshepsut on her red chapel (Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 133–35). Her legitimacy is prominently displayed on the eighth pylon too, where a scene on the east massif (north façade) shows the posthumous intervention of her father Tuthmose I thanking Amun-Re for placing her on the throne (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 263; *Urk.* IV: 265–73). Hence, Hatshepsut's investment on the southern processional way was also charged with political meaning and instrumental to the legitimation of her power as king. Centuries later, the higher echelons of priesthood continued to use the same practice to corroborate their powers (e.g. the 21st dynasty oracular text of Djehutymose, Kruchten 1986).

2.2.2 The seventh pylon

At the death of Hatshepsut the programme of development of the southern processional way was taken over by Tuthmose III, along with major construction works in the west-east axis. The king commanded a new, even larger pylon to be erected in his name between the small pylon of Tuthmose II and the recently built eighth pylon (cf. Laboury 1998: 37–9; Laskowski 2006: 195–96). This pylon, known from an inscription on the southern doorjambs as 'the door (called) Thutmose III and Amun-Re great of appearances', *sbȝ Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ Ỉmn-Rʿ ʿȝ ḫȝw* (*Urk.* IV: 851), was built of sandstone with a red granite gateway (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 269). Its two massifs were originally ca. 13 m high (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 269) but today they are preserved up to their sixth and ninth courses on their northern and southern sides respectively.

On its southern façade, each massif features two large niches in which originally stood large cedar flagpoles with tips covered in electrum. The pylon bears typical scenes of the king smiting foes (see 3.2). The decoration programme seems to have been made in two phases, one to be dated after year 33 of Tuthmose, given the mention of the battle of Naharina (*Urk.* IV: 188.15ff), while another phase was possibly achieved before that date (Sébastien Biston-Moulin: pers. comm. June 2019). To the south two seated colossi of Tuthmose III remain in situ at each side of the gateway (PM II^2: 171). Before them are preserved the bases of two red granite obelisks, the western of which was transported to Istanbul in the fourth century AD (PM II^2: 171; Azim 1980a: 91; Gabolde L. 2007: 34).

Fig. 2.4 North façade of the seventh pylon, Amun temple, Karnak. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

To the north two pairs of colossal statues of Tuthmose III, onto which Ramses IV added his own cartouches, were discovered at each side of the entrance by Legrain between 1901 and 1902. The pair closest to the gateway represent the king striding on the nine bows, the other pair depicts him 'mummiform', or undifferentatied, to use a term introduced by Hornung (1982: 107) as an Osiris (PM II^2: 167 [A-D]; Legrain 1901: 270). On the west massif, west of the Osirian colossus, is an anonymous statue of a seated king that has been dated to the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period on stylistic grounds (PM II^2: 168 (E); KIU 2053); next to it is another statue of a standing Amenhotep II (PM II^2: 168; KIU 2032), followed to the west by a 13th dynasty king named Sobekhotep (PM II^2: 168 (F); KIU 2051), as known from a now illegible inscription, recorded by Legrain (1903: 7) on the left side of its throne. West of this statue is a stela of Tutankhamun before Amun and Mut, later reinscribed in Horemheb's name (Legrain 1901: 270–72; PM II^2: 168 (H)). All these elements were discovered by Legrain (1901: 270, no. 3) in 1901 and are still in situ (Fig. 2.4).

2.2.3 The creation of CR7 and CR8

The court of the seventh pylon as we know it today is delimited by sidewalls that were originally over 8m in height, excluding the cavetto cornice (Le Saout 1982: 214). This cornice is still visible at three ends of the walls, on the southern wall of the hypostyle hall (Fig. 2.5) and on the northern wall of the seventh pylon.

Fig. 2.5 The circle indicates the cavetto cornice of the north end of the west wall of CR7 embedded in the masonry of the south wall of the hypostyle hall, Amun temple, Karnak. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

The construction of these walls likely entailed the (partial?) dismantling of some structures, perhaps long parallel walls connecting the eighth pylon to the main temple or shorter walls connecting the eighth pylon to the mudbrick one and the latter to the main temple. The walls visible today seem to be contemporaneous with the seventh pylon, since the masonry of the southern ends of both walls are structurally linked with this pylon (Biston-Moulin and Boraik 2017).

At the time of this construction, the festival hall of Tuthmose II with its large pylon still formed the main entrance to the temple from the west and the junction between the two axes. In this area Tuthmose III added a pair of obelisks in his name between those of Tuthmose I to the west, closest to his PY4, and those of Tuthmose II and Hatshepsut to the east, later to be dismantled by Amenhotep III's construction of PY3 (Gabolde L. 2012: 466–73; cf. Letellier and Larché 2013: 19–20). In year 24 of Tuthmose III's reign the main temple was expanded to the east, where the king commissioned the construction of his festival hall, the Akh-menu, then enclosed by a long girdle wall that formed an ambulatory running along the rear of the temple (Biston-Moulin 2012: 89). The relative chronology of these monuments is complicated and is still being determined (Laskowski 2006). What is clear though is that the girdle wall was added after the eastern wall of the court of the seventh pylon had been constructed, since the former lies against the latter (Biston-Moulin and Boraik 2017; Fig. 2.6).

Fig. 2.6 The girdle wall of Tuthmose III abuts the north end of the east wall of CR7, also built under Tuthmose III but slightly earlier. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

Our understanding of the sidewalls of this courtyard is complicated by the presence, in the masonry of the east wall, of an anomaly or *coup de sabre* less than a metre north of the seventh pylon (Fig. 2.7). This architectural term, literally a 'saber cut', designates two separate pieces of masonry that have been seamed together. Its presence here indicates that the eastern wall was constructed in different phases. Since it is certain that the section north of the *coup de sabre*, which is almost the whole length of the wall, predates the girdle wall, it seems reasonable to date it to a phase when the seventh pylon did not yet exist. One could speculate that it connected the earlier mudbrick pylon to the main temple, but this is impossible to verify. The *coup de sabre* probably results from the partial demolition of the southern end of this wall to construct the seventh pylon. Once the pylon was built, the masonry was extended north to replace the demolished section of wall and seam it into the remaining length.

Before the construction of the hypostyle hall, the northern end of the west wall of CR7 abutted the southern end of Tuthmose II's pylon belonging to his festival hall, as shown by the foundations discovered under the south-east corner of the hypostyle hall (Chevrier 1927: 149–50, pl. 1; Gabolde L. 1993: pl. 3), while its southern end was also structurally linked to the seventh pylon. However its poor state of preservation (see below) does not allow its architectural history to be fully understood.

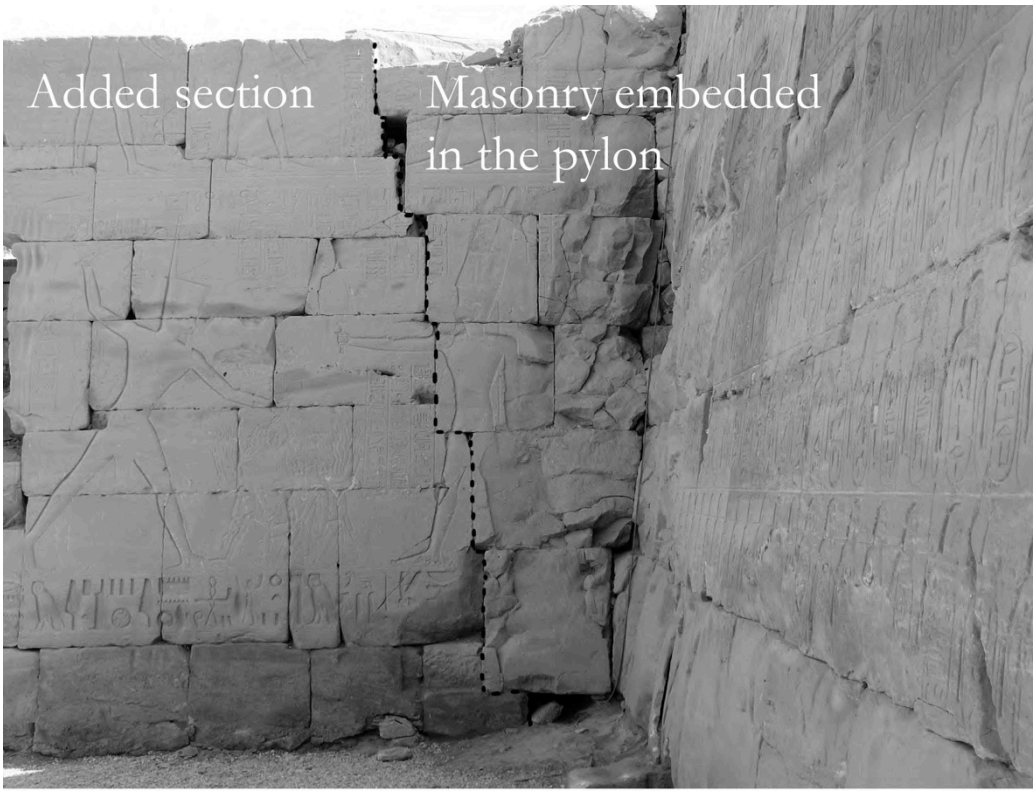


Fig. 2.7 *Coup de sabre* at the south end of the east wall of CR7. (© Letellier and Larché 2013: pl. 6).

It is not sure whether the west wall at this time had any opening, since its northern end is only preserved at foundation level and its southern doorway dates to the Ramessid period. The eastern wall was pierced at its northern end by a small side door allowing circulation between the courtyard and, before the construction of the girdle wall, the area of the sacred lake (east), which must have existed in some form. The presence of the lake at this time is supported by the barque shrine outside the court of the eighth pylon, surely dated before year 47 of Tuthmose III (Biston-Moulin 2012: 89–92), as well as various textual sources dated to Tuthmose III: a fragment of a barque shrine (Nims 1969: 70, l. 9), a loose block of the Annals in CR6 mentioning a lake and a northern lake (Gabolde and Gabolde 2015: 74, cols. 37 and 39; KIU 7208), as well as the southern exterior wall of the Akh-menu mentioning a statue for the water processions on the lake (*p3 twt ḥr ḫn.t n*[*.t*] *š*: *Urk*. IV: 1257: 7).

The eastern side door was probably used for the daily circulation of temple staff, whereas the pylons' gateways were more likely used during special occasions. The addition of the girdle wall resulted in a change of circulation. From the east CR7 was made accessible from the ambulatory, which was opened ca. 15 m to the east by a door giving access to the sacred lake. Permeability between these two areas was less direct, but still possible. The ambulatory, running around the main temple, led to the *wadjit* hall, the corridor leading to the Akh-menu, and the northern magazines; thus access to this space must have been highly controlled. The narrowness

of this passage suggests that this was a service route rather than a ceremonial one, and was probably preferred by people who needed to go from north to south avoiding the temple's central and most sacred area (Fig. 2.8). It is only after the reign of Ramesses IX that a new eastern door was opened to the north of the east wall of CR7, linking it directly with the area of the sacred lake (Fig. 2.14).

The court of the eighth pylon was also redesigned under Tuthmose III with the construction of the two sidewalls that connected the pylons as well as the gate west of the eighth pylon. The masonry of both sidewalls is independent from the seventh pylon, so the walls were probably not included in the original project of the seventh pylon. The addition of the west gate caused part of the limestone wall encircling the eighth pylon to be dismantled, confirming that the gate was not part of the original plan (Azim 1980a: 98, fig. 3). It was probably added to allow circulation of temple staff between this court and the exterior of the temple. The western wall of the court, now almost completely lost (Azim 1980a: 91), was structurally linked and extended from this new western gate all the way to the seventh pylon, where traces of its battered thickness are still visible on the southern façade of the western massif. The eastern wall, in much better condition, is perfectly aligned to the eastern wall of the court of the seventh pylon and seems to form an extension of it (Fig. 2.3). Its ends lie against the masonry of both pylons and conceal part of the decoration of the eighth pylon, meaning that it was constructed last. It has doorways close to its north and south ends and is distinctive in that it incorporates an element in the shape of a pylon giving access to a barque shrine, also dated to Tuthmose III, facing the sacred lake.

This architectural element reveals that at this time the court of the eighth pylon was designed to stage not only the processions of the Opet festival, but also those that took place in the sacred lake in celebration of the New Year. These processions symbolized the rebirth of the sun god from the primeval waters and hence, like the Opet festival, were associated with the cyclical rejuvenation of divine and royal power, which ensured maintenance of the cosmic order (Geßler-Löhr 1983: 159).

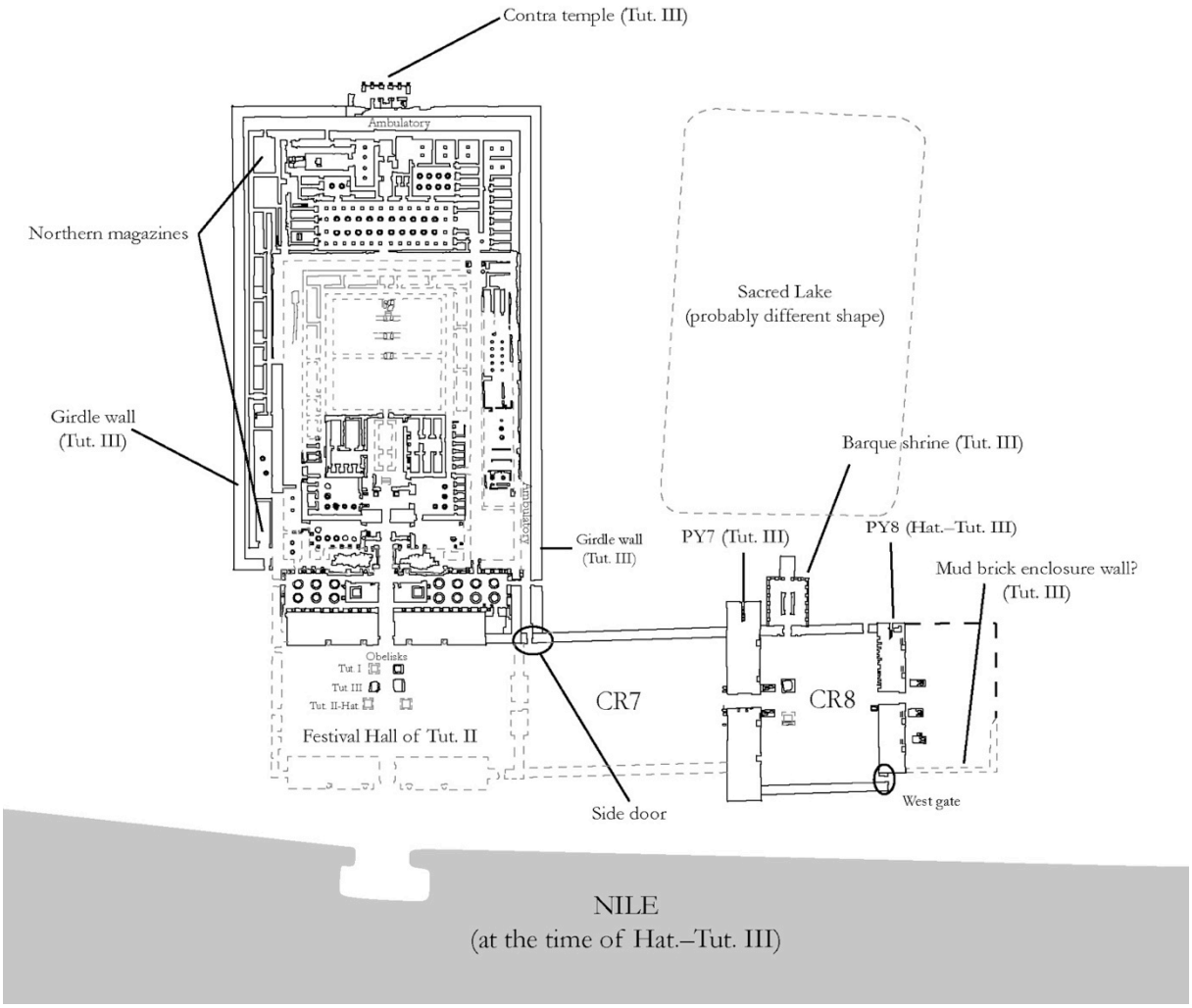


Fig. 2.8 View of the Amun temple and the level of the Nile at the time of Tuthmose III (After CFEETK key plan 2016; Carlotti 1995: pl. 6; Boraik, Gabolde, and Graham 2017: 131, fig. 18).

2.2.4 Developments under Amenhotep II

At the death of Tuthmose III the eighth pylon, with its supposed mud brick courtyard to the south, was the outermost temple entrance for people approaching from the south (Fig. 2.8). Under the reign of his successor the area south of the eighth pylon was entirely redesigned. The south façade of the pylon, which formed the northern end of the court, was re-decorated with a scene of Amenhotep II smiting enemies. According to Van Siclen's (2010: 84) reconstruction, the courtyard (now CR9) was delimited to the west by a portico with ten square pillars, which might have had one or two openings to the west, and its south-west corner included a barque shrine of Senwosret I, later dismantled and incorporated into the ninth pylon (Cotelle-Michel 2003). Van Siclen does not provide evidence for any of the elements of this reconstruction, so it is not clear whether this is supported by his archaeological work here. The eastern side of the court was seemingly delimited by a building in the name of Amenhotep II, traces of which Van Siclen (2010: 81) claims were found at foundation level. This building was later dismantled and

reassembled to the east of the court of the tenth pylon. It was probably some sort of royal memorial temple that had been erected on the occasion of the second jubilee of Amenhotep II (Van Siclen 1990: 78). It remained in its original position until post-Amarna times, as indicated by the inclusion of *talatat* in the foundation of the newly reassembled building (Van Siclen 1990: 75) and by the restoration of erased figures of Amun that can be dated to Tutankhamun on stylistic grounds (Van Siclen 2010: 86, n. 19). According to Van Siclen (2010: 84, n. 12), CR9 was accessed from the south via a small pylon erected under Amenhotep II, but again no archaeological evidence is presented in support of this interpretation, so his reconstruction of this area should be viewed with caution (Fig. 2.9).

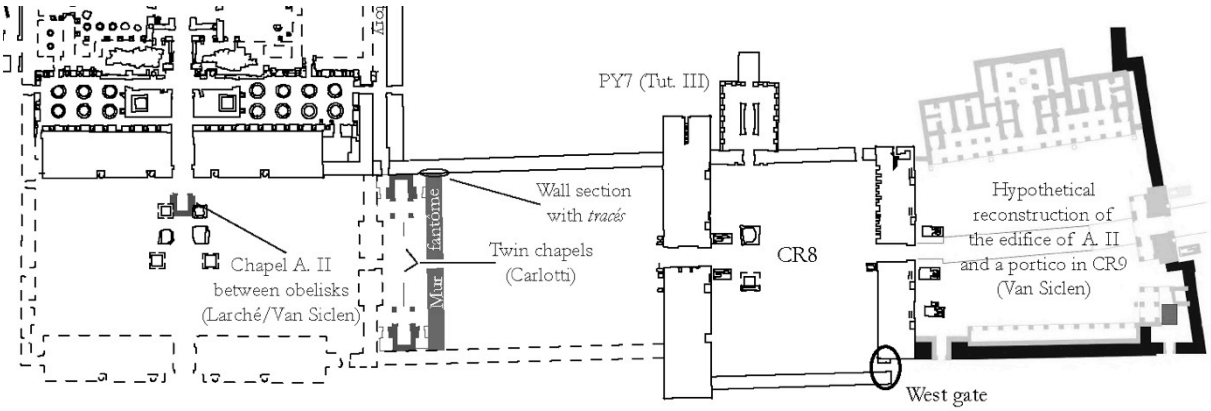


Fig. 2.9 Reconstruction of the southern processional way under Amenhotep II with two possible positions of the shrine of Amenhotep II according to Larché and Van Siclen (2010) and Carlotti (2008). (After CFEETK key plan 2016; Carlotti 1995: pl. 6; Letellier and Larché 2013: pl. 7).

Another key surviving development of the temple under Amenhotep II is a calcite shrine, fragments of which were retrieved primarily from the core of the third pylon, while two large blocks were found in the Mut temple (Van Siclen 1986). The monument is reconstructed almost entirely at the entrance of the open-air museum, but its original location is still disputed. The general consensus, following Larché (see below) is that its peculiar shape, with a trapezoidal protrusion on each sidewall (see Larché and Van Siclen 2010: 306 for precise description and measurements), suggests that it was located between two structures, possibly somewhere close to the third pylon and facing the east, based on its decoration. Van Siclen (1986: 38–9, pl. 14) had initially proposed that the shrine was peripteral and was originally embedded in the south wall of the festival hall of Tuthmose II, facing the court of the seventh pylon, but he later changed his mind and agreed with Larché's reconstruction (see below).

Carlotti (2008: 57–8), supported by L. Gabolde (2012: 476–79), proposes that the shrine was one of a pair that faced each other; the calcite one was orientated east while another of red granite and dedicated to Amun of Perunefer faced west (Fig. 2.9). His reconstruction includes

two side chambers and has the shrines preceded by pillars, imitating the plan of the contra-temple of Tuthmose III (Van Siclen 1986: pl. 10). They were understood to be located at the northern end of the court of the seventh pylon between the south wall of the festival hall of Tuthmose II and an assumed battered wall, now lost (*mur fantôme*), which supposedly ran perpendicular to the court of the seventh pylon, traces of which might be visible at the sides of a criosphinx scene on the eastern wall of the court (EW-B1.a, see 6.2.1, fig. 6.2.1).

Larché and Van Siclen (2010: 305–09) argue that the side protrusions of the calcite shrine match the size and inclination of an obelisk, rather than a wall. From the dimensions of the shrine, the distance between the three pairs of obelisks in the festival hall of Tuthmose II, and examination of the obelisks' foundations, Larché proposes that the chapel was set up between the pair of obelisks closest to the fourth pylon. He argues that these had not been erected under Tuthmose I, as commonly accepted and as demonstrated by L. Gabolde (2012: 466–67), but under Hatshepsut even though they were decorated in her father's name. He explains the traces at the sides of the criosphinx scene, which Carlotti took as traces of a *mur fantôme*, as all that is left of a wooden shrine contemporary to the scene that would have formed its back wall (Larché and Van Siclen 2010: 311, n. 53).

None of these hypotheses seems conclusive to me. That the shrine had a complex plan with columns and side chambers is not supported by archaeological evidence. The calcite contra-temple of Tuthmose III, proposed as a parallel, also does not support this interpretation, since it was first conceived as a single-chambered monolithic structure, whose side chambers abut the central shrine and partially cover its decoration (Varille 1950: 137, pl. 41). The existence of a pair shrine is also speculative. The discovery of some red granite fragments of a shrine built for Amun of Perunefer under Amenhotep II (Carlotti 2008: 57–8) indicates that it existed, but not necessarily that it was a twin of the calcite one. To further support his hypothesis, Carlotti (2008: 59) refers to a text carved under Amenhotep II on the first north-western column of the southern *wadjit* hall. The inscription mentions 'two chapels' (***itrty***) with a dual determinative (*Urk.* IV: 1332: 5; KIU 4472), which could indicate the presence in the *wadjit* hall of a second shrine, only one of which has been found in the southern *wadjit* (Legrain 1904a: 34–5; Barguet 2006 [1962]: 105, pl. XIVb). But the same text later refers to the chapels as singular: 'on all *its* route while offering to Amun-Re' (*ḫr w3t=f nbt ḥr ḥnk n Ỉmn-Rˁ, Urk.* IV: 1332: 5; KIU 4472).

Larché's idea that the shrine was embedded between the westernmost pair of obelisks in the festival hall raises several issues. His apparently persuasive argument concerning the features and dimensions of the shrine similar to the obelisks' foundations has been rejected by L. Gabolde (2012: 473–76) because it implies that the people entering the temple and standing in the festival

hall would have faced the rear wall of the shrine. In Larché's view the processional barque coming out of the naos would have made a detour around the obelisks, instead of being carried between them following the central temple axis. Even admitting that there was enough room for the barque to go around the shrine, this seems an unnecessary complication (Gabolde L. 2012: 473).

The implications of these reconstructions, especially Carlotti's, for our understanding of the evolution of the court of the seventh pylon are significant. Whether or not the calcite chapel was located at the northern end of CR7, the traces around the criosphinx scene on the eastern wall of CR7 seem to fit with Carlotti's suggestion of a battered wall here (see 6.2.1), which may have been in place some time between the end of the reign of Tuthmose III and the early 19th dynasty. In Carlotti's (2008: 65, fig. 4) hypothetical reconstruction, the battered wall functioned together with the alleged twin shrines of Amenhotep II (Fig. 2.9). This would reshape the accessibility of this courtyard, which could only have been accessed through the gateway of the *mur fantôme* or the seventh pylon and not through the smaller side door that was probably no longer used as service passageway. As a result, CR7 would have been presumably less permeable and more protected. However, nothing proves that this wall was contemporary to Amenhotep II. As I argue below, the wall might have been built later, under Amenhotep III to close CR7 to the north.

2.2.5 The tenth pylon

When Tuthmose IV ascended the throne he had a new festival hall erected within the area of the older festival hall of Tuthmose II (Letellier and Larché 2013), but the construction works undertaken under his reign did not affect the southern processional way. His son and successor Amenhotep III had a much bigger impact on this area. His greatest achievement in Karnak was a massive new entrance pylon (PY3) and possibly a colonnade projecting west of it — now forming the central part of the hypostyle hall — although attribution of the latter is still much debated (cf. Traunecker F. 1986: 44–5; Brand 2000: 218; Carlotti and Martinez 2013: 251). Instead of replacing the old entrance pylon of Tuthmose II by building a new one in its place or further to the west, as one would expect, Amenhotep's third pylon was built further to the east, which entailed the dismantling of his father's new festival court — now reconstructed in the open-air museum — and other monuments that had been erected within it: many were reused in the core of the pylon (Pillet 1923: 112–13; 1924: 55–6; Bickel and Chappaz 2015: 2–3). This unusual decision is difficult to understand. A possibility might be offered by the Nile level of the time. As Graham demonstrates, between the reigns of Tuthmose III and Tutankhamun the Nile

bank shifted to the west, exposing more land at the entrance of the Amun temple (Boraik, Gabolde, and Graham 2017: 131–32, figs 18–9). If one assumes that a central colonnade leading to a large artificial basin was at least designed, if not perhaps built, under Amenhotep III, his architects might have decided to build the pylon in its current location in order to leave enough space to the west of it for this basin (Fig. 2.10).

The position of the third pylon collaterally affected the layout of CR7, which was deprived of its northern limit, and the junction between the two temple axes, which was shrunk to the east. The project might have initially included a new wall to close CR7 to the north, but if so there is no evidence of it (Carlotti and Martinez 2013: 250). Instead, it seems that part of the southern end of the festival hall of Tuthmose IV, east of PY3, was spared with the purpose of closing the area between PY3 and PY4, which is now occupied by the gateway of Ramesses IX. This assumption is supported by the discovery, in the gateway, of reused blocks of Tuthmose IV (Letellier and Larché 2013: 35–6). It is unknown whether part of Tuthmose IV's festival hall continued west of the newly built third pylon, but possibly so, otherwise the north-west corner of CR7 would have remained open and accessible (see fig. 2.10 and close up). In that case, Amenhotep IV, who invested in this area by adding a smaller entrance against the third pylon (Carlotti and Martinez 2013: 251 (4.3)), would have closed it off with a wall. An alternative reconstruction has been provided by Carlotti's *mur fantôme,* which might have been built under Amenhotep III to replace the older southern wall and small pylon of Tuthmose II (Carlotti and Martinez 2013: 270, fig. 16; fig. 2.10 and close up). The traces on the east wall of CR7 correspond to a ca. 3 m thick battered wall, which could indicate this was in fact a pylon. However, this reconstruction does not resolve the issue of the area west of the third pylon, which must have been walled off with a structure of some sort, possibly part of the older festival hall of Tuthmose IV.

According to this reconstruction, CR7's main access would have been through the area between the third and fourth pylons, which, although smaller than before, presumably still played a role similar to the earlier festival hall (Gabolde L. 1993: 55–6, 60–1). The east door continued to connect the courtyard to the narrow service route running around the main central temple, while the ceremonial route continued to go through the seventh pylon.

Amenhotep III also resumed and expanded Hatshepsut's vision of the southern processional way, at the end of which he commissioned the tenth pylon and presumably a pair of colossal statues of himself in front of the south façade, even though only the east one was realised.

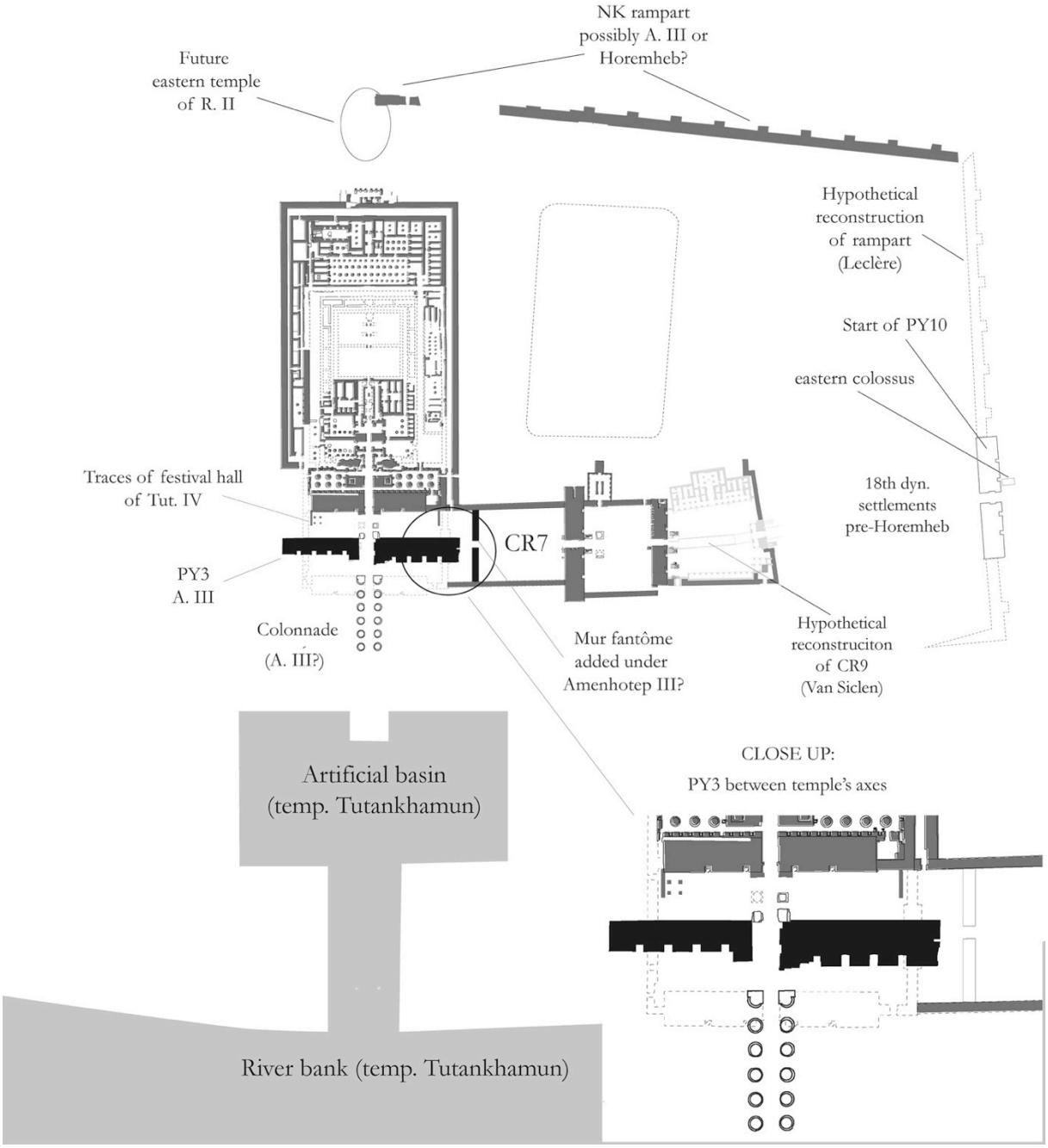


Fig. 2.10 View of the Amun temple under Amenhotep III and Nile level at the time of Tutankhamun. (After CFEETK key plan 2016; Carlotti 1995: pl. 6; Letellier and Larché 2013: pls 7, 10; Boraik, Gabolde, and Graham 2017: 132, fig. 19).

The connection between these projects is directly reflected by the position of the tenth pylon, which has an orientation closer to the Mut temple than the seventh or the eighth pylons (cf. Bickel and Chappaz 2015: 3) (Fig. 2.10).

The project came to a stop when Amenhotep III died in 1353 BC. By that time only the first eight courses of the pylon (Azim 1982: 145–46) and the eastern colossus (PM II^2: 189 (587)) had been completed. The creation of the colossal statue, only the base and feet of which have survived (Clère, Ménassa, and Deleuze 1975), was overseen by his scribe and overseer of works

Amenhotep son of Hapu, who proudly mentioned his achievement on one of his own statues (Varille 1933: 92). A couple of decades had to pass before the completion of the tenth pylon under Horemheb, who also paired the eastern colossus with one to the west (PM II^2: 189 (586); Murnane 1993: 33).

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten does not seem to have affected the design of the southern processional way, being preoccupied with the construction of cultic structures for his new solar cult, such as the *ḥwt-bnbn,* and his new temple, the *gm-pꜣ-jtn,* which was located to the east of the Amun temple outside the enclosure wall (Chappaz 2005; Blyth 2006: 122–23). It was under the reign of Tutankhamun, who restored the cult of Amun after his father's death, that the processional route was partly modified. The tenth pylon was linked with the temple of Mut via a 310 m long avenue of 128 sphinxes, which were moved here and modified from earlier anthroposphinxes of Akhenaten and Nefertiti into criosphinxes bearing his titulary on the bases (Eaton-Krauss and Murnane 1991). The names of Ay and Horemheb were added to the sphinxes, which received also the names of Sety II and the high priest Herihor at the end of the 19th and in the 20th dynasty (Cabrol 2001: 23–5, 221–38, esp. 225–27, with references). Under Tutankhamun the tenth pylon remained unfinished and one can only assume that the king had intended that it be completed before his premature death.

Under his reign was possibly built a chapel facing the sacred lake (Saad 1975: fig. 9). All that is left of this today are fine bas-reliefs on the exterior (east) side of the east wall of CR7, which seem to have formed the back wall of the shrine (Fig. 2.11). Saad (1975: 108–09) persuasively proposed that the structure was finished under Ay, but that it did not stay in place for long: Horemheb's agents first usurped it and later dismantled it and reused its blocks as fill in the second and ninth pylons. M. Gabolde (2015: 146) was sceptical of this suggestion, new since the scene on the east wall does not show any sign of the sidewalls of the chapel and the blocks of Tutankhamun found within the pylons show no usurpations, contrary to the supposed back scene. However, over 200 new fragments and blocks belonging to the east wall of CR7 (both east and west sides) have been identified as part of the ongoing project of reconstruction led by the CFEETK. Gabriella Dembitz has undertaken a re-examination of the loose blocks published by Le Saout (1982), and has identified 'new' ones not known to Le Saout. They are currently being restored to their original positions by Antoine Garric and his Egyptian team (Abdel Aziz and Thiers 2017: 51). Thanks to this research, the presence of a building of Tutankhamun, seemingly connected to the Nile and the inundation, has been ascertained (Dembitz forthcoming).

Fig. 2.11 Detail of the scene of Tutankhamun, exterior of the east wall of CR7. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

When Horemheb ascended the throne he commissioned the construction of a massive new pylon (PY2) at the entrance of the temple to the west (Azim 1982: 127–34) and it is reasonable to assume that under his reign the second and the third pylons were connected with sidewalls so as to make an open courtyard (with a central colonnade?) where the future hypostyle hall would be built, but this is still disputed (cf. Brand 2000: 197–201; Carlotti and Martinez 2013: 252). He also resumed work on and completed the tenth pylon, which was to remain the outermost gateway of the southern processional way (Fig. 2.12).

The pylon has four niches on its south façade for flag masts (Azim 1982: 143). Like the other three pylons on this axis a stairwell leading up to the roof opened at the foot of the east face of the east massif, access to which was possible through a short passage made into the abutting enclosure wall (Azim 1982: 143, n. 101, fig. 5). The stairwell running east to west is now inaccessible, the passage leading to it being walled up in modern times, but a distinctive graffito of a man with a hunchback offering to a stela of Horus-Shed is still visible to the left of its entrance (Traunecker 1979: 25–7, fig. 1; see 3.1.3).

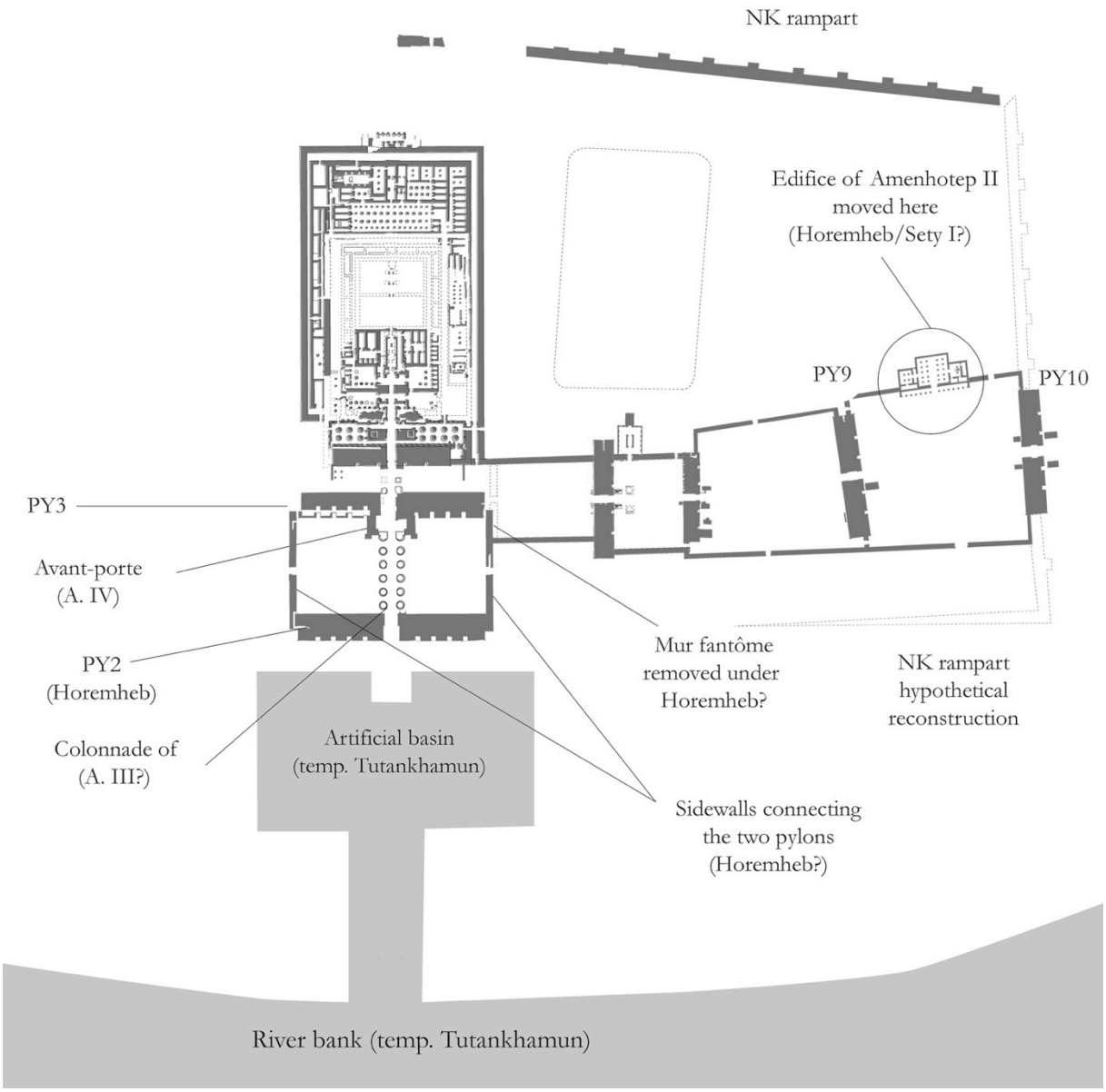


Fig. 2.12 View of the Amun temple under Horemheb with hypothesised sidewalls connecting PY2 with PY3 and Nile level at the time of Tutankhamun. (After CFEETK key plan 2016; Boraik, Gabolde, and Graham 2017: 132, fig. 19).

The decoration of the sandstone massifs on the south façade is not preserved, except for the representation of Horemheb standing in front of Amun on the flag niches. At the centre of the pylon is a red granite doorway whose monumental doorjambs bear scenes in four registers of Horemheb offering to Amun-Re (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 246–8; Bickel and Chappaz 2015: 33–53, esp. 37–8). Small doorways with jambs projecting south of the main portals (*avant-porte*) were later added to this, as was also done at the ninth and eighth pylons; Barguet (2006 [1962]: 246, no. 6) proposed that they allowed access to the courts without opening the main door itself or, more plausibly, they served as screens to prevent people from seeing inside unless they were granted access. They would have also helped in regulating access, since only so many people could fit

through. The one at the tenth pylon, which extends ca. 4.80 m to the south of the red granite doorway and was ca. 4.80 m high, had a double-leaved door. Its large dimensions, even though dwarfed by the enormous size of the pylon, would have probably fit a processional barque. It is tempting to speculate that this structure may have been used as some sort of 'decompression-chamber' between the temple's sacred space and the exterior world, to mark tand facilitate this transition.

It is unclear when it was erected, but an inscription of the son of Osorkon II Nimlot, recently attributed to it, suggests it was already restored in the 22nd dynasty (Hourdin 2017). It was later restored under Petubastis I (23rd dynasty) and inscribed with the names of Taharqa (25th dynasty), which were probably defaced under Psammetichus II (Legrain 1914: 14; Bickel and Chappaz 2015: 177–204, esp. 183).

The north façade of the pylon is quite damaged, but traditional scenes of Horemheb smiting enemies are visible on each massif, below which are names of conquered foreign countries inscribed within cartouches; below again is Horemheb's titulary inscribed along the dado. More unusual is the oracular text of Henuttawy, wife of Smendes II and daughter of the high priest Menkheperre, carved on the west massif in 27 lines (originally 50). The text concerns her property and that of her daughter Isetemkheb (PM II^2: 187 (580); Winand 2003: 614–72). The presence of this and other oracular texts in and around CR10 has important implications for the assessment of the functions and use of this courtyard in the 21st dynasty, as well as for changing modes of self-display (see 3.1.3 and 3.3 (point 2)). Two headless colossi flank the northern entrance of the pylon. They bear the name of Ramesses II but were probably reinscribed from a previous king, possibly Horemheb (Legrain 1914: 27–9) or Amenhotep III (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 248).

2.2.6 The ninth pylon

The ninth pylon has the same orientation as the Mut temple. For this reason Barguet (2006 [1962]: 252–3) suggested that it was planned together with the Mut temple, at the time of Amenhotep III (see above). No trace of this hypothetical pylon remains; the pylon visible today was erected entirely under Horemheb, as confirmed by the layers of *talatat* of Amenhotep IV and the blocks of Tutankhamun and Ay found in its core (Saad 1975: 108–09; Golvin, Abdul Hamid, and Goyon 1982). It is unclear whether its construction was contemporary to that of the tenth pylon or perhaps later, but the ninth pylon was certainly built before the two courtyards, since the east walls enclosing CR10 and CR9 abut the east end of its east massif (Fig. 2.12). Only the two extremities of the massifs have survived; the other two thirds of the pylon have collapsed at

its centre. Like the tenth pylon, the ninth was made of sandstone and featured four niches for flagpoles on its south façade and a stairwell in its eastern massif. At its centre was a sandstone doorway before which were two red granite colossi in the name of Ramesses II, but only their bases are preserved. The original decoration featured Horemheb, but the reliefs were recarved in the name of Ramesses II, Ramesses IV, and Ramesses VI. Each massif frames between two flagpole niches a scene of Horemheb making libations to Amun. Each end of the south façade is inscribed with a stela of Ramesses II, while the space left blank on the eastern massif was densely inscribed with prominent Roman graffiti (see 3.1.3).

The decoration of the north façade evokes that on the north façade of the eighth pylon, with processional barques of the Theban triad being brought in procession by priests in the upper eastern register, and the king burning incense before them on the upper western register. The lower registers on both massifs are framed between two marginal inscriptions with the titulary of Ramesses IV, later recarved by Ramesses VI, and show the king engaged in cultic activities with the gods.

2.2.7 The creation of CR9 and CR10

CR9 and CR10 seem to have been designed together, since they share the same western wall stretching out for ca. 180 m from the west end of the tenth pylon all the way to the west gate of the eighth pylon (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 257). This wall is connected to the ninth pylon through a side door bearing the name of Horemheb. To the east, however, the courtyards are enclosed by two separate walls, which are only partly preserved: one (CR9), abutting the east ends of the eighth and ninth pylons, has disappeared south of the east door; the other (CR10), abutting the east ends of the ninth and tenth pylon, is only preserved south of Amenhotep II's reassembled building (Fig. 2.12). The walls framing CR9 were mostly built with reused *talatat* (Azim 1980a: 98), as are parts of the walls of CR10. In CR9 the walls are preserved only up to the lowest courses. The inner face of the west wall is decorated with scenes of the divine barques heading south towards Luxor, whereas the east wall bears scenes of the barques returning to Karnak. They may date to the reign of Ramesses II, like the scenes of the battle of Kadesh on the outer face of both walls (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 258), but it is more likely that they are usurpations of reliefs commissioned by Horemheb.

These two themes, procession and war, are partly repeated on the walls in CR10. A barque procession heading south is depicted on the inner (east) side of the west wall and dates to Horemheb, while a marginal inscription with the titulary of Ramesses III, reinscribed with the names of Ramesses IV and VI, runs all along the wall's dado. The exterior (west) side of this wall

probably remained undecorated until the time of Ramesses II, when reliefs of the battle of Kadesh were carved on the part of the wall north of the west door (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 251). This perhaps suggests that Horemheb's primary focus was the appearance of the interior of the courtyard, which was the place were the barques were reunited before leaving for the temples of Mut and Luxor (Blyth 2006: 140). His decree, carved on a stela placed against the north side of the west massif of PY10, seems to confirm this (Kruchten 1981; 2003). The reliefs on the preserved part of the east wall of CR10, south of the edifice of Amenhotep II, show Horemheb offering to the gods (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 251), while the exterior of this wall bears a 21st dynasty oracular text of a private individual named Djehutymose (Kruchten 1986) surrounded by many dozens of private graffiti (see 3.1.2).

Both courtyards have doorways opening to the east and west, but only CR10 out of the four southern courtyards has doors opening into the stairwells of the pylons (PY9 and PY10). The western door in CR10 linked this courtyard to the south-west area where lies the temple of Khonsu (PM II^2: 228–44; Barguet 2006 [1962]: 12–3). Although its construction has generally been attributed to Ramesses III, recent discoveries have revealed that the visible structure sits on an earlier temple of Khonsu dating to 18th and 19th dynasties, whose loose blocks were reemployed in foundations, floor, walls, and roof, the earliest ones dating to Tuthmose III (Kimpton et al. 2010: 117–19; McClain et al. 2011: 170–71; Kimpton et al. 2012: 246, 250).

Parts of a contemporary small shrine dedicated to Amun and Thoth 'who pleases the gods in the domain of Amun' were uncovered some 20 m east of the eastern door of CR9 (Goyon and Traunecker 1982: 355–56, fig. 1). The structure faces the south and bears the names of Horemheb and Osorkon, possibly Osorkon II (Goyon and Traunecker 1982: 364). Its much later connection with the 29th dynasty magazines of offerings, which are located to the south of the sacred lake, indicates that this chapel remained active for centuries, thus suggesing that it was part of the system of redistribution of offerings, in which Thoth acted as divine administrator (Goyon and Traunecker 1982: 361–62). Its proximity to CR9's entrance may be an indication that the offerings were brought through the southern courtyards on their way to Amun's naos. Close to this area, some 11 m east of the eastern stairway of the ninth pylon, was later built the door of the high priest Masaharta embedded in a mudbrick wall running east of CR9 and CR10 (PM II^2: 181 (549 a-b); Carlotti and Chappaz 1995). This doorway linked CR9 and CR10 with the economic and residential sector of Karnak (Masson 2014: 591, n. 22).

If the edifice of Amenhotep II was originally east of CR9 (see 2.2.4), it must have been dismantled at an unknown period in Horemheb's reign, before the construction of the east wall of CR9. However, it is not clear whether it was reassembled in its current position, to the east of

CR10, under the same king, as proposed by Van Siclen (2010). During the excavation of the east wall of CR10 Azim (1980b: 154–56) discovered that the foundation of the wall was cut to make room for the edifice of Amenhotep II, meaning that the building was reassembled after the wall had been built, a point that Van Siclen (2010: 86, n. 23) seems not to consider. So it is possible that the building was reassembled under one of Horemheb's successors, possibly Sety I, who commissioned the recarving of the interior scenes (Azim 1980b: 156, n. 1; Fig. 2.12).

2.3 Ramessid investments and interventions

The architectural investments that were undertaken at the beginning of the 19th dynasty did not aim to directly modify the southern processional way. This notwithstanding, the creation of the hypostyle hall, usually attributed to Sety I and Ramesses II (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 59–60), entailed the destruction of some pre-existing structures, including part of the west wall in CR7 that had been built under Tuthmose III. The north end of the wall is structurally linked with the masonry of the south wall of the hypostyle hall, meaning that part of the wall had been dismantled and reassembled together with the hypostyle hall's south wall (Fig. 2.13). This is particularly relevant for my project as it potentially changes date of the west wall, whose inner (east) face bears the highest concentration of graffiti within CR7.

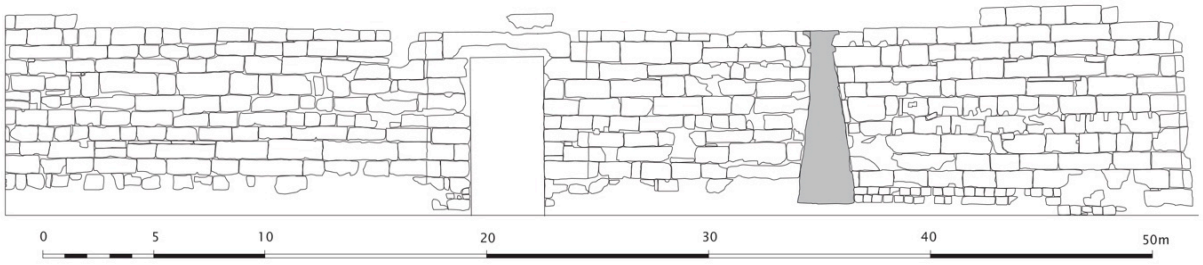


Fig. 2.13 South wall of the hypostyle hall (exterior). In grey is the thickness of the west wall of CR7 embedded in its masonry. Image from Carlotti and Martinez (2013: fig. 12). © CNRS/Martinez.

Dating the hypostyle hall and its southern wall, however, is not straightforward, and scholars are still debating whether the construction of the hall occurred in one or more phases (for syntheses and bibliography, see Murnane 1995: 163; Brand 2000: 197–201). Two main hypotheses have emerged: Brand (2000: 218) largely follows Barguet (2006 [1962]: 59–60) and asserts that the construction of the entire hall, including the much debated central colonnade and the southern wall, has to be attributed solely to Sety I. Carlotti, on the other hand, considers that the hall was designed and built in multiple phases starting from Amenhotep III (Carlotti and Martinez 2013: 250–54) and that the south wall has to be attributed to Horemheb, who probably completed a project that had been started under Tutankhamun (Carlotti and Martinez 2013: 252, n. 92, 256,

fig. 2). The implications of these two reconstructions are that the west wall of CR7 was partly dismantled and rebuilt either during Horemheb's reign — that I prefer (see above) — or under Sety I. The time span between these two proposed construction phases is roughly fifteen years.

Only the south end of this wall, which is structurally linked with the seventh pylon, can certainly be dated to Tuthmose III, but an assessment of the extent of reconstruction of its north end — whether for a few metres or much longer, and using old or new blocks — is complicated by the removal of the unique obelisk in the 4th century AD, which was dragged through CR7 destroying large part of the east wall (see 2.4; fig. 2.16). Carlotti records a potential *coup de sabre* on the wall about 4 m south of the hypostyle hall's south wall (Carlotti and Martinez 2013: 249, fig. 2; see also Letellier and Larché 2013: pl. 12). However, this is not as clear as that on the south end of the east wall (Fig. 2.7). Another possibility is that the west wall was torn down and rebuilt all the way south of the west door. Although admittedly speculative, this would explain why Carlotti's *coup de sabre* is hard to identify and also why the exterior of the west wall south of the door, left completely blank, is so different from the section north of the door, which is fully decorated (see section 2.3). This tantalizing hypothesis would shift the *terminus post quem* for the graffiti on this wall from Tuthmose III to the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th dynasty, providing a much narrower chronological framework. But apart from the fact that this would have been an expensive and time-consuming construction strategy, another problem is that the west door seems to not have existed at that time of Horemheb/Sety I. Excavations of the door's foundation revealed that it was built by demolishing part of the west wall (Lauffray, Sa'ad, and Sauneron 1971: 62–4) and the fact that some scenes dating to Ramesses II or Merenptah have been affected by it suggests that it was opened under one of these two kings (see further 3.2). So although hard to identify, the idea of a cut some metres from the north end of the west wall remains the most plausible. Another element needs be considered: assuming a battered wall (*mur fantôme*) extending between the sidewalls of CR7 had existed, this was probably dismantled with the construction of the southern half of the hypostyle hall. The fact that no traces of it are visible on the west wall, but allegedly are on the east wall (see further ch. 6), suggests that the west wall was reconstructed at least south of this wall, which is where Carlotti indicates a *coup de sabre* (Carlotti and Martinez 2013: 256, fig. 2 (8)).

The creation of the hypostyle hall certainly redefined the shape, size, and accessibility of CR7, which could now be entered also through a small side door in the south-east corner of the hypostyle hall. A new circulation route was introduced with the opening of the west door early in the 19th dynasty, which connected the courtyard to the still unexcavated west sector. It is not known whether this passage was used for service or ceremonial purposes. The so-called decree of

Sety II (Dembitz 2007, with references), which was reinscribed from either Ramesses II or more likely Merenptah (see 3.2), may cast some light on the accessibility of the courtyard during the Ramessid period. The text, now in scattered blocks, was originally engraved on the inner west wall of CR7, just north of the west door (Le Saout 1982: 224–25, n. 81–2), and it aimed to limit the abuses of the high clergy against lower-ranking priests, from whom 'things' were being extorted, possibly provisions or favours (Dembitz 2007: 94 (c)), by the former. The punishment for anyone getting caught practicing extortions was to be demoted and to be sent to work in the fields (Dembitz 2007: 94 (d)). The reason for what must have been a recurring practice is not stated in the text, but its proximity to the doorway suggests that it might have been linked with the accessibility of the courtyard through the west door (Le Saout 1982: 225, n. 80) as well as the heightened visibility of passageways, which often 'attracted' inscriptions (e.g. the decree of Horkhebi, Frood 2010).

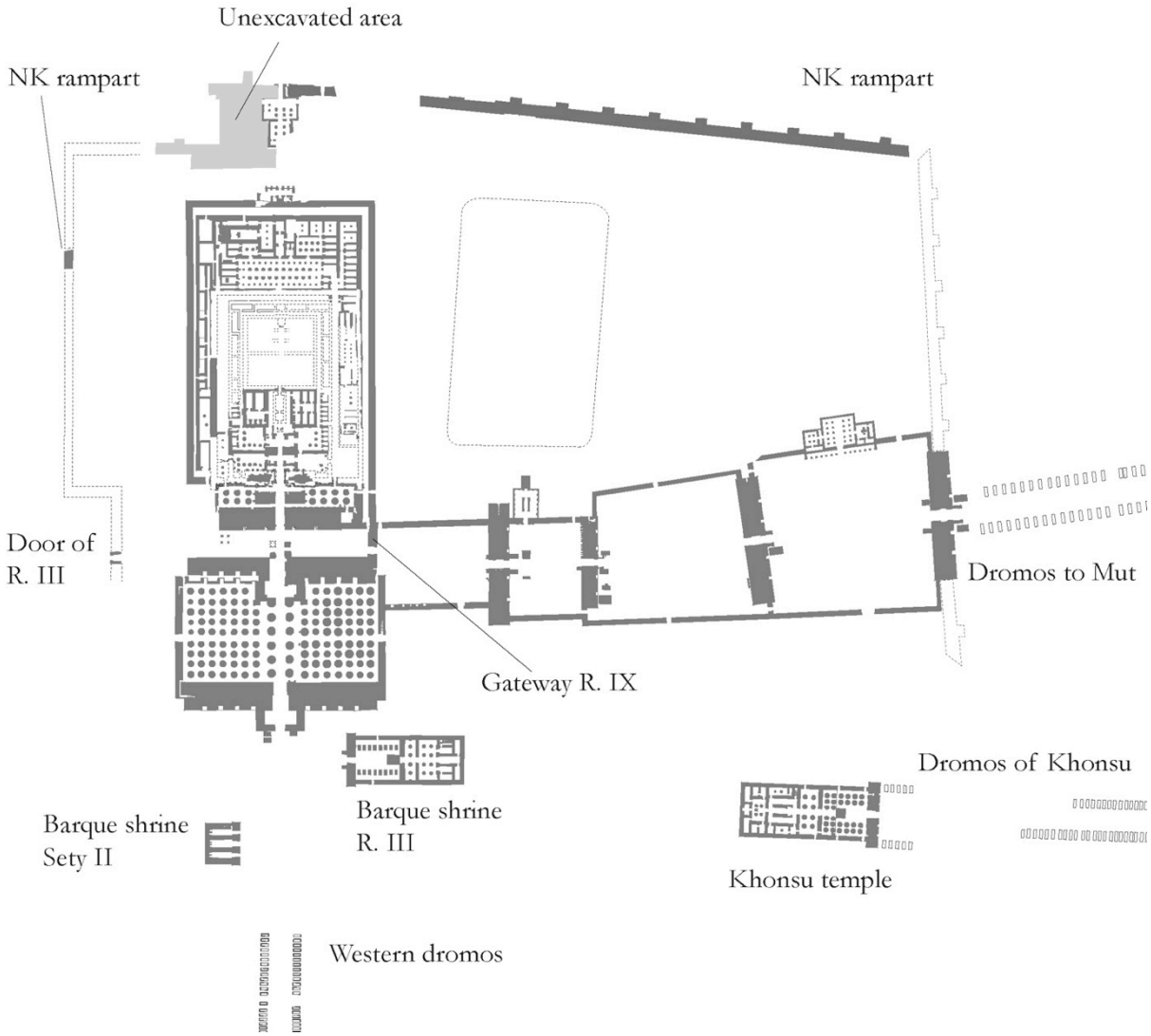


Fig. 2.14 View of the Amun temple under Ramesses IX. (After CFEETK key plan 2016).

The current shape of the court of the seventh pylon was achieved in the 20th dynasty, when Ramesses IX had his gateway constructed to its north (Amer 1999; fig. 2.14). This monument was decorated with scenes of the king before the Theban triad (north face) as well as ritual and offering scenes (south face).

Legrain (1906a: 111; 1906b: 140) reported having found the plinths and the remains of two colossal sphinxes embedded in the south face of the wall on each side of the gateway (PM II^2: 76 (186–7)), (Fig. 2.15). The plinths bore the name of Horemheb written over those of Ay (Le Saout 1987: 340, n. 7; Cabrol 2001: 216–17). These sphinxes must have flanked a monumental entrance to this courtyard well before the gateway of Ramesses IX was built. I suggest that Ay might have commissioned them to decorate the south gateway of the *mur fantôme*. They might have been moved backwards and appropriated when the wall was dismantled presumably under Horemheb, before being incorporated into Ramesses IX's gateway.

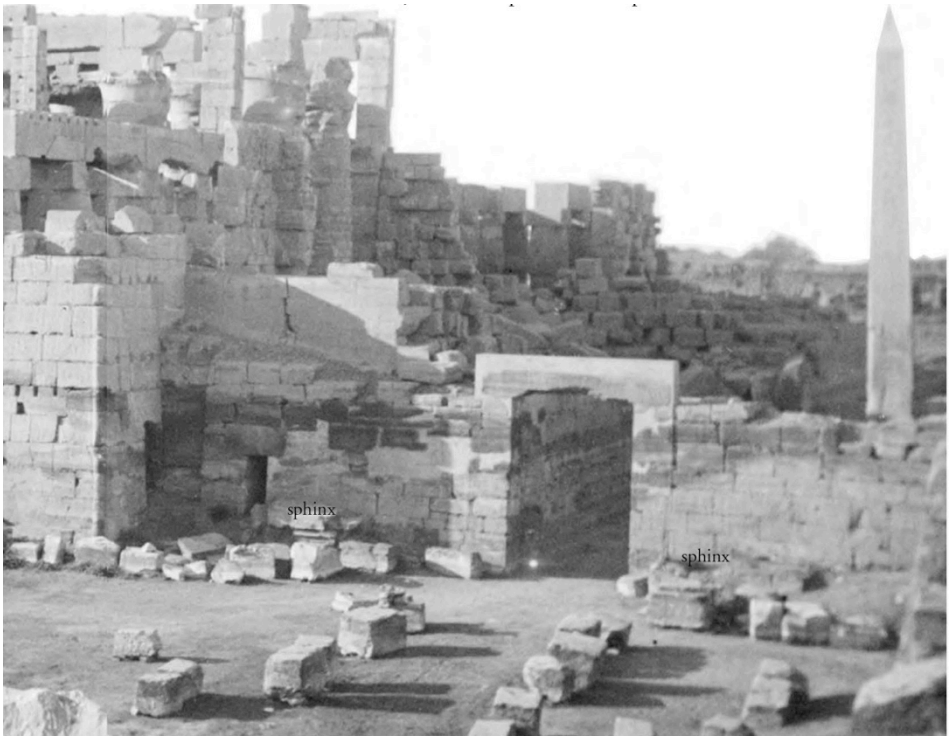


Fig. 2.15 View of the gate of Ramesses IX north of CR7 with two colossal plinths of sphinxes. (Letellier and Larché 2013).

