

SELF-PRESENTATION IN RAMESSID EGYPT

Volume One: Text and Bibliography

Elizabeth Frood
The Queen's College

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Oxford
Trinity 2004



Le monde est grand, mais en nous
il est profond comme la mer.

R. M. Rilke, cited in Gaston Bachelard, *The poetics of space* (1964 (1958)), 183.

Abstract

Elite self-presentation through the biographical genre is a defining element of ancient Egyptian high culture from the Old Kingdom until the Roman period. My thesis centres on the biographical texts produced during the Ramessid period (c.1280–1070 BCE), a time of significant change in elite domains of representation. Since biography has not been seen as a significant genre of this period, these texts, which are inscribed on statues, stelae, temple walls, and in tombs, have not been gathered together or studied as a corpus. Yet they are a key to exploring the diverse and highly individual ways in which a self could be fashioned and presented. I take a holistic approach to the interpretation of these texts, in order to examine the ways in which they were incorporated into their spatial and visual settings and could extend beyond them.

My introduction sets out my aims and the broader anthropological framework which I apply to the Egyptian sources. The following four chapters are case-studies. Chapters two to four are organised according to site (Thebes and el-Mashayikh, Karnak, and Abydos), comparing strategies of self-presentation in tomb and temple contexts. The fourth is thematically oriented, and looks at the image and role of the king in non-royal biographies. In the final chapter, I draw together the results of my individual case-studies, discussing their common textual themes, the interplays of traditional and innovative motifs within them, as well as the implications of their diverse monumental contexts.

I hope to demonstrate that the holistic approach I apply is relevant for the study of monumental discourse in other periods in Egyptian history and has the potential to locate the Egyptian material within broader frameworks for the study of premodern societies.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to John Baines for his constant guidance and support which have encompassed every stage of this study, at every level, and with whom it has been a pleasure and privilege to work. Thank you for your encouragement, patience, and insight.

Special thanks go to Richard Parkinson for his advice, thoughts, and reassurance during the course of my work, and for his friendship. I would also like to thank Anthony Spalinger for his guidance in the early stages of my research and his continued support. I am very grateful to Lynn Meskell for resources, ideas, and for opening up new horizons.

The following colleagues and friends have provided inspiration and discussion: Katja Goebis, Chris Gosden, Jac. J. Janssen, Dilwyn Jones, Marcel Marée, Martina Minas, Gerald Moers, David O'Connor, Stephen Quirke, Elsa Rickal, Gay Robins, Eleanor Robson, Ute Rummel, Kasia Spakowska, Francesco Tiradritti, and Katharina Zinn.

I am very grateful to Mark Smith for his support during my years as both a student then teacher at The University of Oxford, and to Jeremy Black for all his assistance. He is sadly missed. I owe a debt of gratitude to my colleagues at the School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology, The University of Liverpool, for their patience and assistance, in particular Christopher Mee, Christopher Eyre, and Pat Winker. My thanks to Matthew Fitzjohn, Alan Greaves, and Fiona Hobden for help and fun. I am especially indebted to Mark Collier for his advice, understanding, and for rescuing me with many desperately needed coffees. I would also like to thank all my students at Oxford and Liverpool for ideas and laughter, especially Christina Adams and Liam McNamara.

For guidance and assistance through the archives and resources of the Griffith Institute, I am very grateful to Jaromir Malek, Diana Magee, Alison Hobby, Sue Hutchinson, and Elizabeth Miles. I have received invaluable assistance and resources from the following people and institutions: James Allen (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Susanne Bickel (Basel), Vivian Davies (The British Museum), Elisabeth Delange (Louvre, Paris), Mamdouh Eldamaty (The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), Holgar Kockelmann (Bonn), Adel Mahmoud (The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), Ingeborg Müller (Berlin), David Silverman (University of Pennsylvania), JJ Shirley, Jacobus van Dijk

(University of Groningen), Helen Whitehouse (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), and Dietrich Wildung (Berlin).

I have been very fortunate to undertake this work at The Queen's College and The Griffith Institute, Oxford; both have been inspirational environments, in large part through the people I have shared them with, in particular: Karen Bultitude, Mark Depauw, Ana de Diego, Roland Enmarch, Mpay Kemboly, Nikolaos Lazaridis, Christina Riggs, Mia Rikala, Robert Simpson, John Taylor, and Susanne Woodhouse. I owe particular thanks to Andrés Espinel for advice and resources, and to Tom Hardwick for inspiration about Karnak, last minute photocopying, and not minding (too much) that I stole his seat.

I am grateful to Neal Spencer for convincing me that there is more to life than text (bricks, planning, and plumb-bobs for example). I would like to thank Yvonne Harpur and Paolo Scremin for sharing the wonder of Kagemni with me, and for their support and understanding. Special thanks to Frau and Herr Stadler, and especially to Martin Stadler for long chats about life, work, wine, and for sharing my first discovery of Egypt. Here's to watching the light change from an Aswan rooftop again soon. Cynthia Sheikholeslami has cared for me in Egypt and I would also like to thank her for her supportive presence during our shared time in Oxford. I have learnt so much from Hubertus Münch and miss his presence in England more than I can say.

Many friends have provided laughter and fika including: Deborah Bagley, Jonathan Cole, Martin Copley, Abigail Dawson, Sunniva Engh, Mark Lee, and especially Joanne Roberts. My thanks to Marshall Walker who came into my life through a poem (and chocolate) for providing immeasurable support, understanding, and much needed distraction. I would also like to thank Jennifer Baines for numerous cups of tea over the years, and for perspective. Casper and Khephren have taken me on many soul-restoring walks and have listened without judgement.

Special thanks to my father, James Frood, for his supportive presence and his unshakeable faith in me. My grandfather, Robert Henry Wynyard, deserves my thanks and a hug for his love and understanding, especially as I have made him wait so long for me to visit. I would also like to thank my grandmother, Nancy Gilbertson Wynyard, for her joyful presence.

Special thanks to my mother, Hilary Wynyard, for helping me get to where I am, and for her love and support through all the transformations of my life. And thank you for looking after my Scin for me!

I would like to dedicate this thesis to two people who have guided and encouraged me at every step. Words cannot really express my gratitude for their help and friendship. To Jenny Cashman, who has been an inspiration and mentor since we first stumbled into the Griffith Institute together, thank you for your wisdom and clarity, and for transforming my life and work. To Angela McDonald, who has shared with me the poetry of image, thank you for listening, reading, and supporting over the years and for bringing joy and laughter to the last few days.

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The Queen's College
Oxford
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1 INTRODUCTION

Scholars see biography as the most characteristic textual genre of ancient Egypt (Baines 1999b). The first attested biographical texts were inscribed on tomb walls of non-royal individuals over 1000 years before the period that I have selected for analysis and their successors continued to be a component of elite self-presentation into the Roman period (Gnirs 1996, 219–47). I examine biographies that were produced during the 19th and 20th Dynasties (c.1280–1070 BCE). Because relatively few examples survive, biographical narrative has not been considered an important genre in this period, in contrast to earlier times. Its scarcity can be related in part to changes in the conception and function of the tomb, the traditional site of biographical texts. The impact of these changes highlights the significance of context for the interpretation of biography.

Biographies are sited within mortuary settings, either inscribed on the walls of tombs or on commemorative statues and stelae placed in temples. They articulate and celebrate a life, developing themes concerned with the individual's relationship to the human sphere, the king, and the gods. I attend strongly to the materiality of setting and the individual choices involved. My principal chapters are organized spatially, in order to examine the ways in which biographies are integrated into different tombs and temples and how the narratives draw on, thematize, and transform these spaces. Close contextual study makes it possible to approach individuals and how they sought to define and articulate their position in the world and in relation to the gods.

1.1 Aims and method

My study is based on a four-fold shaping of human experience through space, materiality, time, and social interaction (Gosden 1994, 78; see also below, 1.5) and aims:

- 1) to analyze a representative corpus of Ramessid biographical inscriptions and to integrate these texts with their associated images and with the overall spatial context;
- 2) to assess how these texts are situated within, and move beyond, textual and monumental traditions of self-presentation;
- 3) to examine how elite individuals negotiated the construction and presentation of self through relationships, in particular with the king and the gods.

Comparable issues have been seen individually as central to the interpretation of biographical inscriptions, but they have seldom been brought together in comparative studies of single biographical texts or groups of texts (exceptions include: Baines 1996b; 1999b; Baud forthcoming). I make detailed analyses of individual monuments, and associated biographical texts in relation to them, in order to explore these issues. These treatments are presented in case studies that are organized spatially (2, 3, 4) and thematically (5). This structure permits discussion of the development of particular motifs, such as the figure of the king in biography, as well as comparative analysis of textual and monumental forms of self-presentation within specific spatial contexts. Biographical texts may shape and transform their settings, but they cannot be isolated from them.

The first case-study compares biographies in tombs in the Theban Assasif with the long inscription in the tomb of the high priest of Onuris Anhurmosé at el-Mashayikh, exploring how such texts were incorporated into these overtly otherworldly, temple-like spaces and affected their meaning. Chapters 3 and 4 examine strategies of priestly self-presentation in temples, especially that of Amun at Karnak (3) and the cult complexes of Abydos (4). In chapter 3 I trace the historical development of biography within one priestly office and examine the implications of its inscription on temple walls. The media and motifs of priestly life distributed across the temple of Amun can be compared with the topoi of ritual action, procession, and performance mobilized by monuments from chapels and temples at Abydos. The texts treated in these three chapters are centrally concerned to present their protagonists' relationships with gods. In the final chapter (5) I examine a group of texts which thematize the role of the king. These discussions draw on a wide range of contexts, from Theban tombs to the provincial tomb of the high steward Nefersekheru at Zawyet Sultan and the temple stela of the viceroy Setau at Wadi es-Sebua.

The internal organization of the chapter discussions varies. For each monument I provide historical details about the owner as well as, where appropriate, information on any other monuments of his. I treat most of them individually, drawing out comparative points in the discussions or conclusions. For some monuments, notably those of the high priests of Amun at Karnak, close connections in media and narrative motifs render integrated discussions across monuments feasible. I aim both to offer readings of texts and to interpret them within broader spatial and social frameworks. The theoretical approaches I draw on inform my approach and may have the potential

to set my treatments of Egyptian self-presentation within wider contexts of work on premodern societies.

1.2 Selection of material

The earliest text that I include dates to the reign of Horemheb. The small group of biographical inscriptions from the post-Amarna 18th Dynasty, including the extensive moral characterization on the stela of Nakhtmin (*Urk.* IV, 1530–3) and the fusion of prayer and biography on one of Horemheb's scribe statues dedicated under Tutankhamun (Winlock 1924), form a discrete group, closely related to the political climate of those years and they deserve a separate detailed treatment.

The catalogue contains two possible exceptions to this temporal boundary. The first is the biography inscribed in the tomb of the treasurer Maya at Saqqara (8.a). Inscriptions on blocks probably from the tomb indicate that it was built in the reign of Tutankhamun but Maya is last attested in year 8 or 9 of Horemheb (van Dijk 1993, 77–9). Maya's text points to the potential importance of the Saqqara necropolis for the Ramessid biographical corpus (see also 2.1), but this cannot be studied until more of the material is published. I also include the stela of the chief sculptor Userhat (4.a), which cannot be dated more specifically than to the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty but which is closely connected thematically with Ramessid texts from Abydos (4.2).

The majority of the texts included in my corpus date to the 19th Dynasty, in particular the reign of Ramesses II. A small number are from the 20th Dynasty. The latest datable texts included are the inscriptions of the high priest of Amun, Amenhotep, from the reign of Ramesses IX (2.f–i). I do not include the texts of the high priest of Amun Herihor, which have been studied in detail by Malte Römer (1994).

Within this time frame, I have selected extended narratives that thematize aspects of and episodes from an individual's life that were formative, transformative, or culminating. Such texts are broadly encompassed by the categories identified by Andrea Gnirs (1996, 204) as 'action biography' ('Handlungsbiographie') and 'event biography' ('Ereignisbiographie'). The Ramessid examples of these types cohere as a group and present novel features. The texts treated in the various chapters are spatially and/or thematically connected. Longer texts from Coptos (3.a) and parts of Lower Egypt (8.a–b), are included primarily for comparative purposes. Annotated translations of these texts are provided in the catalogue. Some texts that relate to the

biographical inscriptions in context or theme are given in transliteration and translation in the chapters. Where my translations differ from published ones, I do not note the differences unless an interpretive issue is at stake.

I do not include biographical epithets within my selection of material. These condensed declarations of adherence to codes of moral and ideal behaviour are often incorporated within title strings or as justifications in funerary wishes. Epithets have ‘biographical potential’ (Baines 1999a, 30; also Baud forthcoming) and some may allude to culminating events or historical contexts. For example, an epithet of the chancellor Bay seems to allude to his role as kingmaker in the late 19th Dynasty: ‘one who places the king on the throne of his father’ (KRI IV, 364, 5; 371, 8–9; Schneider 2003, 142–3). Andrea Gnirs (1996, 202–3) considers this form of biographical self-presentation the dominant mode in the Ramessid period. More than 500 instances are known from non-royal monuments. This material is outside the scope of my study but is included in the treatment of New Kingdom epithets and titles undertaken by Elsa Rickal (forthcoming). I discuss monuments with extended presentations of biographical epithets (e.g. 8.e) or moral characterizations (e.g. 8.f) where they inform the analysis of my corpus; these are included in the catalogue as minor entries, among which are monuments that bear short narrative statements of events.

Stelae from Deir el-Medina form a separate, although related, corpus. I do not include these texts in the catalogue, although some are drawn on as comparative or illustrative material in the discussions. Most assessments of Ramessid biography have been based on these texts (1.4.2); I offer a different approach based on the elite sources.

1.3 Key terms

1.3.1 ‘Biography’ and ‘self-presentation’

In Egyptology, ‘biography’ and ‘autobiography’ are both used to designate the usually first-person accounts of life-events and moral character inscribed on non-royal monuments. The generic boundaries of the terms and the relationship between them are contested in modern literary studies (e.g. Cockshut 2001; Marcus 1994, 12–13). The term autobiography in particular implies an identification between the subject of the text and its author, although postmodern studies of autobiography have increasingly problematized this equation (Anderson 2001, 12–17 for a summary; Ashley, Gilmore, and Peters 1994; with 1.5.2). The terms often carry the weight of

their modern associations and critiques into the study of ancient sources (Longman 1991, 39–42). Gnirs (1996, 195–8) draws on the structuralist approach of Philippe Lejeune (1996 (1975), esp. 14–19) to argue for a basic correspondence between Egyptian texts and the modern category of ‘autobiography’. Thus, Lejeune’s ‘autobiographical pact’, which accepts a presumed identity between author, narrator, and subject, is a necessary fiction for Egyptian texts, which were probably commissioned rather than composed by their owners, in much the same way as it is seen as a fiction in modern autobiographical studies, including Lejeune’s later work (Eakin 1992, 24–8 for discussion). An example of the attempt to pinpoint an author from the Ramessid sources is Ludwig Morenz’s (2000, 319) suggestion that the scribe Ameneminet, who is depicted in salient zones of the tomb of Samut (2.q), composed the biographical inscriptions in that tomb. As Gnirs points out (1996, 197), ‘im Rahmen des Toten- und Opferkults primär nicht die Frage interessierte, *wer* schrieb, sondern *für wen* geschrieben wurde und, gegebenenfalls, *wer* schreiben *ließ*’. In the study of Egyptian literary texts, including biography, authorship issues can be explored and modelled (for example Derchain 1996; and Morenz 2000 above), but will probably never be resolved in a modern sense.

There remains a discomfort with ‘autobiography’ in Egyptology, leading to suggestions of alternative terms that may describe the Egyptian texts with more precision, such as ‘sepulkralen Ich-Präsentation’ (Assmann 1999b, 13) and ‘Erste-Person-Präsentation’ (Morenz 1999, 125, with n. 86). Nicole Kloth, in her study of Old Kingdom texts (2002), uses ‘(Auto-)biographie’ as a way of covering those texts in her corpus that state they were composed by someone other than the protagonist, as well as those which maintain a presumed identity between ‘author’ and narrator (2002, 226; see also 1998, 192–4).

In light of these issues, and for ease of discussion, in my study I use the term ‘biography’ to designate the texts studied. ‘Biography’ is more flexible than ‘autobiography’ because it leaves the relationship between subject and implied author, and subject and ‘self’ open and multiple. This flexibility is particularly valuable for Ramessid texts, some of which make explicit play with the potentials of the voice of biography, especially in the use of the third person (2.q, 2.3.2; 4.e, 4.3.4).

‘Biography’ here refers specifically to the narrative textual components that were sometimes incorporated into broader elite representation in architecture, image, and text. I term this broader level ‘self-presentation’. Such a distinction is artificial, as

observed by John Baines (2004a (in press)), who uses ‘self-presentation’ instead of ‘biography’ and ‘autobiography’ in his study of Ptolemaic sources, ‘both because they encompassed visual media at least as much as textual and because the visual and textual sat within a social context that must have included ceremony and performance in which the “self” was “presented” to peers and, in terms of the declared purpose of the artefacts, to deities, to the next world, and to posterity’. This expansive view of text and context as mutually implicated and productive agrees with my position in relation to the Ramessid material and informs the organization of my thesis. I aim to explore broader issues in self-presentation, and use biographical texts as a means of approaching this. In extended and detailed treatments of texts and monuments, the distinction between biography as text in the context of self-presentation facilitates discussion and analysis.

1.3.2 Individual selves

Egyptian biographical texts are contextually bound by functional settings of space and performance and by the lives of single individuals. Implicit within this latter connection, and central to my study, are conceptions of the individual and the self. These are mutable categories that have generated vast literatures in most areas of the humanities and social sciences. My definition and use of these terms is highly selective and focused around the contexts of the texts themselves. My aim is not to redefine the terms for the ancient society, but to use them as a means of engaging with and foregrounding specific aspects of Egyptian biography.

In this thesis, I define the individual as the biological human being, the historical person, and the owner of the objects I treat. While this concept is singular, concepts of self are potentially fluid and multiple. I use ‘self’ to describe the site of an individual’s perception and agency, drawing in particular on Jan Assmann’s (1982, 964–8) treatment of Egyptian ‘spheres of being’ (‘Personalität’), as well as Lynn Meskell’s (1999, 32–6) discussion of these concepts in her analysis of individual experience and social life at Deir el-Medina. ‘Self’ refers to an individual’s personal characteristics, attributes, and roles, to encompass their subjective sense of these attributes and their experience of time and being in the world. ‘Self-presentation’ (included in Assmann’s ‘Personlichkeit’) is the selection and fashioning of aspects of self for display. The selection is governed in part by implications of function and boundaries of decorum within which there is considerable potential for individual

agency. As is often observed (Assmann 1982, 971; Hahn 1998, 27–8; Olshen 2001, 800), the necessary briefness and selectivity of a presentation of a self makes it more cohesive than is possible in lived experience, but it can retain flexibility and multiplicity, the potential for which is further extended by the Egyptian monumental context. Moreover, the construction of a self-presentation is perhaps more likely to be reflexive than daily, lived experience where such issues may play out in different ways.

In approaching questions of agency and flexibility in self-presentation, my treatment of the terms differs somewhat from Meskell, who presents a hierarchy of terminology from the ‘inner self’ to the publicly constituted ‘person’, the ‘social someone’ (1999, 34). These distinctions are also emphasized in broader sociological studies (Carrithers, Collins, and Lukes 1985; Harris 1989; Poole 1994). Such delineations are valuable in the analysis of lived contexts and experiences as at Deir el-Medina; Meskell also stresses the interconnectedness and fluidity of these categories. I do not consider this division necessary for elite self-presentation, which is a reflexive genre rather than a mode of being. Here I follow the broader distinctions of individual experience and self-presentation set out by Assmann (1982) and the definitions developed by anthropologists such as Anthony Cohen (1994) and Martin Sökefield (1999). Cohen, in particular, argues against distinctions between ‘inner’ and ‘outer’, ‘personal’ and ‘social’ (1994, 6), because he considers that such dualisms assign society and ideology primacy in the construction of individual experience and identity. He calls for analyses that ‘pay attention to the ways people reflect on themselves and then see in what ways these reflections are indicative of social and cultural context, or require such contextualization to be intelligible to us’ (1994, 29). It is this project of contextualization that I develop. By focusing on individual monuments and the ways in which selves are presented through and transform these media, I emphasize the complexity and diversity of self-presentation, foregrounding subjectivity, agency, and creativity, as well as their aesthetic implications.

1.4 Existing discussions

1.4.1 Approaching Egyptian biography

Traditional Egyptological approaches to biographical inscriptions focused almost exclusively on the texts themselves. The most recent and comprehensive synthesis of Egyptian biography that uses this approach is Gnirs’ (1996) literary survey of

Egyptian biography and of its status as a genre. She analyzes its thematic and structural characteristics in relation to modern definitions of autobiography and to Egyptian textual traditions. She extends her treatment to monumental media and the mortuary function of the texts, focusing on intertextual relationships with both literary and functional textual genres.

Part of Gnirs' aim is to establish a new typology of biographical texts in order to describe different structural forms (narrative and expository) and themes (action, event, confession, and encomium) more accurately than the broader divisions into 'career biography' and 'ideal biography' (Van de Walle 1975, 816–7). The identification of texts types is a useful tool for assessing the development of the genre, which is one of Gnirs' aims, and her divisions provide a point of reference for more detailed studies (Baud forthcoming), including my own. However, although Gnirs acknowledges that individual texts usually deploy more than one type (1996, 205–6), her typologies are essentially reductive. This is perhaps illustrated by Kloth's (2002, esp. 227–9) rejection of Gnirs' typology in her study of Old Kingdom biography because it would not fit the sources she treats.

Gnirs' study places biography at the centre of the problem of defining literature and the function of genre in the ancient setting. She highlights the complexity of biographies and the potential they offer for analysis as artefacts and aesthetic objects in their own right. Nonetheless, her focus on textual form, content, and typology is part of, and contributes to, the broader tendency in Egyptology to isolate and prioritize text over monumental form. This focus is exemplified by synchronic studies of phraseology that break individual texts down into their component parts, producing at minimum catalogues of parallel phrases (Jansen-Winkel 1999) that are often organized and analyzed according to such themes as relationships to social spheres (Doxey 1998), including the king (Guksch 1994; Kloth 2002, 151–75) or the treatment of such concepts as *Maat* (Kloth 2002, 77–111) or *hswt* and *mrwt* (Guksch 1994, 39–48). Such lexicographic studies have the potential to illuminate broad themes and developments through their external reference points such as the king or social ethics. However, the isolation of parallel phrases from their textual and spatial contexts elides difference and diversity, as well as directing analysis away from the individual subject who constituted the ultimate focus of these texts.

At the other pole of discussion are more holistic studies such as Eberhard Otto's (1954) analysis of Late Period biography which presents translations of the main

sources and draws these into detailed, thematically oriented studies. In many ways the structure of my study is modelled on his approach, although I foreground spatial context. A comparable approach to Otto's is taken by Miriam Lichtheim (1992; 1997) in her studies of concepts of Maat and moral values in biography through both synthesizing and individual discussions of texts presented in full or partial translation. Her anthology of Middle Kingdom biography (1988) also addresses contextual issues in its detailed discussion of the Abydene context. Gnirs' (2000) comparative analysis of patterns of patron and client relationships presented in the Eloquent Peasant and in Middle Kingdom biographical texts, modelled on studies of Renaissance and early modern courts, points toward further styles of development in the textual analysis of biographical inscriptions.

Bettina Hackländer-von der Way's (1999/2000) study of biography within a sociological framework departs from text-based approaches. She begins with surveys of the historical development of the central themes of biography from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period and of the change in monumental context from tomb to temple. These chapters set the scene for the theoretically based discussions which follow. Her analysis is based in particular on George H. Mead's (1962 (1934)) theory of symbolic interactionism, which is concerned with how individuals conceptualize themselves in social relationships. This theory emphasizes the creative potential of the individual, who has continually to redefine and renegotiate the symbol of his/her self within society (1999/2000, 120–6; Cohen 1994, 9–10). Hackländer-von der Way views biographical inscriptions as a central mechanism in this mediatory process. Although she emphasizes (1999/2000, 135) that Egyptian biographical texts are productive and creative rather than reproductive, her generalizing survey, with very limited discussion of individual monuments, produces a rather normative and reductive analysis. However, her approach, like the works of Gnirs (1996; 2000), valuably positions Egyptian biography within broader frameworks of interpretation and explanation.

The studies that have most influenced the development of my approach are examinations of biographical inscriptions from the 4th and 5th Dynasties and their implications for the development of fictional literature (Baines 1999a; 1999b; Baud forthcoming). These studies treat context as crucial for interpreting the emergence of biography and emphasize the potential of a whole tomb space to thematize a life, a position which is also relevant for later sources. Baines' analysis of the 5th Dynasty

false door of Niankhsakhmet also extends the implications of contextual analysis to explore questions of oral performance (1999b, 22–30; 1.5). Modelling related practices in temples is more difficult and has hardly been developed (but see Zivie-Coche 2001; Leahy 1999, esp. 191–2; Baines 1996b). Comparative analysis of such settings has the potential to extend interpretation of biographical texts as well as monumental presentation as a whole.

1.4.2 Assessing the Ramessid period

The Ramessid period, in particular the early 19th Dynasty, is generally characterized as a reactionary phase where traditional beliefs and practices were reinstated, although with significant change. The nature of this reaction and the levels at which it was negotiated and enacted is widely debated.

Innovation in spheres of non-royal monumental discourse and representation are part of broader interplays of tradition and change which characterize the late New Kingdom and for which Amarna is seen generally as a major catalyst. Discussion has centred on the impact of what Antonio Loprieno (1996c, 522) terms ‘cultural diglossia’, which resulted in the transmission of Middle Egyptian literature as a canon in educational contexts and the emergence of new literary genres composed in and enabled by Late Egyptian (Assmann 1985; Baines 1996a; Loprieno 1996c, 521–4; Fischer-Elfert 2003). Although linguistic developments are not a detailed focus of my study, biographical inscriptions participate in this linguistic proliferation in complex ways, from the formal texts of the high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons, composed in ‘Egyptien de tradition’, to the mix of Classical and Late Egyptian forms in the biography of Samut (Vernus 1978, 137–42).

This separation, as well as the praise of sages of the Old and Middle Kingdom in P Chester Beatty IV and its supposed visual counterpart, the Fragment Daressy, have been interpreted as showing the Ramessid veneration of an ideal age, particularly the Middle Kingdom, together with a sense of separation from and ‘inferiority’ to this past (Assmann 1985, 39–43; 2002 (1996), 276–7; Fischer-Elfert 2003, 125). Such generalizations gloss over complex interactions and tensions between tradition and innovation. A magical papyrus in Athens, probably from Deir el-Medina, incorporates sages of the past into a protective spell on account of their magical efficacy (Fischer-Elfert 2003, 128–30, fig. 7:1). This text reinforces the significance of verses of P Chester Beatty IV that refer to the magical power of the individuals it lists (Fischer-

Elfert 2003, 129–30), exemplifying how pasts were redefined and transformed by new contexts. The lost tomb setting of the Fragment Daressy may have mobilized similar plays (Baines 1989, 143). This selection and use of pasts, both recent and distant, can be seen in the royal domain in the development of the Hyksos city of Avaris as the site of a new capital city together with the mobilization of a fictionalized ancestry in the ‘400 year stela’ probably from the same site (KRI II, 287–8; Loprieno 1996b, 292–3).

In religion and religious display, the reaction can be encapsulated in two broad spheres, the innovative development of what Jan Assmann (1995) terms ‘Theban Amun-Re theology’, an extension of the solar religion of the pre-Amarna New Kingdom (Baines 1998b, 277–88) and ‘personal piety’. Definitions of, and approaches to, this latter phenomenon are crucial for the discussion of Ramessid biography. Assmann (1979, esp. 17–36; 1995a, 190–210; 2002 (1996), 229–46) defines ‘personal piety’ narrowly as a textual or literary phenomenon that negotiates broader changes in the understanding of the world and the gods and thus distinct from ‘popular’, local practices such as domestic shrines and votive offerings. ‘Personal piety’ would express a new religiosity, concerned with the direct experience of god and crystallized in the phrase ‘to place god in one’s heart’ (Assmann 1995a, 193–5). Assmann locates the beginnings of this religious movement in the Theban festivals of the early New Kingdom, but sees its most developed form in such texts as the biographies of Samut and Djehutyemheb (2; see also Assmann 1978; 1979, 17) and hymns and prayers that express a direct experience of the divine within a view of the world as dependent on the will of god. The radical nature of this development is linked causatively to Amarna reforms which positioned the king as sole intermediary between the human sphere and the Aten.

Assessments of Ramessid biography are shaped by this more reactionary view of the Ramessid period. Hackländer-von der Way (1999/2000, 63–8) characterizes the texts as ‘pious’, although she draws minimally on primary sources and centres her discussion on Assmann’s (1979; 2002 (1996), 229–46) thesis of the changed status of Maat during the New Kingdom from an ethical to a theological concept.

Gnirs (1996, 233–6) presents a more detailed analysis based on the major texts. She describes a shift from loyalist, king-centred themes in the early 19th Dynasty to more direct expression of relationships to the gods. She centres her assessment of this development on the ‘penitential hymns’ from Deir el-Medina, which condense

individual self-presentation to a single experience of personal wrongdoing and divine intervention. She sees these texts, as well as the tomb inscriptions of Samut and Djehutyemheb, as showing a new interest in exploring the inner perspective of the protagonist through critical assessment of and reflection on one's own actions on an individual rather than community level (1996, 235). Gnirs (1996, 204–5) considers that this motif represents a new type of biographical text which she terms a confessional biography ('Bekenntnisbiographie'), distinct from other narrative and expository types (such as 'event biography', see above). For Gnirs, the development of this type was stimulated by Amarna texts that narrate the king's intervention in an individual's life. It is unlikely that Amarna texts were used as models in later periods. I suggest rather that such texts extended motifs that present direct experiences of gods which, although more central in the Ramessid period, are attested from the Middle Kingdom and 18th Dynasty.

Views of Ramessid discourse as representing a new reality 'in which time, destiny, and history became intelligible in a religious sense' (Assmann 2002 (1996), 243) depend on a restricted selection of sources that dismiss as irrelevant different earlier forms of evidence for direct interaction with the divine sphere (Baines 1991b, 172–8) and are rendered problematic by increasing numbers of reassessments of older sources. A Middle Kingdom stela, probably from Wadi el-Hudi, links moral phraseology of provision with the performance of temple ritual (Espinell 2004 (in press); see also Fischer-Elfert and Grimm 2003, 71, 73–4), a motif emphasized in Ramessid texts. Susanne Bickel's (2003) study of Amarna material shows how direct communication with and experience of the Aten was displayed by elite individuals in various contexts. She draws on representations and formulations of prayers in tombs, as well as introductory formulae in letters which address the Aten directly and may attest to religious practices across a broader social scale.

Bickel's study strengthens and extends Baines' (1991b, 194–8; Baines 2002) argument that the Ramessid developments reflect changes in and expansion of decorum, as well as an intensified interest in religious matters, rather than expressing fundamental shifts in world-view and religious belief. This expansion can be understood both as a reaction against Akhenaten's reforms and as being enabled by them. For example, the inclusion of depictions of the interior of temples in Amarna non-royal tombs points the way to the loosening of decorum in this domain that can be linked indirectly to later developments (Baines 1998b, 296; Bickel 2003, 32–7).

The ways in which Ramessid individuals exploited and extended these domains and boundaries of expression and display are a central concern in my study.

1.5 Theoretical frameworks; the materiality of text

My analysis of biographical inscriptions is shaped by various archaeological and literary approaches: no single method can encompass the different ways in which Egyptian biography and self-presentation operate. Approaches that contextualize social practices and place individual action and choice at the centre of those contexts and practices are particularly relevant to my material.

Christopher Gosden (1994, 78) identifies four dimensions that govern the possibilities and limits of human action and experience: ‘space, time, mutuality, and materiality, all of which are both socially created and creating’. These dimensions provide a framework for my study. Unlike Gosden, I am concerned with textual sources that negotiate these dimensions on an individual level. Gosden uses them to inform understanding of long-term social and historical change, and the central concept in his analysis is ‘time’. In the monumental and representational context, the central concept is ‘materiality’, which describes the ways artefacts and constructed environments were embedded in and productive of social relations.

In its linking of self, social practice, and the physical world, materiality is a salient principle for analysis of monumental texts (application to the Egyptian writing system: Assmann 1994). Its central application in archaeology and anthropology has been in studies of the social life and social agency of objects, in particular through the construction of object biographies (Kopytoff 1986; Langdon 2001). For Egypt, Meskell (2004) examines the ways objects operate in different domains during the course of their ‘lives’. An example that is relevant to my corpus is her analysis of the processes through which statues become intermediaries and/or vehicles for deities (2004, 87–115). In analysing such implications of the social agency of monuments I draw on the work of Alfred Gell (1998) in particular (1.5.3). The implications of inscription add further dimensions to the operation of materiality that are not generally incorporated into archaeological approaches. Materiality marks out three interconnecting domains in biographical inscriptions: I discuss physical monumental form, the implicating of self and life within that form, and performance. The first two are treated in detail in the following sections.

At a concrete level, examination of the materiality of text addresses their physical and spatial contexts. I study how biographical inscriptions are shaped by their funerary and commemorative contexts, as well as broader implications of setting and landscape. Biographical texts can also transform those spaces and extend beyond them (1.5.1).

My second level of materiality connects closely with Gosden's definition (1994, 82) of the term as referring to 'human relations with the world'. I look at how biographical texts articulate, participate in, and enact these relationships. Biography is the monumental text-type most closely bound to individual lived experience, if only ideally. This level examines the ways a self is presented through space, how the self and its social relations are constructed and presented in monumental spatial contexts (1.5.2–3).

In thematizing the dialectic between individual and world, materiality also speaks to more ephemeral practices connected to biographical texts and their commemorative contexts, such as their performance. The creation and dedication of a temple statue or a tomb had immediate significance for the individual and his social group: the possibility of and potential for the oral performance of material analogous to the inscribed texts may be mobilized through these contexts. Cross-cultural examples may provide parallels, such as the biographical texts composed for medieval Chinese monks as part of their funerals which were then inscribed within their tombs (Shinohara 1998, 277, 296), or biographical eulogies performed at some early modern English funerals (Houlbrooke 1998, 326–8). In the Egyptian context, issues of performance are exemplified by Baines' analysis (1999b, esp. 22) of the 5th Dynasty false-door of Niankhsakhmet, the text on which reflexively thematizes its own creation. As condensed versions of eulogies spoken to the king, the texts on the false door also enact potential performative settings. Dorman similarly suggests (2002a, 104–5) that the eight groups of biographical epithets on the 4th–5th Dynasty chapel façade of Ptahshepses were organized as poetic refrains. Among the Ramessid material, some monuments, particularly those from Abydos, mobilize such performative contexts through the visual arrangement of the text, as well as thematizing ritual and festival participation (4.b, e). These three levels of materiality are interwoven and mutually implicated in my study, although the more elusive element of performance is necessarily in the background.

1.5.1 Materiality and sacred space

Physical setting has important implications for the interpretation of biography, some of which can be addressed through phenomenological approaches to landscape while taking into account questions of audience and reception. Space and setting are salient for the analysis of Ramessid non-royal monuments, because demarcations of decorum were relaxed and contexts of self-presentation were changing. Biographical texts were only seldom incorporated into tombs which had an increasing focus on the deceased's relationship to the divine sphere. However, where biography is included, the texts often extend the boundaries of traditional forms of self-presentation, mobilizing reformulations and elaborations of biographical motifs in distinctive settings.

In the Ramessid period, the temple became the central domain for self-presentation. A small number of biographies were included on the bodies of Middle Kingdom statues (e.g. Fischer-Elfert and Grimm 2003). The temple statue became increasingly popular from the early 18th Dynasty onward (Gnirs 1996, 198–9) and by the Third Intermediate Period, statues were the primary medium for biographical inscriptions. Already during the Ramessid period, relatively few biographical texts use the more traditional stela format and the majority are on statues. These often make play with the implications of this medium, through distinctive statue forms (e.g. 4.3.2) or through the dedication of multiple statues bearing complementary texts located in different parts of the same temple complex (3), perhaps modelling earlier practices with stelae.

Both tombs and monuments in temples represent significant investments by elite individuals in the perpetuation of self and memory beyond death. Armando Petrucci (1998, xviii) foregrounds the social implications of a 'written death' as 'a substantially and profoundly "political" practice aimed at celebrating and recording the power and social presence of the group to which the deceased belonged and ... directed at consolidating wealth, prestige, endurance over time, vitality, and capacity for reproduction and expansion'. The 'political' and functional dimensions of monuments are thus interconnected. Tombs were centred on the body of the deceased, marking his resting place and creating a place for maintenance of cult, while celebrating and commemorating his life. Statues and stelae extended these associations into temple domains. They were instrumental in ensuring the afterlife of the individual through the maintenance of his cult in the temple and his continuing interaction with the divine cult. In the Ramessid period, the tomb also was centrally

concerned with the individual's relationship to the gods. In both domains, biographical texts thematize these connections.

As Richard Parkinson notes (2002, 79–80), whereas literary texts have an oral, recitative context, monumental contexts weave image, text, and architecture into complex 'multi-medial' experiences. He cites a text from the Saite tomb of Ibi, which sets out a programme for 'immersing (*dfy*)' oneself in the tomb space and 'entering/comprehending (*ʿq*)' its written dimensions through the full sensory experience of 'seeing' and 'hearing' (Kuhlmann 1973), and thus addressing the issue of audience. Similarly the biography in the tomb of Nefersekheru invites people to 'joyfully receive what I have said concerning my life on earth' (7.a, col. 22). A range of responses to the experience of his tomb is also presented in the appeal to these visitors to mourn his loss and to delight in the experience of the space (Osing 1992b, 75, pl. 44 cols 2–3). Most of the Ramessid tombs that include a biographical text contain comparable appeals. These text-types address an audience, whether factually or otherwise, as well as mobilizing such elements as aesthetic pleasure, which are 'integral to the audience's response to cultural artefacts' (Parkinson 2002, 82); the standard otherworldly decoration of Ramessid tombs does not have this orientation. Thus, tombs with biographical inscriptions explicitly maintain the connections of the individual and his tomb with the outside, lived world, as well as articulating and extending the implications of a direct relationship with the gods.

Although appeals to the living are very common on statues and stelae and biographies are often framed as appeals or instructions, the modelling of audience in the restricted domain of temples is more problematic. Statues set up in Karnak, for example, would have been accessible to relatively few people; moreover a text on a statue's back pillar may not have been visible. In such contexts, performances at moments of creation and dedication may have been vital to the statue's affect, while many of these texts were overtly directed to the gods and the next world. Stelae, and especially statues, not only acted as a medium for ongoing participation in cult, but were also a way for elite individuals to assert their presence in sacred spaces, particularly restricted areas of temples. Monuments bearing biographical texts may have carried elements of the self even more explicitly.

Issues of audience and media that relate to the materiality of text in monumental contexts also incorporate the meanings of wider sacred landscapes. Archaeologists have challenged older views of landscape as passive settings which people act on and

react to. Studies now examine how landscape actively engages with and transforms social actions and practices:

... the series of places through which people's life-histories are threaded help them to give account of their own identity. Our personal biographies are built up from located acts. So although we can say that landscapes are constructed out of the imbricated actions and experiences of people, those people are themselves constructed in and dispersed through their habituated landscape.

(Thomas 2001, 173)

Although Julian Thomas is referring here to lived experiences of landscape, these points are also relevant to how the narrated selves of biography are shaped by and shape the spaces in which they are inscribed. The 'past worlds of meaning' (Thomas 2001, 181) embedded within landscapes can be woven through texts, forging potent connections between self and space and, thereby, between self and the divine. This process can be traced throughout the Ramessid corpus, from the Hathoric associations of the Assasif tombs (2) to the centrality of the performance of the Osiris mysteries at Abydos (4). Biographical texts have the potential to transform these settings, for example marking out priestly domains at Karnak through the dedication of multiple statues and inscription on temple walls. Such possibilities are exemplified by the prayer to Hathor on the stela of the Deir el-Medina workman Qenherkhepeshef:

<i>jnk-b3 r-hft-hr-nb.f</i>	I am a ba in the presence of his lord.
<i>ms.j m-p3y(.t)-wb3 p3-rwty</i>	I was born in your precinct of the cave
<i>r-gs-dsrt r-s3h r-mnst</i>	beside Deir el-Bahri, near the Menset temple;
<i>j.wnm.j m-p3wt-hryw-hb</i>	I ate from the offering loaves of the lector-priests
<i>r-gs-3hw-3w</i>	beside the great akh-spirits.

<i>swtw.t.j m-st-nfrw</i>	I walked about in the Place of Perfection,
<i>swh3 m-p3y(.k)-wb3</i>	spending the night in your precinct,
<i>swr.j-mw h3b hr-pdt(?)</i>	drinking water which flowed from the mountain (?)
<i>m-p3-wb3 n-mnt</i>	in the precinct of Menet;
<i>sw-mh-kysy sšny</i>	it waters the rushes and the lotuses,
<i>m-p3-wb3 n-ptḥ</i>	in the precinct of Ptah.