Ramesses IX was also responsible for the decoration of the north end of the east wall facing the courtyard (see 3.2). The decoration was cut by the east door which was opened at some unknown time later. This resulted in the opening of the courtyard directly into the area of the sacred lake, making circulation between these two areas much more direct. In CR9, the *avant-porte* extending out of the south façade of the eighth pylon bears the name of Ramesses IX. It has been proposed

that the high priest Amenhotep, who lived under his reign, had a portico built along the south façade of PY8, based on the find of a lintel thought to join the *avant-porte* (Habachi 1938: 83–4, pl. 11(1); Barguet 2006 [1962]: 260). The lintel, however, does not fit into the structure and it remains unclear where it belonged.

2.4 Roman and Christian times

After the Ramessid period the architecture of the southern processional way remained largely unaltered. It is only in the Late Roman period that significant architectural changesin this area are recorded, this time of a destructive nature. Between 330–337 AD emperor Constantine commanded the removal of two obelisks of Tuthmose III, the unique obelisk from the east area and the west obelisk in CR8, south of the seventh pylon (Azim 1980a). The operations necessary to lower and move the monoliths from their original positions all the way west to the riverbank resulted in considerable damage to the masonry of both CR7 and CR8. They were then loaded on ships and transported to the coast of Alexandria before being shipped to Rome and Constantinople respectively.

The unique obelisk was moved down the west side of the sacred lake, partially destroying the edifice of Taharqa that was on its path (Azim 1980a: 125, fig. 13). In order to reach the Nile the obelisk was pulled through CR7, which meant that a large part of the east wall had to be torn down (Fig. 2.16). Only the lower courses were spared. When Legrain started clearing the area of CR7 in 1901-1902 he found many blocks belonging to the collapsed east wall on the ground. Part of this wall (stelae of Merenptah and Ramesses IV) were reconstructed by him in 1908–1909 (Christophe 1952: 21), while the rest of the wall, which is more fragmentary, is being currently reconstructed by the CFEETK.

Once in the courtyard the obelisk had to be manoeuvred south-west and pulled through another hole made in the west wall, realised by enlarging the west door (Fig. 2.16). In order to manoeuvre such a heavy weight, a system of levers and ropes was put in place, which meant that the remaining north part of the west wall was pierced with 5 large rectangular holes (Azim 1980a: 127). These were later walled up by Legrain in 1901 as part of his project to enclose and protect the Amun temple (Legrain, Maspero, and Lucas 1901: 169–70), assuming their current niche-like shapes.

The west obelisk in CR8 was removed using large ramps made of two thick layers of mudbricks, which Azim refers to as terraces. The ramp was rectangular in shape and extended longitudinally east-west partly inside and partly outside CR8 (Azim 1980a: 100, fig. 4). In order to build it, the west wall in CR8 had to be almost completely dismantled. The northern limit of the

ramp abutted and covered four blocks of the west face of the west massif of the seventh pylon up to the mid-second course. As discussed below (see 3.1.6), this has implications for dating the grooves and graffiti on this surface.

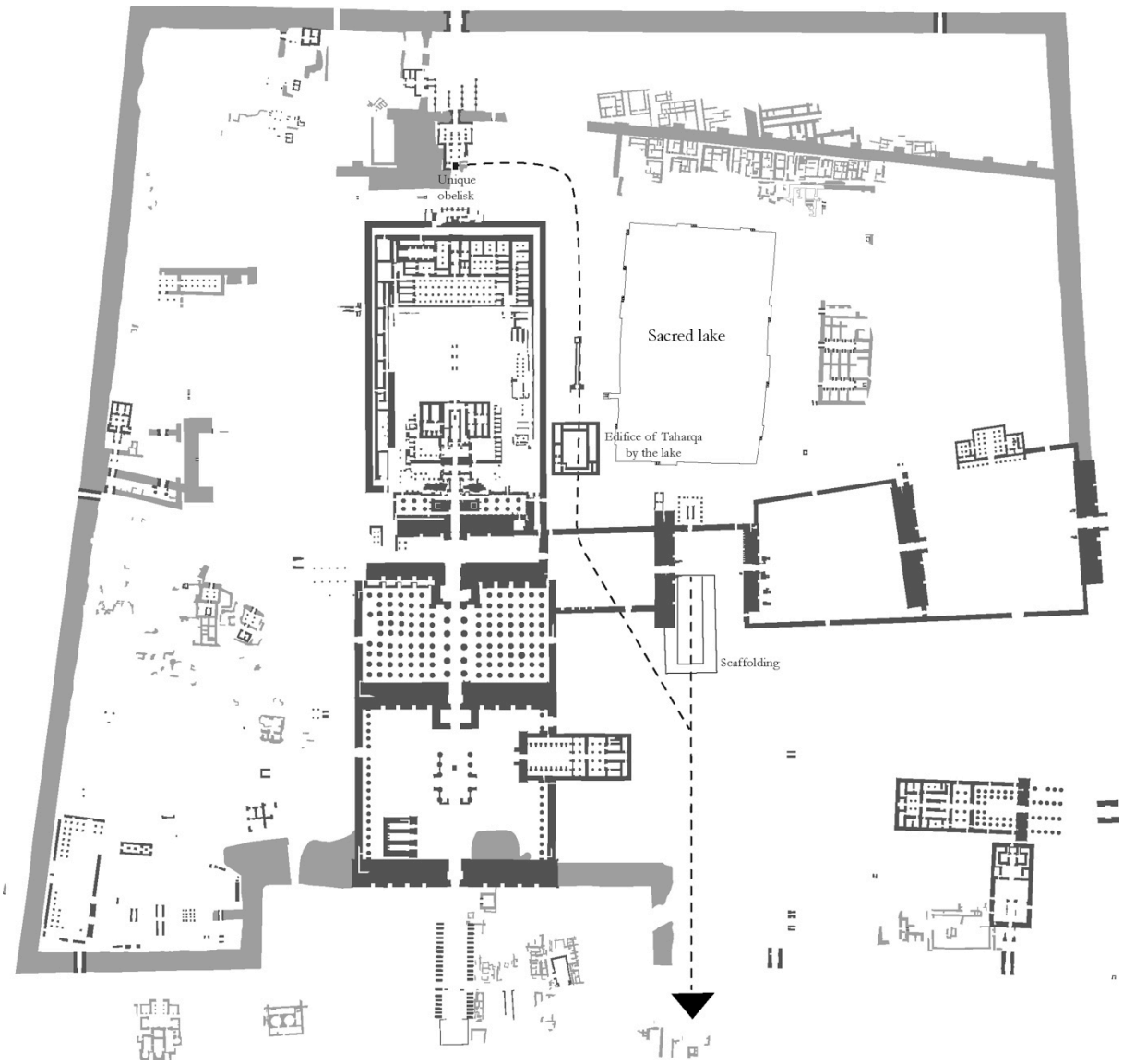


Fig. 2.16 Pathways of the unique obelisk and the western obelisk of CR8 when removed under Constantine in the 4th cent. AD. (After Azim 1980a: fig. 13).

The west side of CR8 was closed again with a 2.45 m thick mudbrick wall to the west, which is still visible today (Azim 1980a: 115), and occupied shortly after by some domestic structures preserved only in foundations. They were built between the eighth pylon and the ramp, probably around the mid-4th century AD, based on some diagnostic pottery shapes and some coins dated between 300 and 324 AD (Azim 1980a: 116, n. 1). This dating is consistent with material found by Van Siclen (2004: 32; 2005: 187) in CR9, where a Late Roman settlement, possibly a Roman villa complex of the 4th century AD, was found to the west of the central

pathway crossing the courtyard. Similarly, in CR10 Azim (1980b: 159) excavated a 4th century AD settlement. Here it seems that the main axis was maintained, as shown by the north-south orientation of the domestic structures. The east door south of the so-called edifice of Amenhotep II wall was also still used to access the exterior of the courtyard, where other mudbrick constructions were added.

This phase marked an important transition between the Roman occupation of Karnak and the gradual Christianization of its population (Serdiuk 2017: 378). The Late-Roman settlement in CR8 was short-lived, as no finds later than the mid-4th century AD were retrieved from the domestic structures there. After a hiatus, the length of which is impossible to determine (David 2017: 156; Serdiuk 2017: 375) due to the loss of diagnostic ceramic material during the early excavations by Legrain (1901) and Pillet (1922; 1923; 1924; 1925), a Christian monastic community occupied the area. Mudbrick structures on fired brick foundations, laid some 2 m above the original floor level (Legrain 1901: 271), were built against the south façade of PY7 (east massif) as well as against both massifs of PY8's north façade (Munier and Pillet 1929: 76–9; David 2017: 156 [26]; Serdiuk 2017: 387–88, 392; fig. 2.17). What remain today of these structures are the holes of the beams that supported at least two floors and some niches cut into the pylon's masonry (Azim 1980a: 97; Serdiuk 2017: 388).

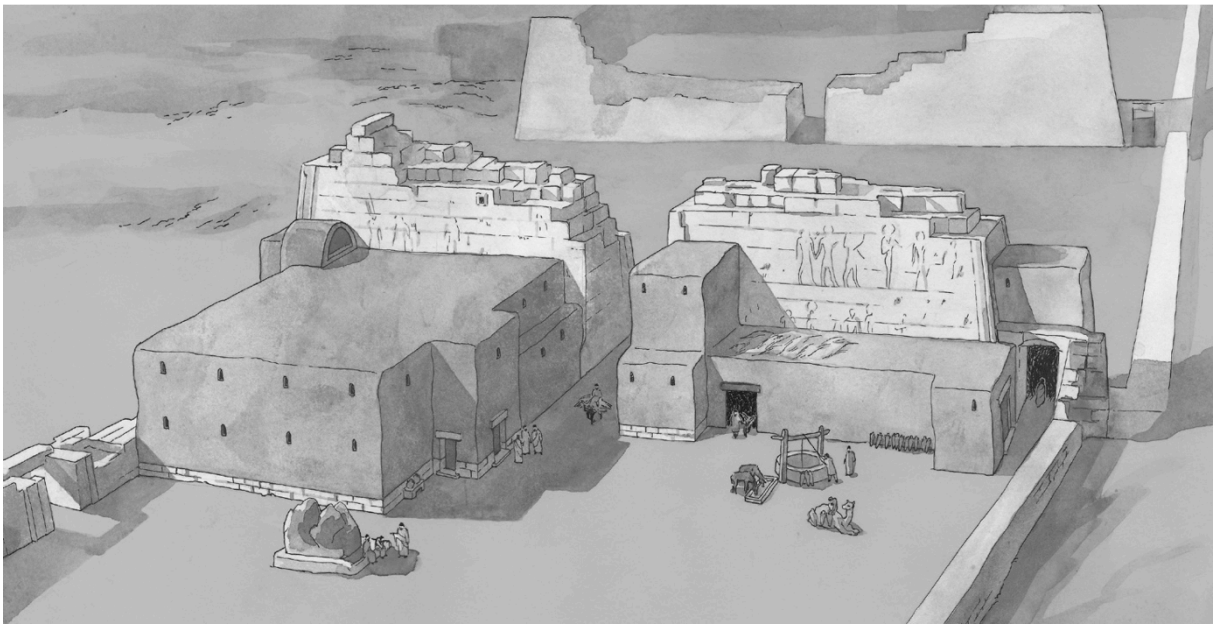


Fig. 2.17 Reconstruction of the Christian monastery and mudbrick structure built against the north façade of the eighth pylon (After Sediuk 2017: 392, fig. 4).

It seems that occupation of CR9 continued uninterrupted from the Late Roman to the Christian period, since Van Siclen (2004: 33) reports finding Christian domestic structures built

against the south façade of the eighth pylon. The courtyard was probably occupied until the 7th century AD, based on the pottery finds (David 2017: 156 [27]). The same continuity characterizes the settlement in CR10, whose finds can be dated between the 4th and the 7th centuries AD (David 2017: 157 [28]). The edifice of Amenhotep II was transformed into a Christian cult place (David 2017: 157, n. 100 with references).

While being a precious source of shade, the massive pylons along the southern processional way gave solidity to the tall mudbrick structures that were built against them (Serdiuk 2017: 376), providing a good environment for the development of an early monastic community in Karnak, which probably lasted until the end of the 9th century AD (Serdiuk 2017: 379).

2.5 Karnak enclosure walls

The accessibility of the southern processional way through its main architectural phases could not be assessed without considering the temenos. The still standing mudbrick wall encircling the Amun temple and the surrounding buildings is the last of a series of walls that were built to separate the Amun temple from the outside world. The wall, almost 12 m thick and delimiting an area of about 25 hectares, was commissioned by Nectanebo I (Habachi 1970: 229–30). Today it is preserved almost entirely, except for its south-west corner (fig. I.1). Earlier enclosure walls at Karnak, however, are not equally well preserved and understanding of them is very limited. For this reason the main known phases are presented in this short section rather than being treated with each architectural phase.

Excavations conducted in the central area of the Amun temple led to the identification of at least two phases of the Middle Kingdom wall that surrounded the so-called court of the Middle Kingdom, one of Amenemhat I and another of Senwosret I (Charloux 2007: 195–97, pls 2–4; Gabolde L. 2018: 189–91, 204, fig. 138, 222–25, figs 148–49). It is not clear whether at that time the enclosure wall included part of the area south of the main axis. Graindorge (2000: 30) proposes that an early southern gateway embedded in a mudbrick wall might have existed in the area later occupied by the southern processional route (Fig. 2.1). Her hypothesis is based on a lintel belonging to the southern gate of Amenhotep I, thought to have been Karnak's southernmost entrance at his time, whose other side is inscribed with Senwosret I's name. A reused lintel is too little evidence to support the idea that Senwosret I had a southern door built in this area, since it could have originated from the central area of the temple. Nonetheless, the presence of a Middle Kingdom mudbrick wall in CR9 suggests that the area between the east-

west temple and the future CR9, where a number of Middle Kingdom statues and shrines have been recovered, was possibly delimited by a wall (see 2.1).

Little is known also about the beginning of the 18th dynasty. Amenhotep I's lintel might have been embedded in an enclosure wall or a pylon south of the main temple (see 2.1). Be that as it may, it seems that a mudbrick pylon and a southern doorway existed south of the main axis before Tuthmose III and Hatshepsut, since an inscription describes the seventh pylon as having replaced one or both of these monuments after Tuthmose III found it/them in ruins (see 2.1). Van Siclen's find in CR9 of a mudbrick wall, which he dates to Amenhotep I, may be evidence of an early New Kingdom phase of an enclosure wall in this area (see 2.1).

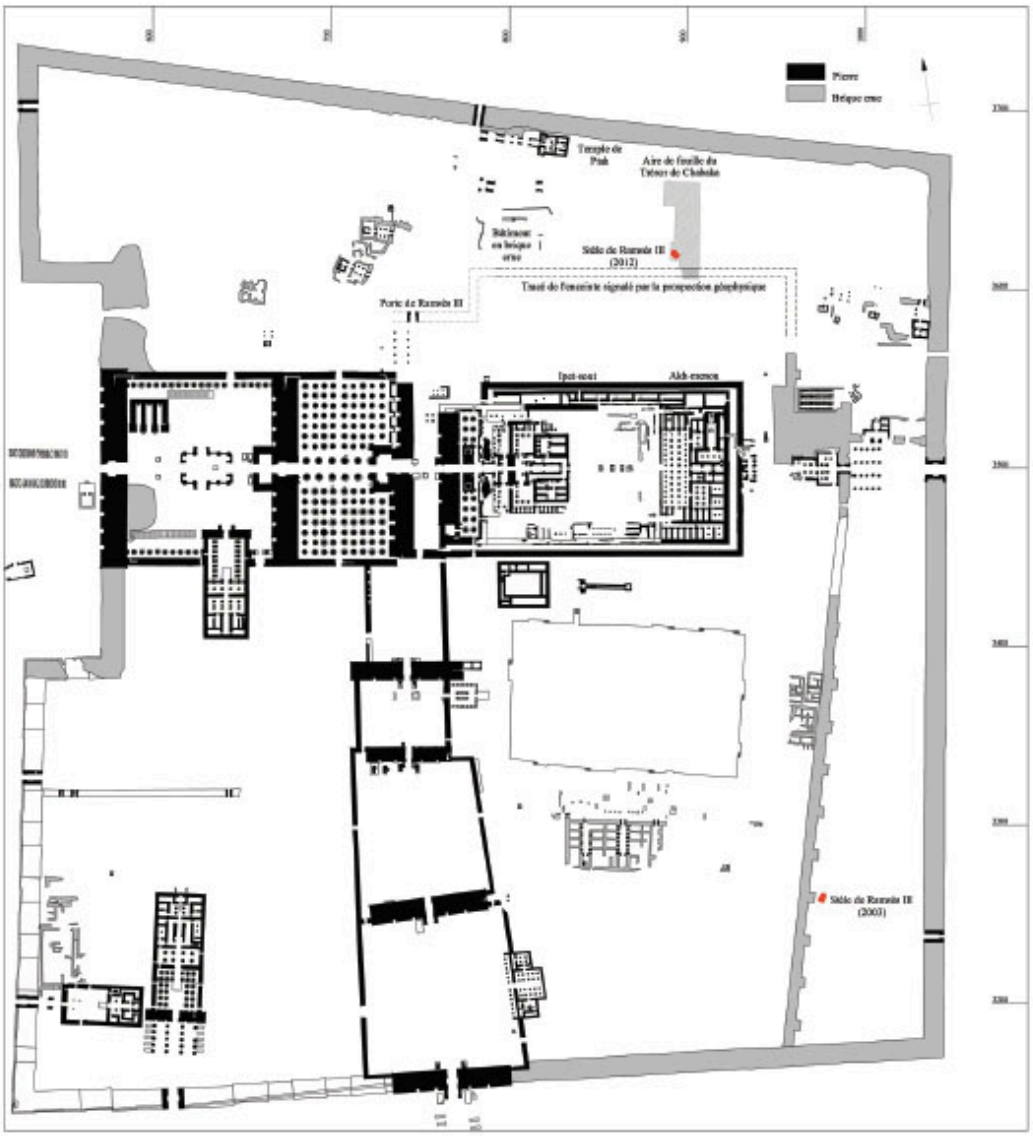


Fig. 2.18 Reconstruction of the northern section of the enclosure wall under Ramesses III and find spots of his two commemorative stelae (Licitra 2013: 442, fig. 1). © CNRS-CFEETK/N. Licitra.

The first extensive construction phase of the southern route is that of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III, under whose reigns were built CR7 and CR8. At the same time an early version of the Khonsu temple was erected (see 2.2.7), but its original location may have been different from the current one. The building programme under Tuthmose III likely included a large temenos enclosing the two courtyards and possibly the Khonsu temple, leaving out CR10, where 18th dynasty domestic installations predating Horemheb have been unearthed (Azim 1980b: 162). This wall seems to correspond with that excavated by Van Siclen (2005: 188) in CR9, which lies on top of the earlier New Kingdom wall and forms two sides of a courtyard south of the eighth pylon (see 2.2.1).

Lauffray (1995: 257–58), and before him Barguet (2006 [1962]: 33–5), propose that the wall with bastions running east of the sacred lake was built under Tuthmose III on the basis that it enclosed the sacred lake and the eastern temple, both commissioned by him. However, Leclère (2010: 247, n. 31) persuasively proposes to date this wall to Amenhotep III or Horemheb, based on the fact that it extends south and disappears under Nectanebo's wall, which stretches east-west and connects to the tenth pylon. In all likelihood the rampart turned west and joined the east end of the tenth pylon, which was initiated under Amenhotep III and completed under Horemheb (Fig. 2.10).

The rampart was restored several times and the different phases are still being analysed by Leclère (2010). The discovery of at least two commemorative stelae of Ramesses III close to an eastern and a northern section of the wall (Fig. 2.18) identify his reign as a major reconstruction phase (Licitra 2013: 437, n. 2 with references). Licitra (2013: 440–41) excavated a small part of the northern section of the wall south of the treasury of Shabaqa, 5 m south of the area where a commemorative stela of Ramesses III was found. The wall appears to match with the east-west elongated structure detected by a geo-magnetic survey conducted in 2006, which Licitra convincingly reconstructs as linked with a doorway of Ramesses III north of the third pylon (Fig. 2.18).

The western limit of the enclosure wall before the time of Nectanebo remains unknown, but it probably varied in relation to the progressive westward shift of the riverbed of the Nile. Although understanding of the temenos in its various phases is limited, the tenth pylon probably marked the southern limit of the Amun temple, with the enclosure wall likely extending from both its ends.

2.6 Accessibility of CR7 through time

Since the 1970s social theorists, such as Bourdieu (1977), Foucault (1977), Giddens (1984), and Lefebvre (1991), have been examining the role that built space plays in social production. One of the most successful frameworks to analyse the relation between social dynamics and space is that of space syntax, a set of analytical methods that was developed by Hillier and Hanson in the 1980s. Space syntax is based on the observation that:

> architecture structures the system of space in which we live and move. […] it has a direct relation […] to social life, since it provides the material preconditions for the patterns of movement, encounter and avoidance which are the material realisation — as well as sometimes the generator — of social relations. (Hillier and Hanson 1984: ix)

That space affects social behaviour is undeniable. Everyone has experience of that from the way we live and move within our homes, offices, and along the city streets. Space syntax finds great application in contemporary society, lying at the basis of urban planning and designs of private and public buildings. Despite its now wide use in archaeology, space syntax has been criticized for considering only the topological properties of spaces — those that are preserved through deformations, twisting, and stretching — not taking into account their function and meaning (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 7, 61–2). According to the principles of space syntax, CR7, with its huge size (ca. 55 x 40 m for an area of approximately 2200 m^2), should theoretically have accommodated hundreds of people.

If its imposing size admittedly shows a wider accessibility of this area in comparison with the narrower space in the central part of the temple, close to the naos, this does not necessarily imply that crowds were hosted there at special times (Baines 2006: 283). Space syntax does not take into account a number of cultural and religious constraints, such as requirements of purity, which greatly affected accessibility and use of sacred space in ancient Egypt.

Another issue with this approach is that, although aimed at 'socializing' space by creating models of circulation, it necessarily requires a high level of abstraction for which people moving in this space are not considered as individuals with an agency, with their own intentions and options, but rather as passive beings whose behaviours are predetermined by space. In other words they are an abstract human mass. However, in reality people do have a certain degree of autonomy, which includes the possibility to break rules, even if that can have bad repercussions. In this respect, Giddens (1984: 149) said that 'every actor always has the ability to do otherwise […] even if doing otherwise is self-destructive'. Glimpses of such 'individual autonomy' can be caught in the decree of Sety II (discussed in section 2.3), in which high-ranking priests are warned against committing bribery and abuses at the expense of lower-ranking priests, providing a lively

image of how daily life in the temple might have differed from the pictures that are built in our heads.

Even the more recent approach proposed by Fisher (2009) to integrate into space syntax not only the analysis of the connections between spaces, but also the nature of these connections, such as that determined by the presence of doorways and their width, the possible symbolic decorations of walls, etc., proves inadequate for accommodating the number of variables that affected circulation in Karnak at different times of the year (e.g. during festivals), and in different periods. While remaining an extremely useful tool for analysis of prehistoric and other archaeological sites, where sources and knowledge may be more limited, I argue that the application of space syntax to Karnak would remove depth of analysis and complexity from the interpretation of the use and accessibility of this temple.

The brief overview of the architectural transformations of the Amun temple presented in this chapter sheds light on how connections between spaces were altered, and thus how circulation within the temple possibly changed over time. Of particular interest for this study is the accessibility of the southern processional way, especially the court of the seventh pylon. Four architectural programmes mostly affected CR7; those of: 1) Tuthmose III, who commissioned the creation of CR7; 2) Amenhotep III, who altered the northern end of CR7 and planned the extension of the processional route southwards; 3) Horemheb, under whose reign CR9 and CR10 were added and possibly the southern wall of the future hypostyle hall to the north-west of CR7; 4) Ramesses IX, who had a gate built at the northern end of CR7.

This section sets out to illustrate possible circulation pathways during these main architectural phases (cf. Traunecker 1987: fig.1; Preys 2007). While clearly inspired by Fisher's (2009) integrated analysis, here I favour a simpler approach, based on observation of the alterations of the access points connecting the four southern courtyards with one another, with the main axis, and with the exterior of the temple. The circulation models proposed are based on the plans derived from the architectural overview presented above. Although these are purely hypothetical and advance no claim for scientific validity, they allow for important variables to be integrated. One of these is the use of axial routes in ancient Egyptian temples; those were followed by sacred barques during religious festivals, but would have been closed by massive heavy doors when not in use. They were not daily pathways that the temple personnel took to move inside and outside the temple; they normally used side entranceways (Preys 2007). A circulation model during these four architectural phases is here proposed based on the assumption that pylon gates and all axial doors were only open for religious ceremonies (Figs 2.19–2.22).

2.6.1 Processional (divine) pathways

The red lines on figures 2.19–2.22 show the routes that the divine barque(s) had to go through in order to reach either the shrine by the sacred lake on the exterior of CR8, where the New Year's festival was celebrated (see 2.2.3), or the exterior of the temple to the south so as to undertake the journey to Luxor via the Mut temple during the Opet festival. The following are simplified reconstructions aiming to show the position of CR7 in connection with the naos and the southern exterior of the temple through time. Intermediary barque stations or shrines lined along the pathways, as attested in pictorial sources such as the red chapel (Cabrol 2001: 540–41; Darnell 2010: 2; Burgos and Larché 2015 infra), are not taken into account here (for a more detailed description of the movements of the barque, see Sullivan 2012).

Some time before Hatshepsut's *damnatio memoriae*, which might be dated around year 42 of Tuthmose III, the red chapel was replaced, based on the fact that none of the queen's images on it were hacked out (Laskowski 2006: 185, n. 10 with references). Under Tuthmose III Amun's procession started from there (e.g. the royal barque, which probably left the Akh-menu, Bell 1998: 160). CR7 and Tuthmose III's naos would have been linked to one another via four rooms or 'spatial units' (Fisher 2009: 440): the Festival Hall of Tuthmose II, the wadjit hall, and the courts of the fifth sixth pylons, the latter also built under Tuthmose III.

The 'distance' between the naos and CR7, that is the number of spatial units that needed be traversed to go from the former to the latter (Fisher 2009: 440), underwent only minor changes; the small southern pylon of Tuthmose II separating CR7 from the festival hall was possibly replaced by a mudbrick pylon (*mur fantôme*), perhaps under Amenhotep III, and later by the gate of Ramesses IX. The distance might have been shorter only between the reign of Horemheb or Sety I, when the sidewalls of the hypostyle hall were constructed, and that of Ramesses IX, who added his gate, since no structure seems to have separated CR7 from the area east of PY3 (future CR3; fig. 2.21).

With the addition of CR9 and CR10 the number of spatial units that needed to be traversed to get from CR7 to the southern exterior of the temple did not significantly increase (from three under Tuthmose III to four since the time of Amenhotep III; figs 2.20–2.21). It is the linear distance, that is, the amount of space between the two areas, that dramatically increased through time: approximately 180 m separate the south side of the eighth pylon from the south side of the tenth pylon, a distance that takes roughly five minutes to walk if unencumbered with barques and people.

The area at the intersection between the east-west and the north-south axes, which is where the divine barque was manoeuvred towards the south, reduced considerably after the

construction of Amenhotep's third pylon. I argue that the unusual position of PY3 might have been connected with the lack of space to the west of the temple in relation to the contemporaneous position of the Nile (see 2.2.5). This architectural change probably caused deeper transformations in the accessibility of and participation in the southern processions. The size of a space is an important factor in determining the types of interaction that could occur within it. If the function of the festival halls of Tuthmose II, and later Tuthmose IV, was arguably that of a semi-public space, as is suggested by Luc Gabolde (see 2.2.1), since the time of Amenhotep III the processions heading south went through the narrower space between PY3 and PY4, which now could not host as many people. Thus, the audience that might have once watched the procession from the festival hall was later kept out of it or funnelled elsewhere, turning a seemingly semi-public space into a more private one. If this is perhaps not enough evidence to claim that southern processions became less visible/more private with time, these architectural transformations caused at least their audience, whoever that might have been, to move to different areas along the four southern courtyards.

2.6.2 Service pathways of temple staff

The blue lines on figures 2.19–2.22 show some of the possible service routes that the temple staff needed to take in order to circulate inside the temple, avoiding the axial doorways. The intricate area surrounding the naos (CR5, CR6, the Palace of Maat, the Middle Kingdom courtyard and the Akh Menu) must have been regarded as highly sacred, and access to it was probably more restricted (Assmann 2001: 30–5). For the purpose of this discussion only the main routes to and from the southern axis are considered.

At the time of Tuthmose III the west gate of PY8 was probably one of the main entranceways for the temple staff, who could easily go from the riverbank (west of CR8) to the area around the sacred lake. From there they could also enter the main temple through the ambulatory, which to the west gave access to CR7, and to the east to the wadjit hall, the Akh-Menu and the northern magazines. This was also the way to cross the main axis north to south and vice versa, avoiding the central, more sacred areas. Facing the frontal pylon of Tuthmose II the festival hall was probably accessed through a side entranceway to the right (south) of the pylon. It seems that the west wall of CR7 had no openings; the courtyard apparently had only one side entrance to the east that led into the narrow ambulatory running around the central temple (Fig. 2.19). People who wanted to enter CR7 from the festival hall probably had to exit through one of the northern side doors and, depending on their hierarchical status, take either the short route across the wadjit hall or walk along the ambulatory, access to which was regulated

but presumably less restricted than the former. Some people might have had to walk outside the girdle wall of Tuthmose III altogether to go from one end of the temple to the other.

Circulation changed when the northern end of CR7 was altered under Amenhotep III with the construction of the third pylon. CR7 could not have been completely accessible from the north, and the hypotheses that part of the southern wall of the festival hall was spared and that a mudbrick pylon (*mur fantôme*) was added provide reasonable solutions. No archaeological data yet support the reconstruction of pathways in this area and one can only suppose that the presumed mudbrick pylon had to be traversed both during processions and on a daily basis (Fig. 2.20). Little can be said about circulation south of CR8 too, since Van Siclen's reconstruction is not supported by archaeological evidence (see 2.2.4). The fact that work on the tenth pylon started at this time but was not completed until Horemheb probably meant only a temporary transformation of use of this southern area. The discovery of two New Kingdom phases of domestic structures in CR10 has been convincingly interpreted by Azim (1980b: 161–62) as the result of an initial destruction under Amenhotep III to free up the area destined to become CR10 and the reconstruction of the settlement once the work on the pylon stopped at his death. It was then apparently occupied until Horemheb resumed work.

More can be inferred from the plan of the Amun temple under Horemheb (Fig. 2.21). Besides the usual pathways from the west gate of PY8, through the east door of CR8, and the ambulatory, the creation of CR9 and CR10 incorporated this area into the temple proper — as opposed to the previous settlements. Doors were included in all the sidewalls of the two courtyards, and circulation between the west and the east must have been facilitated the accessibility of CR7, which changed with the construction of the sidewalls connecting PY2 with PY3. The area of the future hypostyle hall became accessible via an opening in the south wall, and a passage was created at the south-east corner of the hall which led directly into CR7. It was probably Merenptah who commanded the opening of a side door at the south end of the west wall of CR7 (Dembitz 2007: 91, n. 2), thus connecting the courtyard to the western areas of the temple.

The construction of the gate of Ramesses IX seems to have added an extra passage between CR7 and CR3, and, as with the earlier *mur fantôme*, one may assume that the gate could be accessed on a daily basis. The biggest change occurred when a door was pierced into the east wall of CR7, linking it directly with the area of the sacred lake. The door's *terminus post quem* is the reign of Ramesses IX, but it could be very late. Remarkably, the door leaves of this door opened in the opposite direction than those of the eastern door of Tuthmose III, which connected the

ambulatory to CR3, suggesting a change in circulation pathways (Sébastien Biston-Moulin pers. comm. June 2019).

Although the pathways in figures 2.19–2.22 are deduced from the plans, and hence are hypothetical, the opening and widening of side entrances reasonably suggest that circulation along and across the southern processional way became potentially easier from the end of the 18th dynasty onwards. The imposing dimensions of the four open-air courtyards would suggest that they were also widely accessed, if not on a daily basis, at least during processions when the axial routes were open. Architecture, however, can only be helpful concerning circulation and potential capacity of one area in comparison with another, but remains silent about the nature of the people circulating within it. Ashraf Sadek (1987: 47) convincingly argues for an occasionally wide accessibility of the front courtyards of the Karnak and Luxor temples, that is, the hypostyle hall and the Ramessid forecourt respectively.

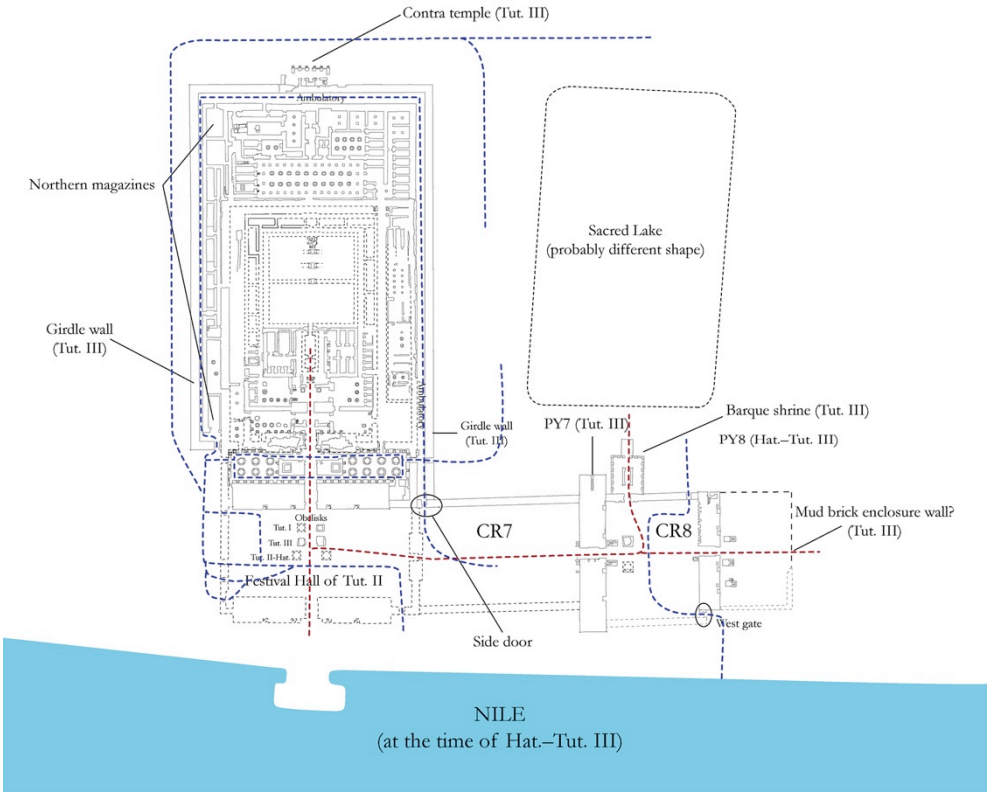


Fig. 2.19 Model of circulation pathways at the time of Tuthmose III. Blue indicates service routes, red processional routes.

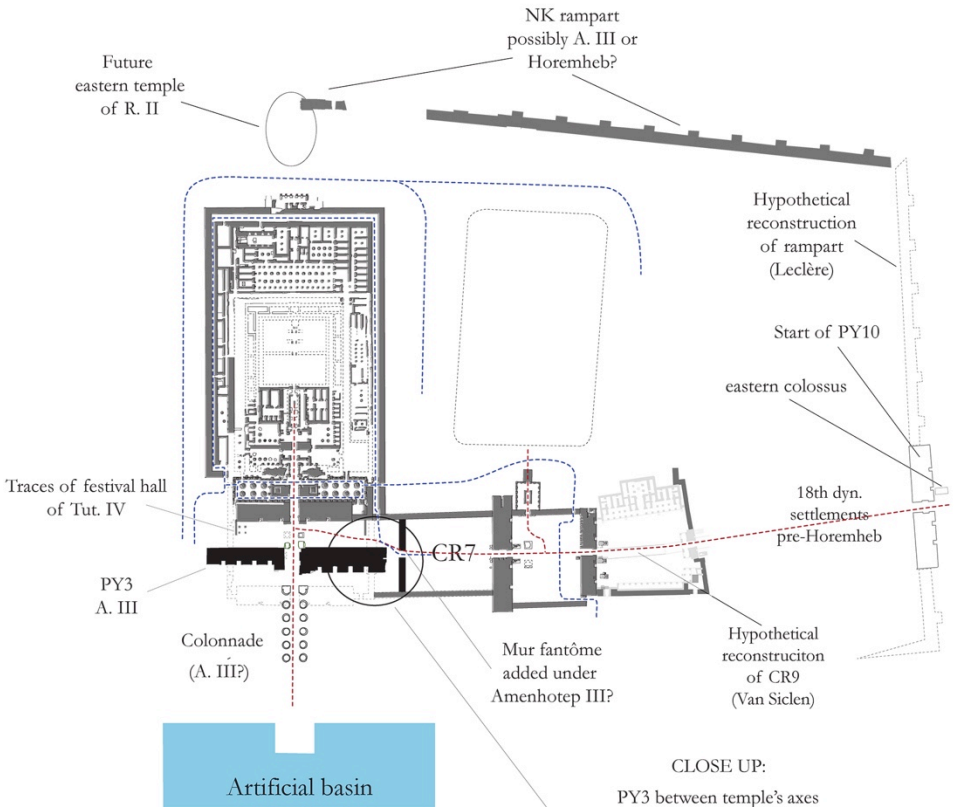


Fig. 2.20 Model of circulation pathways at the time of Amenhotep III. Blue indicates service routes, red processional routes.

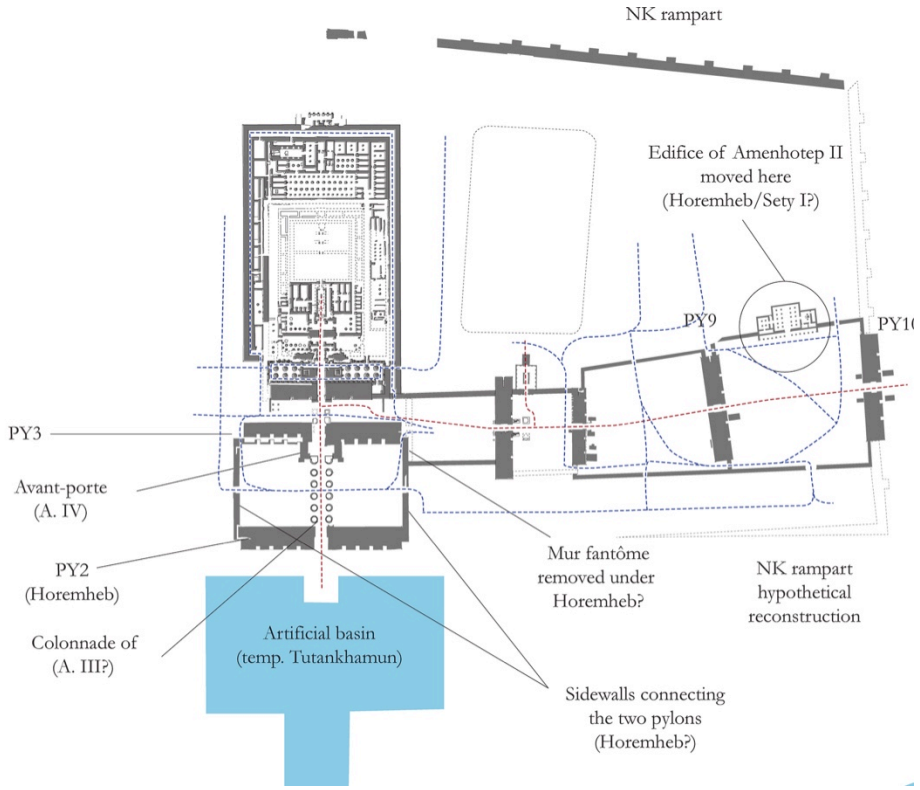


Fig. 2.21 Model of circulation pathways at the time of Horemheb. Blue indicates service routes, red processional routes.

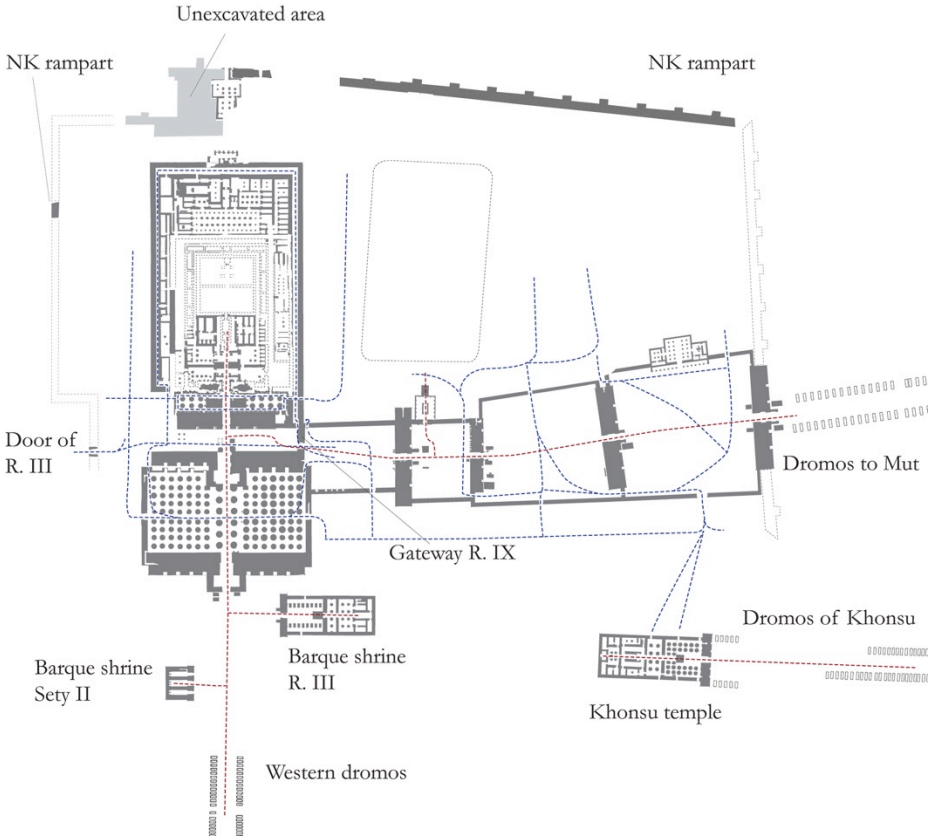


Fig. 2.22 Model of circulation pathways at the time of Ramesses IX. Blue indicates service routes, red processional routes.

2.6.3 Accessibility of the southern processional way based on the decorative scheme

The decorative programme of any Egyptian temple is tightly linked to its architecture and is complementary to it. For this reason wall scenes and texts could cast light on possible functions and uses of the southern processional way. The relationship between architecture and wall decoration is regulated by a set of rules that coherently connect scenes and texts to the temple structures, which have been defined by Derchain (1962) as 'grammaire du temple', in reference particularly to the Ptolemaic temple of Horus at Edfu. The layout of temples apparently followed written instructions that were kept in the House of the Life — a temple's repository of documents — such as the 'Regulations for inscribing a wall' from the Edfu temple (Wilson 2014: 793) and the 'Book of the temple' (Quack 2002), but no such text is known before the Graeco-Roman time.

Although no temple 'manual' is known for the New Kingdom, some general rules have been inferred from the observation of recurring decorative patterns: inner areas, considered more sacred and pure, displayed religious scenes, ranging from ritual and ceremonial to mythological, while violent scenes, such as battles or kings crushing enemies, were confined to the outer walls and pylons. The latter strategy is commonly understood as a way to ward off evil and chaos from

the temple (e.g. Wilson 2014: 794), although Niv Allon, who is currently researching the topic, claims that there is no direct evidence supporting their presumed apotropaic function (pers. comm., July 2018).

The main axis of the Amun temple in Karnak mostly follows this scheme. The two exterior sidewalls of the hypostyle hall, for instance, are carved with battlescenes, while on the inner walls are ritual scenes. Exceptions to the usually external position of battles are a scene of the king smiting enemies in the Akh-menu (Simons 1937: 38–9; PM II^2, 112 (345)), and the Annals of Tuthmose III: they record the king's campaigns in Syria and Palestine between his 22nd and 42nd year of reign (Redford 2003), yet they are inscribed on the north inner wall of the vestibule enclosing the naos (PM II^2: 97 (280–82)). Although this is not the naos itself, but the processional vestibule around it, it is nonetheless one of the innermost areas in Karnak, access to which was undoubtedly strictly limited to a few senior priests. Here, more than anywhere in Karnak, the king makes a point of consecrating his military successes to Amun. This was not just pure self-promotion before the god, but also a way to securely store and preserve his deeds so that knowledge of them could be passed on to generations of privileged priests who accessed this area and text (Redford 2003: 7).

> The fact that some relatively secular royal actions could be represented in this way in temple interiors is indicative of how wide-ranging human commitment to the gods was taken to be. … Probably … some symbolic separation was maintained between the annal inscriptions and the most sacred elements in temples. (Baines 2008: 34)

One of the 'symbolic separations' that Baines notes is that the inscription starts below a dedicatory scene, which was probably given priority over it. Another could be that the Annals were only textual and not illustrated. This likely played a role in their central position, as though describing (always successful) military actions in writing, and not visually, was deemed acceptable. The southern exterior wall of the hypostyle hall, carved with the Battle of Qadesh, seems to support this idea: the section of wall outside CR7 is illustrated with reliefs, whereas that on the interior north wall in CR7 is in narrative form, known in Egyptological scholarship as the Poem of Pentawer (Kuentz 1928: 21–46, 209–326; Fecht 1984; PM II^2: 57–9 (171–74)).

Compared to the main axis, the decoration of the southern axis is less coherent and presents a mix of religious and secular scenes and texts. Fig. 2.23 illustrates the distribution of scenes and texts by type: red indicates religious content (e.g. ritual, processional, cosmogonic, mythological, offering scenes, etc.) and blue, secular (e.g. scenes of battles and triumph, royal historical accounts, violent scenes, etc.). Grey is used for texts or scenes that do not fit these categories (see below).

Battle scenes are carved on the exterior west wall of the whole processional way (original scenes of Ramesses II, partly recarved by Merenptah, all usurped by the agents of Sety II), except for the small section of wall south of the western door of CR7 and CR10, which was left undecorated, and the west wall of CR8 that is not preserved. This contrasts with the almost complete absence of decoration on the east exterior walls of the processional route, which faced the sacred lake and the administrative district and workshops. There, apart from a scene of Tutankhamun on the east exterior wall of CR7 (see 2.2.5), only the exterior wall of CR8 and PY8 are incised with scenes of the high priests Amenhotep and Ramsesnakht (PM II^2: 172 (505), 177 (527)). It is likely that only temple personnel could access this eastern area. The Book of the Temple, which probably dates to the Roman period or ealier, describes the areas around temples' sacred lakes as highly restricted; people who were found entering without permission were punished accordingly (Quack 2003: 14).

Violent scenes of the king smiting enemies are depicted on both sides of the seventh pylon (original scenes of Tuthmose III), on the south side of the eighth pylon (secondary scene of Amenhotep II), on the west massif (south façade) of the ninth pylon (primary scene of Ramesses II), and on both sides of the tenth pylon (original scenes of Horemheb). The same type of smiting scene appears also on the south end of the east inner wall of CR7, where Merenptah is depicted smiting a group of foreigners before Amun (PM II^2: 131 (488)). Other than the poem of Pentawer on the north end of CR7 mentioned above, other textual records of battles were carved on the east interior wall of CR7: Merenptah's stela describing his Libyan war (PM II^2: 131 (487)) and the text of his Libyan victory in year 5 (PM II^2: 131 (486)). The other three courtyards bear no smiting or battle scenes or texts. Here the scenes are religious: the east inner wall of CR8 shows ritual scenes of Ramesses III before the gods (PM II^2: 172 (504)), and both inner walls of CR9 and CR10 bear scenes of the sacred barques in processions (PM II^2: 178–79, 183–84).

CR7 is thus the only courtyard in the southern processional way that displays a smiting scene in its interior space, as well as textual accounts of military victories. In addition, its east inner wall bears at its centre two engaged stelae of Ramesses III and two of Ramesses IV, all expressing in different ways the king's legitimacy to rule supported by Amun's favour (Dembitz 2017: 168–73, with references). These are not strictly speaking religious texts (they are marked in grey in Fig. 2.23). It is often argued that texts and scenes such as 'historical' texts or battle accounts that aimed at legitimizing and exalting the king were necessarily displayed in public areas, where a wide audience of commoners or non-temple staff was required so that the power of the king could be effectively communicated and asserted. This view, which has only recently begun to be revised (Wilson 2014: 791), seems to derive, at least in part, from the idea that New

Kingdom state temples were widely accessible to the populace, at least during festivals (e.g. Bell 1998: 135). The presumed audience would have had to be at least partly literate. Versions of the texts might have been recited on special occasions; however these presumably differed from their written literary versions, especially in the New Kingdom (see discussion in Eyre 2013). Or perhaps illiterate people were able to "'read" portions of the art work', as Bell (1998: 135) suggests. There is no evidence either way that non-elites could access these texts or CR7; the whole argument rests on the assumption that kings required the consensus and support of the general populace to maintain power, perhaps believing that the act of communicating this power more widely was a crucial part of their cosmological position. This is a modern idea of propaganda applied to ancient Egyptian society, and it is anachronistic and deeply problematic. The idealization of the king's deeds probably did not correspond to the ruler's intention to promote his image to the widest audience, as in the modern sense of propaganda, but rather to portray himself an idealized king to the gods, from whose support and benevolence originated his power (e.g. Beylage 2002; Grimal 2003; Leprohon 2015). The idea that texts and scenes needed a (human) audience is problematic for ancient architecture more broadly. Some texts in temples were carved so high that they were virtually invisible to human eyes on the ground, but were intended for a divine audience.

The concentration of Ramesses II's, III's and IV's texts, as well as Merenptah's in CR7, mark this courtyard, the closest to the main axis, as central to the king's expression of his devotion to Amun. The function of these more secular texts might have been, in my opinion, similar to that of the Annals of Tuthmose III: self-display and archival. The memory of royal deeds was here presented and preserved before the gods, the priests, and temple personnel who could access, maintain, and pass on these texts. If consensus and support were potential secondary aims of these compositions, the king was more likely to target Amun's priesthood, with their increasing independence, as well as the high elite and his entourage, rather than the general populace or representatives thereof. These were probably the audiences for the texts and scenes in CR7. Like the Annals in the vestibule surrounding the naos, these texts narrated military victories without images. This choice to locate battle scenes on exterior walls, rather than being apotropaic or propagandistic, was probably imposed by decorum, which forbade chaos and dangerous things to be represented (and therefore metaphysically brought) inside the sacred space (Simpson 1982: 270). In contrast, smiting scenes are frequently represented on inner façades of pylons (e.g. Kockelmann 2017). I suggest that the reason for this may lie on their 'quiescent state': in these stereotypical manifestations of royal strength, enemies are already subdued and consequently not capable of doing anything harmful. In this context, Merenptah's

smiting scene on the eastern interior wall of CR7, although not displayed as usual on a pylon, is not a breach of decorum, but perhaps was modelled on Tuthmose III's massive smiting scenes on the adjacent seventh pylon.

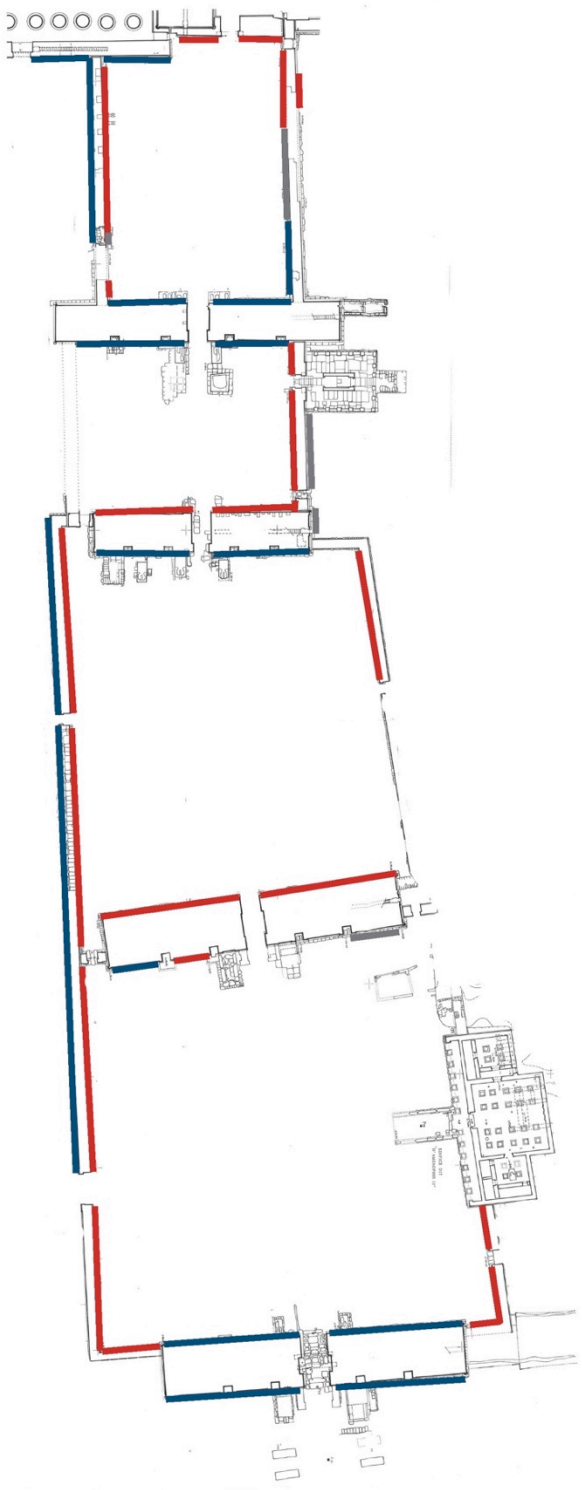


Fig. 2.23 Schematic distribution of the decoration along the southern processional route, with religious (red) and secular (blue) scenes highlighted. Other types of scenes/texts are in grey. (Plan after Azim 2012b).

3 Graffiti along the southern processional way

This chapter offers a brief overview of the areas inscribed with graffiti along the processional route and provides a context for comparative analysis of the corpus of secondary epigraphy in the court of the seventh pylon. This survey aims to give a sense of the distribution and types of graffiti; it is not intended as an exhaustive description of all secondary epigraphy, for which the reference point remains Traunecker's archive. Tentative dates of the graffiti are provided when possible, but analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter.

In the first section (3.1) the survey proceeds from south to north, from the exterior of the temple towards its main axis. Images for some of the graffiti described are provided in plates in volume 2. The interior of the court of the seventh pylon, closest to the main axis, is then treated in greater detail in section 3.2. The position, photographs, and descriptions of every graffito in CR7 are provided in the plates and the catalogue in volume 2. My description is mostly developed from Traunecker's archive (*Cahiers* ii to vi) and my own observations, made while working for the Karnak Documentation Project in 2014–2015 and during short epigraphic fieldwork seasons between 2013 and 2018.

3.1 From CR10 to CR8 and the exterior of the southern processional way

This map of the southern processional way (Fig. 3.1) illustrates the distribution of graffiti with differently coloured dots, corresponding to their different kinds. The associated numbers refer to their quantity. Yellow designates graffiti that are purely pictorial, whereas blue indicates textual graffiti, including hieratic, hieroglyphic, demotic, and possible unidentified scripts. Red indicates scenes, which I define as all graffiti with two or more figurative and/or textual elements, such as a man offering to a god, or a god with a textual caption. Orange circles around yellow or red dots indicate a subcategory of pictorial graffiti and scenes that are surrounded by holes. This category does not include primary divine figures surrounded with holes (see 6.1.1), which, although probably representing a related practice, are not graffiti and therefore are not included in this survey. This map must be understood as partial, due to the incomplete preservation of both graffiti and the structures that once bore them. However, as a representative sample, the presence or absence of graffiti in certain areas offers hints as to how people interacted with this space at a given time.

A quick look at the map (Fig. 3.1) reveals that the distribution of graffiti along the processional way is uneven and disparate. Some areas present large clusters (more than 40) of small and medium size graffiti, ranging from 3-5 cm to 30-50 cm in height; others bear only a few isolated ones.

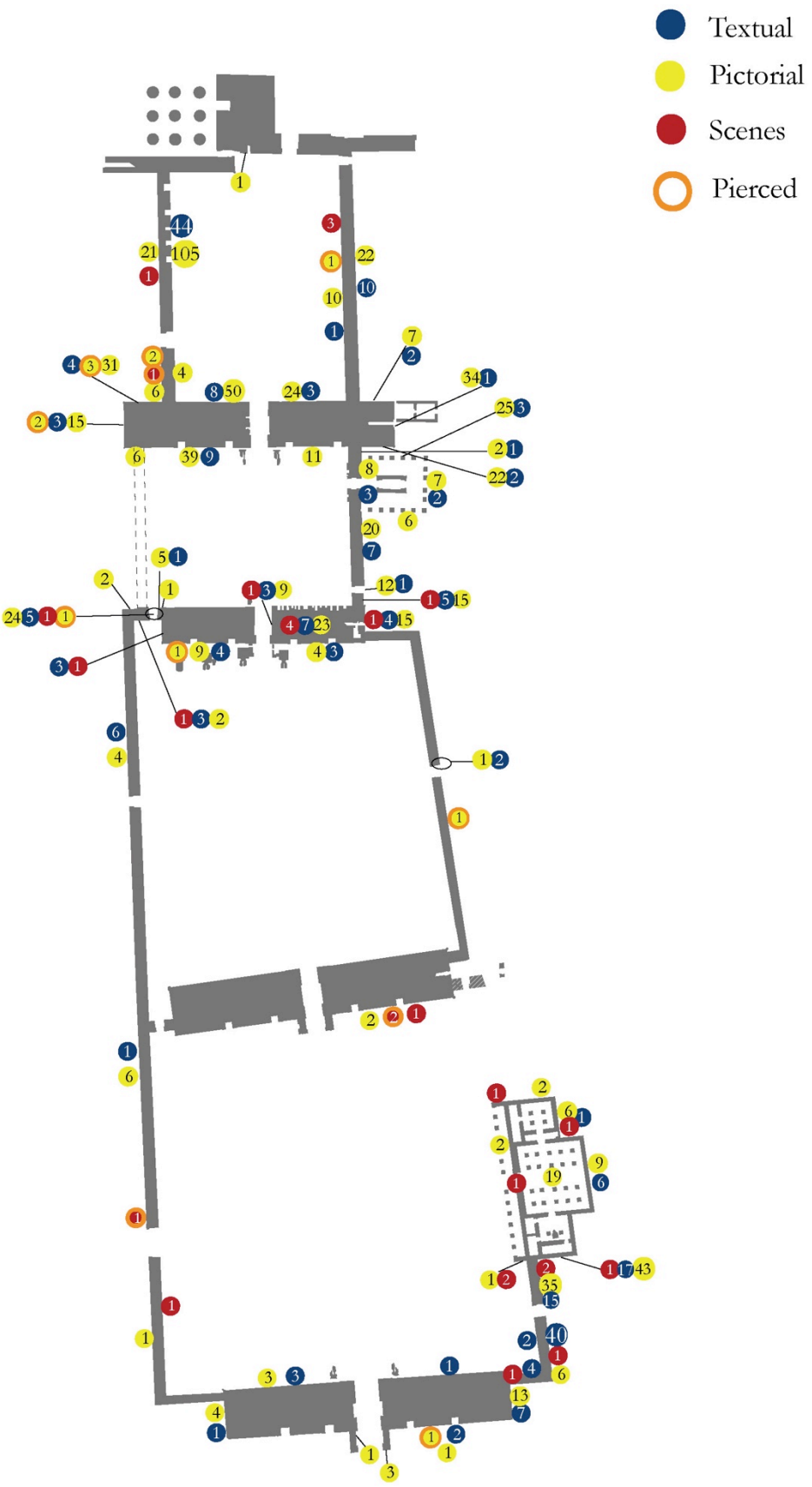


Fig. 3.1 Distribution of graffiti along the southern processional way of the Amun temple at Karnak.

The graffiti vary in their dimensions, from just a few centimetres to those that range from 50 cm to 1 m in height or more. Other areas bear no graffiti at all. They also vary in nature, level of investment, and date, covering a spectrum of types, from highly elaborate and often formal scenes to illegible but deliberate scratches and 'doodles', and their dates span the New Kingdom to the present day. This survey considers all graffiti up to the Christian period. The latter are not considered for analysis, but they are surveyed nonetheless, so as to allow identification, through context and comparative analysis, of more contemporary graffiti that do not include obviously Christian symbols, such as crosses. All Arabic, modern and contemporary graffiti are excluded. Specific clusters are described more thoroughly when useful in relation to CR7, but their interpretation is treated in the case studies presented in the three core chapters rather than here (Part II).

3.1.1 The tenth pylon: exterior (see plate 1)

Since the time of Horemheb (1320–1292 BC) the tenth pylon has been the outermost gateway for anyone approaching the Amun temple from the south. A mudbrick wall extending from both its ends separated the outside world from the pure and sacred space within, which encompassed the economic and administrative district to the east of the southern processional way, including the priestly houses that were excavated to the east of the sacred lake, which date to the end of the Third Intermediate Period (Masson 2018; Masson-Berghoff 2019; see 2.5).

The tenth pylon continued to be the threshold between the temple and the outer world a thousand years later, when Nectanebo II (360–342 BC) embedded it into his mudbrick enclosure wall and renovated the avenue of sphinxes that led to the Mut temple, first erected under Tutankhamun (see 2.2.5). The west side of its western massif includes four small figurative graffiti: a man with a *was*-sceptre, two wrapped deities each holding a sceptre, possibly representations of Ptah, and a crude barque. In addition, the wall bears a hieratic sign for scribe, perhaps meant to be the start of an inscription (*Cahier* iv: 17). No graffiti are visible on the southern façade of the same massif, although it is covered with dozens of vertical grooves between the fourth and fifth course (*Cahier* iv: 18). Given that each course is roughly 70 cm high (*Cahier* iv: 15 verso), I estimate that the grooves were carved approximately 2.50-3.50 m from the ground, a height that could have been easily reached when debris accumulated outside the pylon and courtyards. It is unclear when debris started to build up in this area. By the 4th century AD, when CR10 housed a late Roman settlement (see 2.4), the ground level outside the courtyard was much higher due to windblown sand and debris, whereas the floor level inside CR10 had remained roughly the same as the original one. Azim (1980b: 159–60), who excavated this area,

does not provide precise measurements, but judging from the soil accumulated in the area east of CR10 it might have been one to two metres higher.

The *avant-porte* projecting south of the tenth pylon bears a few graffiti: on the east thickness of the west massif there is a crude royal head, facing north, carved very close to the pylon's gateway (*Cahier* iv: 14), whereas on the south face of the east massif are three graffiti, excluding one in Arabic: a horse-rider, a bovine, and a small *ankh* sign (Bickel and Chappaz 2015: 184–85, fig. 9.9). All of them are possibly very late (on the late date of horse-riders see Bickel and Chappaz 2015: 184, n. 14).

In contrast with the west massif, the east massif of the pylon bears only one groove, but includes two finely carved figures of Amun about one metre above the current ground level (*Cahier* iv: 12). The smaller one (ca. 43 x 23 cm), in raised relief — a technique rarely used in graffiti — is unfinished; the larger one (ca. 60 x 20 cm), in sunk relief, is pierced with four small holes, two at shoulder height and two at the feet. To the left and right of its head are two demotic caption-like texts with the name of Amun, but it is unclear whether they are contemporaneous with the image or were added later (Pl. 1a). This image and its captions are currently being investigated by Ghislaine Widmer. When Chevrier (1950: 435) cleared the area south of the tenth pylon in 1949–50, he found large quantities of carbonized wood and pieces of bronze at the base of the flag-mast niches resulting from a large fire. The debris caused by the fire were never removed nor the flag masts replaced, perhaps initiating the accumulation of rubble at a time when this area had presumably lost its original function as a route for processions. It is unknown when the fire occurred, but the position of the two Amun figures indicates that they were carved when the base of the pylon was still accessible, before the fire damaged it and while the temple was still active.

The main concentration of graffiti on the tenth pylon is at its eastern end, hidden from the sight of anyone facing the gateway from inside or outside the courtyard. On the fourth and fifth course, over 2 m from the ground, is a cluster of three abstract images and seven hieratic texts, two of which are illegible (*Cahier* iv: 15 verso, 16); the titles in the legible graffiti comprise scribes and *wab*-priests affiliated to the temple, including a priest of Khonsu. That these texts were inscribed in hieratic by temple staff strongly suggests that they were carved when the temple was fully active and presumably kept clear of debris. They may have been added when the pylon was under construction (under Horemheb) and had construction ramps in place, or later, when this area could be reached while standing on the top of an older mudbrick enclosure wall which, like today, was probably accessible only from within the temple precinct. The current wall, dating to Nectanebo, partly covers one of the inscriptions and hieratic was no longer in use by this time

(Pl. 1b). The mention of a priest of Khonsu in the cluster is not helpful for dating, since an early version of the temple of Khonsu was built in the early 18th dynasty probably not far from its current location, west of CR10 (see 2.2.7). On the fourth course of the same wall, close to the inscriptions, Traunecker also records numerous grooves, although it is difficult to assess whether these are contemporary with the inscriptions. More grooves were carved on several blocks between the seventh and the eleventh course, while the eleventh course bears a cluster of ten crude animals, among which are horses and dromedaries. These and the higher grooves are possibly very late, when the pylon was reduced to a pile of debris.

3.1.2 The court of the tenth pylon: exterior (see plate 1)

The west exterior wall of CR10 is almost devoid of graffiti. The undecorated section south of the side door bears a large quantity of grooves mostly on the easily reachable second course, and so before debris accumulated, and only one graffito with a geometric shape (*Cahier* iv: 11). Immediately to the north of the door is a larger (60 x 62 cm) uncaptioned scene in raised relief depicting Mut offering sistra to a standing Amun followed by a statue of Khonsu, defined as such by a pedestal. Between the goddess and Amun a small child-god on a *sm3*-sign is carved. The composition is evocative of 25th dynasty scenes of divine adoratrices making offerings to Amun, such as a scene of Nitocris at Naga Malgata, in north-west Karnak (Coulon and Laisney 2015: 144, fig. 53; fig. 3.1). However, the fact that the offering is here made by a goddess is unusual and suggests a special role for Mut, perhaps as intermediary. The scene is surrounded by four roughly squared holes (*Cahier* iv: 10; Pl. 1j). Below it is a crude head with a uraeus.

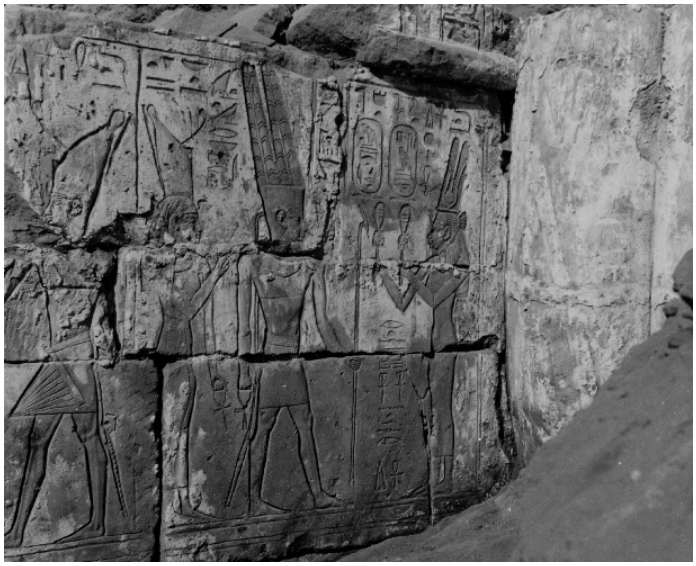


Fig. 3.2 Nitocris playing sistra before Amun. Naga Malgata: pillared building, south wall. After Coulon and Laisney 2015: 144, fig. 53. © Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Università degli Studi di Milano, Archivi Varille.

The east exterior walls of CR10, especially the south-east corner, which is delimited to the north by the building of Amenhotep II and to the south by Nectanebo's enclosure wall, bear one of the largest concentrations of graffiti in the whole of Karnak, counting 159 between textual, pictorial, and scenes (*Cahier* v: 67–76; vi: 3–19). Here, carved on the east face of the east wall south of the door is the 21st dynasty oracular inscription of Djehutymose (Kruchten 1986), which seems to have attracted dozens of graffiti. This area appears to have been roofed with a columned portico, so it was presumably a shady place to sit and scribble graffiti (Azim 1980b: 157–58, fig. 2). Across the three walls is attested one scene with a priest worshipping Ahmose-Nefertari (*Cahier* v: 71; Pl. 1k), two small and crude scenes of a seated Amun with an offering table, and 72 textual graffiti, of which 63 are titles and names in hieratic, including isolated *sš* signs, 6 titles and names in hieroglyphs, and 3 illegible inscriptions. Most inscriptions (40 out of 63) are clustered on the wall where Djehutymose's oracular scene is. They are hieratic inscriptions of scribes and *wab*-priests of the temple, including one affiliated to Khonsu, and their closeness to Djehutymose suggests that they date roughly to the same period or perhaps slightly later.

The 84 pictorial graffiti are mostly carved on the two other walls: the south exterior wall of the edifice of Amenhotep II and that abutting it. They include 21 gods, among which are 4 squatting figures of Amun and 1 standing, 5 ram's heads and 3 ram aegides, 4 crowned baboons, 2 squatting falcon-headed Khonsu figures and 2 falcon-formed Khonsu heads. There are also many birds (18) and barques (12). Lotus flowers are numerous (10), followed by human figures (4), one of them in a smiting pose, and royal heads (3). The remaining graffiti include one crocodile, one lion, one bull, one udjat eye, two horse heads, and 10 unidentified images.

The rear of the edifice of Amenhotep II (east exterior walls) is inscribed with 23 graffiti (*Cahier* v: 63–6), among which are 7 hieratic inscriptions (5 titles and names, 2 isolated signs), one scene of a crowned baboon with an offering table, and 15 figurative graffiti including 2 Amun, one lunar crown on crescent, possibly a symbol of Khonsu, 3 royal and 1 human heads, 3 bulls, 1 bird, 1 lotus flower, and 3 unidentified images. Their dating will require more analysis. The north exterior wall of the edifice has only two graffiti, cruder than those just mentioned: a human or divine figure holding a bull in each hand, and a figure with a uraeus on the forehead holding a *was*-sceptre (*Cahier* v: 62). They are both carved at least 3 m high on the wall, above a series of beam holes of the kind that supported Christian buildings in other parts of the complex, such as against the eighth pylon (see 2.4).

3.1.3 The court of the tenth pylon: interior (see plate 1)

On entering the courtyard, the northern façade of the tenth pylon presents slightly more graffiti than the southern side. Proceeding west to east one finds on the pylon's east massif, immediately to the left of the passageway, a life-size Amun facing east slightly above eye level (*Cahier* iv: 23; Pl. 1c). Despite its dimensions (ca. 155 x 32 cm), today the figure is barely noticeable; even Traunecker recorded only its head. The secondary nature of this image is evident from the absence of details in the well-proportioned outline of the head and crown, the shallowness of the carving, and a location — behind the west colossal statue — that finds no parallel on the east massif or other pylons. The figure bears deep grooves on the thorax and is damaged at its centre, so only the crowned head and feet are visible. In close association to it there is a sketchy inscription, presumably the name of Amun in pseudo-hieroglyphs, possibly a later addition. This deity seems to have been worn away by people who could access the courtyard. As the only divine figure in the whole court to have received such treatment, it must have held special meaning. A comparable phenomenon has been recorded on at least two of the four scribe statues discovered at the feet of the eastern colossus just opposite the graffitied Amun figure (Fig. 3.3a–b).

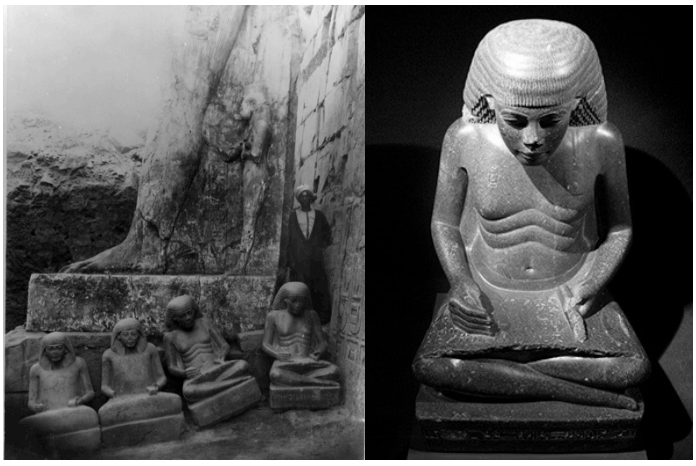


Fig. 3.3.a Statues of Paramesses (left pair) and Amenhotep son of Hapu (right pair) at the north side of the tenth pylon. © CNRS-CFEETK. .**b** Statue of Amenhotep with signs of wear on the lap. Luxor J.4; former Cairo JE44862. © Meretseger Books.

The granite statues of the 18th dynasty high official Amenhotep son of Hapu (JE 44861–44862), and probably those of the general Paramesses (future Ramesses I, JE 44863–44864), show signs of wear on their laps. It is hard to know who made the rubbings, whether members of the temple staff or people who could go through the tenth pylon on special occasions, but given the hardness of the statues, they must have been repeated thousands of times. The special treatment of the Amun graffito and the statues at the two sides of the pylon's gateway suggests

that a large number of people gathered in this area, possibly going in and out of the courtyard while following the procession.

Further west, the same massif bears a lotus flower overlapped by the lower horizontal incised line delimiting the undecorated dado from the marginal inscription above. Close to it, on the dado, is an isolated *ankh* sign, while immediately above are two very worn hieratic inscriptions. Traunecker proposes to read the start of the lower one as a *wab*-priest (*Cahier* iv: 23), but both are now illegible. The top one is cut by the marginal inscription of Ramesses IV and therefore predates it, so must have been inscribed in the 150 years between Horemheb and Ramesses IV.

A small scene (50 x 60 cm) on the inner west wall, south of the west door leading to the temple of Khonsu has a similar chronological framework (Pl. 1d). The composition includes a priest worshipping a serpent goddess through the intercession of the deified Amenhotep I, depicted offering *nu*-pots, who is identified by his cartouches and characterstic blue crown. A mostly illegible line of text directly below may have included the name of the dedicator (*Cahier* iv: 26 [F9.1]). The bottom of the scene is overlapped by the marginal inscription of Ramesses IV recarved by Ramesses VI and the top by that of Ramesses III, allowing this scene to be dated between the reigns of Horemheb and Ramesses III. Remarkably, only the head of Amenhotep I was intentionally spared, while that of the serpent goddess was carved over, highlighting the importance of the cult of Amenhotep I during the 20th dynasty.

North of the west door, the west wall is completely devoid of graffiti, despite being preserved on its lower courses where they are usually carved. The same applies to the west massif of the ninth pylon facing CR10, where no graffiti have been identified. The east massif of the ninth pylon, however, bears a cluster of very large and formal graffiti depicting deities (*Cahier* iv: 35–36; Pl. 1e). The cluster is composed of five distinct elements: a standing Amun surrounded by squared holes with a later restoration text in the name of Nero or Claudius (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 254, 297, n. 1), another standing Amun carved slightly higher than the first figure bearing two holes followed by Mut on a stand with captions and, above all of these, a seated Mut on a throne with a caption. In the midst of these scenes a much cruder double crown is depicted, probably symbolising Mut. The composition incorporates two fragments of older reliefs, possibly Ramessid, representing Amun's plumes and Mut's crown and feet (for such reuse, see Traunecker 1991a: 90, 96–7, figs 3–4). The figures, carved about 1.60 to 2 m above floor level, bear shallow grooves on their feet. The first Amun figure surrounded by holes must have been considered valuable and powerful if the Roman period administration took the trouble to have it restored

and associate the emperor's name with it. This also implies that they were necessarily earlier. On the same wall was carved a crude quadruped and the name of Amun-Re in pseudo-hieroglyphs.

The eastern wall of the court bears few graffiti. The north exterior wall of the edifice of Amenhotep II is preserved only to its bottom course, where a composite secondary scene is carved commemorating the appointment of Nesamun, son of Ashakhet, to the position of scribe of the storehouse of the Amun temple (*sš šnᶜt n pr-ʾImn*) during the procession of year 25 of Ramesses XI (Nims 1948). The building of Amenhotep II includes the highest concentration of graffiti on this side of the court, comprising barques, human figures, Amun figures (mostly ithyphallic), and (divine?) animals (*Cahier* iv: 29–33). The most elaborate is a small scene (ca. 40 x 46 cm) with an enthroned Amun and a serpent goddess dedicated by an individual named Ashakhet on the south jamb of the building's main entranceway (*Cahier* iv: 31 verso; Pl. 1f).

The south wall of the building, within CR10, has two large seated Amun figures exceeding one metre in height, oriented to face away from each other (*Cahier* iv: 28). One bears a dedication text and neither shows any trace of rubbing. The smaller one faces west and has *ʿImn-Rᶜ pꜣ* […]' inscribed in a column in front of Amun's face. The larger faces east, with an offering stand before him, and is associated with two texts that were likely carved contemporaneously: the column close to Amun's crown gives the god's name, while the other, in front of his face, is a dedication text in two columns by the 21st dynasty high priest Masaharta (PM II^2: 186 (557); Barguet 2006 [1962]: 251). The throne of the larger Amun was carved over a graffito of a falcon-headed aegis, iconography associated with Khonsu and perhaps carved by someone connected with his temple.

The eastern wall facing CR10 presents only two graffiti, both largely illegible, of which one in hieratic includes the title of 'scribe'. The other is carved within the marginal inscription of Ramesses IV recarved under Ramesses VI, is possibly in hieratic, and might predate Ramesses IV, although the marginal inscription does not overlap (*Cahier* iv: 27).

Four graffiti, mostly in hieratic, are inscribed on the south wall projecting east of the pylon and delimiting the south-east corner of the courtyard; the east massif has only one graffito. They are barely legible and mostly carved directly above the blank dado, on a course carved with a marginal inscription of Ramesses IV, so they may predate it, although this is not certain because there is no overlap. Only one of them, carved much higher then all other graffiti in this area, is a column of hieroglyphs framed in a rectangle: 'made by the *wab*-priest of Khonsu Nes[…]panefer, true of voice (?)' (*ir.n wᶜb n ḫnsw ns* […] *pꜣ-nfr mꜣᶜ-ḫrw* (?)) (*Cahier* iv: 22 (1); pl. 1g; for a discussion of *ir.n*-formulae in graffiti see 4.1.1). The south-east corner of CR10 was probably a hotspot for members of the cult of Khonsu.

The most elaborate scene on this side of the court is that carved on the east side of the passageway leading to the stairwell of the tenth pylon, on the south-east wall (see 2.2.5). It shows an anonymous man with a hunchback, presumably a priest, making offerings to a stela of the healing god Horus-Shed (Traunecker 1979: 25–7, fig. 1; *Cahier* iv: 21; pl. 1h). Its dating is difficult, since stelae of Horus on crocodiles are attested from the 19th dynasty onward (Traunecker 1983: 76, n. 68; Sternberg-El Hotabi 1999). The choice of this god is probably due to the physical condition of the dedicator, since this form of Horus is associated with healing. This location, south of the courtyard, may be linked with the presence of a small 25th–26th dynasty healing chapel of Horus about 350 m south of it, in the precinct of the Mut temple, or with a Ptolemaic chapel of the same god in the forecourt of the Opet temple (Traunecker 1983: 74–5).

At the centre of the courtyard, probably in the area crossed by the processional route, a limestone paving slab was recovered bearing the outline of two feet, each inscribed inside the outline with one column of hieroglyphs, and two hieroglyphic lines inscribed above the feet (Goyon 1982; Pl. 1i). The feet bear the name of the high priest Menkheperre, son of Pinedjem I, whereas the top lines, probably added later, bear those of his wife Isetemkheb and his son Smendes II. These graffiti are similar to those of feet carved on the roof of the Khonsu temple (Jacquet-Gordon 2003). However, Goyon (1982: 278) rejects the idea that this had the same function, which he defines as *ex-voto* or marks of pilgrimage, on the basis that the slab is only 9 cm thick, presumably implying that it did not belong to the original paving surface. Instead he suggests it was a place marker possibly signalling the priest's position during the procession. His argument is quite unclear. If anything, the thickness suggests that the stone was commissioned and inscribed elsewhere before being placed in the courtyard, which may still be a way for Menkheperre and his family to make their presence permanent before Amun on, or close to, his processional way.[6]

3.1.4 The court of the ninth pylon: exterior (plate 1)

Traunecker records 6 graffiti on the exterior west wall of CR9, which I have not been able to locate: 2 demotic inscriptions, an *ankh*-sign, a naos, and 2 unidentified images (*Cahier* iv: 8). On the exterior east wall there the graffiti are fewer in number, but larger. North of the door piercing this wall in its middle is a large depiction of an ithyphallic divine statue on a stand preserved from the torso down (60 x 40 cm). The figure, mummiform and with a stola crossed over the torso, is represented standing on a base facing south. Two holes are preserved below the base, but

[6] Cf. with the possibly similar use of pavement slabs in the Ramessid Mut temple at Deir el-Medina, many of which were inscribed with workmen's names, Haring 2009: 155–56. I am grateful to Cédric Gobeil for drawing my attention to this material.

presumably there were more at the top of the image (*Cahier* v: 60). Further south, on the north jamb of the door, are three graffiti: a squatting lion in profile, and two well-carved hieroglyphic inscriptions bearing the name of the high priest of Amun Herihor, the lower including the epithet 'son of Amun', which Herihor acquired when he adopted a royal titulary (Barguet 2006 [1962]: 257, n. 2; *Cahier* v: 59; Pl. 1l).

3.1.5 The court of the ninth pylon: interior (plate 2)

Of the four southern courtyards CR9 has the least graffiti: the sidewalls and the north façade of the ninth pylon do not bear any. In contrast, the south façade of the eighth pylon delimiting the north end of the court, still in good condition, has numerous graffiti (*Cahier* iv: 39–42). Their uneven distribution in this courtyard is partly due to the level of preservation of the walls. However, it is striking that even the lower courses of the sidewalls, where secondary epigraphy was usually added, seem to be devoid of them.

Progress on working over Traunecker's initial graffiti survey of the eighth pylon was made during 2013 and 2014 fieldwork seasons by Frood, who is currently investigating this area, including the pylon stairway and the eastern wall of CR8 with the door of Amenhotep. The data produced has been recently double-checked by Ellen Jones during the 2018 study season and is here presented only briefly, since detailed analysis will be published separately as part of Frood's Karnak Graffiti Project. On the south façade of the pylon 21 graffiti have been identified, of which 14 are on the west massif alone. They are mostly figurative and range from small crude birds (max 30 cm high) to formal Amun figures exceeding one metre in height and surrounded by holes. The 7 textual graffiti, in hieroglyphs and hieratic, include isolated signs, two caption-like inscriptions associated with the two Amun figures, and a two-column hieroglyphic inscription that is difficult to read and interpret.

The west side of the west massif bears one scene of a man with a short kilt, possibly a priest, captioned with a column of hieroglyphs, as well as three inscriptions of personal names, two in demotic and one in Coptic (*Cahier* iv: 43). These are carved between 2 and 3 m above ground level. This end of the pylon is connected to the west gate, a side door leading to CR8, which served as a service entrance for the temple personnel (see 2.6.1). The south wall of the gate facing CR9 is inscribed with a finely carved image probably depicting the second pylon, and two rows of offering bearers (Van Siclen 1998: 65, fig. 2). One of the cows in the procession bears the name of the high priest Meryamun, who probably lived in the 20th dynasty (Pillet 1938: 240–46; *Cahier* iv: 38). This gateway bears a large cluster of 31 graffiti, remarkable for their variety (*Cahier* iv: 48–57 with a partial list). They are mostly figurative and include a beautifully carved

scene of Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I and a large frontal baboon-shaped god pierced with holes, as well as depictions of Amun's barques, ram's heads, baboons, an ear (the only one known to me in Karnak thus far) and other divine and royal symbols.

3.1.6 The court of the eighth pylon: exterior (plate 3)

The west wall of CR8 was demolished in the 4th century AD, when the Romans removed the west obelisk of Tuthmose III (see 2.4). The only graffiti west of the court are on the north side of the wall that extends from the west gate, which then turns south and forms the west sidewall of CR9, and the exterior west end of the seventh pylon. The first bears two small and incomplete Amun heads (*Cahier* iv: 7), while the second has at least 7 graffiti: a human face with a flat cap (headdress of Amun or red crown?), a processional barque with naos of medium size (20 x 47 cm), the figure of an enthroned royal statue seen in profile, possibly depicting one of the colossi of PY8, 3 pairs of schematic *djed* pillars, and a demotic inscription (*Cahier* iv: 56).

It should be noted that this cluster is inscribed within the *tracés de pose* of the north end of the original wall, which was removed under Constantine. When these graffiti were carved on the pylon, the west wall of CR8 must have already collapsed, at least its northern end abutting the pylon, otherwise the surface within the *tracés de pose* would not have been accessible, blocked by the wall itself. It is therefore tempting to take the 4th century AD as a *terminus post quem* for this cluster, with its various implications for the presence of a processional barque so late into the Roman Empire.[7] However, the presence of the demotic graffito, which reads Sheshonq, negates this possibility, since demotic as a script remained in use, at Karnak, until no later than the 2nd century AD. The name itself, Sheshonq, is mostly attested during the Ptolemaic period and is very rare in Roman times (2nd century AD), when it is written in Greek letters (Ghislaine Widmer, pers. comm. 2018).[8]

If the barque were to be dated to the 4th century AD, it would have acquired a whole different meaning compared to the graffiti of barques left in the New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period; it would have been left at a time when parts of the temple were being dismantled and the southern processional way had been transformed into settlements inhabited by people working for Constantine, whether local or foreigners (Azim 1980a). However, it is more likely that this cluster, or at least some of the graffiti in there, date to the Ptolemaic period (cf. the demotic inscription carved at the same height). Implications of this are important for the

[7] The Opet festival is attested in the Roman period, at least in the first century AD as mentioned in Papyrus Leiden T32 (Herbin 1994: 151–53, 299). It is very tempting to see in these graffiti a proof that processions in Karnak were still enacted, perhaps at a small scale, in the main axis a few centuries later.

[8] Many thanks to Ghislaine Widmer for suggesting that I revise my position concerning this cluster, which I initially dated to the 4th century AD or later.

assessment of the architectural evolution of this area, since it implies the (partial?) collapse of the west wall long before the obelisk's removal under the Romans. However, it should be noted that at least two of the three pairs of *djed*-pillars in this cluster (pl. 3, bottom left) seem to include a bird in the hieratic script, which Traunecker (*Cahier* iv: 56) interprets as a sign for the goddess Mut. Thus, it is tempting to suggest that these graffiti, possibly representing pylons, were carved before the west wall was built, which would allow to date them exactly to the reign of Tuthmose III.

In contrast to the west side of CR8, the east side is fully preserved and the exterior walls are densely inscribed with graffiti. The east end of the eighth pylon has at least 20 graffiti, 15 of which are pictorial (*Cahier* v: 38–41). Alongside types that are more common, such as barques, there are rarer examples, as for instance three dancing male figures and two scarabs, the former possibly evoking the celebrations during some festival (Stadler 2008: 3). A few metres from the ground, on the same wall, is a scene with a private individual offering to a man sitting before an offering table (*Cahier* v: 34) that is typical of funerary contexts. It is overlapped by, and so predates, a scene of the high priest Amenhotep and Ramsesnakht. This side of the pylon opens into a stairway leading to the top of the massif. Four more elaborate scenes of members of the temple staff worshipping deities were carved inside it, together with 30 pictorial and textual graffiti (*Cahier* v: 44–5, 51–7), including some recently discovered painted hieratic. At least 13 textual and figurative graffiti have been identified on the outer wall at the top of the east massif (*Cahier* v: 43, 46–50). These are unique clusters in Karnak, not only because this pylon's stairway is, to my knowledge, the only one that is inscribed, but also for the presence of elaborate scenes of private individuals showing very high levels of investment. This material will be published separately as part of Frood's research project, along with the graffiti left in and around the door of the high priest Amenhotep connecting CR8 to the area of the sacred lake, which I briefly describe below.

Secondary epigraphy on the east exterior wall of CR8 connecting the eighth to the seventh pylon is rather crude and late. The only fine graffito is a scene of a priest with hands raised in adoration before a two-column hieroglyphic inscription. It predates Ramesses IX given that it was carved over by the inscription of the high priest Amenhotep south of his door (*Cahier* v: 35). All others, numbering at least 47, were possibly added after the wall surface was heavily eroded and altered (*Cahier* v: 27–37). Clustered around Amenhotep's door are 4 royal figures seated on a pedestal and 6 or more geese. There are also 3 hieroglyphic inscriptions that are problematic to read and one demotic text on the door lintel (*Cahier* v: 35–7). Like all demotic epigraphy in Karnak, the latter is studied by Didier Devauchelle and Ghislaine Widmer.

In the door thickness there is a cluster of 10 owls, a human figure, and a barque (*Cahier* v: 32). North of the door are parts of human figures, such as legs (2), one sketchy Amun, some scattered hieroglyphic signs and a demotic inscription, as well as a Mut aegis. Five large incomplete cartouches stand out for their size, being about 50 cm high (*Cahier* v: 29). Four show only an empty oval frame, while one is topped by two plumes and a sun disc and contains the start of the name of Amun in hieroglyphs. Three more such cartouches and the start of a fourth (only one plume was drawn) are carved further north, on the portion of wall occupied by Tuthmose III's barque shrine (*Cahier* v: 27–8). Two of them contain the name of Amun-Re and the epithet 'lord of the thrones of the two lands, giver of (life) forever', written in hieroglyphs with some mistakes in their writing. Also in the same area are a Coptic and a demotic inscription, along with other figurative graffiti. These are all geometric signs, except for a small ibis-shaped Thoth before a *Maat*-plume (*Cahier* v: 27). Their position within a barque shrine which was presumably not widely accessible suggests that they were incised when the chapel was no longer used for religious ceremonies.

The outer walls of the shrine also bear graffiti. On that facing south Traunecker records 5 including a barque, possibly a bull, and three other unknown shapes (*Cahier* v: 25). I could not find any of these, but I identified the bottom part of a cartouche, probably similar to those described above for the east wall. On the front side of the repository there are at least nine: south of the door is a human leg and an unfinished cartouche; north of the door is a seated Amun, two illegible hieratic texts, a man holding an *ankh*, and a bird. On the same wall the frame of a naos has been incised around a niche in the structure, transforming a little hole into a small secondary shrine. The largest concentration of secondary marks is on the wall facing the seventh pylon to the north (*Cahier* v: 19–23). There are 28 figurative graffiti, of which 19 are barques, as well as a crocodile, a bird and three crowned baboons. Of the three texts one is a hieratic inscription of a scribe of Khonsu. Its close proximity to the baboons allows them to be identified as Khonsu. The opposite wall, that is the east end of the seventh pylon, bears 24 graffiti, mostly pictorial. Among representations of royal heads, barques and lions, this is the only area where 3 graffiti of shadow clocks are attested, of the kind with a slenting base and a raised crosspiece at one end (pl. 4, bottom right; Salmas 2014, esp. figs 1 to 5).

3.1.7 The court of the eighth pylon: interior (plate 3)

Like CR9, graffiti within this court are mostly concentrated on its northern limit, i.e. the south façade of the seventh pylon. The west massif has 27 graffiti in the east niche alone, which are mostly crude images, such as human heads (2) and bodies (2), ram's heads (2), *udjat* eyes (5), ankh

signs (2), and 3 isolated hieroglyphic signs (*Cahier* iv: 50–1). Between the two flagpole niches this massif bears 4 graffiti carved 3.30 m and 4.20 m high on the wall, on the blank surface between the legs of Tuthmose III smiting enemies (*Cahier* iv: 52). One is a rectangular shape enclosing a schematic portable naos on a stand; in the middle of the naos there is a palm branch. Another is a profile view of a human face, and two mimic Tuthmose III's cartouches on this massif, now destroyed. In the west niche there are 8 graffiti including two human figures, one human eye, three crowns, a bird, possibly a peacock, and an undefined quadruped (*Cahier* iv: 54). These graffiti are very late, possibly Christian.

West of the niches there is a prominent ram's head, roughly 1 m high, in raised relief and crowned with a uraeus on a large sun disc (fig. 5.3a). That and the caption next to it are discussed in section 5.2. Dating of this graffito is difficult, but being surrounded by late graffiti it is possibly late, probably Ptolemaic. The fact that in the Luxor temple the motif of the ram protome was revived under Alexander further supports this hypothesis (Murnane 1985).

Below, there is a crude hieroglyphic inscription of a man named Meryu and the figure of a man with a stick in frontal view. Slightly to the west are two demotic inscriptions, another schematic portable naos, a bull on a *t3*-sign, and a human face with a cap overall similar in character to that between the traces described above, therefore probably dating to the Ptolemaic period like the cluster between the *tracés* (*Cahier* iv: 55).

The east massif has fewer graffiti, only the 11 carved in the two flagpole niches (*Cahier* iv: 48–9): the west niche has two human eyes (not *udjat*), a human head, and a human body, while the east niche has one human head, one human eye, a lotus flower, three pseudo-hieroglyphic groups imitating the name of Amun, and one unidentified image. These too appear to be quite late, and their position within the niches indicates that the temple was already partly ruined at the time of their carving.

To the south of CR8, the north façade of the ninth pylon is mostly untouched by secondary epigraphy, with the exception of a few Christian graffiti of crosses and birds that were probably added on the east massif when it was used as a structure to support a Coptic monastery (*Cahier* iv: 45; see 2.4). On this side of the court there is only one small cluster of six pharaonic graffiti on the north face of the east jamb of the west gate (*Cahier* iv: 48–57 with a partial list). They are figurative and include a baruqe of Amun and baboons.

The two sidewalls of the court bear no graffiti at all. The west wall was completely demolished in late Roman times (see 2.4), and now only the traces where its battered northern end lay against the seventh pylon (*tracés de pose*) are visible. The east wall, on the other hand, is fully preserved but, notably, no graffiti have been identified there.

3.1.8 The court of the seventh pylon: exterior (plate 4)

The exterior west wall of CR7 north of the door bears a small scene of a king smashing the head of a Nubian and at least 21 figurative graffiti: six sailboats, a horse rider, one standing Amun, and three human or divine figures. Other images, such as a stylized fish and three triangles joined at the vertex, are almost certainly Christian. None of these graffiti overlap with the primary decoration, but are carved on the dado. They are probably late, possibly post-pharaonic. Apart from the horse rider, whose elate dating is discussed by Bickel and Chappaz (2015: 184, n. 14), these sailboats have parallels among graffiti in the Theban mountain closely associated with Coptic inscriptions (e.g. Sadek and Shimy 1973: pls 226, 228, 246).

Secondary epigraphy on the part of the west wall connected to the seventh pylon, south of the door, is remarkably different. The wall, undecorated, bears a massive depiction of a statue of a god on a base, preserved from the torso down (2.45 x 1.38 cm).[9] Next to it is a small seated god with an *atef*-crown, probably Osiris, whose head was carved on a separate block, now missing (cf. deities on the ninth pylon, east massif, south façade, 3.1.3). Immediately to the left is a larger scene of a god embracing a king, preserved from the waist down. The top part was also carved on a separate block, now lost. Only part of a plume is preserved, which allows the identification of the figure to the right as Amun (70 x 78 cm). All three graffiti show a high level of investment and are pierced with holes (see discussion on these graffiti in chapter 6.1). Among them are also four small birds and two crude human figures (*Cahier* ii: 13–5).

The north façade of the seventh pylon, outside the courtyard, has 38 graffiti, mainly pictorial (*Cahier* ii: 17–25). There are seven birds of the same kind as those along the west exterior wall, and four ithyphallic Amun, of which one is surrounded by holes. Among other crude human figures (4), a barque, a ram's head, and a dozen unidentified images, there is a fine mummiform headless deity, pierced with holes. Another, cruder mummiform deity, was probably carved close to it, but only the pierced base is preserved. Higher on the wall, written just below the oracular decree of Maatkare, wife of Osorkon, who lived between the 21st and 22nd dynasties (Winand 2003: 676–77), are the largest hieratic inscriptions attested in Karnak. The longest is over a metre long and over 10 cm in height. It was left by a scribe of the domain of Amun called *Rrḫy* (*Cahier* ii: 25). Below it and above it are some scattered hieratic signs, such as *pꜣ* and *ḏḥwty*.

The west face of the seventh pylon has about 20 graffiti, including 3 demotic texts. Among crude representations of a barque, a baboon, a bull, a frontal human torso and other geometric signs are two finely incised divine figures surrounded by holes. The first is a ram-headed Amun, while the second is an Osiris on a stand with an *atef*-crown. Both bear traces of

[9] For the divine attribution based on holes surrounding the figure, see 6.1.

pigments. Between them are two smaller divine figures: a Mut and an Osiris. Some of the graffiti, such as a demotic inscription, a scorpion, and a camel, are carved on the 5th course, which was probably reached when the 4th century AD ramp used to remove the obelisk was in place (Azim 1980a: 100–01, fig. 4).

The east wall of CR7 facing the sacred lake is mostly undecorated (Fig. 2.23). It bears 32 graffiti, half of which are clustered at the two sides of the door; the remaining ones are carved further south, on the highest preserved course (*Cahier* v: 1–5). Barques are the most frequent (9), and there are also five heads, including one royal and one of Amun. Among the high cluster are an ithyphallic Amun and a prominent bull, probably Buchis. There are also ten inscriptions, mainly demotic, but also some scattered hieroglyphic signs, as well as an elaborate framed text in three columns enclosing an illegible cartouche. The graffito was probably inscribed by a priest in the 25th–26th dynasty (see discussion and image in 4.1).

The north face of the seventh pylon outside CR7, which is also undecorated, bears 7 graffiti, excluding a Christian cross. They are all coarsely incised and include a baboon, a bird, three quadrupeds (possibly bulls), and two scattered hieroglyphs (*Cahier* v: 7). The east face of the pylon has at least 36 graffiti, carved mainly on the south side of the door of the pylon's stairway (*Cahier* v: 8–11). These include a few rough images, such as a small ibis-shaped Thoth before a plume of Maat, or a barque above two legs that are depicted frontally, perhaps representing a priest carrying a barque. Here there is also a significant cluster of squatting divine figures: 3 of Maat, 2 of falcon-headed Khonsu, and 3 squatting Amuns with captions. There is also a Khonsu barque with a naos and 7 baboons in different poses. This cluster is discussed with reference to some secondary squatting Amun figures in chapter 5.3. On a block above the door is a secondary hieroglyphic inscription below two feet, possibly part of the primary decoration. The graffito reads 'may Amun [ensure that/cause that?] (my) name endure (in) the domain of Amun eternally' (see discussion in 4.1 with references).

3.2 Graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon in context

This section presents the graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon in relation to the architecture and the different phases of decoration. In contrast to the previous section, which was a more general survey, here I describe the graffiti in more detail and try to assess their possible date. Examination of their interactions with their surrounding environment is treated in the core chapters of Part II.

The architectural development of the courtyard is apparently straightforward, having three sides (PY7 and sidewalls) built under Tuthmose III. This area was tightly linked to the main temple axis and underwent several transformations throughout the New Kingdom, beginning

with its creation under Tuthmose III to the south of the festival hall of Tuthmose II (see 2.2.3), through the reduction of its northern limit under Amenhotep III and the possible construction of a *mur fantôme* (see 2.2.5), to the construction of the south wall of the hypostyle hall, probably under Horemheb, which still forms the north-west corner of the court (see 2.2.5), and finally to the construction of Ramesses IX's gate between its north-east corner and the main temple (see 2.3).

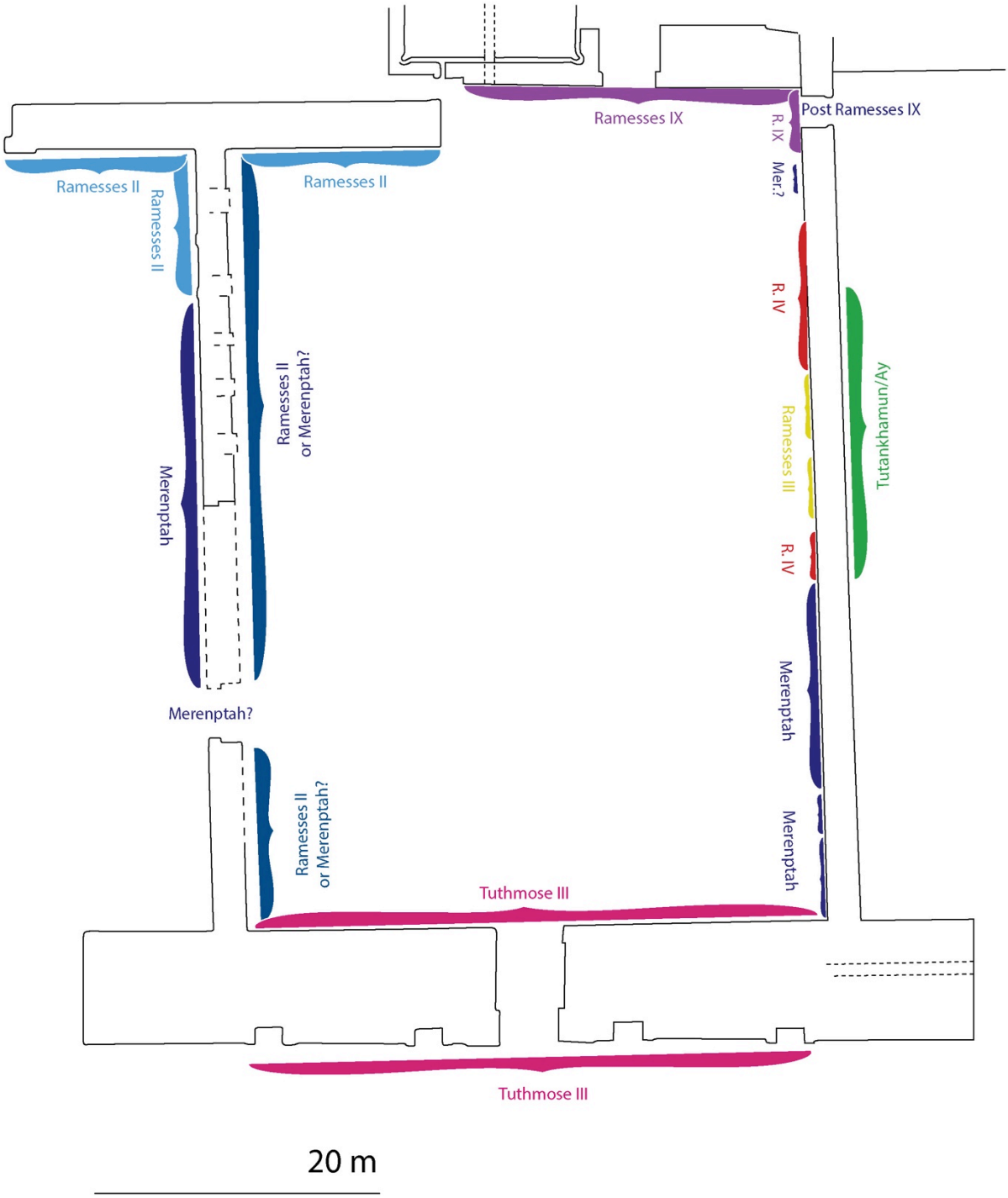


Fig. 3.4 Phases of primary decoration of CR7. Drawing C. Salvador.

Even the sidewalls bear traces of manipulation, such as the *coup de sabre* that has been identified in the masonry of the east wall, close to the pylon (see 2.2.3), showing that the wall was partly demolished and reconstructed under Tuthmose III. The west wall is more problematic. It too was demolished and reconstructed during the building of the hypostyle hall, but the *coup de sabre*, probably at its north end, has not yet been clearly identified.

As for its architectural phases, detailed understanding of the main stages of decoration of this courtyard is challenging since most of its remaining scenes and inscriptions have been recarved, while others are on loose blocks or have disappeared altogether. The extensive damage caused by the displacement of the unique obelisk under the Romans in the 4th century AD (see 2.4) further complicates the reconstruction of the sidewalls, which are the subject of a current reconstruction project of the CFEETK.[10]

3.2.1 Decoration under Tuthmose III: the seventh pylon

The earliest preserved decoration programme is that on the façade of the seventh pylon, which is contemporary with the monument (see 2.1.2). At the centre of the pylon's north façade are two large scenes of Tuthmose III facing out from the central doorway and smiting foes: Nubians on the western massif, and Asiatics on the eastern massif (see catalogue PY7, EM and WM). The same decoration appears also on the south façade, with Asiatics and Nubians on the western and eastern massif respectively. As a rule, Asiatics who were associated with the north are always found to the left side of the observer, except when facing west (Sébastien Biston-Moulin Pers. comm. June 2019).

On the west massif of the north façade the figure of the king is preserved up to his torso. On the east massif, only his rearmost leg survives to just above the knee. The two scenes are surrounded by at least ten rows of names of foreign polities inscribed within fortified city ovals topped with figures of bound captives, all depicted as Asiatic (*Urk.* IV: 780–86). A subtle difference in the surface level of both massifs, which can be appreciated only in a raking light, indicates that the city ovals at the two extremities of the pylon were carved at a second stage (see KIU 2106, 2126).

No trace of decoration of Tuthmose III is visible on any of the sidewalls. A *bandeau* or marginal inscription with Tuthmose III's royal names which would have run along the top of the girdle wall encircling the main temple, just below its cavetto cornice, has been recovered among loose blocks (Winand, Broze, and Preys 2012: 97), so it is tempting to assume similar decoration for CR7. However, no trace has been found on the sidewalls of CR7, including the loose blocks.

[10] For a progress report, consult http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/?page=anastylose-de-la-cour-de-la-cachette.

It is possible that the wall was painted on plaster, which could explain why no decoration has survived. As far as we know, by the end of the 18th dynasty only the seventh pylon was fully decorated, whereas the sidewalls were not.

The majority of secondary marks on this façade of the pylon are concentrated on the lowest courses of both massifs, close to the gateway. They are mostly carved on the undecorated dado, which was originally plastered and painted. No graffiti were carved on the gateway, perhaps because it was considered inappropriate and/or granite was too hard to easily inscribe. To my knowledge, none of the graffiti in Karnak were carved on granite, which seems to favour the latter hypothesis.

3.2.2 Graffiti on the seventh pylon: the east massif (see catalogue)

The east massif is inscribed with at least 27 graffiti; others are likely to have been carved on blocks now damaged or missing. Most of them (19) are concentrated on the lowest course, while only a few (8) are carved on the second, third and fourth courses. The upper courses include Christian crosses (EM-B2.a–b, EM-D3.a) and geometric elements (EM-C1.a). Among them there is one mimicking a prisoner's head (EM-C2.a), while another is a deeply carved Coptic inscription (EM-B1.a). Traces of two more graffiti are visible on the fourth course; these are too worn and high to be identified (EM-D1.a, EM-D2.a). The presence of these graffiti on the upper courses, together with a row of 5 beam holes of the same size along the third course, suggest that a structure, similar to the kind attested on the opposite (south) façade of the same massif (see 2.4), was built on this side of the pylon too, perhaps in lighter materials. The structure on the south façade is post fourth century AD in date, and that on the north was probably comparable. All the graffiti on the upper courses of the north façade were likely left by members of the monastic community that settled along the southern processional way. Even though Christian graffiti are not analysed in this work, their identification is useful for comparative considerations.

No crosses or other evidently Christian symbols can be identified on the dado, where most graffiti cluster. They probably predate the structure that was built against the wall, which would have presumably covered the lowest course. The cluster includes three, possibly four, lions carved on the two blocks closest to the gateway (EM-A1–2). There are also nine human figures and one human face, at least three of which have royal emblems, such as uraei (EM-A4-c, EM-A6-a-b). Figure EM-A1.b represents a man facing east, holding a staff and leaning forward (Fig. 3.5). The head is not preserved, the body is rendered as roughly rectangular, and the kilt, or the lower part of the tunic, is trapezoidal. Thin single lines represent the limbs. This rendering of the human body has parallels among graffiti in the temple of Isis at Aswan, which was probably

erected under Ptolemy III Euergetes I, and Ptolemy IV Philopator (246–221, 221–205 BC; Dijkstra 2012: 15). There, graffito A44, depicting a standing goddess holding a staff (Dijkstra 2012: 68), and graffito DE4, portraying a seated Khnum with an *atef*-crown holding a staff (Dijkstra 2012: 118), have comparable rectangular bodies and thin lines for limbs (Fig. 3.5). This parallel suggests a Graeco-Roman date for figure EM-A1.b. A similar date could be safely suggested for the lion figure next to it (EM-A1.a), which also has a trapezoidal body and thin lines for limbs, and perhaps the two royal figures in block EM-A6 as well.

The demotic inscription on the same block (WM-A6.c), currently studied by Widmer and Devauchelle, is problematic to read. It could date to the early Ptolemaic period or earlier, as suggested by a possible hieratic ligature (Ghislaine Widmer: pers. comm. 2019).

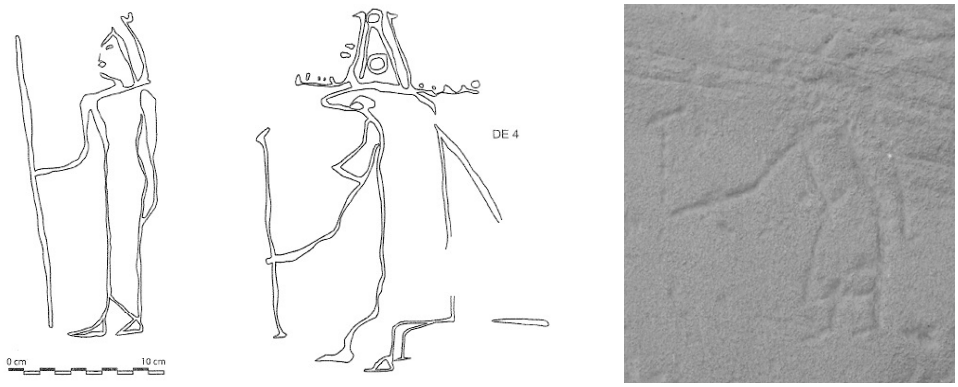


Fig. 3.5 From left to right: graffiti A44 and DE4 in the Isis temple in Aswan (Dijkstra 2012: 68; 118); graffito EM-A1.b on the seventh pylon's east massif.

I cautiously suggest that most graffiti on the dado range between the Late and the Graeco-Roman Periods. In this range I would argue that figures that more closely follow pharaonic pictorial conventions, such as regulated alternation of frontal and profile view, are earlier (e.g. EM-A4.b and EM-A4.d), while those breaking with conventions, such as EM-A4.c which is a fully frontal view, are Roman. Even though admittedly evolutionary, such trend in rendering of human figures seems confirmed by parallels on the Theban mountain, where frontal geometric figures with a crossing pattern on the thorax (stola?) are associated with a mix of late demotic and Coptic inscriptions (e.g. Černý and Sadek 1971: pl. 238). A closer look at the cluster of graffiti in this area may in future strengthen this hypothesis.

3.2.3 Graffiti on the seventh pylon: the west massif (see catalogue)

The west massif bears at least 58 graffiti, 39 of which are clustered on block WM-A1 alone. The remainder are concentrated on the two lowest courses. A graffito on the sixth course, close to the king's torso, is not considered here since it is in Arabic and was probably carved when debris

piled up against the pylon. Rows D and E are pierced with regularly spaced beam holes similar to those on the east massif, so some light structure was probably added in Christian times. Christian graffiti were likely carved in this area; their absence may be due to the extensive surface damage between courses C and D, which has also destroyed large areas of the primary decoration.

Although block WM-A1 bears the greatest concentration of secondary epigraphy on an individual block in the whole southern processional way, the graffiti there are now almost invisible, being hidden behind the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period seated royal statues (see 2.2.2, fig. 2.4). They are mainly pictorial (38 out of 40) and the majority represent Amun, with 14 ram's heads, and 4 anthropomorphic figures, of which one shows only the head. There are also 4 divine standards, and 4 barques, three of which are topped with a naos. The remaining 12 include 2 birds, 3 lotus flowers, 2 (royal?) heads, 1 white crown, the lower half of a male figure standing before an offering stand, and 3 unidentified figures. Faded traces of more graffiti are also visible. Detailed description of this cluster is provided in chapter 5, together with the analysis of selected graffiti representing Amun, which are treated as manifestations of individual devotion. There, I tentatively date them to the New Kingdom based on contextual and iconographic analysis. The presence in the cluster of two hieratic inscriptions of scribes (WM-A1.l and WM-A1.H) may support this hypothesis.

At least five more inscriptions and one hieratic *sš* sign (WM-A2.d) are included among the remaining 19 graffiti on this massif: Block A3 bears faded traces of two inscriptions badly eroded by stone salinization. They are only legible thanks to Traunecker's archival records and a photograph of a squeeze (*Cahier* iv: 64). WM-A3.a, in hieratic, was left by a god's father of Amun named Ameneminet, while WM-A3.b is probably the abbreviated form of the title 'god's father of Amun' in hieroglyphs. WM-B2.a was also some sort of inscription, possibly in hieratic, but is now eroded and illegible: there is no record of this graffito in Traunecker's archive. Further to the right, WM-B3.a is a neat hieratic inscription of a scribe carved on an undecorated surface between two captives' heads.

Fig. 3.6 Previous page: Traunecker's squeeze of graffiti WM-A3.a–b from the 1970s. Above: faded traces of the same graffiti from a photograph taken in 2017. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

On the same course, about a metre to the right, WM-B5.a mimics the name of the foreign country *tpstm* (KIU 4400) inscribed in the oval frame directly above it. The graffito is coarsely rendered and contains some mistakes — the sign for Atum (Gardiner U15) has the wrong orientation and the sign for foreign countries (Gardiner N25) does not correspond. However, it presents a legible variation of the original hieroglyphs: the latter are inscribed in one column reading left to right, whereas the graffito is arranged in two columns reading right to left (Fig. 3.7). This implies that the author must have been able to read and had some basic knowledge of how to write.

Fig. 3.7 Graffito WM-B5.a on the pylon's west massif mimicking the primary decoration. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

The presence of hieratic graffiti among the large cluster of pictorial graffiti on block A1 indicate that the corpus on the west massif is earlier than that on the east massif. While Christian graffiti were likely present on the upper courses of the west massif, no clearly New Kingdom graffiti can be identified on the east massif, suggesting that the latter probably remained untouched until the Late Period.

3.2.4 Decoration under the Ramessids

The architectural transformations undertaken at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th dynasty, particularly the creation of the hypostyle hall that caused the reconstruction of part, if not most, of the west wall, initiated a new decorative programme. Ramesses II commissioned the decoration of the south exterior wall of the hypostyle hall with scenes of the Battle of Qadesh on the area outside CR7 (PM II^2: 58 (173)). The corresponding section of wall inside CR7 is inscribed with the so-called Poem of Pentawer, which is a literary narration of the Battle of Qadesh in 73 columns (PM II^2: 58 (174); see 2.6.3). This wall is in an excellent state of preservation, and notably not a single graffito is attested.

3.2.5 The west wall: southern section

The early Ramessid decorative programme also included both sidewalls, starting from the west one. The latter corresponds to the traditional organisation of violent scenes on temple exteriors and ritual scenes on the interior (see 2.6.3). The outer side, north of the door, is dominated by Merenptah's Cananite battle scenes (Yurco 1986). On both interior sides of the west door are scenes of divine rituals alternating with others connected to the royal crowning, the Opet festival, the celebration of the inundation, and the New Year's festival (Le Saout 1982: 218, n. 44-5). These probably evoke some of the ritual activities that took place in this courtyard. Their attribution remains problematic: they bear the name of Sety II, who probably appropriated them from Ramesses II (Le Saout 1982: 213), or possibly Merenptah, as proposed by Dembitz (2007: 91, n. 2) on the basis of his decoration of the exterior wall.

The southern end of the wall, from where it abuts the seventh pylon, is badly damaged. Only the lowest courses have survived on the side facing the courtyard, above which is a shelter, still in situ, that Legrain built during his 1903–7 excavations of the *cachette* (Coulon and Jambon 2016; Jambon 2016). Le Saout (1982: 214) identified loose blocks belonging to this wall section, which are being repositioned in their original location by the CFEETK's reconstruction project, replacing the shelter (see 2.2.5). From south, the upper and more damaged register includes only two of the four original scenes:

i. The king offers *mḏt*-ointment to the gods (Le Saout 1982: 215);
ii. The great Ennead and an offering of Maat with a lacuna between the two. A parallel scene in the hypostyle hall suggests that Amun here might have been assimilated to Hapy or Nun (Le Saout 1982: 218).

The better preserved lower register comprises four scenes:

i. Royal purification: only the king and Horus are preserved, and either Seth or Thoth is missing (Le Saout 1982: 219–20);
ii. Offering of the white loaf (Le Saout 1982: 220);
iii. Introduction of the king to Amun by a goddess, possibly Mut (Le Saout 1982: 220);
iv. Offering of the ***nmst***-vase: this scene was partly damaged by the opening/enlargement of the west door (Le Saout 1982: 221–23).

3.2.6 Graffiti on the west wall: southern section (see catalogue)

Four graffiti are preserved on the lower course, which is the only one preserved. A1a represents a man with thin lines for limbs and a body made of two opposed triangles, similarly to graffiti A6.a–b on the east massif of the seventh pylon. They probably date to the Graeco-Roman period. A2a is a square with a cross inside it. It is not clear whether this is a Christian symbol, but it is probably late. The same applies to the two graffiti on block A3, which were coarsely made by chipping away the surface with a chisel or a similar tool. They may depict Hathoric crowns or barques, even though they look different from other barques with naoi elsewhere.

3.2.7 The west wall: northern section

The doorway piercing the wall has the name of Sety II inscribed on an erased surface on both façades. Le Saout (1982: 222–24) proposed to date the creation of the door to Ramesses II, but further examination of its inscribed blocks has led Dembitz (2007: 91, n. 2) to attribute its opening to Merenptah. Most of the decoration is not preserved except for a small scene on the northern thickness showing the king entering the court being greeted by Amun (Le Saout 1982: pl. II).

The wall to the north of the door is pierced by five large holes resulting initially from the removal of the unique obelisk under Constantine, and then Legrain's intervention in 1901 to wall them up to protect the court (see 2.4). The decorative programme continues north of the door with the so-called decree of Sety II, which was usurped from an earlier king; its connection to the door suggests Merenptah as a possible date, rather than Ramesses II (proposed by Le Saout 1982: 224–25, n. 81–2). The text was intended to oppose the corruption of the high clergy to the

detriment of the lower clergy, possibly in relation with the accessibility of the courtyard through this door. North of the decree the scenes are arranged in two registers. On the upper register at least six fragments of scenes have survived:

i. Introduction of the king to the gods by a goddess. Only the lower halves of the figures are preserved;
ii. Part of the king and a protection formula;
iii. A goddess and a column mentioning food offerings;
iv. Fragmentary column of inscription belonging to a scene that has disappeared;
v. Part of a seated god (most likely Amun-Re) behind whom is a goddess;
vi. The king faces a seated Amun-Re and is followed by Thoth.

The lower register is better preserved and includes eight scenes:

i. An ibis-headed Thoth counts the regnal years and announces that foreign countries have been subjugated. To the right the king receives the jubilee from Amun followed by a goddess who offers the king the length of life of Re and Atum. This is the only instance on this wall of a scene surrounded by holes (Le Saout 1982: 227–28, pl. III, 3c);
ii. The king offers the white loaf to Amun in exchange for eternity (PM II^2: 132 (490 II/1));
iii. The king before Amun who gives him *sed*-festivals. Behind the king is the eponymous goddess Waset holding bow and arrows with her litany to Amun in 7 columns (PM II^2: 132 (490 II/2); Legrain 1915);
iv. The king offers Maat to Amun with Mut behind him (PM II^2: 132 (490 II/3));
v. The king offers the *mrt*-chests to Amun and Isis (PM II^2: 132 (490 II/4));
vi. The king drives the four calves to Amun and Khonsu (PM II^2: 132 (490 II/5));
vii. Ritual run of the king holding the *ḥpt*-oar and the bull towards Amun and Amunet (PM II^2: 132 (490 II/6));
viii. The king is escorted to the gods by Atum and (Montu?). Hathor receives them playing the *nini*-instrument before Amun and Mut (PM II^2: 132 (490 II/7)).

Below the lower register, covering the whole length of the wall, is a marginal inscription with the titulary of Ramesses IV, whose name is still legible in the large cartouches later inscribed in Ramses VI's name (Peden 1994: 38; Brand 2009).

3.2.8 Graffiti on the west wall: northern section (see catalogue)

This wall bears 149 graffiti, the highest number in CR7. Most of them (116) are carved on the two lower courses, which comprise the undecorated dado and the marginal inscription of Ramesses IV, later recarved by Ramesses VI. The main registers of decoration, corresponding to courses C, D, and E, bear only 33 graffiti.

At least 44 graffiti are textual, the highest concentration of this type in CR7. In number, this cluster can be compared with that in the south-east area outside of CR10 (see 3.1.2), and that on the southern wall at the temple of Ptah (Ragazzoli and Frood 2013). At least 39 textual graffiti are clustered in an area approximately 650 cm in length and 68 cm in height between blocks WW-A1–A5 and WW-B1–B5. They are mainly hieratic non-royal inscriptions ranging from small (2 x 5 cm) to large (6 x 30 cm) and from roughly to neatly incised (e.g. WW-B11.d, WW-B2-B3.a). Of all textual graffiti on the west wall, including those out of this cluster, 16 are overlapped by the marginal inscription, allowing them to be dated to a time before Ramesses IV and after Tuthmose III. This suggests that similar graffiti in the same area may also date to the same period. The floor on this side of the court is roughly 50-60 cm higher than the original ground level (Fig. 3.8), so the graffiti on the two lower courses were carved approximately 80 to 140 cm above the original floor, a height easy to reach while standing. Implications of their presence in this area are analysed in chapter 4 along with other practices of self-fashioning.

Birds are also frequent on this wall, with at least 14 examples. Three of them, WW-B2.f, WW-B9b, and WW-B14a are cut through by the marginal inscription, so they were left between the reigns of Tuthmose III and Ramesses IV (Salvador 2016a). Other figurative graffiti were probably incised in the Ramessid period too. Block WW-A10 bears 8 graffiti of birds, and others are carved nearby, such as WW-A9.h, which probably represents a large goose, one of Amun's forms.

Baboons are not as frequent, appearing only twice on this wall. WW-C5.a and WW-C6.a show a baboon in profile facing south, close to the torso of the king in the primary decoration. Both bear a lunar crescent below a full moon and probably represent Khonsu, given the context. A graffito of a scribe of Khonsu carved next to three graffiti of similar crowned baboons on the exterior wall of the barque shrine of Tuthmose III further supports this hypothesis (*Cahier* v: 22; see 3.1.6). A large groove, very difficult to date, runs through the centre of WW-C5.a, indicating that at some point it was considered potent enough to be deliberately rubbed. These baboons are carved ca. 252 cm above the original floor level, which suggests a late date, while their content and position in relation with the primary decoration seem to indicate that they were left when gods and kings were still meaningful, probably in Graeco-Roman times. WW-C2.b, located a few

metres north from the other two, may also be intended as a graffito of a baboon, but it looks incomplete or perhaps was carved by less competent hands.

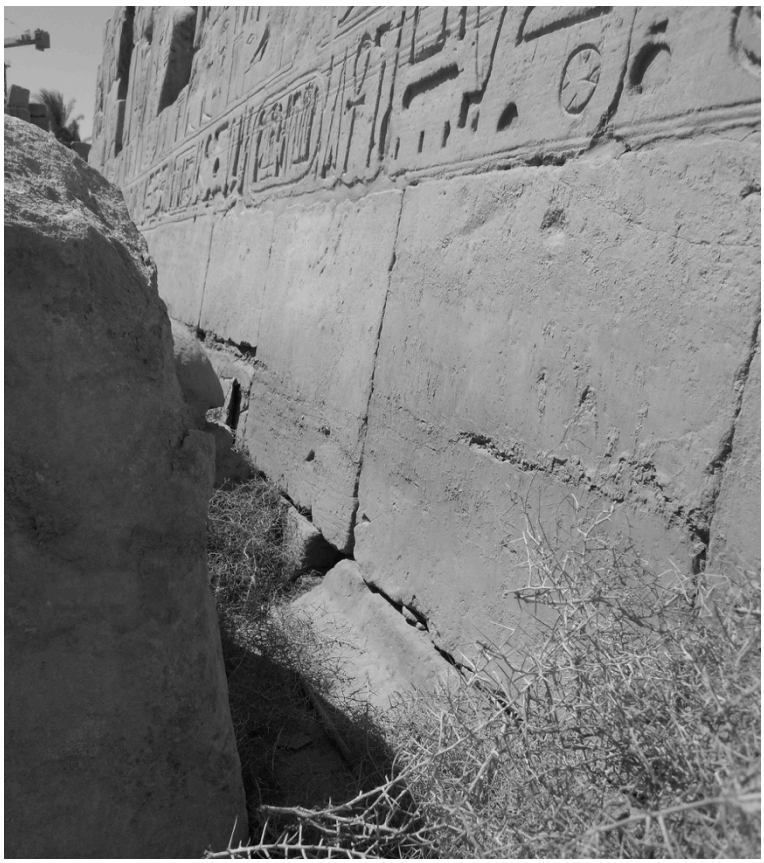


Fig. 3.8 Exposed foundation block of the interior west wall. © CNRS-CFFETK/C. Salvador.