<i>swh3-h^c.j n-h3-[hr].k</i>	My body spent the night in the shadow of your [face],
<i>sdr.j (m-)p3y.k-wb3</i>	I slept (in) your precinct,
<i>jry.j-wdḡw m-hwt-ntr</i>	I made stelae in the temple
<i>r-gs-nbw-dsrt</i>	beside the lords of Djesret.

(KRI VI, 275, 12–276, 1; Vernus 2000; 2002)

The physical, sensory experience of place and landscape is powerfully foregrounded in this text, which maps out a personal sacred geography through the Theban West bank by moving to and fro between Deir el-Bahri and the Valley of the Queens. This stela may have been set up in the cave sanctuary of Meretseger, linking this domain

with other key sacred areas. It is in such connections of space, text, and individual that I seek, to borrow Gaston Bachelard's title (1969 (1958)), a 'poetics of space'.

1.5.2 Being in the text

Egyptian biographies are literary creations within these spatial and functional contexts. Here I review two interconnected domains that inform my approach to Ramessid biography, drawing in particular on poststructuralist and New Historicist literary criticism: the fictional status of biography; and contextual approaches to interpretation.

Debates in postmodern literary criticism of autobiography and biography centre on their generic status and on the ontological status of the subject, the 'autobiographical self' (Ashley, Gilmore and Peters 1994; Marcus 1994, esp. 179; Olshen 2001, 799; Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001). These studies contest earlier conceptions of this self as 'transcendental' and exemplary, and conclude that there is no self outside text, that the subject of texts is constructed, fragmented, and dissolved through language. Such studies conclude that autobiography is indistinguishable from fictional literature: 'the self of autobiography is a fiction' (Gilmore 1994, 68). These views are in part a product of the broader development of literary criticism, but they also result from the nature of the sources used, from Augustine to Barthes. Their concern is the implications of fictionality for interpretation and literary criticism: how should these texts be interpreted in light of their proposed fictionality? Despite the impact of post-colonialist and feminist approaches – or perhaps because of them – the issue of the status of the self remains central in recent syntheses (Marcus 1994, 273–94; Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001).

Ancient biographical sources and other traditions open up additional interpretive questions. As Dale Eickelman (1991, 39) observes in his study of *tarjamas*, third person accounts of the lives of Muslim men of learning, the analysis of the reflexive subject in literary-critical approaches is hardly relevant for texts that are concerned to display a public persona. These concerns also speak to Egyptian sources, which perhaps comparably foreground their exemplary nature and didactic potential.

I proceed from the position that all discourse, in particular all narrative, is fictively shaped, following the approaches of such theorists as Hayden White and Wolfgang Iser, who explore the subject of fictionality from different angles. Whereas Iser (1993) treats fictionality within literature, White (1987) examines it in

historiography. Egyptian biographies can be seen as lying on the borders of these domains (cf. Loprieno 1996a, 46; Gnirs 1996, 192–3). On the one hand, many of them ‘mask’ their fictionality (Iser 1993, 12) but on the other hand they may make explicit play with their fictionalizing potential. Examples include the biography of Amenemhab in which the protagonist is filled with awe before Thutmose III, in a passage that evokes Sinuhe’s experience before Senwosret I (Baines in preparation); comparable shaping and resonance is a feature of biography from most periods (2.3) and of narrative more generally. Discussing Paul Ricoeur, White notes (1987, 178) that:

narrative discourse does not simply reflect or passively register a world already made; it works up the material given in perception and reflection, fashions it, and creates something new, in precisely the same way that human agents by their actions fashion distinctive forms of historical life out of the world they inherit as their past.

This basic insight is central to my approach to the Egyptian material.

From Western critical approaches to autobiography, I adopt the concept of ‘aesthetic referentiality’ developed by John Paul Eakin (1992, esp. 50–3, 193–9), who builds upon the approach of White and Ricoeur. This concept describes how autobiographical texts maintain the potential to refer to the real world but, as aesthetically created objects, are deeply immersed in representation. In the Egyptian context, both the referential and the aesthetic are further bound to and shaped by monumental form. I explore the strategies and techniques deployed in this shaping.

On the textual level, I draw upon approaches exemplified by the critical practice of New Historicism, which is interested in how texts are productively tied to other social discourses and practices. In relation to Ramessid biography, Stephen Greenblatt’s *Renaissance Self-fashioning* (1980) provides a valuable model in its examination of individual self-presentation and presence through interweaving literary texts, the author’s career, and wider social worlds. His chapter on Thomas More develops the implications of metaphors of theatre and performance that shape the protagonist’s participation in and estrangement from the opulent display of Henry VIII’s court (1980, esp. 23–33). Greenblatt explores the ideologically-bound shaping of self while emphasizing artfulness, creativity, and autonomy, all of which find parallels in how Egyptian texts artfully fashion distinct selves. New Historicism is concerned with the poetics and politics of culture, in which the production and containment of subversion by and within dominant ideology, and the malleability and permeability of that ideology, are central (Montrose 1989, 20–3). Such rethinking of

the relationship of discourse to power structures has provided a powerful stimulus for the study of Middle Kingdom literature (Parkinson 1999; 2002). In contrast to literary texts, I see Egyptian biographical texts not so much as a means of questioning, but more as a celebration of elite culture. They contribute to and participate in this celebration, yet also make play with the boundaries of decorum.

1.5.3 Mutuality and agency

In what ways do spatial context and text coincide? Here I return to Gosden's four dimensions of social experience, in particular mutuality, which describes how the self is constituted through social relations, which in Egypt are mobilized by text and monument. Marilyn Strathern (1988, 13) describes selves in Melanesia as being 'as dividually as they are individually conceived. ... persons are frequently constructed as the plural and composite site of the relationships that produced them'. Formulations of self as a 'social microcosm' perhaps allow us to approach these issues for societies that are less individualizing than our own and have been developed for Egyptian and Mayan material by Meskell and Joyce (2003, esp. 17–18). In the Egyptian context there is a depth of materiality behind personal status, highlighted particularly by biographical inscription, which presents a more strongly contoured and subjective shaping of self than is perhaps encompassed by or visible in Melanesian practices. In these monumental sources, the social self incorporates and mediates key domains of interaction with the gods, the king, the human sphere, as well as the dead with whom the individual may be partially assimilated. Biographical texts extend the domains through which a self can be presented, detailing the relationships that constituted lived experience, sometimes symbolically, as well as aspects of these four spheres of interaction that could not be presented visually. For the Ramessid material the divine sphere is central.

Monuments and the texts inscribed on them actively mediate and enact social interactions. Alfred Gell's theory of art and agency illuminates aspects of this mediation. Particularly valuable is his view that an aesthetic object acquires personhood within a context of social interaction, so that 'to all intents and purposes it becomes a person ... it is a congealed residue of performance and agency in object form, through which access to other persons can be attained and via which their agency can be communicated' (1998, 68). If objects are 'personlike', they enable the presentation and agency of self to be extended beyond the physical body. This notion

of ‘distributed personhood’ is valuable for examining how biographical inscriptions and the images and monuments associated with them extend the self into other domains and link it to other spaces and social relations. Statues illustrate Gell’s ideas most evocatively, but stelae and tomb walls also have comparable potential in the distribution and extension of self. The idea that a statue can be a bearer of self is exemplified by the inscription on the base of the naophorous statue of the overseer of the treasury, Panehsy. The text addresses the statue at once as a separate being and as a fundamental component and extension of self:

<i>hnty(.j) tw.k r-hft-hr-nbw-t3-dsr</i>	My statue, you are here before the lords of the sacred land,
<i>jmj-tw m-sh3 n-rn.j m-pr-nbw-t3-wr</i>	may you be the memory of my name in the domain of the lords of Thinis.
<i>tw.k-dy-n.j m-jnht ntk-dt-m3^c</i>	May you be here for me as a shelter (?), for you are my true body.
<i>snn(.j) rwd.k n-rn.j</i>	My statue, may you endure for my name,
<i>mr.tj hr-nbw</i>	beloved of everyone,
<i>3w-n.[k]-rhyt ʿwy.sn hr-ʿnhw-špssw</i>	so that the people stretch out their hands to you, bearing splendid bouquets,
<i>dj.tw-n.k-qbh sntr</i>	that you may be given libations and incense,
<i>m-spw n-nb.k</i>	as the remainder of your lord,
<i>k3-jwt-b3 m-phrr</i>	so that when my ba comes fluttering,
<i>šsp.f-snnw hn^c.k</i>	he may receive offerings with you.
	(KRI III, 137, 9–13; Assmann 2003, 14)

In keeping with Gell’s concept, this text exemplifies the multiplicity of potential statues have as representatives of the self, vessels for the ba, and ‘sources of, and targets for, social agency’ (1998, 96).

Gell’s theory was developed particularly for less specifically personal objects than the monuments I treat, those that could potentially have different ‘owners’ or, as with divine images, relate intimately to numerous people. Artefacts that acquire meaning and presence through one person extend the interpretation of agency and interaction in other directions. Those that bear biographical inscriptions are even more closely bound to an individual self. They not only mobilize but also perpetuate and mediate the relationships, qualities, experiences and events that were central to their protagonists’ lives.

2 TOMB AS TEMPLE

2.1 The Ramessid tomb: transforming space

In this chapter I examine biographical texts incorporated into three tombs, two in Thebes and one at the provincial site of el-Mashayikh. All three share strategies of self-presentation, incorporating extended narratives which are foregrounded in the decorative programme. The tombs of Djehutyemheb and Samut are located in the Assasif on the Theban West Bank; both date to the reign of Ramesses II. The biographical texts in these tombs incorporate complex discourse typical of the Ramessid period in their narration. The biography in the tomb of Djehutyemheb describes an encounter with Hathor in a dream, while the inscription in the tomb of Samut uses a third-person literary frame to narrate a personal relationship with Mut. I study these texts together with the extended narrative in the provincial rock tomb of Anhurmosé, high priest of Onuris under Merneptah, in the cemetery of el-Mashayikh in the Thinite nome. His biographical inscription, the longest known from the Ramessid period, draws on and transforms traditional motifs and epithets within a unique visual setting.

The deployment of the texts within the tomb as a whole, including their relationship to images as well as other textual material, is central to my analysis. All three texts use female mediators to incorporate the biographical text into the otherworldly domain of the tomb and to enable and develop themes concerned with the individual's relationship with the divine sphere. The female presence may also draw on the layered pasts and meanings of the wider sacred landscapes in which each tomb was set (2.2). In section 2.3 I treat the distinctive narrative motifs in each text in order to examine the ways biography was adapted to the tomb context and the different models and traditions that were deployed to enable this.

Before examining the treatment of self-presentation within tomb space it is necessary to review interpretations of the design and architecture of Ramessid tombs, notably those of Jan Assmann, Frederike Kampp-Seyfried, and Karl Seyfried in particular. As these authors acknowledge, the characteristic features of these tombs are not rigid; each tomb owner created his own individual tomb space through the adaptation and transformation of a general model, as is demonstrated by the three tombs that are presented in this

chapter. Generalizing descriptions of tomb structure and decoration necessarily obscure the individuality of these spaces and may have contributed to the widespread modern view of the elite Ramessid tomb as more formulaic, well-regulated, and comprehensible than those of the 18th Dynasty. As Nigel Strudwick (1994, 322, 331) observes in relation to 18th Dynasty sub- and super-structures, this view may reflect our limited understanding of the 18th Dynasty tomb as much as speaking to our sometimes excessively schematic interpretation of tomb space in general.

The tomb texts analysed in this chapter and in chapter 5 are all at Thebes or in the provinces. Space is insufficient for a treatment of biographical narrative in Ramessid Memphite cemeteries; moreover, little Memphite material is published. The biography in the tomb of Maya at Saqqara is included in the catalogue (8.a) and in comparative discussion here. The minor catalogue entry for the biographical phrases in the tomb of Pabes at Saqqara (8.h) exemplifies the potential richness of other Memphite material. Alain Zivie (2002) has also reported a biographical text in the tomb of a royal messenger of the reign of Ramesses II. Many of the themes that emerge from the study of Theban and provincial examples are likely to be relevant also to Memphite ones (van Dijk 1988; Raue 1995).

Developments in the architecture and decorative programmes of elite tombs are central to discussions of religious thought in the Ramessid period (e.g. Assmann 2001, 259–68; 2003b, 51–2). In contrast to the scenes of the lived world that dominate 18th Dynasty tombs, Ramessid tomb decoration focuses on images of the tomb owner adoring deities and can be envisaged as a temple centred on this direct interaction with the divine sphere. This extension of tomb function is mediated through architecture and the decorative programme. Many of these developments can be traced back to the pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty. I argue, with Seyfried (1987) and Strudwick (1994), that the Ramessid tomb should not be seen as marking a radical change but rather as the culmination of a longer process of development and transformation.

Seyfried (1987; summarised by Kampp-Seyfried 2003, 7–10) divides the architecture of the Ramessid tomb into three zones: the solar-oriented top level, the middle level court and cult chapel, and the bottom, subterranean level incorporating sloping, stepped, or winding passages. Assmann (1987, 38) further subdivides the levels to produce five

components: an outer area consisting of pyramid and court, and inner areas incorporating the chapel, sloping passage, and burial chamber. Assmann sets this against his bipartite structure of the 18th Dynasty tomb, which consisted of tomb chapel and burial chamber. However, this organization for 18th Dynasty tombs is complicated by features that many of these earlier tombs display: some of these will be indicated below.

The upper level of Ramessid tombs, which rarely survives, included a pyramid or pyramidion. Evidence for this level of the tomb comes mainly from the depiction of tomb structures within tomb scenes (Seyfried 1987, 222–8). The best known extant examples are at Deir el-Medina, although others can be found at Qurnet Murai and Dra Abu el-Naga (Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I, 95–6, 106–9). The development of this upper level can be seen in tombs of the early 18th Dynasty, for example in Theban tomb 71 belonging to Senenmut (Dorman 1991, 29–30; Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I, 105–6).

The winding subterranean passages of Ramessid tombs, which connect the upper levels with the burial, may build on the model provided by royal tombs in the representation of Osirian underworld topography (Seyfried 1978; 1984, 265–74). The entry to these zones was sometimes marked as a doorway (e.g. Feucht 1985a, pl. 32; Assmann 1984, pl. 41a, for TT 189; for the tomb of Djehutyemheb, see 2.2.2). Assmann (1984, 287–9; 2003b, 50) suggests that these passages may have also been accessible spaces that were incorporated into the cultic activity in the tomb, particularly connected with rites of Sokar. From this he argues for a breakdown in the separation of accessible and inaccessible space in the Ramessid tomb, which he relates to functions of memory and concealment that form the core of his conception of Egyptian tomb structure. In this understanding, the concealed space of the burial chamber, in which the tomb owner can interact with the divine sphere, extends into accessible upper cult areas (Assmann 2001, 259; 2003b, 50–51). A number of tombs of the reign of Amenhotep III also have extended shafts and sloping passages, including those of Kheruef and Ramose; these tombs are also notable for their pillared courts, which bear a close affinity to temple architecture (Seyfried 1978, 233–4; 1987, 229).

The temple-like character of the Ramessid tomb is emphasized in particular through the pylon entrance to the court (Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I, 64; 2003, 9–10) and the decorative programme of the chapel. The architecture of this zone is largely unchanged

from the T-shaped tombs of the earlier 18th Dynasty (Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I, 117–9, fig. 83). The scenes in this zone are more explicitly religious in character than before, foregrounding the tomb owner's adoration of a range of deities and scenes relating to preparation for and transition to the next world (Barthelmess 1992). Both types of subject matter are known in pre-Amarna tombs but adoration scenes tend to be restricted to deities directly related to access to the afterlife and are generally limited to particular walls of the tomb. Their predominance in the Ramessid tomb can be contrasted with the reduction in 'daily life' scenes and in those that relate to the office and career of the owner. Where such scenes occur, they may be particularly closely connected to the owner's occupation. Strudwick (1994, 324) argues this, for example, for the gold-working scenes in the shrine of the tomb of the overseer of the treasury in the domain of Amun Neferrenpet (Hofmann 1995, pl. 39–40) and the cattle scenes in the tomb of the overseer of the cattle of Menkheperure Khons (Davies 1948, pl. 15). In relation to the thematization of the self through biography and space, I suggest that cattle scenes in the tomb of Samut set his official role and function in the service of the gods (2.2.3) binding biographical motifs and representations to the divine sphere.

Religiously focused themes are integrated into the tomb through a new style of scene arrangement analysed by Assmann (1987, 34–6). Earlier arrangements were governed by architectural features of the tomb, such as room corners and doorways. Register lines within these spaces organize compositions internally. In Ramessid tomb decoration the register line is the primary organizing principle for the decoration, creating strips or bands that wrap around tomb walls and are no longer governed by architectural boundaries. Assmann (1987, 36) links this new arrangement with the organization of scenes on 18th Dynasty stelae. He suggests that both are governed by a vertical hierarchy in which scenes involving deities are placed in the upper registers of the stela and scenes of the cult of the tomb owner are found in lower registers. He argues (2001, 264–66) that this vertical axis is the dominant mode in the Ramessid tomb, replacing horizontal axes of inner and outer, north and south, east and west, which were the organizing principles in the 18th Dynasty. His upper-lower axis of the decorative programme extends to the whole tomb, from the celestial focus of the upper pyramid and court to the Osirian underworld of the sloping passages. These spaces are linked by the transitional zone of

the cult chapel. The scene arrangement in some tombs does not conform to this vertical hierarchy (e.g. Assmann 1991a, I, 98–99, scenes 80–1, II, pl. 40); tomb space is variable and flexible, as exemplified by the tombs I present here.

Assmann's (1984, 284; 1995b, 281–4; 2003b) binary structuring of the tomb is based on two connected but opposing principles that he interprets as playing out in the architecture, those of memory and secrecy connected to this-worldly and afterlife focuses. While this structuring of tomb space is a useful analytical tool, the oppositions Assmann presents may limit our understanding of an individualizing space that was centred on processes of movement, transition, and transformation that integrate the whole tomb. The tomb was entered, moved through, experienced; architecture, image, and text interact to create an communicative and performative space. The tomb of Djehutyemheb, in particular, mobilizes these concepts explicitly (2.2.2). The tomb provided a setting for ritual activity and expression of devotion, but also played an active part in performance and in the transformation of the tomb owner. In this chapter I focus on the middle level of the tomb but my aim is to analyse the implications of tomb space as a whole.

Each tomb exploits architecture, iconography, and text to develop a range of concepts and symbolic functions centred on a single individual. In the tombs of Djehutyemheb, Samut, and Anhurmosé biographical narratives present their owner's connection with the divine sphere, but the texts are sited in different locations and operate in different ways to transform their spaces.

2.2 Female spaces: the distribution of self-presentation

In her analysis of the production and transformation of social relations through mortuary monuments in the Irish Neolithic, Shannon Fraser (1998, 206) emphasizes the central importance of 'the strategies by which narratives of place and biographies of landscape itself are implicated in the making of the self and the perception of being *in* place'. In the following section I examine the sacred landscapes in which the three tombs presented here were set, emphasizing the ways in which they participate in this 'making of the self'. I analyse the structure and decorative programme of the tombs and how their images and texts operate to assert the individual's connection with and transformation through place. In each case, biography and the self that is fashioned in the tomb was mediated through a

female deity, or representative of the female principle, who was intimately connected with these landscapes.

The tombs of Samut and Djehutyemheb were among a number of tombs of Ramessid temple workers cut into older tomb courts in the Assasif, which became an important Ramessid cemetery for middle-level officials in the domain of Amun, as an extension of the Khokha necropolis (map: fig. 38). In the 18th Dynasty, the Assasif was a highly privileged necropolis site, which was, I suggest, lent a particular sanctity through the presence of temples and its associations with Hathor. This sanctity is salient for the interpretation of the tombs and texts discussed in this chapter. I argue that the Hathoric associations in particular are incorporated into aspects of tombs there. I compare these strategies of self-presentation with Anhurmosé's singular mobilization of the image of his wife in his tomb and biographical text which may connect with the nearby temple of Mehit.

2.2.1 The Assasif and Hathor

Manfred Bietak (1978, 19–29) and Geraldine Pinch (1993, 3–25) have discussed the history of the Assasif landscape, especially in relation to the development of the Deir el-Bahri temples and the associated non-royal necropolis. Hathor is particularly salient in the temple complexes, near which the non-royal necropolis developed. Both aspects of the site's history have significant implications for the tombs and biographies of Djehutyemheb and Samut.

The early history of the Assasif is unknown. However, its association with a female deity is probably ancient. Graffiti in the vicinity indicate the presence of an Old Kingdom temple (Rzepka 2003) and further indirect evidence for Hathoric connections may be found in the late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period tomb of Ihy, whose wife bore the title of priestess of Hathor (Newberry 1903; Allam 1963, 58).

The 11th Dynasty king Nebhepetre Mentuhotep may have sought to connect himself with these older associations when he constructed his mortuary temple and processional approach, transforming the Assasif into the most important site in the Theban necropolis and perhaps formalizing the connection with Hathor. Mentuhotep's concern to associate himself with this goddess is demonstrated by texts and reliefs from the temple, as well as

building works for her at Dendara and Gebelein (Pinch 1993, 4–5). Closely associated with the building programme of the king and the Valley festival, which he may have introduced or expanded (Bietak 1978, 19–20), was the development of a large non-royal necropolis along the processional route and in the cliffs encircling the temple itself (Roehrig 1995, 255–7, fig. 1). This linking of royal and non-royal mortuary and cult practices can be contrasted with later developments which are particularly important for the location and meanings of the Ramessid tombs.

The early 18th Dynasty witnessed a renewed royal interest in Deir el-Bahri and the Assasif. The first 18th Dynasty temple known at Deir el-Bahri is that of Amenhotep I, which may have been built as an alternative or complementary setting for the Valley festival (Pinch 1993, 6–7). It has also been suggested that this temple had processional links to the king's tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga (Bietak 1978, 27). The temple complexes built by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are the most significant royal investments in the Assasif in the New Kingdom. Although Hathor was not the principal deity of either temple, the shrines dedicated to her and the concentrations of votive offerings attest to her salience (Pinch 1993, 7–12).

The development of Deir el-Bahri in the 18th Dynasty as a central site for royal display can be contrasted with a significant reduction in the number of non-royal tombs built in the area. Manfred Bietak and others argue that, perhaps as early as the reign of Thutmose I, the Assasif, and Deir el-Bahri in particular, had a heightened sanctity which checked the expansion of the non-royal necropolis (Bietak 1978, 27; Strudwick 2003, 14–6). This sanctity may be related to the specific associations of the Assasif as a temple landscape rather than a necropolis, as well as the increasing importance of the Valley festival with its strong Hathoric associations (see Naguib 1991, 24–9 for mythic and symbolic aspects of Hathor's role). New non-royal necropolei, the most important being that at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, were oriented in relation to the line of royal mortuary temples extending south from the mouth of the Assasif.

Within the Assasif two phases of non-royal construction can be identified, the first being clearly related to the building programme of Hatshepsut. There is evidence that a small number of tombs were constructed in the area (Bietak 1978, 27, n. 80), including the tomb complex of Puimre near the mouth of the bay (TT 39: Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I,

230–3) and the subterranean tomb of Senenmut (TT 353) set beneath the forecourt of Hatshepsut's temple (Dorman 1991, 163, fig. 1). Although it is not known how owners acquired rights to their tombs, I suggest that these individuals may have received special dispensation to use the area.

Similar dispensations may have also governed the second phase of the non-royal necropolis in the Assasif, late in the reign of Amenhotep III and early in that of Amenhotep IV, for which three tombs are known: Amenhotep, Northern vizier for Amenhotep III (no. -28-: Kampp-Seyfried 1996, II, 637–8); Kheruef, steward of the great royal wife, Tiye (TT 192: Epigraphic Survey 1980); and Parennefer, royal butler of Amenhotep IV (TT 188: Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I, 475–7). The courts of all three tombs later became focal points for the construction of Ramessid tombs and the court which the tomb of Samut shares with other Ramessid officials indicates the presence of another large 18th Dynasty tomb in the area. The earliest known tomb in this group, that of the account scribe of the grain of Amun and overseer of fields Amenemopet (TT 297), which Strudwick (2003, 13) dates to late in the reign of Thutmose IV or the early years of Amenhotep III, is more modest than these later tombs, reflecting his lower status. His tomb is on the edge of the bay among Middle Kingdom tombs, and Strudwick (2003, 16) suggests that this location orientates the tomb toward the Khokha necropolis rather than the Assasif proper.

The later tombs of Amenhotep and Kheruef are architecturally exceptional. The tomb of Amenhotep had the largest transverse hall in the Theban necropolis. Diethelm Eigner (1983, 42–7, table 1, fig. 5) places his tomb in a late 18th Dynasty group, including the tomb of Kheruef, that he considers to possess a monumental, temple-like structure (compare Seyfried 1987, 245–7). These tombs may therefore align themselves with the temple associations of the area. Eigner (1983, 48–9, fig. 6) argues that the tombs of Amenhotep and Kheruef were aligned with the north-south axis at the base of the hills, along with other prominent 18th Dynasty tombs, as well as being oriented to the processional route to the Deir el-Bahri temples. These two tombs are therefore at the meeting point of two main axes of the necropolis. Hathor plays a central role in the scenes of royal preparation for and participation in the sed-festival in the tomb of Khereuf (Wente 1969; Epigraphic Survey 1980, pl. 24; Roberts 1984, 85–9). This presentation

may speak to the tomb's location at the nexus of Hathoric and royal space. This Hathoric dimension is relevant to the tomb and texts of Djehutyemheb (2.2.2; 2.3.3).

The temples of Deir el-Bahri were extensively restored in the early 19th Dynasty. Lipińska, for example, identifies two stages of restoration of the Thutmose III temple under Horemheb and Ramesses II (1977, 63). These restorations are not explicitly connected with Hathor's role in the temples, but statues and stelae dedicated there, as well as the later short hymns to her written on the columns of the forecourt of Djoserakhet (the temple of Thutmose III), attest to the importance of her cult (Pinch 1993, 9, 11).

Contemporaneous with the renewal of the temples in the 19th Dynasty was the extension of the non-royal necropolis running down the Khokha ridge into the Assasif plain. This development suggests that there was a loosening of administrative or symbolic restrictions on the landscape. The Ramessid tombs built in this area belong to middle-level temple workers in the Amun domain and are generally sited off the courts of earlier tombs, creating zones of social, official, and perhaps sacred association. Here one can also compare the importance of the Assasif as a cemetery site in the Late period (Eigner 1984).

In the 19th Dynasty two men dedicated objects bearing narratives of their experience of temple space and the Assasif within temples, one at Deir el-Medina and one in Djoserakhet. These texts inform the analysis of the tombs below. The Deir el-Medina workman Qenherkhepeshef dedicated a prayer to Hathor on a stela probably from the sanctuary of Mertseger at Deir el-Medina, discussed in 1.5.2, in which he narrated his birth in the cave beside Deir el-Bahri and his 'journey' through the sacred space of the West Bank of Thebes.

The intimate embodiment of the relationship between self and goddess through image and text, analysed in detail for the tombs below, is also exemplified by a statue dedicated within Djoserakhet by the military officer and overseer of works for Ramesses II, Ameneminet (2.r; figs. 60–1). This statue was found in the north-east of the forecourt of Djoserakhet, together with two statues of Piay, a sem-priest in the Ramesseum. This association may suggest that there was a zone of dedication for officials connected with the Ramesseum; the dedicators could have been kin (Lipińska 1970, 29). A votive bowl

bearing an offering formula and titles of Ameneminet was also found in the western part of the temple forecourt (Lipińska 1984, 56). He was probably involved in the building works at both sites (Lipińska 1969, 43–5).

The relationship between the iconography of Ameneminet's statue and its textual programme is unique. It belongs to the corpus of statues that show their protagonists bald and include the designation *js*, 'bald one', in their texts (Clère 1995); both these elements are present on Ameneminet's statue. The baldness signals the statue owner's intimate relationship with Hathor and her cult (Clère 1995, 21–31). Ameneminet's statue is dedicated to Hathor and depicts the owner holding a naos sistrum. The hand was lifted toward the mouth, in a rare attitude which has been described as 'begging' (for which see Franke 1988, 65–7). This gesture connects with the appeal inscribed on the left side of the body, which begins by identifying the statue as an '*js* of the goddess' and 'mediator for his mistress' (2.r, left side, col. 3). His direct relationship with Hathor is then elaborated. The culminating verses, signalled by an enjambement, ask that those who have petitions should speak to 'my ear and I will repeat them to my mistress in her hour of indulgence' (col. 4). Through the statue Ameneminet mobilizes direct communication with the goddess and sets himself up as an intermediary.

This is the only statue in this group that includes a biographical narrative, the text of which wraps around the right side of Ameneminet's body, narrating a series of promotions to largely secular offices awarded by the king. The text begins with military promotions, continuing with appointments as 'overseer of all his works', perhaps connecting him with restoration work in Djoser-akhet (Lipińska 1969, 49; Ullmann 2002, 367–8), and as 'overseer of works in his temple of millions of years' (2.r, right side, cols. 8–9). The culminating appointment is to a priestly position not otherwise attested for Ameneminet (Trapani 1995, 67–8): 'I am one uniquely effective and excellent for his lord; he appointed me ka-priest for his statue. He made my property in all felicity' (cols. 9–10). This priesthood of the king, held in this-life, complements that held in relation to Hathor, which is displayed by the statue's form and through the text on the left side (see further 5.1).

Ameneminet's relationship to the goddess and the king focuses visually in the sistrum; the front of the naos bears the king's names flanking a uraeus. The area on top of

the naos bears a relief of Ramesses II standing before an image of Hathor as a cow (fig. 61), that corresponds closely to the cult statue of Hathor and a king which dominated the Hathor sanctuary in this temple complex (Neville 1907, pl. 27; Romano 1979, 149). The visual connection with king and deity is made on the most intimate, and perhaps sacred, part of the statue (compare Baines 1996b, 91). Ameneminet carries the sacred space of the sanctuary with him to the outer area of the temple where his statue stood, lending force to the text's claim that he was an intimate of the deity and intermediary for her. The 20th Dynasty graffiti on the columns in the forecourt attest to the later significance of the hypostyle as a zone of cultic activity (Marciniak 1974; Pinch 1993, 11).

The complex interweaving of image and text presents explicitly the individual's relationship with the goddess and his desire to maintain social memory through his action as an intermediary. Image and text model the owner's actual and desired relationships with the king and with Hathor and her temple space. King and goddess are given equal space in the texts on the statue body as complementary aspects of the narrated self. By contrast, the king barely features visually or textually in the tombs of Samut and Djehutyemheb. On the statue, Hathor is visually dominant and the king's image is mediated through her. Both Ameneminet and Djehutyemheb create sacred spaces of the goddess that are displayed upon or closely associated with their own self and physical body.

2.2.2 Djehutyemheb (TT 194), Nakhtdjehuty (TT 189), and the court of Kheruef

During the 19th Dynasty, at least eight tombs middle-level temple officials (list: Assmann 1978, 47) were hewn into the eastern portico and the south and north sides of the court of the tomb of Kheruef (figs. 39–40). The tomb of Djehutyemheb is on the west side of the entrance to the court, in parallel position to the tomb of Nakhtdjehuty, which is also discussed in this section. Djehutyemheb's may have been the first tomb built off the court (Seyfried 1995, 107–8); its position means that it has an opposite organization from most West Bank tombs. Djehutyemheb was 'overseer of field-workers for the domain of Amun' and Nakhtdjehuty, 'overseer of gold-workers' and 'overseer of craftsmen in the domain of Amun'.

The unique decorative programme of Djehutyemheb's tomb, which emphasizes the mediatory role of a number of deities, particularly Hathor, creates a virtual temple to her (Seyfried 1995, 113) in which performance, communication, and intercession are mobilized visually and textually. These themes culminate in the biographical text inscribed in the innermost area of the tomb (2.o). I examine the way in which this text functions in the tomb and compare Djehutyemheb's self-presentation with that of Nakhtdjehuty (2.p).

Any superstructure is now gone. Djehutyemheb's tomb, like that of Samut, consists of a transverse hall with a doorway into a roughly square shrine. The sloping passage leads off the north wall into a complex series of subterranean rooms and passages (Seyfried 1995, 11–16, plans 1–4). A second shaft in the transverse hall is probably related symbolically to the burial (Seyfried 1995, 111; 2003).

Themes of speech, text, and self are foregrounded on the façade of the tomb through a long hymn to Amun-Re on the north section and by two appeals to the living which frame the entrance on either side (fig. 43). The appeal on the left of the doorframe is addressed to people, youths, and 'all perfect scribes, accomplished in writings (*šs3 m-shw*), intelligent, who are skilled in hieroglyphs (*wh^c-jb m-mdw-ntr*)' (Assmann 1978, 49; Seyfried 1995, 23–5, text 2, pl. 25). The appeal on the right incorporates a series of biographical epithets:

<i>jnk-mtr-m3^c šw m-jsft</i> <i>dj.tw-ntr m-jb f n-hm.n.j</i>	I am truly assiduous, free from evil, one who places the god in his heart, and does not ignore matters
<i>jnk-^cq3-jb mtr m-ht f</i> <i>rh [...]</i>	I am one precise of heart, accurate in his body, who knows [...]
<i>jnk-qbh grw m-jpt-sw t</i> <i>tmm-r3 m-w3st m-^ch^cw.j</i>	I am a cool, silent one of Karnak, discreet of mouth in Thebes in my lifetime;
<i>jnk-nfr-^ch^cw nb-jm3h</i> <i>(hr)-nb-nhh</i> <i>wr-j3w tp-t3 mj-m3^cty</i>	I am one with a perfect lifetime, possessor of veneration (before) the lord of eternity, great of old age on earth like a just one ... (Seyfried 1995, pl. 25, 29–30, text 17, cols. 3–5).

Some of these phrases also occur in the speech of Hathor which accompanies the biography in the shrine (2.o: text 2, cols 2–4). The two appeals together with the biography and divine response present dialogues between this world and the next: both text groups interconnect through the tomb space (Assmann 1978, 48–9).

The decorative programme of the transverse hall creates a processional route through the tomb, strengthening the flow from exterior to interior. This presentation of passage and performance is not composed in parallel registers. The tomb also lacks many typical Ramessid themes, such as the tomb owner before the gates of the underworld, the funeral procession, and interment. The more customary adoration scenes are adapted to this communicative, processional context. The transverse hall is dominated by scenes of deities, including Thoth, Hathor, and the deified Ahmose-Nefertari, interceding on Djehutyemheb's behalf, presenting his hymns and speeches to different groups of deities.

An example of the adaptation of traditional scenes in order to underscore the mediatory role of particular deities is that of Thoth before Osiris, Isis, and Horus on the southern half of the west wall, beside the tomb entrance (fig. 44). This evokes the judgment scene, which is common in Ramessid tombs (Seeber 1976, 205–9) but here is condensed to Thoth's role as intercessor; Thoth wears the vizieral robe, while the long text which Djehutyemheb presents in the register below mobilizes concepts of judgment and right action (Seyfried 1995, 63–5, text 111).

The theme of intercession is presented primarily through stelae located at the south and north ends of the hall and along the east wall (Seyfried 1995, 78, 112–3). Although stelae at ends of transverse halls have a long pedigree in the Theban necropolis (Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I, 53–5), these ones present distinctive features. They are divided into three registers (Seyfried 1995, pls. 29 and 31; e.g. fig. 45). In the top register of each stela Djehutyemheb is depicted kneeling in worship before Anubis and Horus, and in the bottom register, he offers a hymn to these gods. Intervening between these registers is a Hathor column, flanked by djed pillars; the speech of Djehutyemheb is mediated through this object. Large djed pillars also flank the sides of the stelae. Djed pillars are a common motif in Ramessid tombs (Seyfried 1995, 113, n. 445 with refs; Feucht 1985a, 58–9 with n. 262; Kitchen 1979b, 280); in Djehutyemheb's tomb they are comparable visually to the Hathor pillars which dominated the shrine area.

The role of a goddess as mediator is also presented on round topped stelae which flank the entrance into the shrine and have a symmetrical composition (Seyfried 1995, pl. 30; figs. 46–7). Hathor is shown standing and shaking a sistrum before the Theban triad on the stela on the north side of the entrance. Djehutyemheb presents a hymn to Amun-

Re below. On the south side is a parallel image of Ahmose-Nefertari before Osiris, Horus, and the goddess of the West. The hymn below is addressed to Ahmose-Nefertari herself (Seyfried 1995, 56, text 87).

On either side of the stelae are scenes and texts which, although not laid out in stela form, are similar in composition and theme. On the north side is depicted a statue of Amenhotep I *p3 jb-jb*, before an offering table, that mobilizes his processional and intercessionary role, with a hymn below addressed to him by Djehutyemheb (Seyfried 1995, 50, text 65). The scene at the south end is parallel in content to the adjacent stela. Ahmose-Nefertari is shown before Mut. The fragmentary text below may provide some insight into the function of these compositions. In it Ahmose-Nefertari offers her petition (*iy.j hr.t r-dbh-sprt*: Seyfried 1995, 57, text 91, col. 1) and Mut replies with a speech concerning Djehutyemheb's transformation in the next world: 'He is whole, he is equipped ... I rejoice when I repeat his name in the presence of Amun' (Seyfried 1995, 58, text 92, cols. 2–3). Again dialogue is strongly foregrounded. Roberts (1984, 78) points to sistrum-shaking as a component of royal presentation which Djehutyemheb appropriated. I suggest that the scenes may be generally and strongly female in association.

The extension of stelae along the rear wall is unusual. Seyfried (1995, 113), citing Kampp-Seyfried, notes comparable stelae in the unpublished tombs of the broadly contemporaneous high priests of Amun, Nebwenenef and Bakenkhons. He considers that this façade-like treatment, which complements other architectural features in the high priests' tombs, evokes the sense of a processional route. Djehutyemheb's tomb may also adopt this priestly self-presentation. As well as mimicking a temple court, the stelae expanded the religious content of the decoration, in comparison with the presentation of stelae in 18th Dynasty tombs which could have a this-worldly emphasis (Hermann 1940, 121–45). The inclusion of a banqueting scene on the west wall of the hall (Seyfried 1995, pl. 28) points to a perhaps deliberate mixing of forms of representation although, as Seyfried observes (1995, 112), its formality and similarity to offering scenes may lend it a more explicitly next-world orientation.

This processional movement toward the shrine, focussed by the flanking stelae and similar scenes on either side of them, is governed by goddesses who act as intermediaries

for Djehutyemheb and are singled out by the sistra they hold. The central theme is performed verbal communication with the divine sphere in which goddesses, in particular, are mediators. This verbal focus is emphasized by the wealth of hymns in the tomb, some of them unparalleled, including the texts studied here (Assmann 1983, 48; Seyfried 1995, 115–17). This treatment powerfully emphasizes the mediatory power of Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, and particularly Hathor in Djehutyemheb's transformation. The stelae turn the hall into a ceremonial domain through which Djehutyemheb is presented to the gods.

The aspects of performance and intercession that are foregrounded in the hall culminate in the biographical text inscribed on the north and west walls of the shrine, in which Djehutyemheb narrates his direct communication with Hathor in a dream (2.0, figs. 41–2; see further 2.3.3). The tomb thus enacts a transformation of voice and audience, moving from the appeals to the living on the façade, which link the self with the outside world, including Thebes and Karnak, to the 'dialogue' between individual and goddess in the shrine. The interweaving of hymns, scenes of intercession, and a banqueting scene, in the transverse hall mediate this transition from human to divine space. This movement seems particularly evocative of cult temples.

The text and the goddess's response are inscribed over the entrance to the sloping passage, which is part of an underground complex of rooms and passages probably leading to the burial chamber. A standing figure of Djehutyemheb to the left of the entrance was probably paralleled by a lost figure of the goddess accompanying her speech on the other side. Djehutyemheb narrated his direct experience of divine contact and communication in the innermost and most sacred space of the tomb, which the goddess herself had designated in the dream: 'that which you said has happened; your plan is carried out and a place is made for my corpse' (2.0, text 1, col. 10). The text therefore marks, governs, and protects the space for Djehutyemheb's body by mobilizing an intimate connection with the goddess (Assmann 1978, 45; Seyfried 1995, 114).

The text refers to the presence of Hathor in the shrine: 'Set your face in order to allow me to worship it, bestow your perfection that I may perceive (*ht*) your form (*jr**w*) in my tomb'. I read 'perceive' here but *ht* also evokes the act of engraving her image (text 1, col. 15 with n. h). The form Hathor takes in the tomb is connected with the aspect she

presents to Djehutyemheb in the dream: ‘I am the perfect *hly*, my form (*jr w*) is the [form (*jr w*)?] of Mut’ (text 1, col. 11). Her personal aspect is displayed by the term of endearment *hly*, as well as being connected with the maternal goddess Mut. As suggested by Seyfried (1995, 73), the lost image of a goddess on the wall opposite Djehutyemheb may have depicted Mut.