On the west wall processional barques with naoi appear 4 times, while portable shrines 8. Graffito WW-B5.a, representing a barque with a square naos on a stand, seems to be overlapped by the main scene, in which case it would predate Merenptah, so it would be one of the earliest graffiti on this wall. A very similar squared shape with inner incisions may represent a processional naos and seems to be carved over by the marginal inscription as well (WW-B18.a). The rendering of the naos with a nesting square pattern has at least one parallel in a graffito at Deir el-Medina (Ragazzoli 2018b: 415, fig. 7), supporting a New Kingdom dating. Four or five large barques and naoi are concentrated on blocks WW-A7 and WW-A8, but their much larger size than the previous examples, and features of their style suggest a later date. A Graeco-Roman date can be cautiously suggested for the two portable shrines on block WW-B11, which are carved in the same schematic style as the human figure holding a staff on the same block (WW-B11.a), whose body is rendered as a rectangle with crossing lines extending as to form the legs, while thin lines represent the arms (cf. 3.2.1, EM-A1.b). Definitely Roman or later is WW-B13.a,

the human figure holding an *ankh* in its right hand and represented in frontal view. The head and torso are worn away by a small groove made with a sharp tool. Many other graffiti on this wall are also late, such as a probably Christian palm branch (WW-B18.b), as well as others which are likely to date to the same time. The different styles of the figurative graffiti on this wall make them especially difficult to date.

3.2.9 The east wall

Merenptah's decorative programme also included part of the inner face of the east wall. However, in contrast to the west wall and any other preserved wall along the southern processional way, the position of these scenes is far from straightforward and requires detailed assessment. Starting from the south end of the wall are three distinct scenes and inscriptions belonging to Merenptah:

i. Upper register: the king holding a bow; Lower: triumph scene (PM II^2: 131 (488));
ii. Main register: stela of Merenptah's Lybian war (PM II^2: 131 (487));
iii. Great Lybian victory of year 5 of Merenptah (PM II^2: 131 (486)).

Merenptah's scenes stop some 10 m north of the pylon, only to resume ca. 27 m further to the north of the same wall, where a cluster of three scenes in his name was inscribed close to where the east door was later opened. The cluster includes a large criosphinx scene with a king kneeling between its paws, captioned with cartouches of Merenptah, which were later chiselled out (PM II^2: 131 (482/2)). The two lower scenes, coarsely carved, include two cartouches of Merenptah which show no trace of erasure. Whether or not these scenes belonged to Merenptah's official decorative scheme, the lower two at least seem contemporary to him (see 6.2.2). Assuming all three scenes date to Merenptah, the blank area of wall between the south scenes and the north cluster can only be explained if it had been inaccessible, possibly due to the presence of one or more structures (small shrines?) leaning against it. The same would apply if the large criosphinx scene had been appropriated by Merenptah from an earlier king.

The part of wall that Merenptah's artists left untouched was later inscribed with two stelae of Ramesses III. These were inserted asymmetrically in the uninscribed area, leaving about 12 m and 4 m of blank space to the north and south respectively (PM II^2: 131 (483–4)). These surfaces were later inscribed with two stelae of Ramesses IV, recarved by Ramesses VI (PM II^2: 131 (482/3, 485)).

The northern end of the wall probably remained blank until Ramesses IX had it inscribed, extending the decoration of his northern gateway. The king, incorrectly identified as Merenptah in PM II^2: 131 (482), is depicted facing north wearing a blue crown followed by

Sefkhet-abuy (Seshat), goddess of writing and archives (Amer 1999: 13–14, 29–30, 38). The goddess writes *sed*-festivals for the king, assigning millions of them to him like the god Re (***di-n=i n=k ḥbw-sd ꜥš3w wrw mi Rꜥ;*** KIU 3311, l. 9). The central area of the scene was destroyed when the door connecting CR7 to the sacred lake was opened some time in antiquity (see 2.2.3, fig. 2.8). The now lost scene included the god Amun, as indicated by the inscription preserved on the north jamb of the door with his epithets. Below this scene a contemporary *bandeau* or marginal inscription was inscribed with the name of Ramesses IX; this is still largely visible (KIU 3303).

3.2.10 Graffiti on the east wall (see catalogue)

The east wall bears significantly fewer graffiti than the west wall and the seventh pylon. They number only 15, including the cluster of three scenes on the northern end of the wall, which have been mentioned as part of Merenptah's decorative programme, since all three bear his name and include the king in the company of gods (EW-B1.a, EW-A1.a, EW-A2.a). They are visibly different from most graffiti in Karnak, being very formal and prominent, yet they only partly fit in the temple's decorative scheme. For this reason they have been included in this survey and are analysed in detail in section 6.2.

Block EW-B3, immediately to the right of the criosphinx scene, bears 5 pictorial graffiti: EW-B3.a is a well-proportioned figure, wearing a short wig and a kilt, facing north with raised hands in adoration, perhaps a priest. The figure is well executed and adheres to dynastic pictorial conventions, being broadly stylistically similar to adoring figures of the New Kingdom/Third Intermediate Period. EW-B3.c, below it, represents a man with a *was*-sceptre. The highly stylized rendering of the body, with a square torso and thin lines for limbs is comparable to figure EW-A1.b on the east massif of the seventh pylon, and therefore probably dates to the Graeco-Roman period (see 3.2.1). EW-B3.b, EW-B3.d and EW-B3.e, on the same block, look like abstract geometric shapes, yet they include some traits that are reminiscent of the human figures next to them, such as two vertical lines on EW-B3.b, possibly intended to mimic the legs of the first figure, and a round shape on top of EW-B3.d, possibly imitating the head of EW-B3.c. These might be late (post Graeco-Roman?) responses to earlier graffiti.

Block EW-A4 has traces of two well-proportioned lower legs of a male figure facing north. Above the front foot is the forked end of a staff, while behind the feet is the end of a bull-tail, identifying this as a king or a male deity. Below the feet are two round holes. Despite the careful execution and large size (33 x 53 cm), which could suggest the figure was an element of primary decoration, it was probably secondary, as is discussed in more detail in 6.1.1.

Further south, block EW-A5 bears faded traces of two figural graffiti: EW-A5.a is a standing anthropomorphic Amun facing south. The two tall plumes on the bulky square head make the identification certain. The body is rectangular and the front arm grasping a staff is rendered as a thin single line. Its geometric style suggests a Graeco-Roman date. On the same block, slightly to the right, EW-A5.b is a deliberate incision that is compatible in size and shape with one of the plumes of the Amun crown in EW-A5.a. This suggests that it was originally a similar figure of Amun, now largely lost. EW-A6.a is a geometric abstract figure that is vaguely reminiscent of a barque on a stand, since it includes an upward crescent on a square base.

EW-B4.a and EW-B6.a are both carved within the marginal inscriptions, but are most likely later, since there is no overlap. The first depicts a horned viper, mimicking the hieroglyphic sign in the official text, while the second appears to be an upside down *men*-sign. The frequency with which isolated *men*-signs are scratched on the walls along the southern processional way may be associated with Amun's name, as a sort of abbreviated graphic version of it. The final graffito on this wall, on block EW-B7, closest to the pylon's east massif, is a human figure facing south holding a horizontal sceptre or spear. The rendering of its body, with two opposed triangles and thin single lines for limbs, suggests that it is Graeco-Roman. Only one textual graffito is preserved on this wall, on block EW-B5 (EW-B5.a), carved between Merenptah's legs. It is a demotic inscription of difficult reading including the name of one or two different people, possibly displaying different writings (Ghislaine Widmer: pers. comm. 2019).

3.2.11 The gate of Ramesses IX

The south façade of the gateway is decorated with ritual and offering scenes of the king in three registers. To the west of the doorway, on the 1st register:

i. The king burns incense and offers libations to Ptah (PM II^2: 75 (184); KIU 3295);
ii. The king offers flowers to Onuris-Shu, whose image is pierced (PM II^2: 75 (184); KIU 3294);
iii. The king is purified by Horus and Thoth before Amun-Re (PM II^2: 75 (184); KIU 3293);
iv. Amun offers millions of *sed*-festivals to the king (PM II^2: 75 (184); KIU 3292).

2nd register:

i. The king offers Maat to Thoth (PM II^2: 75 (184); KIU 3299);
ii. The king, followed by Sefkhet-Abuy, makes libations to Amun-Re (PM II^2: 75 (184); KIU 3298);

iii. The king burns incense to Amun Kamutef followed by a goddess (PM II^2: 75 (184); KIU 3297);

iv. A god and a goddess holding hands with the king introduce him to Amun-Re (PM II^2: 75 (184); KIU 3296).

To the east of the doorway, on the 1st register:

i. The king performs the ritual run with the *hes*-vases before Amun (PM II^2: 75–76 (185); KIU 3306);

ii. The king, followed by Thoth, offers the bouquets to Amun-Kamutef (PM II^2: 75–76 (185); KIU 3305;

iii. The king offers the *nemset*-vase to the Theban triad (PM II^2: 75–76 (185); KIU 3304).

The second register is poorly preserved. The only preserved scene shows the king offering the *meret*-chests to an enthroned Amun followed by Amunet (PM II^2: 75–76 (185); KIU 3307). The third register is not preserved. A marginal inscription of Ramesses IX runs along the third course giving his titulary.

3.2.12 Graffiti on the gate of Ramesses IX

Even though the gateway has been substantially reconstructed and some blocks are missing, it is striking that the extant blocks bear no graffiti. The only exception is a crude graffito of a barque with two pairs of vertical strokes departing from the keel, perhaps a representation of masts or the uprights of a naos (NW.a). However the otherwise undecorated block on which it is carved is not sandstone, but a harder and darker stone. This block might have been brought here from elsewhere to restore the lower courses of this wall. It is not clear whether this restoration occurred in antiquity or is more recent. In either case, the graffito may not have been carved in this courtyard.

3.3 General observations

In this survey I estimate that the southern processional way was inscribed with a minimum of 1051[11] graffiti, bearing in mind those that would have disappeared or may have been overlooked. Many of these have been discussed in the previous two sections. The vast majority (759 graffiti; 72%) are pictorial, with textual graffiti numbering 250 (24%). Pierced figurative graffiti and scenes, the latter can be pierced or not, amount to only 4% of the total (42).

[11] Cf. with the provisional number (1428) of the whole Amun temple, excluding the Ptah temple, provided by Traunecker (1979: 23).

The interior walls of the courtyards and their east exterior walls bear most graffiti, 45% (475) and 43% (454) of the total respectively. In contrast, the west exterior walls, facing the Nile, are considerably less densely inscribed, bearing only 122 graffiti, corresponding to 12% of the total. The varying survival of the structures, for example the destruction of the west wall of CR8, only partly accounts for the uneven distribution of the surviving secondary epigraphy, since the east walls of CR9 and CR10 are also poorly preserved. The distribution of graffiti is crucial for assessing authorship. It appears that graffiti were preferably carved or painted inside the courtyards and on the east exterior walls of this axis facing the sacred lake and the administrative and economic districts, whereas seemingly less restricted areas were less inscribed. This is supported by the fact that the south façade of the tenth pylon, which was outside the temenos and therefore theoretically widely accessible, bears only 8 graffiti, most of which probably date to the Graeco-Roman period or later (see 3.1.1).

As it emerges throughout this chapter, concentrations of graffiti vary significantly from court to court, and even from wall to wall (Fig. 3.9). The inner walls of CR7 bear the highest number of graffiti (254) of all southern courtyards. Other large concentrations, although smaller than CR7, are inside CR8 (66) and its adjacent areas, including the eighth pylon's stairway (47), and the west gate (31). Considerably fewer graffiti are carved within the two southernmost courtyards: CR9 has 31, whereas CR10 has 27, and Amenhotep II's edifice bears 19.

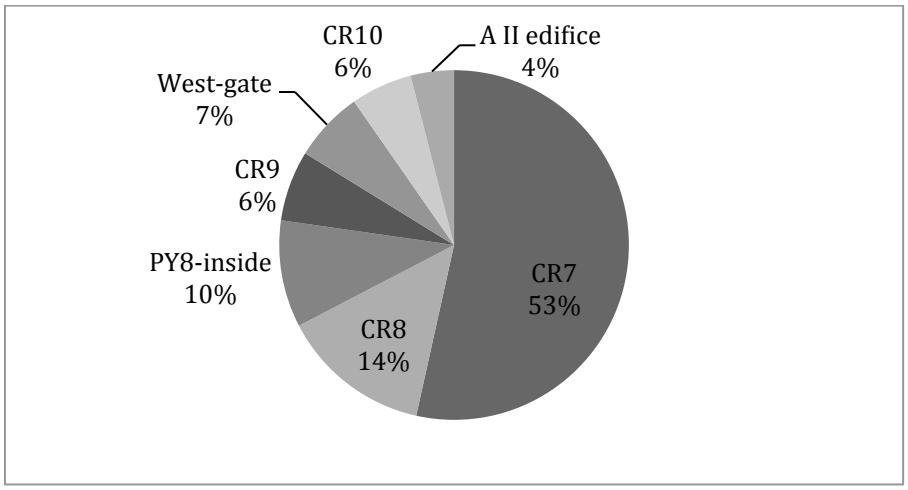


Fig. 3.9 Chart showing the percentage of secondary epigraphy within the southern axis.

Along the east exterior walls of this axis (fig. 3.10), graffiti cluster on the south-east corner of CR10 (185), on the east wall of CR8 (75), and the exterior part of the seventh pylon's east massif (68). All other structures on the east side of the processional way bear fewer than fifty graffiti each: the exterior walls of Tuthmose III's barque shrine bear 43, the east exterior of CR7

facing the sacred lake 32, the exterior sides of the tenth pylon's east massif 27, the east face of the eighth pylon 20, and the east wall of CR9, which is poorly preserved, only 4.

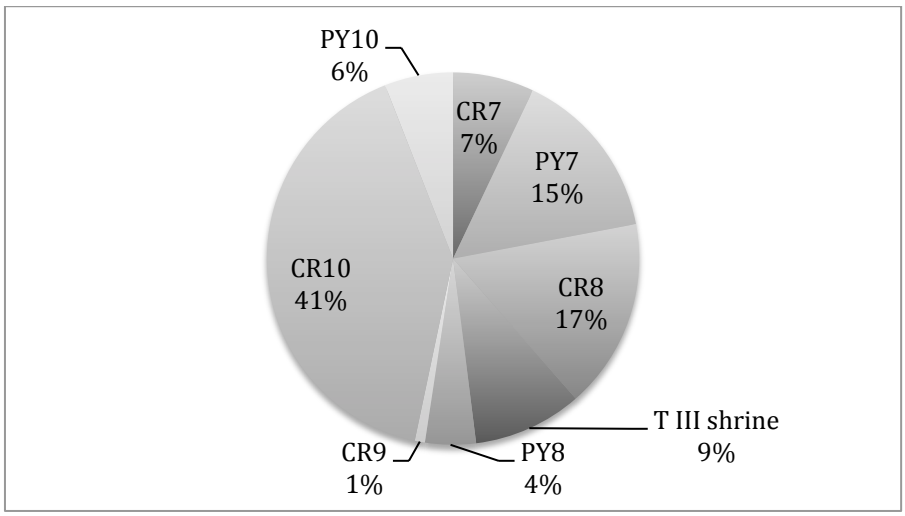


Fig. 3.10 Chart showing the percentage of secondary epigraphy on the east exterior walls of the southern axis.

More than half of all graffiti on the west exterior side of the processional way (fig. 3.11) are clustered on the seventh pylon's west massif (64), and the west exterior walls of CR7 (31). The remaining 22% of secondary inscriptions in this area is distributed between CR9 (10), CR10 (9), the exterior of the west massif of the tenth pylon (6), and CR8 (2), whose wall has been demolished, so the only two graffiti on this side are on the sidewall which abuts the west gate by the eighth pylon.

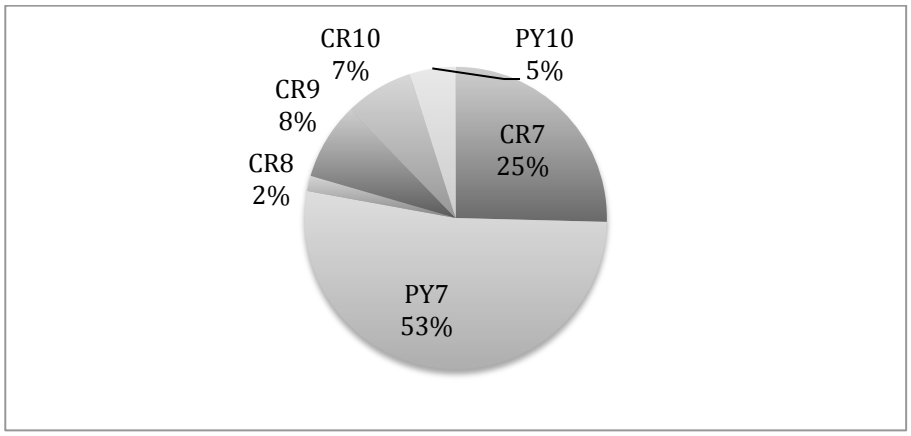


Fig. 3.11 Chart showing the percentage of secondary epigraphy on the west exterior walls of the southern axis.

Along with relatively densely inscribed areas there are others that are completely devoid of graffiti (fig. 3.1). Within CR7, for instance, this includes the south wall of the hypostyle hall,

inscribed with the poem of Pentawer. The gate of Ramesses IX has only one, and the block on which it was inscribed probably does not belong to the original structure. Both areas are well preserved, so the absence of graffiti in the most densely graffitied court of the southern axis cannot be a matter of chance. Both structures are part of the east-west temple axis, and it might have been inappropriate to inscribe them with graffiti. The east interior wall of CR8, as well as the north façade of the eighth pylon, are also devoid of graffiti, except for a few Christian crosses on the latter (not mentioned in 3.1.7, because not relevant for comparative analyses). The reason for their different treatment is unknown. It is possible that that the east wall of CR8 was regarded as highly sacred, at least in the New Kingdom, since it gave access to the barque shrine of Tuthmose III. The dense cluster of graffiti on the outer side of the same wall is probably much later, although this does not explain why the east interior wall was not graffitied even in later periods.

Both inner sidewalls of CR9 and the north façade of the ninth pylon lack graffiti. It is the same for the inner west sidewall of CR10, north of the door, and the west massif of the ninth pylon, on the south façade. Absence of graffiti on these structures may be linked to their poor preservation, although the lower courses, which is where secondary epigraphy is often attested, are well preserved and yet do not bear any. The same applies to the wall at the south-west corner of CR10 and the south façade of the west massif of the tenth pylon. This list of absences needs to include all passageways and stairways inside the pylons, except for that of the eighth pylon, whose east massif is inscribed both inside the stairway and at its top, in an area overlooking the passageway. The main axial doors of pylons were probably only open when processions took place, so the lack of graffiti in these areas was almost certainly not only a matter of decorum, but also of accessibility (see 2.6.1).

Summarising the distribution of graffiti without considering their date risks flattening a complicated picture and treating all graffiti as expressions of a contemporary practice. It is important to remind ourselves that the graffiti we see today did not always coexist. Some were carved much later, while some of the earlier ones were disappearing under layers of plaster. Considering the long period involved, from the late 18th dynasty to the early Christian period (roughly two millennia), 1051 graffiti seem very few. Even arbitrarily multiplying this figure by four in order to account for the bias due to the graffiti that have disappeared, the average production of graffiti would barely set at two per year. We thus need to consider that making graffiti must have been a rather discontinuous practice, which was common only at certain times, during which only certain areas of the Karnak temple complex were targeted.

Confidently establishing their date is often challenging. Most of the graffiti surveyed here remain undated or very generally dated. Occasionally context, script, and style offer clues. This survey highlights three main broad periods for graffiti inscription: 1) the New Kingdom, when they are widely attested in funerary contexts as well; 2) the Third Intermediate Period (Dynasties 21-25); 3) the Late to the Graeco-Roman periods (Fig. 3.12), beside graffiti carved by the Christian monastic community throughout the southern route.

1) A few graffiti are certainly New Kingdom in date because they are overlapped by primary Ramessid decoration. These are attested in three areas: the inner west wall of CR7, the inner west wall of CR10, and the exterior east wall of CR8, south of the door of Amenhotep. Some of the elaborate graffiti in the stairway of the eighth pylon can be securely identified as New Kingdom because of their content, including in one case a title connecting the individual with the 19th dynasty high priest of Amun Roma-Roy (Traunecker 1979; Collombert in press; Frood in press). Others on the east interior wall of CR7, and possibly those on the west massif of the seventh pylon, are probably New Kingdom based on their location, style, or content (see chapter 5). Some of the graffiti on the thickness of the west gate, connecting CR8 with CR9, may also be dated to the New Kingdom, such as that of Amenhotep I with Ahmose-Nefertari. Likewise, some of the textual graffiti carved within the marginal inscriptions on the north façade of the tenth pylon and the inner south-east corner of CR10 may predate Ramesses IV, although here the marginal inscription does not overlap the graffiti. The hieratic graffiti carved on the east face of the tenth pylon's east massif may be New Kingdom or slightly later. A detailed palaeographic study, beyond the scope of this thesis, could determine this more precisely.

2) Some Third Intermediate Period graffiti can be identified because they bear the name of 21st dynasty high priests, such as Masaharta. These graffiti usually attracted groups of other graffiti probably of the same period or slightly later. They are clustered on both north and south exterior walls of the edifice of Amenhotep II, within CR10, but mostly outside. Nearby, in the south-east corner outside of CR10, the large 21st dynasty inscription of Djehutymose attracted many graffiti probably of the same period. Another 21st dynasty graffito is on the north jamb of the east door of CR9. It is evident that 21st dynasty high priests of Amun regarded these areas of the southern processional way as important (Kruchten 1986: 335). The presence of at least three contemporary oracular decrees in this area further supports this idea; these are: the oracular inscription of Djehutymose just mentioned outside CR10 (Kruchten 1986); and the oracular text of Henuttawy on the north façade of the tenth pylon (Winand 2003: 614–90); the oracular decree of Maatkare on the west massif of the seventh pylon (Winand 2003: 676–77).

Of slightly later date, probably the 25th dynasty, are other graffiti, such as the uncaptioned scene on the west exterior wall of CR10, depicting Mut playing sistra before Amun (see 3.1.2), as well as some of the graffiti on the east exterior walls, such as that of the priest son of a priest from Armant on the east wall of CR7 (see 3.1.8), and the series of cartouches topped with double plumes on the east wall of CR8, although the latter require more analysis. If the date of these graffiti were to be confirmed, their presence could be linked to Taharqa's investments in the area by the sacred lake.

3) Many of the human and animal figures incised along the southern processional way have the characteristically geometric bodies and thin limbs of graffiti in, for example, the Ptolemaic temple of Isis in Aswan (see 3.2). I argue that the cluster of graffiti on the lower courses of the east massif of the seventh pylon in CR7 may date more broadly between the Late and the Graeco-Roman periods (see 3.2.1). Similarly rendered figures are numerous throughout the southern processional way, both inside and outside. This suggests that at that time graffitists were very active in this area of Karnak. However, this survey alone is not sufficient to support this hypothesis, which requires more comparative analysis, beyond the scope of this thesis.

Christian graffiti were likely left by the local monastic community that settled in this area some time after the 4th century AD (see 2.4). They are often easy to identify, especially when they include crosses or other Christian symbols. In other cases, however, they can only be identified through context, for example those carved on the upper courses of the seventh pylon, which were probably carved when a monastic structure abutted the façade of the pylon.

This short chronological overview, although necessarily partial, highlights the complexity of the graffiti in this area. Secondary epigraphy was practiced for many centuries, and it still is to some extent. During each of the broad phases above, Karnak's southern axis, and Egyptian society more generally, underwent major transformations through which graffiti acquired different meanings that found expression through different spatial arrangements. New Kingdom graffiti can be found mostly in CR7 and in the eighth pylon's stairway, whereas 21st dynasty graffiti are mainly in and around CR10. These choices were certainly deliberate and meaningful, although the reasons behind them are not always clear; the following three chapters explore the significance of some of these choices for clusters of graffiti in CR7.

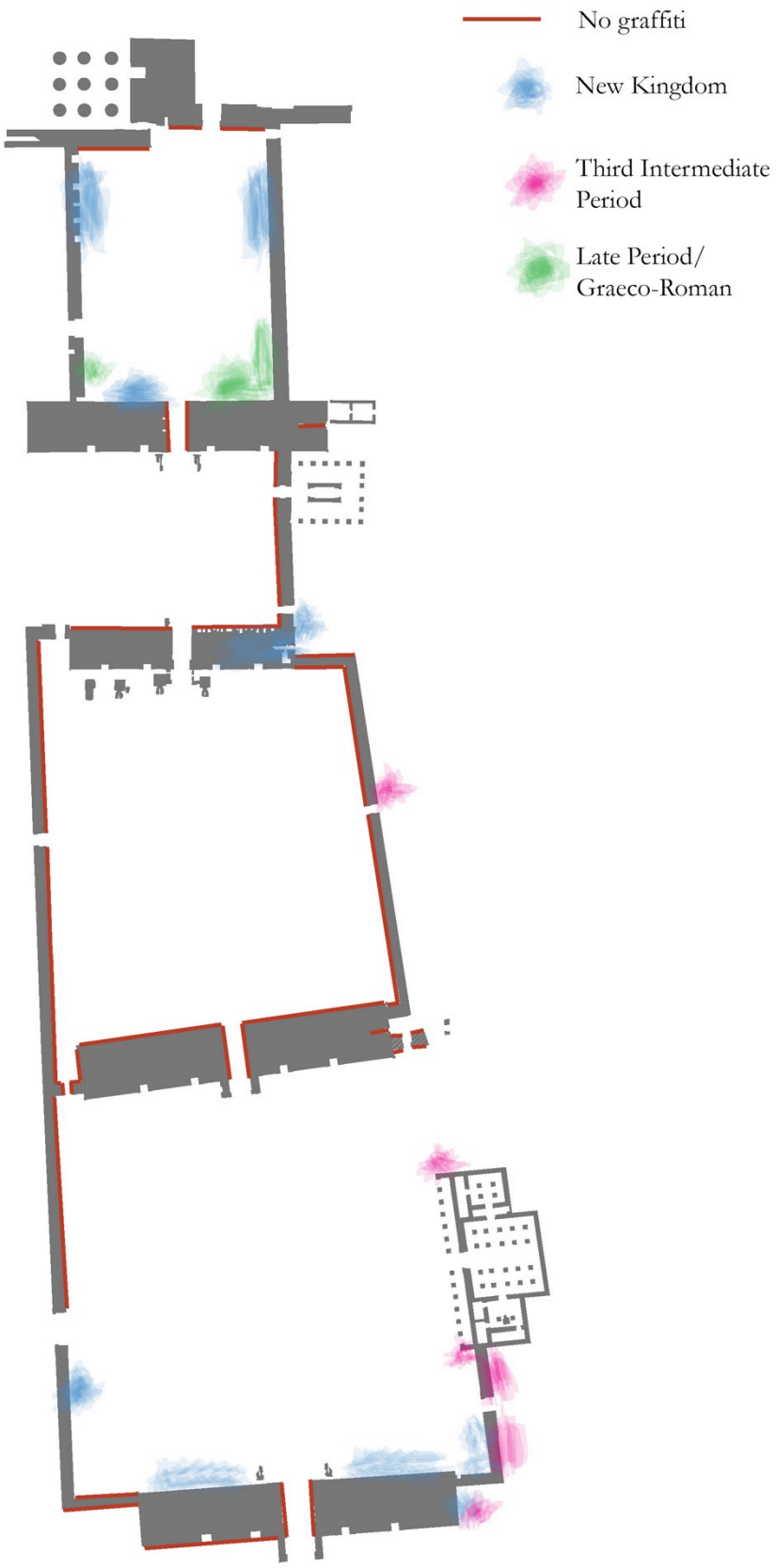


Fig. 3.12 Southern processional way with distribution of graffiti by general phases. Drawing C. Salvador.

PART II

'Socializing' the graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon: a material approach

Thus far the graffiti in my corpus have been described according to their typology: textual, pictorial, and scenes. The last of these includes all graffiti that have two or more interacting elements conceived at the same time (although this is not always easy to assess), which can be two or more pictorial elements or a mix of pictorial and textual elements (such as a god with a caption-like text).

This initial subdivision was especially helpful when I worked at the Karnak database, into which I needed to enter a huge corpus in the database and had to define some criteria. I established a hierarchy and I decided to enter first the more complex and less numerous scenes, followed by the textual graffiti, finally adding the more laconic pictorial graffiti. The limitations of this approach became clear as soon as I started to analyse the graffiti in more depth. Besides acknowledging the great variety of graffiti in Karnak, this typological division is asocial and sets the graffiti apart from any human presence in the temple (Knappett 2014: 7).

An anthropological perspective on the graffiti makes it possible to move away from what they look like and seeks to 'socialize' them, that is, to understand what the graffiti do and how they interact, their function and meaning being constantly negotiated in context over time.

Drawing on Volioti's (2011) analysis of a graffito on a small Attic lekythos, I here adopt a material approach and address my graffiti with questions concerning their materiality, for instance:

- How were they produced?
- How many people were involved in their production?
- Where were they placed in relation to their surroundings (e.g. other graffiti, primary scenes, other monuments, etc.)?
- What is/was their size, height on the wall, and displayed level of investment?
- What do they represent?

The answers to these questions contain important information about the people who inscribed these graffiti. This approach offers insights into the graffitists' intentions, such as whom they wanted to address and for what reason they left the graffito in the first place. On the other hand, their relation with possible other graffiti speaks of possible reactions that they might have triggered. Thus, graffiti can be divided according to their content (do they focus on the self or on

an object of devotion?), and authorship, here intended as produced by a single individual for his own benefit or by a community. The latter can be inferred by certain levels of investment and prominence in a place, which probably required a collective effort and possibly some permission by the temple authorities. From this I derive three new categories of graffiti which, although fluid, provide an interpretative framework to repopulate the southern processional way: 1) graffiti as individual self-display; 2) graffiti as individual expressions of devotions; 3) community graffiti as possible votive loci.

These categories, and their implications for the use of sacred space in specific periods or at given times, are explored in the following three chapters through selected case studies.

4. Graffiti as self-display: fashioning a professional milieu

In this chapter I examine graffiti in CR7 that are self-reflective and explicitly display their authors' identity, while keeping their connection with the god(s) implicit. The majority of the extant textual graffiti in Karnak fall into this category, since they incorporate titles and/or names. Pictorial graffiti of human beings can also be self-displaying when they represent their creators (Staring 2018; van Pelt and Staring in press), as was perhaps the case with graffiti WW-A4.b and WW-A5.c, which seemingly represent priests (Salvador 2016a). However, assessing self-reflexiveness of human figures is challenging in the absence of textual captions, as they could represent someone other than their authors.

The following sections focus on the textual examples, using the wider corpus of graffiti in Karnak as comparanda. Pictorial graffiti are briefly considered in the discussion (4.3) for their possible implications in comparisons with their textual counterparts, but their detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter. My approach draws largely on Ragazzoli's (e.g. 2010; 2017; 2018a; 2018b) research on tomb visitors' graffiti, in which she treats them as 'socially connective' 'speech-acts'.

4.1 Self-displaying textual graffiti

The court of the seventh pylon is one of the two main clusters of self-displaying textual graffiti along the southern processional way, the other being in the area south of the edifice of Amenhotep II and the enclosure wall, on the south-east corner outside CR10. In CR7, 33 out of 56 textual graffiti include a title and/or a name (see table 4.1). Eight more may have belonged to this category, based on their size and proximity to the main cluster on the west wall, but are now illegible (WW-B1.a, WW-B2.a, WW-B3.g, WW-B3.i, WW-B3.j, WW-B3.k, WW-B4.d, WW-B5.g). The remainder include other text types, such as graffito WM-B5.a which mimics the name of the foreign country *tpstm* (see 3.2.1), isolated signs that may or may not have been part of names, such as *ms* (WW-B4.f), *ḏ* (WW-B4.h), and *ḥn* (WW-B8.a), or divine names, most commonly that of Amun (e.g. WW-A4.c, WW-B5.d, WW-B5.f, WW-B6.b).

Table 4.1 is a summary list of the surviving self-displaying textual graffiti in CR7; photographs and further information are given in my catalogue for each one. Some are discussed in more detail below, and I include photographs and drawings with these discussions where appropriate. Most are in hieratic, while three are in cursive hieroglyphs (WW-A1.b, WW-B2.d, WW-B8.c), two in hieroglyphic (WW-B3.a, WM-A3.b), and two in demotic (EM-A6.c, EM-B5.a). Based on context and script, they range in date from the New Kingdom to the Late Ptolemaic period.

Graffito	Transliteration	Translation
WW-A1.a	*ỉr-n* […] *sw* (*?*)	Made by […]
WW-A1.b	[…]-*ḫt*	[…]-khet
WW-A2.a	*sš* […]-ꜥ*š3*	Scribe […]-asha
WW-A2.b	*ḫnsw-? m-rnpi?*	Khonsu-em-renpi?
WW-A2.c	*sš ỉmn-ḥtp*	Scribe Amenhotep?
WW-A3.a	*sš ỉmn Wn*-[…]	The scribe of Amun Wen-[…]
WW-A3.b	*wꜥb iḳr? Mry?-Jmn*	The excellent *wab*-priest Mery(?)-Amun
WW-A3.c	*sš* […]	Scribe
WW-A4.a	*sš s3?*	Scribe son of?
WW-B1.b	(*p*)*3*?- *sr*? […]	Paser? […]
WW-B1.f	*ỉr.n sš?*	Made by the scribe?
WW-B2.b	ꜥ*š3?*	Asha?
WW-B2.d	*ỉt* (*-nṯr?*) ꜥ*š3-ḫt*	(god's) father Ashakhet
WW-B2-B3a	*s*š [*ḥwt?*-]*nṯr* [...] *ḫnt Nḫt?* [... *pr?*] *ỉmn*	The scribe of the [temple] […] water procession, Nakht[…] [in the domain of (?)] Amun
WW-B3.a	[…]-*msw*	[…]-mose
WW-B3.b	*sš* […] *P3y* [... *pr-?*]*ỉmn*	Scribe [?] Pay […](of the domain of ?) Amun
WW-B3.c	*sš ỉmn*	Scribe of Amun
WW-B3.d	*sš*	Scribe
WW-B3.h	*ỉr.n fy?*	Made by Fy?
WW-B4.a	*sš r*(ꜥ)-(*ms?*) […]	Scribe Ra-mose ?[…]
WW-B4.b	*sš ỉmn* […]	Scribe (of) Amun ?
WW-B5.e	*ỉr.n?* […]	Made by? […]
WW-B5.h	*sš p3*?	Scribe Pa?

WW-B8.b	*sš* […]*w mɜꜥ-ḥrw* (*?*)	Scribe […]u, true of voice (?)
WW-B8.c	*sš?* […] *ḏḥwty*	Scribe? […] Thoth
WW-B11.d	*wʿb sš?* […]	*Wab*-priest, scribe?
WM-A1.m	*sš* […-]*ḥr*	Scribe […]-Hor
WM-A1.G	*sš pn?*-[…]	Scribe Pen?-[…]
WM-A3.a	(*it-nṯr*)*? Ỉmn Ỉmn-m-int*	(God's father)? of Amun Ameneminet
WM-A3.b	*i*(*t*)*-nṯr Ỉmn*	God's father of Amun
WM-B3.a	*sš Pɜy* […]	Scribe Pa-[…]
EM-A6.c	*(Ns)-nɜy=w-ḫmnw.iw?*[12]	(Nes)-nay-khemenu?
EW-B5.a	*ḥr-sɜ-ɜst* […] *it*	Horsaisis

Table 4.1 List of textual graffiti with personal names or/and titles in CR7.

These graffiti contribute little, if at all, to the study of onomastics in Karnak, since only one is fully legible: the (god's?) father Ashakhet (WW-B2-d). Most are partly illegible, either because they are overlapped by the marginal inscription or due to the erosion of the friable sandstone surface on which they were carved; this is often aggravated by ground water infiltrations.[13]

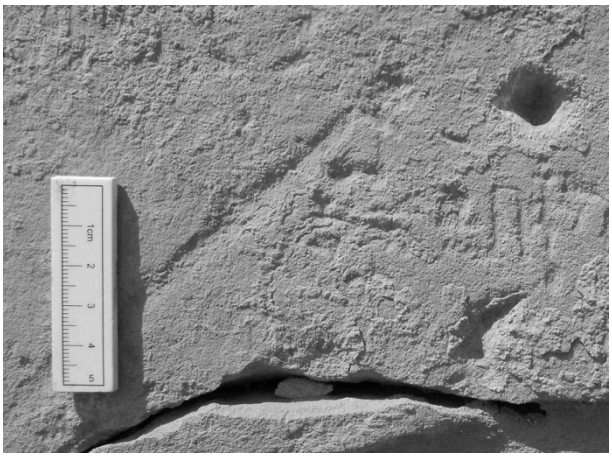


Fig. 4.1 Graffito WW-A2.a, possibly interrupted because of irregularities on the surface. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador. Epigraphic drawing not available.

[12] Provisional readings of the two demotic inscriptions kindly provided by Ghislaine Widmer.
[13] I am grateful to Ellen Jones for testing photogrammetry on some of these graffiti on the west wall. Due to the extent of surface damage, this did not produce any improvement on my previous readings.

Instance of the latter include graffiti WM-A3.a–b, which now can only be read from the photographs of Traunecker's squeezes (see 3.2.1). Others were probably left unfinished, such as *sš s3* (WW-A4.a) and *sš p3* (WW-B5.h), which do not bear any trace after the second signs or show any sign of erasure. Another example is *sš* […]-*ꜥš3* (WW-A2.a), which stops abruptly after the lizard-sign, possibly due to a gouge on the stone surface (Fig. 4.1).

4.1.1 Filiations

In CR7, and along the southern processional way as well, self-displaying textual graffiti are extremely simple and short, being mostly composed of a title and/or a personal name. Patronymics are not attested here, and more generally are rare among graffiti in Karnak, including at the temple of Ptah, where at least four have been tentatively identified on the southern wall on the blocks currently numbered 2, 6, and 15 (Ragazzoli and Frood 2013: 33; Frood in press). That on block 2 seems to display both a patronymic and a matronymic

Differently from tombs, where patronymics in graffiti are commonplace (e.g. Navrátilová 2007; Ragazzoli 2013a; Navrátilová 2015; Ragazzoli 2017), in Karnak they appear only in highly elaborate graffiti, other than in biographical texts on statues and stelae dedicated there. An example is the decree of Horkhebi, an initiated priest who lived and worked in 22nd dynasty Karnak, and carved a graffito (or more likely had it carved) in the temple main axis, on the thickness of a doorway leading to the northern magazines (Frood 2010: 108). This was a highly restricted place, which he had the privilege to access and perhaps preside over, having the title of *ḥry sb3*, which Frood, following Mark Smith, translates as 'chief of the door'. In this graffito Horkhebi's lineage is linked back to no less than 18 ancestors, an extraordinary number even for a statue or stela, which could be read as a strategy to legitimize his authority as well as the unusual location of his inscription (Frood 2010: 109).

To my knowledge only one graffito in the whole southern axis includes a patronymic; this is a peculiarly framed secondary inscription incised on the eighth course of the exterior east wall of CR7, overlooking the sacred lake, at a height of approximately 4 m from the ground (*Cahier* v: 5; fig. 4.2; see 3.1.8). The graffito, in coarse hieroglyphs, is arranged in three columns enclosing at their centre a royal cartouche, whose only legible sign is *ḳa* at the bottom. Two royal names come to mind: Shabaka, from the 25th dynasty (Beckerath 1999: 207), and also Nectanebo I (*ḫpr-k3-Rꜥ*), from the 30th dynasty (Beckerath 1999: 227). However, one should consider that the cartouche might belong to a high priest or a god's wife.

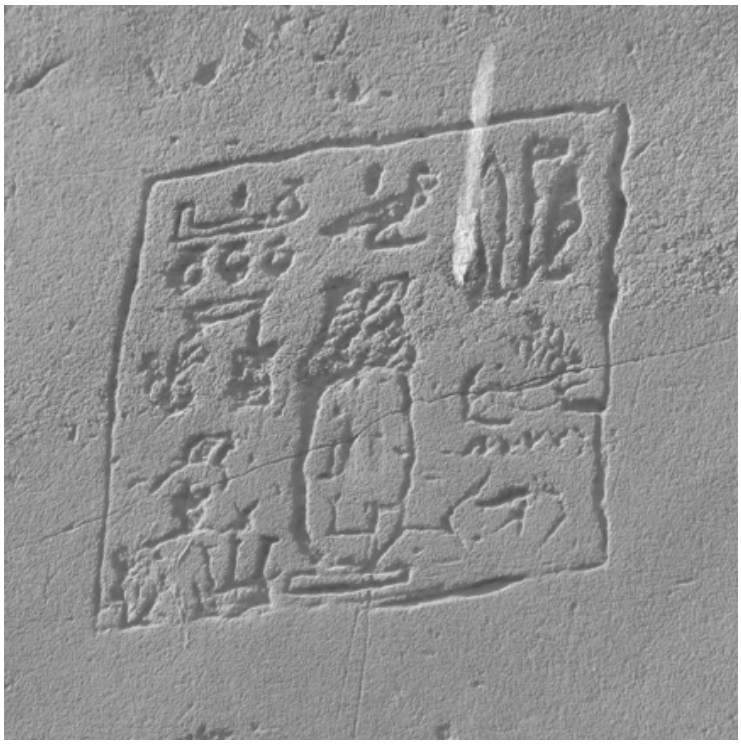


Fig. 4.2 Graffito Traunecker R1.21 on the east side of the east wall of CR7. Photographed from the top of a scaffolding. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador. Squeeze Drawing unavailable.

Regardless of the reading of the cartouche, it is highly unlikely that the central column should be read as *s3* […]-*k3*, which would imply that the graffito was left/commissioned by a prince. Had a royal son desired to leave a graffito close to the sacred lake (in place of, or in addition to, a statue or a stela), he would have presumably included his name, which is here surprisingly omitted. Probably, he would also have afforded to have it carved neatly and in a more prominent position. A tentative reading follows:[14]

Col. 1	*it-nṯr*[1] *ḥm-*(*nṯr*) *Wn*[2] *ḥpt-wd3t*[3]
Col. 2	*s3*[4]
Col. 3	*ḥnk*[5] *m? Ỉwnw-šmʿ*[6] *k3p=f-ḥ3-Mnṯw*[7]
Cartouche	[… …]-*k3*

Col. 1	The god's father, *hem*-priest Wen, he who embraces the *udjat*-eye
Col. 2	son (of)
Col. 3	the *henek*-priest in? Armant, Kap-ef-kha-Montu
Cartouche	[… …]-ka

1) The sign for *nṯr*, conveniently carved between *it* and *ḥm*, works for both titles.

[14] I am indebted to Christophe Thiers and Sébastien Biston-Moulin for their help with the reading of this inscription and for directing my attention to some parallels. All mistakes remain my own.

2) The position in the midst of a string of titles would suggest that *wn* is part of a title too (*wen*-priest). However, given the unusual graphic arrangement of this inscription and the absence of a personal name of the dedicator (while that of his father is stated), it may also be the short name of this priest.

3) This was a title usually associated to female goddesses (Klotz 2015: 65, n. a). In this context it may refer to Mut.

4) Here, *s3* is understood as linked to the titles in column 3, and not to the cartouche, which is here read separately. As suggested by Richard Parkinson (pers. comm. 2019), the plumes of the cartouche mark it as a self-standing emblem, as opposed to an integral part of this text.

5) For attestations of *henek*-priests in relation to the cult of Buchis in the Graeco-Roman time, see Goldbrunner 2004: 258–67.

6) Note that *Ỉwnw-šmʿ* is also a reference to Thebes (Helipolis of the south), although title and personal name suggest to translate this as Armant.

7) This name (Ranke PN I, 342.6) is attested at least from the 25th dynasty (see Jansen-Winkeln 2009: 370, no. 41, l. 3). See also the 26th dynasty attestation (Jansen-Winkeln 2014: 1081). This name is attested also on a 27th dynasty statue described in one of Legrain's notebooks concerning his excavation of the cachette, which also mentions *Ỉwnw-šmʿ* in relation to the title of the son of the statue owner (Perdu 2016: 469–76, no. 399). The owner of statue Cairo, JE 37869, found in the cachette and dated to the Late or Ptolemaic period, also bears this name.[15] The layout, titles, and presence of a cartouche make it unique in Karnak. Wen, if this is the dedicator's name, was the son of a priest in Armant. Was he affiliated to Karnak or was he just visiting? The presence of the filiation and the royal cartouche suggests the need of this priest to legitimize the carving of this graffito at this location, possibly because he descended from a family of priests from elsewhere.

If patronymics were somehow linked to legitimacy, as the previous examples suggest (cf. Frood 2010: 111), the absence thereof from CR7 and most secondary inscriptions in Karnak has probably to do with these graffiti being inscribed within and for a small community, in which jobs were passed on from father to son (Coulon 2018: 37–44) and everyone knew one another, so there was no need to legitimize one's role or position (Ragazzoli and Frood 2013: 33).

[15] http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?&os=556

4.1.2 Conciseness of self-displaying graffiti in temples

Another difference between self-displaying graffiti in temples and in tombs is that the latter (visitors' graffiti) can be much lengthier and more elaborate. Besides patronymics, visitors' graffiti may include dates, prayers, and formulae, often starting with 'there came NN to see' (*iw.t pw ir-n* NN *r mɜɜ*) followed by the name of the visited monument, generally a tomb (e.g. Verhoeven 2012; Ragazzoli 2013a; Navrátilová 2015). If the absence of such genre-specific formulae in Karnak corroborates the idea that these were not left by occasional visitors, but by people regularly employed in the temple, how to explain their extreme brevity and the lack of prayers in an active sacred space such as CR7?

Along the southern processional way, only one graffito is known to me containing the wish of his author/commissioner for his name to endure in the temple: '[…] may Amun-Re cause my name to endure (in) the domain of Amun eternally' ([…] *di ỉmn-Rˁ mn rn=i* (*m*) *pr ỉmn* (*r*) *nḥḥ*) (Traunecker R3.12, *Cahier* V: 8–9; Barguet 2006 [1962]: 268, n. 5, with inaccurate transcription). The author's wish was disappointed, since neither his name nor his title survive. However, the choice of the hieroglyphic script, their large size (possibly 15 cm high),[16] and the prominent position, above the lintel of the eastern door of the seventh pylon, convey a sense of monumentality that this graffito must have had when it was intact.

At least one more prayer is preserved in a long and elaborate Late New Kingdom – early Third Intermediate Period dipinto in the court of the Khonsu temple (Jasnow and Di Cerbo 2013). This contains an invocation of a scribe named Pa-sher-en-Isis to Khonsu regarding a legal matter, which is probably to be connected with the presence of oracular decrees in the same courtyard (Jasnow and Di Cerbo 2013: 35, n. 8–9). Moving away from Karnak, roughly contemporary dipinti with prayers are attested in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (Navrátilová in preparation), while a man's wish for his name to endure in the temple is expressed in a later demotic dipinto in the temple of Luxor (Jasnow 1982). These latter examples suggest that lengthy graffiti were preferably painted with a brush on a plastered surface, and their absence from CR7 might be a matter of preservation.

Cruz-Uribe (2008: 209, no. 9) proposed that painted graffiti were restricted to roofed environments, whereas incised graffiti were carved in open-air areas. This suggestion does not fit Karnak: first, incised graffiti are attested in both open-air and roofed areas, such as in the stairway of the eighth pylon (Traunecker 1979; Collombert in press); second, establishing the existence of dipinti in non-sheltered areas is problematic, since they do not survive if fully exposed to atmospheric agents.

[16] This is an estimate only, as the inscription is too high for me to reach and measure it.

Rather than an indoor/outdoor distinction, the different techniques may reflect a search for durability/immediacy for graffiti and dipinti respectively, as suggested by Navrátilová (2017), and more plausibly depended on the level of investment that one person sought and/or could afford for his graffito. Carving required much more labour than painting, thus accounting for the relative rarity of elaborate incised graffiti in Karnak. When attested, these belong to higher-status individuals and are carved in central areas of the temple (e.g. Horkhebi's decree and Imiseba's biographical text in the main temple axis, Frood 2010). Theoretically, one should remain open to the possibility that a person might have preferred to simply inscribe his name and title in a meaningful place, taking part in certain social dynamics (see below) from which a highly elaborate graffito, usually isolated, would have been excluded. In the absence of evidence supporting this possibility, it is almost inevitable to think that wealth and level of investment were directly proportional.

Whether due to wealth or other factors, self-displaying graffiti in CR7 appear laconic if analysed only as texts. Palaeography does not help either. An attempt, early in my doctorate research, at comparing the palaeography of these graffiti against palaeographic collections of manuscripts (Möller 1927) and graffiti on the Theban mountain (Ali 2002), demonstrated that the writing of the Karnak graffiti, carved on friable sandstone, is too different from hieratic painted with a brush on papyrus or incised on harder stones. Ideally, a palaeographic study of these graffiti would need to be undertaken against a corpus of comparable textual graffiti from Karnak, such as that from the roof of the Khonsu temple (Jacquet-Gordon 2003), and the south wall of the Ptah temple (Frood in press). However, the uncertain dating of most these graffiti makes it difficult to establish even relative chronologies.

A more productive approach to these inscriptions is to 'study them as practices and objects' in connection with their context, including the inscriptions surrounding them, as demonstrated by Ragazzoli (2018a, 2018b: 409). In CR7 self-displaying graffiti appear spatially arranged in two main areas: the west wall, which bears the main cluster (26), and the west massif of the seventh pylon, which has only 5 scattered graffiti. The east massif and the east wall each bear only one demotic graffito.

Taking the main cluster on the west wall as a case study, in the following section (4.1.1) I analyse some of these graffiti drawing upon Ragazzoli's (2018a with references) application of space production theories and figurative space analysis to graffiti. The results of this analysis and the wider implications of this cluster in CR7 are then discussed in section 4.3, where I sketch some general considerations about other self-displaying graffiti in CR7.

4.2 The main cluster on the west wall

The north section of the west wall bears 26 graffiti, which are concentrated mainly on a surface of approximately 0.85 x 6.3 m, corresponding to 9 blocks: WW-A1 to WW-A4 and WW-B1 to WW-B5 (figs 4.3 and 4.4). Three more are on block B8 and an isolated one on block B11.

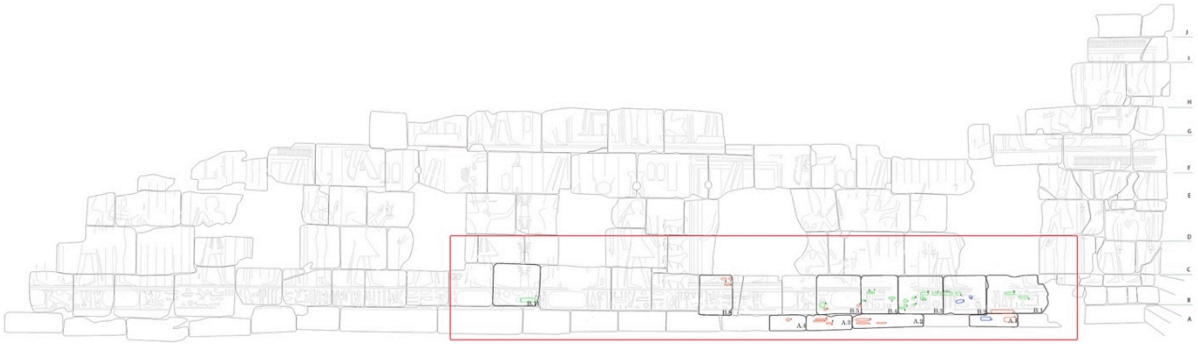


Fig. 4.3 North end of the west wall of CR7. The red frame shows the extent of the distribution of self-displaying graffiti. The inscribed blocks are highlighted with a thicker line. Drawing C. Salvador.

At a quick glance, this cluster seems scattered randomly on the 'epigraphic surface', borrowing a term introduced by Ragazzoli (2018a). However, a closer look reveals that they are all inscribed on the dado, below the first register and without interfering with it. Only the three graffiti on block WW-B8 are carved on and above the torus moulding separating the dado from the first register, but they avoid the primary decoration, being placed between Amun's feet.

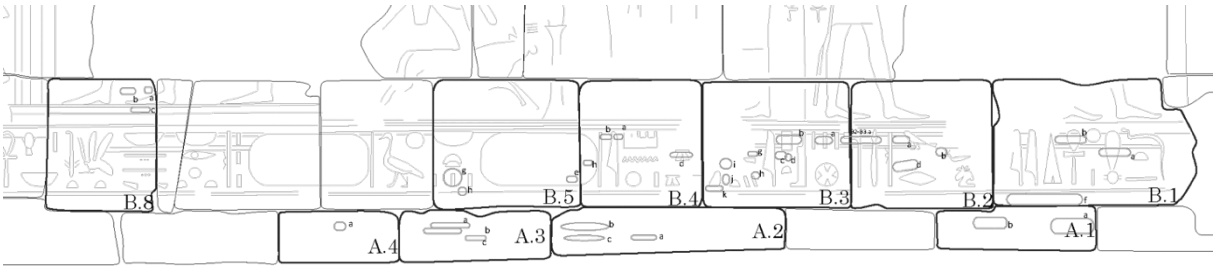


Fig. 4.4 Close-up of the main cluster with positions of self-displaying textual graffiti. Drawing C. Salvador.

The only interaction with the primary decoration here is that with the marginal inscription that was added onto the dado under Ramesses IV, which obliterated all the graffiti that had already been inscribed in this area — at least 17 (counting illegible ones) are overlapped, but many others were likely covered — hence providing a *terminus ante quem* for their carving. Since these graffiti seem to have been inscribed intentionally avoiding the first register, it is reasonable to assume that the latter's decoration was already in place when they were added. That register was probably made under Ramesses II or Merenptah (see 3.2.4), although it is unknown whether a previous decoration existed, possibly painted on plaster, of which no trace remains.

The wall itself is of uncertain date, since it is unsure whether it is part of the original construction of CR7 under Tuthmose III or was partly rebuilt after the erection of the southern wall of the hypostyle hall, sometime under Horemheb or Sety I (see 2.3). Lacking data about the possible previous decorative phases, I consider that most self-displaying graffiti in this area were carved between the reigns of Ramesses II/Merenptah and Ramesses IV, giving a timespan of slightly over a century.

In her 2017 study of MMA 504 at Deir el-Bahri, informally known as the 'dirty cave', Ragazzoli demonstrates that figurative space analysis allows to assign relative chronologies to individual graffiti within clusters, based on their location and size. This theory, which Gautier (1993: 37) before her successfully applied to the decoration of tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis, pivots around the idea that '[a] first graffito, or epigraphic unit, always tends to be placed in the centre of the free surface, obliging subsequent epigraphic units to fit in the available space around' (Ragazzoli 2018a: 31).

When applied to the cluster on the west wall, graffito WW-B2-B3.a stands out for its central position, length (30 cm), and fine writing. It was carved by skilful hands at a convenient height, about 140.5 cm from the original ground level, roughly at the centre of blocks WW-B2 and WW-B4, which present 6 more textual graffiti similar in position and size (fig. 4.7). It is plausible that graffito WW-B2-B3.a was the first, or among the first ones, to be inscribed in this area.

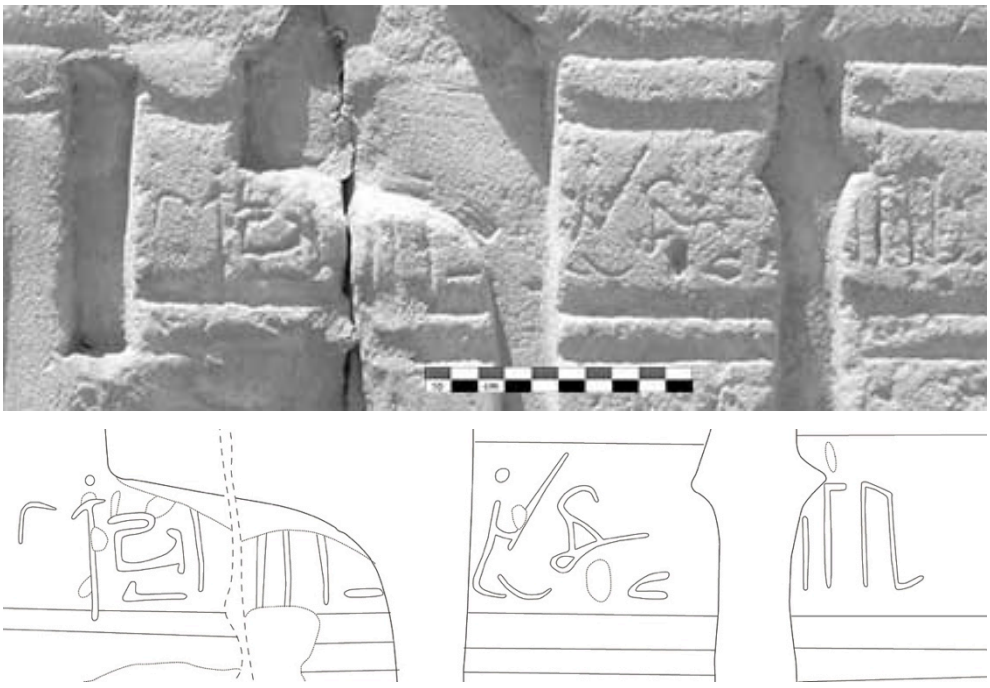


Fig. 4.5 Graffito WW-B2-B3.a. Photograph and drawing C. Salvador.

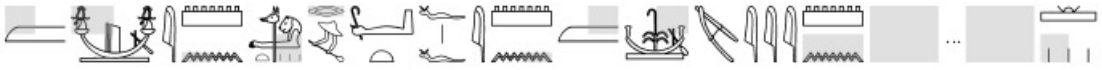
sš [*ḥwt?*][1] *nṯr* […] *ḫnt*[2] *Nḫt*[3] […] *pr? Ỉmn*

'The scribe of the [temple?] […] water procession, Nakht […] [in the domain of (?)] Amun'.

1) This reading is suggested by the context and fits with the visible vertical stroke.

2) The reading of this sign as ***ḫnt*** is certain (Möller 1927: 112). Despite the lack of the barque determinative, context suggests to translate this word as 'water procession' (TLA lemma 123160; *Wb* III: 375.5–12), rather than as 'statue' (TLA lemma 123170, *Wb* III: 375.5–12), which is usually determined with the sign of the wrapped statue. In Karnak, ***ḫnt*** as 'water procession' is attested at least once determined with an arm holding a stick on the exterior west wall of the temple of Ramesses III (Fig. 4.6).

KIU 4452, 9 XX^{e} dynastie / Ramsès III / Temple de Ramsès III, Extérieur / Mur ouest / 1er registre



m wjꜣ Jmn Wsr-ḥꜣt r ḫnt jtꜣf Jmn m wjꜣ nswt Mry-Jmn […] … […]

Fig. 4.6 KIU 4452, 9 from the SITH database. ©CNRS-CFEETK.

3) I am inclined to take this sign as the start of a personal name, rather than as a determinative of ***ḫnt,*** due to the absence of a name at the end of the graffito. Personal names starting with ***nḫt*** are attested (e.g. Ranke PN I: 209). The man with the stick is less common than the arm with the stick, but still attested in names such as ***Nḫt-Ỉmn*** (Ranke PN I: 209, 22). I discount the possibility, which I had previously suggested (Salvador 2016a: 116, n. 15), that the sign could be part of a god's epithet, such as 'strong of arm' since, as far as I know, no divine epithet starting with ***nḫt*** is attested.

The care that the scribe used in incising this graffito, written in a beautiful hieratic script whose palaeography evokes 19th dynasty manuscripts, is in itself a statement of his knowledge and skills. As I proposed in an article with some preliminary observations on graffiti in CR7 (Salvador 2016a: 116), the word ***ḫn.t*** here, which I translate as 'water procession', could refer to the involvement of the author in a religious festival as part of his duties or as a pious spectator. Given the proximity of CR7 to the sacred lake, the procession might have taken place there, for instance during the celebration of the New Year festival (Geßler-Löhr 1983: 159), an intramural procession which involved the rejuvenation of the god in its union with the sun (Stadler 2008: 1). One cannot exclude that ***ḫn.t*** may refer to the fluvial navigation of the sacred barques during the

Opet festival on their way back from, or out to, Luxor (the direction of the navigation seems to have changed through time, Stadler 2008: 6).

This is the only graffito among the partly legible ones in CR7 possibly hinting at a festival. All others are shorter and their writing is less confident and precise. Six among them, carved at the same height as WW-B2-B3.a and roughly same size, suggest that they were made at a similar time, possibly as reaction to WW-B2-B3.a, a sort of 'hey, I am here too!' expression. More generally, the position of graffiti on the epigraphic surface suggests that this cluster might result from two possibly distinct phases, a first one formed by the graffiti *reacting* to WW-B2-B3.a, and a second one composed of graffiti *behaving* differently from the previous one. I use these two verbs intentionally, since they render effectively the idea that graffiti have agency (see discussion in 1.5), which I draw upon in my discussion below.

4.2.1 First phase

Assuming WW-B2-B3.a was the first self-displaying graffito to be inscribed on this part of the west wall, it is safe enough to propose that graffiti WW-B1.b, WW-B2.a (illegible), WW-B3.a, WW-B3.b, WW-B4.a and WW-B4.b are roughly contemporaneous. These are all carved approximately 140-145 cm above the ancient floor and they are similarly sized, with individual signs measuring between 1 and 3 cm in height.

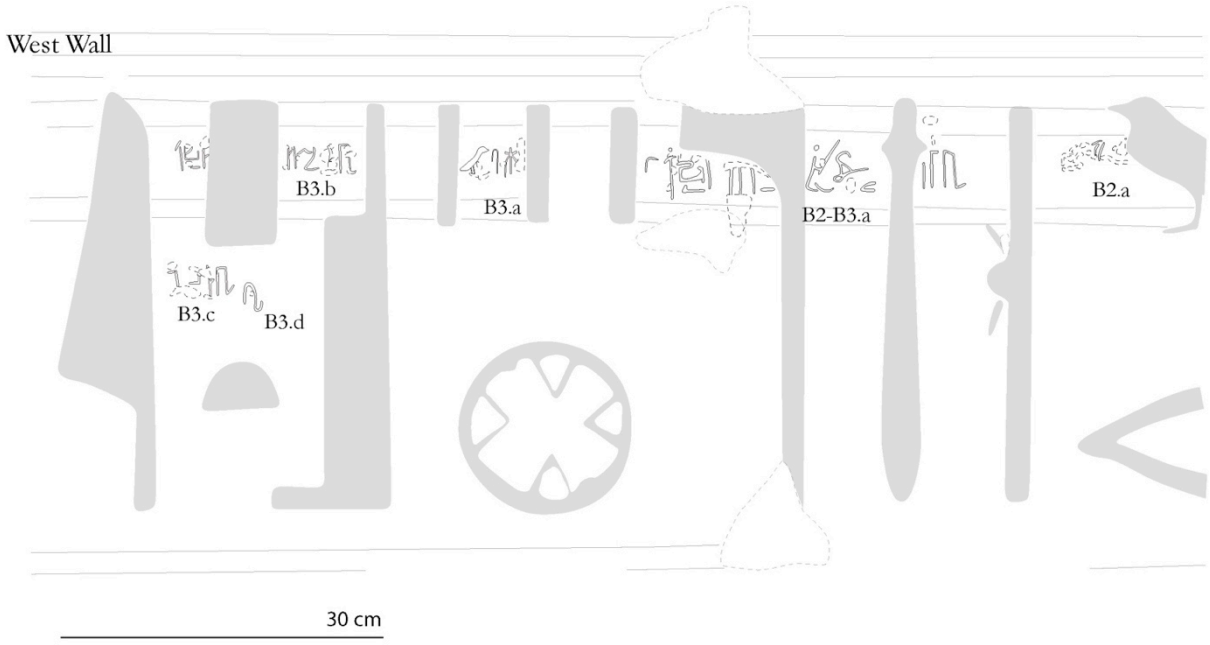
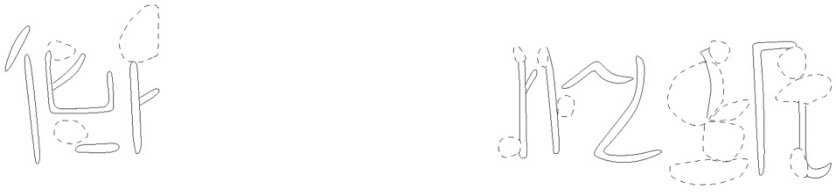


Fig. 4.7 Graffiti WW-B2-B3.a, WW-B3.a, and WW-B3.b in their context of blocks WW-B2 and WW-B3. West wall of CR7. Photo and drawing by C. Salvador.

They are all nicely framed within, but not overlapping, the torus moulding, which must have existed at the time, further reinforcing the proposed dating between Ramesses II/Merenptah and Ramesses IV (Fig. 4.7). WW-B3.b is the one that looks more similar to WW-B2-B3.a, even though it is much shorter (only 16 cm instead of 30 cm):



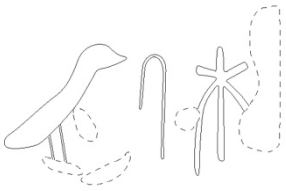
sš […][1] *Pȝy*[2]-[…] *Ỉmn*
Scribe Pay[…][of the domain of (?)] Amun

1) The vertical stroke partly visible in the lacuna following the *sš* sign might be an adjective, such as *ỉḳr*, *nfr*, or part of the title itself, such as *ḳd*, but none of these readings can be confirmed. I favour an easier explanation, that the stroke could be part of a more hieroglyphic rendering of *sš*, as attested in graffito WW-B4.b and possibly WW-A2.a.
2) The reading of this group is uncertain, especially that of the two vertical strokes: the first of the two lacks the small tick to the right to be read as a reed leaf (Möller 1927: 282), that is possibly in the lacuna, and they seem connected at the top, probably due to surface damage. The reading as *y* is suggested by the previous sign, which can be safely read as

p3. If my readings are correct, in the only two other occurrences of *p3* in CR7 the signs are also rendered differently (see WW-B5.h and WM-B3.a).

Once again the marginal inscription obliterates half of it. The *Ỉmn*-group that follows most likely belongs to the same graffito, since the size of the signs and the kind of incision match the first half. In addition, it fits with graffito WW-B2-B3.a in ending with an affiliation to the domain of Amun. This, as I discuss below, is an element that characterizes the authors of these graffiti as a community.

All the graffiti of this first phase are in hieratic. The only exception is WW-B3.a, which is a graffito carved in small hieroglyphs (3.2 x 5.5 cm):



[…]-*msw*
[…]-mose

The beginning is lost under the marginal inscription and what is left likely forms the end of a typically Ramessid personal name. The choice of the script, which belongs to the monumental sphere, may represent a strategy of the author to stand out from the others.

I cautiously propose that other graffiti along course B, below the torus moulding, may be contemporaneous, or slightly later. These are WW-B1.a, WW-B3.c, WW-B3.d, WW-B3.j, WW-B3.k, and WW-B4.d. Besides WW-B3.c (*sš Ỉmn*), WW-B3.d (*sš*), all others are illegible. All of them seem to have been inscribed in hieratic and, given their position within this cluster, it is likely that they too were self-displaying graffiti. Their possible contemporaneity is suggested by several elements: 1) they were carved on the same blocks inscribed with the previous graffiti, below but not far from them; 2) most of them are obliterated by the marginal inscription, except for WW-B3.c and WW-B3.d which, given their proximity to WW-B3.b, were likely covered as well (see fig. 4.8); 3) they are seemingly all in hieratic; 4) the signs are all similarly sized, ranging from 2 to 2.7 cm in height, with the exception of WW-B3.j (6 cm), which however is overlapped by the marginal inscription, so is probably of the same phase.

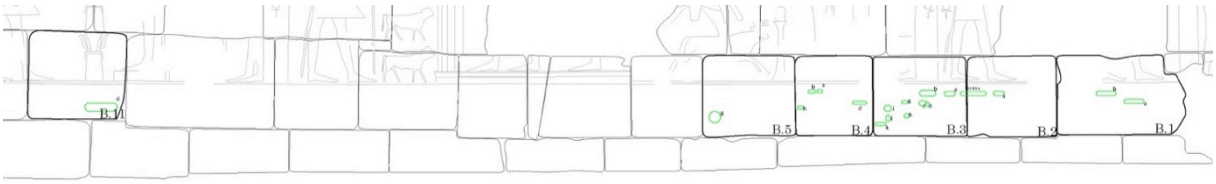


Fig. 4.8 West wall of CR7 showing a possible first phase of self-displaying graffiti. Drawing C. Salvador.

To this first phase possibly belongs also graffito WW-B11.d, carved seven blocks further south, completely separate from the mentioned cluster. This inscription is the largest in size among the textual graffiti in CR7, measuring 6 x 29 cm. Differently from all others, it is not incised but hammered or excised, with large portions of the surface being removed. It was added to the undecorated dado and was later overlapped by the marginal inscription. It is isolated from other contemporary graffiti, since no other graffito is carved on the dado, below the torus moulding. Three pictorial graffiti (WW-B11.a–c), carved on the space occupied by the first register, were probably added later, as is suggested by their geometric style.

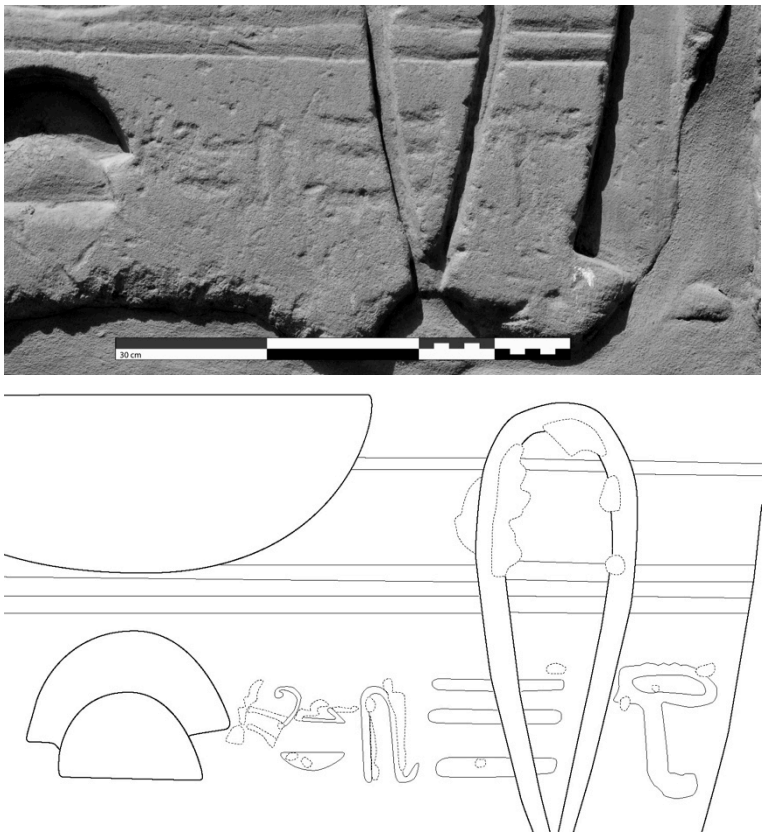


Fig. 4.9 Graffito WW-B11.d. West wall of CR7. Photograph and drawing C.Salvador.

wʿb sš [...]
Wab-priest, scribe […]

The two titles can be read clearly. This sequence is the only one of this kind in CR7, but is not uncommon in graffiti and is attested elsewhere in Karnak (e.g. on provisional block 2, south wall of Ptah temple). A personal name likely followed the two titles; two signs can be discerned, but their reading is problematic. That on top resembles an *3*, while below it there is possibly a ***nb*** sign, but this combination does not make sense. The other signs are lost under the marginal inscription. This graffito stands out from all others for its size, technique, choice of title (two instead of the common single or no title), and its isolation. Being larger, isolated, and carved with a different technique, this graffito seems to deliberately distinguish itself from the larger cluster on the west wall (4.3).

4.2.2 A possible second phase

It is generally assumed that, with the passing of time, graffiti tended to be inscribed higher up on walls, due to a combination of factors, such as the accumulation of debris, which made higher structures accessible, and the change of decorum linked to the transformation of space. In temples, it has been argued that this transformation corresponded to a process of partial or total desacralization (Dolinska 2007: 79–80; Cruz-Uribe 2008: 218–24; Navrátilová 2010: 311–12). However, the equation 'higher = more recent', if fitting certain contexts, should not be taken for granted. Especially the latter point reflects our own biases towards contemporary graffiti, which are mostly perceived as acts of defacement (see introduction to Ragazzoli, Harmanşah, and Salvador 2018).

Looking at the spatial distribution of the west wall cluster, I suggest that WW-B1.f, WW-A1.a–b, WW-A2.a–c, WW-A3.a–c, WW-A4.a, carved below the first phase graffiti, may have been added after those discussed above (phase 1).

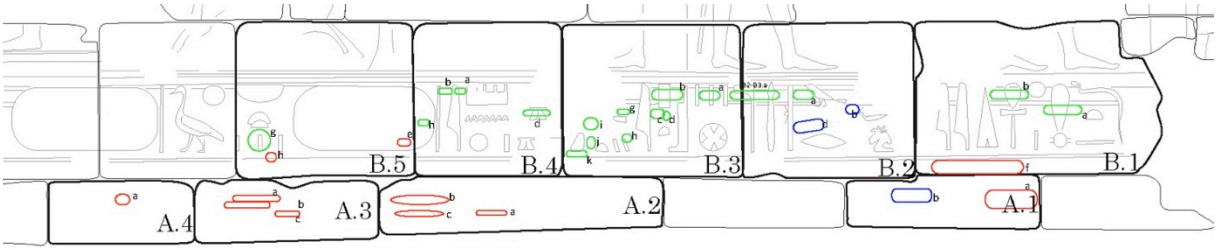


Fig. 4.10 West wall of CR7. Green indicates the presumed first phase, red a possible second phase. Blue indicates the graffiti of Ashakhet. Drawing C. Salvador.

That they form a coherent group is suggested by two elements: 1) their length, which is overall greater than the graffiti above, ranging from 13 to 33.5 cm, with the exception of the two unfinished graffiti (A2.a and A4.a); 2) they all seem to have been inscribed deliberately avoiding

the marginal inscription, which suggests that they postdate Ramesses IV. Given that the surface above the marginal inscription was occupied by the ritual scenes of Ramesses II/Merenptah, the surface below it represented the only blank space left in this area where one could inscribe one's name, approximately 68 to 80 cm from the ancient floor level. This height implies that, if the first phase graffiti were easily inscribed while standing, these second phase graffiti required the writers to be sitting or squatting.

Among the presumed second phase graffiti, WW-B1.f and WW-A1.a seem closely linked, despite being almost illegible (Fig. 4.11). Not only they are carved close to one another and are similarly sized, being quite large (WW-B1.f: 5.5 x 33.5 cm; WW-A1.a: 4.5 x 20 cm), but they are both introduced by a 'made by'-formula (*ir.n*). This is remarkable, since these are the only two attestations of this formula in CR7, excluding WW-B3.h and WW-B5.e, whose readings are uncertain.

According to Navrátilová (in preparation: 35), such an incipit was frequently employed to introduce Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period graffiti. However, in Karnak this formula is not so common: in the large south-east cluster outside CR10 it only appears 6 times out of 72 textual graffiti, and on the south wall of the Ptah temple it is also sporadic. Dorn's (2017: 604–05) study of this formula among contemporaneous graffiti on the Theban mountain confirms this trend: there, only 57 out of several thousand are introduced by *ir.n*. A closer look at these inscriptions reveals that they were mostly inscribed by higher-ranking individuals belonging to leading families of Deir el-Medina, often in association with some 'exceptional content', such as the mention of a vizier (Dorn 2017: 605–06). Due to surface damage,[17] it is impossible to know whether graffiti WW-B1.f and WW-A1.a mentioned any extraordinary event, since they are illegible after their incipit. However, it is safe to assume that their authors, whether higher ranking or not, made explicit use of this prestigious formula to show off their status and knowledge. Their intention to stand out is further corroborated by the large size of their graffiti.

Studying the development of the *ir.n*-formula among the Theban mountain graffiti, Dorn (2017: 605) notes its rare occurrence during the 19th dynasty, followed by increasing use in the 20th dynasty. This corroborates the idea that WW-B1.f and WW-A1.a were inscribed during a second phase, which postdates Ramesses IV. Assuming this trend continued through time, the slightly larger number of graffiti including this formula in the cluster outside CR10 (6) may support the proposed dating to the 21st dynasty (see 3.1.2).

[17] I suggest that the gouges in this area are not intentional, like the so called 'pilgrim groove', but given their closeness to one of the large holes made into CR7 and their orientation, they were possibly caused by the operation of removal of the large unique obelisk.

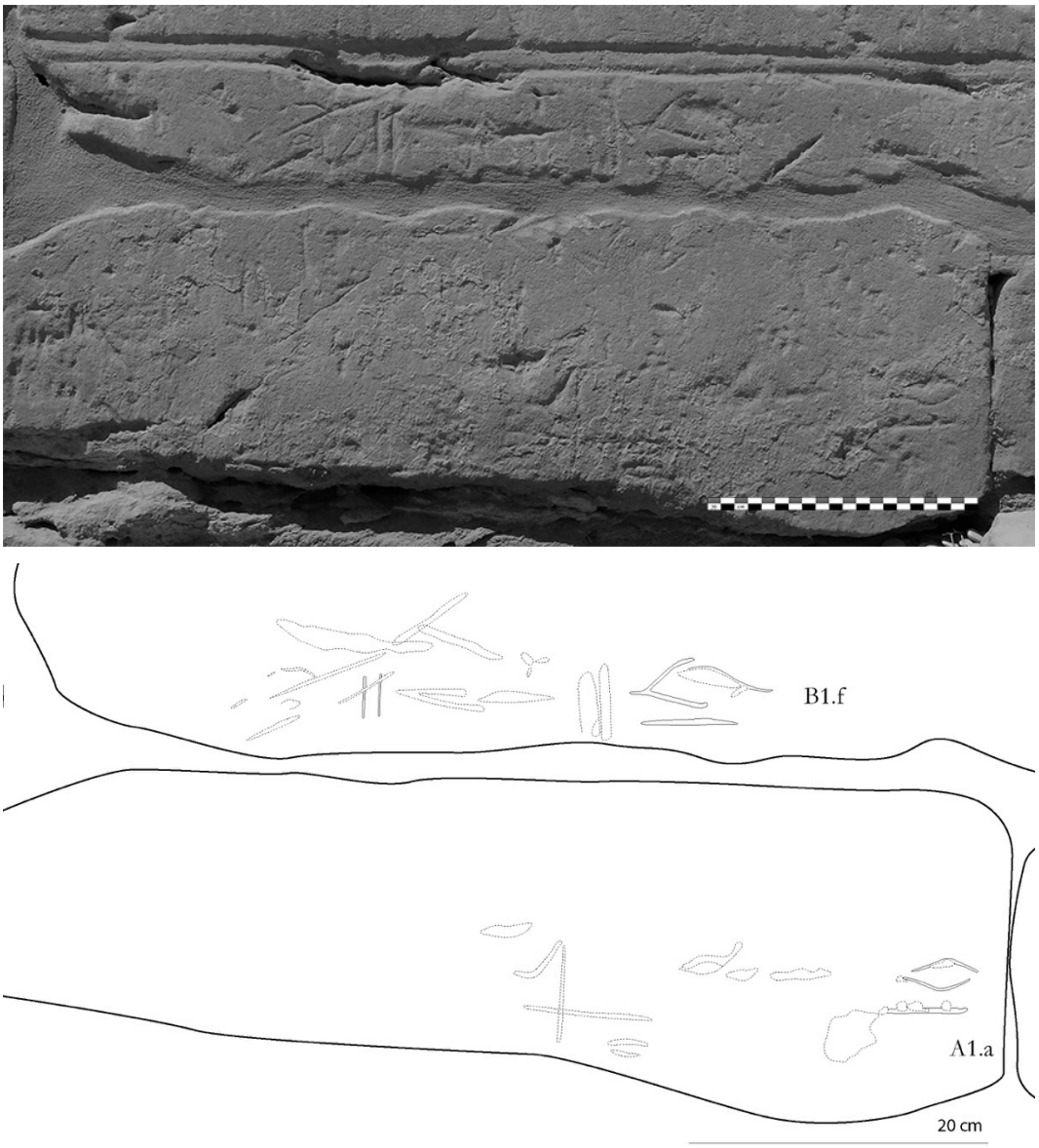


Fig. 4.11 Graffiti WW-B1.f and WW-A1.a. Photo © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador. Drawing C. Salvador.

4.2.3 Retracing Ashakhet's hand gestures?

Graffiti WW-A1.b, WW-B2.b, and WW-B2.d, marked in blue in fig. 4.10, possibly belonged to this second phase, although some elements suggest otherwise (see below). Their style, bulky and very deeply incised, distinguishes them from all others. Although only one of the three can be read, I argue that they might have been incised by the same hand and for this reason I treat them here as a group.

WW-A1.b is carved ca. 82.5 cm from the ancient floor level and is the lowest of the three. It is immediately evident that it was chiselled out intentionally with repetitive vertical incisions, which created two square depressions at the beginning and end of the inscription. Only the central group, a *ḫ* on top of a *t*, both very deeply incised, were spared this treatment. It is the

close resemblance of this and the central group in WW-B2.d that suggests a possible association between the two.

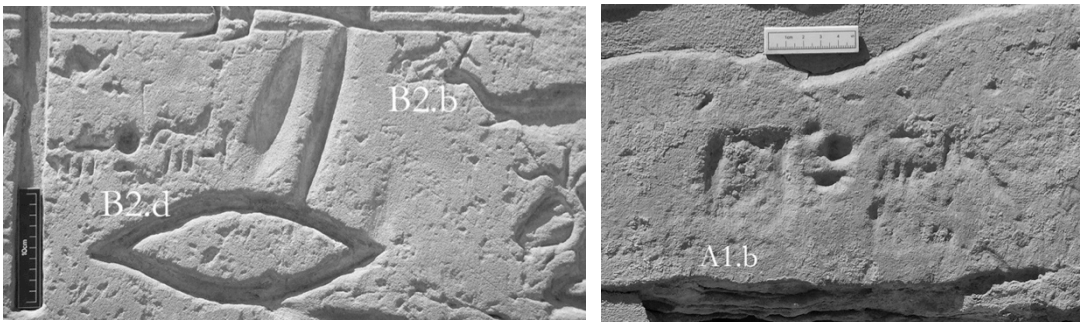


Fig. 4.12 Close comparison of graffiti WW-A1.b, WW-B2.b and WW-B2.d. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

Carved in hieroglyphs less than a metre away, higher on the wall (ca. 123 cm above floor level), WW-B2.d is the only fully legible name in this cluster: (god's?) father Ashakhet (*it* (*nṯr?*) *ꜥš3-ḫt*). Not only the central group corresponds to that of WW-A1.b, but the other two square shaped groups in WW-B2.d, the first formed by the lizard sign above plural strokes, the second by the book roll above plural strokes, match the square-shaped defaced areas in graffito WW-A1.b. The depth of the carving and the size of the two inscriptions also match: both are 6.5 cm high and WW-B2.d is only 2.5 cm longer than WW-A1.b. This indicates with some degrees of certainty that, before the defacement, WW-A1.b also read Ashakhet and was made by the same person. One wonders what lead to the defacement of WW-A1.b and who did it. Was it the work of other fellow priests or scribes, showing disapproval for the bulkiness of Ashakhet's inscription? Or was this some sort of sanction by some temple authorities? This cannot be known, but the defacement is even more striking considering that this is the only inscription in CR7 to have received such treatment.

Presumably, Ashakhet found out about the damage of WW-A1.b and responded to that by carving his name again, as large and deep as before, only this time in a more visible location, in the area — already or later, depending on the interpretations — occupied by the marginal inscription. One could argue that Ashakhet would have not dared to add his signature in the midst of the official royal titulary and that the carving must have been made before Ramesses IV. In support of this idea are some traces at the end of WW-B2.d which appear to be partly deleted by the marginal inscription.

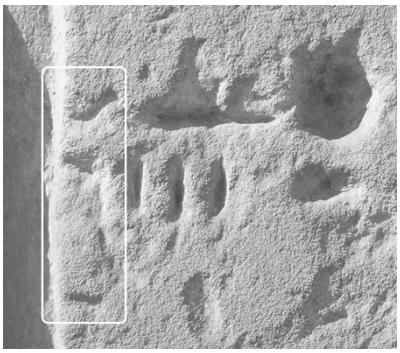


Fig. 4.13 Close-up of part of graffito WW-B2.d with possible traces overlapped by the marginal inscription (highlighted in the white frame). © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

However, these traces are not as deeply carved and are slightly lower than Ashakhet's inscription, suggesting that they might have belonged to a different, possibly earlier, graffito. The absence of a seated man determinative at the end of WW-B2.d does not contribute to the discussion, since in CR7 determinatives are often omitted.

But how does graffito WW-B2.b fit into this story? This single hieroglyphic sign, carved on the same block some 30 cm to the right of WW-B2.d, may look like a horned viper facing north, which I initially interpreted as mimicking the *f* sign in the marginal inscription. However, the very deep carving, its large size (4.5 x 6.5 cm), and the presence of some marks, which I observed while standing in front of it, similar to the rear legs of the lizard sign in WW-B2.d, have suggested me a possible different interpretation. This sign may be an attempt to make a new graffito of Ashakhet, but due to the quirky shape of the lizard sign, resembling more a viper, and the possible presence of the two gouges nearby —they were not necessarily there yet — the project was interrupted and resumed nearby. As far as depth of incision and size are concerned, the same hand may have produced both graffiti, although it is difficult to demonstrate that WW-B2.b was meant as the start of Ashakhet's name.[18] If that were to be confirmed by future observations, it could reveal that the marginal inscription was already there when Ashakhet added his names, since WW-B2.b is partly carved over one of the horns of the primary viper-sign. Regardless of the possible dating, these few graffiti shed light on the dynamics and body gestures that brought about their creation, casting light on the negotiation processes underlying these as well as every single graffito inscribed in this temple.

[18] The presence of the lizard legs on WW-B2.b will be verified and documented in future fieldwork seasons.

4.3 Discussion: self-displaying graffiti and 'the cool guys of CR7'

A first consideration about the graffiti analysed thus far is that they reflect carefully selected aspects of their creators' identity, emphasizing their belonging to a well-defined professional milieu of priests and scribes, who worked in Karnak between Ramessid and the early Third Intermediate Period. The choice of certain titles and scripts, as well as their location on the epigraphic surface, are the main elements that contribute to the fashioning of one's identity.

Among the textual graffiti on the west wall cluster the title *sš* is the most frequent. It is attested 14 or 16 times, depending on whether WW-B1.f (*ir.n sš?* […]) and WW-B8.c (*sš?* […] *ḏḥwty*), whose readings are uncertain, are included; in contrast, *wab*-priests (*wꜤb*) are attested only twice (WW-A3.b and WW-B11.d), and god's fathers (*it-nṯr*) possibly only once (WW-B2.d). This is in keeping with the general patterns of self-displaying graffiti along the southern processional way, as well as elsewhere in the temple, such as at the temple of Ptah (Ragazzoli and Frood 2013). How can the presence of so many scribal graffiti as opposed to priestly ones be explained, especially in consideration of their temple location?

A possible explanation is offered by a wider New Kingdom cultural phenomenon, that can be described as 'the rise of a scribal consciousness' at a time of great prosperity and expansion of Egypt (Ragazzoli 2010: 157–58; 2013a: 281–82). In her study of Late Egyptian Miscellanies, Ragazzoli (2010) illustrates how this specific scribal literature played an instrumental role in shaping scribal identity among knowledgeable and skilful people. That of the scribe was a sought after career, which was celebrated and favoured above professions requiring physical strength, such as that of craftsmen and soldiers, whose jobs were described in derogatory terms. Stemming from such literary production, this strong scribal identity found expression in tomb visitors' graffiti and became 'part of a scribal self-fashioning strategy' (Ragazzoli 2010: 165). Self-displaying graffiti in Karnak, too, were a product of this new scribal identity.

Despite being a genre proper of scribes (Ragazzoli 2011: 300-01), priestly titles, though less frequent, are attested in graffiti in both tomb and temple contexts. I suggest that the priests who left such graffiti, or at least self-displaying graffiti in Karnak, deliberately appropriated this form of expression from scribes, having received similar training and having been exposed to the same cultural environment as their colleagues. By adding their inscriptions in the west wall cluster, the *wab*-priest Mery?-Amun (WW-A3.b) and the (god's?)-father Ashakhet (WW-B2.d) presented themselves as priests, while expressing their sense of belonging to that specific and restricted scribal community, who lived and worked in Karnak between the 19th and 20th dynasty. In this frame, graffito WW-B11.d of a now anonymous *wab*-priest and scribe, coarsely excised in

large hieratic signs and positioned seven blocks south of the large cluster, appears as a deliberate choice of its author to distinguish himself from the other scribal community.

All graffiti in the large west wall cluster, and in CR7 more broadly, present very generic titles, that do not specify exactly where these people were employed in the temple. Only 8 graffiti in CR7 mention a generic affiliation to Amun or to his domain, which is unsurprising given the context. I will come back to this point and its possible implications later. More generally, examples of specific titles in Karnak are extremely rare (e.g. there is a graffito of a scribe of the treasury at the Ptah temple), and the same extends to visitors' graffiti in tombs. Ragazzoli notes:

> With no other specification or any mention of a specific institution, this title is not a functional one. But it strongly conveys features of identity that the visitors choose to promote as relevant to this activity. (Ragazzoli 2013a: 276)

It seems as though claiming to be a scribe, or more rarely a priest, was all that was needed to become part of a professional community in Ramessid Egypt, at least in Theban tombs and temples. Ragazzoli's (2013a: 279) definition of graffiti as socially connective, which she elaborates after Strauss (1991), applies perfectly to self-displaying graffiti in Karnak. WW-B3.c (*sš Ỉmn*) and WW-B3.d (*sš*), showing only the titles while omitting the personal name of their authors, could be interpreted simply as trials made by scribes before incising a lengthier inscription. However, their palaeography does not seem to correspond to any other graffito in the cluster, suggesting that personal names might have been omitted deliberately. In this case their claim to belong to the restricted scribal community, 'the cool guys of CR7', was perceived as more important than the need to express one's identity as an individual (Ragazzoli 2018a).

This might also have been the case with two figurative graffiti carved on two blocks on the west wall, close to the large cluster (self-displaying figurative graffiti in tombs are discussed by Staring 2018). WW-A4.b depicts a man, probably shaven-headed, wearing a long kilt and holding a staff. WW-A5.c, on the block immediately to the left (south), shows a man with a shaven head wearing a long wide kilt with sleeves typical of Ramessid pleated priestly robes. These graffiti probably represent priests or officials of some kind; if they depict their creators, they too are self-displaying. Their proximity to the large cluster of graffiti seems no coincidence, because there are no other such images on the west wall. It highlights their creators' will to connect with that community, or at least it relates to other New Kingdom modes of self-display in the same area of the temple. The fact that their names are not included, rather than being necessarily a sign of illiteracy — although that cannot be excluded — may be linked to the priority of their professional identities above their individual ones.

Thus one can argue that figurative self-displaying graffiti functioned in similar ways to their textual counterparts, although the former place emphasis on their attachment to temple's priestly activities rather than on literacy. The concept of 'image substitutes' could support this idea. In his discussion of *ir.n*-formulae on private stelae from Deir el-Medina, Dorn (2017: 598) persuasively claims that the depiction of a stela beneficiary, whether or not corresponding with the donor, could be replaced by an *ir.n*-formula, thus becoming an 'image substitute'. On stelae, this could be a form of ritual protection, as was probably the case with the stela of Merira and his wife Tarekhan (Louvre E 13084) discussed by Dorn, in which protection was sought for Merira from snake-bite. Although ritual protection does not fit the context of graffiti in CR7, the possibility of image substitutes reveals an interchangeability of properties between images and texts. In CR7 pictorial graffiti of priests shared the self-promoting and connective qualities of textual ones, so that thet acted as 'substitute signatures'.

If the reasons behind self-displaying graffiti have been at least partly clarified, the question of why this cluster was placed at the north end of the west wall in CR7 remains open. Nothing in the decoration of the west wall strikes me as significant for the presence of this large cluster, yet their concentration of graffiti in this area contrasts with the near absence of self-displaying graffiti in other areas of the courtyard. Those on the west massif of the seventh pylon do not seem to 'socialize' in the same way. WM-B3.a, left by a scribe between two captured city ovals, appears isolated from other graffiti, but deliberately interacts with the primary decoration. The two graffiti of god's fathers of Amun, possibly the same person, carved on the lower course A, WM-A3.a–b, now almost completely vanished, were dialoguing with one another, but seem to have been intentionally isolated from others, as if to assert their distinctness from the other scribal community. Graffiti WM-A1m-G, also left by scribes, are instead part of a large cluster and in clear connection with it. This time, however, the cluster is not composed of self-displaying textual or pictorial graffiti, but mainly by images or symbols of gods which, as I develop in chapter 5, I interpret as individual expressions of devotion evoking special receptive aspects of the deity. Here, context and proximity to the secondary images of gods reshape their meaning, suggesting that these two priests were also wishing to establish a connection with the deity.

The east wall and the east massif bear only one self-displaying graffito each, and that occurs very late, since they are in demotic (EM-A6.c and EW-B5.a). The difference between the east and the west half of the courtyard, one bearing 15 graffiti, including the large formal scenes discussed in chapter 6, the other bearing over a hundred, is striking. Whatever the reason, graffiti seem to reveal that circulation and accessibility in CR7 were distinct, with the east side being

scarcely approached/approachable. The opening of the west door in the Ramessid period might have to do with this, but much more escapes our understanding.

All that can be said at this stage of research is that the west wall of CR7 was a meaningful place for the people who worked in Karnak during the Ramessid period. Starting from the 21st dynasty, this scribal practice seems to have shifted to the exterior south-east area of CR10, as is shown by the large graffiti cluster close to the inscription of Djehutymose. Perhaps the addition of the marginal inscription on the sidewalls of CR7 triggered a slow 'process of migration', from inner areas of the southern axis to uninscribed walls outside of it. The exterior of CR10, being located at a crossroad between the temple of Amun and that of Khonsu, opened up possibilities for different communities to interact, as is suggested by the presence of affiliations to both Amun and Khonsu. There, and possibly on the south wall of the Ptah temple as well, the identity of the people of Karnak could be expressed more freely, not having to compete with royal and official display.

5 Individual expressions of devotion

This chapter focuses on graffiti that are explicitly devotional, that is, all those depicting, or inscribing the names of, gods and divine symbols. These kinds of graffiti are ubiquitous in the Amun complex and, unsurprisingly, often represent Amun in his various forms.

As with all secondary epigraphic material, especially when pictorial, one of the biggest challenges is establishing its approximate date, on which depends much of the interpretation: a graffito of a processional barque left in pharaonic times may reasonably be interpreted as an ex-voto, but if the same graffito had been left in the 4th century AD, while the temple was being partly dismantled by the Romans, such as possibly that on the south façade of the seventh pylon (see 3.1.6), it could just as well be interpreted as a record of a foreign visitor, not necessarily devotional, perhaps in an imitation of other formal scenes. This approach does not exclude the presence of devotional graffiti in post-pharaonic times or that of mimicking graffiti in pharaonic times, an example being the foreign country name added in CR7 on the west massif of the seventh pylon (WM-B5.a, see 3.2.1b).

Despite the overall architectural analysis of the structures in CR7 and the extensive comparative analysis of a wide corpus of secondary inscriptions scattered throughout the southern axis, most of the graffiti in CR7 depicting divine images remain extremely difficult to date. One of the few clusters offering possible clues is that on the west massif of the seventh pylon. By focusing on this group, which bears the highest concentration of secondary divine images in CR7, and comparing it with other such graffiti in the courtyard and elsewhere in Karnak, I explore aspects of the selection process behind them. My questions include: why were these graffiti of deities preferred to others expressing one's identity? Why were certain forms of deities chosen in place of others? Was there was a link between these graffiti and their wider context? Why were they placed in certain areas? Was there any correlation with their possible date? What kinds of social processes did they initiate?

5.1 A hidden cluster of divine images on the seventh pylon

On the north façade of the seventh pylon, facing CR7, is a cluster of 40 graffiti carved on a sandstone block belonging to the undecorated dado of the west massif, adjacent to the red granite gateway (block WM-A1). No graffiti were carved on the gateway itself, perhaps because it was considered inappropriate and/or granite was too hard to easily inscribe. To my knowledge, none of the graffiti in Karnak were carved on granite, but a few are attested on calcite monuments (e.g. the white chapel, see Cotelle-Michel 2003: 345–48).

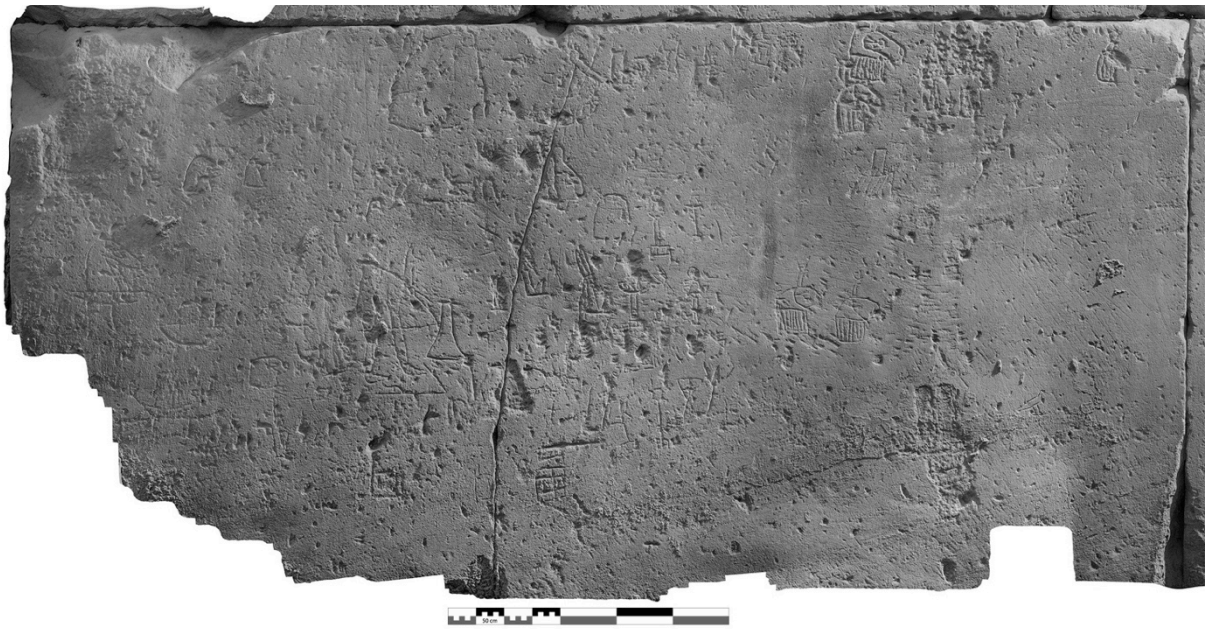


Fig. 5.1 Block A1 on the west massif of the seventh pylon with the highest concentration of divine secondary images in CR7. Orthophotograph © CNRS-CFEETK/ J. Maucor and Q. Dufour.

The cluster is distributed across a surface measuring 95 cm in height and 210 cm in width, ca. 80–90 cm above ground level (Fig. 5.1), and includes mostly pictorial graffiti (38 out of 40). The majority (14) are ram's heads (WM-A1.d–l, WM-A1.s–t, WM-A1.v, WM-A1.C–D). Among clearly divine objects, there are 4 anthropomorphic Amun figures (WM-A1.x–y, WM-A1.E, WM-A1.M), of which one shows only the head, 4 divine standards (WM-A1.p–q, WM-A1.z, WM-A1.B), and 4 barques (WM-A1.b–c, WM-A1.r, WM-A1.u), three of them topped with a naos. The remaining 14 include 2 birds, 3 lotus flowers, 2 (royal?) heads, 1 white crown, 1 sceptre (?), the lower half of a male figure standing before an offering stand, 2 unidentified symbols, and 2 textual graffiti of scribes (see chapter 4).

Today these graffiti are hidden behind two double-life-size seated statues lying to the west of the colossi of Tuthmose III (see 2.2.2, 3.2.1b, fig. 5.2). The latter were part of the original design of the seventh pylon and are still in their original position, as confirmed by the discovery, during the clearance of CR7 between 1956 and 1959, of massive sandstone foundation blocks underneath them (Adam and el-Shaboury 1959: 43). No trace of foundations was found for the other freestanding monuments in this area, so they may have been moved here from other temple areas in antiquity. This is almost certainly the case for the two seated statues that cover the graffiti cluster (PM II^2: 168 (E–F)), which were probably part of the Middle Kingdom temple of Amun. It cannot be known whether they were in their current position when block A1 on the west massif was carved with graffiti. However, I consider it reasonable to assume that these or other monuments, such as royal stelae or statues, might have been positioned along the northern

façade of the seventh pylon, next to the colossi of Tuthmose III, as part of the original pylon design, following a display pattern that is attested elsewhere, such as along the façades of the eighth pylon (see section 2.1.2). Today, a space of roughly 50 cm separates the statues from the pylon, enough for a person to squeeze between the two and inscribe the wall (Fig. 5.2). This context, together with the unusual concentration of graffiti in such a small area, which makes block WM-A1 the most densely inscribed in CR7, suggests that this cluster may have been intended to remain hidden from the sight of most people entering the courtyard.

Fig. 5.2 View from the west of block A1 on the west massif of the seventh pylon (to the right) hidden behind the rear of two seated statues (PM II²: 168 (E–F)).

Most of the graffiti in the cluster are similarly sized and close to one another, which suggests that they might date broadly to the same period. The presence among them of two hieratic inscriptions (WM-A1.m and WM-A1.G), possibly part of the self-displaying practice attested on the west wall of CR7 (see chapter 4), suggests a possible New Kingdom/Third Intermediate Period date. This working hypothesis will be verified through the case studies that follow.

5.2 Manifestations of Amun-Re as a ram: protomes and divine staffs

The court of the seventh pylon has the largest concentration of graffiti of Amun in his ovine shape in the whole Amun complex (20). Besides the 14 protomes and 3 divine staffs carved on block WM-A1, Amun is depicted as a possible crude ram protome a few metres to the west of

the same wall (WM-A4.a), as well as on top of a divine staff (WW-A5.a) and as an aegis on a stand inside a naos (WW-C3.c) on the west wall. That CR7 attracted these kinds of graffiti is further supported by the presence, on the east inner wall, of a large criosphinx scene, the only one of this kind in the whole complex (see chapter 6). The south façade of the seventh pylon's west massif, on the opposite wall from the main cluster (block WM-A1), also bears a large ram protome, striking both for its size and the relatively high quality of execution; it is in raised relief, a technique rarely utilised for secondary inscriptions, and bears traces of yellow pigment on its solar crown (Fig. 5.3a). This is the only ram's head that is accompanied by what seems to be a dedicatory inscription, in this case of a *wab*-priest of Amun named Bay, based on a parallel in stela JE 43566 (Morgan 2004: 84-5; fig. 5.9), or Hory (see 3.1.7). However this was probably carved later in light of the roughness of its execution, in contrast with the high level of investment in the ram.

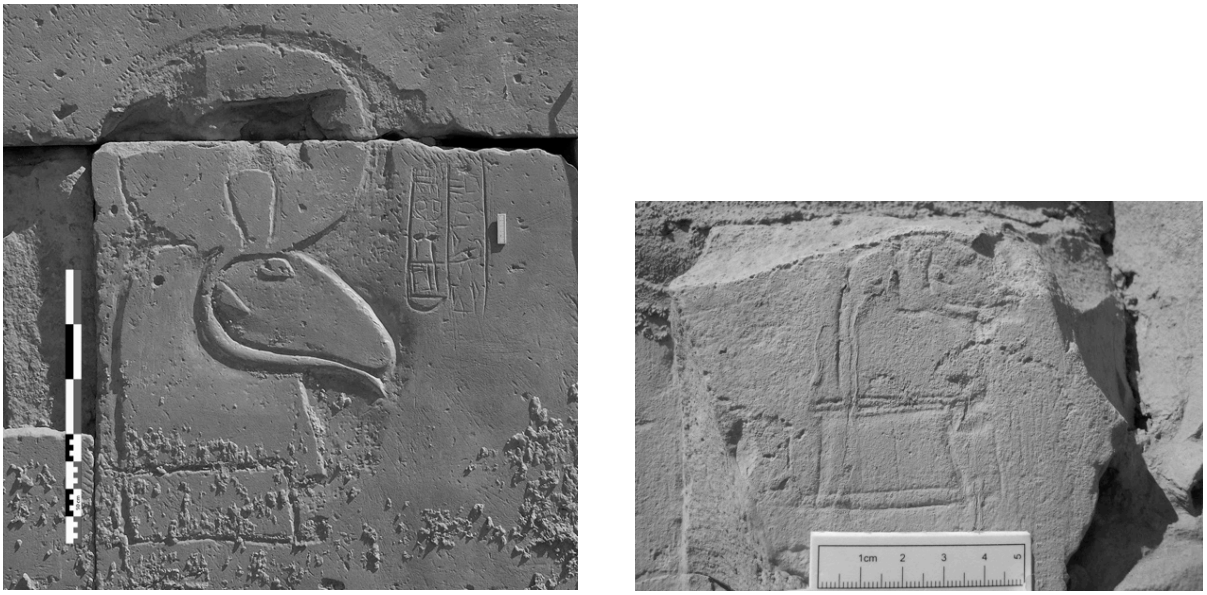


Fig. 5.3.a-b Left: large protome on a plinth with inscription. South façade of PY7, west massif. Right: one of the finest secondary ram protomes on a plinth. East girdle wall of Tuthmose III, east side, facing the eastern temples. © CFEETK-CNRS/ C. Salvador.

The presence in this area of so many graffiti of Amun in this form, whether as protomes on a plinth, as aegides with an *usekh*-collar, or on top of divine staffs, contrasts with the relative rarity of such graffiti elsewhere in Karnak. In his unpublished archive Traunecker records a little over 40 secondary ram-form images of Amun throughout the Amun complex. A small group of 7 crude protomes is clustered in the south-east exterior area of CR10 (*Cahiers* v: 70, 73; vi: 4, 6, 13, 19); this is the only other group of such images identified in the southern processional way. Another cluster of 9 ram's heads is located on the east exterior girdle wall of Tuthmose III, at the

rear of the Akhmenu, on the portion of wall north of Tuthmose III's contratemple (*Cahier* iii: 6–9). These are finely carved within the marginal inscription of Ramesses II; since they do not overlap with it, they probably postdate it (Winand 2006: 80; fig. 5.3b). Possibly eight more are scattered in the rest of the complex, although their identification is at times problematic.

The cluster in CR7 is all the more distinctive if one considers the almost complete absence of Amun in his ovine form from the temple's formal offering and ritual scenes (see 5.2.2). The selection of the ram shape for the graffiti on the seventh pylon and in CR7 is meaningful and deliberate, and reasons behind the selections and their possible meaning can be found in the origins of this manifestation (5.2.1) and its uses in temple decoration (5.2.2).

5.2.1 The assimilation of the ram to Amun-Re

In Karnak, and in Thebes more generally, the ram is unequivocally one of the manifestations of Amun-Re. This form may be attested from as early as the 11th dynasty, as suggested by a fragment of wall relief found at Deir el-Bahri depicting the prow of a barque with a ram aegis, which is attributed to the reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotep on stylistic grounds (Foucart 1924: 102–03, pl. IXa; Radwan 2005: 213, fig. 4). This date is hard to verify since the fragment is only published in line drawing and has not undergone detailed iconographic analysis.

The first textual reference to a ram in association with Amun is known since the time of Ahmose (KIU 575, l. 34; *Urk.* iv: 24), while the first representation appears on an aegis on the prow and stern of the sacred barque of Amun in the reliefs of the calcite chapel of Amenhotep I, now reconstructed in the open air museum at Karnak (Karlshausen 2009: 32). Despite the popularity of Amun as a ram throughout the New Kingdom and later, the origins of this divine form remain obscure. Lanny Bell (1985a: 37–8) and Peter Pamminger (1992: 105–09) propose that the ram-shaped Amun originated in Nubia sometime in the 18th dynasty. Central to Bell's argument is a two-sided stela of the viceroy of Kush Amenhotep, called Huy, dated to Tutankhamun, which was found in the Karnak cachette (Cairo, JE 37463; fig. 5.4). In the first register of the recto, an enthroned anthropomorphic Amun is depicted facing an enthroned ram-headed deity with no surviving caption, whom Bell identifies with a form of Amun worshipped in Kawa on the basis of iconographic parallels (Bell 1985a: 37–8). Pamminger (1992: 101–05) supports the identification, although he points out that at Kawa Amun is not attested in this guise before the reign of Taharqa. He proposes instead that the god in the stela represents Amun of Luxor, supporting his argument with examples of New Kingdom ram-headed Amun figures bearing the epithet 'lord of the southern Opet (Luxor)', ***nb ipt rsyt*** (see below). He argues that in Egypt the ram had been associated with Nubia since early times, given that this species (*ovis aries*

palaeoatlanticus) was imported from the Sudan in the Middle Kingdom (Pamminger 1992: 106). It remains unclear, however, when and how the assimilation between the animal and the god happened. After listing all the cult centres of Amun in Nubia, Pamminger (1992: 109) concludes that the Nubian Amun was depicted as a ram at least from the 25th dynasty, but no earlier temple reliefs with his image survive, and as a consequence his New Kingdom aspect remains unknown. Despite this, Pamminger claims:

> Für die Herkunft der Gestalt des Amun von Luxor kristallisiert sich dabei die Erscheinungsform des Amun-Re vom Gebel Barkal als einzig mögliche heraus: thronend widderköpfig bekrönt von der hohen Doppelfeder mit Sonnenscheibe und Stirnuräus. (Pamminger 1992: 109)

In so doing he traces the origins of a New Kingdom iconography backword from the 25th dynasty, repeating Bell's assumption.

Fig. 5.4 Stela JE 37463 (CK 84) form the Karnak cachette, recto. © IFAO-SCA.

Neither of these convoluted explanations seems to take into account the fact that, at Karnak, the ram was associated with Amun-Re at least since the time of Amenhotep I (see above), that is, much earlier than the Nubian campaigns of Tuthmose III and the dedication of a temple of Amun at Jebel Barkal, possibly in year 47 of his reign (Laskowski 2006: 214; *Urk.* IV: 1227–43). So, even if inspired by a ram species that had been imported from Nubia, it is questionable that Amun's manifestation as a ram originated from the assimilation of a local Nubian deity. More plausibly, it might have been an Egyptian creation that became even more popular under the Kushite rulers in the 25th dynasty.

Animals associated with a deity's manifestation were seemingly chosen for features that reminded of some of the manifested god's characteristics. The ram was often associated with Amun for its strength and sexual power (Borghouts 1980: 38), the latter being an important aspect of this creator god, especially during the Opet festival, when he needed to regenerate himself and renew kingship (Karlshausen 2009: 162–63). The strong link between the ram and kingship is attested since the 18th dynasty by the use of ram's horns in royal crowns (Wildung 1973: cols 551–52 with an overview). In Luxor, representations of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II wearing ram's horns may be linked not only to their divine status, but also to the renewal of kingship, associating the kings with Amun during a crucial moment of transformation (Karlshausen 2009: 162–63). The idea that Amun as a ram was strongly linked to the animal's regenerative powers and the Opet festival may seem to corroborate Pamminger's suggestion (1992: 111) that this form would specifically represent Amun of Luxor (see above). This idea, if appealing, contrasts with the complete absence of Amun in this form among the primary decoration in Luxor, except for cultic paraphernalia (see 5.2.2). Pamminger (1992: 110–11) explains this apparent anomaly by proposing that the temple of Luxor was in fact dedicated to Amun of Karnak, but this is in itself a contradiction: if a ram-headed Amun of Luxor existed, where should he have resided if not in the Luxor temple?

5.2.2 Amun as a ram in Karnak and Luxor

Within the temple of Karnak, Amun is represented as a ram in a number of contexts, most prominently along the sphinx-lined dromoi. Amun is a recumbent ram along the south dromos of Khonsu, resulting from the reuse of sphinxes made under Amenhotep III for the temple of Mut (Cabrol 1995b: 56) or his funerary temple on the west bank (Blyth 2006: 116). He is shown as a ram-headed lion along the west and south dromoi, realised under Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun respectively; the latter connected the tenth pylon to the temple of Mut (Cabrol 1995a; Blyth 2006: 116–17).

Amun also appears in two-dimensional wall decoration, as aegides of the sacred barques of Amun or topping some temple paraphernalia (Spiegelberg 1927: 26, with an overview), such as the divine staffs which often appear in scenes alongside processional barques (e.g. in the hypostyle hall: Nelson and Murnane 1981: pls 76, 178, 226), topping the handles of the oars of the sacred barques (e.g. Nelson and Murnane 1981: pl. 152), as well as as the lids of *nmst*-vessels used for pouring libations during the Sed or the New Year festivals (Cabrol 2001: 368; Radwan 2005: 214–15, n. 32; see also Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015).

Amun is represented as a ram-headed human being on the decoration of the veil concealing the naos of the sacred barque in some scenes of Sety I and Ramesses II in the hypostyle hall (Nelson and Murnane 1981: pls 38, 52, 76, 178, 180, 197, 226; fig. 5.5) and in the shrine of Amun (east and west walls) in the temple of Ramesses III in Karnak (The Epigraphic Survey 1936: pl. 56). Karlshausen (2009: 74) suggests that these are the most revealing representations of what was possibly contained within the naos: at the top a seated ram-headed Amun sitting on an open lotus flower, below which is a falcon-headed seated Re, forming together the name of Amun-Re (see 5.3.1).

Fig. 5.5 Decoration of the veil covering the naos of the processional barque of Amun. Karnak hypostyle hall, north wall, west side. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

Otherwise, Amun in ram form features rarely in offering and ritual scenes, in which his anthropomorphic forms, ithyphallic or not, are always privileged (Pamminger 1992: 93–99; Karlshausen 2009: 160). The only two exceptions known to me are: 1) in the hypostyle hall, on column 28, which bears a scene in which Ramesses IV presents Maat to a ram-headed Amun (KIU 6376; Christophe 1955: 14, 101; 2) on the interior north wall of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Ramesses III: Amun-Re is depicted here as a ram-headed human being with the epithet 'great of prestige' (*wr šfy*(*t*); *LGG* II, 462–63),[19] and receives an offering of incense from the king (The Epigraphic Survey 1936: pl. 45).

[19] The same epithet comprises the name of the Karnak's fifth pylon, 'Amun great of prestige' (Imn-wr-Sfyt).

In the temple of Luxor, ram-headed Amuns appear only as temple paraphernalia. Two large ram protomes on plinths are depicted on the rear inner wall of the Amun chapel in the tripartite barque shrine at the north-west corner of the Ramessid court, as well as in the main naos of Alexander (Murnane 1985), but never interacting in scenes with the king and other gods (see below). Apart from the ram-headed Amun-Re receiving incense in the Karnak temple of Ramesses III (see 5.2), the only other known offering scenes with Amun in this guise are in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (The Epigraphic Survey 1964: pls 492, 513, 527, 547, 556–57, 581; 1970: 596); more are possibly to be found in other mortuary temples.

This Amun manifestation appears to have been systematically excluded from all offering scenes in divine temples, at least in Thebes, where he is depicted only in his anthropomorphic aspects; in this respect, the temple of Ramesses III in Karnak is no exception: although part of the Amun complex, it was not part of the Amun temple proper, since it was conceived of as a separated barque shrine at the front of the second pylon, which was the temple's main entrance at that time (Fig. 2.12). In contrast, human forms of Amun are never attested or alluded to in processional scenes, where various elements of the processional barque display his ovine form instead. Hence, the presence of recumbent rams or ram-sphinxes along the Karnak dromoi acquires new meaning which extends beyond their protective powers; together with the ram protomes decorating the barque shrines, this form deliberately emphasises the regenerative powers proper of rams, which were crucial for Amun in his (re)generative process during the Opet and other festivals.

How might the association of ram forms of Amun with his regenerative powers of the god during the festival elucidate possible reasons behind the concentration of ram graffiti in CR7? The following sections analyse the cluster on block WM-A1 of the seventh pylon in order to shed light on when and why these graffiti were left there. For simplicity, all graffiti in this cluster will be referred to by their identifying letter, omitting the prefix WM-A1.

5.2.3 The cluster of secondary ram protomes on the seventh pylon: description

Each of the 14 ram protomes on block WM-A1 is quite small, ranging from 5.5 x 6.6 cm to 14.2 x 14.2 cm, and all, possibly except for one (d), are oriented westward. They seem to be roughly arranged into four groups, based on style, type of incision, and proximity to one another (Fig. 5.3).

Group A, at the top right corner of the block, is composed of 4 elements. They are the most deeply incised and detailed of all. The top left (g) is the best preserved of the four. The ram bears details of the right horn curving frontward — different from Khnum's distinctive twisted

horizontal horns — and a small triangular ear ending close to a round eye. A line at the tip of the muzzle indicates the snout. The neck of the ram, very stylized, is striated with incised vertical lines representing its wool. Two roughly vertical lines belonging to a uraeus depart from the top of the head. Although badly damaged, because carved on the edge of the block, the uraeus is recognizable from its top part which ends with two horns and possibly a solar disc, as suggested by the parallel detail on the head to the right (j). The head just below this (h), which is not as well preserved, is slightly smaller and has very similar features. The muzzle is distinguishable from the curving horn. A small depression indicates the eye, or possibly the ear. A short line separates the snout from the muzzle. The neck has the same vertical parallel lines representing the wool. A stylized horned uraeus partly overlaps the neck of the ram's head above (g). The fact that it departs from the rear of the head instead of its centre, as on other ram's heads, suggests that it was added after the head above had been carved. The third element at the centre of this group (i), is the largest. It was deliberately erased, possibly due to the poor quality of the drawing — none of the other Amun symbols in the cluster has been affected — but it can still be identified as a ram from the vertical striations on the neck. The fourth element (j), located to the right, slightly separated from the other three heads, is the smallest. The muzzle has no internal detail and is deeply carved. The curvy horn and neck striations are visible, and it bears a uraeus with a horned sun disc that is more neatly rendered than the others in this group.

Group B, right of centre on the block, is composed of two elements. Both are more stylized than the heads in group A and are not as deeply incised. A horizontal line separates the striated neck of both from the heads, while the horns are rendered as single lines curving forward. They are both incised with a lanceolate element in the muzzle, which presumably depicts an eye or an ear. Stemming vertically from the centre of their heads are uraei ending in a small sun disc (barely visible) between a pair of horns. Their similarity in style and close proximity suggest that they were carved by the same person.

Group C is carved to the left of group A and is composed of three elements, all very crudely carved and lacking detail. Graffito (e) bears only the outline of the head and the neck, but without neck striations, horn or ear. A small depression in the muzzle may indicate an eye. From the top of its head departs a seemingly horned uraeus. That on its right (f) is more stylized, almost geometric, and so is that to the left (d). Given the context they both look like crude ram's heads, the latter (d) possibly oriented to the east.

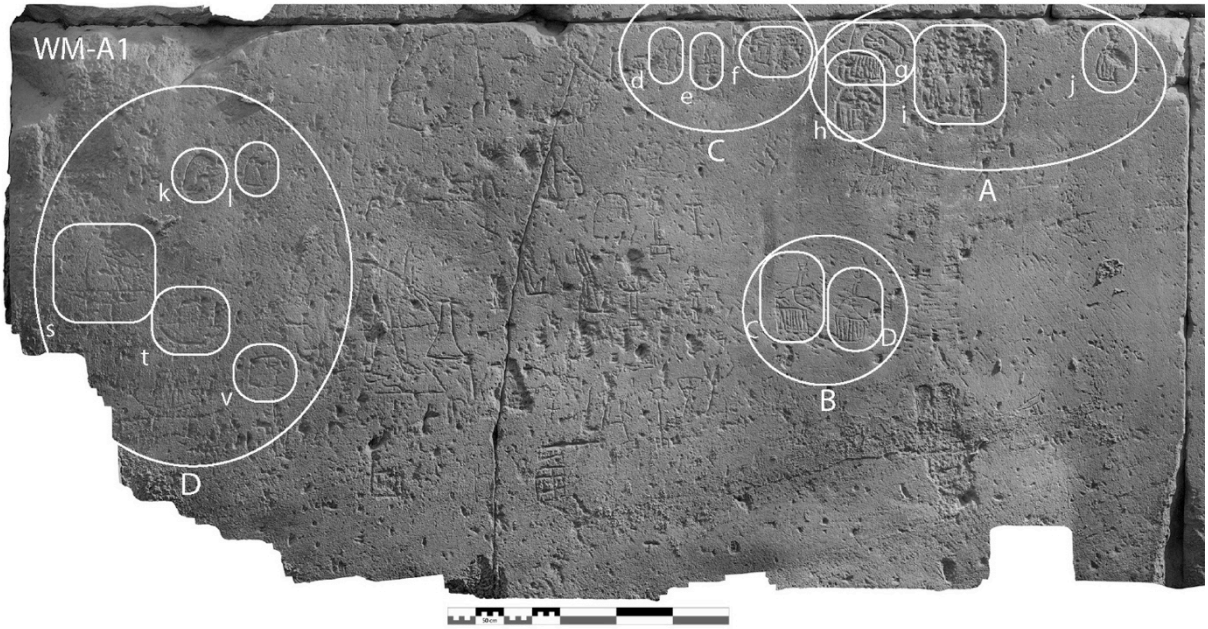


Fig. 5.6 Block WM-A1 with ram circled protomes (groups A–D). Identification of graffiti (small letters) based on catalogue. Orthophotograph © CNRS-CFEETK/ J. Maucor and Q. Dufour.

Group D is composed of five elements, none of which bears a uraeus. They are all very stylized, rendered only with the outline of the heads and necks. The first on the left (s) is the most detailed of the group. There is no division between head and neck, and it has no wool striation nor horn, but an eye and ear are visible. The neck, wider at the base, lies on a sort of *usekh* collar, and two parallel vertical lines descending from the curve of the collar seem to form some sort of a pedestal or stand. That below it (t) shows a much cruder ram's head on a collar, of which only the outline and no other detail is visible. Graffiti (k) and (l) are undetailed and do not have an aegis. Only the outline of head and neck is incised, and a small triangular element in each of them probably represents an eye and an ear respectively. Graffito (v), although very crude, is slightly more detailed. A single curving line, originally belonging to the horn, now separates the muzzle from the back of the head and the neck. The figure does not bear any striation, but has a small eye or ear and a line defining its snout.

Dating

The absence of overlaps with primary decoration or other datable elements makes this cluster difficult to date. Closeness and similarities suggest that protomes in groups A and B are probably contemporary. These are crowned with a uraeus topped with a small horned sun disc, which may hint at a date of carving since this element has parallels in the iconography of the aegides on the prow and bow of processional barques of Amun in primary decoration.

In Karlshausen's 2009 study, in which she assesses the changing iconography of processional barques during the New Kingdom, uraei with horned sun discs feature on aegides very early in the New Kingdom, probably at least from the reign of Amenhotep I, as shown by the Amun barque on the king's chapel now reconstructed in the open air museum at Karnak (Karlshausen 2009: 32). A simple uraeus topped with a sun disc and horns is also found on aegides on Hatshepsut's red chapel, now in the open air museum (Karlshausen 2009: 35–6, pl. 4), as well as on a block from the naos of Tuthmose III, now displayed at the rear of the naos of Philip Arrhidaeus (Karlshausen 2009: 36–7), although these reliefs were modified under Tutankhamun, Horemheb and Sety I after Amarna period erasures. The transition from the simple crowned uraeus iconography and that with a large sun disc behind a crowned uraeus occurred under Sety I: the former iconography is still attested on the barque reliefs of the east wall of the Luxor colonnade (Karlshausen 2009: 70), whereas the latter was introduced for the first time in the Karnak hypostyle hall (Karlshausen 2009: 73), became extremely popular under Ramesses II, and remained in use until the Ptolemaic period (Karlshausen 2009: 149). Only under Philip Arrhidaeus, whose designers drew direct inspiration from the monuments of Tuthmose III, was a simplified version of aegides, with a simple uraeus and no sun disc, re-introduced (Karlshausen 2009: 147–48).