The other scenes in the shrine are badly damaged. On the east wall (the cultic ‘west’) are traces of two large Hathor-headed pillars flanking a niche in which a stela was set, that seems to bear a hymn to Osiris (fig. 49). Hathor pillars not well-attested in Ramessid tombs (Seyfried 1995, 113 with refs). In the tomb of Amenenohe (TT 41) the faces of two pillars in the transverse hall bear images of Hathor pillars, one in association with the tomb owner’s wife (Assmann 1991, II, pls. 45, 57). In the small tomb of Nefersekheru (TT 296) a personified Isis-Hathor knot is displayed on the left side of a niche containing a statue of Osiris; there is a djed pillar on the right (Feucht 1985a, 58–9, pl. 20). Here the emblems seem to be components of a condensed representation of deities of the underworld, a presentation comparable to Djehutyemheb’s shrine. In his tomb, however, the Hathor pillars contribute to a specificity of female divine presence; the tomb becomes a temple filled with images of the goddess, complementary to her manifestation in the text. Seyfried (1995, 113–4) compares the architecture of pillars and stela with entablature shrines in Late Period temple-tombs, suggesting that the deity in Djehutyemheb’s tomb is mobilized through the dream narrative, divine response, and accompanying images, whereas in the Late tombs a figure of the deity is present.

Djehutyemheb’s self-presentation, mediated through the goddess, not only connects with the Hathoric meanings of the Assasif, but also resonates with other presentations in the court of Kheruef, in particular those of Nakhtdjehuty and the earlier one of Kheruef himself. In the scenes of the first sed-festival of Amenhotep III in the western portico of Kheruef’s tomb, opposite the tomb of Djehutyemheb, the king is shown enthroned with Hathor seated beside him (Wente 1969; Epigraphic Survey 1980, pl. 24; Roberts 1984, 85–7). Graffiti of Ramessid visitors in the tomb, and among these scenes in particular, indicate that it was still accessible. The scenes before the figure of the king include registers of musicians and dancers. The text accompanying the musicians is addressed to Hathor; ‘Come, arise, come that I may make for you a jubilation at twilight and *jhy*-music

in the evening. O Hathor, you are exalted in the hair of Re, in the hair of Re, for to you has been given the sky there, deep night (*wš3w*), and stars' (Epigraphic Survey 1980, pls. 24, 34–8; Roberts 1984, 87). The nocturnal manifestation of Hathor presented here can be compared with the vision Djehutyemheb receives 'in the depths (*nfrw*) of night'.

On the east side of the entrance to the court of Kheruef, parallel in position to Djehutyemheb's tomb, is the tomb of the chief craftsman and chief gold worker in the estate of Amun, Nakhtdjehuty (Kampp-Seyfried, 1996, I, 478–80). The tomb is not yet published (Barthelmeß in press), but aspects of its textual and decorative programme can be compared with that of Djehutyemheb on the basis of articles by Kitchen (1974) and Assmann (1978, 39–40, 47–8). The structural correspondences between the two tombs, as well as parallel elements in their texts, indicate that they were planned and built in close association. On the west wall of the transverse hall, by the entrance, Nakhtdjehuty is received by the goddess of the West, who greets him with a long speech in which she states her role as intercessor for the deceased. This speech parallels themes in Djehutyemheb's tomb and uses the same phraseology as Hathor's speech to Djehutyemheb: 'My arms are in a *njn* gesture to receive you, my heart mingles with your form (*h3ty.j-3bh m-qj.k*). I will announce you to the great god, that he may say to you "welcome". I will make broad the place for your corpse, I will sanctify the place for your body' (Assmann 1978, 39, cf. 2.o, text 2, cols. 5–7).

The strategies of self-presentation in the two tombs contrast in significant ways. Like Djehutyemheb's tomb, the façade of that of Nakhtdjehuty bears an appeal to the living (PM I², 1, 295 (1)), here associated with four registers of divine barques and temple doorways, representing the products of Nakhtdjehuty's profession (PM I², 1, 295, 2; Kitchen 1974; 2.p, text 2: fig. 51). This visual presentation corresponds to a listing of divine barques in a fragmentary biographical narrative in the hall of the tomb (2.p, text 1).

These cult objects are linked through the narrative to Nakhtdjehuty's official position in the domain of Amun as overseer of craftsmen and chief gold worker: 'I am skilled in craftsmanship without their giving (me) instruction, I guided [work] ... in gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, turquoise. ... I performed service for the barque of Isis' (2.p, text 1, cols. 6–8). The visual and narrative presentation of temple doorways and barques may evoke a

sense of processional space. The objects selected are those that govern transition and procession (doorways) and that were central components of cult and festival performance (barques). Such connections are made explicit in the 20th Dynasty Theban tomb of Paenkhemenu (for which see also 2.z). The east wall of the transverse hall in this tomb depicts two registers of barques and cult equipment lining a processional route to a Hathor shrine, in which are depicted three Hathor cows (Seyfried 1991, 50–4, 127–8, pls. 4–5, inserts I).

Nakhtdjehuty's self-presentation and his display of service to the divine sphere centre on his official role in the temple, an aspect of self not foregrounded in Djehutyemheb's tomb. At the beginning of Nakhtdjehuty's list-like narrative he uses the titles 'wab priest' and 'lector priest of Amun' (2.p, text 1, col. I). Priestly titles are not attested elsewhere in the tomb (Kitchen 1974, 169–70). The creation of sacred cult objects places Nakhtdjehuty in the role of ritual artificer and priest (5.2.2; cf. Fischer-Elfert 1998). Whereas Djehutyemheb mobilizes the connection with the divine in image and text relating to Hathor and his intimate experience of her, Nakhtdjehuty does so in terms of service to the gods, through the products of his career.

Seyfried (1995, 102–4, 115) suggests that there was a comparable presentation of role in the tomb of Djehutyemheb in a damaged scene of the tomb owner and his wife on the northern thickness of the entrance into the shrine. Here Djehutyemheb grasps a brace of ducks, perhaps displaying his official position as 'overseer of fieldworkers' in the temple of Amun (fig. 48). The lack of human determinatives in some orthographies of his title lends a neutrality to the writing which may evoke other associations. Seyfried plausibly argues that the title was connected with the bird-pens of the temple of Amun and that this is the association mobilized in this image and in the unique accompanying hymn to Amun:

... *nb-nṯrw*
jmn-r^c p3wtj-t3wy
h3j-n.k qb[hw]-pt
[shp(?).w] n-k3.k
sš-ḥprw hr-msjt.s

... lord of the gods,
 Amun-re, primeval one of the two lands;
 the waterfowl of the sky descend for you,
 [they are sacrificed/offered?] to your ka;
 the nest is filled with its waterfowl.

... *p3w hnnw n-r3-^c.sn*
jhyw-mḥ(w)-jm.sn

... that fly and alight without limit,
 the enclosures are filled with them,

jw.w n-pr.k p3-nb-ntrw
m3^c n-[h3t.k?]

they are in your domain, O lord of the gods,
offered to your [prow?].^a

(Seyfried 1995, 66–7, text 113, cols. 1–2)

a) Seyfried (1995, 67, n. g) tentatively suggests rendering ‘Antlitz’, because *h3t* seems to be determined by two ram’s heads, referring to the prow of the barque of Amun.

The abundance of the natural world is also evoked in a passage near the end of Hathor’s speech to Djehutyemheb where she states that ‘... the sky overflows for you [with birds, fish?] coming from the river ...’ (2.o, text 2, col. 14). An aspect of Djehutyemheb’s role is mobilized in the liminal zone of entry into and exit from the innermost area of the tomb, resonating with the Hathoric texts in the shrine and extending his self-presentation to the temple of Amun in Karnak, where these bird-pens were probably located.

The interweaving of text and image may operate in a related way in the tombs of Anhurmoise and Samut to present official role as well as religious identity. In contrast with Djehutyemheb, Samut and Anhurmoise inscribed their texts in their transverse halls; in both cases the text begins by the entrance to the tomb and continues onto the end wall. This is the less sacred area of the tomb, associated more strongly with the experience of the outside world. Djehutyemheb’s text, by contrast, draws lived experience into the shrine, with the dream motif bringing him to the borders of the divine world in an association that fits the location. In all three tombs, the biographical inscriptions relate this-worldly experience as part of the process of transition to and transformation in the next world.

2.2.3 Samut (TT 409)

Samut’s tomb is located about 100 metres to the west of the Kheruef complex (map: fig. 38; plan: fig. 52). It is likely that the court it shares with at least three other tombs of Ramessid temple officials belonged to a large 18th Dynasty tomb. The south side of the court, which may include the entrance to this tomb as well as other Ramessid tombs, has not been excavated (Kampp-Seyfried 1996, II, 611). Samut’s tomb bears no trace of a super structure. In many ways, its decorative programme is more conventional in theme and presentation than that of the tombs of Djehutyemheb and Nakhtdjehuty. The façade bears standard motifs of the tomb owner before Re-Harakhty and Osiris. The transverse hall is decorated in Ramessid parallel register style, unlike Djehutyemheb’s tomb, and

there is no appeal to the living. The extensive textual presentation that dominates the west half of the hall is in striking contrast to the more traditionally Ramessid scenes of the journey to the shrine and the next world which dominate the east half. Rather than narrating a culminating moment as in the tomb of Djehutyemheb, the text registers are complementary to the scenes, centring on his relationship to the divine sphere (Negm 1997, 14). Although the tomb is less overtly temple-like, the parallel register style underscores a sense of movement through space.

Two registers of scenes run around the walls in the east half of the hall with a frieze of Samut and his wife alternately adoring Anubis and the top of a Hathor-headed pillar above (Negm 1997, pls. 17, 21, 27). The upper register of the south wall presents scenes of the approach to the fifth, fourth, and probably third gates of the underworld (Negm 1997, pl. 17; fig. 57). In the register below, two rows of cattle are led by two men toward a large, damaged figure, probably of Samut, who stands to receive both rows at the right end of the wall (Negm 1997, pls. 18–19). The figure of Samut is repeated at the far left of the upper register behind the cattle; he holds a scribe's palette in his right hand, probably signalling his official role (Cashman forthcoming). The cattle are captioned as 'cattle of the stable of the sacred offerings' in the upper register and 'cattle of Opet festival' in the lower.

The registers on the east wall do not continue these scenes. The upper register contains fragments of a banquet scene and the lower register presents the journey to the west (Negm 1997, pls. 20–23; fig. 58). The sense of movement is strongly conveyed by three boats on the right. Scenes of mourning women in the sub-register fuse the journey with the funeral procession. This scene continues onto the lower register of the north wall and with the carrying of the coffin toward the tomb and the opening of the mouth ceremony in front of the tomb (Negm 1997, pl. 25; fig. 59). In the upper register is the judgment scene (Negm 1997, pl. 27). The two registers on this wall bring Samut to the moment of transformation and transfiguration both in this world and in the next: in the funerary journey his body reaches the tomb and is revived through ritual action, and in the upper register he is judged and presented as one vindicated before Osiris. These scenes lead to the entrance to the shrine, the thicknesses of which bear images of Samut offering bouquets to Osiris. The largely unfinished scenes in the shrine include Samut

and his wife raising a djed pillar, a tree goddess pouring water for Samut and his wife, the mummy carried by four men and led by a priest in an Anubis mask, and adoration scenes (Negm 1997, pls. 33–5a). At the rear of the shrine are seated statues of Samut, his wife, and his parents (Negm 1995, pl. 35b).

The ritual and the process of transformation that is presented visually in the east half of the transverse hall contrasts with the textual presentation that dominates the west half. The foregrounding of text in this part of the hall is emphasized by the lack of a frieze. The two registers of texts (2.q), see further 2.3.2, also bring Samut as one transformed into the presence of the gods. Both begin beside the entrance passage and show him standing with his arms raised in adoration and close before a figure of Mut in a shrine (figs. 53–5). The text in the upper register continues onto the north wall while that in the lower ends at an unknown point on the end wall. The texts are written retrograde, the signs facing toward the goddess addressing her (Vernus 1978, 115, fig. 1). The text in the upper register narrates a process of transformation through the intervention of the divine in the form of the goddess Mut. Samut chooses Mut to be his patron and protector, presenting this process of self-fashioning in a third-person form that is modelled on literary texts (2.q, text 1). This self-fashioning, which is elaborated through the hymn that continues the narrative section, can be set against the text in the register below. Here the associated image of Samut has a brazier before him (Negm 1997, pl. 55; fig. 53). The text, which is a legal document in which Samut bequeaths his property to Mut (2.q, text 2), stops at some point on the very damaged west wall with a scene before Mut that may be an offering, since some vases are visible in an upper corner (Negm 1997, 16; fig. 54). Thus the text may lead to a presentation to the goddess, who is shown in the shrine at the end of the north wall, paralleling the narrated self that is offered to the goddess in the text above. In the bottom register on the south wall, beneath the opening sections of the texts, Samut and his wife receive offerings from a priest. Further along this wall are the remains of a scene of Samut overseeing the ploughing of fields (Negm 1997, pls. 8–9, 15), perhaps as a pastiche of, for example, Book of the Dead vignette 110.

While Samut's religious self is created and presented through narrative and hymn, his official role and self are presented visually. Images of cattle are prominent in the lower registers of the north wall, displaying Samut's role in the domain of Amun. This

imagery seems to be meaningfully condensed in a scene behind the shrine of Mut in which she receives his biography. Here Samut is depicted leading four calves to the shrine of Amun. He wears the sidelock of youth and carries a yoke with two milk jugs over his shoulder. His right hand is raised toward the shrine, while the left holds the cattle ropes and three lotus blooms (Negm 1997, 16–17, pls. 10–11; fig. 56). This scene forms part of a group in the middle and upper register of this wall showing Samut offering to or adoring deities in shrines; in the register below he kneels to the barque of Sokar and then offers to Osiris.

The iconography and location of the calf scene are distinctive. It is a pastiche of a ritual scene attested in temples since the Old Kingdom which shows the king driving four calves and holding two rods (Egberts 1995, 247–51). Egberts, in his study of the ritual meaning of the scene, records two other occurrences in non-royal contexts, both of the 20th Dynasty: one in the Theban tomb of a high priest of Montu, Heqamaatrenakht (TT 222; PM I², 1,323 (6)) and the other in the tomb of the high steward of the Queen's palace, Nakhtmin, at Bogga in Nubia (PM VII, 38–9 (18)). Egberts notes (1995, 251) that the caption 'performing the driving of the calves (*jrt hwt bḥsw*)' accompanying the scene in the latter tomb is the same as that of temple scenes. In Samut's tomb the caption orients the scene instead to his own transformation: 'giving praise to your ka, Amun-Re, king of the gods, that you may give to me a perfect old age in your following and a burial (for) the one who is under your charge' (Negm 1997, 16–17). The distinctive iconographic elements in Samut's scene such as the sidelock and milk-jugs seem to personalize the scene still further.

The horizontal register style of the tomb decoration links the scene of the calves with the biographical inscription and scene of Mut, perhaps as a culmination. Thus Samut's official role and status are presented to Amun, but his personal transformation is mediated through Mut, the female counterpart of Amun. Through the interplay of image and text Samut displays himself as the dependant of the two deities, so that his position is almost analogous with the third member of a triad. He presents himself in the role of a son, wearing a sidelock, who offers service to and is protected by the divine sphere. This concept is also mobilized by Samut's name.

The unusual dominance of text in the tomb prioritizes Samut's connection to the goddess. The fragmentary legal text seems to record Samut's receipt of a 'pension (*hbs*)' from her domain in return for his dedication, and may indicate that his transfer of self and property took place while he was alive (2.q, text 2, col. 5 note a). His property and self belong to her and she ensures his funerary rituals and interment: 'Burial, it is in your hands, unique one' (text 1, col. 19). The texts therefore incorporate the tomb into the domain of Mut, in a similar way to the dream which designates Djehutyemheb's tomb as Hathoric space. The biographical texts heighten the meanings of the tombs as a whole.

2.2.4 Wife and goddess: the tomb of Anhuriose at el-Mashayikh

Comparable interaction between visual and textual spheres of self-presentation can be found in the provincial tomb belonging to Anhuriose, who was high priest of Onuris during the reign of Merneptah, (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988; Ockinga and al-Masri 1990, 1–32). The tomb is cut into the cliffs of Nag el-Mashayikh approximately 50 kilometres to the north of Abydos. Its ancient name was Eastern Behdet (*bhdt j3btt*). Mashayikh is one of the necropoleis of This, the capital of the eighth Upper Egyptian nome, and an extension of the cemetery of Naga ed-Deir, where First Intermediate Period tombs had been cut into the lower areas of the escarpment. There are also a number of undecorated rock cut tombs, at least one dating to the Old Kingdom (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 1–2). Ockinga and al-Masri identify two other decorated New Kingdom tombs, that of Imiseba (published with Anhuriose: 1990) and an unfinished tomb bearing only traces of painted figures (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 1). The undated but probably broadly contemporaneous tomb of the royal scribe and high steward of Khons, Imiseba, includes scenes connected with his administrative role (Ockinga and al-Masri 1990, 35, 40–1, 43–7, pls. 51–5). In selecting the site, Anhuriose broke radically with tradition: all the earlier attested New Kingdom high priests of Onuris had been buried at Abydos (Kees 1937, 79).

Anhuriose's selection of Nag el-Mashayikh may be related to its connection with the goddess Mehit, consort of Onuris. A temple dedicated to Onuris and Mehit stood at the mouth of the nearby wadi. The temple, whose foundations remain visible, is now beneath a modern building (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 2). Little is known about its

structure or decoration, although inscriptions of Amenhotep III, Ramesses II, and perhaps Merneptah were said to have been found inside (Kees 1937, 77 with refs). Three statues belonging to Anhurmosé, which have been given the provenance of el-Mashayikh were probably found in this temple (KRI IV, 145–7); his title of steward and overseer of building works in Behdet suggests that he was involved in its restoration. The texts on two statues belonging to a chief charioteer Anhurnakht and a chief of weavers Bahy, which belong to the group of ‘bald ones’ and intermediaries for the goddess (compare Amenemnet, 2.r), indicate that they too probably came from this temple (Clère 1995, doc. D, 7–9, 98–103; doc. E, 104–8) and attest to the importance of Mehit there. Anhurmosé’s predecessor Minmosé also made dedications to Mehit in this temple (see Clère 1968, 143, with n. 5).

As Ockinga and al-Masri suggest (1988, 16), the connections with these places inside Anhurmosé’s tomb are made principally through his wife, Sekhmetnefret, whose image is foregrounded in the decorative programme of the front chamber. Her salience can be compared in some respects with that of Hathor in the tomb of Djehutyemheb. The narrative does not, however, express a connection with a female deity, but centres, in part, on Anhurmosé’s relationship to Shu (5.a, col. 58; 2.4).

The tomb’s central themes, of communication between this world and the next, and of the fashioning and thematization of self and life, are foregrounded through a fragmentary appeal to the living on the façade and biographical phraseology on the outer entrance jambs (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 19–20, pl. 10 (b)). No other traces of external decoration or structures survive, but the representations of the tomb in the offering scene before the coffins show a small pyramid, for which Ockinga and al-Masri (1988, 4, 52, pl. 36) identify a potential location above the tomb entrance. In the floor of the west half of the shrine a vertical shaft leads to the burial chamber, unlike the sloping, winding passages of Theban tombs of the period. The tomb now consists of a columned transverse hall with statue niches in the east and west side walls and a shrine which also incorporates a statue niche (plan: fig. 77). In the hall, the niche on the east has a statue group of Anhurmosé seated between his parents while on the west he is between his two wives (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pl. 32).

The biographical text and its associated scene (5.a, fig. 78), discussed in more detail below, begins on the east half of the south wall beside the tomb entrance, and continues onto the east wall, to surround the statue niche. This creates a textual zone of presentation in contrast to the two registers of offering bearers that dominate the western half of the hall (cf. discussion of Samut above). On the south half of the western wall and the western half of the south wall the bearers move towards the entrance of the tomb (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pls. 16–17; e.g. fig. 79). On the other side of the niche the procession takes the form of the funerary cortège and the figures face towards the shrine, continuing onto the west half of the north wall as far as the shrine door (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pls. 36–7; Barthelmess 1992, 156). In the lower register the processional ends before the representation of the tomb, before which the opening of the mouth ceremony is performed. In the upper register the subregisters of offering bearers are separated by some columns of inscription, three of which are preserved, from a scene of Anhurmoose and his wife kneeling before the tree goddess (fig. 82). The scenes that dominate this part of the hall centre on the transformation of the tomb owner in this world, while the vignettes from the Book of the Dead which fill the walls of the shrine itself present his transfiguration in the next (Ockinga and al-Masri 1990, 2–24, pls. 2–37).

A doorway leads to the shrine, on the back wall of which are an unusually large number of seated, rock-cut statues of deities (fig. 84). The statues are grouped into triads on either side of a Hathor cow emerging from the rock. On the left are Osiris, Isis, and Horus. The group on the right, of which the central figure is Thoth, is badly damaged. Ockinga and al-Masri (1990, 26–8) suggest that the figures on either side of him are Onuris/Shu and Mehit/Tefnut. Kampp-Seyfried (1996, I, 51) lists ten Theban tombs which include statues of deities. More may have incorporated now lost free-standing statues in niches and this possibility is supported by the small number of such statues found in Ramessid tombs at Saqqara (Malek 1987, 123–4; Martin 2001 et. al., 22, 24; Zivie 2002). The Theban and Memphite examples are restricted in range and number; most are single statues of Osiris, Hathor as a cow, or bulls (the latter at Saqqara), and the only triads attested are Osiris, Isis, and Horus. In this context, the two groups of triads and the inclusion of gods with perhaps local associations in Anhurmoose's tomb is particularly striking and may point to more flexible domains and potentials of

representation outside the main centres of Memphis and Thebes. Imiseba's tomb, situated in the escarpment above Anhurmosé's, incorporates six statues of deities who may parallel Anhurmosé's but with a different arrangement: Hathor as a cow, Isis, Osiris, Horus, Khons/Thoth and an unidentified god (from left to right: Ockinga and al-Masri 1990, 53, pls. 66–7). The triad in the provincial tomb of Nefersekheru also includes a local deity (5.3). The predominance of statues in Anhurmosé's tomb, as well as the presence of a columned hall, strongly evokes a temple. This analogy is further emphasized by columns of hieroglyphs, at the scale of temple wall decoration, which frame the doorways and statue niches in the hall.

The mediation of the quasi-temple space through the female aspect of divinity, particularly in the front area of the transverse hall, is realized through images of the wife. The west thickness of the entrance depicts Anhurmosé facing outward and presenting a hymn to the sun god. Instead of a hymn to Osiris or the setting sun which would normally be placed on the east thickness, Sekhmetnefret is shown, also facing outward, offering a prayer to an unnamed goddess, possibly Mehit, on behalf of her husband (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 22–3; fig. 80). The outer faces of the two front pillars of the transverse hall also bear images of Sekhmetnefret with arms raised, holding a sistrum; her image would therefore be the first seen on entering the hall (fig. 81).

On either side of the entrance, on the south wall, are parallel scenes of Anhurmosé offering a bouquet to Sekhmetnefret (with Strudwick and Strudwick 1997, 46; contra Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 27–8 who interpret this as Sekhmetnefret offering the flowers to her husband; figs. 78–9). On the west half of the wall the biographical narrative wraps around the scene and continues behind it onto the west wall. The image of Sekhmetnefret is placed centrally in Anhurmosé's biography. This association of a wife with a biographical text is distinctive. Although biographies often evoke relationships with parents and children, wives are never mentioned and seem to fall almost entirely outside the decorum of a narrated life. The contrast between an unmarried state, 'before I took a wife (*n-jrt.j-hmt*)', and setting up house, 'now when I had established a household' (*hr-m-ht-grg.n.j-pr*: *Urk.* IV, 2, 15; 3, 2), in the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana signals a key transition in the narrative, but no other detail is given.

I know only one other example that may be comparable to Anhurrose's presentation. On the south reveal of the pylon entrance to the Saqqara tomb of Maya (plan: fig. 95), the figures of Maya's wife, Merit, and his father's wife, Henutiunu, stand before him. The biographical text begins above the heads of Henutiunu and Merit and wraps around the figure of Maya to finish behind the much smaller figure of Maya's brother, Nehuher (8.a; fig. 96). Merit and Henutiunu also present texts of welcome addressed to Maya (Henutiunu's is largely lost). These two scenes may be related to a type attested in some Theban tombs. Assmann (1978, 38–9) considers the dream text of Djehutyemheb an extension of the scene of the tomb owner being greeted by his mother attested, for example, on a pillar in the tomb of the vizier Paser (Seyfried 1990, pl. 58b, 347, n. 27 for parallels), and by the goddess of the West, as in a number of Theban tombs of the New Kingdom (Refai 1996, 19–22, 25, 71–3) including the tomb of Nakhtdjehuty, discussed above (2.2.2). Hathor and the goddess of the West also presided over scenes of funeral and burial in Ramessid tombs (Barthelmess 1992, 121–30).

The integration of women into the biographical texts of Maya and Anhurrose is a further elaboration of this motif, connecting the lived life with transformation in the next world and mediating this transformation through their images. In Anhurrose's tomb, the rare double scene of the presentation of flowers to the wife by the husband make these connections explicit and also further links his self and tomb to wider sacred and cultic landscapes. Double scenes of the offering of a bouquet to the wife are also found in the tomb of Maya, located at the base of the jambs on either side of the entrance into the columned hall (Graefe 1975, 190; fig. 97).

Strudwick and Strudwick (1997) collect such scenes in their study of an example in the post-Amarna tomb of Amenmose (TT 254; Strudwick and Strudwick 1996). In the other examples they discuss, the scene is the culmination of an extended visual narrative. In TT 49, Neferhotep receives the bouquet in the temple of Amun and then gives it to his wife outside (Davies 1933, pl. 41). In the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty tomb of Amenemope (TT 41; Assmann 1991, I, 73–6; II, pl. 31) and in the tomb of Tjay of the reign of Merneptah (TT 23; PM I², 1, 38 (3)), the tomb owner presents the bouquet to his wife on the threshold of his house on celebratory return by chariot. Amenmose's scene, like that in Anhurrose's tomb, probably alludes to such contexts of procession and

return. Strudwick and Strudwick (1997, 45) consider the home in these scenes to be the tomb, a 'compressed shrine', and suggest that the overall reference is to Book of the Dead spell 132, 'for letting a man turn around to see his house on earth.' Ulrich Hofmann (in Assmann 1991, I, 74–6) sees the scene as a development of visual narratives of reward in Amarna tombs that link the king to the personal domain of the tomb owner. These associations may be present in the scene type, but I consider its meanings as layered and multiple, as indicated by the dual presentation in the tombs of Anhurmosé and Maya. The ritual, mediatory role of the wife is probably alluded to in the Theban tombs – the doorway of the house in Amenmosé's tomb bears offering formulae to Amun and Hathor – whereas it is explicit in Anhurmosé's scenes. Sekhmetnefret is not purely a wife and representative of the home; she has a cultic, perhaps priestly role.

The scene of the tomb owner offering a bouquet to the wife also occurs in two unpublished mid 18th Dynasty tombs, that of Amenemhab (TT 85: PM I², 1, 172 (16), 173 (Ca)) and in the tomb of a scribe of the counting of bread (TT 350, PM I², 1, 417 (3)). The tomb of Amenemhab offers a salient point of comparison here. As discussed by Baines (in preparation), the role of the wife Baki is unusually foregrounded. As in Anhurmosé's tomb, her image is salient on the front faces of the central pillars that form an internal entrance in the transverse hall. In another scene her image is aligned with that of Osiris, while she takes priority over that of her husband in a scene of presentation to Amenhotep II. Baines considers the image of Baki as a mediating link between the king and Amenemhab. The foregrounding of her nurturing role may be a component in the presentation of cyclical cosmic regeneration in the hall.

Sekhmetnefret's role in Anhurmosé's tomb is not as extensive or as innovative in presentation as that of Baki in the tomb of Amenemhab. However, like Baki, she is salient in transitional zones; she mediates Anhurmosé's entry to the tomb, his relationship to the divine sphere and sacred space, and his transformation. The text accompanying the parallel scene on the west half of the entrance includes a speech of Sekhmetnefret in which she welcomes her husband to the temple of Mehit and asserts the goddess's favour towards him:

jy.tj m-pr-mht
hw(.s)-tw{s} hrw-nb
hmns-h^cw.k m-snt^r
^cwy.k hr-^cnhw
wḏ.s^a-n.k rnpt-110

Welcome in peace in the domain of Mehit.
 She protects you perpetually.
 Your body is scented with incense,
 your arms bear a bouquet;
 while she ordains 110 years for you.

(Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 29, text 14)

a) Written .

The afterlife connotation of this scene is further signalled by Anhurmosé's false beard; a detail that is absent in the parallel scene within the biography of this-worldly life.

The figure of Sekhmetnefret as a representative of female cultic aspects provides a link to the temple of Mehit and her domain in the wider sacred landscape. Although none of Sekhmetnefret's titles connects her with the temple, she bears the cultic titles 'songstress of Amun-Re' and 'great one of the enclosure of Onuris'. The designation of the flowers as *^cnhw* also associates them with temple offerings (Dittmar 1986, 125–9; Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 28); the bouquet scene on the south entrance jamb of Maya's tomb bears the caption: 'receiving the bouquet which came from the presence of Amun-Re (*šsp-^cnhw-pr m-b3h-jmn-r^c*)' (Graefe 1975, 209). In Anhurmosé's tomb, Sekhmetnefret may in some sense signify the goddess herself. The image of the wife rather than of the goddess makes it possible to link the female element directly to the biographical text and to foreground her presence in the transitional zone of the doorway; she operates visually in ways that images of deities cannot.

Her image may mobilize other nuances. Ockinga and al-Masri observe (1988, 1) that the escarpment of el-Mashayikh is dominated by a peak, that may have been taken as paralleling the West Bank of Thebes. A number of the titles of Anhurmosé, his mother, and his wives are connected with the cult of Amun, while a statue of him dedicated in the local temple bears a naos of Amenhotep I. Ockinga and al-Masri (1988, 13), following Kees (1937, 85–6), consider that these features point to a Theban origin for Anhurmosé. Amun is also alluded to visually. At the rear of the transverse hall, on the east half of the north wall, are traces of a seated deity in a shrine, worshipped by destroyed figures of Anhurmosé and his wife. The only surviving part of the god's figure is the double plumes of his crown, which overlap the shrine's roof, indicating that the god was Amun, while the associated texts include traces of a hymn to Osiris (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 54–5, text 50, pls. 38–9; fig. 83). This visual link with Thebes may also be evoked by the statue

of Hathor as a cow emerging from the rock of the back wall of the shrine (cf. Zivie 2002). Anhurmo's self-presentation may, therefore, extend beyond the local temple of Mehit to Thebes, the temple of Amun, and the Hathoric West Bank. These interconnections of self and landscape are mediated by and presented through Sekhmetnefret.

2.3 The poetry of self-presentation

Lila Abu-Lughod (1986, 173–4) describes the artistry of and emotional response elicited by the intertextual memories incorporated within the poetry of a modern Bedouin community as follows:

Individuals know so many poems that each new one undoubtedly evokes image-traces and feeling-tones from others with shared words, phrases, or themes. People are reminded of 'sister' songs, variations on a theme or poems used in similar occasions.

She emphasizes that each poem is transformed by its context – the setting, the singer, and other songs sung. Thus formal poetic devices and traditional and familiar songs become uniquely and fleetingly tied to articulating the concerns and sentiments of one individual. In the following discussion I explore what I believe is a comparable interface between traditional motifs of official discourse and individual self-presentation in the texts of Anhurmo, Samut, and Djehutyemheb. These compositions deploy, manipulate, and transform literary models and traditional motifs, making play with the ways in which the elite individual and his central relationships and experiences could be formulated and displayed.

Anhurmo's text is closely bound to classical biography in structure and themes of the social and moral self. By contrast, Samut's text uses a classical model to distance his self-presentation explicitly from traditional formulations; the opening verses in the third person disrupt the expectations of the text and its setting, perhaps commenting on the nature of the biographical genre itself. Finally, the dream motif of Djehutyemheb's text draws on more recent pasts to present a single historical moment. I compare this text with the non-royal dream narrative of the Deir el-Medina workman, Ipuy, and assess its alignment with literary and royal models. Although the narratives of these inscriptions are completely different, all of them use citations, 'image-traces and feeling-tones' of other texts, to create an intimate presentation of the individual's relationship with the divine sphere and their protagonist's own transfiguration.

2.3.1 Traditional and transformed self

Through detailed elaboration of the ideal social self, the biography of Anhurmosé (5.a) evokes familiar biographical themes and motifs associated, in particular, with Middle Kingdom texts. Ockinga and al-Masri emphasize these literary connections, identifying a range of what they regard as specific, deliberate literary quotations, including vocabulary associated with the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant as well as Late Egyptian school texts (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 17–18, with 32 n. 126, 33 n. 131, 39 n. 168, 42 n. 188–89, 43 n. 194). I consider these words and phrases to be generally connected with an overall high level of language use and with the literary composition of the text rather than specific literary citations (cf. Baines 1996a, 170). My discussion of the text centres on his treatment of themes of moral character and social responsibility and on its overall structure. Both these aspects explicitly mobilize Middle Kingdom models of self-presentation, contrasting here with the texts of Samut and Djehutyemheb, as well as Ramessid priestly narratives dedicated within temples (3; 4). I use the stela of Intef, son of Senet, from Abydos (temp. Senwosret I; Sethe 1928, 80–1; Lichtheim 1988, 109–11) as a primary thematic comparison, in part because of its structural parallels with Anhurmosé's inscription, discussed below, and also because its 'catalogue of virtues' presents Middle Kingdom constructions of an ideal social self (Lichtheim 1988, 109–10; Parkinson 1991b, 61).

For discussion, I divide Anhurmosé's biography into four main parts, the dominant component being epithets relating to moral and social behaviour. After the initial titulary, the text begins with a career narrative (cols. 9–23), which is followed by Anhurmosé's role in temple space (cols. 23–32), his moral character and actions in society (cols. 32–59), and concluding summarizing statements and funerary wishes (cols. 59–68). Social responsibility is not foregrounded in Ramessid biographies and Anhurmosé's text treats it more extensively than any other example I study. This section, at over 100 verses, is considerably longer, and in some cases more elaborate in phraseology and metaphor, than Middle Kingdom (Janssen 1946; Doxey 1998) and 18th Dynasty exemplars (e.g. the stela of an Intef: Louvre C3; *Urk.* IV, 964–75). The biographical text on the back pillar of the Cairo statue of the high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons (2.a), includes a series of epithets concerned with moral character, but these are directed to temple staff and form part of the

presentation of his connection to temple space (3.2.1). A similar association may be evoked in Anhurmosé's text; the verses setting out his care for dependants follow the series of epithets that present aspects of his priestly role. I argue that the mobilization of these themes in Anhurmosé's text aligns him with classical models and demonstrates literary skill in personalizing and extending them, as well as being a component of the process of transformation enacted in the composition.

The central theme of these verses is social responsibility through providing for and protecting dependants and as an impartial judge, themes central to self-presentation since the Old Kingdom that reached their most developed form in the 12th Dynasty (Lichtheim 1988; Gnirs 1996, 266–7). Many of Anhurmosé's verses have direct Middle Kingdom parallels, although his language is often heightened, particularly through images and metaphors: 'I am one who performed maat upon earth, more times than there are [ha]irs on a head' (col. 41).

The image of Anhurmosé as provider is developed in a number of verses that can be compared with parts of the stela of Intef as well as the passages in the Teaching of Amenemhat:

I am a possessor of sustenance (*nb k3w*), who pours forth (*ttf*) pro[visions],
 who satisfies the one who wishes to eat.
 I am a lord of harvest in the field,
 who nourishes his workers as he desires.

(5.a, cols. 51–2)

jnk-ḥd-ḥr 3w-ḏrt
nb-ḏf3w šw m-ḥbs-ḥr

I was generous, open-handed,
 a lord of provisions, free from neglect.

(Sethe 1928, 80, ll. 21–2)

jnk-jr-jt mr-nprj
trj.n-wj ḥpy ḥr-pg3-nb
n-ḥqr.tw m-rnpwt.j
n-jb.tw-jm

I was a maker of grain, beloved of Nepri.
 The Nileflood honoured me on every plain.
 No one hungered in my years;
 no one thirsted in them.

(Helck 1969, 72–3, XIa–c; Parkinson 1997, 207)

Images of himself as a protector and sheltering presence for the weak also resonate with Middle Kingdom literature.

I am one who [shelters?] the old woman,
 in order to warm her limbs by the fire.

(5.a, col. 51)

hyt-ḥmt n-ḥsw m-w3st (I was) the warm shelter for the cold in the Theban nome.
(Stela of Nesumontu: Sethe 1928, 82, ll. 4–5)

mj-ḥtp-pt r-s3-ḡ^c-q3 (A lord is ...) like the sky's calm after a high wind,
sšmm.s-ḥsw which warms all the cold.
(Eloquent Peasant: Parkinson 1991a, 34, B1, 275 –6)

The phrase in Anhurmosé's text is an elaboration of the Middle Kingdom epithet, as well as a possible literary reference. It resonates with a Third Intermediate period hymn where Amun is: 'one who warms the limbs of all his people (*sšmm-ḥ^cw m-ḥnw.f*)' (Jansen-Winkel 1985, I, 47, text A4), cited as a parallel by Ockinga and al-Masri (1988, 42, n. 188). Anhurmosé also meaningfully varies well-known Middle Kingdom characterizations of Thoth-like ability (Doxey 1998, 316): 'I am the balance of the lord of Busiris, for my desire is to be a model Filler' (cols. 46–7). This couplet, like many others, parallels earlier epithets, while also extending and elaborating the imagery:

I am one who raises up (*sṯs*) the grieving child,
who puts a stop to [...] and wipes away his tears.
I am one who puts an end to lamentation
for that woman who is profuse (*s^cš3t*) in grief.

(5.a, cols. 44–5)

jnk-s^cḥw ^cnw sfnw I was collected, kind, merciful,
sgr-rmw m-ḥn-nfr one who quieted the weeper with a kind word.
(Intef: Sethe 1928, 80, l. 19)

Such themes and motifs not only align Anhurmosé's biography with traditional forms but also present him as a skilled crafter of language who can transform and elaborate these concepts. The epithets fulfil the image which he presents in the opening verses as a good student and scribe – 'upright in the schoolroom, without wavering in it' (cols. 12–15) – extending formula and tradition through a more personal presentation.

The overall structure of the biography, which also draws on classical models, contributes to the mobilization and reworking of traditional concepts. The text is grouped into couplets introduced by the independent pronoun (*jnk*) followed by nominal or relative clauses. This style of self-presentation, foregrounding *jnk*, is particularly characteristic of texts of the reign of Senwosret I (Lichtheim 1988, 105, n. 2; Obsomer 1993, 123 with refs) on which Anhurmosé could have modelled his text. The most elaborate exemplar of this style is the Abydos stela of Intef, son of Senet cited above, which provides a structural parallel for Anhurmosé's text. In Intef's text each of the

twenty sentences beginning with *jnk* forms a couplet, in a patterning that is emphasized visually (for metrical translation and photograph: Parkinson 1991b, 61–3). A parallel structure to that of Intef's text is displayed on 'face 1' of the stela of the vizier Prehotep (8.d, KRI III, 54, 1–5), where verse couplets beginning with *jnk* align epithets of moral character with effective performance in office.

In my translation of Anhurmosé's text, where possible, I group the couplets introduced by *jnk* into thematically connected four-verse stanzas. Interruptions to this pattern seem to mark significant events, for example; 'My lord praised me in the presence of everyone' (col. 20). The *sdm.n.f* here introduces the king's role as an active mediator in Anhurmosé's biography, although promotion is only alluded to. The triplet that follows (cols. 21–2) continues the disruptions to the patterning, emphasizing royal favour and Anhurmosé's social prestige.

The structure of the text makes play with the narration of cyclical and linear time, linking these aspects of time to biography and life-cycle. The similarly structured verses beginning with *jnk* foreground the cyclical aspect of time, which is also mobilized explicitly in the narrative: 'I am one strong upon land, without fatigue, who saw many marches like the turning (*msnh*) of a potter's wheel' (cols. 17–18). *msnh* does not generally describe the motion of a potter's wheel, the only other example being in the Admonitions of Ipuwer (5.a, note d). This seems to be a key phrase in the structure of the text and one which may bear this specific reference or resonate more generally with literary phraseology.

The cyclical quality of repetition contrasts with the linear narrative created through the themes of the early verses, notably in the evocation of the passage of childhood in the opening stanza: 'I am one who was excellent as a nursling, clever as a child, intelligent as a boy, clever as a humble youth' (cols. 9–12). The narrative progresses through Anhurmosé's education and early career, shifting to movement through temple space after his transition to priestly office. A comparable play with linear narrative and structure is made in the stela of Nesumontu, of the reign of Senwosret I. In his text, the four sets of verses formed by *jnk* with participles seem to establish personal rather than physical settings for the two more strongly narrative sections (Obsomer 1993, 125–6):

jnk-w^c nht n-t3-pn
wn-^cwy-tbn sm-rdwy
nds jqr n-r3-(^c?)-ht

I was the sole one, the champion of the country,
 one whose arms are always quick, and legs alert,
 and a man of excellent weapons.

tsm(?) -n.j mš^c m-sht
hđ-t3 htp-n(.j) dmj
ndr.n.j-d3đ3 n-pđt

The army was loyal to me in the siege.
 At dawn, the town surrendered to me
 and I seized the head of the troop.

(Sethe 1928, 82, ll. 6–8)

In Anhurmoſe’s text linear narrative is integral to the epithets themselves.

The forward movement in time and space in the first part of the text through childhood and early career, including the experience of and actions in temple space narrated in columns 23–32, is followed by the more timeless or cyclical quality of the extensive presentation of Anhurmoſe’s moral character. This part of the composition, with its close thematic connections to Middle Kingdom self-presentation, harmoniously links theme and structure in relation to the progressive transformation throughout the text. The first stanza of this part alludes to the negative confession and to judgement in the next world: ‘I am that man without fault, without wrongdoing in the Council of Thirty’ (col. 32). Verses that align Anhurmoſe’s role as a judge in this world with his own in the next are interspersed throughout, such as: ‘I am true of voice in all my places, on the day of judging matters’ (col. 41). A stanza incorporated into the formulations of Anhurmoſe’s social self explicitly mobilizes his transfigured state, as well as linking his tomb with his role in the temple: ‘I was the possessor of a place in the West and in the [pillared hall?] [... ..] while I was in the womb’ (cols. 45–6). This stanza alludes to the end of the text which returns to the theme of death and Anhurmoſe’s relationship to his god: ‘I am a Companion who has this burial, a possessor of an interment within [...] ... who trusts in the path of my god’ (cols. 56–7). Thus, the elaborate epithets of moral character and social responsibility are closely bound to the next world, leading to the concluding funerary wishes: ‘I will proceed in peace to my domain (*hwt.j*)’ (col. 62).

Anhurmoſe draws on and develops traditional motifs of ‘ideal biography’ while incorporating them within a narrative that moves towards and is implicated in his death and transfiguration through these references to the next world. The form of *jnk* plus relative clause marks the ‘adhésion du “je” à une catégorie générale’, as Pascal Vernus, who remarks in his treatment of the text of Samut that the singularity of self foregrounded by the use of *jnk* ‘réside non dans la déviation par rapport aux stéréotypes,

mais, au contraire, dans l'adhésion plus étroite que la moyenne des hommes à ces stéréotypes' (1978, 118 with n. 16). Anhurmo's text adheres exceptionally closely to ancient ideals of moral and social self, but through the distinctive visual setting and length also marks significant and individual elaborations and developments.

2.3.2 Faultlines

Samut explicitly rejects the near universal 'I' and the presentation of an ideal moral and social self displayed, for example, in Anhurmo's biography. If, as Parkinson suggests (2002, 91), 'the most accessible sign of literature is the extent of its divergence from the cultural norms of official discourse', the play with the expectations of the tomb setting and reading of the narrative in Samut's biography aligns it with the most profoundly literary models (Baines 1991b, 185). The text manipulates literary motifs, reflexively creating 'faultlines' that disrupt reading and question the role of biographical discourse as a representation of individual life experience (compare Vernus 1978).

The term 'faultlines', developed in cultural materialist criticism (Sinfield 1992), is adopted by Parkinson in his studies of Middle Kingdom literature (e.g. 2000; 2002, esp. 40). I use it here to describe how Samut's inscriptions depart from idealizing expectations of conventional biography and the tomb setting. Comparable faultlines may be generated by narrations of the untoward or less than ideal experience, mobilized in some Old Kingdom and Late biographies and Deir el-Medina 'penitential hymns'. In the present corpus, an example is the topos of affliction in the biography of Amenhotep in Karnak (2.g; 3.3.2). Although I use the term 'faultline' to characterize aspects of Samut's text, I do not argue for a dissident reading. Rather, faultlines intensify effects of voice, highlighting how the text enacts the fashioning of self through the goddess, extending the potential of self-presentation rather than subverting it.

Samut's 'text 1', in the upper register of his tomb, has been the subject of several studies that have focused on its intertextual relationship with other genres, including fictional tales (Vernus 1978; Morenz 1998; 2000) and medical texts (Gnirs 2003), or have discussed it as a quintessential Ramessid expression of an exclusive, personal relationship with the divine sphere (Assmann, 2002 (1996), 234–7; cf. Loprieno 1996a, 47–8). I

explore some implications of the text's departure from traditional practices in the context of more general Ramessid experimentation with the potential of the biographical genre.

At seventy-five columns, the text in the upper register of the west half of the hall is comparable in length to that in the tomb of Anhurmosé. The narratives of Samut's 'discovery' (*gm*; cf. 5.3.1) of and devotion to Mut, narrated in the third person and then in the first, are a small component of the whole. The first six columns, set in the third person, give an account of Samut's youth, his teaching through an unnamed god, and his search for a protector. At the top of column 7, the text shifts into the first person and Samut describes the dedication of his property to Mut in legal terms, together with his experience of her power: 'she came, the north wind before her, when I called upon her name' (cols. 9–10). In column 15 Samut offers a prayer to Mut for her intervention at his death, in particular requesting that she maintain his physical wholeness and efficacy (Gnirs 2003). From column 31 to the end of the west wall the fragmentary text continues to address Mut and to describe her mediatory role in the afterlife. The seven columns on the north wall before the image of Mut contain five stanzas of a hymn to her invoking her protective power in this life and in the next:

As for the one who made Mut a defender,
he came forth from the womb as a favoured one,
perfection destined for him upon the birthing brick,
he will achieve veneration.

(2.q, text 1, cols. 73–4)

The fissures and faultlines mobilized through the interplay of the literary opening, the juridical language which follows, and the official discourse of hymns and prayers contribute to the presentation of a unique, highly personal self-fashioning, that is enabled and enacted through the presence of the goddess.

My fourfold structuring of the text is based on the analyses of Vernus (1978, 137–41) and Morenz (2000, 315–6). Vernus emphasizes the conscious and artful selection and fusion of different linguistic registers to bring out the meaning of the different sections. He contrasts the Classical Egyptian of the opening five stanzas of the literary narrative with the literary Late Egyptian of the legal statements and the hymn with which the text closes. He considers that the different linguistic levels generate, for example, distinctions between generalizing statements expressed through traditional forms on the one hand and aspects of the individual and personal which are signalled by the deployment of later

structures on the other. The Late Egyptian of the hymn draws these levels together. Morenz's treatment, which largely corresponds with that of Vernus, further emphasizes the shifts in voice throughout the text signalled by specific narrative forms. The intimacy of the appeals to Mut in the second person is framed by and contrasts with the third-person narrative and the final hymn to Mut, in which the voice of Samut is no longer present. Vernus (1978, 119) suggests that this hymn enacts a final dissolution of the self that is so powerfully foregrounded at the beginning of the text; Samut is surrendered to Mut. This shift may parallel the visual composition of the text. The hymn to Mut fills the columns on the north wall, in front of her shrine, in a complementary position to the 'tale of Samut' which begins in front of his figure on the south wall, displaying the central themes of proximity and protection.

While the complementary analyses of Vernus and Morenz bring out the text's transformations of language and voice, it flows over any lines that might be drawn. These transformations are linked to the formulation of an individual self, in a process mobilized in the third-person opening of the text. The first verse of text 1, *s-pw-wn(w)*, signals a literary, fictive context, since it begins two known Middle Kingdom tales, the unpublished tale of Nefer[...] (Parkinson 2002, 302) and the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant (see below). Vernus (1978, 118–9, 142–4; see also 2.3.1 here) argues persuasively that the third person literary formulation distances Samut's self-presentation from the 'I' which signals an individual's adherence to standard norms and ideals. Just as he does not employ the normal voice and structures of biography, he also rejects its traditional themes, including connection to social adhesion and kin, explicitly (Loprieno 1996a, 47), for which the juridical statements in text 1 and the legal text (2.q, text 2) provide the central mechanism: 'I do not make a protector for myself from among men' (text 1, col. 17). Vernus suggests that Samut narrates something more 'real' and individual by distancing himself from formulaic strategies of self-presentation, a faultline that enacts what Morenz (2000, 317–8) characterizes as a 'suspension of suspension of disbelief'. Although these features may mobilize a more personal and subjective fashioning, it is no less fictionalizing; they may allow the self to be further drawn into the literary forms of the hymns and prayers which follow.

Vernus (1978, 117) draws on structural comparisons with the Tale of Sinuhe to emphasize the literary quality of Samut's text. This comparison can be extended further. The biographical setting of Sinuhe is instantly transgressed to narrate 'a distinctive voice beyond the norms of official discourse, and a self-fashioning process' (Parkinson 2002, 153). The context of Samut's text creates a frame that realizes a comparable conceit architecturally and visually, while also departing from it in order to narrate a self-fashioning process that centres on a search 'within himself (*wn.jn.f hr-w3w3-ds.f*)' and the internalized experience of the divine.

Although I consider that the opening stanza of Samut's text makes play with more general literary settings, including the Eloquent Peasant, Morenz's (1998; 2000, 317–8) comparison of the two texts highlights further ways faultlines are exploited in the formulation of Samut's self-presentation:

There was a man of southern Heliopolis,
a true scribe in Thebes,
whose name was Samut by Mut/(his) mother,
called Kyky, true of voice.
(2.0, cols. 1–2)

There was a man
called Khunanup;
he was a peasant of the Wadi Natrun,
whose wife was called Meret.
(Parkinson 1991a, 1, R 1.1–2)

Morenz identifies fundamental oppositions of setting and status between the two texts. Khunanup's position 'socially and geographically on the edge of Egyptian culture' (Parkinson 2002, 168) contrasts with Samut's location of himself at its centre – 'a true scribe in Thebes'. Samut's text foregrounds his connection with place, a strategy that can be contrasted with the spatial dislocation evoked in a later verse – 'I was a pauper in the vicinity of her city' (cols. 10–11) – and is part of the motif of proximity to the goddess that plays out through the text. The third verse of the stanza alludes to this central theme: 'Samut was his name by Mut/(his) mother'. This near-fusion of Mut and 'mother' is a rhetorical device prefiguring Samut's relationship to the goddess (Morenz 2000, 316, 318–9), which is not stated explicitly until the last stanza of the third-person narrative; Mut is present and immanent within him prior to his discovery (*gm*) of her. It is possible that this verse refers to a name change, as Morenz suggests. A late 18th Dynasty assessor of cattle for Amun, also named Samut, owned a tomb in the Khokha necropolis (TT 247: PM I², 1, 333; Kampp-Seyfried 1996, II, 522–3). The Ramessid Samut may be making play with an ancestral name. This tomb is also set off a larger court (PM I², 1, 326).

The relationship with the female foregrounded in the opening verse could be a further play with the Eloquent Peasant, since Khunanup's wife is mentioned in the opening verses of the poem. This comparison could be further extended to the Tale of Sinuhe (*š3-nhr*) where the protagonist's name alludes to Hathor and the queen (Loprieno 1996a, 44; Parkinson 2002, 165). Thus, as with Djehutyemheb's dream discussed below, literary narratives may provide models that enable actors to shape their own experiences in different and highly individual ways (compare the biography of Amenemhab: Baines, in preparation; 1.5.2). The final verse of this quatrain returns to conventional formulae with 'called Kyky, true of voice', underscoring the preceding divergence between traditional introductions to biographical inscriptions and Samut's text.

Morenz (1998, 77–8) envisages Samut as an 'urban anti-peasant' who parodies the literary text but at the same time aligns himself with the 'world of words' the Peasant creates. He draws a comparison between Samut's text and the instruction composed by the Deir el-Medina workman Menna, which cites classical models. Although I consider Morenz's presentation of a direct link with The Eloquent Peasant perhaps too restricting, this comparison is valuable. Samut was a member of a related, but higher, milieu than the Deir el-Medina elite and thus was part of a social context in which literature was taught, enjoyed, and discussed (McDowell 2000) – individuals in Deir el-Medina perhaps followed models provided by the practices of local elites. The use of literary models sits in the general context of the transmission and transformation of classical literature in the Ramessid period. The teaching motif in Samut's text, a key component of a number of Ramessid biographies perhaps foregrounds this connection. Instead of education through the father (e.g. Bakenkhons: 2.a; Nefersekheru: 7.a) or through the king (e.g. Setau: 1.a), Samut is instructed by an anonymous god, heightening the religious contouring of his life.

Comparable play with a fictionalizing act may be mobilized in the 12th Dynasty biography of Khnumhotep inscribed on the façade of his mastaba at Dahshur, presented by James Allen as a work in progress at conferences in 2003 and 2004. The narrative inscription which begins with a *dd.jn.f* form, evocative of the Shipwrecked Sailor or of its genre, is inscribed in a separate area of the façade from a more conventional presentation of biographical phraseology, drawing an overt distinction between levels of meaning and

association. In Samut's text the fictionalized setting of his life experience is interwoven with and implicated in other elements of the inscription and the tomb as a whole (2.2.3).

The beginning of the speech in column 7 which introduces Samut's voice is, significantly, formulated not as a biographical statement mobilizing an oral presentation (*dd.f*). The backgrounding narrative clause, which in principle uses Classical Egyptian, 'He said: look, I give my possessions to her, (*jw-dd.n.f mk-wj hr-djt-n.s ht.j*)', foregrounds 'I', while incorporating the speech into the preceding narrative (Vernus 1978, 119 with n. 20). Samut sets himself in a past context, into which his own voice is incorporated and he becomes in some ways the fictionalized subject of the preceding narrative.

The fictional, non-situated past of text 1 contrasts with the 'historical', defined moment of the legal text beneath, which bears the precise date '... first month of Akhet, day 19 under the Person of the Dual King, Usermaatre setepenre' (text 2, col. 1). Like the narrative, this records a speech of Samut; the different speech settings of the two texts seem to play into one another, both reinforcing and undercutting their implications. This incorporation of this inscription into an offering scene, through the image of the brazier in front of the figure Samut and the vases and flowers before Mut's shrine, binds the text to a temporal, performative context and orients it toward the next world through the creation of a contract with the goddess that includes her protection of him at death.

Little remains of the legal inscription, but its beginning is presented as a literary elaboration of a papyrus document:

See, I have established it as an income for ...
... my old age as my contract,
without a son, or daughter, brother or sister,
for I entrust myself to Mut,
the [mistress who has given] breath,
that she may ordain the West for me at old age,
[being free from] the terror of the king.

(2.q, text 2, cols. 2–9)

The text continues with mention of servants, the temple of Mut, and temple functionaries such as the songstress of Amun. Passages near the end include threat formulae (cols. 44–5). The sections concerning the dedication are artfully and reflexively connected with the legal phraseology incorporated into the narrative inscribed above:

I handed over my property in favour of her power,
in exchange for the breath of life,
Not one of my family shall divide it;
they are for her ka as offerings.

(2.q, text 1, cols. 11–12)

The legal text is part of the dedication of the tomb space to Mut (2.2.3) while participating in the faultlines and departures of the text inscribed above it. As Andrew Ganley (2004, 64–5) observes in his discussion of the Karnak legal stela, the act of inscribing a legal text in a monumental context signals that it records a significant departure from normal practices. The court case and legal texts narrated and depicted in the Saqqara tomb of Mose, treasury scribe of Ptah under Ramesses II, provide a notable comparison (Gaballa 1977, 22–7, pls. 25–7; Ganley 2002, 75–8).

The linking of biography with the deposition of property is a feature of the later scribe statue of an overseer of works, Amenmose, from Lower Egypt. The text on the statue's lap enumerates the works Amenmose undertook in different temple domains (8.b; fig. 98). Three of the four zones of inscription on the base give summary statements, each relating to a different temple: service to the portable shrine of Amun, the construction of chapels and shrines of Na-Amun-Re (probably in the Western Delta: 8.b, note b), and actions as overseer of works in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III on the Theban West bank. The fourth zone bears an inscription close in structure and language to the deposition of Samut:

I gave all my property to Amun-Re, king of the gods,
consisting of male and female servants,
houses, vineyards,
cattle, of all that accrued to me.

(8.b, base, left half, l. 2)

The inclusion of an epithet 'one who gave his property to Amun-Re, king of the gods' as the culmination of Amenmose's title string at the beginning of the biography on the papyrus (l. 1) incorporates this dedication of property as a key component of self alongside its narration as a performed action. The damaged inscription on a second scribe statue of Amenmose found in the temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertary on the Theban West Bank may also record this dedication (2.aa; 8.b, n. j).

The dedications of Samut and Amenmose can be seen in part as extensions and elaborations of donations to temples recorded on stelae of non-royal individuals since the

early New Kingdom (Meeks 1979). For Samut and Amenmose, the act of ‘legal’ property dedication is incorporated in the self that is fashioned through the narratives. In Samut’s text, this action provides a counterpart for his exclusive and internalized experience of the goddess: the legal text grounds the narrative in this world, manifesting his relationship to her in a ‘concrete’ fashion. Mut’s presence within him and her protective appropriation of his self and body is both literally and figuratively underwritten by the document.

The literary narrative, prayers, and hymns, as well as their counterpart in the legal ‘document’, create a web of allusion in which Samut is defined and presented through the goddess’s mediatory presence. Faultlines generated through and between the texts by the literary setting and play with the decorative programme, in particular the images of cattle and calves (2.2.3), also give a sense of a strongly contoured self, that is reinforced by Samut’s search for and finding of the goddess, as against the divine intervention that characterizes some other biographical texts (Gnirs 2003, 179). In his text and in the biography of Djehutyemheb, internalized and exclusive experience of the goddess is also a ‘guide to action’ (Baines 1987a, 89) in dedicating property or building a tomb, for which royal dream and oracle texts provide models.

2.3.2 Dreaming

The topos of the dream as a narrative of direct contact with a deity is first attested in royal monumental inscriptions of the 18th Dynasty. Only two non-royal examples are known, the inscription of Djehutyemheb studied here and the stela of a Deir el-Medina workman, Ipuu. In her monograph on dreams, Kasia Szpakowska includes the two non-royal dream narratives with dreams and religion (2003, 123–57), examining ways in which dreams give the dreamer access to another reality, in particular to a liminal zone where contact with the dead or gods is possible. Szpakowska organizes her analysis around passages in the Dream Book of Qenherkhepeshef and scenes 8–10 of the Opening of the Mouth. She examines these two non-royal narratives separately, focusing on the personal nature of their ‘oneiric theophanies’ and linking the sanctioning of their composition to wider Ramessid changes in display and thought (2003, 151, 184). I offer a more comparative analysis of Djehutyemheb’s text, drawing on Ipuu’s stela and on the royal narratives that seem to provide the basic model. While the topos of the dream

operates in comparable ways to the narrative of Samut in presenting an internalized experience of a goddess, the focus on a specific moment mobilizes a different, perhaps more immediate, temporal frame.

Assmann (1978, 25–7, 41–4 with n. 80) has analysed the structure of the text of Djehutyemheb, which is aligned to column breaks; he also draws comparisons with hymns on royal monuments. The hymn with which the text begins (cols. 4–9) sets out Djehutyemheb's relationship to the goddess in personal and general terms, alluding both to the dream encounter and to the tomb: 'I am your true servant, I am upon the water of your command. ... How joyful it is to rest by your side (for) the one who enters your shade' (cols. 5–9). The dream episode is incorporated into a eulogy of the goddess, that is marked by a column break and characterized by the repetition of the phrase 'you are X' (*ntt-X*):

You are the one who foretold my tomb in the beginning,
as it was ordained to be. ...

You are the one who said to me with your own mouth:
'I am the perfect *hly*, my form is the [form] of Mut,
(I) have come to instruct you.
See your place, fill yourself with it,
without going north, without going south',

while I was in a dream and the earth was in silence,
in the depths of night ...

(2.0, text 1, cols 11–13)

Assmann (1978, 42–4 with refs) states that such formulations of divine power normally occur in passages that characterize the king as a loyal servant and focus on the timeless aspects of the deity. By contrast, the dream in Djehutyemheb's text mobilizes these aspects of the goddess within a single, personal event that is connected to the immediacy of her presence in the tomb itself.

The structure of Djehutyemheb's text, patterned on hymns, embeds this spontaneous experience within a highly wrought, literary frame that is enhanced by intertextual references and word-plays. Loprieno (1996a, 48) considers that the dream alludes to fictional settings through the comparable use of dreaming as a motif in classical tales such as Sinuhe. While this resonance is likely, I suggest that closer models can be found, such as the encounter with different aspects of a goddess narrated in The Herdsman's

Tale (Parkinson 1997, 287–8; 2002, 300 with refs). Such models, as well as other likely lost ones, may have shaped the ways in which dreams could be articulated in narratives.

The second non-royal dream narrative is incorporated in a hymn to Hathor inscribed on both sides of an unprovenanced stela of the servant in the Place of Truth Ipyu (Satzinger 1985, 249–54; Szpakowska 2003, 135–7, 194–5; fig. 50). The dream episode is inscribed in the lower register on the front, beneath a fragmentary raised relief scene of Ipyu kneeling before Hathor (Satzinger 1985, 251–3). He is depicted again, in sunk relief, before the text in the lower register. The continuation of the hymn fills the back of the stela.

The accounts of the two dreams differ in salient ways. Ipyu's is articulated through a festival context that seems to sanction the narrative:

*hr-jr-hrw ptr.j-nfrw(.s?)
wrš-jb.j m-hb-jry
m3.j-nbt-t3wy m-qd
hr-dj.s-ršwt m-jb.j*

And it happened that I saw (her?) perfection,
while my heart spent the day in her festival,
when I saw the lady of the two lands in a dream,
and she placed joy in my heart.

*wn.jn.j-(hr)-w3d m-k3w.s
nn-dd n.f hl-n.j (n.)n ...*

Then I was refreshed with her sustenance.
There was none who could say 'would that I had, would
that we had' ...

(Satzinger 1985, 251–2; fig. 50 front, cols. 5–8)

The setting clause and narrative forms in Ipyu's dream set it apart from the hymn which frames it, in contrast to Djehutyemheb's, where the dream becomes part of the eulogy. Satzinger suggests (1985, 252) that the *jb* in the phrase 'while my heart spent the day in her festival' indicates that Ipyu was not physically present at a shrine or participating in a festival (see also Szpakowska 2003, 136–7, 142). I suggest that the reference to celebration and offerings both here and as part of the hymn on the reverse (Satzinger 1985, 253) evokes a setting for his experience, that is perhaps displayed in the shrine in which Hathor sits in the upper register (Satzinger 1985, 250). The reported speeches that follow his description of the dream also imply a more inclusive social context for the narration: 'The wonders of Hathor [that she] did should be related [to the] ones who do not know it, and the ones who do know it. One generation should say to another: "How perfect ..."' (Satzinger 1985, 253–4).

Djehutyemheb's narrative is temporally located: 'while the earth was in silence, in the depths of night' (cols. 12–13) but, as Assmann (1978, 32 (v)) and Szpakowska (2003,

30–31) observe, the silence and darkness of night was a traditional setting for hymns. The hymn to Hathor inscribed in the Kheruef court (see 2.2.2), provides an example in close physical proximity to the tomb of Djehutyemheb whose text may draw on this resonance. The nocturnal setting of the hymn also emphasizes its exclusivity: Hathor speaks only to Djehutyemheb. Unlike Ipuy’s text, no other social context is indicated.

The shaping of Djehutyemheb’s narrative through the structure of eulogy foregrounds the themes of speech and voice, which resonate throughout the tomb. Each characterization of the goddess focuses on the power of her speech to foretell and instruct (Assmann 1978, 41 n. 80). Djehutyemheb then relates this theme to his transformation through the goddess’s addresses to him inscribed on the opposite side of the entrance to the burial chamber: ‘I will [announce you] to the great god, that he may say to you: “Welcome in peace”’ (2.0, text 2, cols. 6–7). Ipuy, by contrast, mobilizes the intermediary aspect of the goddess in more general terms: ‘her father Amun will listen to all her appeals, appeased (?) ... when he rises, bearing her perfection. He made lapis lazuli for her hair, gold for her limbs’ (Satzinger 1985, 253–4). Ipuy does not address the goddess directly; while she acts for him, the details of what she did are not stated. A sense of distance is maintained by the narrative verb forms among other features, as would be appropriate if the stele was dedicated within a cult temple or shrine.

Comparison of the spatial and temporal contexts and of the contrasting formulations of divine presence in the two texts highlights the intensity and intimacy of Djehutyemheb’s narrative. His use of the dream motif as a vehicle for direct communication and ‘dialogue’ with a goddess is particularly striking. The only other known context in which gods speak to mortals within their biographies is oracular action. A text in which the protagonist experiences the divine directly and the deity speaks to him is the Coptos stela of the chief of Medjay, Penre, whose narrative concerns an oracle of Isis:

this servant reached his city in order to give praise to Isis ...
 Then she stopped before this chief of Medjay ...
 and she bowed to him, and she placed me (Penre) at his (Buanaktef’s) side ...
 [She said:?] ‘What I have done for Buanaktef, I will do for you ...

(3.a, cols. 10–13; fig. 62)

This passage can be compared to the stela of Paser from Abydos, which presents the god’s oracular decision only as a movement (Cairo JdE 43649: KRI III, 464, 2–464, 5).

The religious setting of an oracle provides a sanctioned context in which the speech of a deity is perhaps both possible and apt.

I suggest that both Penre's oracle and Djehutyemheb's dream assimilate and extend royal models. Such models may have provided a way to narrate direct experience of a deity and divine speech that would traditionally have been beyond the boundaries of decorum. The most elaborate development of the royal 'message dream' is the stela of Thutmose IV between the paws of the Sphinx at Giza, in which the god gives instructions to the sleeping prince which he obeys later when he comes to the throne (Szpakowska 2003, 50–52; Klug 2002, 296–304). The pattern of divine speech and action through the unsolicited benediction of the dream is comparable to Djehutyemheb's text.

Royal dreams have often been interpreted as legitimizing rule (e.g. Bryan 1991, 40–3), an association that is explicit in the 25th Dynasty inscription of Tanutamun, in which a dream is interpreted as signalling divine mandate for the assumption of kingship (Szpakowska 2003, 55; Loprieno 1996b, 288). In the earlier texts the link between legitimation and the dream motif has perhaps been overplayed. Szpakowska suggests (2003, 49–50) that the dreams of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV stress the intimacy of relationship with the divine sphere, exploring the implications of the king's humanity. Thus they mark clear distinctions as well as connections between god and king, divine presence and distance (Loprieno 1996b, 286–90). In the stela of Thutmose IV, the dream episode is incorporated with other distinctive motifs, including horsemanship and the emphasis on the salience of the Giza area, and is thus a component of broader expansions of royal self-presentation in the 18th Dynasty (Klug 2002, 303–4). The dreams of Ipuy and Djehutyemheb signal a transformation of decorum, enabling non-royal individuals to partake in and extend some of the meanings of these presentations.

The royal dream is a multiple, flexible motif. While the texts and contexts of Djehutyemheb and Ipuy are comparable with royal dream narratives in structure and mobilization of intimacy they draw its implications in other directions. The incorporation of dreams within hymns enhances the potential of religious texts to speak to and shape the display of personal concerns and aspects of self in relation to the gods. Djehutyemeheb's dream is part of an innovative expansion of religious display and self-

presentation explored throughout his tomb, that enacts the immediacy and perpetuity of Hathor's presence and his relationship to her.

2.4 Tomb and religious self

In each of the tombs discussed in this chapter a goddess or representative of female divinity links lived experience and the human world with the divine sphere. This foregrounding of female presence may be connected with the landscapes in which the tombs were set: the temple and Hathoric associations of the Assasif for the tombs of Djehutyemheb and Samut, and the temple of Mehit for Anhurmosé. This does not mean that there was a direct causal relationship between landscape and tomb decoration. Thus, plays with the implications of temple and Hathoric space are neither restricted to nor necessary for the Assasif. The tomb of Paenkhémou (TT 68) includes a detailed and complex representation of a cult temple to Hathor on the wall of the transverse hall (Seyfried 1991, 127–8; 2.2.2) while that of Nakhtdjehuty, which is in a complementary position to Djehutyemheb's in the Kheruef court, links official role with divine space through the depiction of barques and cult equipment and narrative of their creation (2.2.2). For the tombs of Samut and Djehutyemheb, the sanctity of the Assasif as temple, royal locus, and abode of Hathor, as well as the human social focus of the 18th Dynasty courts in which they were set, heighten the sense of 'being *in place*' (2.2), participating in and contributing to the self-presentations.

There are differences in the role of the female figures in the biographies, from transitional to culminating. In the tombs of Anhurmosé and Maya, images of wives and female relatives are incorporated into biographical texts in more liminal and less sacred zones of the tomb, either in the entrance or leading directly from it. This treatment seems to expand traditional scenes of welcoming the tomb owner, integrating this-worldly narrative with divine space. In the tomb of Anhurmosé, the image of his wife has a heightened cultic meaning through the double scene of the bouquet, perhaps linking his life more explicitly with the next world and temple space.

The images of Anhurmosé's wife on the entrance and pillars of his tomb can be contrasted with the location of the culminating narrative of the dream in Djehutyemheb's shrine, where it binds individual and goddess through speech and physical manifestation.

The transition to this area is mediated by the intercessory images of Hathor and Ahmose-Nefertari shaking sistra in the transverse hall. The texts which bring Samut to Mut in the hall of his tomb lead toward similar culminations.

In the tombs of Djehutyemheb and Samut, biography contributes to the specificity of divine presence. The dream text accounts for the particular location of the tomb, while the legal text of Samut incorporates his tomb into Mut's domain. This specificity is enacted in Djehutyemheb's tomb by the transformation of audience from the human sphere on the façade to the dialogue between goddess and self in the shrine, in a progression comparable to the structuring of access in a cult temple. Yet people are drawn into the inner areas of the tomb by the invitation on the south side of the façade to 'all who come in order to tread in my chapel (*m^ch^ct.j*), to all who enter in order to see my shrine (*wmt.j*)' (Seyfried 1995, 29–30, text 17, pl. 25, right, col. 1; fig. 43). In Samut's tomb human presence and participation are not so clearly thematized. The legal document and the biography ostensibly require people to read them, even if they thereby discover that he rejects them in favour of Mut: 'I speak about an official in his moment (of success), for although he is strong, he will not attack, for that is with Sekhmet' (2.q, text 1, cols. 13–14).

In the texts of Djehutyemheb and Samut, the internalized experience of the divine is central to shaping and defining self and life in the tomb context. This pattern can be contrasted with the motifs of ritual action and social responsibility in the biographical text of Anhurmosé. His text turns concepts that are also central to the biographies of Samut and Djehutyemheb into a characterization: 'I am one who trusted in Shu without distancing myself from another god' (5.a, col. 58). This is the final stanza of the biographical section of the inscription which is followed by a summation and afterlife wishes that seem to connect back to the final stage of the earlier narrative of promotion when he was 'chosen' by Shu (col. 22).

Religious motifs are developed in Anhurmosé's text through stanzas concerned with cult performance in temple space:

I am one who goes forth upon the path of god,
without transgressing the steps which he ordained.
I am one who bowed when he passed by the shrine,
in order to magnify god a million [times].

I am a pure one with covered hands
and clean fingers, who propitiated the gods ...

I am one who offers many acclamations,
who kisses the ground in the stations of the Great Temple.

(5.a, cols. 24–31)

The movement through temple precincts, from outer areas and paths to inner domains, creates a virtual temple in inscription in which Anhurmosé acts for and is in the presence of the gods. In its development of this motif, Anhurmosé's text is comparable to the self-presentation of priests in the temple of Karnak (3) and at Abydos (4). These motifs seem to be closely connected to his tomb, which is powerfully evocative of temple space through its inclusion of statues of deities and its columns of temple-scale hieroglyphs.

The most temple-like of tombs often include biographical texts (compare also Neferssekheru: 7.a, 5.3). The different visual and architectural strategies that integrate biography with these other-worldly domains exemplify the flexibility, diversity, and multiplicity of Ramessid tomb architecture and decoration. Their adaptation to these spaces and their transformation of them show how religious themes and motifs could be drawn on in the fashioning of distinctly contoured selves.

3 THE HIGH PRIESTS OF AMUN IN KARNAK: TRANSFORMING TEMPLE SPACE

3.1 Priestly self-presentation in temple space

In this chapter I examine implications of the use of block statues and inscriptions on temple walls as the medium for biography distributed within Karnak by individual holders of the same office. A brief introduction to each individual provides background historical context and reviews the forms of monumental presentation known for each. My primary focus is the exploitation of temple context, its influence on textual self-presentation, and the significance of the change in media. Implicated within any study of spatial context is the question of time. Like the cemeteries discussed in the previous chapter, Karnak was – and is – a historically layered landscape that is being constantly reinterpreted. Each high priest selected particular pasts and traditions from this context, while articulating specific and unique aspects of his own individual life.

In contrast to high priests of Amun in the 18th Dynasty who had biographical texts inscribed in their tombs as well as on temple statues, the high priests of the Ramessid period do not seem to have used the tomb as a medium for narrative self-presentation. Although no tomb of high priests from the 19th and 20th Dynasties has yet been published, the descriptions in Porter and Moss and the preliminary reports of Lanny Bell (1968; 1969; 1973) do not mention self-presentations as part of their textual programmes. The only known exception is the tomb of Nebwenenef, high priest in the early years of Ramesses II, who inscribed a third person account of his appointment to office within his tomb (see 5.2.1). The primacy of the block statue for biographical self-presentation among the Theban priesthood continued into the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties (Jansen-Winkel 1985). The high priests Roma-Roy and Amenhotep additionally inscribed biographical texts on external walls of the temple itself.

Extended Ramessid biographies at Karnak are restricted in occurrence to the block statues of Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy (Ramesses II to Sety II) and the late 20th Dynasty texts of Amenhotep. It is likely that Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy were related and their selection of biographical texts may have been a short-lived family tradition. Amenhotep's later use of the genre draws on this tradition in some ways, but also departs from it radically both through his primary media and his thematic concerns. For example,

through its mobilization of the untoward, his fragmentary biography inscribed on the exterior wall of the temple (**2.g**) draws on a topos also seen more than a century earlier in penitential stelae from Deir el-Medina and in the Qadesh poem, rather than the treatments employed by earlier high priests. The high priest Paser, Bakenkhons' predecessor, and Bakenkhons B (temp. Ramesses III) also dedicated statues containing biographical epithets (KRI III, 293, 5–6; KRI V, 398, 16–399, 1). Fragments of a biographical text belonging to Amenhotep's father, Ramessesnakht, have also been found among the shattered remains of his mortuary temple on the West Bank of Thebes (Polz 1998, 268). The text is not yet published but includes regnal dates and narrative elements (Ute Rummel, pers. comm. 2001). The later monuments of Herihor fall outside the timeframe of this study.

3.1.1 Bakenkhons

Bakenkhons was probably appointed high priest of Amun in the third decade of the reign of Ramesses II. He is named as high priest in year 46 in the legal case recorded in P Berlin 3047 (Helck 1963). The promotion to office in the reign of Ramesses II of Bakenkhons' successor, Roma-Roy, recorded in his own biography, indicates that Bakenkhons predeceased his king (**2.d**, right side, cols. 5–6). The main sources for the life of Bakenkhons are the biographies inscribed on two statues found at Karnak. The statues are now in the Cairo Museum (CGC 42155, **2.a**; figs. 13–14) and the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich (WAF 38, **2.b**; figs. 15–16).

The two statues were found separately. The Cairo statue was in the Karnak cachette excavated by Legrain, who noted (1905, 70–1) that it was found with those of other 19th Dynasty officials, grouped around statuary of their king, Ramesses II (contra Schoske 1987, 13). The findspot in the cachette indicates that the statue was set up in the main temple of Amun, probably along the south-west axis (Christian Loeben, pers. comm. 2001). The Munich statue was found by the French excavator and sculptor Jean Jacques Rifaud, who carved his own self-presentation on the left foot of the statue: 'Déc. p. J. Rifaud, é[sculpteur] français No. 30 à Thèbes 1818'. Rifaud did not generally record the findspots of artefacts he recovered. Yoyotte has proposed (1957, 85) that the statue was found in the subsidiary temple of Amun-Re-Harakhty built by Bakenkhons between the

enclosure wall of the Karnak complex and the eastern entrance to the main temple of Amun, citing in support both internal textual evidence and Rifaud's notes from 1818, which state that he discovered a number of sculptures in Karnak, 'entre le mur d'enciente et la porte orientale'. The artful interconnections of theme and phraseology between the two statues suggest that they were designed to echo each other. However, the possibility that other statuary containing biographical texts belonging to Bakenkhons has not survived must be taken into account.

The statues are of a similar, but not identical, size and appearance. They are both of the plain block type. The hands are laid flat upon the knees and the bodies are slightly moulded to human form. There are three main textual zones. On the front of the knees are inscribed four vertical columns of hieroglyphic text. The back pillars bear six columns, and a single horizontal line of text runs around the base. The Munich statue has a secondary base that makes it taller than the Cairo statue. This base also bears a line of largely destroyed text. On the Munich statue the texts on the bases read from left to right, beginning from the left corner of the front of the statue and continuing round to finish on the statue's own left side. The text on the base of the Cairo statue reads more conventionally from right to left. Cartouches of Ramesses II are inscribed on the right and left shoulders.

Art-historical discussions of the statues, in particular the Munich statue, have focused on the stylistic relationship of their facial treatment to block statues from the reign of Amenhotep III. Sylvia Schoske (1987, 14–24) argues that Bakenkhons used statues, hitherto uninscribed, that had been carved during the late 18th Dynasty. However, as Regine Schulz has discussed, many block statues of the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II are stylistically similar to those produced under Amenhotep III. For Schulz (1992, I, 428 n. 2 with refs.) the features of the statues are instances of the traditionalizing and historical interests of the early Ramessid period, when both royal and nonroyal spheres looked to the reign of Amenhotep III for models. Kampp-Seyfried (1996, I, 227) also reports that Bakenkhons' tomb makes distinctive use of traditional 18th Dynasty scene content.

The style of the statues is matched to some extent by the phraseology and language of their texts. The texts' use of literary Late Egyptian alongside complex treatments of

themes found in earlier 18th Dynasty biographies of high priests of Amun suggests experimentation with older concepts alongside new styles of expression.

3.1.2 Roma-Roy

Bakenkhons' successor as high priest of Amun was Roma-Roy, possibly his son or brother, although none of Roma-Roy's published texts claim kinship with Bakenkhons. Lanny Bell (1981, 61) notes that, in the tomb of Bakenkhons, Roma is depicted as second priest and is identified as the brother of Bakenkhons, but Bierbrier and other scholars have concluded that the two were father and son (Bierbrier 1975, 4 and refs.; Kitchen 1982, 174). The naming of Ramesses II in Roma-Roy's career narration on the right side of CGC 42186 (2.d, col. 6) suggests that he was appointed high priest during that king's reign. He held the position into the reign of Sety II, from which the high priest Mahuhy is also attested (KRI IV, 290–2).

Four block statues belonging to Roma-Roy were found at Karnak; three of these bear biographical narratives. He also inscribed a hymn of praise to Amun, followed by a self-presentation, on the east massif of the eighth pylon. Outside Karnak he dedicated a rock-cut stela at Gebel el-Silsila, depicting himself and Merneptah in adoration of Amun (Bell 1981, 61; KRI IV, 133, 1–13). A stela he dedicated to Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari is now in Leiden (KRI IV, 128, 1–13). He was the owner of Theban tomb 283 (unpublished and largely destroyed: Bell 1973, 18; Kampp-Seyfried 1996, II, 553–4). Restoration texts inscribed on the bases of two statues of the 12th Dynasty high official Mentuhotep have been ascribed to Roma-Roy (Bell 1981, 61; KRI IV, 128, 15–6), although they refer only to a third priest of Amun, Roma. In his publication of the Mentuhotep statues, Sauneron noted (1975, 75) that the name Roma is common in the New Kingdom and did not identify this person with the high priest.

The three plain block statues that contain biographical texts were found in the Karnak cachette (JdE 37834: 2.i, fig. 19a–b; CGC 42185: 2.c, fig. 17; CGC 42186: 2.d, fig. 18), while a sistrophorous statue in the British Museum (EA 81) was found in the Mut temple complex (PM II², 268). In contrast to the statues of Bakenkhons, those of Roma-Roy are inscribed on each side of the body, as well as the front, the back pillar, and around the base. On CGC 42185, the texts inscribed on the sides of the body vary in the

number of columns. CGC 42185 and 42186 are otherwise similar in appearance. They have a typically Ramessid style, especially in the face. The overall treatment of the bodies and wigs is comparable to the statues of Bakenkhons. JdE 37874 is 47cm high, half the size of the CGC statues, and differs considerably in appearance. It has similarities to earlier and perhaps Middle Kingdom block statues, particularly in the inscription in horizontal lines and in the lack of a back pillar.