The application of iconographic criteria derived from primary temple scenes to graffiti is risky, since the latter are not as strictly codified as the former, and therefore are not closely comparable. Although the reign of Sety I cannot be retained as the *terminus ad quem* for the graffiti in groups A and B, it is safe to suggest that they were modelled on primary reliefs dated to Sety I or earlier. But while the ram form of Amun appears only as paraphernalia in barque scenes, it is much more popular in votive statues and stelae, mostly private. The iconography of these may offer better comparanda for assessing the date of the graffiti on the seventh pylon.

In Karnak, Amun appears as a ram most often in statues dedicated by wealthy non-royal individuals, as well as a few kings, such as Ramesses II (Cairo, CG 42143) and Sety II (British Museum, EA 26). Appendix A (Volume 2) shows that at least 15 statues of individuals in various poses dedicating a ram protome on a plinth or *nmst*-vessel topped with a ram-shaped lid were found in the cachette alone. Most of them (6 out of 15) are crowned with a uraeus on a sun disc, of which 4 are dated to Ramesses II, one to Setnakht or Ramesses III, and one more generally to the New Kingdom. Only two possibly have a simple uraeus and no sun disc: statue Cairo CG 42128, which is dated to Amenhotep III, and statue Cairo CG 42177, dating to Ramesses III; the for the latter, the available photographs are not clear, and direct analysis would be necessary to confirm this crown type.

Since the early New Kingdom, the sacred ram of Amun was also worshipped on private stelae, where it was represented either as a full ram or, more rarely, just as a protome, for example on the stela of Bena(n)ty (Cairo, JE 67566), dated to the Ramessid period and said to come from Thebes. In her collection of 36 New Kingdom stelae and tomb scenes dedicated to Amun as a ram, Cabrol (1998: 529, n. 3; 2001: 386–91) listed 12, or possibly 13, rams bearing the simple uraeus crown, 6 of which are dated to the 18th dynasty, 6 to the 19th dynasty, and only 1 generically to the New Kingdom. This distribution shows that the iconographic change, which occurred for primary aegides under Sety I, did not correspond to an immediate change in the iconography of private monuments. Hence, the graffiti in groups A and B may date between the 18th and 19th dynasty.

Protomes in groups C and D have no crowns and are even harder to date. Among the statues in Appendix A only 4 have no crown: except for one dated to the 19th–20th dynasties, two others are dated to the 22nd dynasty and one is Ptolemaic. This suggests that graffiti in groups C and D might have been added after those in group A and B, but not necessarily much later. Due to their proximity, similar size, and subject, I propose to date all of the ram graffiti on block WM-A1 to roughly the New Kingdom.

More generally, the best evidence for the New Kingdom date of secondary ram protomes on the seventh pylon, beside the fact that most private monuments with rams date to this period, is provided by less formal media, such as ostracon Louvre E. 25322 from Deir el-Medina (Vandier d'Abbadie 1959: 217, no. 9, pl. 147, no. 2989) and several graffiti of rams' heads on the Theban mountain and desert (e.g. Spiegelberg 1927: 23–4; Darnell 2013: 65, n. 446, with references). The CEDAE project of the graffiti in the Theban mountain includes 10 graffiti of ram protomes (Černý and Sadek 1970a), adding to the 8 which had been recorded earlier in the Theban necropolis by Spiegelberg (1921: nos 280, 307, 346, 350, 507, 597, 788). These graffiti often depict the protomes, mostly with solar disc crowns, on shrine-like plinths before offerings. Their New Kingdom date is confirmed by the close associations of names of workmen from the nearby village of Deir el-Medina, who probably sought a connection with the god. Even though an exact date for the production of secondary ram protomes on the seventh pylon cannot be pinpointed, given that the solar disc crown became very popular under Ramesses II (see also ch. 6.2.1) I cautiously suggest that the graffiti on PY7 date to the mid 19th dynasty at the latest.

5.2.4 Ram-topped divine staffs on the seventh pylon: description

Ram's heads also appear at the top of three out of four divine staffs clustered in group E on block WM-A1. They too are quite small, the largest measuring 12 x 5.4 cm. The bottom right (B)

is the most detailed. A very stylized ram's head with an *usekh* collar facing east, and crowned with a large sun disc, overlaps the top of a long staff. To the left (z), which is slightly larger and more detailed, includes a small rectangular base on which stands the staff terminating in a ram's head. The latter is damaged, and only the round depression of the sun disc and the *usekh* collar are clearly visible. It possibly faced west, where a lotus flower has been added, seemingly in connection with it. Graffito (p), directly above, also features a base and a long thin staff, topped by an *usekh* collar and a ram's head with a solar disc facing west. The head is extremely schematic; the muzzle of the animal is damaged. To the right, graffito (q) is probably unfinished. It comprises a small base, a long staff (the right vertical line is not complete), a seemingly squashed *usekh* collar and a triangular element on top, but it is unclear whether this is meant to represent another ram-topped staff or something else.

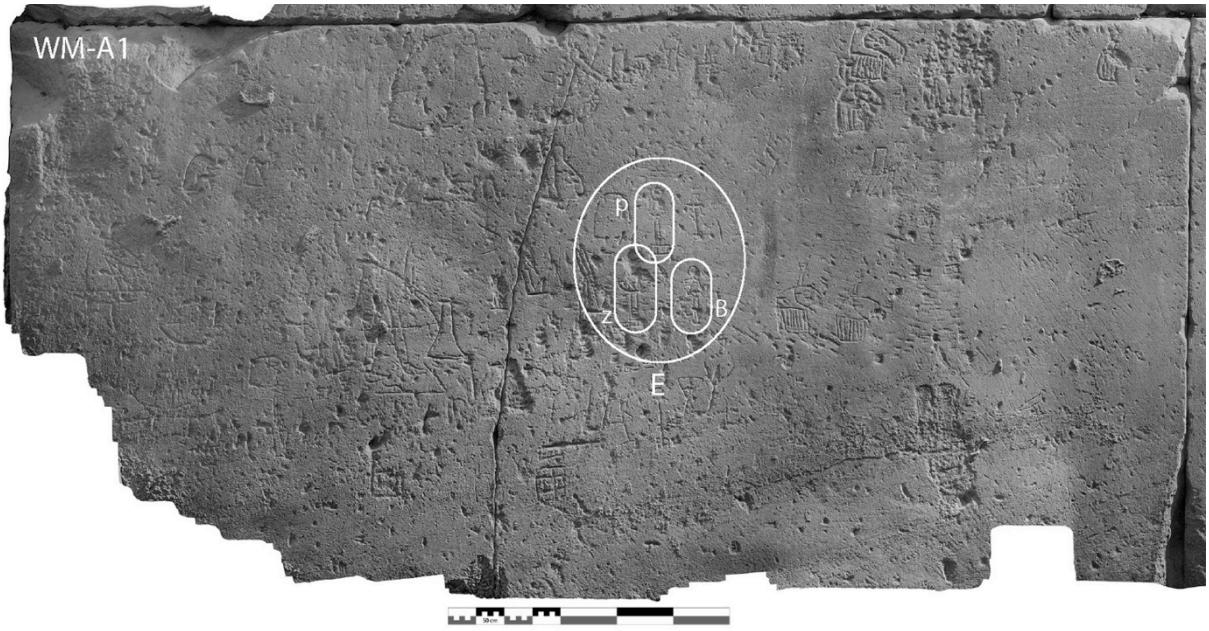


Fig. 5.7 Block WM-A1 with ram-topped staffs circled (group E). Orthophotograph © CNRS-CFEETK/ J. Maucor and Q. Dufour.

Dating

In primary temple decoration, ram-topped divine staffs are commonly represented together with other staffs at the rear of the processional barque of Amun resting on a stand (van de Walle 1952: 111). In Karnak, examples of these are found in the hypostyle hall (Nelson and Murnane 1981: pls. 76, 178, 226), as well as in the temple of Ramesses III (The Epigraphic Survey 1936: pl. 56).

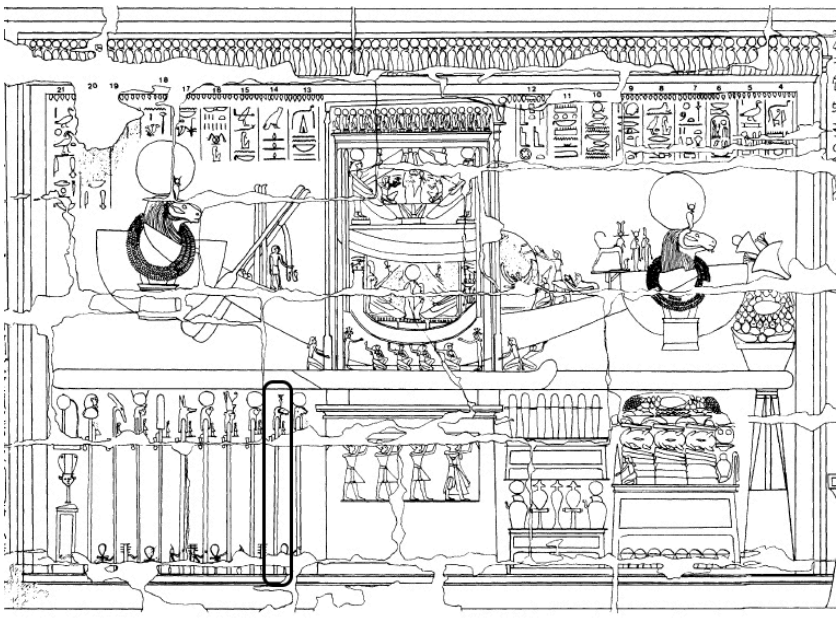


Fig. 5.8 Divine staffs at the rear of the Amun barque in the hypostyle hall. That of Amun is circled. Detail from Nelson and Murnane 1981: pl. 76.

The extensive, but not exhaustive, list of divine staffs appearing in temple barque scenes compiled by van de Walle (1952: 113–19, with bibliography) yields the following results:

- In the temple of Deir el-Bahri of Hatshepsut the ram is depicted with a simple uraeus;
- In the temple of Luxor, under Tutankhamun and Horemheb, the ram on staffs appears with a simple uraeus or a uraeus topped by horns encircling a small sun disc (like in fig. 5.8);
- The memorial temple of Sety I in Qurna includes scenes of ram staffs whose uraeus is adorned by horns encircling a small sun disc;
- The temple of Amun and Horakhty of Ramesses II at Wadi es-Sebua includes ram staffs with the uraeus topped with horns encircling a small sun disc as well as ram crowns with a solar disc, as in the graffiti on the seventh pylon;
- The temple of Ramesses III at Karnak includes scenes of ram staffs whose uraeus is adorned by horns encircling a small sun disc; yet in his memorial temple at Medinet Habu the rams are crowned with a solar disc only, as in the graffiti;
- Scenes of Sety II in Karnak adopt the simple uraeus.

Once again, the reign of Ramesses II seems to mark the transition between one crown type to the other. Yet, as mentioned earlier, primary decoration is not the ideal comparandum for graffiti. Divine ram staffs feature also on statues of standard-bearers (Chadefaud 1982), such as the two colossal statues of Amenhotep III at North Karnak (Eaton-Krauss 1976: 69–70, n. 3; Barguet 2006 [1962]).

Some preliminary thoughts about date can be advanced. The staffs were probably carved slightly later than the ram protomes of groups A and B, but not necessarily before those of groups C and D. On block WM-A1, the orientation towards the east of ram staff (B) and, although quite damaged, presumably that of (z) too, is unusual, given that all protomes and squatting Amuns (see 5.3) face west. This suggests that they were deliberately oriented to face the two squatting Amuns (x, y), and hence that they were added after them. The size, style and position, central in the cluster, suggest a late New Kingdom or early Third Intermediate Period date.

5.2.5 Interpretation of graffiti with rams

While Amun in his ram form is not frequent in temple walls primary decoration, it was popular in royal (e.g. the sphinxes in the dromoi) and private monuments. In the New Kingdom other gods received a similar treatment, with some of their forms being selected for primary decoration and others being preferred for private monuments, such as statues and stelae, but also amulets and graffiti. Thoth, for instance, was represented in primary decoration mostly in human form with an ibis head, or more rarely in his fully anthropomorphic form, whereas in private statues, stelae, amulets, and graffiti he was mostly depicted as a baboon (Larcher 2016: 61, n. 23).

Assmann (1995: 144) suggests that animal manifestations of gods were popular in the New Kingdom because their devotees perceived them as more tangible and accessible. The ram seems to have been a particularly approachable divine form: in Egyptian literature, when a king encounters a god in prophecies and dreams, he often appears in the shape of a ram (Kákosy 1981: 139–54). Rather than being associated with a particular temple, as Pamminger suggested (see 5.2.1), this form was probably linked to the Opet festival and possibly other festivals. The ram might have been the 'public face' of Amun during processions, the form that could be seen and approached by the wider population (Karlshausen 2009: 160). In a story told by Herodotus (Histories II, 42) mentioned by Kákosy (1981: 152), Heracles asks to see Zeus (=Amun), who in turns manifests himself holding a ram's head before his face, thus concealing his real form.

According to the hymn in Papyrus Chester Beatty IV (Gardiner 1935: 31–5, pls 15–7), among the qualities of the Amun's ram is that he listens and intercedes, 'like a shepherd leading his flock' (Cabrol 2001: 393). Stela Copenhagen AE.I.N. 1676 of Djehutynefer, depicted in adoration of a standing ram, defines it as 'the appeasing ear' (*msḏr ḥtpy*). His hearing abilities are corroborated by his presence on several ear stelae, such as that of Bay from Deir el-Medina (Morgan 2004: 84–5; fig. 5.9).

Fig. 5.9 Stela of the servant in the Place of Truth Bay (JE 43566). From Morgan 2004: 84.

The hearing properties of the ram might be directly evoked by the three divine staffs of Amun in the cluster on the seventh pylon. This is suggested by the presence of two monumental ram-topped staffs at the rear inner wall of the central chamber of Ramesses II's barque shrine in Luxor (the one modified from Hatshepsut's earlier shrine, see 2.2.1), which were carved in association with an inscription defining Amun as one who listens to prayers: 'place of supplication (of Amun) who hears petitions of gods and men' *st snmḥ sḏm sprwt n nṯrw rmṯt* (*KRI* II, 616.3.16 – 617.1); Murnane 1985: 147–48, n. 37; Bell 1985b: 270–71, n. 95).

The word for ram, *bꜣ*, also suggests visibility and access, as it can designate the *ba* (Cabrol 2001: 396–97; Karlshausen 2009: 161), that is, the most mobile of the three principla 'aspects of human beings', together with the *ka* and the *akh*, which enables Amun to manifest on earth (Traunecker 1991b: 307–09). The wordplay between the animal and the spiritual entity was intended by dedicators, as is demonstrated by some ostraca from Deir el-Medina, where the ram, defined as the living or divine *ba* of Amun, is spelled either with a ram or with a human-headed bird (Cabrol 1998: 532–33). Thus, while the ram form of the god was displayed to the uninitiated through the barque aegides, paraphernalia, and possibly the decoration of barque coverings — whether these were depicted decorations on the actual barque veils or were instead an iconographic element of temple scenes— the god inside the shrine seems to have remained concealed (on the presence of the processional statue inside the naos and its visibility, see 5.3.3).

It is through the ram aegides that Amun manifests himself during festivals, when it was possible to approach him and ask him to deliver oracles, which could thake the form of movements of the barque (Černý 1962: 36, 40, 42–3). While discussing the expression 'leaning the head' associated with oracular delivery, Karlshausen (2009: 298, n. 43) suggests that this may refer to the movement of the aegides themselves delivering the god's verdict.

The ram was therefore the most direct intermediary between the devotees and Amun himself, and for this reason it seems to have been worshipped regardless of festival occasions. The presence of hundreds of grooves on all the criosphinxes and recumbent rams along the Karnak dromoi bears witness to a popular religious practice in Thebes (Cabrol 2001: 246, 395), and similar practices are shown by some private stelae and graffiti, in which a kneeling dedicator with raised hands worships a large ram's head on a plinth (Černý and Sadek 1971; Salvador 2016b: vi.72; fig. 5.10).

Fig. 5.10 Stela Leiden RMO F 1953/8.2 with individual worshipping the ram protome of Amun. ©RMO-Leiden.

No such chapel has ever been recovered archaeologically, but the importance of the ram protomes in the New Kingdom is made evident by the large number of theophorous statues (see Appendix A), including royal ones, as well as the dedication of self-standing protomes in temples, at least one of which, still bearing traces of blue pigment, was found in the cachette (Cairo, SR 196), while three further fragments, also from the cachette, might have belonged to a protome or a full-bodied ram (Cairo, JE 37381 and JE 37033, in Legrain 1904.b: 26; Cairo, SR 243, in https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck1189).

This parallel indicates that whoever carved a graffito with a ram not only expressed his/her devotion to Amun, but sought specific contact with him, possibly recreating the special

connection which was only possible during processions. Such a connection is made explicit in the biography carved on a late 20th dynasty scribe statue of the overseer of the treasury of Amun, high steward of the Western River, overseer of works Amenmose (Cairo, JdE 87194):

> I was overseer of works for your portable shrine;
> I placed it upon 5 carrying poles,
> when it had been on 3.
> I made it again on 7,
> established forever.
>
> I was overseer of works for your Ram sphinx,
> the Great Protector of Thebes,
> who is established in your open court,
> for eternity and perpetuity.
>
> You (Amun) assented[20] to him (the Ram sphinx) greatly
> from your great portable shrine, with your Ennead.
>
> […]
>
> I was the overseer of works for the noble staff
> of Amun-Re, king of the gods;
> I placed it upon a portable shrine with two poles.
> For the first time it was made (thus),
> for it used to be (upon) the shoulder of one *wab*-priest.
>
> (Frood 2007: 184–85, with bibliography)

5.3 Other manifestations of Amun: squatting anthropomorphic figures

Among the four anthropomorphic Amun images clustered on block WM-A1, three represent Amun wrapped in a tight-fitting cloth, typical of shrine statues (Riggs 2014: 169) and squatting with his knees drawin up towards his chest. Despite being very schematic and small, these figures are characterized by the double-plumed crown on a flat cap (usually referred to as modius), the long ribbon descending from it, and the divine beard. The one centre-right (y) is the best preserved, whereas the plumes of that to the left (x) terminate at a crack in the block, suggesting that the stone was already fissured when this graffito was added. The figure at the far left of the block (E) is more schematic: the two plumes are vertical lines without a ribbon, and there is only a small trace of a divine beard (Fig. 5.11).

[20] Here Frood (2004: II, 152, n. g) convincingly understands the verb hn, 'to bend', usually indicating the movement of the processional barque when delivering oracles, as Amun acknowledging during his processional another manifestation of himself in the shape of a criosphinx.

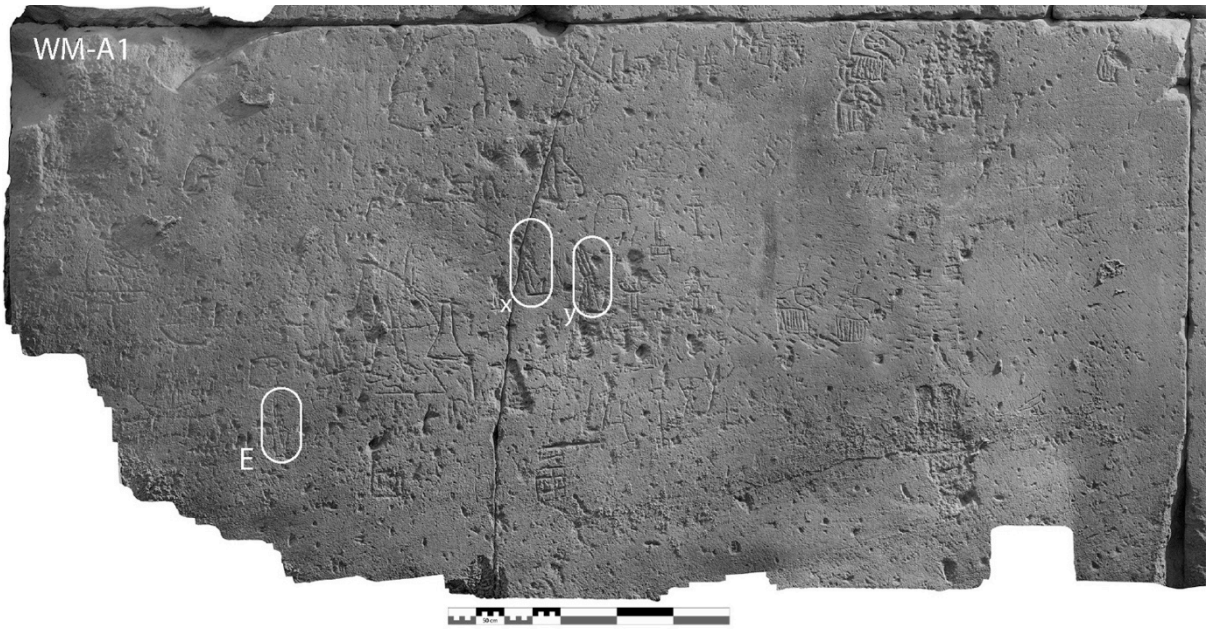


Fig. 5.11 Block WM-A1 with squatting Amun figures circled. Orthophotograph © CNRS-CFEETK/ J. Maucor and Q. Dufour

At first glance, images of Amun in this posture appear quite conventional, corresponding to the hieroglyph  (Gardiner C12). In the primary texts in the Amun complex the use of this hieroglyph is however quite limited; it is attested as a substantive or inside cartouches, but never as a determinative. A survey of the 959 attestations of the theonym *Ỉmn* in the Karnak SITH database (last consulted on 22/03/2019) produced the following result:

1) It first occurs as a substantive under Sety I in the hypostyle hall (e.g. KIU 836,3);
2) It is more widely attested under Ramesses II both as a substantive (e.g. KIU 1939,10) and in his royal name (e.g. KIU 32,4 in CR7);
3) It is also used in the cartouches of Ramesses IV, for instance on the columns of the hypostyle hall (e.g. KIU 5447,4);
4) After a long hiatus this writing appears again used as a substantive under Ptolemy VI Philometor at the temple of Ptah (gate A; KIU 2479,12);
5) It is used under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II both as substantive and in his cartouche at the temple of Opet (e.g. KIUs 1888,4; 5409,2), and in the cartouche of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos at the temple of Ptah (gate C; KIU 3561,1);
6) The last occurrence, at the Opet temple, dates to the Roman emperor Augustus as a component of the theonym Re-Amun (KIU 3947,1).

Among the Karnak graffiti, figures of the squatting Amuns are even rarer than ram protomes. Except for the three on the seventh pylon's west massif, there are only eight more along the southern axis and two, much larger and formal, on the west exterior wall of the Khonsu temple. To my knowledge, no others are attested elsewhere in the complex, although this would need further examination.

A cluster of three neatly incised squatting Amuns is carved on the east massif of the seventh pylon, on its short side facing the sacred lake, on a block at eye level, south of the door giving access to the pylon's stairwell (*Cahier* v: 10). The block is densely inscribed with graffiti and includes 9 baboons in various poses, 3 Maat figures, 2 schematic ibises, a sketchy falcon head, and a standing human figure (Fig 5.12). Except for the standing man, all others could be representations of gods and their divine manifestations. Two of the Amun figures stand on a base, like those of statues, and are distinctive because of their large size and well-formed proportions. The third, lower one is smaller and, similarly to the Amun on WM-A1, does not sit on a base. They all hold a *was*-sceptre and have small '*Imn*' hieroglyphic captions, proving that whoever carved them was at least semi-literate. Most of the figures in the cluster face north, except for two baboons that were deliberately carved to face the two large Amuns. The close proximity of the baboons to the large Amuns suggests that the former might have been added there as a form of adoration of the latter, which in this instance may have solar aspects.

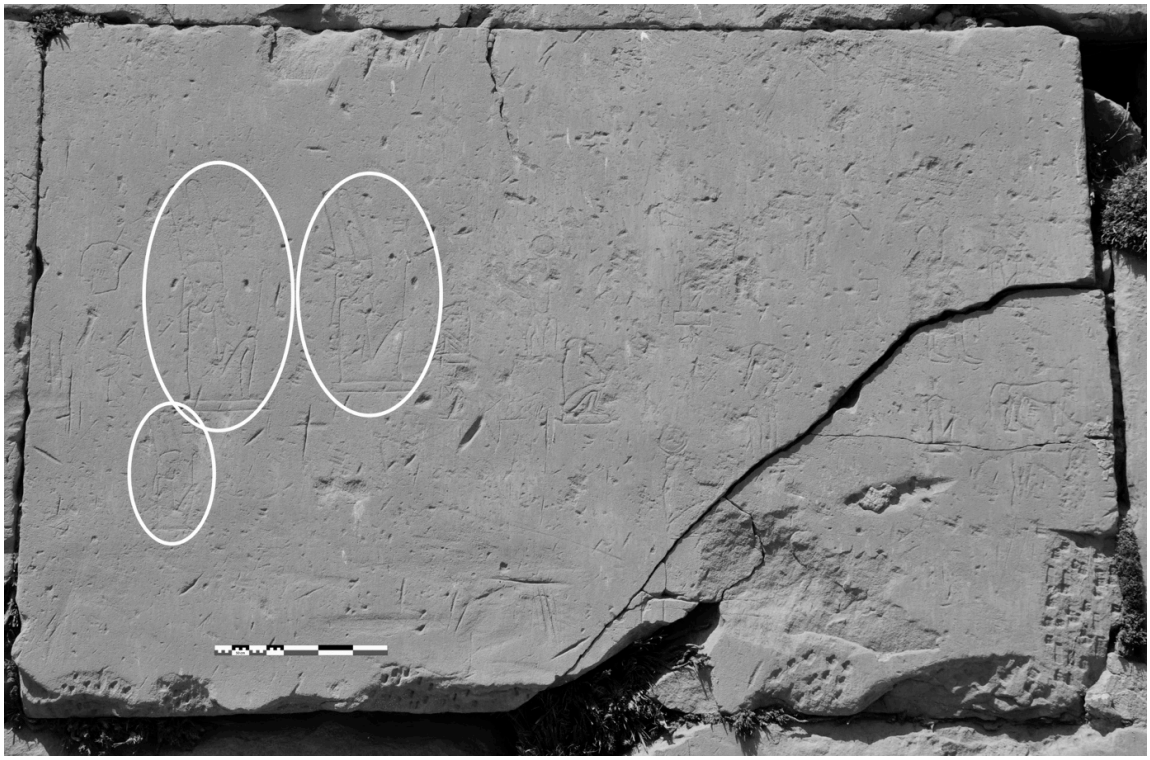


Fig. 5.12 Block on the east face of the east massif of the seventh pylon with three squatting Amun graffiti. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

The east exterior wall of CR10, south of the so-called Amenhotep II edifice and north of the east door connecting this area with the courtyard (*Cahier* vi: 5–7, 9), bears five more squatting Amun figures, roughly carved and clustered among many other textual and pictorial graffiti (52 on this wall alone, see fig. 3.1); these too face north: four of the Amuns hold something in their hand, too eroded to discern, but presumably a sceptre. Only two sit on a base: all but one, whose face has been (intentionally?) obliterated, are characterized by a squared pattern on the double plumes. The same pattern decorates the shoulders of two of these graffiti. The context suggests a possible Third Intermediate Period or slightly later date for them (see 3.1.2). One among them stands out as it is depicted inside a processional barque (Fig. 5.13). Whether or not the barque and the squatting Amun were conceived together, which is likely, the graffito makes it explicit that this squatting Amun represented the processional statue inside the portable naos.

Two more squatting Amun figures appear on the west exterior wall of the Khonsu temple, where dozens of very large and formal secondary divine images are carved on a blank surface (PM II^2, 243 (120)). These graffiti, currently being researched by Ahmed al-Taher and his team, belong to a special category of isolated secondary images of gods that were added to blank exterior walls in Karnak and other contemporary Theban temples (see 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 with bibliography). Is it possible that the graffiti of squatting Amuns were intended to represent the secret processional statue?

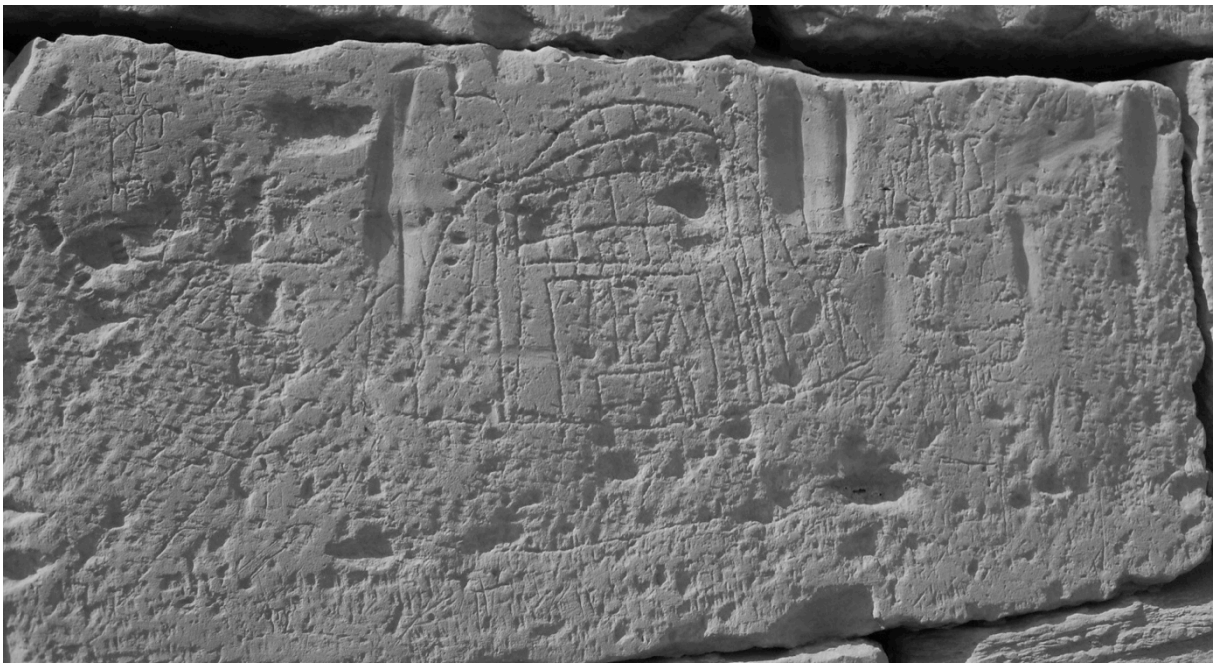


Fig. 5.13 Graffito of a processional barque of Amun with a squatting Amun statue inside the naos. East exterior wall of CR10, south of edifice of Amenhotep II, north of the east side door. © CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

5.3.1 Gods in squatting poses

The squatting pose of Amun is evocative of deities and demons appearing in vignettes of the Book of the Dead, who are usually depicted in rows, tightly wrapped in cloth (e.g. Papyrus of the royal scribe of Sety I Hunefer, Andrews 1989: 34–5, BM EA 9901/3). Amun is never depicted in this way in the Book of the Dead, and funerary aspects of Amun are not in keeping with the context of the southern processional way. Another parallel may be between these Amun figures and the goddess Maat, attested in this pose since her earliest images at the time of Tuthmose III (see section 6.2). Maat represents 'justice' and 'truth' and is often depicted in scenes in which the king offers her to a god, stressing the king's commitment to maintain the cosmic order and balance (Teeter 1997: 1). Between Amun and Maat, however, there is no syncretic relationship and, when they are both present in the same scene, Amun is the recipient of the Maat offering.

Deities represented while travelling in their barques were often depicted in the squatting pose. In some vignettes of the Book of the Dead, for instance, Re is depicted in his various manifestations crossing the night sky in his solar barque (e.g. Papyrus of the *sma*-priest Hor, see Andrews 1989: 42–43, BM EA 10479/11), a motif present in private tombs as well (see e.g. TT1, PM I^2, 3 (9)).

Fully anthropomorphic Amun is very rarely represented in this pose primary decoration at Karnak: the only example known to me is a scene in the temple of Ptah, at the top of the west façade of the north jamb of the Ptolemaic gate C. It shows Amun squatting on a base, thus presumably representing a statue, facing Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (80-51 BC), who is depicted as a sphinx (Biston-Moulin and Thiers 2016: I: 100, no. 66; II: 62, 66, no. 66). A relevant parallel, although not entirely matching the iconography of the secondary Amuns, is provided by the two squatting gods depicted one on top of the other on the veils of some processional Amun barques in the hypostyle hall (see 5.2.2, fig. 5.5). The upper one, ram-headed and wearing an *atef*-crown, represents Amun, while the lower one, falcon-headed and with a sun disc, represents Re. These have been interpreted as decoration of the veil concealing the naos, evoking what was kept inside it (Karlshausen 2009: 74). It is not known what the statue of the god contained inside the naos would have looked like; perhaps the two squatting gods were 'visual euphemisms', by which I mean a changed visual form, of the processional statue inside the naos. This iconography of Amun-Re as two separate entities, one of them incorporating the ram, might have been used to overcome restrictions of decorum on revealing the god inside the naos, rather as the ram form of Amun was selected to be the visible form of processional Amun. Texts mention processional icons as being a statue, referred to as singular, so the decision to separate the two divine

components of Amun-Re might have been a suitable way to refer to it in an area of the temple that was presumably more accessible on certain occasions, such as the hypostyle hall.

That the secondary squatting Amuns intended to depict the god's processional image, whether that was its actual appearance, seems supported by other graffiti in Karnak, carved on the east side of the seventh pylon's east massif. The block immediately to the left (south) of the one with the Amun figures (see above) includes a large and finely incised barque of Khonsu, with detailed falcon-headed aegides. The stone surface at the centre of the barque is damaged, and only the bottom of the naos is visible: eight vertical lines are interrupted at their centre by a horizontal line, deeper than the others, above which are possible traces of a squatting processional statue of Khonsu. Although this remains hypothetical, the presence of two sitting falcon-headed figures on the same block, in the same posture as the Amun discussed above, supports the idea that these images intended to represent portable divine statues (Fig. 5.14).

Graffiti of large squatting Amun, of the same kind as those on the west wall of the Khonsu (see above), appear also in two areas of the Luxor temple: on the east exterior wall of the hypostyle hall (PM II^2, 335 (221)), and on the exterior wall of the north-east side entrance to the forecourt of Amenhotep III (PM II^2, 335 (219–21)).

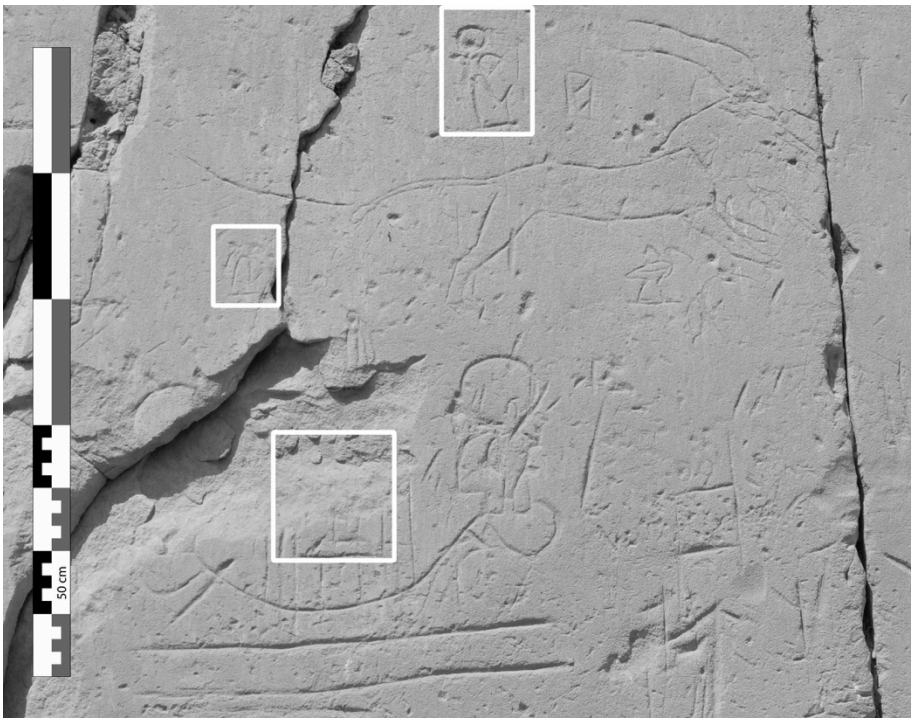


Fig. 5.14 East face of seventh pylon's east massif. Graffiti of squatting Khonsu marked. © CNRS-CFEETK/ C. Salvador.

The latter is associated with a lengthy secondary inscription, dedicated by a Ptolemaic priest and carved among large secondary divine images clustered together on this wall. The

inscription mentions that the dedicator had renewed the processional image after having found it in the process of falling apart (Jansen-Winkeln 2005: 36). Given the context, Frood (2013: 289) convincingly suggests that the surrounding images too may be representations of processional statues, corroborating the initial hypothesis proposed above.

A further hint at these images representing the presumed aspect of portable statues is provided by their tight-fitting cloth, which concealed and protected their bodies, leaving only their heads visible. This may be evocative of the textiles wrapped around processional statues, emphasizing their secrecy and inaccessibility (Riggs 2014: 169).

Dating

The absence of datable iconographic elements and overlaps makes the squatting Amun on block WM-A1 on the seventh pylon problematic to date. The only parallel provided by primary scenes in the Amun complex, which is the squatting Amun on gate C of the Ptah temple, suggests a Ptolemaic date (see above). The same date seems to be suggested by some private statuary: out of 355 block-statues in the Karnak cachette database, only 7, possibly 8, incorporate Amun in this pose, mostly as one of the Theban triad, who are depicted in the same way (CK 296; 343; 424; 481; 535; 581; 674; 996 (?) in http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/; last consulted on 21/03/2019). Their date is given as Ptolemaic in all cases except CK 424, which may date to the Late or Ptolemaic period (Price 2016: 486, n. 7), and CK 674, preserved only in its lower part, which bears a squatting Amun on (each?) side and is dated by Coulon and Jambon to the Third Intermediate Period or the Late Period (http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck674).

That Amun in this pose was popular in the Ptolemaic period is also confirmed by primary textual sources in Karnak, which incorporate it as a graffito after a hiatus of roughly a millennium since its earlier use in the Ramessid period (see above). Is it possible that the three graffiti on the seventh pylon date to the Ptolemaic period? In CR7 other graffiti presumably dating to Graeco-Romans are fairly common, especially on the east massif of the same pylon (see survey in chapter 3). Yet the position of the squatting Amuns on block WM-A1, clustered together with New Kingdom graffiti of rams and at least two hieratic inscriptions, probably to be dated between the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period, suggests an earlier date for these three graffiti. Their very comparable size and depth of carving support their dating to approximately the same period, probably the New Kingdom – early Third Intermediate Period. Perhaps they were inspired by the widespread use of the hieroglyph in the 19th dynasty, which was highly visible especially in the cartouches that decorated the hypostyle hall and CR7 itself. This dating seems also to fit with Brand's (2004: 260–61) dating of some large secondary divine images in Luxor

between the Late Ramessid period and the 25th dynasty, although Frood (2013: 289) cautiously suggests that some of those carved close to the Ptolemaic inscription (see above) may be contemporaneous with it. If the interpretation of squatting Amuns proposed here is correct, the disappearance of this motif between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period could be explained through changes in decorum. A thorough comparative study of decoration programmes of New Kingdom and Graeco-Roman temples could shed light in this respect, and possibly confirm this hypothesis. However, this is beyond the scope of this thesis and has to remain an open question.

5.3.2 Interpretation

If the creators of the graffiti with rams wished to manifest (and invoke) a processional aspect of Amun that delivered oracles through its tangible and approachable form, those who left the squatting Amun seem to have sought a connection with the processional statue of Amun itself, which was meant to remain secluded from human sight (Karlshausen 2009: 302–03). There is no archaeological evidence of processional Amun statues, or of cult statues more generally. Even the few extant statues kept in museums, such as the third millennium BC copper statue of a hawk found buried inside a small temple at Hierakonpolis, which was modified several times over the centuries (Eckmann and Shafīq 2005: 51–4, 65–9), the Third Intermediate Period gold statuette of Amun said to come from Karnak, now in the British Museum collection (EA 60006; Vandenbeusch 2018: 66–7), and the unprovenanced mid-1st millennium BC silver statuette of a falcon-headed deity now kept in the Miho Museum, Japan (Roehrig 1997: 18–21, no. 5), could have been prestigious votive offerings (Robins 2005: 5; Baines in press). Textual sources indicate they were made of precious metals and stones, which accounts for their destruction to extract the valuable metals. The lack of visual evidence from temple reliefs and the ambiguity of some texts referring to deities inside their barques, an expression which, as Karlshausen notes, may as well be a reference to the spiritual entities of gods indwelling their portable barques, has led to questioning of the very existence of portable statues inside the processional barques (Karlshausen 2009: 294, n. 17, with references). However, some texts seem to refer explicitly to the presence of portable divine statues, to be distinguished from the cult statues that probably never left the main temple naos (on the existence of separate cult and portable statues, see e.g. Traunecker 1982b: 26; Kruchten 1989: 188–90; Robins 2005: 2, 10); among these, Karlshausen (2009: 294–96) mentions an inscription in the temple of Sety I at Abydos, in which Ramesses II claims to have 'made the statues resting on their thrones' (***ms*(=*i*) *sšmw ḥtp*(*w*) *ḥr st*=*sn***), 'their portable barques'

(*wi3=sn*), and 'those who are inside the barques in their sublime shapes' (*imyw wi3w m ḫpr(w)=sn špsy*) (*KRI* II, 512, 5–8).

The portable naoi thus seem to have contained actual statues. Their visibility has been long debated, but today Egyptologists largely agrees that they remained concealed throughout the procession (Karlshausen 2009: 296–304, with a summary of discussion; Baines in press). It seems that, while the cult statue(s) in the main naos could only be revealed and attended to by initiated *hem-netjer*-priests, processional images could be carried by lower-ranking *wab*-priests, but probably not be seen by them (Baines in press; contra Kruchten 1989: 188–90). An exceptional case is that of the ithyphallic god Min, whose image could be displayed when carried out in procession, as shown in a relief in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (The Epigraphic Survey 1940: pl. 202). His unusual display in such a context might have been connected to his inherently protective powers (Baines in press). What strikes even more in this composition is that the carriers are here covered by a large shroud, whose function was probably that of protecting them from the powerful manifestation of the divine effigy.

Returning to the graffiti of wrapped squatting Amuns, how could their creators break such an important restriction around statue visibility? The similarity of these images to the hieroglyphic rendering of Amun within royal cartouches might have contributed to make them perceived as acceptable according to rules of decorum. The sacredness of the environment where these graffiti were left probably legitimized them even more (Baines in press). In this respect, it is striking that squatting Amun figures are never attested among the graffiti of the Theban mountain, whereas ram protomes are not uncommon.

In Karnak, the small number of such graffiti might also suggest that they were considered subversive, or at least controversial, or very potent, and one could suggest that these graffiti were all relatively small and could have been hidden behind statues, as in the case with block WM-A1 on the seventh pylon. However, the other graffiti in Karnak were carved in seemingly visible places, especially the monumental ones on the Khonsu or the Luxor temple, yet nothing suggests that they were received any differently from any other graffito along the southern processional way as none shows any sign of deliberate erasure. In this respect, the damage to the secondary barque of Khonsu, on the east face of the seventh pylon, seems accidental, since there is no trace of deliberate hacking on the surface.

Riggs (2014: 153) argues that the power of a secret relies on a paradox: 'the secret must be seen (though not revealed) in order to have its intended effect'. This highlights the subtle difference between breaking a prohibition and invoking the powerful processional image by

depicting its form — true or assumed, depending on whether the graffitists had access to the real image — without revealing its secrets:

> Those outside the secret might even know the basics of what the secret is — the mythology of the god, or the wrapping up of these statues — so long as they also realize their inability to know or understand it fully. (Riggs 2014: 167)

Whether the graffitists were initiated to the portable statue or not, they were likely to be members of the temple staff who wished to invoke the presence of the god and address him with prayers or requests, such as during festival processions. They could also mark the personal experience of coming into contact with these gods during the festivals.

5.4 Secondary rams and squatting Amuns: the wider context

Contact with the specifically processional-oracular forms of Amun was the major motivator behind the secondary ram and squatting Amun figures on block WM-A1 on the seventh pylon. The presence of four graffiti of barques on the same block, three of them including a naos, strengthens this interpretation. That these graffiti were carved along the southern processional way appears logical, since this area of the temple staged the Opet festival on its way south to Luxor. However, it should be borne in mind that these types of graffiti were not common, in this court or elsewhere on the southern processional route. So why is there such a concentration on the seventh pylon?

The ram graffiti that are clustered on the east exterior girdle wall, in the area of the eastern temples, as well as on the exterior area of the south-east corner of CR10, probably have comparable associations. In the same area of CR10 are clustered also a few graffiti of squatting Amuns, similar to those found also on the east side of the seventh pylon's east massif, overlooking the sacred lake. These three locations appear meaningful and tightly linked to Amun's receptive properties as recipient of individual petitions. The very large, formal figures on the west façade of the Khonsu temple are probably not manifestations of the devotion of individuals, but relate to practices that might have been regulated to some extent by the temple institution; this is discussed further in chapter 6.

The area of the eastern temples was the focal point for Amun 'who hears petitions' (e.g. Gallet 2013), and the presence of graffiti in the shape of ram protomes close to these temples fits perfectly with this association and desire for contact. The squatting Amuns on the east face of the seventh pylon can be best explained by their proximity to the barque shrine of Tuthmose III and connection with the celebration of the New Year's Festival on the sacred lake opposite them (Geßler-Löhr 1983). Finally, the presence of both types of graffiti in the south-east corner

outside CR10 should probably be linked to the Opet festival and to the role that CR10 played, at least during the 21st dynasty, as an area where oracles were delivered, as is suggested by the large number of oracular decrees carved inside and around CR10 (see 3.3). The presence of these has led to an identification of this area as the place of the 'silver soil' (Kruchten 1986: 325, n. 1, with references). More specifically, the ram and squatting Amun graffiti may be linked to the oracular decree of Djehutymose carved in the same area, which displays the processional barques of the Theban triad and describes the verdicts of the god's oracle in favour of Djehutymose's promotion, thus marking the connection between the human and the divine and making it eternal.

In contrast, the seventh pylon and its court do not seem to be directly linked to special properties of Amun, and there is no evidence that this was an area where the processional barque would have paused and delivered oracles. The 21st–22nd dynasty oracular decree of Maatkare, which is inscribed on the seventh pylon's west massif (Winand 2003: 676–77), high up on the façade outside CR7 (west of it), does not support this hypothesis either and it does not seem to be associated with the graffiti cluster hidden behind the statues.

However, an inscription on the eastern thickness of the seventh pylon's gateway, mentioning divine shades of the ram opens up possibilities for understanding its particular significance: 'the god's shade like the ram. Its name was made as Menkheperre-[…]-menu', *šwt nṯr mi šf(y)t irw rn=f m Mn-ḫpr-Re* […] *mnw* (Wallet-Lebrun 2009: 142–43). The divine shade, which is determined here with the fan sign (Gardiner S 35), is frequently represented as a fan in temple scenes associated with the processional barque, as well as on many private stelae in connection with representations of sacred animals, such as Amun's ram or goose. Scholars, such as George (1970: 112–17), Assmann (1978: 31), and Bell (1985a: 33–34), understand the fan in such scenes not only as a protective element, but also as a manifestation of divine presence. Karlshausen (2018) has analysed the occurrence of the 'god's shade' (*šwt nṯr*) in temple dedicatory texts as a way to shed light on the possible material correlation of this expression. While most texts are quite laconic, an inscription on the south wall of the Karnak Annals is revealing. The text runs across two different blocks and its order has been reassessed by Gabolde and Gabolde (2015: 56–7): '(block G) the god's shade above him as + (block R) the protective image of this god (and an image) + (block G) of my majesty of electrum …' ((G) *šwt nṯr ḥr=f m* (R) *twt n ḫw nṯr pn* […](G) *ḥm=i m ḏʿm* …). This passage suggests that the god's shades mentioned in temple texts referred to something concrete, such as an image, perhaps a statue. In the thickness of the seventh pylon there are two niches, which might have housed small statues, perhaps of

Tuthmose III. These royal images hardly correspond to the 'god's shade as a ram', but they might have been part of some cultic activity connected to it.

Karlshausen (2018: 162) observes that most texts make explicit references to two-dimensional images and reliefs (*ḥt* and *ḥp*) and that *ḥp* in particular is often employed when describing images engraved on door leaves embellished with precious metals and stones. She interprets the inscription on the seventh pylon as an image on the central axis of the temple because of the mention of the Menkheperre-[…]-menu, which has been tentatively identified by Wallet-Lebrun (2009: 143) with the Akh-menu (Karlshausen 2018: 166). However, this reading is not supported by the orizontal sign partly visible in the lacuna, which could be more plausibly read as [*mn*-]*mnw*.

What if a relief image, perhaps of Amun's ram, as suggested by the inscription on the gateway of seventh pylon, was carved on the monumental door of the 7th pylon? The idea is tantalizing, since another text from a granite barque shrine in Karnak mentions a *ḥp*-image (in front?) of the door called Amon Great of diadems, which corresponds to that of the seventh pylon (Wallet-Lebrun 2009: 152, 154). A sacred image on the doors of the seventh pylon, or at least close to them, would be a reference point for the cluster on block WM-A1, which is very close to the gateway. It would also connect with the unusually high number of ram graffiti in CR7, including the criosphinx scene and the large protome on the south façade of the seventh pylon, as well as the many private statues and stelae with rams in various attitudes found in the cachette and the area around the seventh pylon.

Whether a sacred image did exist on, or near, the door leaves of the pylon, the presence of this peculiar cluster of ram protomes and squatting Amuns indicates that CR7 probably held a special function withing the complex at the time when these graffiti were carved, although exactly which function and role it played is still largely obscure.

6. Community graffiti: secondary votive loci?

The graffiti in CR7 analysed in the two previous chapters conform to the widespread idea that graffiti were cursive, crude, and could be clearly distinguished from primary decoration and texts. Counter-examples that include elaborate and finely executed offering scenes, such as those in and around the stairwell of the eighth pylon or that in the small room giving access to the stairwell of the tenth pylon, challenge this idea (see 1.5 and 3.1.6). These graffiti still directly benefited one person and his entourage, but clearly show a much higher investment in their creation and probably needed some form of permission as well as the resources to commission one or more artists.

Elaborate and formal graffiti are widely attested in Karnak (Traunecker 1987; Frood 2010; 2013). This chapter focuses on some examples representing divine images within the context of CR7. The main goal here is to assess their function and implications in comparison with the more informal graffiti analysed in previous chapters. Drawing upon existing discussions of this material, I aim to challenge the common idea that the presence of these secondary images shows that certain areas of the temple were widely accessible.

6.1 A striding figure on the east wall of CR7: a locus of popular devotion?

On the east interior wall of CR7, ca. 17 m south of the east door, are the remains of an anthropomorphic striding figure facing north. The image, in sunk relief, is carved on a blank surface ca. 65 cm from the original floor level, which is about 25 cm below today's floor. In its fragmentary state it is now barely visible. The figure is preserved from just below the knee to the feet, which rest on an incised horizontal line. The back foot is fully preserved, but the tip of the big toe and the bridge of the front foot are missing. The end of a sceptre that was held by the figure is visible 2 cm above the tip of the front foot. Its forked shape makes it a *was*-sceptre, which was usually a divine prerogative. The lower half of a bull's tail is visible behind the rear leg. Sceptre to tail, the figure measures 53 cm wide and is preserved up to 33 cm high. The figure is preserved for less than a third of its height and it can be approximately reconstructed as ca. 115 cm high up to the head, excluding any possible headgear (Fig. 6.1). It is incised between the northern stela of Ramesses III (Le Saout 1982: 237–40; KIU 37) and a row of cartouches of Ramesses IV, later appropriated by Ramesses VI (KIU 6540), which decorated a section of the dado corresponding to a scene of Ramesses IV, ca. 10.5 m wide (Le Saout 1982: 234–37, pl. 6; Dembitz 2017: 172–78; fig. 6.2).

The striding position of the feet, the absence of any garment below the knee, and the bull tail indicate that this figure is male. Its identity is uncertain since sceptres and bull tails are well

attested elements of images of kings and gods, such as Amun-Re, who features prominently in the decoration of CR7, as well as other deities, such as Khnum, Horus, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Onuris-Shu, and other deities on the girdle wall encircling the Akh-menu (KIUs 1887, 1892, 1896, 1901 respectively). An additional element confirms that the image is almost certainly that of a god: directly below the rear foot are two ca. 2.5 cm round holes, which are attested only around divine images, both those that are graffiti and those belonging to main wall decorations (see below).

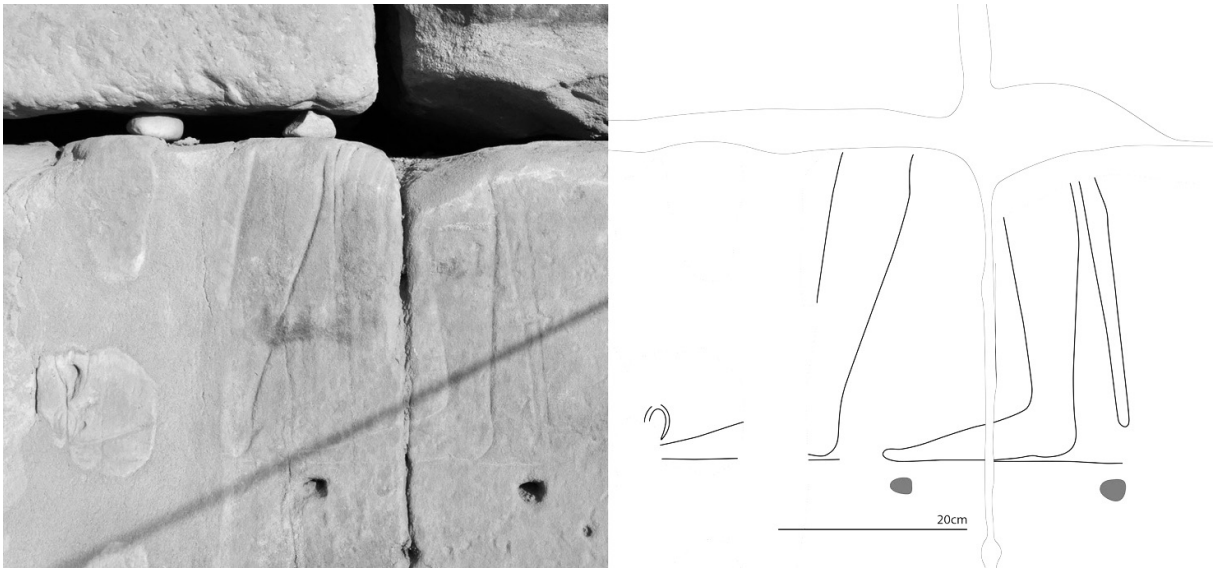


Fig. 6.1 Graffito of striding anthropomorphic figure on east wall. © CNRS–CFEETK/C. Salvador.

More than any other wall in CR7, the primary decoration of the inner east wall resulted from piecemeal interventions between the reigns of Merenptah and Ramesses IX (see section 2.3), so it could be argued that the image belonged to one of the stages of primary decoration. However, despite its good proportions and technical execution, some of its elements suggest that it was a graffito. The figure is carved unusually low on the wall. The feet occupy the lower half of the dado, one course below that usually inscribed with marginal inscriptions, such as that of Ramesses IV recarved by Ramesses VI to the south of the same wall or on the opposite west wall (Brand 2009). Dados, especially their bottom part, usually remained undecorated, the row of cartouches of Ramesses IV next to the figure being quite exceptional. When they were decorated, dados were either inscribed with royal titularies (see above) or with topographical lists personified by processions of bound captives or fecundity figures, as in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (Iskander and Goelet 2015: 180–81, 224–45). However, no deities other than the fecundity figures appeared on these wall sections. Gods belonged to the main primary scenes in the first

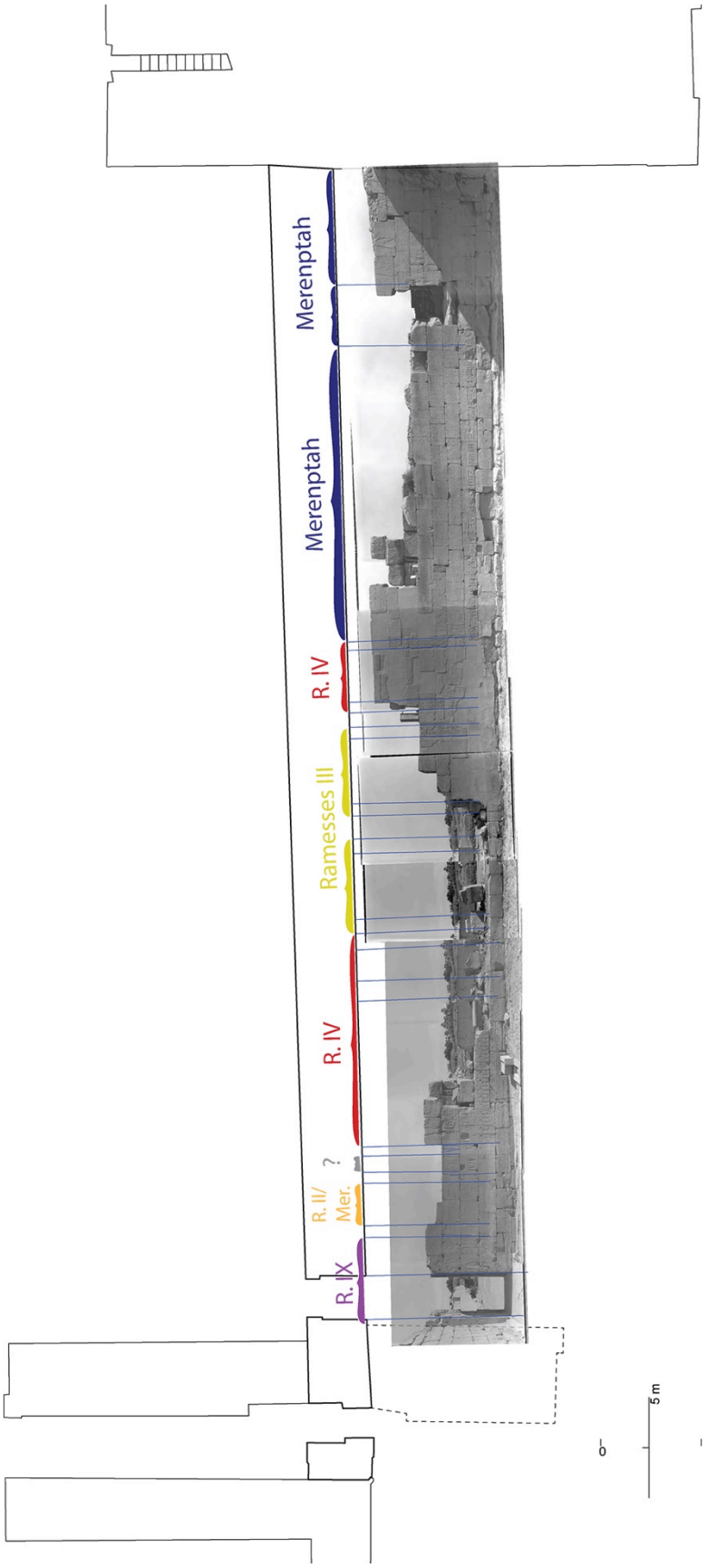


Fig. 6.2 East wall of CR7 with phases of decoration highlighted. Drawing C. Salvador.

register or above, and they were always carved at least one and a half metres from the ground, a feature common to wall decoration in most societies to heighten visibility, but also to prevent them from being submerged during the annual inundations.[21]

The god's figure is distinctive also for its dimensions, which are significantly smaller in that those of other human and divine images on the same wall: the image's foot measures ca. 20 cm, whereas other feet on this wall are between 30 and 37 cm. Finally, in temple reliefs deities are conventionally included in scenes in which two or more actors, usually comprising the king performing rituals or presenting offerings, interact with one another. This god appears isolated, with no officiant performing for him (see also Brand 2004: 258; 2007: 64). Instead, the figure faces a long row of royal names of Ramesses IV, but it is unclear whether they are all part of the same composition. Similar friezes of cartouches of Ramesses IV, also carved on dados, are attested in Karnak paired with the name of Amun-Re. The hypothesis, though, that the frieze in CR7 replaced the paired names of the king and the god with an image of the deity facing the row of royal cartouches is, in my opinion, highly problematic. Had they been designed together, it seems likely that the striding figure would have been slightly larger, in closer proportion to the scale of the names, and positioned at the same height (Fig. 6.3).

Similar graffiti of isolated deities added to blank wall surfaces are known elsewhere in Karnak (Traunecker 1991a; Frood 2013) as well as other contemporary Theban temples, both on the east and west bank (e.g. Luxor and Medinet Habu: Dils 1995; Brand 2004; 2007). They seem to have appeared first in the late Ramessid period and continued until Graeco-Roman times, as with the Ptolemaic graffito of the goddess Hathor-Isis on the north jamb of the door leading to the corridor encircling the Akh-menu (al-Taher 2017: 24, fig. 1). They were mostly carved in open courtyards and on temples' exterior walls, yet always within temple precincts.

In Karnak these images were first surveyed and analysed by Traunecker, who made a detailed inventory of them in his unpublished archive. Among the temple's divine images, Traunecker (1991a: 85–91) distinguishes between 'acting' and 'evocative' ones, the former being those inhabited by a god, such as cult statues, the latter presenting and perpetuating ritual actions and mythological episodes, as in most wall decoration. He also introduces the concept of 'diverted' images, which are a sub-category of evocative images. This sub-category takes into account the reception of divine images by an audience who could react to them; for instance, some primary temple reliefs attracted graffiti or had existing attributes replaced with new ones ('modified' images), while others were pierced with holes ('enriched' images), whatever purpose the latter may have served (see below). In this framework Traunecker (1991a: 89) defines graffiti

[21] I thank Sébastien Biston-Moulin for reminding me of this fact.

of isolated deities as deliberately created images receiving a cult from private individuals and characterises them as 'parasites'.