The relative chronologies of the statues may explain some of the differences between them. Schulz (1992, I, 280, n. 2) considers that the statues are to be dated stylistically to the reigns of Ramesses II and Merneptah, the erasures on CGC 42186 (2.d) being the result of secondary usurpations. It is, however, tempting to assume on stylistic and textual grounds that JdE 37874 (2.I) was the earliest; it is firmly dated to Merneptah by the cartouche on the knees. The erased cartouches on CGC 42186 and the lack of cartouches on CGC 42185 (2.c) may indicate that they were dedicated later in Roma-Roy's life, during a time of dynastic struggle that may be reflected in the tone of the discourse on CGC 42185 (see 3.3.2). The difference in the material used for CGC 42185 and 42186 may indicate that they were not made together: CGC 42185 is of limestone whereas all the other statues of Roma-Roy are of granodiorite. There are also detailed differences in design between CGC 42185 and CGC 42186. EA 81 cannot be dated narrowly because it does not bear a cartouche.

The inscription on the east massif of the eighth pylon at Karnak is carved in a demarcated rectangular zone (2.e; fig. 20; plan: fig. 12 (527d)). In the bottom right area of the scene, Roma-Roy stands with both arms raised in adoration. Behind him stands the slightly smaller figure of his elder son, Bakenkhons, the face and lower arms of which were deliberately damaged in antiquity. There are nineteen vertical columns of text, artfully arranged, with new columns beginning at salient points of the narrative. In between the figures a column of text gives Roma-Roy's name and titles. The name and titles of the son were erased in antiquity.

The first column of the text abuts the texts on the jambs and lintel of the doorway to the interior of the pylon. These texts around the door, and the accompanying scene, also belong to Roma-Roy. Three columns fill each of the jambs, consisting of offering formulae addressed to Amun. The lintel bears two figures of Roma-Roy, kneeling in

adoration, framing six columns of text. The central two columns contain cartouches, probably of Amenmesses, which are now erased. The flanking texts are prayers to Amun and the king for the prosperity of the high priest. Above the lintel is a scene of Sety II making offerings to Amun; the cartouches in this are intact. A course and a half above the main text of Roma-Roy is a pair of scenes carved by the 20th Dynasty high priest, Ramessesnakht, showing him offering libations and flowers to Amun and Mut on the left and a bouquet to Amun and Khonsu on the right.

Within the stairwell of the pylon are four sets of graffiti on walls and lintels that link the two massifs (PM II², 178, e–h). Two of the graffiti belonged to people working for Roma-Roy. On the stairway is a long, unfinished text inscribed before an adoring figure. Two horizontal lines frame three shorter columns, one of which was not inscribed. The text reads: ‘Made by the elder of the portal of the domain of Amun, the great one of the chamber of the high priest of Amun, Roy, true of voice, Amenemhat true of voice, (uninscribed column), for the draughtsman of the domain of Amun, Bakenwerel, son of Haunefer (*jr.n-smšw-h3yt n-pr-jmn-ꜥ3 n-ꜥt n-ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn ry m3ꜥ-ḥrw (...) n-sh-qd n-pr-jmn b3k-n-wrl s3-h3w-nfr*)’. At the entrance to the staircase above the lintel a second text is inscribed in two horizontal lines: ‘linen-boiler of the temple of Amun, guardian of the chamber of the high priest of Amun, Roy, true of voice, Smentawy, true of voice (*pf(s)y-jns n-pr-jmn s3w-ꜥt n-ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn-ry m3ꜥ-ḥrw smn-t3wy m3ꜥ-ḥrw*)’ (Lefebvre 1929, 40–41). The other two groups of graffiti are associated with figures of Queen Ahmose–Nefertary and Amenhotep I, one depicting a priest with the queen before the Theban triad, the other showing an overseer of confectioners before the deified rulers and the Theban triad (Barguet 1962, 264). The inscription of Ramessesnakht and the graffiti create a zone of association with Roma-Roy and the tradition of the high priesthood. The use of a temple wall in Karnak for self-presentation was a significant breach of decorum, one which the high priest of Amun, Amenhotep, was to use extensively more than a century later.

3.1.3 Amenhotep

Amenhotep held the position of high priest in year 10 of Ramesses IX. His father, Ramessesnakht, is first attested in the position in year one of Ramesses IV and last

attested in year two of Ramesses IX. Prior to his accession five individuals are known to have held the office of high priest in the 20th Dynasty (Mahuhy, KRI IV, 289–92; Hori, KRI IV, 377–8; Minmose, KRI IV, 378; Bakenkhons ‘B’, son of Ameneminet, KRI V, 397–9; Usimarenakht, KRI V, 399). Among these holders there is no evidence for any inheritance of the position within a family. The office came back into the hands of a single family with Ramessesnakht and for more than 70 years thereafter he and his descendants were to be the most powerful individuals in Egypt through their offices and their control of economic resources in Thebes (Polz 1998, 276–93).

All of Amenhotep’s datable monuments are of the reign of Ramesses IX. There are no certain references to him after his inclusion in a record of a tomb robbery trial in year 17 (P BM 10068: KRI VI, 501, 7; P BM 10053: KRI VI, 506, 9; and see Bell 1980, 18, n. 131). Later records of a ‘war of the high priest’ (Thijs 2003) and the presentation of his suppression in his own narrative (**2.g**) indicate an upset in his position that may have resulted in his death. Both the dating of this suppression and whether Amenhotep survived are disputed (Wente 1966, with refs.; Bell 1980, 16–27; Helck 1984; Polz 1998, 283, 291–3; Morales 2001).

The location of Amenhotep’s tomb is unknown and all his known monuments are within the Karnak temple complex, largely inscribed on the external walls and gateways of the southern approach to the temple. At the south side of pylon eight, Ramesses IX had a gateway or portico built, the lintel of which bears an image of Amenhotep adoring Amun with the king’s cartouches in the centre. Only the right half of the lintel and part of the central scene remain, but it is likely that there was a matching image on the left (PM II², 176, (525–6); KRI VI, 542, 3–10; Habachi 1938, pl. IX, no. 1).

Within the court of the seventh and eighth pylons are a number of Amenhotep’s inscriptions, mainly running down the east exterior wall and on the thicknesses and jambs of the east side door. On the interior of this wall, next to the side door, is an inscription detailing Amenhotep’s building works in Karnak (**2.h**) below an image of Ramesses III before a god; only the lower portion of the scene survives and the god cannot be identified (PM II², 176 (506c); fig. 23; plan: fig 12). The interior jambs of the doorway bear inscriptions of Thutmose III and the lintel depicts an unnamed king offering to Amun in parallel scenes (fig. 26). The jamb on the east bears two columns of text in

contrast with that on the west indicating that the doorway had been widened; the lintel scene is oriented to the original width. A column of inscription on the ceiling is centred on the widened doorway and presents a ‘signature’ formula used by Amenhotep a number of times in these texts and in his other building narratives (2.h, n. a): ‘Made under the instruction of His Person, (*jr hr-^c-sb3 n-hm.f*) Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkare setepenre given life, by the member of the *p^ct*, count, high priest of Amun, Amenhotep, true of voice’ (KRI VI, 541, 1). This may indicate that the doorway was widened by him perhaps as part of his remodelling of temple structures in the southern part of the Amun precinct as described in the associated narrative.

The thicknesses and exterior faces of the side door were largely inscribed by Amenhotep, supporting this suggestion. The northern thickness bears an image of him offering a bouquet of Montu to Ramesses IX (fig. 27). Accompanying the image is a text of praise for the king, focusing on his dominion over foreign enemies (KRI VI, 540, 3–16). The outer lintel contains a double scene of Amenhotep adoring Amun, with cartouches of the king in the centre of the tableau (fig. 28). The scenes are accompanied by short, now fragmentary, hymns to the god (KRI VI, 541, 2–9). Three columns down the southern jamb each contain *htp-dj-nswt* formulae addressed to Amun, Mut, and Khonsu respectively, followed by alternating names of the king, the ‘signature’ formula, and title strings of Amenhotep. The southern framing columns of the inscription contain two columns of text, including biographical phraseology (discussed below; KRI VI, 541, 2–542, 2). The lack of matching companion texts on the southern thickness and jamb give a sense of incompleteness to the whole doorway.

Further along the eastern exterior wall was inscribed a tableau of parallel images and texts including the much discussed reward scenes in which the priest is depicted at a similar scale to the king (figs. 29–30; plan: fig. 12 (505)). The texts accompanying the two reward scenes, dated to year 10 of Ramesses IX (Helck 1956), frame a central scene of the high priest and are accompanied by broadly similar texts. Amenhotep stands with his arms raised before the king. The king stands on a platform and his head is slightly higher than the priest; one arm is raised toward the priest while the other holds a sceptre. Two smaller figures attend to the priest, perhaps the individuals whose speech is recorded in the texts which are inscribed above the head of Amenhotep. Short speeches in praise of

Amenhotep placed in the mouth of the king focus in particular upon ‘the numerous and effective monuments which he made in the domain of Amun-Re, king of the gods, in the great name of the perfect god’ (KRI VI, 455, 11–2). Longer speeches placed in the mouths of officials develop the theme of praise for building works and embellishments, and also detail his collection of revenues and the benefits he brought to the treasuries and granaries of Amun’s domain. Beneath each scene, in three horizontal lines, are detailed lists of the rewards he received in the form of silver and gold vessels as well as provisions of food.

Between the two scenes of reward is a central image showing over life-size parallel figures of the priest facing central offering tables that are separated by two columns of text which include extended titularies of Amenhotep (fig. 29). Above the left figure the title string gives the names of Amenhotep’s father and grandfather (KRI VI, 539, 5–8). The texts behind this figure include praise of (probably) a god, ‘there is no other except him, he caused my name to exist’, and prayers for a long lifetime (KRI VI, 539, 8–12). The column of texts behind the figure on the right includes some biographical epithets (KRI VI, 539, 15–540, 2). The tableau takes the form of a gateway or stela; it is recessed on both sides and architecturally arranged, taking advantage of earlier remodelling.

At the back of the Thutmosid shrine of the court between the seventh and eighth pylons (PM II², 173–4) are the remains of 31 columns of narrative text (2.g; fig. 22), as well as images of the priest and, possibly, the king. Only the lower third of this inscription remains, which narrates service to the temple and the act of suppression. Edward F. Wente has convincingly attributed this text to Amenhotep although the dedicator’s name has not survived (Wente 1966, 82; Polz 1998, 283; contra Helck 1984).

In the interior of the court, at the foot of the colossus of Thutmose III on the east side of the central doorway of the seventh pylon, Legrain (1904, 17) found a scribe statue of Amenhotep (2.f; fig. 21). Gerry D. Scott (1989, III, 478) considers that its facial treatment indicates that it was a reused statue of the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty. Such reuse might explain the unusual arrangement of three lines of inscription on the base. The damaged text details building works within the temple.

A lintel depicting Amenhotep in adoration of Amun-Re found during excavations in Karnak North indicates that he dedicated a further structure there (Jacquet 1974, pl. 26).

A block inscribed on both sides with texts pertaining to Amenhotep, including a building narrative (2.i; figs. 24–5) may have been part of this structure.

Amenhotep's extensive distribution of texts and images on the walls of Karnak shifts his self-presentation into the royal domain and is probably to be connected with the powerful position of the Ramessesnakht family at the end of the 20th Dynasty and the turbulent political context Amenhotep negotiated during his career.

3.2 The expansive self: from statue to temple wall

The distribution of narrative identity within a space using texts and media that parallel one another is an ancient strategy of self-presentation occurring, for example, on Old Kingdom false doors. In the tomb of Paser, built under Sety I and Ramesses II, a single biographical presentation is distributed on matching columns in the transverse hall. Each text is dated to one king, the one addressed to Ramesses II being an abbreviated version of that presented to Sety I (see 5.2.1–2). The distribution of self in the temple through Bakenkhons' and Roma-Roy's dedication of visually and textually connected statues may be, in part, an instance of this symmetry. It was also a strategy in the self-presentation of Amenhotep more than a century later, who used the temple wall as his primary medium; the distribution of his texts may mobilize a reciprocal relationship with the monumental presentation of his king.

Christophe Barbotin (1994) observes a similar strategy of self-presentation for the distribution of the statues of the high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons B, who held office under Sethnakht and Ramesses III. He was the owner of eight or nine block statues, four of which were found in Karnak and two from the West Bank temples of Amenhotep I and Deir el-Bahri. Barbotin argues (1994, 14–5) that the unusually high number of statues and their locations asserted Bakenkhons B's authority over the Theban temples as a component of a wider royal policy to stress the legitimacy of the new dynasty.

I discuss related implications of the spatial context of the high priests' biographical texts in three sections. First I examine how the texts on the individual statues and those inscribed on the walls of the temple attach their authors to the temple site. The second section studies Bakenkhons' texts in which the relation to space influences the selection of biographical motifs on his statues, whose artfully connected texts speak to one another

across the temple space. The third section analyses the media used in the presentation of these texts, in particular the shift from block to scribe statues and the use of the temple walls. The latter shift indicates a radical reinterpretation of temple space and, by implication, relationship to royal and divine spheres.

3.2.1 Siting a self in Karnak

Bakenkhons, Roma-Roy, and Amenhotep employed biography to connect their identity to the central site of their role as high priest, the temple of Karnak. Within this presentation, narrations of building works were used to tie the self to more specific, often named, sites within the complex.

Both Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy used career narrations to site their lives within the temple. This claim to temple space is made in a general sense on Bakenkhons' Cairo statue (2.a), on the back pillar of which he states his familial ties with Thebes: 'I am a man of Thebes from my father and my mother' (col. 1). He then describes his training in the temple of Mut and, as a wab priest, in the temple of Amun. The statements of correct service and right action which follow the career narration are also within the temple sphere; the opening phrases of this part of the narration focus on Bakenkhons' actions within 'his (Amun's) temple', 'his domain', 'at his side', 'upon his ground', and 'among his staff' (2.a, back pillar, col. 3). The siting of the self in divine space is also emphasized by the selective abbreviation of the career narrative, which recounts Bakenkhons' youthful education within the temple. The climax was the initiation to the position of God's Father: 'He favoured me; he recognised me on account of my (good) character' (back pillar, cols. 2–3). The same verses occur at the transition to high priest of Amun on the back pillar of the Munich statue (2.b, col. 3). Initiation from wab priest to God's Father was a transformation that altered the individual's relationship to the god, and the emphasis on this transition may account for the abbreviated nature of the narrative (see discussion below).

Roma-Roy too details his upbringing in the temple. On the right side of CGC 42186 he recounts:

I grew up as a youth in the domain of Amun,
as an excellent wab priest, being discerning of heart,
and excellent of character,

my step at the right place,
I was chosen for my good actions within his temple.

(2.d, col. 2).

Although the initiation to god's father shifts the action into the royal sphere, Amun governs the events: 'He placed me in the knowledge of the king' (col. 4), so that the narration remains in the domain of the god. CGC 42185 focuses more on Roma-Roy's character, and on his state of being in the temple and in relation to god. On the left side of the body the text is introduced by the statement: 'I am the chief overseer of works in Karnak' (2.c, col. 1). The text continues with general statements concerning his right action in the temple: 'One is pleased with the counsels of his mouth, the abundance of Amun is effective for his ka' (cols 3–4). The positions of his sons in the priesthood enumerated on the right side then extend Roma-Roy's narrated self beyond the temple and beyond his own time, the son of his son being a sem priest in a royal temple on the West Bank (cols 5–8).

In contrast to Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy, Amenhotep did not use an account of career to site his identity within the temple. The building text is Amenhotep's central narrative, connecting him to particular constructions in Karnak. He set up two building texts in salient positions in the interior of the southern approach (2.f, 2.h) and a further text, possibly related to a building of his, in Karnak North (2.i). The emphasis on the 'signature formula' (see 3.1.3), as well as the king's praise of his building works in the reward texts, highlight the centrality of the building narrative in the construction of his relationship to spatial context and the royal sphere. The buildings described are all either priestly or royal buildings within Karnak and some can be identified specifically. However, for Amenhotep it is the use of the temple wall which makes the most powerful connection of self with temple space (discussed below 3.2.3; 3.4).

3.2.2 Bakenkhons: narrative and setting

Bakenkhons, Roma-Roy, and Amenhotep all employed building narratives to connect to particular areas within Karnak where they undertook constructions for their god and king. The shift in media from statue to temple walls may indicate a shift in the function of these narratives, particularly in the case of Amenhotep (3.2.3). Bakenkhons used a building text to tie his Munich statue (2.b) to a particular site within the Karnak complex.

The narration on the back pillar details his construction of the temple of Amun-Re-Harakhty-who-hears-prayers which stood at the east end of the main temple axis. The texts on this statue connect Bakenkhons to the temple in four ways: through naming, through the description of building works and specific temple features, through the temple's stated location, and through connection to the obelisk which functioned as a cult object.

This temple was in front of the east entrance to the main temple of Amun and the corresponding gateway in the enclosure wall (PM II², 208–215). An earlier hearing temple had been built by Thutmose III and it may have been this temple that Ramesses II later enlarged (Nims 1971, 109). Thutmose recorded the building of a temple in fragments of an inscription found on the west face of the second pylon in Karnak: 'My Person erected for him (Amun) a proper place of hearing' (Nims 1969, fig. 7). The central cult object of the temple was the *thn-w^cty* 'single obelisk' that now stands in Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rome (Iversen 1968, 55–64). This obelisk was prepared under Thutmose III and finished under Thutmose IV, who inscribed the details of its completion and erection on two sides (Marucchi 1898, pls. I–II, has the best photographs). The new construction of Ramesses II retained the obelisk as the cult object within the sanctuary, with scenes of Ramesses II adoring Re-Harakhty added to its base. The temple itself was built by Bakenkhons and the building remained associated with him, its doorway being referred to in a model letter in the Miscellany text P Bologna 1094 as the 'great gate (*sb3(yt) ʿ3*) of Baky' (Spiegelberg 1930; Gardiner 1937, 10, 9–10, and see below).

In the opening narration of building works on the back pillar, Bakenkhons names this temple: 'I made a temple for him called Ramesses-meriamun-who-hears-prayers' (2.b, col. 5) and specifies features such as the siting of flagstaffs more usually associated with pylons in the open court: 'I fashioned great and mighty flagstaffs, and I erected them on the noble open court, in front of his temple' (2.b, col. 5; Yoyotte 1957, 88). He also describes the location of the temple and its courtyard in relation to the main temple of Amun and to the city, thus connecting his statue with the obelisk in the sanctuary. His temple is 'at the upper gateway of the temple of Amun ... in front of Thebes (*m-p3-sb3-hry n-pr-jmn ... m-hft-hr n-w3st*) (back pillar, col. 5, with note f). On the north and west

exterior walls of the outer hall of the temple a dedication text records: ‘He (Ramesses II) has made as his monument for his father Amun-Re, the making of this temple anew ... the upper gateway of Karnak, in front of Thebes (*sb3-ḥry n-jpt-swt ḥft-ḥr n-w3st*)’ (KRI II, 585, 16–586, 1). These passages parallel the older inscription on the obelisk describing its position, ‘at the upper gateway of Karnak, in front of Thebes (*r-sb3-ḥry n-jpt-swt ḥft-ḥr-w3st*)’ (Barguet 1962, 241).

The selection of divine epithets makes a further connection. Obelisks are associated with the benben stone of Heliopolis. The temple was dedicated to the solar form of Amun, who is evoked in the offering formula on the front of the Munich statue as ‘Amun-Re-Atum-Harakhty, ram of the sky, who lives on Maat, divine image who resides in his barque’ (col. 1), epithets whose Heliopolitan character have been noted by Yoyotte (1957, 85) and Plantikow-Münster (1969, 120–1). This selection of names and epithets and the ‘quotation’ from the obelisk relate Bakenkhons to the most central feature of the temple, with its ancient solar associations. The shift to a more solar focus in Ramesses II’s later presentations may be a further element in the selection of epithets. The texts on the girdle wall inscribed by Ramesses II speak of a building, probably the East temple (KRI II, 582–4) while an accompanying scene depicts the king’s dedication of obelisks for Re, rather than Amun (Helck 1968, 36, pl. 32; KRI II, 584, 11–5).

The spatial contexts of the statues of Bakenkhons no doubt influenced their expression of identity and relation to royal and divine spheres. These differences in emphasis become more evident when the interconnectedness of the two textual programmes is taken into account. The thematic concerns intersect at key points, as well as seeming to summarize and speak to one another across the temple space.

Both statues recount details of Bakenkhons’ career, his role as overseer of works, his social responsibility, and his moral character. The moral characterizations use an identical vocabulary, emphasizing silence, accuracy, efficacy, and right action toward his lord/god. Column 4 on the front of the Cairo statue summarizes his role as overseer of works, while that theme is elaborated in detail on the back pillar of the Munich statue. In contrast, the central topos of the back pillar of the Cairo statue is a statement of social responsibility, a theme that is treated briefly in column 4 of the back pillar of the Munich statue in similar phrases evoking fatherhood and succour for the poor. Both back pillars

bear narrations of Bakenkhons' early training and career. Although the styles of the narrations are different, key phrases such as 'excellent youngster' (*nds-jqr*) are shared, as well as the sentences narrating divine and royal favour.

Differences in the closely connected textual programmes of the two statues may reflect a difference in function and in the expression of Bakenkhons' identity in relation to location. The position of the East temple has led scholars to suggest that it may have been a place of worship accessible to a wider sphere of the population (Nims 1971, 110–1). There is little evidence from the contemporaneous inscriptions within the temple to support this interpretation. However, as A. Cabrol observes (2001, 430, 648; 2.b, n. e–g), the terrace (*d3d3*) and gardens established by Bakenkhons associate the East temple with the canal or processional waterway that skirted this end of the Karnak complex. This connection and the designation of the terrace as being 'in front of Thebes (*m-hft-hr n-w3st*)' explicitly orientate these areas of the temple to the city. This contrasts with the stanza that follows which describes the doors and flagstaffs of the open court 'in front of his temple (*m-hft-hr n-hwt-ntr.f*)'. Bakenkhons therefore locates the temple of Amun-Re-Harakhty between the sacred domain of the Amun temple and the outside world. The reference to the 'Gate of Baky' in the letter of P Bologna 1094 (Gardiner 1937, 10, 7–9) also includes it among divine manifestations and 'minor' cult objects that may have been more popular (Kitchen 1999, 398–9), including 'Amenhotep of the open court (*wb3*)', 'Amenhotep the favourite', 'Hathor of the persea tree', and 'the eight baboons who are in the courtyard' which may refer to statues at the base of an obelisk. The possible accessibility and mediatory role of the temple may explain features of the biographical texts on the statue.

Two appeals to the living are included on the Munich statue. One addressed to priests of the temple for libations and bouquets is on the prominent, frontal zone of the statue. A more general appeal to future generations is made on the back pillar. It is tempting to suggest since the statue 'speaks' directly through its appeals, that it was textually, and possibly physically, located within a temple dedicated to a god who 'hears'. The texts on both statues contain statements of moral character in which core concepts are repeated, but on the Munich statue this presentation occurs in every inscribed area. The phrase 'I am an effective servant for his lord, a silent one, truly

precise, who is content with maat and hates evil, one who magnifies the renown of his god', occurs in the fourth column on the knees. Variants on this passage in different arrangements also occur on the front of the upper base and in the first column of the back pillar. Appeals to the living, repetitions of key phraseology, and the list-like treatment of career on the back pillar may have been related to a performative function the statue could have possessed within the 'hearing' – and perhaps accessible – space of this temple.

The zones that bear appeals and moral characterizations on the Munich statue are dominated by more extended title strings on the Cairo statue (2.a). Bakenkhons' biographical title string, giving the stages of his career, is inscribed in the text on the knees and also introduces the text on the back pillar, whose last column is filled by a long title string. The prominent zone on the front of the base also includes titles associated with the position of high priest while statements of Bakenkhons' moral character, which parallel those in all zones of the Munich statue, are inscribed on the left side of the base. The title strings on the Munich statue consist mainly of ranking titles which take up a smaller amount of space in the columns, but this is compensated by the narrative and enumerated form of titulary given on the back pillar. The Cairo statue's texts include no appeal to the living and its findspot in the cachette suggests that it could have been sited nearer to the centre of the temple of Amun. Here Bakenkhons focused on presenting his identity through titularies and on his adherence to ideals of social responsibility that had a long history in biographical narrative. Such a focus may have been more appropriate within the restricted domain of the god but there is little emphasis on personal religious values, especially when compared with the texts of Roma-Roy. Religious values are mobilized through the selective career narration and the statements of social responsibility (3.4).

The more unusual left to right reading of the texts on the base of the Munich statue may be associated with a particular orientation within the temple, although the text on the knees reads from right to left. Amenhotep's later quotation of the text on the back pillar (2.g, cols. 1–3, n. a) may suggest that the back pillar was visible, or at least that the text was known, perhaps through archival copies. Textually, as well as physically, the Munich statue may have been placed in a salient location within the east temple, allowing

Bakenkhons to partake of its particular, perhaps communicative and relatively accessible, space, as well as expressing a relationship to the semi-deified king.

Although Roma-Roy seems to have paralleled his predecessor's use of the block statue as a site for interconnected biographical texts, the implications of their distribution can only be hypothesized as all three of his statues were found in the cachette. Each speaks to different aspects of Roma-Roy's self-presentation. CGC 42186 (2.d) articulates actions within the temple, including building works and career. CGC 42185 (2.c) enumerates his moral self in relation to god, king, and people, and the positions of his children and grandchildren in the temples of Amun. The smaller JdE 37874 (2.I) addresses Roma-Roy's religious values through mobilizing phraseology familiar from Bakenkhons' texts. Location in the temple may have influenced the textual programmes. Parallels between the unusual phraseology used in CGC 42185 (2.c) and in the text on the temple wall (2.e) may relate to the statue's location. On both, Roma-Roy claims to be 'without a lustful heart, free from terror' (2.c, left side, cols. 6–7; 2.e, col. 4) and asks that he be celebrated for his 'goodness as well as his strength' (2.c, right side, col. 9; 2.e, col. 9). The text on the temple wall requests that offerings be placed before a statue (cols. 12–3) and on CGC 42185 he asks that his name be established on the statue 'at the side of this monument which I made in his domain, so that my name will be remembered upon them (both) for eternity' (2.c, right side, cols. 8–9), connecting the statue with the account of the construction of a specific monument. Both inscriptions also stress the inheritance of office from father to son. CGC 42185 is made of limestone unlike Roma-Roy's other statues; perhaps it was also temporally associated with the inscribing of the temple wall.

3.2.3 Changes in spatial context

Block and kneeling statues remained the primary means of presentation for the high priests in the 20th Dynasty, although the surviving statues mostly do not bear biographical narratives. Mahuhy, Hori, and Bakenkhons B all dedicated block and kneeling statues within Karnak or in temples in the wider estate of Amun. The selection of the scribe statue format by the high priests of the late 20th Dynasty, Ramessesnakht, Amenhotep (2.f), and Herihor, stands out here. The scribe statue seems to have a different

range of ideological associations, indicated both by a physical appearance that points towards active, official/scribal function and by the genres of text generally included on it (Cashman forthcoming). That Amenhotep's statue was reused brings with it a number of implications for interpreting the ideological framework for selection. The decline in the production of statuary in the 20th Dynasty may have limited the available options for fine statue work. A high-quality antique may have been a desirable format.

Reuse involves a connection with a past or pasts and the perceived associations of the scribe statue type. Scott (1989, I, 238) associates the New Kingdom 'revival' of the scribe statue form with its selection by important non-royal officials, including men of historical significance, such as Amenhotep son of Hapu, Horemheb, and Pa-Ramesses (the later Ramesses I). Such an interpretation may be overstated if one considers the number of scribe statues produced in the New Kingdom. However, within the temple of Amun at Karnak the scribe statue may have had a particular salience, as is suggested by findspots of scribe statues in central areas of the temple, including a number belonging to Middle Kingdom officials (PM II², 51; 77; 94; 96; 99), and their role as intermediaries within the temple (Baines 1987a, 90–1). Scribe statues of the 18th Dynasty officials Menkheperreseneb and Amenhotep son of Hapu were found at the base of an obelisk on the north face of the seventh pylon; Christian Loebe (pers. comm. 2001) considers that further statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu, found near the north face of the tenth pylon with those of Pa-Ramesses, were also originally sited at the seventh pylon. By possibly siting his statue on the southern side of this pylon, Amenhotep may have sought to associate himself with their prominence as powerful, active, remembered officials and intermediaries. This hypothesis must be tentative because statues may have been moved in antiquity and because there will have been many non-royal statues filling the temple's southern axis.

The selection may also have been a means of aligning himself with the form of presentation that had been chosen for his father (CGC 42162; KRI VI, 531, 9–15). Amenhotep drew on various levels of high priestly tradition in his biographical texts, including that of Bakenkhons and earlier mythical priesthoods (3.3.1). Perpetuating tradition was a means of legitimizing his own position. Seeking to create a tradition through the style of visual presentation selected by his father may be a further strategy in

his own presentation and legitimization, especially as the high office seems not to have been held by a single family since the late 19th Dynasty.

The most fundamental departure from tradition in the Ramessid use of the biographical genre is the inscription of narrative texts on the walls of Karnak by the high priests Roma-Roy and Amenhotep. Roma-Roy was the first to use the space of the temple wall, although his primary site for self-presentation remained the block statue. By the end of the 20th Dynasty other officials had inscribed texts and scenes on exterior temple walls in Karnak, including a text recording distribution of food in the reign of Ramesses IX (Imiseba; KRI VI, 543, 15–544, 5), a prayer to Maat offered by the vizier Wenennefer, mediated through the image of Ramesses XI, (KRI VI, 840, 9–841, 7), and the record of an oracular decree also under this latter king (Nesamun: Nims 1948).

The use of the temple wall as a medium implies not only an altered perception of some temple space but also a shift in the decorum surrounding self-presentation. Roma-Roy's text (2.e) consists of a prayer and building narrative which may have been spatially associated with the structure it describes, but his central biographical narratives of career and moral character were sited on his three block statues. In contrast, Amenhotep made extensive use of temple wall space for a range of self-presentation narratives (2.g–i). His primary medium was no longer the statue, with its intimate association of text and individual body, but an overt form of display which enters the domain of royal and divine interaction. Certain factors may temper Roma-Roy's and Amenhotep's claim to royal prerogative, including the buildings described within the texts, the use of exterior walls, and, in the case of Amenhotep, the interaction with royal presentation. It is also possible, once the boundaries of decorum had been breached, that inscriptions on walls were less costly than statues and afforded the individual a wider range of possible images and texts.

The association of Roma-Roy's text with the building, named as a *wꜥbt*, which he claims to have restored may account, in part, for his choice of the site, if not the medium. The east end of the eighth pylon looks out over what was probably the service area for Karnak which would have included his *wꜥbt*. The text is addressed specifically to 'butchers and brewers' and other members of temple staff and the *wꜥbt* seems to be involved in the preparation of offerings for the temple: 'I (re-)built its door-frames in sandstone. I re-established the doors within them of real pine, as a place for the butchers

and brewers who are in it' (2.e, col. 10, and see also Kruchten 1989, 189–90, 247). Amenhotep also narrates his restoration of a *w'bt* 'of the former high priests of Amun' (cols. 1–2), as well as a treasury (col. 10) in his narrative inscribed on the interior wall of the court of the seventh and eighth pylons (2.h). This inscription is close to Roma-Roy's and he may refer to the same building (Breasted 1906, 238 n.b), although his is described as a much grander structure with a 'great door of pine, bolts of copper, and images of fine gold' and a 'great terrace of stone which opens out onto the southern lake' (cols. 6–7). A salient feature of these presentations is that these structures were buildings for use by functionaries, located in the service area of the temple in contrast with more 'central' structures and cult objects like Bakenkhons' temple or the statues, vessels, and structure that Roma-Roy describes on the left side of CGC 42186. Roma-Roy's and Amenhotep's narrations of priestly buildings may be interpreted as minimizing the claim to royal space as the buildings are not of central importance to the interaction of divine and royal spheres. Alternatively they could express a more direct relationship with the divine through the construction of buildings that facilitate priestly worship.

Although the status of the text content is uncertain in that respect, the positions of Roma-Roy and Amenhotep's texts within the temple do appear liminal. That the east end of the eighth pylon was accessible to people in priestly service is indicated by the graffiti within the pylon staircase. These graffiti and the later scenes of Ramessesnakht above those of Roma-Roy indicate that this area was a zone of priestly association that was then extended by Amenhotep to include the length of the exterior wall of the court of pylons seven and eight, and the rear wall of the Thutmosid shrine. Amenhotep may have modelled his inscriptions on the lintels and jambs of the east side-door on Roma-Roy's doorway to the eighth pylon, although Amenhotep's lintel depicts him before an image of Amun while Roma-Roy kneels in worship of royal cartouches.

The differential status of interior and exterior space is indicated by the images accompanying the texts. On the exterior walls the priests are depicted before both implied and visible god and king, while Amenhotep's building inscription on the interior wall beside the east side entrance is discretely positioned beneath a scene of the king before a god. This may point to counter-strategies of image and text within particular spatial zones. While Amenhotep could present his role and action textually in interior temple

space, it was not appropriate to present it visually; such images were restricted to the transitional zones of entrances, passageways and exterior walls.

Amenhotep's self-presentation along the exterior wall could have been within a, now absent, structure. Wentz (1966, 86–7 and refs.), following a hypothesis of Maspero, posited that the reward scenes and the narrative on the back of the Thutmosid shrine would have formed an interior wall of the house of the high priest, hiding the texts within a priestly building and reducing the claim to royal space (see also Amer 1999, pl. 1). I have not found any evidence to support this hypothesis, which may be unnecessary if the texts are seen within the context of royal relief. As Wentz already stated (1966, 86–7), the interpretation that the inscriptions of Amenhotep reflect the increasing power of the high priests at the expense of royal authority is problematic (see also Polz 1998, 289–93). Amenhotep's texts and images suggest a more complex relationship with the royal sphere; he seems to deploy the image of the king to sanction his use of temple space, aligning himself with his king's own self-presentation. This is in contrast to the text and image of Roma-Roy, which seem to present an unmediated relationship with Amun (see 3.4).

Ramesses IX built more in Karnak than most 20th Dynasty kings. His main works were gateways governing the processional route through the southern axis and the entrance to the main temple of Amun, in particular the gateway at the southern end of the court between the third and fourth pylons (Amer 1999). He also built a portico at the southern entrance to the eighth pylon (PM II², 176 (525–6)). The monuments for Ramesses IX seem to provide a context for the self-presentation of Amenhotep along the exterior walls of the southern axis, designating a zone for the priestly presentation that complements the royal and establishes a reciprocal relationship between priest and king. The side-door of the court inscribed by Amenhotep may be seen as paralleling his king's porticos and gateways. The complementary functions of these doorways can be modelled. While the royal gateways governed the processional route, the doorway of Amenhotep may have provided the entrance for staff or priests from the service area across the sacred lake; his widening of the door may have facilitated this access and cult activity. The parallel images on the lintels of the royal portico of Ramesses IX and Amenhotep's doorway which show Amenhotep worshipping Amun do associate these entrances with

him (Habachi 1938, pl. IX, no. 1). In the area between the third and fourth pylon were found a statue of the king and a stela that records a dialogue between him and Amun (Amer 1999, 4; KRI VI, 451, 11–453, 9). The topos of direct communication with the god is employed in Amenhotep's narrative as well (2.g, cols. 19–20).

The images of the high priest before the king seem to align his service in the royal sphere with the king's service in the divine. Reward scenes, traditionally associated with non-royal tomb decoration, in particular demonstrate the reciprocity of the relationship between the king and the elite (5.2). However, although Amenhotep subordinates himself visually to the king, the use of a royal intermediary image may have been necessary within, still extant, boundaries of decorum, these boundaries being less dominant in textual self-presentation. Despite the status of liminal zones and the use of royal image and presentation, the exploitation of temple wall space by Roma-Roy and Amenhotep indicates a change in the expression of relationship to divine and royal spheres which may be related to the historical situation at the end of the 19th and of the 20th Dynasty. The erasures in the texts of Roma-Roy on the pylon and his statues point to political tensions that might have been behind his use of a royal domain to present a prayer directly to Amun for protection for himself and Sety II, and to narrate his devotion to the god. Amenhotep, in contrast, was a member of one of the most influential family dynasties in the Ramessid period at the height of its power and his distribution of images and texts on the walls of Karnak may reflect a shift in the power balance at the end of the 20th Dynasty. While his father, Ramessesnakht, was able to command immense resources in the construction of his mortuary temple in an area perhaps associated with the founding royal dynasty of the New Kingdom (Polz 1998), Amenhotep used the, perhaps cheaper, royal space within the temple of Karnak and the image of the king in order to assert his status and his relationship with divine and royal spheres.

3.3 Tradition and biography

Spatial context and time are inextricably linked, especially within a landscape that underwent constant reshaping and reinterpretation within a framework of tradition and decorum-bound rules of temple space. In their self-presentations at Karnak the high priests selected traditions and motifs with which to align themselves, articulating their

own individual histories in unique ways. In this section I examine these two mutually implicated strategies in self-presentation. First I study the pasts selected by the high priests. I then look more closely at the very individual personal histories presented in these texts, in particular the means Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy used to quantify a life. Roma-Roy and Amenhotep also site their lives specifically in the troubled periods in which they lived, as is seen most powerfully in Amenhotep's mobilization of the untoward.

3.3.1 Selecting pasts

The texts of Bakenkhons present a generalized selection of pasts, drawing on long-known phraseology of moral character and career narrative. His development of a priestly biography also draws on a tradition developed by his predecessors. The dynamic association of past and present is woven through the statues in the selection of archaizing statue forms, the connection to the old obelisk in the newly built temple (3.2.2), the use of language, and the choice of narrative motifs. In contrast, Roma-Roy and Amenhotep selected more specific and recent pasts, both of them using Bakenkhons as a model. Amenhotep also aligned himself with a more ancient tradition, connecting his presentation with the priesthood of the perceived founder of Karnak, Senwosret I.

Bakenkhons' re-writing and re-animation of ancient concepts is particularly clear in his narration of proper action towards the temple staff on the back pillar of the Cairo statue. In the Middle Kingdom and into the 18th Dynasty, moral self-presentation asserted values such as impartial judgement, the performance of burial for those without heirs, and concern for the orphan and the widow (Middle Kingdom: Doxey 1998, 181–202; 18th Dynasty: tomb stela of Intef, reign of Thutmose III: *Urk.* IV, 964–75).

Bakenkhons reworked these themes into a specifically priestly context:

I was not angry with his (Amun's) staff,
I was a father to them,
I judged the wretched with the powerful,
the strong with the weak ...

I made a burial for the one lacking an heir,
a coffin for the one without one ...
My arms were open and I gave to the one without,
my food offerings were given to the one in need.

(2.a, back pillar, col. 4).

These sections also have a different tone. Rather than being a father for the orphan, as in Middle Kingdom formulations (for example Janssen 1946, I, 137, H), Bakenkhons is a protector (*nd.n.j hr-nmh*), a shift in presentation seen in other New Kingdom texts and noted by Erika Feucht (1995, 382). This shift in phraseology is also used by Ramesses II in the Beth Shan stela: ‘husband of the widow, protector (*nd-hr*) of the orphan, who responds to the one who lacks’ (KRI II, 151, 5–7). This heightened phraseology within a priestly context is comparable to elaborate moral characterizations in the biographical text of the high priest of Onuris, Anhurmoise (2.3.1). Bakenkhons’ only use of character-focused participial style is in the short moral characterizations included in each textual zone on the Munich statue (2.b, front, col. 4; back, col. 1; base, line 1) and on the base of the Cairo statue (2.a).

Continuity with and re-animation of the past are also expressed through the topos of career and promotion, particularly on the back pillar of the Cairo statue. In this text Bakenkhons narrates his education in the Karnak temples and his training under his father:

I am a man of Thebes from my father and my mother,
the son of a second priest of Amun in Karnak.
I came forth from the room of writing,
in the temple of the Mistress of the sky, as an excellent youngster.
I was taught to be a wab priest in the domain of Amun,
as a son under the guidance of his father.

(2.a, back pillar, cols. 1–2)

The narrative culminates with the initiation to the position of God’s Father. This narrating of priestly upbringing and initiation is known from earlier but is most highly developed in the Ramessid period. The most detailed elaboration of this theme known to me from before Bakenkhons is a tomb biography of a high priest of Amun, Amenemhat, of the mid 18th Dynasty: ‘I was a wab priest, the staff of old age by his father’s side while he was upon earth, I went in and out at his command, I did not transgress what came forth from his mouth ... I was initiated (*bs.kw*) to hear what the wab priests hear, my father protecting me’ (*Urk.* IV, 1409, 3–1410, 7; Kruchten 1989, 178). Bakenkhons’ narrative has parallels with this text in its emphasis on the role of the father and the centrality of initiation. It may be no coincidence that both individuals were high priests. The narration of Bakenkhons’ youth in the Cairo narrative is, however, more explicitly centred within

the temple. We see thus the selection and elaboration of an existing motif for the presentation of the priestly life and its reshaping to emphasize a connection to a particular temple space and divinity.