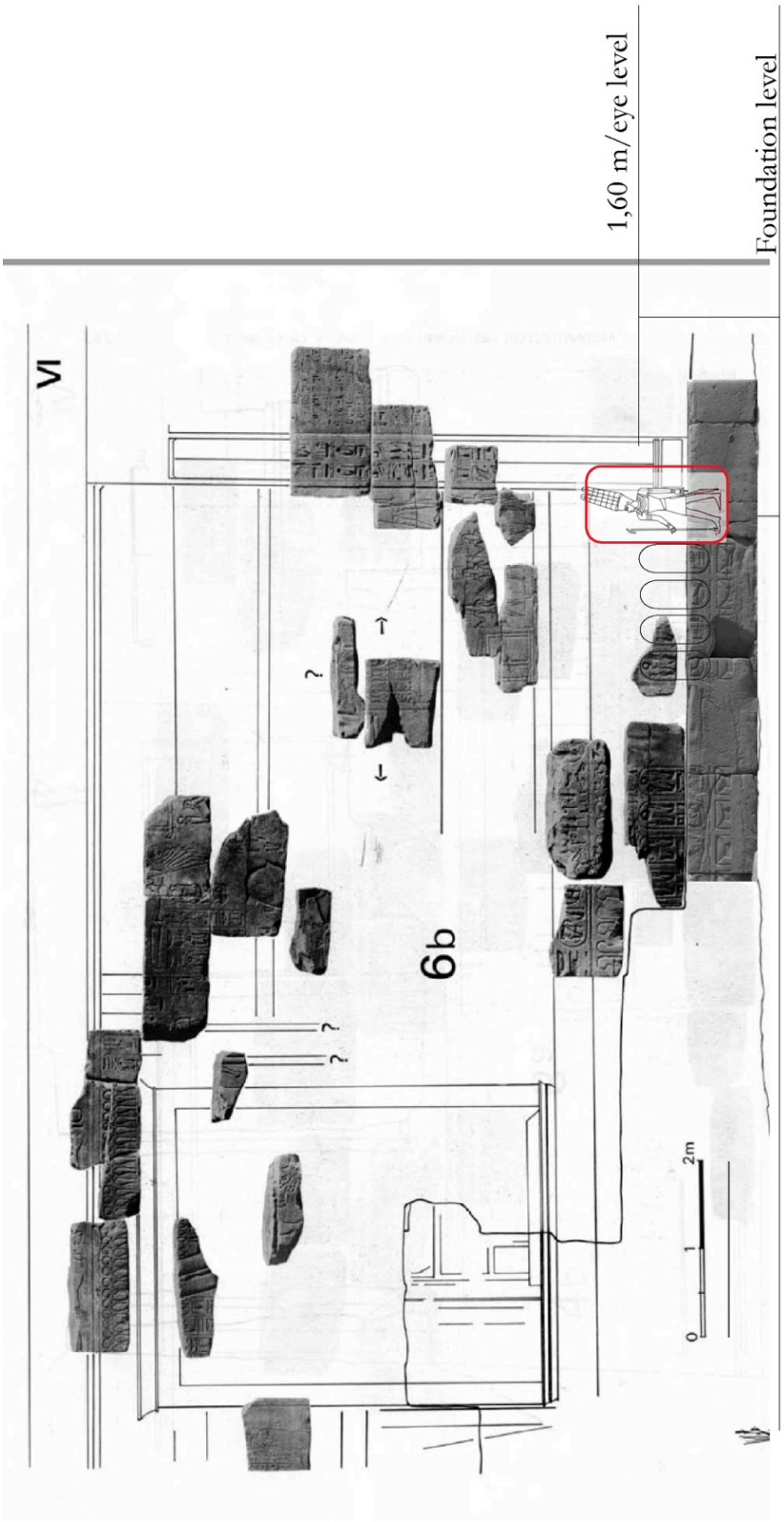


Fig. 6.3 East wall of CR7 with hypothetical reconstruction of the pierced graffito. Drawing by C. Salvador based on reconstruction by Le Saout (1982: pl. 6).

Leaving aside for the moment the question of accessibility of these graffiti, their function as votive loci is suggested by the absence of an officiant, which made them more interactive (Frood 2013: 7), as they might have enticed people to approach them. For this reason they were more similar to cult statues (acting) than to other wall scenes (evocative). Traunecker's appellative 'parasite' reflects his perception of them as 'diverted evocative' images which *appropriated* the status of 'acting' images.

Most of these graffiti were carved in prominent places. The one in CR7, for instance, which I estimate to have been ca. 115 cm feet to head, was altogether more visible than the graffiti on the seventh pylon and the opposite west wall. Its impact on an audience would have been accentuated by its unusually low position on the wall, with the god's face only slightly above eye level further emphasizing its intrinsic interactive character (Fig. 6.4).

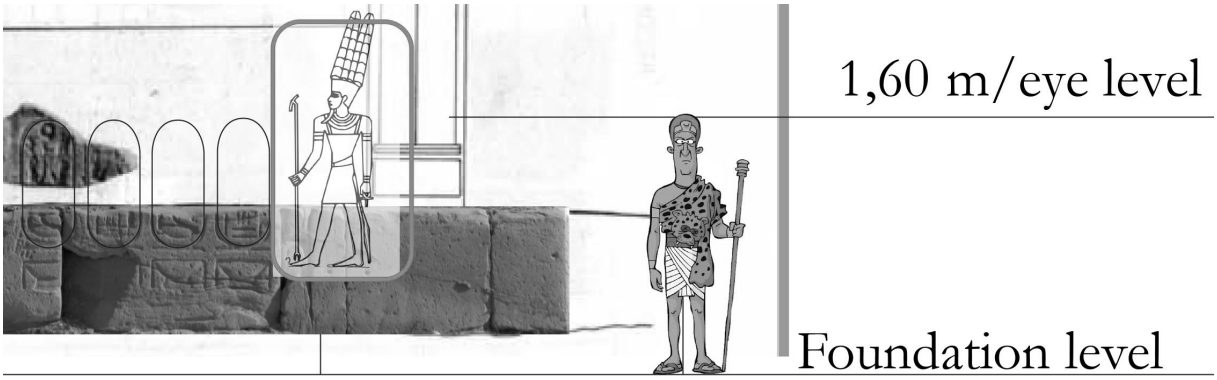


Fig. 6.4 Close-up of pierced divine figure in context.

Like all other scenes, this one was surely painted and possibly embellished through gilding (application of layers of gold leaf) and/or inlays, although no trace of these treatments remains. Gilding, a widespread technique in ancient Egypt, usually did not alter the surface onto which it was applied (see e.g. the partly gilded surface of the small statue depicting Ramesses II as a child from the cachette, Cairo JE 37977; fig. 6.11). Inlays, by contrast, left easily recognizable hollow spaces where faience or other hard stones were originally inserted, usually on details of the face and attributes. Some of the formal graffiti in Karnak were certainly inlaid, such as the eyes of the goddess Hathor-Isis mentioned above (al-Taher 2017: 24, fig. 1). The drill holes below the feet of the present image indicate that, at some point, it received special treatment.

Some selected graffiti of gods, as well as some primary reliefs of them, were similarly pierced, but the function and date of the holes remain obscure. Various hypotheses have been advanced:

1) the holes may have resulted from plating, that is, they kept in place metal sheets with which the images would have been 'enriched' (Borchardt 1933; Traunecker 1991a: 88);

2) they could have sustained small altars where offerings could be deposited (Traunecker 1991a: 88; Ragazzoli and Frood 2013: 33);

3) they may have supported wooden frames, perhaps naos-shaped (Brand 2007: 61–2), that could have been used occasionally to screen the images, either by means of canopies or wooden shutters (Traunecker 1991a: 88–9; Dils 1995; Brand 2004; 2007);

4) they may have related to decoration made of textiles and nets of beads, as suggested by Jean Jacquet's (1975: 115–16; 1994: 59, pl. 33) discovery in the area of the treasury of Tuthmose I in Karnak North of some faience beads and traces of textile closely associated with a pierced divine image of Amenhotep I (see also Frood in press).

Apart from the last hypothesis, which seems plausible although supported only by one small piece of evidence, all the others are problematic to some extent. For the present image, I am inclined to reject the first option altogether. Had images of gods been plated, the holes would probably be more numerous and smaller and would roughly follow the image's outline, as in the example provided by the two negative silhouettes of Ramesses III on the north side of the jambs of the doorway leading to the hypostyle hall (PM II^2, 30 (78 a–b).

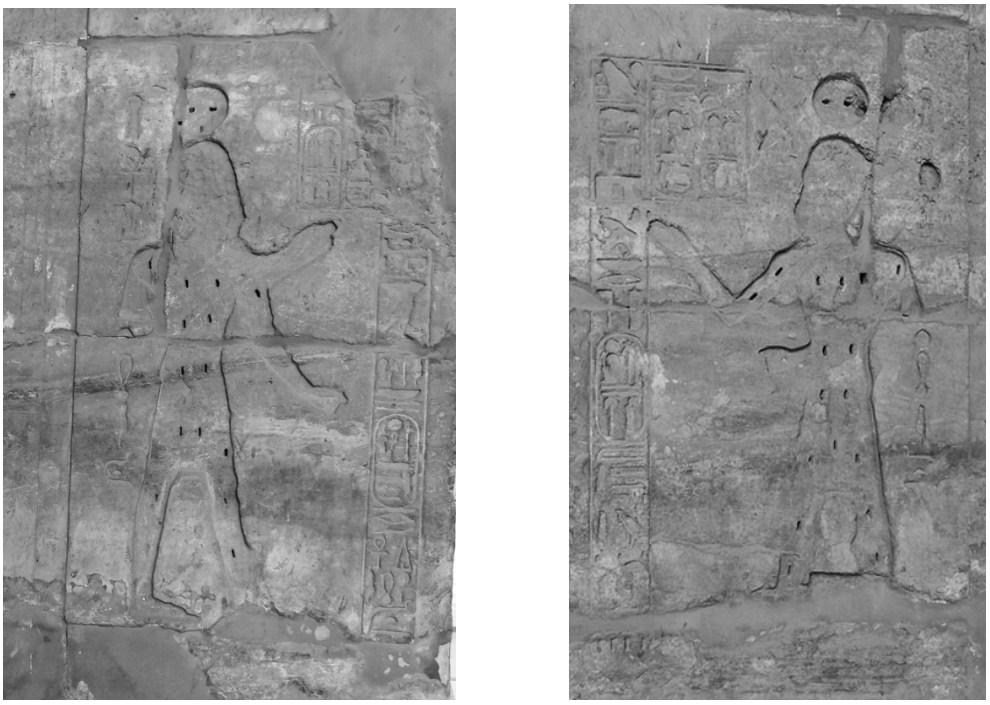


Fig. 6.5 Example of inlaid figures from the temple of Ramesses III at Karnak. The figure to the left has both hands clutched in a fist, while that to the right has only one closed hand. Photos ©CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

They bear regular peg holes evenly distributed throughout the inner part of the figure to hold in place a modelled image of the king made of a different material, possibly metal, faience, or gesso. Given the closed position of the hands, the applied royal figures might have held a three-dimensional staff, of which there is no trace in the wall decoration (Fig. 6.5).

Traunecker's idea that the large holes served to support a small altar fits much better with their dimensions and, in some instances, their concentration and alignment below the figures' feet, as below the graffito of the god in CR7. But most times piercings also appear at the top of the figure, which would rather support the idea of wooden frames. This hypothesis is the only one that accounts for the majority of the large holes around images, even though their often uneven distribution remains problematic since parts of the proposed framed images would have been outside the frame (see Brand 2007: 62).

As mentioned, wooden frames or structures around these figures are often understood as a way to screen and reveal them according to the circumstances (Dils 1995; Brand 2004; Traunecker 1991a: 88; Brand 2007; contra Frood 2013: 290). This suggestion well accords with the widely accepted interpretation of graffiti of gods (with and without holes) and pierced primary reliefs of gods as votive scenes of 'popular religion', a term that broadly defines the 'beliefs and customs of the general Egyptian population of any social class […] (that) existed both independently of state-sponsored temple religion and in symbiosis with it, as well as being promoted by its institutions' (Waraksa and Baines 2015). In the case of Karnak, scholars believe that these graffiti were created by the temple institution for the worshipping population (Traunecker 1979; 1991a: 91–2; Cabrol 2001: 720; Brand 2004: 257; contra Frood 2013; al-Taher 2017). According to this interpretation, the striding god with two holes in CR7 was the object of a cult and was addressed by worshippers, including people not employed by the temple institution, who could presumably access this courtyard during the festivals that were staged along the southern processional way. It is also assumed that on those occasions the god was probably veiled. In this perspective the graffito appears almost as a sort of substitute image for the concealed processional statue of the god, the former possibly being more approachable and receptive to personal requests than the latter. While this idea is perhaps appealing, it is far from certain that CR7 could have been accessed by people other than the clergy and temple staff at any time of the year (see 2.6.3 and infra).

6.1.1 Temple accessibility reassessed

One of the main arguments in support of a popular devotion of these pierced images is that they are mostly located on exterior walls and open courtyards, while they are extremely rare in roofed

areas, generally considered more sacred and less accessible (e.g. Baines 1976: 10). In the Amun temple at Karnak graffiti of isolated deities (with and without holes) and pierced primary divine images, all presumably foci of popular religion, are distributed across the first courtyard, the exterior walls of the barque shrine of Ramesses III, the hypostyle hall, the girdle wall enclosing the Akh-menu (mostly on the exterior), and the southern processional way (mostly inside the courtyards), and the exterior walls of the temple of Ptah. The common understanding of these areas as widely accessible derives, and is reinforced by, circular reasoning: the pierced images were screened so that the wider population could not see them, hence the areas with pierced images could be accessed by the wider population. Beside the fact that the function and date of the holes remains problematic — they might have been made long after the creation of the images — they do not prove that the wider population could approach these divine figures; accessibility of those areas needs to be reassessed.

Scholars have used various sources in support of the idea that people who were neither temple staff nor members of the elite were occasionally allowed into certain parts of large state temple complexes, which were probably more restricted than small provincial temples. Here I summarise the main spheres of argumentation:

1) *The presence of graffiti inside active temples, like those in Karnak.* Arguments drawn from these graffiti tend to be based on subjective, aesthetic judgements. The vast majority of these are pictorial and 'crude', so it is assumed that they were left by illiterate people accessing the temple during religious festivals (Traunecker 1991a; Dils 1995; Cabrol 2001: 720–31; Brand 2004; 2007). However, it is usually overlooked that most graffiti show a certain level of visual literacy, a skill that required training. In addition, had graffiti been left by poorly educated people occasionally visiting the temple, they would presumably be concentrated on more accessible areas, such as the southern façade of the tenth pylon, which was exterior to the temple precinct and was the main gateway from which the sacred barques left the Amun temple of Karnak during the feast of Opet. But, as shown in my overview of the distribution of Karnak graffiti (chapter 3), this is not the case. As I try to demonstrate through the present work, and as argued by others before (e.g. Jacquet-Gordon 2003; Frood 2010; 2013), graffiti, even the crude ones, were an epigraphic practice related to people employed by the temple institution, including the lower echelons.

2) *The occurrence of grooves, or 'pilgrim gouges', on temple walls, which were caused by deliberate abrasions of the surface with some sharp tool so as to extract a powder considered to be sacred* (Daumas 1969: 71–2; Traunecker 1987). If attesting to the devotion of people, grooves are difficult to assess because they are always anonymous and extremely difficult to date, being a practice that is attested over millennia and in very different contexts (e.g. mosques and other non-pharaonic

structures). The activity of scraping a temple's surface is attested early in Egypt. In Karnak it goes back to at least the 19th dynasty, as is evident from the New Kingdom graffito at the top of the stairwell of PY8 incised on top of a groove (*Cahier* V, 56–7), as well as the dozens of grooves left on the columns of the eastern temple of Ramesses II, which were scratched before the columns were inscribed later in the reign of the same king (Gallet 2013: 5). Rubbings on pharaonic structures continued well into medieval and modern times, having been an active practice until at least the 20th century (Beaugé 1923: 22).

The only systematic study of temple gouges for Egypt is the survey of examples in Karnak by Traunecker (1987: 224), who observes that they are concentrated on the western dromos, the first courtyard, some exterior walls, and the southern processional way, except for CR7, which strikingly bears very few of them in its interior. The hypostyle hall and other roofed areas of the Amun temple have virtually none. This would suggest that most of the grooves were made when the temple was active and outer areas were perceived as more accessible and appropriate places from which to extract the powder. At the same time one needs to be very cautious not to draw hasty conclusions, since it is very difficult to know who made the grooves. They cannot be used alone to argue for the accessibility of a functioning temple for ordinary people; rather, each cluster needs to be studied in its specific context, taking into account the gouges' shape, size, position, and possible interplay with primary and secondary decoration.

3) *Lapwing birds featuring among temples' decorative motifs, often in open courtyards*. These birds correspond to the hieroglyphic sign Gardiner G23, ***rḫyt***, often translated as 'common folk' (*Wb* 2, 447.9–448.2). This emblem is often found on dados of temple columns as part of rebuses composing the sentence 'adoration by all the commoners', ***dwꜣ rḫyt nbt***. For this reason some scholars understand them as markers of the presence of commoners (e.g. Bell 1998: 164, 170; Wilkinson 2000: 99; Phillips and Janssen 2002: 268). But as Kenneth Griffin (2006; 2007) convincingly argues, depictions of *rekhyt* birds appear more frequently in inner areas that were certainly not accessible to the non-initiated, such as the vestibule of Hatshepsut's red chapel, which was originally the naos, i.e. the most sacred area of the whole Amun temple complex (Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 266). These images seem to have had a symbolic function, and Griffin (2006: 48–9) more plausibly suggests reading them as markers of a 'metaphysical presence', which was functional for the assertion of royal power (and perhaps benevolence?) towards humanity as a whole (see also Waraksa and Baines 2015).

4) *The display of secular texts and scenes concerning battles, 'historical' accounts, and royal decrees, as opposed to strictly religious texts and scenes of rituals and mythical episodes*. See discussion in 2.6.3.

5) *The presence of gods who hear petitions as well as places of hearing.* Gods bearing the epithet

'who hears prayers' (*sḏm nḥwt*) are commonly understood to be widely approachable by 'ordinary' people (e.g. Nims 1971; Guglielmi 1994). In the eastern sector at Karnak, a small temple oriented to the east (exterior), which was erected (or restored) by the high priest Bakenkhonsu between the years 40 and 46 of Ramesses II (see Bakenkhonsu's statue, Munich Gl. WAF.38, *KRI* III: 298.12; Frood 2007: 39–42), hosts the cult of Amun-Re 'who hears prayers' as well as a divinized form of Ramesses II with the same epithet (Gallet 2013: 7). The whole eastern sector, which also included the contra-temple of Tuthmose III and the unique obelisk, now in Rome, was referred to as 'the exact place of the hearing ear' (Nims 1971: 109, n. 20). The combination of epithets and the proximity of these structures to the outer enclosure wall have led scholars to think that this area was a cultic place accessible to non-temple personnel (Nims 1956; 1971: 110; Laboury 1998: 199–205; Blyth 2006: 159–60; Brand 2007: 59; Klotz 2008: 65). This interpretation, however, overlooks evidence from the temple itself, which has not produced any of the types of object commonly associated with accessible cultic places, such as ear stelae or ostraca inscribed with prayers (Gallet 2013: 10). Gallet's thoroughgoing study of this area, particularly of the temple of Amun-Re who hears prayers, rather suggests that the eastern sector functioned as a place where divine justice was administered and that it was connected with the processional barque. Ramesses II's temple was probably restricted to temple personnel, while 'ordinary' people would have stayed outside the temple precinct (Gallet 2013: 9–10).

6) *The presence of contra-temples*. The previous point is tightly linked with the wider presence of contra-temples, or *chapelles adossées*, which Dieter Arnold (2003: 5) defines as 'cult structure[s] built on the outside of a temple and attached to the rear wall, which enabled the deity in the sanctuary to be addressed by people standing outside the temple'. This definition is appropriately neutral, because it does not specify the nature of the people who accessed contra-temples but simply acknowledges that they were outside the main temple. Many scholars, such as Nims (1956; 1971), Guglielmi (1994: 56), Brand (2007: 60–1), and Klotz (2008: 65), are persuaded that these structures were widely accessible to non-temple staff, on the basis of their orientation, opposite that of the main temple, and the definition of one of them (the contra-temple of Tuthmose III mentioned above) as 'exact place of the hearing ear'. Richard Fazzini (2010: 101) more cautiously suggests, when discussing the contra-temple of the Mut sanctuary at Karnak South, that these chapels may have served various purposes. The meticulous study of the contra-temple of the Khonsu temple at Karnak by Laroche and Traunecker (1980: 193–94) concluded that this appended structure was strongly linked, through its decoration, with the main Khonsu temple and its liturgical functions. They convincingly argue that it was not an annex destined for popular cults, but rather an integral part of the main sanctuary, which was functional for rituals that

required the cult statue to process around the temple and perhaps rest in the rear shrine. Evidence for contra-temples with restricted access is provided by the probably Roman period temple of Dush in the oasis of Kharga (Sauneron et al. 1978). Here, the structure, abutting the entire surface of the back wall of the main temple, was accessed through a side entrance to the west and was connected to a narrow corridor running along the east side of the temple that led to the temple's vestibule (Sauneron et al. 1978: 7, figs 2–3, pl. 2).

7) *Direct textual references to the presence of the rekhyt-people in certain areas of temples*. Apart from the 18th dynasty non-royal statues discovered on the inner side of the east jamb of the tenth pylon bearing appeals to the living addressing an unusually wide audience (see Appendix B), the most convincing evidence for the presence of non-temple staff in sacred buildings is provided by inscriptions that make explicit mention of them. A search for ***rḫyt*** in the Karnak SITH database finds the word attested 98 times throughout the Amun complex, mostly as part of the ***dw3 rḫyt nbt*** rebus on the columns of the hypostyle hall (see above) or in royal narrative texts. An example is Merenptah's stela describing defeat of the Libyans in year five inscribed on the east interior wall of CR7, on which the relevant passage reads: 'he (Merenptah) has arisen as king to protect the *rekhyt* people' ***ʿḥʿ-n=f m nswt r mkt rḫyt*** (KIU 4246, l. 10). *Rekhyt* are also attested in religious texts, such as the 'Hymn of the baboons to Re at his rising' inscribed in the subterranean chamber of Re of the edifice of Taharqa by the sacred lake (room III, PM II^2: 219; east wall, first register): 'this great god (Re) (repeatedly) appears/shines in the eyes of the *rekhyt*-people' ***ḫʿʿ nṯr pn ʿ3 m irty rḫyt*** (Parker, Leclant, and Goyon 1979: 46–7, pl. 21; Cooney 2000: 26–7, fig. 8; KIU 6521, l. 6). None of these texts imply the physical presence of the *rekhyt* people inside the temple.

Only two texts, both in the hypostyle hall, seem to suggest otherwise. One is inscribed on an architrave to the east of the north passageway (Rondot 1997: no. 67) and dates to Ramesses II: 'He made as a monument for his father, Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost in Karnak; making for him a sublime temple of perfect white sandstone, a place where *rekhyt*-people praise the great name of his majesty', ***ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f ʾImn-rʿ nb nswt t3wy ḫnty ʾIpt-swt irt n.f ḥwt-nṯr šps m inr ḥḏ nfr n rwḏt st sw3š n rḫyt ḥr rn wr ḥm.f*** (Kitchen 1996: 362). According to Nims (1965: 93) and other scolars (e.g. Teeter 1997: 4; Kitchen 1999: §728; Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004: 112), this implies that, at least under Ramesses II, *rekhyt*-people were admitted in the Karnak hypostyle hall, perhaps through the northern door, as suggested by the location of the inscription. They find further support of this hypothesis in a text on the third pylon, also dated to Ramesses II, which reads: 'when he (the king) appears in it to the *rekhyt*-people […] in his festivals […] (Kitchen 1996: 379). However, these texts may as well be

interpreted as evoking the metaphysical presence of humanity worshipping the king in an idealised representation of the world, which the hypostyle hall materialised.

Two Graeco-Roman period inscriptions in the Opet temple, which is located south-west of the Amun precinct, might suggest a different, much later, contact zone between the king and the *rekhyt*. The first, dated to Ptolemy VIII, belongs to an offering scene of the *beb* collar to the goddess Opet-the-great in the so-called Linen room, which is one of the smallest and innermost chambers of the temple (PM II^2: 247 (18), pl. xxii-1 (v)): 'the *rekhyt*-people rejoice at seeing you (Ptolemy VIII)'. The other, dated to the emperor Augustus, is part of a scene of offering sistra to Amunet inscribed on the south exterior wall of the temple: 'I (Amunet) give to you (Augustus) the *pat*-people, the *rekhyt*-people rejoice at seeing you, they being jubilant in worshipping you' *di=i n=k pˁt ḥˁ=ti n mȝȝ=k rḫyt ḥknw n dwȝ=k* (KIU 4231, l. 14). While the first text was hardly accessible to non-initiated people due to its interior location, the other could in theory have been more visible. However, the fact that in both the word *rekhyt* appears as part of the 'return gift' (*Gegengabe*) of the gods to the king suggests, once again, that they more likely refer to an ideal situation, not to actual contact that would take place in that area.

If this area was occasionally accessible, the area west of it, which is where Sety II and Ramesses III had their barque shrines built, and that directly faced the Nile, might have been accessible too, at least until the 30th Dynasty when the first pylon was built. I cautiously suggest that, if not earlier, at least by the 22nd Dynasty, when a double colonnade enclosed this space to the north and south, this area became the new gathering place instead of the hypostyle hall, which was then no longer as widely accessible. Although speculative, this would account for the first millennium architectural expansions and transformations of the Amun temple, which were not purely formal but certainly implied deeper changes. Something similar has been postulated by Bell (1998: 172) for the Luxor temple's forecourts, where the one erected under Ramesses II, which he considers accessible to *rekhyt*-people, is thought to have replaced the gathering space in the solar court of Amenhotep III.

The imposing dimension of these temples' forecourts might suggest a massive participation of the population in religious celebrations and other events, but Baines (2006: 279) warns against assumptions based on architectural scale. To paraphrase Quirke (2015: 97), festivals were not necessarily like carnival, and those who were allowed in were probably still a very selected group. This is at least what is suggested by a 12th dynasty papyrus from the town site of Lahun, listing the presence and absence of dancers and singers performing at festivals throughout a year. This text shows that the New Year celebration, one of the largest annual festivals,

included only two singers and was probably restricted to just a few people (Collier and Quirke 2004: 101–04).

The understanding of *rekhyt* as 'common folk' should also be revised, given that it mostly derives from its juxtaposition with *pʿt*, a word that is commonly translated as 'elite people' (*Wb* 1, 503.2–11). Based on the examination of over 2000 inscriptions, Griffin (2018)[22] argues that textual sources do not indicate that the *rḫyt*-people were considered socially inferior to the *pʿt* people and, as Quack (forthcoming) suggests, *rḫyt* possibly defined a fictitious social category, at least in pharaonic times. Similar conclusions concerning the *pʿt*-people are reached by Bell (1998: 164) who, following a suggestion by Hornung, proposes that the word more likely defines 'a mythological component of the population' rather than an actual social group. Thus, in most cases the mention of these two groups in inscriptions, or their representation on monuments, such as the barque shrine of Hatshepsut-Tuthmose III, later modified under Ramesses II, in the first courtyard of the Luxor temple (Bell 1998: 164, 166, fig. 69), might have been a trope that included all the people who (already) had access to certain temple areas (Frood, pers. comm. 2018), similarly to the all-inclusive formula 'o living ones upon earth', *ʿnḫ.w tp tȝ*, a stereotypical formulation of appeals to the living that is attested throughout many periods and across many contexts, including on temple statues, which does not imply that 'all living people' were allowed into those spaces.

Griffin (2018: 18) convincingly proposes to translate *rḫyt* as 'laity' and suggests that they functioned as supporters and worshippers of the king, who in turn worshipped the gods in a 'reciprocal arrangement that guarantees maat'. This suggestion seems particularly relevant if one considers that similar groups of supporters are still hired today to follow polititians and publicly cheer for them.

In the light of the above considerations, it seems plausible that in the temple of Karnak a selected (and probably small) group of people not belonging to the priesthood occasionally participated in some religious celebrations that were held, at least at the time of Ramesses II, in the hypostyle hall. With time, the presumed accessibility of the hypostyle hall might have shifted to the forecourt west of it. Nothing is known of the possible selection criteria of these 'representatives of the laity', but one may speculate that they might have been recruited from the temple workers (e.g. people employed in the workshops, on the temple's estates, cleaners, etc.) and/or their family members. In addition, the appeals to the living on the two non-royal statues next to the tenth pylon (see Appendix B) suggest that, around the same time, CR10 might have

[22] I am indebted to Ken Griffin for making available to me sections of his 2018 book before it was published. As of now I have not been able to check the published version.

been partly accessible by a more varied group of people, not necessarily to be identified with the *rekhyt*.

6.1.2 Grooves on divine images: possible evidence of a wider accessibility?

Of all the sources examined above, only the textual ones support the hypothesis that in Karnak the court of the tenth pylon, the hypostyle hall, and presumably the western forecourt might have been at times more accessible to people who were not temple staff. This idea may perhaps be corroborated by the presence of grooves scratched directly onto some selected divine figures. This practice is rarely attested in Karnak, where the vast majority of divine and royal images have been spared from its effects. Traunecker (1987: 228) understands this as a sign that the grooves were made in very late periods, when the temple was no longer active and rules of decorum had changed. But if this were the case, defacements of gods' images by grooves should be far more frequent. Very few instances are known to me. Some gouges are attested on a standing Amun incised on the rear wall of the shrine of Sety II. The figure belongs to the primary scene and does not present any piercing. Its face has been largely removed by two wide shallow gouges; its facial features are no longer visible. Many grooves have been scratched along the undecorated dado, but none of the other deities or royal figures on this wall is affected, suggesting that the figure was deliberately selected and targeted. The hidden and protected nature of the image might be part of the reason. This wall is only visible, today as in the past, if one leaves the temple's central axis and walks around the back of the shrine, in a narrow space between the rear wall of the building and the northern Bubastid colonnade. People here might have eluded surveillance while touching the god.

Another example of grooves scratched onto a god's face is the pierced graffito of an enthroned Amun added to the external façade of the barque shrine of Ramesses III, the head and the base of the headgear of which bear three deep vertical grooves (Frood 2013: 307, fig. 13.10). More grooves on deities can be observed along the first register of the east exterior wall of the same structure. Here several primary divine images were pierced and further modified through the addition of some graffiti (Frood 2013: 293–94, 307, fig. 13.9). However, only a few selected figures of gods have been affected by grooves: an ithyphallic Amun whose plumes, at a considerable height and probably only accessible by stepping on a tall object, bear shallow gouges (KIU 4548); the Theban triad, represented enthroned at the south end of this wall, are covered in deep round depressions on the lower part of their bodies and thrones (KIU 4561; fig. 6.6). Notably, a scene of Ramesses III offering to Amun-Re-Atum at the centre of the same wall has attracted many grooves, but none of them directly affects the god (KIU 4550). Only the figure of

Ptah, on the scene immediately to the north, presents one thin and shallow groove on its lower legs (KIU 4551). More such depressions can be found on the rear (south) exterior wall of the shrine, where more piercings are visible, but here all the gods have been deliberately avoided. The west side of the shrine, which is decorated with military scenes and large representations of the sacred barques during the Opet festival, does not present any piercings, grooves, or graffiti (The Epigraphic Survey 1936: pls 81–83, 94, 79–125), suggesting that access to this space was perhaps more restricted, or perhaps this area was less valued than those closer to the main ritual actions.[23]

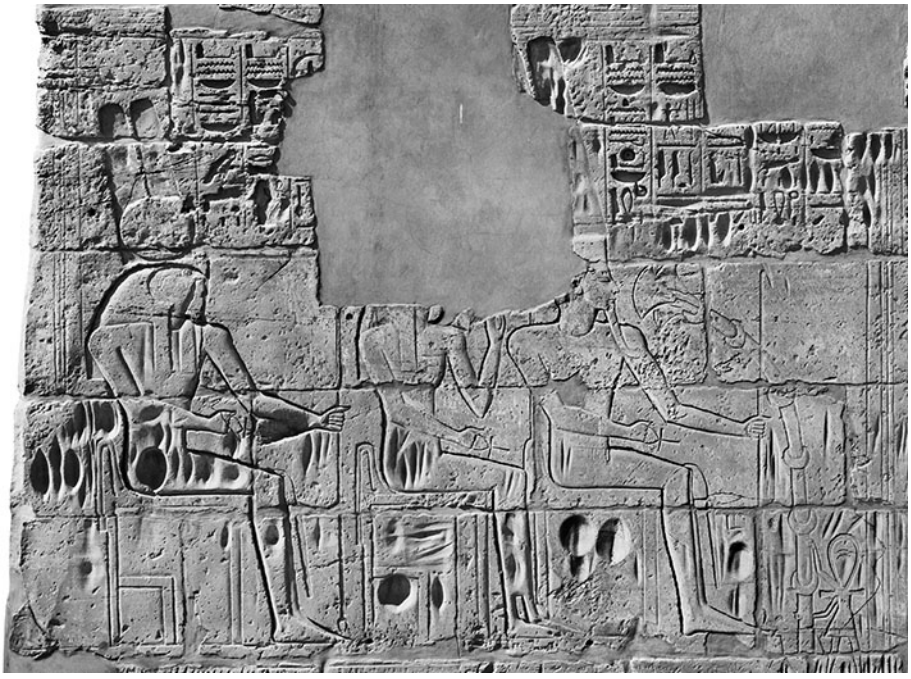


Fig. 6.6 Theban triad with deep grooves. East exterior wall of the temple of Ramesses III. From The Epigraphic Survey 1936.

The area east of the barque shrine of Ramesses III, namely the south exterior wall of the hypostyle hall and the west exterior wall of CR7, presents one of the highest concentrations of grooves of the entire Amun complex. These are scratched all over the primary scenes, yet none of them targets any divine figure, only royal ones. The interpretation of this is problematic, as it is unsure whether the grooves are contemporary with those on the barque shrine of Ramesses III. Further analysis is required, but is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Grooves in high concentrations are also visible along the north exterior wall of the first forecourt, which is undecorated, and the north exterior wall of the hypostyle hall. Here they have been left along the undecorated dado and the first register, where they often affect the primary decoration, including royal figures. However, to the west and the east of the door leading to the hall — the same one with the inscription mentioning the *rekhyt*-people discussed above — only

[23] I would like to express my gratitude to John Baines for this valuable suggestion.

two scenes include divine images with grooves. West of the door is a pierced representation of a shrine with an enthroned Amun followed by three standing gods (Mut in the shape of a lioness, Khonsu, and Maat): Amun's throne bears most of the grooves, but the lower legs of the standing gods have also been partly targeted. East of the door, another enthroned Amun bears a few traces of isolated rubbings at the base of its throne, whereas its plumes, carved a few metres above, bear a concentration of very deep grooves (Traunecker 1991a: 94, fig. 1). Such deep gouges are also found on the king's head (Ramesses II) in the same scene and on that immediately west of it, where the king is represented about to smash the heads of enemies. The considerable height, which I estimate as more than 3 m from the ground, may suggest a late date for these grooves. Evidence of rubbing on divine figures is lacking inside the hypostyle hall, which reinforces the hypothesis that access to it was highly restricted.

The only two other instances known to me where images of gods were targeted by grooves are both in CR10; both are graffiti of isolated Amun figures.[24] One is a pierced striding Amun and it is the lowest of four large isolated deities carved on the ninth pylon (east massif, south face; Traunecker 1991a: 96–7, figs. 3–4). Its feet, which would have probably been the only accessible part for someone standing facing the wall (ca. 2 m from the ground), are covered in gouges. The other is a standing Amun incised on the north (inner) face of the west jamb of the tenth pylon, opposite the private statues appealing to a wide audience. This figure has been heavily worn by repetitive rubbing, to the extent that only its face and feet are now visible.

As mentioned above, the grooves are very hard to date. Whoever made them was able to distinguish gods from other figures, and they perceived inner areas as more restricted. This may imply that the actions range between the New Kingdom, which is when these walls received their decoration, and the closure of the temple, during the Late Roman period. Within this wide chronological span their height, which in most cases but one (exterior wall of the hypostyle hall) could be reached by someone standing on the original floor or stepping on a low object, seems to suggest a date closer to the New Kingdom than Roman times.

All of these examples are restricted to the area of the western forecourt (inside and outside), the northern exterior wall of the hypostyle hall, and CR10, all spaces that were presumably accessible on certain occasions. This pattern cannot be a matter of chance. The presence of rubbed deities seems somehow linked with the wider accessibility of these spaces. Although one cannot conclude from this that the gouges were made by the people who could occasionally access these areas, these examples attest to a different behaviour around divine

[24] The hypothesis presented in this section derives mostly from personal observations on site. A thorough review of the data collected is needed in order to confirm or disprove it.

images, both primary and secondary, in places that were contact zones, if not between the temple and the exterior world, at least among a more varied population within the temple.

6.1.3 Graffiti of isolated gods: internal loci of devotion?

In light of these discussions, CR7 and CR8 seem to have been much more restricted courtyards probably frequented by members affiliated to the temple institution, as well as possibly some elite people who could afford to dedicate private statues and stelae in the temple, even though the original location of these objects is unsure. An assessment of accessibility of CR9 is complicated by the poor condition of its side walls. The only isolated god there, presumably a secondary image of an ithyphallic Amun, is carved on the exterior east wall, but it does not bear any groove or hole. It seems more linked to internal movements of temple personnel, as it is close to the area where dozens of other priestly graffiti were inscribed on the exterior of the edifice of Amenhotep II. CR8 is also damaged, lacking its west wall, but it includes three images of isolated gods: a large frontal baboon and the divinized Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I are incised on the east thickness of the west gate (see plate 2), while a cruder and possibly much later ram's head is carved on the seventh pylon (south face of the west massif; see plate 3). None of these figures shows grooves or any evidence that they were engaged with by many people. As for the graffito of the god on the east wall in CR7, it is impossible to establish if the image bore grooves because it is in a ruinous state. But the scarcity of grooves elsewhere in the courtyard suggests that it would not have had them. If most of these graffiti and enriched primary divine figures were not accessible to 'ordinary' people, what was their function?

Frood (2013: 290) convincingly reads treatment of these images as an internally focused practice relating to temple personnel. The images probably marked 'internally oriented, secondary places of piety, veneration, and ritual action by these people', and in so doing, they also 'marked and "ritualized" the movements of priests and temple staff'. The audience that could see and perhaps approach these images on a daily basis may have included lower ranks of priests and members of the temple's administration and workshops, who probably did not have access to the innermost areas of the temple. Those areas were likely considered inappropriate to host secondary votive places. In this framework there would have been no need to conceal the divine images from profane eyes. On the contrary, the images might have been deliberately emphasized so as to draw people's attention towards them. I suggest that the lower holes, which are usually more neatly arranged, may have supported some sort of small altar, as proposed by Traunecker (see above), while the upper ones, usually more scattered, might have held some light (and temporary?) structures, such as decorated textile covers made of drapes (and beads) resting on

projecting beams, thus validating Jacquet's find (see above). These additions remain extremely hard to date, but like grooves, their almost total absence in the central east-west area of Karnak allow this practice to be dated to times when the temple was still active and central roofed spaces were less accessible than the southern approach.

The graffito of a god on the east wall of CR7 might have had a small altar at its base, which would have been approximately 50 cm above the original floor level. It was probably part of this internally focused votive practice, but its date remains quite difficult to assess. Since the graffito is inserted at the bottom right corner of the large scene of Ramesses IV (Fig. 6.3), and it does not overlap with the first register or the row of cartouches added on the dado, I propose that it is either contemporary with the scene or predates it. The latter hypothesis seems more likely. As mentioned above, had the row of cartouches of Ramesses IV been designed together with the graffito, the two would have probably had similar proportions. It is tempting to think that the royal names were interrupted here to spare the already extant image of the god, and perhaps to place the names under its protection. The ongoing project of the CFEETK to reconstruct this wall will probably shed more light in this regard.

6.2 Another secondary votive locus in CR7? Challenging definitions of graffiti

The graffito of the god discussed above is not the only peculiar element of the east wall in CR7. The earliest attested decorative stage of this structure includes scenes of Merenptah to the south of this wall and possibly the north end as well (see section 2.3, fig. 6.2). Those to the north, carved about two metres south of the east doorway leading to the sacred lake (which was created only after Ramesses IX), consists of a group of three scenes (fig. 6.7): a larger and formal one at the top, and two smaller and cruder ones symmetrically arranged below it.

While these scenes clearly function together as a group, the larger one at the top is formal and well executed in comparison with the two scenes at the bottom, that are coarsely made and oddly positioned on the wall surface. All three feature elaborate royal elements appropriate to primary decoration, yet they do not fit entirely into the repertoire of normative temple reliefs.

6.2.1. The criosphinx scene (catalogue EW-B1.a)

The large, uppermost scene depicts a ram-headed sphinx with a royal figure between the paws. It is carved in sunk-relief, measures 193 x 196 cm, and is preserved in good condition. It is framed at the top by a *pet*-sign and on the sides and base by a pair of parallel lines. The enclosed images and texts are oriented right to left. The top left corner of the composition features a falcon identified by the caption as 'the one from Behedet' grasping a *shen* ring, under which is an *ankh*

sign flanked by two *was* sceptres on a *neb* sign. At the centre, occupying two thirds of the scene, is a recumbent ram-headed sphinx, representing Amun-Re, on a plinth shown in profile. It is crowned with a sun disc and a uraeus which has a solar disc on cow horns. The bottom left corner of the block, corresponding to the middle part of the ram's head, is damaged, but the main features of the head – the muzzle, eye, nostril, ear, and horn curving outward – are intact. The leonine body is slightly oversized compared to the head; its tail is curled up over its right haunch. Between the front paws of the sphinx is a king, whose identity is uncertain since his cartouches have been partially hacked out.

Fig. 6.7 Three elaborate (secondary?) scenes on the north end of the east wall in CR7. ©CNRS-CFEETK/C. Salvador.

The king is depicted with a short wig featuring a side-lock of youth adorned with a hair-ring, and he wears a headband ending with a uraeus on his forehead. His left hand is held to his chest and grasps a *heqa* sceptre, while his right hand is lowered and grasps the cylindrical object held by eminent people since the 5th dynasty (Farout 2009: 10, 15). Bracelets are depicted on both his wrists. He wears a short kilt and a belt. His lower legs are hidden by the sphinx's right paw but he is almost certainly represented as kneeling rather than seated, as is suggested by parallel scenes and statues in Karnak. Examples include the pyramidion of Hatshepsut's southern obelisk (PM II^2: 82 F (a); Schwaller de Lubicz 1999: pl. 119), the fragmentary statue of Amenhotep III found in the nearby temple of Montu (PM II^2: 9; Varille 1943: pl. 15), the scene of Ramesses II before Amun-Re carved in the hypostyle hall (Nelson and Murnane 1981: pl. 49), and the fragmentary statue of Ramesses II (CGC 42141) from the cachette (Fig. 6.8). In all of these scenes, however, Amun is represented in his anthropomorphic form.

Fig. 6.8 Fragmentary statue of Amun and Ramesses II (CG 42141) discovered in the Karnak cachette. http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck288

The top of the plinth on which the sphinx rests is uncarved at its left end, as it merges with the lion's hindquarters. The base is decorated with horizontal lines that plausibly depict a cavetto cornice on a torus moulding. The bottom part is patterned with alternating *ankh* and *was* signs on *neb* baskets. This frieze, which may appear symmetrical, is in fact oriented right to left, or at least was carved starting from its right end. The standard sign arrangement, as shown in the group

held by the falcon at the top left corner, opens the sequence at the right end. It is repeated only twice in the frieze, which ends to the left with two *was* sceptres facing away from each other, an anomaly probably due to restrictions of space. Unlike the relatively fine proportions of the whole scene, the *neb* signs at the bottom appear roughly executed, particularly in the middle of the frieze, where three of them have shapes and dimensions that vary considerably from one another (Fig. 6.9). The two parallel lines that depart from each side of the scene to form the bottom frame are absent directly below the three irregular *neb* signs.

Fig. 6.9 Detail of the bottom frieze of the criosphinx scene. © CNRS-CFEETK/C.Salvador.

This could indicate that in that area the scene was partially erased and the *neb* signs re-carved later; however, the fact that the area just below the missing lines and irregular signs was left undecorated suggests that the centre of the frieze and the bottom frame were probably never completed, perhaps to leave space for some object that was laid against the wall. If so, the central *neb* signs may have been added at a later time, perhaps when the object was eventually removed, which would account for their different style of execution.

Behind the sphinx is a column of text with a protection formula; in front of it is a *nemset*-vessel with small spout and lid on a high stand and a lotus flower. These offerings are the only two elements oriented from left to right, facing the sphinx.

The texts

Before the king:

1) *nswt bjty nb tꜣwy [bꜣ-n-rˁ mry-imn]*	King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Baenre Meriamun]
2) *sꜣ rˁ nb ḫˁw [mry-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-mꜣˁt]*	son of Re, lord of appearances, [Merenptah, Satisfied with Maat],
3) *mry imn-rˁ*	beloved of Amun-Re
4) *dj ˁnḫ mj rˁ*	given life like Re,

Before the falcon:

1) *bḥdty nṯr ˁꜣ*	Behedite, great god,
2) *nb pt*	lord of the sky

Below the falcon:
[*dj*]*=f ʿnḫ ḏd wȝs mj rʿ* [May] he [give] life, stability, and power like Re

Behind the criosphinx:
sȝ ʿnḫ ḏd wȝs ḥȝ=f nb All protection, life, stability and power is around him.

Textually, the royal titulary is dominant, with the two cartouches occupying a significant proportion of the scene, directly opposite the ram's and king's eyes. The falcon god is the only other element that is explicitly named in the composition, whereas the large and central criosphinx is only indirectly referred to as Amun-Re in the king's caption.

Iconographic analysis

The composition is striking as it is not part of a wider sequence of scenes, contrary to how decoration on temple walls is usually arranged. It stands alone on an undecorated space of approximately about 1,80 m to the right and 60 cm to the left. To the north (left) of this space, cut by the later addition of a side door leading to the area of the sacred lake, is a scene of Ramesses IX, below which is a marginal inscription in the name of the same king (Amer 1999: 13–14, 29–30, 38). To its south (right) is a scene carved for Ramesses IV that was reinscribed for Ramesses VI (Le Saout 1982: 234–37, pl. 6; Dembitz 2017: 172–78; fig. 6.3). On the blank space between the criosphinx scene and the one of Ramesses IV, carved on the same register as the gods in the scene of Ramesses IV, is the lower half of an unidentified king facing south (KIU 6907). Its orientation and height on the wall associate it with the adjacent scene of Ramesses IV rather than the criosphinx scene, but its apparent isolation and smaller proportions in comparison with the gods in the scene of Ramesses IV suggest that it is a later addition.

The parallel lines and the *pet*-sign framing the scene are elements found frequently on stelae and are often used to delimit one scene from the next on temple walls, such as some of the offering scenes in the hypostyle hall (Nelson and Murnane 1981: pls 2–4). Here, however, there is no other scene from which the composition needs to be separated, and this means that it is deliberately presented as a self-contained unit.

The Horus falcon at the top left, along with the emblematic sign group that he grasps under the *shen* ring, introduces the meaning of the scene: Horus, the god of earthly kingship, endows the king with all life and power for eternity (Cauville 2011: 162). Falcons — or more frequently Nekhbet vultures — are traditional elements in the top corners of temple scenes, but they usually hold *shen* rings and no other signs, as in scenes in the hypostyle hall (Nelson and Murnane 1981). The *wȝs-ʿnḫ-nb* group held here is more unusual, but parallels include a battle scene of Merenptah, appropriated by Sety II, on the west exterior wall of CR7, where two

mirrored Nekhbet vultures hold the same emblems over a figure of the king binding enemies (PM II^2, 133 (494 II, 1)), KIU 5996). Within CR7, the *ꜥnḫ-wꜣs-nb* group appears in association with two ritual scenes on the inner west wall, in which the king, probably Merenptah, performs the ritual run with the Apis bull while holding the oar and the *hep* sign before Amun-Re-Kamutef and Amunet, the other when the king offers Maat to Amun. These scenes are part of the series of rituals connected with crowning and the Opet festival that are carved on the west wall; through these the power of the king was rejuvenated and given new strength (see section 2.3).[25] A more elaborate version of the same emblematic group is found on a loose block belonging to the scene of Ramesses IV on the east wall, south of the criosphinx scene (KIU 5318; fig. 6.3). Here, added below the *ꜥnḫ-wꜣs-nb* signs, are the hieroglyphs for the *sed*-festival. The scene is badly damaged. According to the reconstruction by Le Saout (1982: 234–37, pl. vi), at the centre was the king burning incense before an enthroned Amun and another goddess standing behind him. The composition also included a chest and four royal statues of Ramesses IV (behind the king), a Iunmutef figure (above the statues), and another chest and a royal statue holding a ram-headed vase (behind the falcon holding the emblems). These elements have led Gabriella Dembitz (2017: 172, n. 40) to propose that the scene concerned a royal endowment of cultic objects to the temple. All of these scenes make reference to religious festivals (Sed and Opet). The concept of 'all life and power' given to the king, symbolized by the emblems in the criosphinx scene, fits perfectly within the context of a royal jubilee or an Opet festival evoked by the other scenes in CR7.

In the criosphinx scene the same concept is evoked also by the frieze with an *ankh* and *was* motif at the base of the scene, restating once more the composition's focus on royal power. This kind of frieze appears as a decoration on various objects and monuments, such as the Maat portal in the Montu temple at Karnak (Varille 1943: pl. 80) and on the base of the group statue of Amun and Ramesses II (CGC 42141) from the cachette, which is almost a three-dimensional variant of the criosphinx scene (Fig. 6.8).

The focus of the composition is the statue of Amun-Re as a criosphinx on a plinth with a royal figure between its paws. The identity of the king is debated due to the partial erasure of the cartouches. Brand (2009: 38; 2011: 61–2) argues that the scene belonged to Merenptah, and he explains the chisel marks as a failed attempt at usurpation, which started with the removal of the background (Fig. 6.10). This is unlikely, since all the signs except for the ram in the *nswt bjty* name are clearly legible, as if they had been spared from being hacked out. This is hardly due to chance

[25] Note that the same scene of the king (Ramesses II) running with the Hepet and the oar in the hypostyle hall does not have the same group sign (Nelson and Murnane 1981: pl. 54).

in a scene that remained visible for centuries and could have been modified over and over again. An alternative explanation, suggested to me by Sébastien Biston-Moulin (pers. comm.), is that the cartouches originally belonged to Merenptah and were restored by Sety II after having been usurped by Amenmesse. However, to my knowledge, there is no attestation in Karnak of comparable restorations of Merenptah's name. In all the instances in which his name has been recarved by Amenemesse, it was later reinscribed with Sety II's name, as in the battle scenes on the west exterior wall of CR7 (see section 3.1). So, although not impossible, this is the *lectio difficilior*, and I am inclined to reject it.

Fig. 6.10 Detail of the partially erased cartouches in the criosphinx scene. Photo from Brand 2007.

I agree with Barguet (2006 [1962]: 275) and Sourouzian (1989: 149) in arguing that Merenptah appropriated the cartouches of a predecessor, most likely Ramesses II the basis of style (see infra). Most of the surviving cartouches of Ramesses II in Karnak were not usurped or recarved, apart from those that were reinscribed during his own reign with orthographic variants of his name (see e.g. Seele 1940; Murnane 1975; Brand 2007: 52, n. 6, 58, n. 76). However, there are at least two exceptions where Ramesses II's name has been replaced by that of Merenptah (and later Sety II's): one is in the battle scenes on the north end of the west exterior wall of CR7 (KIU 5992–5993); the other is a royal statue possibly of Amenhotep II onto which the name of Ramesses II was added, and later changed into that of Merenptah (Connor 2017: 6, with references). The statue, part of the British Museum collection since 1823 (EA 61), was acquired by Henry Salt in Karnak. Its original location in the temple is unknown. Sourouzian (1989: 153)

considers that it might have been placed in CR7, to the north-east of the seventh pylon, based on the high concentration of Merenptah's activities in this area and the presence, on the south-east of the pylon, of a statue of Amenhotep II in a similar striding pose.

The presence of a double cartouche and the diadem in this scene confirm that the figure is a king, rather than a prince or another young member of the royal family, as with the statue of Khaemwase, son of Ramesses II (CG 42147), and that of a contemporary prince in a group statue found in the cachette (CG 42154). Sourouzian (1989: 149) suggests that the scene in CR7 originally belonged to Ramesses II since he appears as a child on several occasions, unlike Merenptah, who is not so often attested with this iconography. Examples include the colossal granite statue of Ramesses II as a child before a Levantine falcon deity found at Tanis (Cairo JE 64735), a fragmentary statuette from the cachette depicting the king as a naked child on a cushion (Cairo JE 37977; fig. 6.11a), a large group statue in the garden of the Cairo Museum, and an unprovenanced nonroyal stela showing the king as a young adult seating on a cushion on one of its two decorated sides (Louvre N 522; fig. 6.11b).

Fig. 6.11-a Profile view of statuette JE 37977 of Ramesses II as a naked child from the Karnak cachette. http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck487 **-b** Stela Louvre N 522 with Ramesses as a child. ©Musée du Louvre /G. Poncet.

The theme of Ramesses II as a child has been interpreted by Elisabeth Delange as a way to 'revive the eternal youth of his realm through jubilees'.[26] Although there is no direct reference to renewal of power or jubilees on any of these monuments, nor in the criosphinx scene, this

[26] Comment on stela Louvre N 52: https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/stele.

interpretation fits very well in the context of CR7, which staged part of the celebrations of the Opet festival.

These four representations of Ramesses II as a child show his head shaven apart from the sidelock. In contrast, the CR7 scene shows him with a round wig. This iconography is strikingly similar to that of Iunmutef figures, who traditionally wear round wigs and sidelocks (Rummel 2010: pls 1–20). Contemporaneous examples include reliefs in the hypostyle hall (south wall, west end, bottom register, see Nelson and Murnane 1981: pl. 52; PM II^2: 47 (158)) and on the first south pillar of the tomb of queen Nefertari (QV66; PM I^2: 765 (a)). However, Iunmutef figures always wear a leopard skin, which is lacking in the criosphinx scene. The nature and role of these figures is debated, especially as it is unclear whether they represent human or divine entities. Interpretations range from seeing them as a category of priests, the crown prince, or a form of the god Horus (Gregory 2013: 26). In his reassessment of sources concerning New Kingdom Iunmutef entities, Gregory (2013) convincingly argues that they were not human members of the priesthood, but rather divine beings and manifestations of Horus. In her diachronic study, Rummel (2010: 297, 391–92) argues that they were divine equivalents of *sem*-priests, who helped the king overcome critical stages of transformation, thus ensuring his ritual rebirth. Even though the king in CR7 does not conform to traditional iconography of this entity, the treatment of the hair may evoke the Iunmutef, highlighting that the king was inherently a manifestation of Horus destined to rule since birth, and/or to assert his rebirth as a king over and over again.

The representation of the criosphinx and the king as a statue finds parallels in the sandstone sphinxes of the dromos at the main entrance of the Amun temple at Karnak that form the west approach to the first pylon and now occupy part of the great court. Based on stylistic and textual analysis Cabrol (1995a: 2) has dated these to the reign of Amenhotep III and possibly even earlier, as some of the king's statues show facial traits typical of the time of Thutmose IV (Cabrol 1995a: 14). They were then recarved by Ramesses II and eventually by Pinedjem I, who added his name on the plinth. Like the carved scene, these sphinxes have a leonine body and a ram's head, and they rest on a plinth decorated with a cavetto cornice and a torus moulding (Fig. 6.12).

The major difference between the graffito and these statues is the royal image. The king accompanying the sphinxes in the dromos is smaller relative to the sphinx and is shown as a standing 'undifferentiated' anthropomorphic figure (John Baines: pers. comm. June 2019) with arms crossed over his chest, wearing a *nemes* with a uraeus and a false beard, and holding two *ankh* signs. The distinctive attitude of the king may partly be due to a representational necessity: had the king between the paws of the two-dimensional sphinx been carved as standing, he would

have probably been very small compared to the divine animal. Whatever the meaning of the 'undifferentiated' royal images in the dromos might have been, the youth of the king on the wall scene associates him rather to Horus in his child or Iunmutef form, and therefore to an earthly form of kingship.

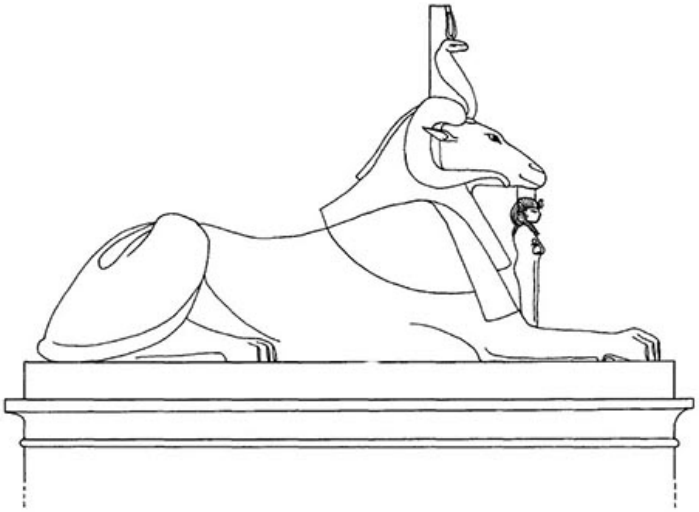


Fig. 6.12 Schematic drawing of a criosphinx in the western approach of the Amun temple (after Cabrol 1995a: 7, fig. 2).

Another significant difference is the crown of the sphinxes. None survives on the dromos statues, although holes on their heads indicate the presence of some form of attachment. It has generally been assumed (e.g. el-Molla et al. 1993) that these comprised solar discs with horned uraei similar to the one on the sphinx on the east wall of the cachette court[27] but the only other parallel for this crown in association with the ram is a small graffito of a ram's head with a simple solar crown with no uraeus carved on the east side of the barque shrine of Sety II (cf. Cabrol 1995a: 7, n. 40).[28] The only such headdress recovered on site, made of black granite and currently stored in the Sheikh Labib magazine, probably belonged to a Sekhmet statue (Cabrol 1995a: 9).

Some sandstone horned uraei are known from Karnak, including one with a tenon still in place which would fit in the holes on the rams' heads; this was found in the vicinity of one of the sphinxes close to the barque shrine of Sety II (Cabrol 1995a: 9, n. 43). This suggested to Cabrol that all sphinxes were similarly crowned, including an erect cobra with a horned sun disc on its head. All these sphinxes show on the back of their head the tail of the cobra extending from the rear of the tenon hole over their tripartite wig, further supporting Cabrol's hypothesis. In

[27] El-Molla et al. (1993: 243) argue that the sphinxes in the dromos of the Mut temple at Karnak were originally crowned with a solar disc and a horned uraeus based on the criosphinx scene in CR7.
[28] Many thanks to Ahmed al-Taher for drawing my attention to this graffito.

addition, a Ramessid painting of the Mut temple and its dromos in the tomb of Khabekhnet at Deir el-Medina (TT 2) depicts the recumbent rams with horned erect cobras but no sun discs on their heads (Cabrol 1995a: 9, nn. 44–5; Cabrol 1995b: 52–4). The only such statue with a similar crown known to me is a recumbent ram with a standing mummiform king in the Berlin Ägyptisches Museum, originally from the dromos of the temple of Amenhotep III at Soleb, in Nubia (ÄM 7262; Ägyptisches Museum 1961: 71, fig. 31; PM VII, 219 (22)–(25)). The ram is crowned with a metal uraeus and a sun-disc. However this is a modern reconstruction, probably based on the widespread assumption that all sphinxes looked like the criosphinx relief at Karnak. Excavations in Soleb have yielded fragments of the elements that originally decorated the heads of the rams of the Soleb dromos, and these appear to correspond to those on the sphinxes' heads in Karnak: a stone uraeus crowned with a sun disc between cow horns (Schiff Giorgini 2002: 381 (A); 2003: 258–59). The criosphinx carved on the eastern wall of the court of the seventh pylon cannot be considered a representation of one of the statues in the dromoi at Karnak or elsewhere, as has often been assumed.

Ram's heads with sun discs and horned uraei feature commonly on the aegides of the sacred barque of Amun, starting from the time of Sety I (Karlshausen 2009: 73) and continuing at least to Ramesses III, as on the sacred barques carved in the memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (The Epigraphic Survey 1940: pl. 229). Examples in Karnak include the scenes of Ramesses II in the hypostyle hall (Nelson and Murnane 1981: pls 38, 53, 76, 178, 180, 197, 226). As seen in chapter 5, the same iconography also occurs in statuary: among over a thousand statues from the *cachette* at least fifteen, ranging in date from the reign of Amenhotep III to the Ptolemaic period, display a man holding the ram's head of Amun; many have a horned uraeus (see Appendix A, with references).[29] Four of the uraei on the statues (CG 42180, 42172, 37174, 42143) are crowned with a sun disc and a horned uraeus. These examples date to the reign of Ramesses II, and one (CG 42143) shows Ramesses II himself. It is not clear from the available photographs whether all of them display uraei with a small sun disc between the horns (Hathoric crown) as in the criosphinx scene; statues CG 42180, CG 42143 and CG 42171 have this form, suggesting that the two iconographies coexisted under Ramesses II.

In 1904, while excavating the area in CR7 close to the gateway of Ramesses IX, Legrain (1906b: 140) discovered a large limestone crown (Cairo JE 38679, CK 737; fig. 6.13) close to one

[29] http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?page=1&total=16&nb=15&descr=criocéphale (consulted on 16 August 2019).

of the two colossal sphinxes embedded on either side of the gateway (see 2.3, fig. 2.15).[30] These sphinxes were inscribed with Ay's name but were later reinscribed under Horemheb.

Fig. 6.13 Front and rear view of crown JE 38679. http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck737

The crown, with a diameter of 61 cm and a thickness of 29 cm, features a large solar disc with a horned uraeus; the uraeus does not have a Hathoric crown. It dates to the reign of Ramesses II, since the inscription refers to Merenptah as the king's son, and it originally belonged to a statue, as is indicated by the presence of a back pillar. Legrain (1906b: 140) suggested that it was part of one of the embedded sphinxes. However, I agree with Cabrol (2001: 216–19, esp. 219) that the back pillar would not fit with the rear part of the neck and back of a sphinx. A sun disc with a back pillar is attested on some Sekhmet statues. The dimensions of the crowns on these statues are usually smaller and they are mostly made of dark stone (especially granodiorite). Their crowns also usually display a simple (non-horned) uraeus, and the base of the sun disc is overlapped by the two pointy leonine ears, of which there is no trace on Merenptah's crown.