This ideal early life is fictionalized as a topos. Some earlier biographies placed the individual as a child at the royal court (for example: Semti the younger, 12th Dynasty: Sethe 1928, 75, l. 4; Ikhernofret, 12th Dynasty: Sethe, 1928, 70, l. 21; Mentiwy, 18th Dynasty: *Urk.* IV, 1466, 14) and this motif is mobilized in the biography of Ramesses II's viceroy Setau (1.a, l. 3; 5.4.1). Bakenkhons' treatment can be compared with a text on a standing statue of the vizier Paser of the reign of Ramesses II, who was possibly Bakenkhons' predecessor in office. Paser claims to have been 'the son of [a man] of the domain, born upon your (Amun's) ground (*jnk-s3 n-[s] n-pr msy.j hr-s3tw.k*)' (2.v, KRI III, 18, 3–4). The phrase *s3 n-s* here evokes concepts involving good-standing and being a 'man of blood' from literary contexts (Parkinson 1996, 141–2; Fischer-Elfert 1999, I, 299–304). Prehotep, vizier under Ramesses II, also alludes to a temple upbringing: 'My lord appointed me vizier, as one whom the temple of Ptah brought up' (4.i; KRI III, 64, 5). Both these texts and in those of Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy, the dissimulation of parentage focuses the protagonist's life within the temple (cf. Vernus 2000, 332–3) and, in the case of Bakenkhons, allows dual levels of meaning with regard to the identity of his father (and see discussion below).

Roma-Roy also drew on the motif of the priestly life that Bakenkhons had developed. The text on the right side of CGC 42186 parallels that of his predecessor in the narration of his youth (*hwn*) in the temple as an 'effective wab priest (*w^cb-jqr*)', the prime point of transition being initiation:

I was initiated (to the position of) God's Father,
in order to hear the summons of his noble ka, in order to satisfy his wishes.
He recognized me; he favoured me on account of my character

(2.d, right side, cols. 1–3)

In this way Roma-Roy presented an ideal that connected him to the priesthood and the temple from his childhood. The shift into the royal sphere, although governed by Amun, also draws on the court setting biographical motif where the king is the primary point of reference for promotion. Perhaps because of a break in the text, the verses referring to the court are ambiguous; the motivator for action may be either the god or the king:

He (Amun) placed me in the knowledge of the king,
 and my name was called out in the presence of the courtiers.
 He made a decree concerning my office,
 being distinguished at the side of the king himself.
 Usermaatse setepenre
 the son of Amun, of his body.
 He favoured me again for my excellence.

(2.d, right side, cols. 4–6)

Thus, Roma-Roy's text interweaves two motifs of career narrative, that of priestly life and upbringing and the setting in the royal domain.

Roma-Roy's selection of the more immediate and specific past of his predecessor is not only evident in aspects of the career narrative but is also implicit in the context he chose for his biographies. CGC 42185 and 42186 are similar in size and appearance and inscribed with complementary textual programmes. This dedication of a pair of statues with interwoven texts parallels the Munich and Cairo statues of Bakenkhons and may be modelled on them. There are thus both visual and textual parallels between the statues of the two high priests. Both men could, however, have had other biographical statues that have not survived. An explicit connection may also be made through fragments perhaps of a jamb and stela found in the temple built by Bakenkhons of Amun-Re-Harakhty-who-hears-prayers which bear the name and titulary of Roma-Roy (PM II², 211; KRI IV, 132, 7–10; Barguet 1962, 227 n.1).

A key point of connection and selection across the texts of the high priests is the use of certain distinct phraseology. On the base of Bakenkhons' Munich statue (2.b) is the following passage:

I am one truly silent, effective for his god,
 who trusts himself to his every action ...
 For [I am a humble man] whose hands are together upon the steering rope,
 acting as a helmsman in life.
 For I am happier (*nfr*) today than yesterday,
 at dawn he will increase my happiness.

Selections from this text are foregrounded on the front of Roma-Roy's smaller block statue, JdE 37874 (2.1):

jnk-tr-hr.f sꜥ3-sḥr.f
hn-sw hr-sp-nb
ꜥwy.fy-twt hr-nfr-yt
hr-jrt-hmy m-ꜥnh

I am one who respects his Horus, who magnifies his plan,
 who trusts himself to (his) every action,
 his hands together upon the steering rope
 acting as a helmsman in life.

(KRI IV, 131, 14–15)

The opening two verses closely parallel texts used across both of Bakenkhons' statues: 'one who respects [his god?], who magnifies his renown (*srh*), who trusts himself to his every action' (2.a, base), 'who magnifies the renown of his god' (2.b, front, col. 4), 'who respects the renown of his god' (2.b, back pillar, col. 1). Similar patterns of phraseology go back at least to the statue of Bakenkhons' predecessor, Paser (CGC 42164): 'I am one who respects his god, who magnifies his plan' (KRI III, 293, 6). Related epithets are also attested in the tomb of the high priest of Amun, Nebwenenef (Assmann 1995a, 131, n. 180, and see 2.a, n. h) and further phrases are found on a standing statue of the vizier Paser, who may have been the same person as the high priest: 'May you grant me [...] today in happiness more than yesterday (*dj.k-n.j [...] hrw-pn m-nfr r-sf*)' (KRI III, 18, 5–6).

Amenhotep drew on this phraseology in his inscriptions on the east side-door of the court of pylons seven and eight. The first column of text contains only slight variations from that of his predecessors:

<i>jnk-tr-ntr.f s^c3-s^chrw.f</i>	I am one who respects his god, who magnifies his plans,
<i>šm hr-w3wt.f</i>	who goes forth upon his all his paths,
<i>dj-sw m-jb.f</i>	who places him in his heart,
<i>jw.j-[nfr.kw m-h]rw-pn r-sf</i>	for I am [happier to]day than yesterday,
<i>h^d-t3 [...] ^cwy.f(y)-tw^t hr-nfryt</i>	at dawn [...] his hands together upon the steering rope,
<i>hr-jr(t)-hm m-^cnh</i>	acting as a helmsman in life.
(KRI VI, 541, 14–16)	

The second column continues with a statement of right action in Karnak and a prayer:

<i>jnk-snmh-rn n-nb.f m-jpt-swt</i>	I am one who embellishes the name of his lord in Karnak,
<i>r-djt-sh3.f-mn r-nh^h</i>	in order to cause that his memory endure forever,
<i>m-st-dsr m-b3h-k3-šps-nb-ntrw</i>	in the hidden place, before the noble ka of the lord of the gods;
<i>jw.j-(m)-jmy-r3-k3t-wr m-pr-jmn</i>	I am the chief overseer of works in the domain of Amun,
<i>hr-sšm-hmwwt-nbt r-[h]t-r3.j</i>	guiding all the craftsmanship [under the authority] of my command.
(KRI VI, 541, 16–542, 2)	

The scene on the lintel associated with this text depicts the high priest before Amun, foregrounding his relationship to the divine and complementing the texts on the door thicknesses, where the king is central. A fragment of text accompanying the figure of Amenhotep on the right in the centre of the reward tableau also records: '[I am happier] on this perfect day than yesterday ([*jw.j-nfr.kw*] *m-hrw-pn-nfr r-sf*)' (KRI VI, 539, 15).

These motifs may be part of a stock phraseology available for priestly self-presentation, although the base of Bakenkhons' statue is likely to have been visible and could have provided the primary model. The later examples re-interpret and re-animate Bakenkhons' usage, changing the determinative of 'helmsman' from divine to human, and combining phraseology differently. Amenhotep also seems to place the phraseology in the wider context of building narratives. The foregrounding and reshaping of this phraseology creates an interaction with Bakenkhons. Roma-Roy and Amenhotep aligned themselves with, and elaborated, a tradition of high priesthood, legitimizing and strengthening their claim to authority, and affirming their identity through that of their predecessor.

Further evidence for the use of the Munich statue as a model is provided by Amenhotep's probable quotation of the first section of its back pillar in his narrative on the back of the Thutmosid shrine. As Wentz notes (1966, 78), the ordering of the phrases suggests that the statue was available and used directly. Although the end of the text is very broken, some phrases referring to the instruction of future generations (*d3mw*) and the planting of gardens seem to recall further passages in Bakenkhons' texts. Thus, Amenhotep may have framed his own biography with aspects drawn from that of his illustrious predecessor.

Amenhotep also aligns himself with a more ancient and mythologized tradition of priesthood in Karnak. In two building texts at different locations in the temple, Amenhotep narrates the restoration of a crumbling structure: 'the former high priests of Amun having made it in the time of Kheperkare Senwosret' (2.i, col. 4). The text on the interior wall of the temple identifies this structure referred to in this text as the: 'preparation chamber (*w'bt*) of the former high priests of Amun, which is in the domain of Amun-Re, king of the gods, ... they having made it in the time of the king Kheperkare, son of Re, Senwosret' (2.h, cols. 2–3). Senwosret I was traditionally perceived as the principal founder of Karnak (Gabolde 1998) and this attribution can be seen in the alignment of later kings' self-presentation with that of Senwosret in the temple (Björkman 1971, 118–20). The most explicit statement is made by Thutmose III in the south passageway in the rooms south of the granite sanctuary where the king is shown in parallel to a corresponding image of Senwosret (PM II², 106, (328), (330); Habachi

1985a). By aligning himself with the priests of the time of Senwosret I, Amenhotep drew on this almost mythical founding of Karnak; the temple of Senwosret may have been located on the southern processional route (Björkman 1971, 92–3). Rather than align himself explicitly with royal presentation, Amenhotep proclaimed himself here a direct inheritor of the most ancient priestly traditions of the site.

The phraseology and motifs of self-presentation used by all three high priests create and perpetuate a tradition of priesthood in a presentation of the priestly life that draws on both recent and ancient mythologized pasts of Karnak. The rewriting of these pasts serves to legitimize their status and strengthen their connections with the sacred space of the temple.

3.3.2 Articulating personal histories

Individuality in the use of time is salient in the texts of the high priests, who articulate particular temporal spaces in the construction of their identities. The narration of an ideal life in divine space on the back pillar of the Cairo statue of Bakenkhons can be contrasted with the career narrative on the back pillar of the Munich statue, which is bound to the linearity of human time. The latter text systematizes his successive promotions and includes aspects of life not mentioned in the Cairo text. In a narrative strategy that has few parallels, each stage of life or office is given along with the number of years for which it was held:

I spent 4 years as an excellent youngster.
I spent 11 years as a youth,
as a trainee stable-master,
for King Men[maat]re.

I was a wab priest of Amun for 4 years,
I was a god's father of Amun,
for 12 years ...

(2.b, back pillar, cols. 3–4)

The documentary style of discourse together with the numbering of the years quantifies Bakenkhons' service to his god and king and expresses a markedly linear relationship to time and his own personal history. Its implications for calculating Bakenkhons' life span and for the trajectory of priestly careers has been much discussed (Jansen-Winkel 1993, and refs.).

In his list of occurrences of enumerated lifetimes from the Old to the New Kingdom, Stephan Seidlmayer (2001, 253) cites Bakenkhons' text as recording, in retrospect, the duration of the important, completed phases in his life, placing it alongside that of Nekhebu from the 6th Dynasty and the stela of the high priest of Osiris, Nebwawy, from the reign of Thutmose III. A further example is the inscription on the shrine of the 18th Dynasty high priest of Amun, Nefer, who used a time-frame to summarise his career: 'I was established at the stair of my god, my head vigilant, my arms active; my fingers did not slacken in their duties for 4[6/8] years, during which I bore Amun in his appearances' (Gaballa 1970, 50, 53, fig. 1). The biography of Nebwawy, which presents a priestly life centred on the temple of Osiris, marks key points in the narrative relating to different promotions and functions in the temple with an expression of time: 'The span of these (events) was [11] years (*ḥw-ⁿn r-rnpt [11]*)' (Frood 2003, 65–6, fig. 1; *Urk.* IV, 208, 16; 209, 9 'for 6 years'). The final verses of the text record that Nebwawy, was safe and prosperous in the completion of duties for a particular office for 'up to nine years' (*Urk.* IV, 209, 15). The connection between the texts is striking, perhaps reflecting a priestly topos or a certain function of timekeeping in the narration of the priestly life. A 30th Dynasty or early Ptolemaic statue of a priest of Amun from Karnak speaks to performative aspects of such timekeeping. A column of inscription on the upper surface of the base states that: 'this statue was made for him (on the occasion of) 86 years of reciting the monthly rituals (*jr.tw-n.f twt-pn r-rnpt-86-šd-3bd*)' (Jansen-Winkel 2001, I, 91, n. 14 with a further parallel; II, 371, pl. 35).

While the 'timing' of the lives of Nebwawy and Nefer are incorporated into narrative sections (Frood 2003, 75–8), Bakenkhons gives a more list-like and empirical account of personal time. The narrative is, however, not isolated in the back pillar text, but is preceded by an appeal to the living in which Bakenkhons states: 'I will cause you to know my character when I was on earth, in every office which I performed since my birth' (2.b, back pillar, col. 2). Following the quantification of his successive offices, Bakenkhons gives more qualitative details of his care for those in his charge and his role in building monuments. The annalistic presentation is therefore mobilized for the future and directed to an audience through the introductory appeal while acquiring a more traditional character through the qualitative detail which follows.

Although Bakenkhons aligned himself with biographical tradition through his selection of themes of moral character and social responsibility, he also related himself in complex ways to his own personal life span and history, abbreviating his career narrative in the Cairo statue to foreground his relationship to god and enumerating his years in office on the Munich statue. The functions of the enumeration of time can only be conjectured. They may demonstrate literary virtuosity and versatility in the selection and use of *topoi* across two statues; he presented complementary conceptions of identity, one bound in the temple sphere and centred on a primary relationship to god and the other expressing a concrete and quantifiable human time and office. The differences may also relate to the different locations. The enumeration of years may have had a particular enactive function in the East temple, the enumeration of the components of the temple which he built complementing the enumeration of the components of his own life, with both being placed in service of the god and (deified) king.

List-like enumerations of aspects of identity and accounts of durations of time seem also to be a feature of the presentation of Roma-Roy and Amenhotep. However, their narrative strategies may be connected to troubled times. On the right side of Roma-Roy's CGC 42185, the priestly positions held by his children are enumerated. In contrast with Bakenkhons, who quantified his life through the record of his years in office, Roma-Roy circumscribed his position through his descendants. The expression of kinship on monuments was a significant feature of Ramessid royal (Murnane 1995, 203–8; Fisher 2001) and non-royal presentation (Pirelli 1998, 878–84). A number of nonroyal monuments list and/or depict the offspring of the owner and their titles (e.g. KR1 III, 132, 10; 209, 1; 306, 5; 449), whereas Roma-Roy's list is given narrative form within a wider self-presentation. Narration perhaps activates the relationships, grounding them at a time and mobilizing them into the future. The narrativized list affirms the role of Roma-Roy's children in the temple beyond his own death and demonstrates his commitment to the temple through them and the direct relationship he and they have with Amun.

This concern with the positions of his sons is also expressed in the temple-wall inscription. After the prayer to Amun, Roma-Roy states 'my son in my place, my office in his hand, one son (to) another for eternity, like what is done for one who is truly assiduous, effective in the domain of his lord' (2.e, cols. 5–6). This statement is later

reinforced when he states that those who honour his name will pass on their office to their children; ‘one son (to) another in his domain forever’ (col. 12). The accompanying relief depicts Roma-Roy’s son, Bakenkhons, following his father, so that succession is presented visually as well as textually. Roma-Roy is evidently concerned to establish his son as his heir to the high priesthood. Although the son did not inherit his office, claims to descent from Roma-Roy were a significant component of the texts on a small group of Third Intermediate Period statues of priests found together in the cachette (Legrain 1905, 72–3).

Roma-Roy held his position as high priest from late in the reign of Ramesses II into that of Sety II. The selective erasures of the cartouches on CGC 42186 and on the pylon wall are indications of the dynastic struggles in the late 19th Dynasty (Krauss 1977, 154–6 with refs.). The absence of a king’s name on CGC 42185 may be symptomatic of this as well. Features of Roma-Roy’s self-presentation seem more grounded in his present social context than that of his predecessor. He employs a new moral vocabulary in parts, referring to himself as ‘strong and vigilant (*tl rs-tp*)’ (2.c, right side, col. 1), and enjoining at the end of the text on the right side of 42185: ‘may they boast about my goodness as well as (my) strength (*tl*)’ (2.c, col. 9); essentially the same phrase also occurs in the text on the wall of the eighth pylon (2.e, col. 9). The Late Egyptian word *tl* is rare in non-royal self-presentations, perhaps because of their classicizing language, but also because the word is much more normal in royal contexts. Notably the other occurrences of the word in biographical texts have comparable contexts of presentation. In the tomb biography of Anhurmoise, he claims to be ‘strong upon land’ (*jnk-tl m-ḥrt-t3*: 5.a, cols. 17–8; cf. col. 19) during his early career as a military scribe. He then extends this theme into the temple domain when he becomes high priest of Onuris: ‘I am effective in the temple, strong in the field’ (col. 23). His use of *tl* is an element of the elaborate language that characterizes this text (2.3.1). On a monument of the chancellor Bay, considered a central figure in the political machinations at the end of the 19th Dynasty (Schneider 2003), he states: ‘I am the possessor of strength (*tw.j-nb ḥr-tl*)’ (2.x; KRI IV, 370, 13). In a speech of Ramesses IX accompanying the reward scene of the high priest Amenhotep, the king applies the term to an individual when he states that Amenhotep ‘exerted’ himself in his duties (*jw.f-tl.f*; KRI VI, 456, 9). The word is more often part of royal self-

presentation in military narratives as in the Qadesh poem (KRI II, 91, 7–10) and the Medinet Habu battle and lion hunt texts (e.g. KRI V, 21, 7; 31, 9; 38, 14), and is associated with strength and virility in Late Egyptian literary texts (e.g. Gardiner 1932, 12, 9).

In another unusual phrase Roma-Roy claims to be in the favour of the king and ‘free from terror (*hryt*)’ (2.c, base, right half), while in his prayer for a long life he asks to be ‘without a lustful heart, free from terror’ (2.e, col. 4). ‘Terror’, as a positive quality, can be generated by the king and by gods, often against an enemy, as with Ramesses II against the Hittite king in the Qadesh poem (KRI II, 90). Non-royal individuals rarely claim the capacity as a positive attribute. An exception is the 18th Dynasty stela of an Intef, although in this text the capacity is restricted to action against criminals: ‘great of terror among criminals (*ʿ3-hryt mm-hbntyw*)’, (*Urk.* IV, 969, 4). Roma-Roy’s use of such strong vocabulary gives a somewhat aggressive edge to the self-presentation; it is perhaps too easy to read this in the light of the dynastic struggles during Roma-Roy’s later years.

Amenhotep’s narrative is also bound to the difficulties of his time as is most vividly shown in the fragments that record his suppression. Specific time spans, in months as well as years, demarcate these events, in contrast to Bakenkhons’ use of time to delineate office. The precision of the dating emphasizes the ‘documentary’ quality as well as the veracity and immediacy of the narrative.

Amenhotep hints at the less than glorious aspects of his position when he aligns the ‘many beneficent acts’ (*3hw-qnw*) which he performed in the temple with ‘arduous tasks’ (*dnn-qnw*) (2.g, col. 17). *dnn* is a Late Egyptian word occurring frequently in Miscellany texts praising the life of a scribe in comparison with the hardships of the soldier’s life (*Wb.* V, 577, 3; Caminos 1954, 52 with refs.). This strong vocabulary colours the text: while Bakenkhons presented an ideal of priestly life and grace, the texts of Amenhotep, and perhaps of Roma-Roy, hint at a much harsher ‘present’. These ordeals form part of the narrative motif of transgression and appeal mobilized by Amenhotep and known from different textual genres from the Ramessid period.

The narration of this suppression is one of the most explicit statements of personal experience of the untoward within the genre of self-presentation attested since the Old Kingdom narratives of Washtah and Rewer (Baines 1999b, 23–4). The expression of

personal trial and appeal for divine aid is a theme found in both royal and non-elite self-presentation in the Ramessid period. Amenhotep adapted this theme to elite biography:

And he spent eight whole months in it,
and I suffered from it [very] exceedingly ...
I am your servant who stood suffering (*dnn*) for you ...
Amun-Re, king of the gods, heard my plea quickly
for he did not allow delay ...
[and Amun-Re saw] me in this transgression against me,
and I appealed to Pharaoh, my lord,
the one who placed/caused ...

(2.g, cols. 18–21)

This sequence of events resembles the narration of Ramesses II in the Qadesh poem more than the appeals for aid from deities narrated in the confessional stelae from Deir el-Medina. Ramesses II narrates being forsaken by his army and his appeal to Amun for aid, justifying his need through statements of his right action towards the god (KRI II, 40–3). In a comparable fashion, Amenhotep includes a statement of right action as part of his plea: ‘I am your servant who stood suffering for you’ (col. 19). Like the king, Amenhotep is the one betrayed. Rather than begging forgiveness, he requests divine and royal aid and in doing so takes on a quasi-royal role. The threat in Amenhotep’s text, like that of Ramesses II’s, is a human aggressor. As Baines notes in his discussion of the topos of affliction in the Qadesh poem, ‘non-supernatural agents may belong to an overarching supernatural context that shows why a particular person is struck at a particular time’ (Baines 1987a, 85).

If the untoward is narrated this also implies that it is contained (see Parkinson 1999 for the relevance of this model to Middle Kingdom literature). The situation is presented as resolved even though this may not have been the case in ‘reality’. The resolution returns Amenhotep to an ideal of the priestly life, instructing the young and planting gardens. His suppression is contained and neutralized. The final word of the last column brings the narrative full circle to the sweetness and light of the ideal life, ‘perfection’ (*nfr*: col. 11). The ordering of two topoi thematizes his life in a way that aligns him intimately and actively with divine and royal spheres, presenting him as one blameless and righteous in the eyes of the god and king.

The temporal spaces of the narratives of all three high priests primarily serve to establish a connection to the divine sphere; through their uses of pasts and priestly

traditions, and through the innovative narratives of their own time, Bakenkhons, Roma-Roy, and Amenhotep express their piety and dependence on divine favour.

3.4 Piety and religious discourse

In this section I discuss the presentations of the priests in chronological order. Each text has a different approach to constructing and expressing the protagonist's relationship to the divine sphere; the changing social contexts may also be a component in the variation in the narratives. Within these texts the priestly experience of god is grounded in the historical reality of their lives (Gnirs 1996, 204 n. 60) and articulated in part through a religious discourse associated with a specifically Ramessid exploration of the divine and of the individual's relationship to god (cf. 2).

Bakenkhons' Cairo statue (2.a) selectively reshapes traditional topoi of career narrative and social responsibility to express an intimate relationship with Amun. The abbreviated account of his career elaborates the topos of priestly life and service, discussed in section 3.3.1. The key moment in this narrative comes with the appointment to the office of God's Father in an initiation that enabled him to function in the mortal and the divine sphere and to perform the symbolic role of the king in certain rituals, including the presentation of maat to the god (Kruchten 1989, 175–6):

He favoured me; he recognised me on account of my (good) character.

I followed him in a truthful way.

I was initiated to (the position of) God's Father and I saw all his manifestations

(2.a, back pillar, cols. 2–3)

On the Munich statue, the verse, 'He favoured me; he recognised me on account of my (good) character' (2.b, back pillar, col. 3) governs the promotion to the office of high priest. The narrative of initiation prioritizes and transforms Bakenkhons' relationship with the god and aligns him with a royal role in ritual.

The narration of Bakenkhons' beneficence and social responsibility within the temple sphere immediately follows the initiation. Bakenkhons is presented as one who 'judged the wretched with the powerful, the strong with the weak ... a defender of the orphan who appealed to me' (2.a, back pillar, cols. 4–5). Similarly in the Munich statue: 'I was a good father to my staff, nurturing their young, giving my hand (to) the one in need' (2.b, back pillar, col. 4). Enumeration of these qualities, although central to elite

self-presentation in earlier periods, is rare in Ramessid biographies (cf. **5.a**: 2.3.1; **8.d**; **8.e**). Being a father, judge, provider, and protector of the poor and disadvantaged are all attributes that are given to Amun in New Kingdom religious literature (Assmann 1995a, 198–204). As high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons would have known and transmitted this contemporary phraseology of the divine and in his own biography he perhaps drew on this association. Like the king, Bakenkhons performs a divine service within the spatially bounded sphere of the temple (Assmann 1995a, 206).

The metaphor of fatherhood seems to be developed at greater length in order to bring out the parallel with Amun. On the back pillar of the Cairo statue, Bakenkhons states that he ‘was taught to be a wab priest in the estate of Amun, as a son under the guidance of his father’ (**2.a**, col. 2). The reference to his human father earlier in the narrative suggests that he is the person referred to here as well, particularly as Bakenkhons’ father was the second priest and in a position to train his son (cf. **7.a**, col. 7 with note c). However, the juxtaposition of this statement with ‘he favoured me; he perceived me for my character’ permits the alternative reading that the ‘father’ referred to is Amun. The narrative continues with Bakenkhons’ initiation to the position of God’s Father, giving him the capacity to see ‘all his manifestations’, where ‘his’ clearly refers to the god (**2.a**, cols. 2–3). The title of God’s Father plays on the same idea.

It is rare for a non-royal individual to refer to himself as the son of a god. As noted by Miriam Lichtheim (1992, 31) in her discussion of earlier texts that employ this topos, this statement need not imply a claim to divine status, but rather emphasizes a close relationship to the god, particularly through priestly service. On the front of Bakenkhons’ Cairo statue the king is said to have made monuments for ‘his father Amun’ (**2.a**, col. 4) while on the back pillar of the Munich statue the king is ‘the son of Amun who came forth from his body’ (**2.b**, col. 4). On the back pillars of both statues Bakenkhons subsequently refers to himself as acting as a father for his staff, placing himself in the same relationship to the people of the temple as Amun is to the king and possibly to himself (**2.a**, cols. 3–4; **2.b**, cols. 3–4). The metaphor of fatherhood creates a complex web of interrelationships and mobilizes a range of concepts from the human and divine worlds (Assmann 1991b, 96–137). In the human sphere the father is progenitor, protector, and teacher, all associations that are articulated in Bakenkhons’ texts. The father-son

topos is also a central feature of New Kingdom, particularly Ramessid, royal presentation and ideology of kingship (Assmann 1991b, 128–34). By seemingly referring to himself as the son of the god, Bakenkhons aligns himself with the royal sphere, while by asserting his role as a father within the temple, he aligns himself with the divine.

Specific reference to the king on the Cairo statue is limited to Bakenkhons' statement concerning building works on the prominent front:

I am the overseer of works, foremost in Thebes,
in all embellished works,
for I am the effective confidant of his lord,
guiding all the craftsmanship in every monument,
which he made for his father Amun

(2.a, col. 4)

The shifting referent for the third person suffix pronoun from Bakenkhons in 'his lord' to presumably the king in 'which he made for his father Amun' permits dual readings of god and king. The formulaic nature of this passage may make the referent more certainly the king. This ambiguity of the object of action and devotion is a more striking feature of the Munich statue where the strategy permits dual readings – aligning god and king – that are appropriate to its location. The temple of Amun-Re-Harakhty-who-hears-prayers was connected to the personal cult of pharaoh under the name 'Ramesses-meriamun-who-hears-prayers' (2.b, back pillar, col. 5). As Nims noted, statues of the king 'who hears prayers' are part of the deification of Ramesses II, while the temple can be understood to assimilate the king with this form of Amun (Nims 1971, 109; Habachi 1969, 20–1). The texts on the Munich statue can be seen as expressing this assimilation.

There is an interplay of reference to god and king in the passages of moral characterization on the Munich statue. The protagonists of earlier biographical texts are often 'effective for his lord' *ꜥḥ n-nb.f* in reference to the king (Doxey 1998, 129–31). This connection may be evoked in Bakenkhons' texts, which align the phrase with statements concerning his devotion to his god: 'I am one truly accurate, effective for his lord, who respects the renown of his god, who goes forth upon his path, who performs acts of beneficence within his temple' (2.b, back pillar, cols. 1–2). In the text on the upper base of the Munich statue, and on the base of the Cairo statue, the phrase is condensed to: 'I am one truly accurate, effective for his god'. This play with phraseology led Plantikow-Münster (1969, 122) to conclude that Bakenkhons expressed devotion to

Amun in these phrases. I suggest rather that this interplay refers to both god and king together, almost as one and the same.

The key line of the career narrative on both statues is similarly indeterminate in reference. ‘He favoured me; he recognized me on account of my (good) character’ occurs at the central point of transformation in the career narratives of both statues (**2.a**, back pillar, col. 2; **2.b**, back pillar, col. 3). In the Cairo statue, as discussed above, the setting within the temple implies recognition by the god. The title-oriented discourse of the account on the Munich statue, which includes a role in the palace, makes the referent there more ambiguous. Although appointment to official positions was generally presented as a royal prerogative, the first high priest of Amun in the reign of Ramesses II, Nebwenenef, recorded in his tomb self-presentation that his appointment was made by Amun in an oracle to the king (**2.n**; 5.2). Bakenkhons’ text allows either reading.

Bakenkhons expresses an intimate relationship with and experience of god through the adaptation of traditional motifs which function on a number of levels and partly in relation to the spatial contexts of the statues. The piety expressed in these texts would have been appropriate to their location within a central state complex and to Bakenkhons’ office and function in relation to a royal authority that was itself assimilated with the divine sphere. That high priests can demonstrate piety and intimacy of connection with god in a temple space where others were excluded is a further assertion of status and role.

A feature of the texts of Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy is the use of the building narrative to connect king and priest. Bakenkhons states that he was ‘chief overseer of works, foremost in Thebes, for his son, who came forth from his body, the Dual King, Usermaatse setepenre ...’ (**2.b**, back pillar, col. 4). In the narration of the details of the work that follows, dual readings of god and king are possible. Roma-Roy also states that he made statues, vessels and a structure ‘in the great name of the Dual King (erased cartouche)’ (**2.d**, left side, cols. 2–6). Here it is significant that, in the building narration included in his wall inscription, Roma-Roy states that he made the *w^cbt* ‘for my god, Amun-Re, king of the gods’ (col. 11). In comparison with Bakenkhons, this is a noticeable shift in tone. Roma-Roy’s expression of relationship to royal and divine spheres is clear. His primary relationship to the god is explicit and his connection to the royal sphere is mediated through the divine.

Explicit statements of dependence on the god are central to Roma-Roy's texts; what was implicit in Bakenkhons' narratives in the artful reanimation of known topoi is plainly stated by Roma-Roy. On the right side of CGC 42186 the early stages of his career parallel that of Bakenkhons: Roma-Roy is chosen (*stp*) and recognised (*gm*) for his good actions by Amun (2.d, cols. 2–4). The god then mediates the shift into the royal sphere – although the passage has possible dual meanings similar to Bakenkhons': 'He favoured me on account of my character. He placed me in the knowledge of the king and my name was called out in the presence of the courtiers' (2.d, cols. 3–5). In the narrative on CGC 42185, the promotion to high priest is more firmly stated to have been the result of Amun's favour: 'I am high priest as the gift of Amun (*m-dd-jmn*). It was he who chose me as the foremost of his temple' (2.c, base). Similarly on the right side: 'favours of the king in my possession as the gift of Amun' (col. 4). The god also granted positions to his children, as the text on the right side continues: 'He placed my children as an entire future generation in my presence; they are priests bearing his image. I am high priest as the gift of Amun, my son established at my side as second priest' (cols. 5–6). These statements possess an oracular quality that may draw on the motif used in Nebwenenef's tomb inscription (2.n; and see Römer 1994, 98–9, 480–1).

The dependence on Amun mobilized through the career narrative is also expressed in prayers and statements defining the nature of the god in relation to the priest. In the extended prayer to Amun on the temple wall there is a presentation of Amun as life-giver and controller: 'life is in your hand, health belongs to you, Shay and Renenet united in your grasp' (2.e, col. 3). The same conception of Amun is expressed in CGC 42185, exemplifying the connection between the textual programmes of the statue and temple wall: 'The length of a lifetime is in the hands of Amun, to bring it to its end in perfection' (left side, col. 8).

The medium also renders Roma-Roy's relationship with Amun in physical form. On CGC 42185 a request is also made for the statue – that is, the agent of Roma-Roy in the mortal realm – to interact with the gods on his behalf: 'that Amun may address him each time he appears, and Mut and Khonsu incline to him as to the great ones' (2.c, back pillar, col. 3). Through the statue Roma-Roy maintains his direct relationship with the divine sphere beyond death. The most powerful visual presentation of this relationship to

Amun is the composition on the temple wall. Roma-Roy's appropriation of royal space enabled him to foreground his expression of primary devotion to Amun through prayer, building works, and the role of his descendants. Although the god is not depicted – whereas he is in later scenes of Amenhotep – he is immanently present through the worshipping figures and the prayer, although these figures face south, away from the sanctuary.

Amun is the patron and protector of Roma-Roy whose relationship with the god also articulates his expression of his other relationships, as in the following passage from the left side of CGC 42185:

One is pleased with the counsels of his mouth,
the abundance of Amun is effective for his ka,

excellent confidant for His Person,
for he knows what is pleasing for his Horus,
greatly favoured by his god Amun, ...

whom the people love, who masters the heart,
content without a lustful heart.

That which is ordered to be done occurs immediately,
for he entrusted himself to the plan of his god.

(2.c, cols. 3–7)

Roma-Roy's relationships to the royal and human spheres are framed by his key relationship to Amun, the shift to the third person giving the text a distanced and authoritative tone.

Over a century after Roma-Roy inscribed the wall of pylon eight with his biographical inscription, Amenhotep used the image of the king and the expression of a reciprocal relationship to sanction his widespread use of the temple wall imparting a royal quality to his presentation and demonstrating how the conception of royal power changed in the 20th Dynasty. A similar, expanded, and intensified strategy can perhaps be seen in Herihor's later patterned presentation of images of himself and Ramesses XI in the forecourt of the temple of Khonsu (Römer 1994; Epigraphic Survey 1981, pls. 157–92, 195, 198, 199–201). In the earlier 20th Dynasty temple presentations of the high priests, image seems to take precedence over text. This can be seen in Bakenkhons B's dedication of a number of block statues, largely bearing short, standard offering formulae, prayers, and title strings (KRI V, 7, 8–14; 397, 6–399, 1; Barbotin 1994), and

in Ramessesnakht's double scene on the eighth pylon which depicts him offering flowers and libations to Amun and Mut on the left and Amun and Khonsu on the right (PM II², 177 (527)). The chapel of Ramessesnakht in Dra Abu el-Naga also attests to considerable expenditure on his monumental presentation outside Karnak (Polz 1998).

Amenhotep was the first high priest of the 20th Dynasty to leave extensive textual material within the temple context although texts of others may now be lost. The main foci of these texts and scenes are building and reward, motifs that centre on the person and the actions of Amenhotep, in much the same way as royal scenes on temple walls. Although Amenhotep exploits the image of the king and focuses on building works following the 'instruction of His Person' (2.h, n. a), his primary relationship seems to be with the divine sphere. The large double images of him on the exterior wall of the court between pylons seven and eight are accompanied by short statements about the god and Amenhotep's devotion that use stock priestly phraseology, centralizing the image of the priest and his knowledge of and relationship to god in the reward tableau. Similar phraseology and images of the priest before the god have a dominant position around the side entrance into the court.

In his narrative on the back of the Thutmosid shrine Amenhotep mobilizes the topos of appeal and divine response to foreground a direct communication with Amun. These few surviving fragments articulate the most direct and explicit personal experience of the divine inscribed by a non-royal individual within Karnak. It is Amun, perhaps acting through the king, who restores Amenhotep to power and position, answering a direct appeal. This topos places Amenhotep in a royal role articulated more than a century earlier in the Qadesh poem and in the testimonials to the gods of Ramesses III and IV (KRI V, 237–47; VI, 17–25).

The motif of Amun as saviour, mobilized in Amenhotep's text and known from the so-called personal piety texts of the Ramessid period (Assmann 1995a, 198–201), becomes a feature of the 'biographical' inaugural speeches occasionally included in the texts concerned with the initiation of priests of the Third Intermediate Period:

mh-jb-pw n-hn-sw n-k3.f

mnf n-hry-jw jsf[t]

ʕr nhm.k-rmt hnw-d3d3t-ntrw

He (Amun) is the confidant of one who submits to his will,

the protection of the victim of injustice or wrongdoing ...

You rescue and save the man at the tribunal of the gods...

(Padiamun, temp. Pedubastis I: Kruchten 1989, 26–9)

The presentations of the Ramessid high priests' relationship to divine and royal spheres are complex and individual, and can be read and interpreted in various ways. Much of this complexity may result from spatial, and particularly, temporal context. The loosening of central royal authority at the end of the 19th and of the 20th Dynasty may have favoured a more overt exploration of the nature of god in relation to the self, in which concepts characteristic of Ramessid religious discourse are mobilized: Amun as patron, life-giver, and saviour.

3.5 Distributed selves in Karnak

Each of the high priests whom I have discussed set about to connect their image and narrative identity with the temple in highly individual ways. Both Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy used the block statue as the primary medium for self-presentation, wrapping representations of themselves in narrative in an intimate binding of individual body and text. Roma-Roy's statues use the sides of the body as a writing surface as well as the back pillar, front section, and base. The use of different zones of the body for text may relate to scenarios for dedicating and siting the statue within space. Since it is not likely that all the texts could have been read easily after installation, the creation and dedication of the statues is significant for the biographies of the artefacts themselves and for the functions of the texts inscribed upon them (1.5.1).

This point may be illustrated by the Munich statue of Bakenkhons, where the texts are designed to connect the priest with the temple he built for his god and king. The dedication of the statue as a component of the completion and dedication of the temple could perhaps be envisaged. The significance of his statue dedications is demonstrated by the use of his texts as models by Roma-Roy and Amenhotep. The text on Bakenkhons' Munich statue reinforces the devotional object of the East temple as semi-divine king and manifestation of Amun-Re-Harakhty, an equation alluded to in the texts inscribed on the temple walls themselves. Bakenkhons lays claim to this space through his narratives and also uses the distribution of self through text and image to site aspects of identity within another, more restricted, zone of temple space.

The appropriation of space, and claims to an intermediary, active presence in the temple enacted by a statue, is expanded through the use of temple walls, previously a

royal prerogative. Temples were dwelling places for deities, in which the relationship between the divine and mortal realms was channelled through the king as intermediary. By placing their texts and images on the fabric body of the temple itself, Roma-Roy and Amenhotep prioritized their own role and identity in this nexus of the temporal and eternal, modelling life and action through temple space. The distribution of images and narratives of non-royal individuals through doorways and along the exterior walls of processional routes governs and mediates access and movement through these spaces. This created zones of priestly association and perhaps reflected the architecture of the temple which marked levels of increasingly restricted access (Kruchten 1989, 245–51).

The movement to areas of greater sanctity is also a component of the narrative texts themselves. Initiation is a motif common to both the narratives of Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy and is also found in texts from Abydos (4.3.4), and the biography of Nefersekheru in which priestly motifs are employed within palace space (5.3.1). The transformation of self and role through initiation in these texts is perhaps comparable to the transformative experience of adversity and salvation narrated by Amenhotep. While the texts of Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy allow each priest access to the divine presence, Amenhotep's text restores him to the temple space itself. Initiation and transformation became the defining topos of the 'annals' of the Third Intermediate Period priests in Karnak (Kruchten 1989, 251). These texts were inscribed in square columns on the walls of a now lost building in the Middle Kingdom court. Thus a central Ramessid motif of marking personal transformation is formalized and standardized into an annalistic formula. These commemorative records signal privileged entry into the central and holiest part of the temple and probably stood along the transitional point of access to this space (Kruchten 1989, 247–8).

The topos that is common to all three high priests discussed in this chapter is that of building. They site their texts within, or near to, buildings they claim to have constructed and, particularly in the case of Bakenkhons and Amenhotep, they use the king's own self-presentation to complement and reinforce their own. Building work is not a central motif in the surviving narratives of other individuals who present a priestly role in the Ramessid period, although it is attested in biographies of priests from earlier periods (e.g. the block statue of Hapuseneb, high priest of Amun under Hatshepsut, found in Karnak;

Urk. IV, 471–7). Temple building work is a manifestation of service to god and king contrasting with the topos of ritual action in the text of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer (4.3.1). All three individuals narrate building works that facilitate the accessibility of temple space (Bakenkhons) or priestly activity (Roma-Roy, Amenhotep). The high priests of Amun distributed their narratives through these spaces, connecting their own personal histories with the histories and symbolic meanings of the temple space which was the central zone of their lives and activities. The piety, relationships, and events expressed in these objects, images, and texts, within a restricted temple environment, is a powerful assertion of status and privilege.

4 NARRATING ABYDOS: PERFORMANCE AND PARTICIPATION

4.1 Meanings of Abydos

The biographical narratives from Abydos do not share the unitary features of monumental and narrative form that can be traced for the texts of the high priesthood of Amun. At both sites, however, the monuments and texts were set up in the sacred spaces of deities, in temples or along processional routes, in locations that shaped both artifactual form and narrative. My discussion in this chapter centres on four monuments belonging to four different owners. All are datable to the generations after Amarna and elaborate aspects of priestly activity and role, as well as transition into divine space. While these themes and motifs are also central to the high priestly texts in Karnak, the Abydene texts use different narrative strategies and media.

The first text is the long narrative on the Leiden stela of the chief sculptor Userhat-hatiay (**4.a**). Although Userhat displayed no priestly titles, his narrative centres on his transition to divine presence and priestly role through access to and production of divine cult statues; these statues are enumerated in a geographically ordered list. The memorial chapel in which the stela was set up sited both the narrative and Userhat within the sacred ceremonial and processional space of Abydos.

The rest of the discussions treat texts that come more directly from the priestly sphere and focus on ritual performance. The high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, of the reign of Ramesses II, dedicated a statue narrating his role in the Osiris mysteries (**4.b**), the salient processional and ritual event at Abydos. A role in this event is also narrated or alluded to on other statues (**4.c**, **6.a**), including that of the priest of Osiris, Nebenmaat (**4.d**). Nebenmaat's and Wenennefer's statues are both distinctive in form, and their bodily treatments transform and extend the meanings of the narratives. Wenennefer's grandson, Wenennefer, high priest of Isis, owned a stela narrating aspects of the performance and ceremonial which accompanied his promotion (**4.e**). In these priestly narratives, the protagonist's relation to the god is central; the divine intervenes directly in an individual's life, within the sacred space of the temple precinct and within narrated ritual action.

The history of excavation at Abydos renders any study of the narratives' spatial contexts problematic. All the monuments presented in this chapter were found during early work at the site and the findspots of most are not known. Although locations and contexts can be suggested on the basis of narrative motifs and monumental form, a locality-centred study cannot be pursued with these texts as effectively as with those from Karnak. The diversity of the ancient landscape of Abydos also complicates modelling sites where the monuments may have been dedicated and set up. My discussion of the texts from Karnak can be framed by the archaeological context: the principal zones for non-royal self-presentation focused around the axial processional routes of the temple of Amun. The site of Abydos is more diverse, incorporating the state temple structures dedicated to Osiris, subsidiary temples for other deities, royal mortuary temples, the processional routes linking the Osiris temple to Umm el-Qaab, and the related routes to the temples of kings, as well as non-royal necropoleis and cenotaph zones associated with those routes. Ramessid royal and non-royal buildings and dedications throughout these areas attest to their continued salience for display and performance. For example, a Ramessid stela recording an oracle of Ahmose received by a wab-priest of Osiris, Paser, indicates that the temples of earlier kings and associated processional routes could remain active and potent (KRI III, 464, 2–465, 3). This stela also points to ways in which sacred space and ritual events at Abydos were transformed in the Ramessid period. The non-royal narration of oracles is considered a feature of Late New Kingdom discourse (Eyre 1999, 246–9 with refs.), and the dedication of a stela recording an oracular practice comparable to that associated with Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina may attest to broad changes in the cult associated with Ahmose and his temple complex (Harvey 1998, 121–2).

Royal building projects at Abydos in the early 19th Dynasty provided a setting for the non-royal self-presentations and speak to Ramessid approaches to and transformation of the ancient landscape. The best known project is the temple of Sety I which, in architecture and decorative programme, is one of the most unusual surviving temples. Its overall layout is aligned with features of the wider, sacred landscape, as with the desert pylon oriented toward Umm el-Qaab. The temple's cenotaph complex may evoke features of the temple complexes of earlier kings such as that of Senwosret III (Wegner

1996, esp. 388–94), as well as relating to Umm el-Qaab. The internal architecture of the temple is distinctive, with the generation of multiple axes through its seven sanctuaries, the Osiris complex, and the southern extension (Baines 1990a). The feature of the temple that speaks most directly to non-royal sources treated in this chapter is the inclusion of extensive reliefs and texts of the daily ritual of the divine cult in the chapels (Arnold 1962, 22–4, 67–8; David 1973). Sety I's temple is the earliest known to include such scenes, which expand the presentation of the king's cultic role, from an indistinctive position in making offerings to an active priestly function. This change may display a more pious, but arguably also more intimate, role for the king. Such an expansion of role is probably a component of non-royal self-presentation at Abydos, in which performance and ritual action are foregrounded.

4.2 The chapel of Userhat-hatiay

The oldest monument to be considered here is the biographical stela of the chief sculptor Userhat-hatiay (4.a; fig. 64), together with its associated lintel and jambs (figs. 65–6), all now in Leiden. These were probably dedicated at Abydos in the late 18th or early 19th Dynasties. Although the king is a central mediator in Userhat's narrative, he is not named and the precise dating of the monuments remains uncertain. Userhat has been identified as the owner of a small corpus of other objects, including a stela from around the Sphinx at Giza which shows Sety I adoring the Sphinx as Hauron-Harmakhis (KRI I, 78, 8–14). On the basis of this object and a votive shabti dedicated at the Serapeum during the Apis burial in year 16 or year 30 of Ramesses II (KRI II, 369, 6), Guksch (1983, 23) dates Userhat's career to the early 19th Dynasty, arguing that the biographical stela, lintel, and jambs are of similar date (followed by Kruchten 1992, 107, n. 3). Von Beckerath (1995, 38–9), by contrast, suggests that the Userhat of the later objects is not the same as the owner of the Leiden stela. This suggestion is convincing in light of the difference in quality between the Leiden objects and the rougher Giza stela (van Dijk 1995, 33–4), as well as the possible connection of the biographical inscription with events of the immediate post-Amarna period, identified by Jacobus van Dijk (1995). The correspondence in titles between the Leiden objects and the later shabti and stela may show that the two men were related.

Van Dijk (1995, 31–2, fig. 1) proposes that a figure shown in the ceremony of breaking red pots, depicted in the Saqqara tomb of the treasurer Maya from the reign of Tutankhamun, is the sculptor Userhat, on the basis of the titles in the caption: ‘overseer of works in the place of eternity, the chief annalist (*hry-smn-gnwt*), Userhat, true of voice’. A parallel title occurs on a statue base from Saqqara: ‘one perfect of character in establishing the annals (*smn-gnwt*) of the Lord of the Two Lands’ (KRI I, 362, 13). The inscription on this base includes an epithet borne by Userhat on one of the Leiden jambs: ‘one who enters before the lords of the Thinite nome’ (KRI I, 361, 11). On the basis of these correspondences, van Dijk (1995, 31–3) connects Userhat’s narrative on the Leiden stela, in which he lists cult statues of a number of deities, to the restoration of state temples and cults after the Amarna period. Userhat would be a subordinate of the treasurer Maya, who himself states his supervisory role in these restorations in an inscription in his tomb: ‘I am the mouth of the king in order to make splendid the temples, to fashion the cult images of the gods’ (van Dijk 1995, 33; and see 8.a, n. a). Harco Willems (1998, 240–3) takes this connection further and suggests that the Hatiay who owned house T 34, I at Amarna is the same as the owner of the Leiden stela, while the fact that the house had not been stripped of stone-work would point to Userhat’s role in overseeing the dismantling of the city. Such connections may be possible but the dating of Userhat’s chapel and stela cannot be narrowed down more closely than to the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty.

Although the Leiden stela, lintel, and jambs have no archaeological provenance, motifs associated with Osiris and Abydos dominate their iconography and indicate that all three almost certainly came from there, the lintel and jambs forming the doorway to a memorial chapel in which the stela was displayed (van Dijk 1995, 30, n. 10). The objects arrived in Europe as part of the same collection of d’Anastasy, whose catalogue gave the stela the number AP 12 (Boeser 1913, 1) and the lintel and jambs AP 14 a–c (Boeser 1911, 9). In his publication of the architectural elements, Boeser (1911, 9) noted that, according to the d’Anastasy catalogue, a stela of a Paamerut also came from the chapel. Probably datable to the 18th Dynasty (Boeser 1913, 5, pl. XI) the connection, if any, between Userhat and this object cannot be determined. Boeser published Userhat’s stela in a different volume from the lintel and jambs (1911, 1–2, pl. I; 1913, 9, pls. 33–6).

Apart from van Dijk's mention of the lintel and jambs (1995, 29–30), discussions of the stela tend not to refer to the associated objects (Kruchten 1992; Willems 1998), but its visual and architectural context, in particular the alignment with Middle Kingdom chapels, is significant.

The central register of the stela bears the narrative text in 21 lines, before a seated figure of Userhat, with a kinsman beneath his chair and a sub-register below with four more figures (fig. 64). The lower register continues the presentation of the family members in two rows. In the lunette, paired figures of Wepwawet lie above a pair of wedjat eyes, with the name and epithets of the god, in large hieroglyphs, arranged to fill the sloping area. This lunette composition is a visually condensed version of the one in the upper register of the lintel. On the lintel the paired images of Wepwawet frame six columns of offering formulae addressed to this god, which continue above each figure (fig. 66). The figures of Wepwawet wear collars and lie on shrines with the wedjat eye above them. The same group of incense burner, stand, and caption fills the sloping areas on both the lintel and the stela lunette. Since these combinations of motifs are known from Middle Kingdom stelae (e.g. Simpson 1974, pl. 19, CG 20101; pl. 73, Bologna KS 1933; pl. 76, BM EA 238), Userhat probably aligned himself explicitly with these ancient symbols of the necropolis.

The lower register of the lintel has an Abydos standard in the centre. A hymn in praise of Osiris, Wepwawet, and Thoth is inscribed on the left side of the lintel. Verses from a hymn addressed to Abydos or the lord of Abydos, known from four Ramessid monuments including Userhat's, are inscribed on the right. Adoring figures of Userhat frame both texts. The 'hymn to Abydos', in particular, mobilizes the myth of Osiris and associated ritual acts in spatial terms (Clère 1959; Lichtheim 1992, 68–70): 'Praise to the lord (of?) Abydos, as Isis rejoices in the going forth of her son Horus in justification, to overthrow the enemies on account of what he had planned' (KRI I, 357, 15–358, 2; Clère 1959, 92, 98–9, n. k).

The jambs are almost two metres high. Their faces are inscribed in four columns with hymns to Osiris and the deities associated with Abydos. The hymn on the right jamb requests afterlife offerings, while that on the left is concerned with judgement and

includes a declaration of innocence, whose emphasis on loyalty resonates with statements and general themes of the biography:

*j-ntrw jmy-3bdw
nbw-^cnh tp-t3
msddyw-grgw jsft
^cnhyw m-m3^ct*

O gods who are in Abydos,
lords of life on earth,
who hate falsehood and wrongdoing,
who live on Maat:

*jnk-m3^c jr hr-mw.tn
n-sm3-jb.j m-dw-qd
[n-šm.j] hr-w3t nt-sh3*

I am a righteous one, who is loyal to you;
my heart did not consort with the evil character,
[I did not walk upon] the path of hostility,

*n-sdd.j hn^c-q3-hrw
bwt.j-pw hnn-mdwt.f
n-hnn.j n-ddt.f-nb*

I did not have words with the loud-voiced,
for the tumult of his words was an abomination to me,
nor did I agree with any of his speech;

*jw.j-rh.kw bwt-ntr.j
jr.j hr-mw n-wd.f*

for I know what my god abhors,
and I am loyal to his command.

(KRI I, 361, 5–8; Lichtheim 1992, 70–1)

Each thickness bears a hymn to Re inscribed in three columns, accompanied by an image of Userhat kneeling in adoration.

Userhat's titles on the jambs allude to aspects of the biographical text. In the offering formula inscribed on the face of the left jamb, Userhat has the titles: 'keeper of secrets in the domain of Osiris, one who enters before the lord of Hermopolis' (KRI I, 361, 4). The geographical focus of these titles is an organizing principle in the narrative text, which begins with a hymn addressed to Osiris and Thoth. The list of statues of deities also begins with Osiris and Thoth (l. 11) and focuses on the cult centres of these gods.

The memorial chapel from which these monuments came was perhaps associated with the processional route to Umm el-Qaab. Userhat's kinsman, the chief sculptor Se, who is included among the family members on the stela (no. 6), had a cenotaph, of which the lintel and jambs were found by Mariette in his central necropolis at Abydos (1880, 455, no. 1208; Gaballa 1979b, 75–80; van Dijk 1995, 32–3, n. 19). The two could have been near each other.

Userhat's narrative centres on his initiation into the temple workshop and his fashioning of cult statues, which are incorporated into the text as a list of gods. The restoration or building of temples and cult structures is a motif on a number of stelae dedicated at Abydos in the Middle Kingdom, such as Amenyseneb, Mery, Shensetji, and Senti the younger (Lichtheim 1988, 84–97). The detailed narrative of the restoration of

the temple of Osiris and its cult objects and rituals on the stela of Ikhnofret is the best known of these (Sethe 1928, 70–1; Lichtheim 1988, 98–100). His account is presented as the fulfilment of a commission of Senwosret III, associating him with royal investment at Abydos (Wegner 1996, 121, 412–6). Through his role in overseeing restorations, Ikhnofret assumes a priestly role and leads the ritual procession of the Osiris mysteries (4.2.1). A similar assumption of a priestly role is presented by Userhat, who visually and architecturally aligns himself with traditional modes of self-presentation at Abydos. His text probably forms part of the renewal of royal and elite involvement at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty.

4.2.1 Zones of artistic creation and initiation

In his publication of Userhat's text, Jean-Marie Kruchten (1992) analyses its development of motifs of priestly action and performance in relation to artistic creation. My discussion is complementary to his, centring on the narration of royal and sacred spaces in the transition to a priestly role. The narrative of Userhat not only makes play with motifs and concepts that are central to the Abydene context, but also moves onto a larger stage to locate Abydos and Osiris within a wider geography of sacred space that is at once both unique and personal.

I divide the narrative on Userhat's stela into five main sections. The text begins with a hymn to Osiris and Thoth, focusing on the latter (4.a, ll. 1–3). Userhat elaborates Thoth's roles and functions in the solar barque and in the judgement of Horus and Seth. Thoth also has a central place in the list of gods and is evoked at the end of the narrative through Userhat's role in the royal barque (ll. 17–18).

The biographical narrative proper begins by speaking to 'nobles, great and small, all the elite, all people, all sunfolk', setting out Userhat's life in a didactic composition to be passed down 'from generation to generation, the elders teaching the young' (l. 4). As Kruchten notes (1992, 113), the framing motif of an instructional text has a parallel in the mid 18th Dynasty biography of the high priest of Amun, Amenemhat (*Urk.* IV, 1408, 17–1409, 1). It also recalls the introduction to the biography of the high steward Nefsekheru at Zawyet el-Sultan, probably of the reign of Sety I (7.a, cols. 3–6), and the closing verses of the stela of the viceroy Setau (1.a, ll. 23–4).

The narration of Userhat's life begins by siting him in his town and among his family, as a person of low status. Royal recognition moves him into increasingly restricted and privileged spaces. This section culminates with Userhat's initiation into the Mansion of Gold in order to fashion cult statues. A line break in the text marks the beginning of a topographically ordered list of gods. These names represent the cult statues Userhat was commissioned to produce; this list may operate in multiple ways in the narrative (4.2.2). There follows a presentation of Userhat's priestly and ritual role in connection with the gods and the king, laid out as a series of epithets to form 'une sorte d'autoportrait, brossé à coup d'épithètes, destinées, chacune, à illustrer par un exemple pratique, la qualité de personnage *sacré* de Hatiay' (Kruchten 1992, 114). This section brings Userhat again into the intimate presence of the king and ends with a statement of royal reward. The final section of the narrative, also signalled by a line break, begins with an oath in the name of Ptah asserting the veracity of what Userhat says. Concluding affirmations of right action lead to the end of life and transition to the next world.

In the course of the narrative the theme of movement through named, increasingly restricted royal and divine space brings Userhat into an unmediated relationship with the divine sphere. This presentation begins with Userhat moving from his local area into royal space:

The lord of the two lands knew me,
and I was greatly esteemed in his heart
when I saw the king in his aspect
of Re (and) in the seclusion of his palace (*ḏsrw-ḥ.f*)
so that he exalted me above the courtiers and I mixed with the great ones of the palace.

My lord was pleased with my solutions, ignoring those greater than me.
Hidden things of the heart were told to me
while I was in the place of silence (*st-sgr*).

(4.a, ll. 6–8)

The sanctity of royal space is evoked through the naming and associations of the *ḏsrw-ḥ* and the *st-sgr*. In 18th Dynasty biographical inscriptions, individuals can have an audience with the king and receive promotion in the *ḏsrw-ḥ*. The biographical text of the high steward Amenhotep narrates his appointment to office under Amenhotep III in the *ḏsrw-ḥ* using phraseology comparable to Userhat's: 'I entered the palace (*ḥ*), while He was in seclusion (*ḏsrw*), to see Horus in this house of his' (*Urk.* IV, 1794, 13–4; cf.

Guksch 1994, 125 (012)05–7; Sandman 1938, 56, 15). The *st-sgr* has comparable associations with the sanctity of royal presence in the biography of the herald Intef, of the reign of Thutmose III: ‘He places gifts (3w) in the [palace], when awe is [created] in the presence of the great throne, when noise is silenced (*sgr-hrw*), when *dsrw* is created, when a foot is protected in the place of silence (*hw-rd m-st-sgr*)’ (*Urk.* IV, 967, 10–4; Hoffmeier 1985, 183; compare ‘one who conceals thoughts in the place of silence’: Davies 1932, pl. 39, l. 7). In the 18th Dynasty, ‘*h*’ designates an area of royal display and activity at Karnak (Gitton 1974); these texts may draw on this association. The epithet ‘one who saw the seclusion of the palace’ occurs in both royal and temple contexts in biographical texts of the Third Intermediate Period (Jansen-Winkel 1985, e.g. I, A1, 434, b l. 3; A6, 471, e l. 3; A7, 482, cf. ll. 2–3).

At Abydos, the extension of the meaning of ‘*h*’ from palace to temple is mobilized by the reference to the temple of Osiris as an ‘*h*’ at the end of Ikhnofret’s biography (Sethe 1928, 71, l. 21) and there is a comparable use of ‘*h*’ in the Ramessid ‘hymn to Abydos’: ‘Praise to Abydos in the sailing of the neshmet barque, when the lord of Abydos rests in his palace (‘*h*’)’ (Clère 1959, 93, 101 n. q; KRI I, 358, 14). This fusion of palace and temple space is a central theme in Userhat’s text and can be compared with the biography of Nefersekheru (7.a), in which motifs of priestly action and initiation describe promotions within the palace (5.3.1). Nefersekheru’s narrative remains bound to palace space and royal presence, whereas Userhat’s experience of the king ‘in his aspect of Re’ in the palace parallels his experience of the gods in the stanzas that follow:

He appointed me director of works when I was a humble man
for he found me estimable in his heart.

I was initiated into the Mansion of Gold,
in order to fashion the images of all the gods,
none of them being hidden from me.

I was a keeper of secrets, who sees Re in his transformations,
and Atum in his manifestations.

(4.a, ll. 8–10)

The Mansion of Gold is generally understood as a place where temple items were crafted and consecrated prior to presentation to the gods so that both craftsmen and priests were active there (Kruchten 1992, 116–7). The connection between the manufacture of objects,

including cult images and statues, and their ritual animation and vivification is made explicit in a scene from a building in Karnak designated by Claude Traunecker as a *hwt-nbw*. A caption to a depiction of Thutmose III opening the mouth of a sacred image on a barque's prow reads: 'Creating and opening the mouth of Amun, lord of the thrones [of the two lands] (*ms wpt-r3-jmn nb-nswt-[t3wy]*)' (Traunecker 1989, fig. 5; also Fischer-Elfert 1998). Abydos texts that narrate performance of the Osiris mysteries designate the *hwt-nbw* as the site of ritual transfiguration of the emblem or cult statue of Osiris (Anthes 1974, 33–5; Frood 2003, 67 n. e); this local association is no doubt evoked in Userhat's text.

Irene Shirun-Grumach (1993, xxi–xxiii) proposes three key ways in which images of gods could be revealed to and created by humans – direct revelation, consultation of ancient texts, or through the king – drawing on Userhat's text for the last of these. The king, whom she considers to be the only human capable of gaining access to the divine realm, mediates Userhat's initiation into the exclusive domain of the *hwt-nbw*. There he has direct experience of the gods. Userhat is brought to the borders of human and divine worlds (Kruchten 1992, 117) and functions as both artist and priest, as the list of gods which follows makes clear. In this respect his text can be compared to the biographies of the high priests of Amun in Karnak, where initiation enables the priests to see the manifestations of deities (3.4).

The meeting with the king is linked with Userhat's access to restricted knowledge, 'hidden things of the heart', and it is this knowledge that is displayed in the list of gods. The meanings evoked by the list of gods (see 4.2.2) are salient in this context of artistic and ritual creation. The names of the gods function both as statues created in the *hwt-nbw* and as divine manifestations brought to life there. Through the list and the knowledge and role it implies Userhat characterizes himself as ritual actor and processional leader in the following verses:

I was one who caused them to rest in their shrines perpetually,
and I carried them as leader of the royal festival,
being the one charged with sailing the king in his barque;
I am at its prow, one who trod on the place of electrum,
in order to report on the state of the two lands.

(4.a, ll. 16–8)

Thus Userhat is the link between the inner, secluded world of the temple sanctuaries and wider, more open zones of display and performance. Participation in festivals is a theme, for example, in the biography of the soldier Amenemhab, in which he claims to have rowed in the Opet festival in the barque of Amun under Thutmose III and the royal barque under Amenhotep II (*Urk.* IV, 895, 9–13; 897, 1–6). These roles link military exploits with cult action and occur as the culminating events in the protagonist's narrative (Baines in press). The connection with cult barques alluded to in Amenemhab's biography is explicit in Userhat's text. His position at the prow may refer to his role in the opening of the mouth ritual that took place there (Kruchten 1992, 118). This metaphor is further extended through a reference to oracular action. Kruchten (1992, 114–5) compares the statement that Userhat stood in 'the place of electrum in order to report on the state of the Two Lands' with a passage in the 21st Dynasty oracular stela of Djehutymose from Karnak. In that text, the protagonist consults the cult statue of Amun on the 'ground of silver of the domain of Amun (*p3-t3 n-hd n-pr-jmn*) ... in order to consult on matters of this land (*ndnd-hrw-t3-pn*)' (Kruchten 1986, 60–3, 66, 325–6). Kruchten (1986, 62) suggests that this 'ground of silver' may refer to a stand on which the barque was set. The performance of oracles by deities could be a symbolically inclusive and 'public' event enacted during festivals, which mediated between the temple and the outside world (Baines in press). Here too Userhat takes the role as mediator between these domains, a role that returns him to the intimate presence of the king.

Themes of seclusion and integration, central to ceremonial performance (Baines in press), play out in multiple ways in Userhat's text. When he steps 'outside' after being in the royal presence, he is acclaimed by the Two Lands (ll. 7–8; cf. *Urk.* IV, 895, 13; Baines in preparation), and this distinction is heightened in the verses concerning the royal festival which follow the list. Userhat enables cult performance through the creation of statues and through his pivotal role in the functioning of these statues in the outside world.

The final verses of the text return to metaphors of ceremonial performance and the sailing of cult barques, but in the context of Userhat's own transfiguration at death: 'this servant is one who bears (*hry*) his lord, until the completion of (his) lifetime, until the receipt of the prow-rope of his mooring, passing into veneration' (l. 21). Motifs of

procession and performance developed by movement through royal and temple space are also mobilized by the list of deities and the chapel in which the stela was dedicated.

4.2.2 Sacred geographies and 'sacred self'

The list of deities is the central transformative element of a text that is otherwise grounded in more traditional biographical themes and phraseology. On a concrete level the list enumerates the statues of gods Userhat was commissioned to produce for temples in Middle and Upper Egypt, including the major temples of Osiris in Abydos and Thoth in Hermopolis, alongside deities of minor local cults. For van Dijk (1995, 33) and Willems (1998) the list relates specifically to the religious and political climate of the late 18th Dynasty. The list has multiple functions and associations within its historical, architectural, and personal settings.

The list begins with the two deities who are central to the cenotaph and the stela: 'There is Osiris, lord of Abydos, foremost of the holy land, and there is Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, who is in Khertihenu' (l. 11). This couplet parallels the couplet that begins the opening hymn. The following eight deities in the list are associated with Thoth either as his manifestations (Shepses; Gardiner 1947, II, 47*, no. 358), his consorts (Nehemawy: Zivie 1982, 390–2; Sakhmet: Roeder 1959, 178), or gods associated with Hermopolis and its necropolis (Wenet: Gardiner 1947, II, 81*, no. 377a; Graefe 1986, 859–60; Horus of Hesret: Helck 1977b, 1171). The inclusion of Min 'who flaunts his potency (*'b m-nfrw.f*)' in this part of the list may suggest that he had a cult at Hermopolis (Willems 1998, 240, n. 25), although his inclusion could refer to Akhmim or other cults of his further south that intersected with those of Thoth. In later sources the epithet is particularly associated with Min at el-Hiba and Coptos (Leitz 2002, II, 82).

From this point the list can be divided into three groups of five deities, each corresponding to a different geographical area. These groups seem to be internally organized in a linear fashion. The first centres on areas in and near Hermopolis, beginning with Khnum and his consort Hathor, of Herwer, slightly to the north (Gomaà 1977). The list then moves back to Hermopolis with the only known attestation of 'Amun who resides in Wenu', the most ancient name for Hermopolis (Leitz 2002, V, 323). Hathor of Cusae, a city c. 40 kilometres south of Hermopolis, bears the unparalleled

epithet ‘daughter of Pre-who-protects-the-effective-One’; *jqṛ* is a characteristic epithet of Thoth and this designation of Hathor may evoke him (Leitz 2002, I, 564; contra van Dijk 1995, 30, n. 15). The list then leaps southwards to areas near Esna (the ennead of *ḡnw*: Helck 1977a, 387; Haroeris of Hut-Sneferu: Gardiner 1947, II, 14–15*, no. 325; Hemen of Hefat: Stadelmann 1977, 1117) and Tod (Montu in Tod; Anubis of *t3-hd*, near Gebelein: Gardiner 1947, II, 20*, nos. 327–9).

The final group returns slightly north of Hermopolis, with Horus of Hebenu, capital of the 16th upper Egyptian nome, and Pakhet of Set, whose cult was centred at Speos Artemidos (Gardiner 1947, 90*, no. 381A; Graefe 1982, 640–1). The epithet of Thoth ‘bull of *r3-jnt*’, a place south of Tehna el-Gebel, is known only from this text (Leitz 2002, VII, 265; Kessler 1995, 234). The reference to Nemty may evoke the 18th Upper Egyptian nome (Gardiner 1947, II, 97*, no. 384B), while Saka is in the 17th (Kaplony 1975, 633). The epithet of Amun as ‘bull, lord of Saka’ is only known from this text (Leitz 2002, VI, 425).

The last couplet moves closer to Abydos. Qus, c. 80 km upstream from Abydos, may be the closest locality in the list to Abydos. The list ends with the two *h3ry* goddesses, equated with Isis and Nephthys in their role as mourning women (*Wb.* II, 498, 9; Gardiner 1947, I, 53, n. 6), evoking the Osiris myth and perhaps Abydos. Thus, Abydos and Osiris frame the list and form the central point for the area spanned by the northern and southern groups. The list revolves around Abydos. With the inclusion of otherwise unattested local manifestations of Amun, it has a focus away from Thebes, comparable to the Memphite lists in the southern extension of the temple of Sety I (Baines 1988).

Van Dijk (1995, 33) considers the geographical spread of Userhat’s statues to have a political function, referring to the restoration of temples in Middle Egypt that would have suffered most during the Amarna period. For Willems (1998) too, the list reflects the particular phase of historical and religious change when the text was composed. His study centres on the occurrences of *pw*, which he reads as a marker of identity. In this understanding each of the deities listed becomes a form of the sun god whom Userhat, through his initiation, would have seen as ‘Re in his transformations and Atum in his manifestations’ (l. 10). Willems (1998, 239) compares this presentation with the hymn to Amun of P Leiden I 350, in which all gods are manifestations of Amun-Re, suggesting

that it reflects ‘an intermediate stage between the religion of Amarna and that of the Ramesside era’. This is a persuasive reading and may reflect one level at which the list operates, although it is difficult to resolve and perhaps says more about Egyptological preoccupations than being a central meaning. He also proposes that the emphasis on Thoth relates to Userhat’s likely origins in the area of Amarna or Hermopolis.

Willems (1998, 236–7) bases his argument on the idea that the demonstrative *pw* would not be expected in a text largely composed in late Middle Egyptian. Although *pw* is used once as the nominal clause: ‘I was a humble man (*jnk pw hwrw*; l. 5)’, I consider that the language of the text may be more flexible. *pw* may operate as a demonstrative in the list, lending variety as well as emphasis to the formulations, and in this is perhaps comparable to its vocative use in harper’s songs (Osing 1992b, 70, n. w); I do not render it specifically in my translation. Its occurrence may also relate to possible archaizing associations of the list as well as its artful composition, visible in distinctive epithets such as ‘Min who flaunts his potency’.

The list may have been taken from or allude to an onomasticon source, as Gardiner’s (1947, I, 51–3) analysis of the toponyms suggests. Lists were a central mechanism in the display of knowledge (Baines 1990b, 7–8; Hare 1999, 156–9), and Userhat’s list can be compared with the inscription of topographically ordered lists of deities in temples, including that of Sety I at Abydos (Baines 1988). The lists in the Abydos temple were collected and collated from arcane ancient sources (Baines 1988, 127–30). Through his list, Userhat may have displayed a similar access to restricted knowledge, to which he lays claim in the narrative. The tabulated list of gods in the offering formula of the Middle Kingdom stela of Wepwawetaa, also from Abydos, may make play with similar associations (Munich Glyptothek 27; Spiegel 1973, frontispiece). While Wepwawetaa’s stela is concerned with deities of Abydos, Userhat’s list connects him with various areas of Egypt and with domains of knowledge and perhaps ancient, classical traditions.

Userhat’s role in making statues brings the list together with temple lists and sets it apart from other self-presentations of craftsmen which use the same principle to detail their service to temples. A comparable incorporation of lesser-known cults and geographical distribution is found in an 18th Dynasty stela which enumerates fourteen barques made for different gods by the chief craftsman Iuna (*Urk.* IV, 1630–2, 7;

Glanville 1932, 39–41, pl. 2; Edwards 1939, 38–40, pl. 33). This list includes the neshmet barque of Osiris (depicted in the upper register) and the barque Userhatamun, as well as lesser known barques such as those of Khnum of Herwer and Sepa and Iusaas of Heliopolis. Glanville (1932, 41) suggested that the inclusion of these latter two deities throws emphasis on Heliopolis, for religious reasons, in light of the solar associations of barques, and personal, if Iuna was from Heliopolis, the latter of which seems more plausible. The visual and textual lists of barques and temple doorways in the later Theban tomb of the chief of carpenters and goldworkers, Nakhtdjehuty (2.p; 2.2.2) include Abydos and Esna as well as Thebes and may have been ordered geographically, but they are too destroyed for any pattern to be discernable. The geographical distribution of cults in these lists in itself conveys prestige (Baines 2004b (in press)). In these texts, like Userhat's, the objects the protagonists made are integral to the individual's self-presentation and in Iuna's case the barques are components of an elaborate series of titles.

Userhat draws on the potential of this strategy of self-presentation, and his listing of cult statues is particularly salient. Cult statues were the most central and most restricted elements in cult practice, whereas barques and temple doorways mobilized symbolic and practical links to the outside world. Divine statues form the core of some biographical texts, such as the Middle Kingdom ones of Ikhnofret (Sethe 1928, 70–1) and Horemkhauf (Hayes 1947) and the 18th Dynasty texts of Weser (*Urk.* IV, 1031), Nebwawy (Frood 2003), and Nefer (Gaballa 1970). Except for that of Horemkhauf, these texts are centred on ritual preparation and ceremonial. The only comparable presentation of statues is an Abydos stela of Thutmose I, which lists statues of the Ennead of Abydos which he commissioned through his chief treasurer. The verses following the list mobilize the restricted status of statues: 'their forms were secret and sacred, the standards thereof of electrum, more effective than those which preceded them, being holier than what exists in the sky, being hidden more than the nature of the underworld' (*Urk.* IV, 99, 12–6). Thus, statues foreground distinctions between zones of sacred and profane space. Whereas the objects themselves are mediators in the texts of Iuny and Nakhtdjehuty, Userhat's list makes him the mediator, emphasizing his ability to be a conduit and to move between these domains.

The gods and places listed map out a sacred geography that is personal and focused, located at the key moment of individual transformation when he is appointed to the *hwt-nbw* and framed on either side by statements relating to access to the divine sphere and ritual action. In its mobilization of motifs of artistic production, secrecy, and access, Userhat's text can be compared with the stela of the draughtsman Irtisen, dedicated at Abydos in the 11th Dynasty, almost 700 years before Userhat's text (Barta 1970). Baines notes that in Irtisen's stela the 'overt connections made in this text between hieroglyphs, secrecy, magic, and competitive prestige relate Irtisen's achievements and his art to the field of religion' (1990b, 8). Sabine Kubisch (2003, 277–9) proposes that similar links between craftsmanship and ritual action may be alluded to on the late Middle Kingdom Abydene stela of Djau, who, she suggests, was in charge of fashioning the crowns of cult statues. She restores the stela (2003, 271–6, fig. 2) as including a hymn that mobilized the protagonist's role in the Osiris mysteries (for which see 4.3.1). The process of artistic creation developed in Userhat's narrative brings him into an unmediated interaction with the divine sphere as he moves through cultic space, connecting his act of creation with his personal transformation.

4.3 The family of Wenennefer at Abydos

The high priest of Osiris Wenennefer inherited his office from his father Mery probably during the second decade of the reign of Ramesses II. Two inscriptions show that he was still in office in the fourth decade of the reign. A stela of his, narrating an oracle or ceremonial event, is dated to year 42 (4.g; KRI III, 453, 10), while fragments of a text that seem to record statue endowments in years 21–47 of Ramesses II were said to have been found by Petrie in Wenennefer's tomb at Abydos, although his name does not occur on them (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 85, 95, pl. 34). Five columns of this inscription give year and month dates followed by the figure of a statue, while four other columns record areas of land and measures of wine and milk. Wenennefer's family had dominated the priesthood at Abydos since at least the beginning of the 19th Dynasty (Gaballa and Kitchen 1968, 263–9; Gaballa 1979a, 46; Bryan 1986, 22–3) and his descendants continued to hold high priestly offices there until at least the end of the 19th Dynasty. Wenennefer was succeeded first by his son Hori and then his son Yuyu within

the reign of Ramesses II (KRI III, 462, 6–463, 4). His grandson, also named Wenennefer, was high priest of Isis in the late 19th Dynasty (see 4.2.4).

Wenennefer laid claim to familial and collegial connections with influential members of the priesthoods and upper echelons of the court of Ramesses II, including the vizier, Prehotep (Raue 1998, 347–9; Pirelli 1998, 876–7), who also dedicated a statue at Abydos (4.h, cf. 8.d). Prehotep is mentioned on a number of Wenennefer's monuments (Raue 1998, 342–3), among which is the base of the statue discussed below (4.b).

Wenennefer's kinsman Minmose, high priest of Onuris at Thinis, is also mentioned on this statue base. A number of fragments of relief bearing names and images of Wenennefer and Minmose were found in a structure in Petrie's cemetery G, that was probably a memorial- or tomb-chapel belonging to Minmose (PM V, 74–5; Effland and Effland 2004, 7–9). It is likely that Wenennefer had a separate tomb, perhaps in the same area. His tomb is referred to in early excavation reports (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 85; Petrie 1902, 46) and is said to have been the location of the statue inscription mentioned above (PM V, 76).

Alongside his tomb, Wenennefer dedicated statues and stelae throughout Abydos, many of which were excavated by Petrie. The recorded findspots of a number of these monuments make it possible to map some key areas of sacred space in Ramessid Abydos. Four statues were found in the area of the main temple of Osiris (PM V, 43), including a double statue of himself and his wife in the form of shabti figures (Petrie 1902, 9–10, pl. 65). A fragment of inscription bearing a prayer to Osiris on behalf of Ramesses II, found against the north wall of the temple of Thutmose III, may have been set up along the temple causeway (Petrie 1903, 36; PM V, 43; KRI III, 456, 8–16). Petrie found fragments of a shrine with ebony inlay between the walls of the Shunet el-Zebib, 'on the southern side of the fort, between the panelled wall and the fender' (Petrie 1925, 11–2, pls. 30, 31), although the scattered nature of the find may indicate a secondary deposition.

Wenennefer dedicated a stela found by Mariette (1869, II, 36–7, pl. 41) in 'le petit temple de l'ouest' (4.g), which I term 'Mariette's small temple'. A statuette of Wenennefer was found at Umm el-Qaab by Amélineau (1904, 128–30, no. 6; KRI III, 460, 14–6). Petrie (1902, 46) also mentioned a shrine of his found near the temple of Sety I, but this is probably the shrine dedicated by his grandson, the high priest of Isis, Wenennefer (4.2.3).

Wennefer's only known extended narrative text is inscribed on the back pillar of his standing column statue, now in the Louvre (4.b; fig. 67). The statue's exceptional form is, I argue, closely related to the content of the inscriptions (4.2.3). Mariette (1869, II, 36) suggested that this statue and that of Wennefer's son Yuyu (Louvre A67; KRI III, 462, 6–463, 4; fig. 68) came from his small temple which he located 300 metres local south-west of the Shunet el-Zebib (map: fig. 63, contra Kemp 1975, 37). Mariette's suggestion was based on the reports of local people, who claimed that agents of European consuls had taken significant amounts of material from the temple area during the preceding forty years. By his time the temple was razed to the ground, although he found some Ramessid and later objects there, including Wennefer's stela (4.g).

The form of the statue suggests that it was integrated with temple architecture (Clère 1985, 155; 4.3.2). It is a pillar, almost two metres high, with the body of the priest emerging from it. As Schäfer suggested (1986, 325 n. 37), the dominance of the block structure may evoke the early development of the block statue form. Wennefer stands on a small rectangular base, wearing a kilt and panther skin and holding the Abydos standard by his side. His head and feet remain encased in the statue block. On the right side of the block surrounding his head is inscribed the cartouche of Ramesses II and on the left is a figure of the king with his hand raised toward the plumes of the Abydos standard. Down the front and side of Wennefer's body are inscribed his and his father's name and titles in hieroglyphs whose large scale resembles that of temple wall inscriptions. Similar texts run around the front and sides of the base. An inscription in four columns down the back pillar presents his role in the Osiris mysteries.

Stylistically the Louvre statue is comparable to others owned by Wennefer and members of his family. The schematic, block-like treatment of the body and its extensive inscription is a feature of the seated double statue of Wennefer and his father Mery (Cairo CG 35257). Some of the texts on this statue make play with sign arrangement to mobilize connections with Osiris (van Essche 1997, 70, fig. 5; compare the cryptographic writings associated with Minmose at Abydos: Effland and Effland 2004, 11–5). The inscribing of the body is also seen on the kneeling naophorous statue of Yuyu, Wennefer's son and eventual successor, which has lines of text running down the thighs and calves as well as images of Thoth as a baboon carved on the head (Louvre A

67: fig. 68). This treatment of the head is distinctive and perhaps comparable with the figure of the king engraved on the block surrounding Wenennefer's head. Such features may point to an interest in extending the potential of three-dimensional representation, perhaps in a single workshop at Abydos; the much discussed family monument of Wenennefer's kinsman, Ameneminet, with its rows of effigy-form figures, also attests to this, although its provenance is uncertain (Trapani 1998; 1996).

Wenennefer's Louvre statue is exceptional even within this perhaps experimental context of production. Its faux-primitive style closely resembles another over-life-size statue of Wenennefer, also unprovenanced (Athens National Museum, Eg 106: Loukianoff 1956 (1937); KRI III, 451, 1–452, 3; fig. 69). Only the upper half of this statue survives; it too presents the figure of Wenennefer emerging frontally from a pillar of stone. On either side of the body is a staff with the head of a deity, Osiris on the statue's left and Hathor on the right. Wenennefer holds a Hathor-headed sistrum before himself with both hands, in an unparalleled conflation of the sistrophorous and the standard-bearing type (Clère 1985, 155). The staffs of the sistrum and the standards are inscribed with the names and epithets of their respective deities. The entire body of the statue is covered in columns of inscription. The inscriptions down the side of the block encasing the body give Wenennefer's name and title as high priest of Osiris and those of family members and colleagues. These inscriptions are equivalent in scale to those on the sides and kilt of the Louvre statue. Three columns on the back surface give names and filiations; a narrative may have completed the columns, as on the Louvre statue.