The iconography of this crown suggests rather that it belonged to a ram's head, as known from the theophorous statues uncovered in the cachette (see Appendix A and chapter 5). The presence of the back pillar has at least one parallel in CG 42143, which shows Ramesses II prostrate, offering a ram protome (Fig. 6.14).

[30] See also the full object record in the Karnak Cachette database: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?descr=statue&os=678#galerie.

Fig. 6.14 Statue Cairo museum CG 42143 depicting Ramesses II, prostrate, offering a ram protome. Photograph P. Del Vesco.

Given the large dimensions of Merenptah's crown, it is possible that it belonged to a ram's head bust, without an associated human figure, that was set up in CR7. Small examples of such busts are attested, as are depictions of them (see chapter 5). The little ram protome kept at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien (AE_INV_1029; Satzinger 1987: 75) bears an inscription on the right thickness of the back pillar that reads: 'may he give millions of years to the crown prince (*iry-pˁt*) […]', possibly emphasizing the endurance of kingship in the context of the renovation of the decorative programme in CR7.

Thus all the evidence presented here — the iconography of the king as a young adult/child, that of the ram crowned with a solar disc and horned uraeus, the peculiar hackings on the cartouches — supports Sourouzian's suggestion that this scene was originally carved under Ramesses II. The scene seems to have a special link with the idea of kinship and its cyclical renewal.

Commentary

This scene raises issues of definition, particularly as to whether it should be considered an official scene or a graffito. Its high level of formality, as well as the skill demonstrated in the carving of text and images, show a significant level of investment of time and expertise. The composition was certainly commissioned from a designer and/or a group of artists who were able to organize

the space and realize the hieroglyphs and the other figures. This, along with the subjects represented, might invite an understanding of the composition as official. Yet, despite its apparent formality and its prominence in such a visible part of the temple, the scene deviates from the normative scenes in the rest of the court.

On detailed examination the proportions of certain elements vary considerably. This is the case with the body of the sphinx, especially its front part, which appears fairly large compared to its head and the presumably folded legs of the king. Moreover, the individual elements of the composition are unevenly executed: the feathers on the falcon's wings are finely detailed, but its tail is not; the same goes for the sphinx, whose uraeus and muzzle are carefully incised, whereas its forequarters are carved with a thick and deep line. Also the hieroglyphs, which are finely executed overall, present some variations: the *nswt bjty* group, for instance, is carved with a thin line, while *Imn-Rʿ* appears much deeper, and no trace of erasure or manipulation suggests a possible restoration of an older sign. In general the composition becomes less precise from the top to the bottom, culminating with the lower frieze, which is carved with a variation of the original sequence and with rough *neb* signs. Like the different levels of formality in a language, visual arts also have various 'graphic registers'.[31] Despite its formality, the criosphinx scene is of a lower graphic register than the other scenes in the court.

The basic meaning of the composition pivots around Amun-Re sheltering the king, protecting him and legitimizing his power. This message is reinforced by Horus of Behedet in the form of a falcon endowing the king with all life and power. The side-lock probably evoked youth and the constant renewal of kingship. It may also show the king as embodying a form of Horus, as Iunmutef figures do, emphasising that he was destined to the throne since he was a child. Numerous temple scenes stress the gods' favour toward the king, usually showing him offering to the gods in return for divine protection and legitimacy. Similarly, sphinxes portrayed on stelae are always represented as the deities to be worshipped, before whom is another figure, private or royal, in the act of offering (see e.g. Barbotin 2005: 29; Zivie-Coche 2006). In this scene the king is not presenting offerings, but rather he is the recipient of them together with Amun-Re. The god and the king form a single piece of depicted statuary, and although they are not at the same hierarchical level, the king is associated with a deity in a privileged relationship.

The iconography of a king protected by a god, wither a hawk or a vulture, is known from the Early Dynastic period, on the Cylinder of Narmer kept at the Ashmolean Museum (E.3915; Whitehouse 2002). Another early example is provided by the 4th dynasty statue of the enthroned

[31] The term 'graphic register' has been developed by Andréas Stauder. I thank Chloé Ragazzoli for pointing this out to me.

Khafre and the Horus falcon spreading its wings around his head, which was found in the Giza necropolis (Cairo Museum CG 14; Borchardt 1911: 14–6, pl. 4; Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: no. 31). In the New Kingdom, the same iconography is known from the rock-cut shrine dedicated by Tuthmose III to Hathor in the north corner of the memorial temple of Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1907: 63–7, pls 1, 27, 29–31). On each sidewall of the shrine the king is depicted twice: as an adult standing under the chin of Hathor in the form of a cow, and as a child suckling from her (Naville 1907: pl. 28c). This iconography, which is also employed in the life-size statue dedicated in the same shrine by Amenhotep II (Cairo Museum JE 38574), emphasizes the role of Hathor as divine mother of the king as well as Horus, but the king does not receive a cult (Naville 1907: 66, pls 1, 29–31). The same trope of Hathor as a cow shading and protecting a standing king under her chin was reinscribed with the name of other rulers, most significantly Ramesses II, who dedicated an engaged statue in the naos of the small temple of Nefertari in Abu Simbel (Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: 104–07, pls 121–25). The head of the king is too damaged to ascertain whether he had divine attributes, such as the ram's horns. In the associated inscriptions he bears the typical royal epithet 'perfect god' (*nṯr nfr*), not the 'great god' (*nṯr ʿ3*) proper to deities (Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: pls 124–25). However, on the north wall of the same naos Ramesses II is depicted offering incense to his deified self and the deified Nefertari (Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968: pls 121–22; Habachi 1969: 10), and to the left of the statue of Hathor and Ramesses II is another figure of the king making offerings to the statue. This alludes to his deification and the fact that he might have received a cult together with Hathor.

The criosphinx scene in CR7 may be associated with this type of iconography. Although the king is clearly the recipient of divine protection and legitimation, he might also be understood as sharing a cult with Amun-Re, or at least acting as an intermediary figure between the god and his devotees, even though this is not explicit in the captions. It is tempting to suggest that the scene evokes the presence of a similar statue which was worshipped in the proximity.

The libation vessel and the lotus flower before the figures of the criosphinx and the king, without any indication of a donor, are elements that are more frequently found on private votive stelae (e.g. the stela of Inhermes, Cairo JE 72260; Zivie-Coche 2002: 58, fig. 11), rather than in temple scenes. Such a composition seems like a request that offerings be left before this image, and as such has an explicit performative and interactive character comparable to other graffiti of isolated deities (see section 5.1).

The presence of the image on the eastern wall of CR7 is striking. Although today it appears as part of the decorative programme of this wall, if the scene dates to Ramesses II, it would have

been added to a completely blank wall (cf. fig. 6.2), and in an unusual position, roughly 12.5 m from the north end of the wall abutting the south end of the fourth pylon (the gate of Ramesses IX did not exist at the time), and ca. 50 m from its south end which was incorporated into the masonry of the seventh pylon. Even if the scene dated to Merenptah, its position would still be problematic, since more traditional reliefs of this king are found much further south on the same wall (PM II^2: 131 (488); cat. East Wall (EW)). Between this and the other scenes there were ca. 27 m of undecorated wall, which I argue was occupied by some other structure (Section 2.3). Dating the criosphinx scene to Ramesses II does not affect my proposal of a structure occupying this part of the wall, since it is unusual that Merenptah's scenes started from the south end of the wall and were interrupted after ca. 23 m (cf. fig. 6.2).

Larché and Van Siclen (2010: 311, nn. 52–3) suggest that this scene might have been the back wall of a wooden shrine, based on the presence, at the two sides of the frame enclosing the criosphinx, of two incised parallel battered lines (see 2.2.4; Fig. 6.7). They also explain the blank space left in the middle of the surface below the composition, between the two other offering scenes which are carved almost at ground level, by proposing that the wooden shrine contained a three-dimensional sphinx on a plinth which would have faced west, with its back side abutting the eastern wall of the court. This hypothesis would account for the presence of a self-contained image on a wall that was later otherwise dominated by more traditional scenes (except for the graffito of the god discussed in 6.1) and would support the idea of a sacred statue of the king and the god being worshipped in this place.

However, there are a number of obstacles to this proposal. If the incised battered lines indicate where the two wooden sides of the shrine laid against the back wall, why is the whole composition not centred between them? The right edge of the scene is much closer to the southern battered lines (34 cm) than the left edge to the northern ones (57 cm).[32] In addition, if the two pairs of incised lines marked the insertion of wooden walls into the masonry, one would expect them to be much deeper and there to be holes to keep them in place,[33] as is the case, for instance, with the oracular scene of Djehutymose on the east exterior wall of CR10. That scene is incised on a surface that was lowered to create a recess that probably supported a structure in mud-brick and sandstone columns with a light wooden roof (Azim 1980b: 32, fig. 2). The issue would not be resolved if one assumed that the structure was made of stone since, to my knowledge, no stone shrine with such battered walls is attested. Another problem with the idea of the criosphinx as the back scene of a shrine is its orientation. All the elements, except for the

[32] Both measurements are taken from the bottom of the fourth visible course, corresponding to the top section of the plinth of the criosphinx.

[33] I thank Pierre Zignani for kindly discussing this matter with me in December 2015.

offerings, are oriented towards the south, whereas one would expect the main scene of a single chapel to be symmetrical, and not to show a specific orientation. Exceptions are the rear walls of contra-temples, which rarely show specific symmetries; an example is the rear of the temple of Ptah in Karnak (Biston-Moulin and Thiers 2016). But it is hard to imagine how this scene might have shared the same function as a contra-temple. Also, while the idea of a sphinx protecting the king as a revered image and focus of a cult is tantalizing, the suggestion that a single sphinx itself was placed against the eastern wall of the court projecting towards the west seems problematic, since sphinxes appear mostly in pairs and are located along passageways and in liminal areas such as doorways, where they protect sacred space and ward off threats (e.g. Arnold 2003: 227–28).

As suggested by Carlotti (2008: 65, fig. 4), the lines on the wall are more likely to be the traces left by an older structure, a *mur fantôme* or vanished wall, which probably extended all the way to the west side of the court and had battered exterior walls, thus resembling (or being) a pylon. These traces have clear parallels in other *tracés de pose* in Karnak, i.e. guidelines incised by masons to be followed while building a wall abutting another structure (see e.g. the lines on the south end of PY7 to construct the sidewalls of CR8).

As I argue above (see see 2.2.4, fig. 2.9), the wall might have been built under Amenhotep III to close the north end of CR7 when the third pylon was constructed and the small pylon of Tuthmose II, which up until then had formed the northern end of the courtyard, was demolished. According to Carlotti (2008: 61), that structure was dismantled before the scene with the criosphinx was carved. I propose that this might have happened when Horemheb started the construction of the hypostyle hall, which involved the partial destruction and reconstruction of the northern end of the western wall of CR7 that was later incorporated in the masonry of the south wall of the hypostyle hall (see section 2.2.4). This hypothesis fits the proposed attribution of the scene to Ramesses II. Its lower 'graphic register' compared to other scenes in the court, its self-contained character, and the depiction of the king as a revered (intermediary?) statue along with his tutelary god, suggest that this composition was a secondary votive locus, similar to those of isolated deities discussed above (see section 6.1). Therefore, the interpretation of this scene as belonging to a shrine, as proposed by Larché and Van Siclen, should not be dismissed in terms of overall function, even though there is no evidence that a covered structure was ever built around it. The scene was possibly, but not necessarily, inspired by a statue worshipped somewhere in the temple. It is tempting to link it either to the group statue of Amun and Ramesses II from the cachette (CG 42141; fig. 6.8; http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck288) which, despite the anthropomorphic features of the god, is almost a three-dimensional translation of the criosphinx scene, or to the large sun disc found here by Legrain (Fig. 6.13) which probably

belonged to a large sculpture of a ram's head. Be that as it may, the strong association of this scene with the renewal of kingship suggests that it was made on the occasion of a Sed or an Opet festival of Ramesses II, and probably usurped by his son on a similar occasion.

6.2.2 The lower secondary offering scenes (catalogue EW-A1.a, EW-A2.a)

On the east wall of CR7, aligned below the criosphinx scene, are two smaller scenes in sunk relief of roughly similar size (ca. 70 x 60 cm). They are in a poor state of preservation due to groundwater infiltration and are not entirely legible. The scenes mirror each other, both showing a king offering to a seated deity who is oriented outwards.

Unlike the criosphinx scene, some elements immediately indicate that the two lower scenes are secondary. First is their position on the wall: like the graffito of the isolated god and other graffiti on the opposite west wall, they are carved on the dado, about 50 cm above the ancient floor level (Fig. 6.7). Second, their much lower graphic register: they appear crudely executed when compared both with official scenes commissioned by the king and also with the criosphinx scene just above them.

Description

The scene to the left is carved over two sandstone blocks. A large fracture corresponding to the joint between the two has caused the lower part of the text and the upper part of the figures to disappear; the latter rest on a base carved in double lines. To the left is a kneeling king oriented towards the south. His identity is unknown as the associated caption does not include any cartouches. It is unclear whether his names were never carved or have been lost, but observation *in situ* reveals no traces. The king wears the red crown with its typical rear ribbon that falls down upon his right shoulder to half-way down his back. Faded incised traces of the uraeus are visible on the forehead. A few details of the face are preserved: a large and elongated eye, a fairly small nose and a long squared false beard which seems to be carved so that it overlaps his left shoulder. A line at the base of the neck suggests the presence of an *usekh* collar. Both arms are raised and stretched forward: the left is advanced in the act of offering a Maat figure to the god; the right is slightly retracted, with the open palm facing the god while shielding the presented offering (see 'protective gesture', Eaton 2013: 131–33). A line around the waist is all that remains of the king's kilt. The right lower leg is folded backwards. Next to it, another line seems to belong to a left leg suggesting a transitory pose; however, its size — much shorter than the right leg — and its unusual distance from the hip compared to formal kneeling figures (see e.g. Schäfer 1974: 252, fig. 268) suggest it may be a later addition. Nothing of a left foot is preserved.

To the right is an anthropomorphic deity facing north seating on a square throne with a low back. The caption identifies him as 'Shepsi who is in Hermopolis'. Part of his crown, a solar or a lunar disc, is visible at the lower edge of the upper block. The rest of the crown and part of the head, including the forehead and eyes are lost. The profile of the nose and the chin with a slightly curved beard confirm a human head with a short wig, which is only partially preserved. The right arm is stretched forward and holds a long staff, presumably a *was* sceptre, the upper part of which is damaged; the left arm, also outstretched, holds a crudely carved *ankh* sign pointing toward the king. Around the waist is a faded line of the kilt, but it is not clear whether this is long or short. Starting from the knee a line curving downwards represents the bull tail. The lower part of the legs and the feet are no longer visible as the surface has worn away.

The scene to the right is more legible than the left, despite the bad state of preservation of the bottom right block on which part of the king's figure is preserved. To the left is a goddess, captioned 'Hathor, lady of the sycamore'. She is seated on a square throne with a low back and faces south. The anthropomorphic goddess wears her typical headdress, composed of a solar disc between cow horns on a flat cap (modius), but the latter is lost in the crack between two blocks. She wears a long tripartite wig. Apart from the outline of her ear, no facial details were carved. Her arms are outstretched with the left advanced: the right holds a crudely incised *ankh* sign, whereas the left is not preserved, but probably held a *wadj*-sceptre, as commonly in her anthropomorphic iconography. No details of her tunic are visible and her feet are not preserved.

To the right, facing the goddess, is a king who is identified by the partially erased cartouches as Merenptah. His image is preserved from his head to his hips. He wears a bag-wig or *ḫ3t*. His face is not detailed, but he seems to have a disproportionally large ear, a long and straight nose, and a weak chin. Around his neck is incised an *usekh* collar. Both his arms appear to be stretched forward in the act of offering to Hathor, but the forearms and hands with the offering are not preserved. His kilt is indicated by a line below the navel. Nothing of the lower part of the figure is preserved, but he is presumably kneeling, as in the parallel scene with Shepsi.

Texts
Left scene

Above the king
nb t3wy […] Lord of the Two Lands […]
nb ḫ ʿw […] Lord of appearances […]

Above the god
šps jmy Ḫmnw Shepsi who is in Hermopolis

Right scene

Above the king

nb tɜwy […] *n(y) Rᶜ mry* […]	Lord of the Two Lands […] of Ra, beloved of [...]
nb ḫᶜw Mr-n-[*ptḥ*] ... […] *Mɜᶜt*	Lord of appearances Meren[ptah] … […] Maat

Above the goddess

Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt nht	Hathor, lady of the sycamore

Iconographic analysis

Both compositions depict the king in the traditional act of worshipping and offering to a deity. Such scenes are commonly part of primary temple decorative programmes and express the intimate relationship between the king and the gods through which the cosmic order was maintained for the benefit of all people. The role of the king as a 'representative of mankind' (Hornung 1982: 203) is described explicitly in a New Kingdom text known as 'The king as sun-priest', which includes the verses:

> *iw rdi.n.Rᶜ nswt N tp tɜ n ᶜnḫw n nḥḥ ḥnᶜ ḏt ḥr wḏᶜ rmṯw ḥr sḫtp nṯrw ḥr sḫpr mɜᶜt ḥr sḥtm isft*
>
> Re has placed king N upon the earth of the living forever doing justice for the people, propitiating the gods, fulfilling *maat*, and destroying evil (Assmann 1970: 22)

The offering scenes on the eastern wall, however, were not part of the formal decorative scheme of the temple, as indicated by their position, scale, and sketchy style. Had the king commissioned these scenes of himself offering, the scenes would have probably been larger, carved more neatly, and placed in the first register. On the assumption that the wall south of the criosphinx scene was occupied by other structures at the time, they would have fitted in the portion of wall north of it, which was later decorated under Ramesses IX, but as far as we know it was left deliberately blank (cf. with fig. 6.2).

Of the two offering scenes, only the left one preserves the offering in the king's hand. Offering Maat expresses the 'willingness of the king to uphold the fundamental principles of the world order that were established at the beginning of time' (Teeter 1997: 1). *Maat* is a complex concept that can be translated in many ways, such as 'right', 'justice', 'truth' (*Wb* 2: 18–20.9 = TLA lemma no. 66620). Over the decades an all-encompassing definition of 'cosmic order' has prevailed, a concept first formulated by Eric Voegelin and applied to Egyptology by Henri Frankfort, which fits well with Assmann's conception of 'Ma'at als kosmogonishes Prinzip' (Assmann 2006: 28–30, 167–74). The offering of *maat* was described as part of daily temple rituals (P. Amun, episode 42: Eaton 2013: 172), at least by the Third Intermediate Period, and

was a specific royal prerogative.[34] This ritual, more than others, can be seen as a major expression of legitimacy, since the reigning king shows humankind that he is ruling in harmony with universal principles and that his role is to maintain the world's balance for the gods (Teeter 1997: 2).

While the concept of *maat* is contemporaneous with the state formation of Egypt in the Old Kingdom (Assmann 1990: 51–7), and likely predates it, since it occurs in Early Dynastic personal names (John Baines: pers. comm. July 2019), the first known visual attestations of the presentation of *maat* seem to date to Amenhotep III (Teeter 1997: 8). In the Ramessid period this motif is widespread (Teeter 1997: 10). From the reign of Sety I the ritual begins to be equated with the presentation of the royal prenomen, which now includes the Maat element,[35] highlighting the special connection between kingship and the goddess.

A significant change occurred in the reign of Ramesses II, when this offering ritual appears for the first time in non-royal tombs (see e.g. the stela of Kar, British Museum EA 328; Edwards and James 1970: pl. xl). In these contexts the king maintains his prerogative as the donor of Maat, acting as an agent of the deceased. A stela from from Piramesse, one of the group known misleadingly as Horbeit stelae (Habachi 1969), illustrates this. It shows Ramesses II presenting Maat to the god Ptah and then rewarding its owner, Mosi. In the lower register Mosi and his soldiers receive gifts from the god before a statue of the deified Ramesses II (Hildesheim, Roemer-Pelizeus Museum 374, Habachi 1969: fig. 17). Here the king acts as an intermediary between the god and the private person for the benefit of the latter.

This example offers an interpretative framework for the two lower scenes at the east wall of CR7. They are both carved as self-contained, almost stela-like scenes on an unusual part of the wall and in a fairly crude manner, and other features ally them with private stelae rather than normative temple scenes. First, temple scenes make explicit the *do ut des* principle which underlies the act of offering through the formulae of the donor (*mꜣꜥ.t* preceded by *ḥnk*, *rdi* or its variations) and the recipient (*di.n=i n=k*). This aspect, however, is absent in private monuments (Teeter 1997: 83), as it is in the scene on the left. All these elements — position on the wall, small dimensions, isolation from other scenes, absence of offering formulae — associate these scenes typologically with private votive stelae.

Details of the iconography of both scenes are striking. In the scene on the left, where the king kneels before Shepsi, he wears the red crown. This crown is not one of those more often

[34] A few quasi-royal individuals are represented offering Maat. These include queen Nefertiti during the Amarna Period, and some god's wives, who assumed kingly roles like Shepenupet II in the Late Period (Ayad 2009: 61–70). Other non-royal donors are attested but are extremely rare. For a list, see Teeter 1997: 21.

[35] Teeter 1997: 28–31. In the Ramessid period only Sety II, Siptah, and Sethnakht do not include Maat anywhere in their titulary (Teeter 1997: 2, n. 9).

shown in primary temple decoration, namely the blue crown or the *atef*-crown. The selection of the red crown, which marked the king as ruler of Lower Egypt, fits with the orientation of the king, who is depicted as coming from the north. However, one would expect a white crown on the scene to the right (south), in place of the bag wig shown. The red crown also seems to have been connected to the king fighting the enemies of Re (Goebs 2008: 163). Thus, it may be linked to the scene of Merenptah smiting the Libyans before Amun at the southern end of the same eastern wall, in which he wears the red crown (PM II^2, 131 (488)). As Blyth (2006: 164) points out, a balancing scene with the king wearing the white crown and smashing the southern foes might be expected but no such scene was ever carved. Blyth suggests that this might have been a way to emphasize Merenptah's successful wars against the Libyans and the northern enemies as narrated in his Victory Stela nearby (PM II^2: 131 (487)). One could speculate that the choice of depicting the king presenting Maat in this secondary scene as wearing the red crown might be due to the same reason.

The inclusion of Shepsi in the scene is also unusual. This god is first attested in the 18th dynasty, and is known from a little over 70 attestations (L.Ä. V, 584 s.v. Scheps; *LGG* VII: 67 s.v. Š*ps*; Hovestreydt 2017: 31, n. 2, 40).[36] The earliest known example is on a rock-cut stela at Deir el-Bersha, dating to the reign of Tuthmose III (contra Luft 2010: 333–74). He can have lunar and solar attributes, being shown crowned either with a moon disc on a moon crescent or with a sun disc (the two are often difficult to distinguish). His form is mostly anthropomorphic, although at times he is depicted as an ibis- or falcon-headed god (Corteggiani 2007: 102). His most frequently attested epithet in the New Kingdom is 'who is in Hermopolis', *jmy Ḫmnw*, as in this graffito, asserting his close association with Thoth, the major deity of Hermopolis (Hovestreydt 2017: 38, 40).

This association between Shepsi and Thoth is displayed in a scene just outside CR7, on the girdle wall of Thutmose III (PM II^2, 128 (465, 1), KIU 2517). The scene was carved under Ramesses II and depicts a human headed Thoth bearing the epithet 'lord of Hermopolis', *nb Ḫmnw*, receiving a sed-festival from the king (Fig. 6.15). While this epithet is very common (*LGG* VII, 640 [186]), the fully human representation of Thoth, very similar to the figure of Shepsi in the graffito, is rare. Perhaps it alludes to an assimilation of Thoth and Shepsi.

[36] I am indebted to Willem Hovestreydt, who is conducting a research on the god Shepsi, for commenting on an early draft of this section and sharing his knowledge with me.

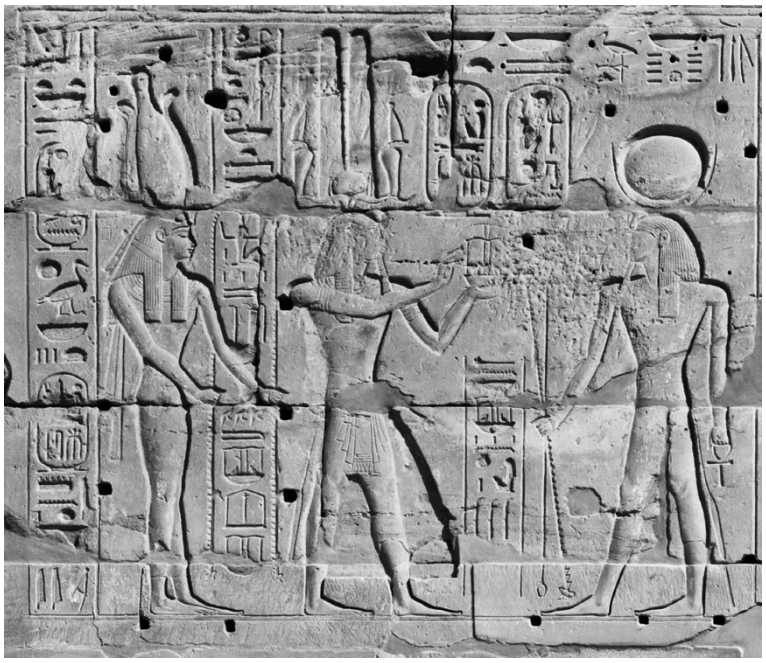


Fig. 6.15 Ramesses II making an offering to an anthropomorphic Thoth. West end of the girdle wall of Tuthmose III, south side. © CNRS-CFEETK.

The figure of Thoth is surrounded by piercings, which suggests that it became the focus of cultic activities at some point, possibly linking this area with the one inside the court. However, of the east door of CR7 was created some time after Ramesses IX, so the scenes were not directly accessible to each other in the nineteenth dynasty. Rather, they were connected through the corridor running around the Akh-menu, which has an opening just east of this scene.

The special veneration of Thoth under Ramesses II is attested by a large number of scarabs representing the king worshipping the god in the form of a baboon (Hari 1977: 9–10), and is probably linked with the revival of the Hermopolitan theology that occurred during his reign. Hari suggested that this phenomenon is linked with the openly anti-Atenist policy of Ramesses II, who had a temple of Thoth as well as one for himself erected in Hermopolis. As Willem Hovestreydt suggests (pers. comm. 2017), the anthropomorphic depiction of Thoth in the scene on the girdle wall is very similar to one in the Ramessid temple in Hermopolis, which seems to strengthen the link between Karnak and Hermopolis under his reign. The selection of Shepsi in the secondary scene in CR7 could possibly be explained in this context of a development of Hermopolitan theology.

Despite its more legible text, the right scene is more difficult to interpret, because the offering itself is not preserved. Hathor, here identified as 'the lady of the sycamore', a traditional Memphite epithet of this goddess (*LGG* V: 76 [121]), is understood to have the role of mother in relation to the living king (Bleeker 1973: 51; Lesko 1999: 81–129). The maternal role of tree-goddesses toward the king is shown also in a scene in the tomb of Tuthmose III (KV 34), in

which the king is depicted as being breastfed by Isis in the shape of a tree (Fig. 6.16, PM I^2: 553). Hathor/Isis protects the king throughout his life, a theme also evoked by the large criosphinx composition in CR7. Hathor, in particular, is also the goddess of renewal, who could rejuvenate the king and grant him particular powers, especially in her form as a sycamore tree. The regeneration of kingship was at the core of the Opet festival, which was enacted every year along the southern processional way.

Shepsi is often accompanied by Nehmetawy, a goddess of Hermopolis who also first appeared in the New Kingdom and is associated with a Hermopolitan form of Hathor (Parlebas 1984). So in this context Hathor and Shepsi might function together as a divine couple.

Fig. 6.16 Detail of a scene painted on pillar A in the tomb of Tuthmose III (KV 34) showing Isis as a tree-goddess suckling the king (Ziegler and Bovot 2001: 182, fig. 87b).

Commentary

The similarities between these two lower scenes suggest that they were composed as a pair at the same time, by and for the same community of people. Although the royal name is lost from the scene on the left, traces of the cartouches of Merenptah are legible in the scene on the right. These cartouches do not seem to have been reinscribed, suggesting that both scenes may be dated to the reign of Merenptah. They were probably carved when the larger criosphinx of Ramesses II was re-inscribed in Merenptah's name, or a little later. This fits well with Gautier's (1993: 38) principles of figurative space analysis mentioned above (see 4.2), for which the first element to be inscribed on a surface tends to take a central position and occupy a relatively large

proportion of the space, whereas the elements that are subsequently added to the surface tend to adapt their size and position with respect to the first one, which then becomes a focal point.

Context and iconographic analysis confirm the secondary nature of these scenes, which can be related to private votive stelae. They are closely associated with the large criosphinx scene immediately above, which was a possible votive locus of a restricted community that had access to this area of the temple (see section 6.1). Neither of the two compositions includes any mention of the dedicators' names, unlike private stelae as the one of Mosi. The lack of dedicator does not affect my hypothesis, but rather supports the idea of a community's involvement.

The fact that all these scenes have been preserved, and were not erased as were graffiti on the opposite, western wall, not only shows the level of investment that was required to realize and maintain them, but crucially it emphasizes the significance of this area of the court for ongoing votive and cultic practices. This could have been a place where people would address prayers, make offerings, and affirm their connection with the gods and the king. This is further suggested by a small cluster of much cruder graffiti incised on a block adjacent to the base of the criosphinx scene (see block EW-B3 in the catalogue). They depict two or three human figures. The one on the upper right (EW-B3.b), about 20 cm high, shows the left profile of a standing man wearing a short wig and a short kilt, wearing an official costume. It might represent a priest or a scribe with the short wig and the short kilt with large apron, which are closely associated with the Ramessid or Third Intermediate Period. The figure faces north, toward the criosphinx scene. His arms are outstretched in adoration, probably of the larger criosphinx scene, if not of the entire group of secondary compositions.

The other two graffiti, the one to the left (EW-B3.a) — possibly an incomplete human figure — and the one below it (EW-B3.e) representing a man holding a staff, also face north toward the criosphinx scene. These, however, seem from their style to have been added much later. Comparison with human figures with similar features incised on the walls of the Ptolemaic temple of Isis at Aswan (Dijkstra 2012), especially the sketchy rendering of the human body as a trapezoid with roughly straight lines for limbs, points to a dating in the Graeco-Roman Period (see 3.2.2, fig. 3.5). Although these figures are not adoring, they are both oriented toward the secondary scenes, suggesting that these remained worthy of particular attention, if not an active cult, for many hundreds of years. Albeit not datable, further evidence of cultic activities might be found in three pairs of vertical grooves on the undecorated block immediately to the right of the criosphinx scene and above that bearing the small human figures; these were possibly linked with roughly contemporary cultic activities in this area.

One cannot exclude the possibility that a cultic installation, such as an altar, an incense burner, or some sort of statue, like the one bearing the large crown in the name of prince Merenptah (JE 38679) or the one of Ramesses II kneeling in front of Amun (CG 42141) recovered in the cachette, were placed below the criosphinx scene, centred between the two smaller compositions. The presence of a statue or similar monument would account for the blank space left between the lower scenes, and also for their convergence toward the centre — both kings face inwards — as opposed to the upper scene that is oriented southwards. It would also explain the inconsistent carving of the bottom of the frieze of the criosphinx scene.

The occasion for the carving of these scenes may have been festivals performed here. The presence of Hathor in one of the compositions may evoke the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, in which she played a major role (Stadler 2008: 7). However it seems more likely, given the context, that her presence is related to festivals involving the rejuvenation of the king and the renewal of royal power. The representation of the king as a child certainly emphasized the idea of the rejuvenated kingship of a newly reborn ruler. Thus, these two small scenes of the king, and the larger one above, were perhaps the result of performative acts of devotion that marked specific festive occasions linked to the celebration of kingship, during which rituals involving these secondary scenes might have been performed.

It is reasonable to suggest that the upper scene was carved for one of the annual Opet festivals or royal jubilees (Sed) of Ramesses II, whereas the two lower ones were added later, after Merenptah had appropriated the criosphinx scene. Functioning similarly to private votive stelae that were dedicated in a sacred area, the two lower scenes might have been added by the local community of temple staff as a way to commemorate the criosphinx scene and perhaps extend its meaning.

6.3 Towards a definition of votive community graffiti?

The criosphinx scene, together with the royal offering scenes below, and the graffito of the isolated god on the east wall of CR7, have more in common than might be expected. They all show a much higher level of investment in comparison with other graffiti in CR7. They were carefully planned, designed, and executed by trained draftsmen or artists, probably employed as temple staff (Brand 2004: 260), and they were all deliberately visible to the people accessing the courtyard, being sizeable and located in prominent places on the wall. The criosphinx scene, at least, seems to have been commissioned (and later reinscribed) by the king or someone on his behalf, whereas the other scenes were probably commissioned by members of the priesthood and administration who could afford, possibly collectively or perhaps using the temple's resources, to

undertake the works. For this they probably required some sort of permission from the temple authorities and the carving might have been accompanied by some ceremony or ritual (Frood 2013: 285; contra Traunecker 1999), which conferred 'sacrality' and meaning to the images. One can safely suggest that the different phases of this process, from the initial design and production to their consecration and reception by an audience, necessarily involved a higher number of people than the small graffiti of personal names or small images, which instead were likely produced by a single individual and were visible to fewer people (cf. chapters 4 and 5). Another similarity between these secondary scenes is their relative isolation from the rest of the decorative programme, since neither is part of a sequence. Also, in contrast to the rest of graffiti in CR7, whose visibility over time is uncertain (cf. chapters 4 and 5), these were probably visible for a long period. This is suggested not only by their good condition — the destruction of most of the Amun figure is likely due to the removal of the unique obelisk in the 4th century AD — and by the presence of the graffiti cluster of human figures, dating between the late New Kingdom and the Graeco-Roman Period, which might be related to cultic activities focusing on the criosphinx scene. In addition, both the isolated god and the criosphinx with the young king lack an officiant performing rituals or making offerings to them, thus making them more interactive with an audience and creating focal points on the east wall.

Another striking element is the concentration of this group on the eastern wall, which is the structure with the least number of graffiti in CR7, excluding the gateway of Ramesses IX, which bears only one. The two sidewalls of CR7 were probably undecorated when the criosphinx scene of Ramesses II was carved; its position on the east wall seems not to have been due to a lack of blank surfaces. More probably, their position has something to do with the specific decorative programme of the east wall, the focus of both primary decoration and graffiti being on kingship and festivals linked to its renewal. Perhaps, rather than ritualizing priestly pathways, as suggested for other graffiti of gods close to passageways (Frood 2013: 290), the criosphinx scene, and possibly the graffito of the god, may have marked ceremonial pathways linked to the Opet or the Sed festival. The addition of the row of cartouches of Ramesses IV along the dado next to the isolated god's figure, which I interpret as a way of entrusting the royal name to the god's protection, is probably linked to one of these celebrations of renewal of kingship.

The presence of many other graffiti of isolated gods throughout the Amun complex of Karnak (see section 6.1) was perhaps linked to other celebrations or cultic activities taking place in the temple. Like the ones on the east wall of CR7, they were also highly visible and produced for a community of people who has access to the temple. Most of them lack a dedicator, but a few display a personal name, either added later, or part of the original graffito, such as the

enthroned Amun in CR10 with the name of the high priest Masaharta. In these cases the images were probably much more than a richer version of the votive graffiti left by individuals (cf. chapter 5). The prominence of these images, which addressed the temple community, was probably part of a dedicator's strategy to position himself as an intermediary between the deity and the wider community of worshippers, very similarly to, and perhaps imitating, intermediary statues of shaven priests of Hathor (Clère 1995; Frood in press).

The presence of prominent, graffiti sanctioned by authorities in temples from the late New Kingdom is possibly part of a wider phenomenon, at least in Thebes. Starting with Ramesses II, the exterior walls of the temples, which were previously left blank, became fully decorated with ritual scenes and marginal inscriptions, which Brand (2007: 58–9) describes as a Ramessid royal strategy '"advertising" their piety to a wider audience than just the gods and priests inside the sanctuaries'. While the emphasis on the kings' piety is undeniable, this change may also have acted as an incentive for members of the temple staff to display their own closeness to some gods more explicitly. Thus graffiti of isolated gods and other community graffiti were probably part of a wider response to this phenomenon, which implied that boundaries between official service and personal piety had become more blurred.

7. Concluding remarks

As the title of this thesis suggests, the main goal of this work is to repopulate — put people back into — the court of the seventh pylon at Karnak through the study of the graffiti left in this area, and in the southern processional way more broadly. This is the area that bears the highest number of graffiti in the Amun temple. The southern axis is inscribed with over a thousand graffiti (survey: ch. 3), exceeding by far the number of those that are still visible in other areas of the complex, such as the temple of Ptah and that of Khonsu, which are the two other main concentrations of secondary epigraphy in the Amun complex. Of course, in the southern processional way the graffiti are spread over a considerable surface, whereas both temples of Ptah and Khonsu bear a much higher density of graffiti, concentrated in smaller and delimited areas (the southern wall and the roof respectively).

Along the southern processional way, the number of graffiti carved inside the courtyards is similar to that of graffiti left on the exterior surface of the east walls, facing the administrative and economic districts which developed around the sacred lake (45% and 43% respectively). Presumably less restricted areas, such as the exterior side of the west walls and the south façade of the tenth pylon, were considerably less inscribed (only 12%). Of the four southern pylons, which delimited the courtyards, only the eighth received graffiti in its inner stairway. These observations warn against treating the southern processional way as one large immutable space, equally accessible over time, irrespective of its inner subdivisions in courtyards and their possible different functions and uses.

CR7 is the most densely inscribed of the four southern courtyards (interior), bearing 53% (254 graffiti) of all secondary epigraphy carved within the southern processional way, excluding the exterior walls and the interior of the eighth pylon. This courtyard is especially significant not only for the density and variety of graffiti left there, but also because some have a rare (for graffiti in this temple) chronological reference, being partly overlapped by primary decoration commissioned under Ramesses IV.

The presence of so many graffiti in this part of the Amun temple raises questions as to the people who left them, the reasons behind their inscription, and the time when they were made. However, answering these questions is challenging in a number of ways. Most graffiti are extremely difficult to date, especially since the vast majority in the southern access more broadly are figurative (72%) and only very few iconographic elements, such as the crown on the ram protomes (ch. 5), can be used to establish an approximate date through comparative analysis with more formal images. Authorship and the motivations for leaving graffiti are equally difficult to assess, due to the paucity of personal names, titles, and more extensive textual content.

Assessment of graffiti is further complicated by the almost unavoidable contemporary biases that such inscriptions and drawings were illicit and inherently subversive. As a result, scholars approaching ancient graffiti in any context risk making problematic generalizations, such as that they were spontaneous products of people with little or no education, that they were free from social and cultural restraints (Peden 2001: xxi), that they were necessarily unauthorised and perceived as defacement, or at least inappropriate, and that they must have been made secretly. For Egyptian temples, such generalisations have created a sharp division between what is understood as products of the temple's high culture, such as the official, usually royal, images and texts carved on the walls as well as private stelae and statues dedicated in there, and graffiti, which are seen as phenomena of low culture brought into the temple from the outside world.

In Karnak, the relative abundance of secondary epigraphy along the southern processional way, which contrasts with the much smaller number of such inscriptions and drawings in the main west-east axis, has often been interpreted as evidence that uneducated people, not belonging to the temple staff, could access the southern axis at least during major religious festivals, when the gateways of the four southern pylons were open (6.1.1). As I argue, this is at least partly based on western notions of access and aesthetics. For the latter, it has been understood that pictorial equals illiterate and illiterate equals non-temple staff. I maintain that these equations cannot be accepted a priori. Pictorial graffiti, like their textual counterparts, display a wide range of technical skills and cultural knowledge, which can be accounted for by the different degrees of visual literacy and training among their creators, a small minority of whom might have been functionally literate. Connecting aesthetics with access, it is necessary to emphasise that Karnak, and temple institutions more generally, employed a vast number of people of different ranks and statuses, from highly educated members of the priesthood and the administrative staff, who were certainly literate, to less educated people employed as workmen in the temple workshops, such as butchers, bakers, brewers, sculptors, incense modellers, as well as cleaners and other people in charge of the maintenance of the temple, who probably ranged from functionally literate — able to read recurring simple words and numbers — to illiterate. Even more educated people displayed different levels of training and various degrees of literacy (e.g. simple *wab*-priests were likely less proficient in reading and writing than lector-priests and overseers), which was probably subject to change during one person's life and career. Besides questioning the assumption that graffiti were products of a low culture external to the temple, I argue for the importance of introducing a temporal perspective in the analysis of this epigraphic practice.

Graffiti in Karnak are often flattened out as largely contemporaneous, except when script or particular iconographic elements, such as Christian crosses, point to particular periods. As is clear from the survey in chapter 3, the corpus of secondary epigraphy visible along the southern processional way was produced over many centuries. I identify four main phases of inscription: 1) New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1069 BC), concentrated mainly in CR7, but also on the eighth pylon, mainly inside the stairway and in the west gate, as well as in some areas of CR10; 2) Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1069–664 BC), which focuses mainly around CR10; 3) Late-Period through to Graeco-Roman (ca. 664 BC to 4th century AD), which is particularly prominent around the seventh pylon; 4) Christian (from the 5th century AD), which is scattered throughout the axis and relates to the presence of monastic communities in this area. The case studies analysed in Part II focus on the first of these phases, but comparisons with graffiti from later periods highlight the extent to which graffiti left in different periods tend to cluster in different areas, thus revealing transformations in the use of the southern processional way.

In order to repopulate CR7, one should keep away from inaccurate simplifications, and add layers of complexity to the analysis of the where, who, and when of graffiti production. It is equally important to look at graffiti from a different angle and explore how they functioned and why they were left.

7.1 Inscribing graffiti: one gesture enclosing different meanings

The act of inscribing a graffito in this area could mean very different things according to the person(s), the time and the circumstances that produced it. For some people it might have been a more absent-minded activity, which required just a sharp tool and the right opportunity to scratch a doodle or mimic something that had fleetingly struck their attention. The sketchy unfinished horned viper coarsely carved above a primary *f*-hieroglyph in the marginal inscription on the east wall might be an example of this practice (EW-B4.a). For others, it was probably a reaction to the presence of graffiti left by other people, such as a cluster of names or a group of divine images, which might have inspired a sense of belonging to a certain community of professionals or worshippers. It is also possible that, for some, leaving a mark on these walls might have been charged with even deeper meaning, and it might have satisfied a conscious desire to leave an offering to the gods or endure in a sacred place, comparable to people who dedicated private monuments. Some graffiti probably encompassed more than one of these intentions, as well as others that are beyond our current understanding. Although the choices in making a graffito were not necessarily conscious, I maintain that they were deeply embedded in

the socio-cultural and religious milieu of the graffitists, and as such they can and should be analysed.

In some cases, graffiti required much more planning and investment than one would be inclined to think, possibly involving some form of official permission by the temple authorities to be displayed in prominent places. This was likely the case with some of the very large divine images added on the south façade of the ninth pylon, whose realization must have been entrusted to the skilled hands of one or more artists (see also Traunecker 1991; Brand 2004; 2007; Frood 2013; al-Taher 2017). These examples raise issues of definition: can something sanctioned and commissioned be called a graffito? Or should a different term be introduced to describe something that seems to lie halfway between primary decoration and cruder graffiti made by individuals?

If the inadequacy of the term 'graffito' to define such a wide range of possibilities for people to express themselves appears evident, as has been discussed (1.3), this thesis aims to go beyond definitions to focus rather on the properties of this body of evidence. Graffiti are able to transform the structures onto which they are added, personalising them and adding new meaning to them. They engage with the surrounding space in various ways by bearing witness to the presence of people who once populated the temple, and by echoing events that took place in the area. The several barques and portable naoi incised on the west wall (e.g. WW-A8, WW-B5, WW-C2), for instance, evoke the divine processions that were staged, at least partly, in CR7. Graffiti initiate networks, responding to existing primary decoration, such as the human head mimicking one of the foreign captives on the east massif of the seventh pylon (EM-C2.a), and evoking monuments that were once located nearby. An example of the latter may be the coarse lions carved on the east massif of the seventh pylon, on the two lowest blocks nearest to the gateway (EM-A1 and EM-A2; 3.2.2), which suggest that, at some point, leonine statues were placed near the passageway of the pylon. Graffiti can also react to other graffiti, often generating clusters and triggering, at times, less intended reactions, such as defacement. Graffito WW-A1.b, which was inscribed on the west wall of CR7 by a man named Ashakhet next to the names of other scribes and priests, provides an example (4.2.3). Ashakhet was probably not expecting — and not happy for — his name to be erased, which is why, when he found out about it, he carved his name again in a more visible place (WW-B2.b). Deliberate erasures are not frequent along the southern axis, but are widely attested on the south wall of the Ptah temple, where traces of plaster and palimpsests of graffiti raise questions of durability and ephemerality (Frood and Salvador in preparation).

I explore the transformative and socially connective properties of graffiti by approaching them as material extensions of the persons who produced them. To do so, I look at their material aspects in relation to their position within the temple, their possible interaction with the surrounding space, including primary scenes and other graffiti, and investigate the possible social dynamics that they initiated. This material approach, applied to some selected graffiti in the court of the seventh pylon, led me to the identification of three main categories. The first two include graffiti, whose material appearance indicates that they were produced by a single person for his (only male names are attested) own benefit: they are medium or small in size and inscribed at a height that could be easily reached by a person standing or squatting; their size and location in relation to the grandiose dimensions of the courtyard probably made them almost invisible from a certain distance, as is still the case today, which suggests that they were meant to be seen only by people who could get near them. The third category includes graffiti that, because of their large size, high level of formality, and prominent position on the wall, must have involved more people in their production and addressed a wide audience. In the following sections I explore how these categories, which should be understood as fluid and permeable, contribute to our understanding of the use and transformation of CR7 and the southern processional way through time.

7.2.1 Graffiti as self-display

Graffiti falling in the first category are self-reflective and explicitly display the identity of the person who left them, either by including a title and/or a name, or by representing the creator pictorially. These graffiti represent only a small percentage of all surviving graffiti in Karnak (e.g. ca. 13% of all graffiti in CR7), which is surprising considering the massive dimensions of the Amun complex. Their concentration only in certain areas attest to a special engagement of some people with those parts of the temple.

The cluster on the west wall of CR7, which I discussed in detail in chapter 4, is the earliest one of the two carved along the southern processional way. It was created in at least two phases during the 20th and possibly the beginning of the 21st dynasty, and includes mainly textual and two pictorial graffiti. The other one, composed of texts only, is on the exterior south-east corner of CR10, close to the large 21st dynasty oracular inscription of Djehutymose, and probably dates to the Third Intermediate Period. Both were carved by scribes and priests who probably knew each other very well, since no patronymics or extensive titles are used, suggesting that no legitimization was required.

Similar clusters of self-displaying graffiti, also carved by members of the temple, are known for only three other areas of the complex, notably, the north side of the third pylon, the south wall of the Ptah temple, and the roof of the Khonsu temple. More analysis is required in order to assess their date, but the first two were probably made between the late New Kingdom and the end of the Third Intermediate Period (Frood and Salvador in preparation), while the latter, which includes dates, patronymics, and prayers (Jacquet-Gordon 2003), shows a longer continuity in practice, from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period. All of these graffiti, including the more elaborate ones on the roof of the Khonsu temple, relate to the same practice, for which members of the temple administration and priesthood inscribed themselves in specific areas of the temple. It is remarkable that these clusters, except for that in CR7, are in undecorated areas that were presumably accessible and visible to staff members only, thus strengthening the idea of an intramural practice of a privileged community, whose focus was highlighting their professional role in the temple (Frood 2013). Of course, having one's name inscribed within the sacred temenos necessarily had religious implications — the cluster around the oracular text of Djehutymose, for instance, may relate to the direct connection of the latter with Amun — but the absence from most of these inscriptions of divine names or small prayers, which would have been easy enough for a literate person to include, reveals a much more professionally-oriented practice.

The graffiti in CR7 are the only ones of this kind in a sector of the temple which was part of the divine pathway during annual processions; they were carved on a partly decorated wall — the scenes on the first register were already there when the first graffiti were carved (4.2.1) — even though they do not interfere with primary decoration. The presence of these graffiti here poses various questions. Why were they carved in CR7 as opposed to an undecorated staff-only area as all others? Was this an attempt to participate in divine processions, or should one understand their presence as linked to administrative activities that took place in the courtyard, when processions were not enacted? These hypotheses are not mutually exclusive. CR7 was likely a place of dedication for some of the private stone stelae and statues that were found in the cachette, through which people entrusted the memory of their names and good deeds in the presence of the gods. The graffiti on the west wall of CR7 might have been cheaper alternatives to private monuments; their authors were probably unable to afford more than carving one's name on the wall, since people who could were likely to leave, or commission, a more elaborate graffito; an example is offered by the secondary scene of Nebuneb at the top of the stairwell of the eighth pylon, whose limestone stela (JE 36718) was uncovered in the cachette (Traunecker 1979). Nevertheless, the proximity of several scribes' and priests' graffiti on a small portion of the

west wall highlights the intention of these people to assert their belonging to a professional community, who probably operated in the courtyard.

CR7 is usually considered mainly in relation to the annual processions, especially well known for the new Kingdom (e.g. Cabrol 2001), while little is known about its function during the rest of the year. For example, throughout the Ramessid period substantial and almost constant decoration works affected this area, which probably altered accessibility and the perceived sacredness of this place. It probably meant that a lot of people were hanging around, waiting for orders, recording wages, and keeping track of work progress. This is certainly true for other areas of the temple as well; however, CR7 held a special importance, being immediately adjacent to the most sacred west-east axis. It is possible that the scribes in charge of controlling the area and the passage between the two axes were also those who marked their presence on the dado of the west wall. This spot, in the north west corner of the courtyard, was one of the less immediately visible areas to anyone entering the courtyard from the west and the north doors — in the New Kingdom the east door did not yet exist. This location was also one of the most convenient as some sort of checkpoint from where movements of people and goods could be recorded, being positioned along the path connecting the west door to the northern one leading to the inner spaces of the temple. Whether the position of these graffiti relates more to the hiddenness of the spot, to its strategic location between the two service entrances, or both these options, it is evident that rules of decorum were not subverted, and respect for primary decoration was maintained. Not only did the writers deliberately avoided the first register, but when the marginal inscription of Ramses IV was added onto the dado, most of them — Ashakhet might have been an exception — respectfully left their graffiti below it. Whether or not temple authorities permitted these kinds of graffiti, nothing suggests that they were subversive.

The study of the clusters of self-displaying graffiti in Karnak as a whole can shed light on the participation of specialized and restricted communities in different areas of the temple at specific times, as well as on the interaction of their respective spheres of influence. During the Third Intermediate Period, for instance, self-displaying graffiti left by priests attached to the cult of Khonsu, which are completely absent from CR7, appear on the exterior south-east corner of CR10 and coexist with graffiti of priests of Amun, thus bearing witness to the importance of this area for the interaction of these two priestly communities.

7.2.2. Graffiti of individuals as acts of devotion

The second category includes graffiti that depict, or rarely inscribe the names of, gods and divine symbols. Differently from the former category, whose devotional aspect is given only by the

context, these are explicitly devotional in content. In comparison with self-displaying graffiti, these kinds of graffiti were carved more frequently in Karnak, attesting to the presence of worshippers who wanted to express their closeness to some gods, mainly Amun. Devotional graffiti are much more challenging to interpret than the previous ones for at least two reasons: they are usually problematic to date, because they often lack datable iconographic or palaeographic elements, and it is difficult to go beyond stating the obvious, namely that they represent deities that were worshipped in this temple, which adds very little if at all to their understanding. This is why scholars have often been discouraged from studying them systematically. However, I propose that analysis of the concentration of these graffiti in certain areas, their iconography, and their relation to primary decoration may cast light on people's attitude towards this sacred space.

The largest group of divine images in CR7, which I discuss in chapter 5, is located on the west massif of the seventh pylon, hidden behind two large royal seated statues on a block near the gateway (5.1). This cluster, which includes, among other images, ram protomes, divine standards topped by rams, and squatting Amun figures, seems to date to the 18th dynasty, or slightly later. According to this interpretation, these graffiti are among the earliest ones that were inscribed inside CR7, at a time when only the pylon had received primary decoration. Their secluded location suggests that they were intended to be invisible from the sight of people entering the courtyard. Was this a common feature of graffiti in CR7? Although today the courtyard appears like a large empty space, in the New Kingdom and later it was likely the setting of a number of royal and private monuments, some of which probably ended up buried in the cachette. The spatial distribution and display of statues and stelae is difficult to reconstruct, but it would be wrong to imagine that all the monuments found in the cachette came from this area (Price 2011: 211; Baines 2006: 283), or that the courtyard was cluttered to the point of impeding the view of its walls — most statues were less than a metre high, and many of them did not exceed 30 cm. This means that most graffiti carved on the dados were not intentionally concealed, even though they were small and inconspicuous. The cluster on the seventh pylon is, to my knowledge, the only one deliberately hidden in CR7 or along the southern processional way, and the motivation for this needs to be addressed. Should one understand these graffiti as illicit? And if so, was their content that made them controversial, since they depicted divine images that were seemingly linked to receptive properties of Amun, possibly linked to a cultic image nearby, or was rather their early date, or a combination of both these aspects?

Along the southern processional way, similar graffiti of rams are circumscribed to the seventh pylon (south façade of the west massif), and the south-east exterior corner of CR10;

squatting Amuns, on the other hand, are attested on the east side of the seventh pylon, overlooking the sacred lake, and again on the south-east exterior corner of CR10, in the same area where the large cluster of self-displaying graffiti of the Third Intermediate Period was inscribed (7.2.1). These eastern areas, as it has been stated, were both part of the economic-administrative sector of Karnak, which was precluded to non-temple staff. Hence, it is safe to propose that the cluster in CR7 was similarly inscribed by members of the temple institution, even though the secondary rams and squatting Amuns in the eastern areas probably date to later periods — those east of CR10 maybe to the Third Intermediate Period. As for visibility, nothing suggests that the other attestations were ever meant to be hidden. This hints at the early date of the cluster in CR7 and its setting — the only one inside a courtyard — as possible reasons for its intentional concealment.

More devotional graffiti are present on the walls of CR7, including some representing deities other than Amun. For instance, two baboons with lunar crescents, probably Khonsu, were added onto the primary ritual scene of the king running with the oar, in the first register of the west wall (blocks C5–C6). The baboons face the torso of the king and interact with him. Portable barques and shrines, as those carved on several blocks of the west wall, may also be considered devotional and likely linked to the processions.

The absence of a dedicator characterizes these graffiti. This cannot be explained simply as the product of illiterate people, since an image or a symbol representing their creators could have been added, and even the finely carved images of squatting Amuns facing the sacred lake bear hieroglyphic names of Amun, but no any other name (5.3). It seems that the choice of depicting only one's object of devotion was deliberate, and its meaning is probably comparable to that of anonymous votive offerings that were dedicated in temples (e.g. Pinch 1993), whose function was that of gifts to the worshipped gods, which aimed to 'reinforce prayers or to perpetuate (one's) involvement in a divine cult' (Pinch and Waraksa 2009: 1–2). So much escape us of the rituals performed during the dedication of a votive object or a graffito in a temple, but both were likely accompanied by ritual actions of which remains no trace, such as reciting prayers and/or wishing for the addressed deity to be responsive to the gift and benevolent towards its dedicator. It was these ephemeral, yet powerful performances, about which one can only speculate, that probably made anonymous votive offerings and graffiti unique to their dedicators and charged with special meaning.

7.2.3 Community graffiti as possible secondary votive loci

The third category challenges perception of graffiti as crude and unofficial by considering elaborate and formal divine images carved in prominent places. Despite their high level of investment, which implied that they were commissioned to one or more artists, the secondary nature of these figures is suggested by their position on walls; they are not part of ritual or offering scenes, which usually decorate the temples, but were generally added to blank surfaces, either in isolation or close to other similar images (see e.g. the cluster of large Mut and Amun figures on the south façade of the ninth pylon; Traunecker 1991a). The lack of an officiant before these gods — in primary scenes deities are mostly faced by kings making offerings to them — causes these images to be understood as more interactive and approachable, supporting the hypothesis that they might have been secondary votive places. These kinds of graffiti are attested in Theban temples from the late Ramessid period to Graeco-Roman times; they were mainly displayed in open courtyards and on exterior walls, which led scholars, such as Brand (2004: 257), to propose that they were created by the temple institution for people not belonging to the temple staff. However, the re-examination of the sources commonly used in support of a wide accessibility of some temple areas revealed that no concrete evidence supports that the southern axis was occasionally open to non-temple staff (6.1.1). Only CR10, along with the westernmost forecourt, and the northern exterior wall of the hypostyle hall, seem to have been accessible to a more varied population; this is suggested by the presence of grooves affecting primary and secondary divine images, a treatment which is unattested elsewhere in Karnak (6.1.2). The proximity of these areas to the west and south entrances of the complex, alone, is not strong enough evidence to propose that these areas were open to the exterior world, although this cannot be excluded either. I propose more cautiously that these could have been contact zones for the wide and heterogeneous staff of the temple.

In light of these considerations, the large and formal secondary divine images of gods along the southern processional way, such as the two large Amuns on the south façade of the eighth pylon, should be understood as an intramural practice, 'marking and ritualizing the pathways' of staff (Frood 2013: 290). The same applies to the god image preserved to the knees down on the east wall of CR7, which I analysed in detail in section 6.1. In this case, however, its presumably later inclusion in a royal scene of Ramesses IV seems to indicate that it was diverted from its original function of secondary votive locus, so that it could protect the row of cartouches and, by extension, Ramesses IV himself. Whether or not this interpretation is correct, the theme of divine protection over a king is presented again in the large scene carved a few metres to the north on the same wall, depicting a criosphinx holding Ramesses II or Merenptah

between its paws (6.2). This, as well as the two smaller scenes below it, representing Merenptah before Mut and Shepsi respectively (6.2.2), challenge definitions of graffiti even more. Although these compositions include royal elements and the top one is highly formal, they all deviate from normative temple reliefs for at least three main reasons: 1) similarly to graffiti of isolated deities, the criosphinx scene lacks an officiant, the king being portrayed there not as a donor but as a recipient of the offerings with Amun; 2) when the criosphinx scene was made, it would have been added onto an undecorated surface extending for ca. 12.5 m to the north end of the wall and ca. 50 m to its south end, making this a self-contained scene; 3) the two bottom scenes relate more to private votive stelae than temple scenes: they present a remarkably low graphic register and they are very low on the dado, in a position inappropriate to these kinds of images.

The suggestion that the top scene might have been the back wall of a shrine, in wood or stone, is tantalizing, since it would explain why the scene is self-standing, but at the same time highly problematic, because the *tracés de pose* at the sides of the composition, on which the whole hypothesis of a structure is based, are not strong enough evidence, as I discuss in section 6.2.4. Whether one accepts the presence of a hypothetical shrine or understands the *tracés de pose* as traces of a wall that was dismantled before the composition was carved (Carlotti 2008), the essence of my interpretation remains unchanged. The criosphinx scene is not part of the normative temple decoration, but is a secondary votive locus that was accepted, and surely commissioned, by the temple institution, or some members of it. As such, it does not differ, in function, from the idea of a shrine, which is essentially a votive locus, nor from the graffiti of formal deities discussed above. The latter were often pierced, probably to indicate that they were enriched with altars and other light structures (6.1), which would have probably given them the same status of small shrines — votive loci — although secondary ones.

7.3 Repopulating the court of the seventh pylon: future prospects of research

This thesis aims to demonstrate that, at least in the New Kingdom and the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period, graffiti in CR7 were inscribed by and for the temple personnel of various ranks. Their presence certainly supports some level of accessibility of this courtyard in comparison with other areas of the temple, especially the main axis, where graffiti are rare. However, access to CR7 was limited mainly to the temple staff, and not to uneducated villagers, as it is usually (more or less implicitly) assumed. Leaving graffiti, whether that meant inscribing one's name or carving a sacred image, was a practice that reflect, at least in part, the daily experience of working and living in Karnak.

It is important to remember that the graffiti one sees today were not all contemporaneous and that, considering the two millennia during which they were produced, from the 18th dynasty to the early Christian period, their number is remarkably exiguous. Carving graffiti was not commonplace as one may think, but was a discontinuous practice, which was popular and accepted only during certain periods, such as the New Kingdom and the early Third Intermediate Period. The relative rarity of this practice, together with the sacredness of the context, make the act of inscribing graffiti extremely meaningful. In a society that treated statues and temples as living beings, graffiti are not just tangible traces of the passage of people and their engagement with sacred space; rather, they are active social agents and material extensions of those people, which are still capable to engage with their environment. Graffiti are like utterances of what people wished to express at the time when they left them, which continue to speak to us, even though we, as recipients and audience separated by millennia from the society that created them, struggle to hear their messages.

The graffiti analysed in this thesis are just a small fraction of those that are still visible in the courtyard and in the southern axis more broadly. The application of the same material and contextual approach to clusters of graffiti of different periods could shed light on the different attitudes of people toward this and other areas of the temple complex, while perhaps highlighting some recurring patterns. Retracing the steps and reconstructing the lives of the people who inhabited Karnak while the temple was still active is extremely challenging, and is not a project that can be attempted in isolation. In this respect, the comparison of the results of this research with other datasets obtained from the ongoing graffiti projects in other sectors of Karnak (1.2), as well as excavations of the priestly settlements and economic-administrative areas (e.g. around the sacred lake and in the area of the Ptah temple), could provide a clearer and more coherent overview. While it is hoped that this thesis may contribute to graffiti studies more generally, especially pictorial ones that are so often overlooked, in the future it would greatly benefit from a close comparison with the secondary epigraphy in Graeco-Roman temples, such as Philae and Kom-Ombo, whose more limited time of use and richness in secondary epigraphy could largely complement the study of the latest periods of use of the temple of Karnak.

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Abbreviations (corpora)

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K*RI* Kitchen, Kenneth A. 1970–1990. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical* (8 vols). Oxford: Blackwell.

PM Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss (eds vols I–VII and vols I–II, 2nd ed. Revised, augmented). 1927–1952 and 1960–1972; Málek, Jaromir (ed. vol. III, 2nd ed. Revised, augmented, and vol. VIII.1–4). 1974–1981 and 1999–2012. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, [Statues,] Reliefs and Paintings* (8 vols). Oxford: Griffith Institute.

PN Ranke, Hermann. 1935–1977. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (3 vols). Glückstadt : J. J. Augustin.

Urk. IV Sethe, Kurt (fascicles 1–16). 1906–1909; Helck, Wolfgang (fascicles 17–22). 1955–1958. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (22 fascicles). Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 4. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs; Berlin: Akademie.

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