On the basis of the parallel forms of these statues, Grégoire Loukianoff concluded (1956 (1937), 768) that both of them, as well as a component of a pillar statue belonging to Wenennefer, now in Cairo (Clère 1985; 4.2.2), came from Mariette's small temple, which he interpreted as the cult temple of Wenennefer, the exterior of which would have incorporated all three monuments. J. J. Clère (1985, 163) disagreed with this conclusion on the basis of erasures suffered by the faces of the male figures of the Cairo statue. Neither the Louvre nor the Athens statue has suffered erasure, which indicates that they were not in visible association with the Cairo statue when the damage was inflicted. The function of Mariette's small temple remains unknown, although its location and the objects found in it (PM V, 71–2) point to a royal foundation. A reassessment of stelae

recovered from its immediate area suggests that it may have been a birth house (Sheikholeslami 2003, 1116–7; 4.3.3). The provenance of the Louvre statue, and its Athens counterpart therefore remains open, but their forms are appropriate to a temple context. The narrative of Wenennefer’s role in the Osiris mysteries on the back pillar of the Louvre statue associates it symbolically with the processional route to Umm el-Qaab.

4.3.1 Performance and the Osiris mysteries

The Osiris mysteries were the key ritual event in the calendar at Abydos and had been a component of royal and non-royal self-presentation at least since the Middle Kingdom (Schäfer 1904; Anthes 1974; Lavier 1989; Kubisch 2003, 278–9). The narrative of Ikhnofret’s role in this ceremony focuses on the restoration of cult objects and on ensuring the correct functioning of the temple and also provides the most detailed account of the procession itself (Sethe 1928, 70–I; Lichtheim 1988, 98–100).

Phraseology used in his text also occurs on the earlier stela of Montuhotep (temp. Senwosret I) and the late 12th Dynasty stela of Sehetepibre, where epithets connected with the procession again form part of wider narrative and instructional contexts:

jw-jr.n.j-s3-mr.f m-sšm
n-ḥwt-nbw
m-sšt3 n-nb-3bdw
jw-ḥrp.n.j-k3t m-nšmt
ms.n.j-jnw.s

I acted as His-Beloved-Son in the ritual of
the Mansion of Gold,
in the mysteries of the lord of Abydos.
I directed work on the neshmet barque
and I bore its cordage ...

ḥb3-ḥwy m-shkr-ntr
sm wḥb-dḥw

I was one who presented hands in adorning the god,
a sem-priest, pure of fingers.

(Lange and Schäfer 1908, II, 148, 3–7, cf. 155, 7–10; Sethe 1928, 71, II. 3–11)

Such parallels indicate that a standard phraseology described involvement in the mysteries (Simpson 2001, 17). The same epithets occur in the only known 18th Dynasty narration of a role in the event, the stela of the high priest of Osiris, Nebwawy (temp. Thutmose III). In this text, the priest’s role in the mysteries frame a subjectivizing narrative of a priestly life (Frood 2003).

Ramessid texts continue the transmission of stock phraseology concerning the mysteries. Allusions to the event are incorporated within funerary expressions of the individual’s desire to ‘see the sole lord upon the great throne, on his occasion of the great procession, and receive the wreath (*mḥw*) in the district of Poqer, as the cast-off (?: *sf*) of

the great god' (Berlin 2298, KRI III, 38, 10; compare the Leiden stela of Djehutyemheb, KRI III, 492, 5–9). Verses of the 'hymn to Abydos' (see 4.2), evoke details of the processional route and the accompanying festivities, while others present elements of the myth of the birth of Horus and his triumphant accession (Clère 1959; Anthes 1974, 43–5; Lichtheim 1992, 68–70)

Ramessid biographies similarly interweave traditional phraseology in narrating a role in the ceremony. Unlike their forerunners, these Ramessid texts centre on ritual performance and do not use a wider narrative frame. The inscription on the back pillar of the Louvre statue of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, presents discrete stages of the mysteries, emphasizing his role in transfiguring the god through ritual objects. In this it is close in theme and structure to the texts inscribed on the back pillar of a naophorous statue of a royal table scribe Kha, probably from Abydos (4.c; fig. 71). Kha also owned a lintel bearing verses from the hymn to Abydos (Clère 1959, 90–1; KRI I, 357, 5–359, 10). The role in the mysteries extends beyond Abydos itself; phrases parallel to some on Kha's statue occur on the back pillar of a statue belonging to an overseer of the granaries, Siese the elder, which is said to come from his tomb at Asyut (6.a; figs. 85–6). This statue depicts the deities Isis-Hathor and Wepwawet but not the human protagonist. If this statue did come from his tomb, the visual association of the deities with the individual would have been provided by the context. The phrases are incorporated into funerary wishes, and the inclusion of first person phraseology of ritual performance on a statue of deities is striking. In all these cases the statue form foregrounds visually the protagonist's relationship with the divine sphere, which is the central theme of the texts.

Marie-Christine Lavier (1989, 289) includes a stela belonging to the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, found by Mariette in his small temple, among her list of New Kingdom texts which refer to the mysteries:

šms.j-ntr r-nmtt.f
m-hrw.f-pw hr-rsy
dj.j-nhm m-r3 n-t3-wr
hrw.f-pw n-wd^c-mdt

I followed the god on his journeys
on this his day of Horus on the south side
spreading rejoicing at the entrance to Tawer,
(for) it is his day of judging matters.

(4.h; KRI III, 454, 4–5)

The verse describing ‘rejoicing’ recalls Middle Kingdom narrations of the mysteries and the ‘judging’ of matters may refer to Horus’ vindication. It is also possible that this stela relates an oracle of Horus, perhaps not directly associated with the mysteries.

Of these narratives, Wenennefer’s inscription on his Louvre statue is the most detailed and personal, linking the transformation of Osiris implicitly with his own and emphasizing this further through the statue’s form. Each column of text on the back pillar is a separate stanza narrating the performance of a different aspect of his role in the mysteries. Three of the stanzas are framed by Wenennefer’s title and name at the beginning and a statement of a kin relationship at the end, patterning different aspects of his identity. The writings of *ddf* which introduce each biographical section are visually aligned to display a series of speeches, as, for example, in the hymn to Abydos on the stela of Horemwia (Clère 1959, pl. 5) and the Poetical stela of Thutmose III (Lacau 1909, pl. VII; Eyre 1996, 419–20). In the first column, Wenennefer greets the god with an address that mobilizes the performative context:

Welcome, welcome, O victorious king
who cleaves the sky with his plumes,

you are welcome, being peaceful,
coming in peace,
your coming being for the span of eternity.

The evocation of Osiris as plumed is rare before the Graeco-Roman period (4.b, n. a) and is connected here with the plumed pole which was one of the god’s cult forms and which the statue holds in the form of a standard.

The second and third columns make statements of Wenennefer’s priestly position and then describe actions performed for the god at different points of the ritual. In the third column, the generalized epithets concerning the preparatory adornment of the god and the enactment of the perilous journey to Umm el-Qaab are close in content and structure to the Middle Kingdom and 18th Dynasty examples:

I am a great priest for the one who is in Abydos,
the *wb3*-servant of Wenennefer,
firm of fingers in binding the diadem, who adorns the god,

who ferries the god to Ro-Poqer,
who overthrows the one who rebels against the neshmet barque.

Tom Hare (1999, 37) considers that the focus on the preparation of Osiris in Ikhernofret's text 'grants the reader specificity in mainly peripheral matters, the description of the material used for ritual objects, and so on'. Ikhernofret's descriptions concentrate on the neshmet barque, the shrine, and the adornment of the god:

<i>jw-hrp.n.j-k3t m-nšmt jw-ms.n.j-snty</i>	I directed work on the neshmet barque, I fashioned the cabin.
<i>jw-shkr.n.j-nšbt-nb-3bdw m-hšbd</i>	I adorned the breast of the lord of Abydos in lapis-lazuli,
<i>hn^c- mfk3t d^cm</i>	with turquoise, electrum,
<i>3wt-nbt m-hkrw nw-h^cw-ntr</i>	and all precious stones as ornaments of the god's flesh.

(Sethe 1928, 71, ll. 7–10)

Rather than being peripheral, cult structures and ritual objects are central mechanisms in divine transfiguration and are a means of foregrounding human involvement in this process. They are also perhaps a way for a non-royal person to talk explicitly about the god's body and its transfiguration. Motifs of preparation and adornment are still more salient in the Ramessid texts. On Kha's statue, ritual objects and places where ritual action was performed are enumerated in great detail:

I am a greatly favoured one in Abydos,
great wab priest of the Tjenenet shrine,
who established the *d^cm*-sceptre of the great one.

I gave the nemes to the Hidden-of-Name.
I caused the twin plumes to appear on the Abydos fetish,
in the depths of the sarcophagus.

I fastened bindings upon the disaffected at (your) feet.
I ferried the neshmet barque to Ro-Poqer;
I brought it to the place-which-protects-its-lord.

(4.c, cols. 1–3, cf. 6.a, cols. 2–3).

The verses about the *d^cm*-sceptre and the nemes have a parallel in speech 7 of the Litany of Re (Hornung 1975, text 233–4): 'I established the crown of Osiris, I propitiated Geb with his inheritance, I established the *d^cm* sceptre of Orion, I gave the nemes to the Hidden-of-Name'. In the Litany, the handing-over of insignia enacts the deceased's transfiguration through identification with Horus (Goebis 1995, 170). The nemes also occurs in a parallel phrase on a votive shabti of prince Khaemwaset, dedicated in the Serapeum: 'the nemes is given to the Hidden-of-Name; causing Sothis to appear at the side of Orion (*sh^c-spdt r-gs-s3h*)' (KRI II, 375, 15; Goebis 1995, 171, n. 135). On Kha's

statue the afterlife and celestial associations of the *dꜣm*-sceptre and the nemes with Osiris are linked to the mysteries at Abydos through the subsequent verses, which describe the plumed fetish and the neshmet barque.

Kha's narrative develops and extends traditional components of the mysteries through new elements, notably from liturgical contexts. This tendency is also seen in columns 2 and 4 of Wenennefer's text. In the former he claims:

I am the sealbearer of the god, foremost one,
the priest of Horus-who-protects-his-father,

I brought the wreath of triumph
and transfigured the god with it,

reciting acclamation at Ro-Poqer,
his effective place of the first time.

This is the earliest known occurrence of the 'wreath of triumph (*mḥw n-mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*)' (Derchain 1955, 235–6), an object with broader significance in later times. It is a central element in spell 19 of the Book of the Dead, attested from the Late Period onwards, in which it is used to signal the wearer's justified state (Allen 1960, 34–5). It is also a component of ritual scenes in Graeco-Roman temples and Ptolemaic funerary art (Derchain 1955; Riggs 2002, 84–5). A closer temporal parallel for its use in Wenennefer's text is a ritual instruction in the 21st Dynasty Book of the Dead papyrus of Nedjmet, entitled the 'Instruction for bringing the wreath of triumph in the wag festival in the district of Poqer' (Budge 1899, pls. 7–8, cols. IX–XI; and see Anthes 1974, 47 n. 51). In this text, as in Wenennefer's, it is the priest of Horus-who-protects-his-father who performs the ritual, and it is possible that this title is the equivalent of the role of His-Beloved-Son in the Middle Kingdom texts. Other phrases attested in Wenennefer's text occur in the ritual instruction and the two texts are broadly comparable in theme, particularly in relation to priestly preparations for ritual.

Wenennefer's statement that he is the one who 'transfigures (*sꜣḥ*)' the god is striking. The final verses of the biography of Ikhnofret allude to the individual's role in the god's transformation:

šms.n.j-ntr r-pr f
jr(w)-wꜣb.f swšḥ(w)-st.f
wḥꜣ.j-tst m-ḥnw-[...]
[... ...] f m-šnw f

I followed the god to his domain.
His purification was performed, his seat was widened,
as I loosened the knot in [...];
[he came to rest among?] his [followers], his retinue.
(Sethe 1928, 71, ll. 21–3; Lichtheim 1988, 99)

These verses mobilize an involvement with the god that is perhaps more intimate than that of Wenennefer. However they are preceded by an elaborate description of festival and processional: ‘I rejoiced the heart of the eastern deserts, I created exaltation in the western deserts’ (Sethe 1928, 19–20). Such references are a feature of the other Middle Kingdom narrations of the mysteries (e.g. Lange and Schäfer 1908, II, 148, l. 5), but not included in Wenennefer’s text. Ikhnofret’s role in divine transformation is also visually and textually mediated through Senwosret III; royal cartouches dominate the lunette of the stela and the mysteries were performed as a royal commission. Hare (1999, 39) suggests that this presentation mobilizes a ‘chain of substitutions whereby “His Beloved Son” = Horus = Pharaoh = Ikhnofret’. There is no comparable mediation of the relationship with Osiris in Wenennefer’s text and his claim to power is explicit.

Wenennefer’s direct interaction with Osiris is emphasized by a change in the focus of the narrative in the final column, from actions performed for Osiris to the preparation of the physical person of the priest himself:

I ascended to Ro-setjau,
I was adorned, bound in red linen,

the *ꜣms*-club in my hand (to) smite the disaffected,
the *jꜣꜣt*-weapon to smite the rebel.

I read out transformation spells performed for Isis,
I deposited offerings in the sacred land.

ꜣms and *jꜣꜣt* weapons occur in parallel verses in the ritual text of Nedjmet: ‘the god will receive from him the *ꜣms* of Horus to smite the disaffected, the *jꜣꜣt* to smite the rebel’ (Budge 1899, pls. 7–8, col. IX, l. 13–col. X, l. 1; Derchain 1955, 236–7). After the priest’s own purification and preparation, he hands the weapons over to the god as the final stage of the ritual preparation and adornment of Osiris. The *ꜣms* and the *jꜣꜣt* occur in the Pyramid Texts (*ꜣms*: 1374, 1166, 338, 522, and see Hassan 1976, 179–83; *jꜣꜣt*: 866, 1159) and Coffin Texts (van der Molen 2000, 4–5, 12) as part of the regalia of Osiris and the transfigured dead, but are rare in non-royal contexts (cf. the 5th Dynasty text which narrates the individual being struck by the king’s *ꜣms*: Allen 1992). Their occurrence and the reference to the wreath of triumph in column 2 signal Wenennefer’s privileged access to portentous, restricted ritual objects. They are a central component of a stage of the

ritual during which the physical presence of the priest is foregrounded: rather than their being given to the god, the priest wields them in his own hands.

In this final stage in his narrative, Wenennefer may be turning Osiris's transfiguration through the weapons into his own. This possibility is suggested by the reference to his own adornment (*db3*) and the binding of his body in red linen, a substance that has broad associations with mortuary preparation and ritual practice. Thus, the 18th Dynasty statue of the steward Amenhotep from Karnak alludes to transfiguration in the afterlife through binding in red linen, requesting: 'that I receive wrappings (*ssdw*) at the *wag*-festival, of green cloth and red linen (*jns*), and step into the neshmet barque as an effective *ba*' (*Urk.* IV, 1802–3). Red linen is also a component of the preparation of the god in scenes of daily ritual in the chapels of the temple of Sety I at Abydos (Calverley and Broome 1933–59, e.g. II, pl. 19).

The final verse of Wenennefer's text does not include a closing statement of filiation, ending simply with his entry into *t3-dsr* and dedication of votive offerings, perhaps evoking once more his own transfiguration. In the final verses of Kha's text, such offerings explicitly link ritual action with the individual's transformation at death: 'I inundated the sacred land with libations, the return thereof being the stability of my corpse' (4.c, col. 3). By contrast, Wenennefer's recitation of transformation spells resonates with the performative quality of the text that is foregrounded in column 1. The text and the statue form together emphasize Wenennefer's religious duties and his role as a ritual actor and participant rather than having a specifically funerary focus.

4.3.2 Statue bodies and ritual transformation

The final column of Wenennefer's text aligns his body with that of Osiris, a transformation that may be alluded to by the form of the statue itself. In height and bulk it is a powerful assertion of the self, although the body is also an abstraction through its fusion with the pillar and schematic rendering, notably in the lack of fingernails and toenails. The Louvre and Athens statues of Wenennefer also have an architectural character with the hieroglyphs at the scale of wall decoration that bind the priest's body, integrating him into a temple context. His whole body supports the temple and, by implication, the god. The statue form is perhaps a self-transformation, from presentation

as an individual, participating perpetually in temple ritual, to becoming part of the temple structure itself.

A monument of his now in Cairo presents a visual transformation and transfiguration in the form of an oval pillar, 1.29 metres high, with figures carved in low raised relief (Clère 1985; fig. 70). On one side, Wenennefer and his father are depicted holding cult standards, including the Abydos standard. On the other side Wenennefer's undifferentiated body is flanked on either side by jackals whose paws rest on his shoulders. Above Wenennefer's head is the damaged, frontally depicted head of a jackal, perhaps representing a mask or cult emblem (Clère 1985, 162, pl. III a–c). Rather than lying recumbent on shrines, as in standard Abydene iconography such as the lintel and stela of Userhat (4.2), the figures of the jackals rest on the priest, who is again placed at the centre of divine space and ceremonial activity. Marcella Trapani (1996, 127) suggests that this combination of motifs represents Wenennefer in his role as Wepwawet in the performance of the mysteries. The processional and ritual transformation displayed here is also evoked by the depiction of the divine barque above the figures of Wenennefer's wife and mother (Clère 1985, 160–1, pl. II c). On the top surface of the object is a rectangular cavity where an upper section was probably attached (Clère 1985, 157–8, fig. 4). There is no comparable cavity on the Louvre statue, although in height it could have fitted beneath an architrave.

Wenennefer's statues signal a claim on temple space that goes beyond that of standing and block statue forms. Similarly the text on the back pillar of the Louvre statue lays a powerful claim on ritual action and divine transformation through physical involvement and access to ritual objects.

The statue of the priest of Osiris, Nebenmaat (4.d; figs. 72–4), displays an alternative strategy in the transformative presentation of biography on a statue body. Whereas the statues of Wenennefer and Kha mobilize potent ritual objects in narrative, here such an object is incorporated physically onto the statue body and is also perhaps alluded to in the biography. Only the head and shoulders of Nebenmaat's statue survive. It was found by Petrie (1903, 36) somewhere in the Osiris temple complex. I know of no other objects owned by him. Since the cartouche of Ramesses II is inscribed on the right shoulder, Nebenmaat may have served under Wenennefer or a member of his family. The unusual

features of the statue and the themes of the text are thus contemporaneous with the self-presentation of the high priesthood.

The cosmetic lines around the eyes and the tripartite wig are usually attributes of statues of gods in the New Kingdom, but the biographical phraseology and lack of a beard preclude identification as a divine statue. Traces of inscription are visible on its body, including figures of three seated gods across the breast, two of which may represent forms of Osiris. A significant feature is the inscription in low relief over the left shoulder of the upper section of a staff or pole with flared top and streamers (fig. 74). It may represent the top of an *jmjw*t fetish (e.g. type D 4 (K): Rössler-Köhler 1975, A, pl. V), an identification supported by the depiction of an *jmjw*t between paired figures of recumbent jackals on the upper surface of the back pillar (fig. 73). I know of no parallel for an *jmjw*t on a non-royal statue and the identification is not certain. The image relates intimately and physically to Nebenmaat's person. Rather than being held as a three-dimensional standard or object like the Abydos standard of Wenennefer, this object is moulded into the statue, as an element of costume or part of the body. It may mobilize a claim to role and authority in ritual comparable to the associations with administrative office and power over the written word mobilized by the hieroglyph of scribal equipment inscribed over the shoulder of some scribe statues (Cashman forthcoming). In Nebenmaat's case, the significance of the emblem as a restricted cult object is heightened by the statue's divine attributes and the biographical statements inscribed on the surface and sides of the back pillar.

These inscriptions narrate Nebenmaat's duties in preparing the god, using phraseology comparable to Middle Kingdom and Ramessid narrations of the Osiris mysteries: 'I am a priest of Abydos, who embellishes gold for his lord ... I established the god upon his standard' (4.d; rear surface, cols. 3–4). A role in carrying god in procession is a motif in 18th Dynasty priestly biographies (Weser: *Urk.* IV, 1031; Lichtheim 1992, 113–4) and Ramessid period (e.g. Roma-Roy: 2.c, base; Wenennefer: 4.e, l. 3; Yufankh, 9.c). Here the evocation may relate to the emblem inscribed on the body, extending the meanings of conventional standard-bearing and naophorous statue types. The text on the left side of the back pillar includes Nebenmaat's further claim that: 'I purified my god and I cleansed [...]', which is comparable to Ikhnofret's role in

divine transfiguration in the final verses of his text (Sethe 1928, 71, ll. 21–3). Both Wenennefer's and Nebenmaat's statues present the self as an active, potent cult participant. Nebenmaat may extend the potential of this presentation through displaying the ritual transfiguration of self that Wenennefer alludes to in the final verse of his text.

4.3.3 Wenennefer and Isis

Assimilation with the divine sphere, generated visually by Nebenmaat's statue, is a central motif in the biographical inscription of the high priest of Isis, Wenennefer, where it is mediated through a social setting and ceremonial performance that extends beyond the intimate, singular experience of priest and god. Wenennefer was the son of Yuyu, who inherited the office of high priest of Osiris from his brother Hori in the reign of Ramesses II (KRI III, 462). On his Louvre stela (C 219: 4.e; fig. 75) Wenennefer refers to the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, as the father of his father. He is the only holder of the title 'high priest of Isis' known from Abydos (Forgeau 1984, 158). A statuette found at Abydos, of which only the upper third survives, shows that he was in office under Sety II, whose cartouche is inscribed on the top of the head (Borchardt 1930, 80, pl. 141; KRI IV, 296, 1–3). There is an incised figure of Osiris on the breast. On the back pillar are the remains of a column of inscription reading: 'priest of Osiris, Wen[ennefer?]', *hm-ntr n-wsjr wn[n-nfr?]* (KRI IV, 296, 2). The connection between the Wen[ennefer] of this statuette and Wenennefer, son of Yuyu, is made by a shrine dedicated by the priest of Osiris, Wenennefer for his father, the high priest of Osiris, Yuyu (KRI IV, 140–1). This object was found in the temple complex of Sety I, near the desert pylon (Petrie in Caulfeild 1902, 19, with pls. 21–2). The sides of the shrine depict Yuyu adoring Osiris on the left and Wenennefer adoring Isis on the right.

Wenennefer's biographical stela is one of two that may have been dedicated as a pair (Louvre C 98, 4.h); the iconography, textual content, and Wenennefer's filiation, of which point to Abydos. The two stelae are visually complementary and use similar phraseology, although the biographical stela is slightly larger. The upper scene of C 98 depicts Wenennefer kneeling with both hands raised in adoration of Osiris, who stands upon a pedestal with Horus and Isis behind (fig. 76). In the lower scene Wenennefer kneels before Wepwawet in a matching pose. In both scenes Wenennefer has a bald head

and wears a voluminous robe, with a panther skin in addition in the lower register. The text in the middle register is a prayer addressed to a god who, although unnamed, is probably Osiris. The prayer includes a self-presentation in phraseology that also occurs in Wenennefer's biography: 'I am one who sustained your temple with all provisions to cause that I may live, I completed what you did for my father within your town of Tawer', *jnk-shpr n-hwt-ntr.k m-df3w-nb r-s'nh.j mnq.n.j-n3-jrw.k n-jt.j m-hnw-njwt.k t3-wr* (4.h: KRI IV, 296, 9–10; 4.e, note b).

The stela bearing Wenennefer's biographical narrative (4.e) is also divided into three registers. In the top register Wenennefer kneels in adoration before seated figures of Osiris and Horus. In the middle register, he kneels before standing figures of four goddesses: 'Isis of the birth house'; 'Heqet, lady of the sky'; 'Nut, the effective one who bore the gods'; and 'Shenpet, lady of the sky'. In both registers he has a shaved head and wears the voluminous robe. He is proportionally much larger than the figures of the deities, an effect heightened by the robe and more marked than in C 98. The biographical inscription beneath the scenes, which reads from left to right, may indicate the stela was placed in complementary position to C 98, whose inscription reads from right to left. The biography may also have this orientation in order to face the same way as his visually dominant figure.

Wenennefer's title and the goddesses depicted on C 219 point to an area of dedication or association. Isis, Heqet, and Nut are associated with birth, as is made explicit in the captions for Isis and Nut. Shenpet is a manifestation of Isis as a mourning woman (Cauville 1980, 54, with n. 57). All four goddesses are connected with Osiris and Abydos (Spiegel 1973, 82–9). Their number corresponds with a fragment that refers to four birth-goddesses (*mshnt-4 hryt-jb-3b[dw]*) found in the 'portal' temple of Ramesses II (Silverman 1988, 275–6; pers. comm. 2002). Wenennefer's stela is one of the earliest attestations of 'Isis of the birth house' (de Meulenaere 1982, 25–7). Wenennefer's stela and others from late Ramessid Abydos indicate that a birth house was active at the site, but its location is debated; moreover birth houses are first attested archaeologically in the 30th Dynasty. Herman de Meulenaere (1991, 243–51) suggested that the birth house can be identified with the 30th Dynasty temple in the south-west of the Osiris temple enclosure, on the basis of epithets of Nectanebo on statue fragments which relate him to

Meskhenet (Spencer 2001, 64, A73). Cynthia May Sheikholeslami (2002, 1116–7) instead associates it with the clustering of stelae of sistrum-players and foetus burials found near the Shunet el-Zebib and on the nearby slope overlooking the wadi, including a late Ramessid stela dedicated by a ‘songstress of Isis, mistress of the birth house’ (*hsjt n-3st nbt-pr-ms*). On this basis she suggests that Mariette’s small temple could be equated with this birth house. The emphasis on sistrum-playing and performance in C 219 suggests that this stela was thematically associated with this area of dedication. Since Wenennefer was high priest of Isis, he could have been active in the birth house and the stela may have been dedicated there.

4.3.4 Contexts of initiation

Concepts of birth, as well as the connection with Osiris mobilized visually by the images of the goddesses, are also implicit in the narrative. Wenennefer’s text (4.e) focuses, like that of his ancestor (4.2.2), on a single transformative event, in his case the ceremonial and celebratory promotion to high office. The narrative uses abbreviated formulations and unusual designations, and is difficult to interpret. The variation in voice from first person to third and the mixing of Middle and Late Egyptian suggest that there was no good model for the composition (cf. 1.a, 5.4).

The narrative is introduced as an address to the people of the Abydene nome (l. 2). The text describes Wenennefer’s role in bearing the god in procession during his youth, before he was promoted. His subsequent ‘day of favour’ involves a range of participants, including youths (*d3mw*), a group perhaps designated as sistrum players, and ‘others’ (*kjwj*) who have a witnessing role (ll. 4–7). The obscure verses referring to the moment of transformation seem to allude to an initiation (*bsy*, l. 7), through which Wenennefer becomes ‘a royal acquaintance’, which may allude to his appointment to priestly office through the king. The text closes with Wenennefer’s presence in divine space and the ‘foretelling’ of his perfection (*nfrw*), evidently his transfiguration at death.

Wenennefer’s narrative is distinctive in its use of the third person. The first-person address with which it begins presents ‘the self as a tale told’ (Hahn 1998, 27): ‘I will cause you to hear something good (*nfr*) concerning the plan of the god which he carried out for the servant of his domain’ (l. 2). This characterization of his biography as *nfr* may

also evoke the ‘perfect words’ of belles-lettres (Parkinson 2002, 82–3). The formulaic occurrence of Wenennefer’s name and title after this speech effects the shift of the narrative into the third person: ‘The priest of Horus and Isis, Wenennefer, son of Yuyu, began to carry this god while he was a fortunate youth’ (l. 3, n. e). Third-person narratives are rare in biographical texts and are usually associated with the formative stages of biography in the 5th Dynasty (Baines 1999b). Perhaps the best known Ramessid use of this narrative strategy is the tomb biography of Samut (2.q), which is introduced by a third person formula that signals a fictionalized setting (2.3.2). The two texts are very different in theme and context and in Wenennefer’s the effect of the third-person voice is perhaps closer to 5th Dynasty examples. In both texts the third person may lend ‘objectivity’ to the narrative, for Samut through the distancing from traditional biographical structures (Vernus 1978, 118–9; 2.3.2) and for Wenennefer through the report style. The presentation of an audience also gives it a performative quality, closer to literary texts.

In Old Kingdom texts the use of the third person has been read as foregrounding performance and event rather than the individual (Baines 1999b, 30). In the inscriptions of Niankhsakhmet from the reign of Sahure, and the texts of Rewer and Washtpah from the reign of Neferirkare, this distancing of the narrative allows the actions of the king to be central. The emphasis on performance and social setting is a distinctive feature of Wenennefer’s text. The third-person form expands the narrative to incorporate broad spheres of action around Wenennefer, who is situated among different groups that witness the event or associate closely with him:

the [musicians] of Tawer see him
 like those who are children,
 the youths [playing sistrum] as (his) companions,
 the youngsters draw near to him.
 The others turn their faces to him,
 facing him in order to [play sistra?]

(4.e, ll. 5–7)

This event involves the participation of a wider group of social actors than are mentioned in the texts of the high priests of Amun in Karnak, which narrate initiations as moments of divine intervention between priest and god alone, with no mention of wider ceremonial (3.4). The stela of Wenennefer narrates the transformation of his official role and

relationship to the god as a community event in a ritualized and performed context, with a range of participants performing specific designated roles. This more public narrative is perhaps in keeping with the smaller community of Abydos, which was probably centred on the temple and its ceremonies.

The third-person voice and the presentation of wider contexts of performance may also assimilate Wenennefer to the divine child Horus-Ihy. The stela initially evokes the child form of Horus through expressions of his relationship with Isis; the figure of Horus behind Osiris in the upper scene has the caption ‘Horus, son of Isis’ and Wenennefer bears the title ‘(high) priest of Horus and Isis’ in line 3 of the narrative.

The first stanza of the biography alludes to the identification of the priest with the divine child through the description of Wenennefer as a ‘fortunate child ... like Ihy in the marsh’ (l. 4). The description of temple upbringing is a motif in Ramessid biography (3.3.1), and Wenennefer’s later promotion indicates that this stanza refers to this earlier, youthful stage of his priestly service. However, it is also possible that the ‘fortunate child’ and the comparison with Ihy are descriptions of Horus the child. Horus may be ‘this god’, whom Wenennefer carries in procession. Assimilation with the divine child may be further developed through the celebratory context of music and performance. Although the broader context of promotion seems to indicate that this passage presents Wenennefer’s initiation, the vivid description also evokes a festival setting in which the god could be the focus of the participants’ actions. Dual readings may further merge the figures of priest and god and the assimilation is extended in particular by the emphasis on groups of young people, perhaps reflecting age classes, as well as the reference to music. Ihy is the sistrum-player (Leitz 2002, I, 542–3) and sistrum playing seems to be a central component of the ceremonial (4.e, ns. h and j). Sistrum playing also relates to goddesses, especially Isis and Hathor (Roberts 1984, 53–74).

Wenennefer’s possible identification with the divine child may clarify the verses that narrate the central transformative moment:

The god(dess) who brought herself into being ordered
that his form (*jrw.f*) be revealed immediately.

(4.e, l. 7)

In his translation, Kruchten (1989, 180) emends  to *ds.f*, understanding the deity to be male, probably Osiris. A masculine reading corresponds to the masculine suffix

governing *jrꜥ* and earlier references to the god as male (ll. 4–5). However, epithets of goddesses as self-creating beings are known from later sources. Mut bears the epithet [*hpr*]-*ḏs.s* in a 9th century papyrus (Hieratische Papyrus, 1901, pl. 43) and Neith also has similar potential in later texts (Stadler 2004, 12). Such a self-sustaining character would be appropriate to the birthhouse. The gender of goddesses is often not marked – as with the title *hm-ntr-tpy n-3st*; on this stela feminine endings are omitted from the writings of the goddesses' epithets in the scene in the middle register. The *w3s* sceptres held by the goddesses in this scene may also evoke a masculine potency (Gordon and Schwabe 1995; Preys 2002).

The meaning of *jrꜥ.f* remains problematic. *jrꜥ* is not used of humans (Hornung 1967, 126–8) and it may here refer to the divine manifestation of the goddess revealed (*bsy*) to Wenennefer through the ritual performance and his fit state implicit in his identification as Ihy. In view of the masculine potential of goddesses, the masculine suffix here may not preclude this reading. If this is accepted, Wenennefer's narrative compares closely with those of Userhat (4.a), where initiation gives access to the hidden images of gods (4.3), and Djehutyemheb (2.o, text 1), in which Hathor in her manifestation as *hly* appears to the protagonist in a dream (2.3.2). In both these examples, visions of deities are catalysts for action – the fashioning of cult statues or the building of a tomb –and for the individual's transformation.

However, since the divine child is alluded to throughout the text, *jrꜥ.f* may refer to Wenennefer as assimilated with Horus-Ihy. This would be an unparalleled extension of the meaning of *jrꜥ*, but it may be possible in the context of the narrative and the stela. The identification of priests with Horus is a central element in texts of the Osiris mysteries (Frood 2003, 73–5; 4.3.1). A birthhouse, which thematizes divine birth and the role of the divine child, may provide an appropriate setting for an extension of this motif. Further support for this suggestion may be the stela of the scribe of offerings in the temple of Sety I, May (Speleers 1921), which inserts a first person pronoun into a copy of a Middle Kingdom hymn to Osiris in order to mobilize the protagonist's assimilation with Horus: 'I am your son Horus, I have come that I may smite your enemies, slain for you as wild bulls' (KRI I, 344, 5). The identification with the god in this text may have a magical purpose (contra Gnirs 1996, 234 n. 233). *jrꜥ* in Wenennefer's text may

comparably refer to his divine aspect or potential as Horus-Ihy, which is made possible through ritual performance and priestly role, and realized through the action of the goddess.

The revelatory and initiatory process encapsulated by *bsy* (Kruchten 1989, 202–4) brings about a shift in status, the exact nature of which is not explicitly stated:

He became great as a royal acquaintance,
so that he mingled with the great ones of the palace,
his heart discerning the essence of Tawer.

(4.e, ll. 7–8)

Although *rh-nswt* becomes a title in the late Middle Kingdom (Doxey 1998, 125–7), in priestly narrative it may refer to royal ratification of the god’s selection. In his biography, the high priest of Amun Roma-Roy states that in his initiation as God’s Father, ‘he (Amun) placed me in the knowledge of the king (*rh n-nswt*) and my name was called out in the presence of the courtiers’ (2.d, right side, cols. 3–5). In texts of the post-Ramessid period *rh-nswt* occurs in priestly title strings (*Wb.* II, 446, 11; Jansen-Winkel 1985, I, 115 with refs.). The children in Wenennefer’s text form the point of departure for a social transformation: he moves from being ‘like Ihy’ in the presence of his peers to being part of the senior temple elite.

The stela of Wenennefer mobilizes a specifically female zone of sacred space and divine association at Abydos that has not yet been identified with certainty on the ground. The regenerative power of the goddesses depicted on the stela is reinforced in the text by references to children, including divine children, and language associated with fertility and fecund growth. At the beginning of the narrative Wenennefer is described as one ‘made stronger and more flourishing (*swrd 3h3h*)’, and at the end ‘his efficacy suffuses (or “inundates”: *b^ch*) Tawer’ (compare the statue of Kha: 4.c, col. 3). Wenennefer is imbued with the divine regenerative potential mobilized by the birthhouse and crystallized in Horus-Ihy. Thus, as initiated priest and divine representative, he both celebrates and is celebrated through performance. His narrative extends beyond the intimate, exclusive connection between an individual and Osiris, seen in the monuments of Wenennefer and Nebenmaat, to incorporate other people and sacred spaces.

4.4 Ritual and transformation

The biographical texts from Abydos are notable for their emphasis on moments of ritual performance and participation, mobilized by their visual and spatial contexts, such as Userhat's chapel or the pillar statue of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer. This focus is visible also in the voice and tone of the texts, from the repeating refrain on the back pillar of Wenennefer's statue to the settings of Userhat and the high priest of Isis Wenennefer's narratives as instructions or 'tales' told to audiences. Judith Anderson (1984) notes a comparable ritual shaping of life and self in her study of Tudor and Stuart *Lives*. In her discussion of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, written in 1557, she observes (1984, 30) how ceremonial processions and arrangements order and emphasize 'the eternal, the visual, and above all, the formal side of life', within which Cavendish detects and makes play with subjective and personal patterns. In the Egyptian texts, the processional space of Abydos is a frame and setting which is incorporated visually and textually into each of the monuments to emphasize the eternal, but also the performative and transformative components of narrated life.

The patterning of performance and ritual action through the biographies makes play with the exclusivity and physicality of access to temple domains and to the gods. Each text, in a different way, mobilizes the self as a mediator of divine action and intervention in the outside world. In Userhat's text, motifs of humble origin heighten the contrast between sacred and secular domains. The fact that Userhat is not a priest, although he aspires to a priestly role, enables him to mark this distinction and to set himself up as an intermediary between the two domains, showing how the context of participation at Abydos enables individuals to extend beyond their official function and title, as is true of the texts of Kha (4.c) and Siese (6.a), as well as earlier narratives such as that of Ikhnofret. Userhat's chapel is tightly bound visually and architecturally to the processional landscape of Abydos and ancient traditions of self-presentation within that space. Just as Abydos is at the centre of the sacred geography he maps out, so his chapel is placed at the centre of Abydene space. This chapel is itself a point of mediation: more accessible than the priestly monuments, it is directed towards and participates in the outside world.

The priestly narratives also present ceremonial performances that link with the world outside the temples. In the text of the high priest of Isis, Wenennefer, is the focal point of a celebratory festival, associated with his role as one who bears the god in procession. Not only does he facilitate ritual performance, he is also an aspect of divinity through his identification with the divine child. The statues of the high priest of Osiris Wenennefer and of the priest Nebenmaat mobilize comparable assimilations, with both statue bodies becoming bearers of ritual and divine potential, in Wenennefer's case through the fusion with the architectural space of a temple. While the high priest of Isis's stela addresses an outside audience, 'the people of Tawer', his grandfather's narrative addresses the god directly.

Middle Kingdom narrations of the Osiris mysteries tend to emphasize the 'public', inclusive aspects of the event. The narratives of Wenennefer, Kha, and Nebenmaat also present aspects of external ceremonial, in particular through traditional phraseology concerning, for example, the defense of the neshmet barque. But these later texts are chiefly oriented to intimate and exclusive moments of interaction between priest and god, in particular the preparation and adornment of the god's body with restricted and potent ritual objects, placing priestly action at the centre of divine transfiguration. The use of temple statues of individuals to present roles in the Osiris mysteries is in keeping with the general trend toward using statues as the primary medium of biographical inscription in the Ramessid period. The statues of Wenennefer and Nebenmaat exploit the potential of this form of self-presentation, extending their medium rather as the high priest of Isis extends that of a narrative text.

5 KINGLY PRESENCE AND ROYAL SPACE

5.1 The king in biography

In the previous three chapters, I focus on the concept of space in order to analyse biographical texts in which the protagonist's central relationship is with a particular deity or more generally with the divine sphere and the world of the temple. In a number of these texts the king has a mediating role, facilitating the individual's promotion to a position that enables a closer relationship with a god or gods (e.g. 3.4: Roma-Roy, **2.d**; 4.2.1; 4.3.4: Userhat, **4.a**, Wenennefer, **4.e**). In the present chapter I take a thematic approach to a group of texts in which the central relationship expressed is with the king. As Gnirs observes (1996, 223–4), a number of Ramessid biographies, especially of the early 19th Dynasty, use a loyalist phraseology grounded in 18th Dynasty strategies of self-presentation. These strategies are adapted to and transformed by their specifically Ramessid contexts and may relate to wider changes in formulations of the king's role.

A full treatment of the king's changing position in Ramessid non-royal self-presentation is outside the scope of this study (cf. Rössler-Köhler 1991, for the first millennium). I address themes arising from the protagonist's relationship with the king that emerge in biographical texts on four early 19th Dynasty monuments: the Theban tombs of Paser, vizier under Sety I and Ramesses II (**2.m**), and the high priest of Amun Nebwenenef (**2.n**); the provincial tomb of the high steward Nefersekheru (**7.a**); and the stela of Ramesses II's viceroy in Kush Setau (**1.a**). These are the most elaborate king-centred biographies from the Ramessid period.

A core theme in all of them is the interweaving of the figure of the king with the divine sphere, which can be exemplified in a preliminary way by the sistrophorous statue of Ameneminet (**2.r**; see 2.2.1). The biographical text inscribed on the right side of the statue's body narrates the stages of Ameneminet's career as a series of acts of royal favour and promotion, while that on the left side presents the statue's role as an intermediary for Hathor. The image of the king kneeling before a Hathor cow and the cartouches inscribed on the sistrum's naos fuse visually the aspects of Ameneminet's self and the relationships that are presented in the texts. The form of the statue, including its baldness and the posture of entreaty, foregrounds Ameneminet's relationship to Hathor.

The interplay between text and image condensed in this statue is more elaborated and extensive in the tombs of Paser and Nefersekhheru. Ameneminet's culminating promotion is to ka-priest for the king's statue, a title that is not attested on his other monuments. The motif of the royal statue is one means of non-royal presentation of such divine and cultic aspects of the king and is a component of the texts of Paser and Setau.

Successive royal favour and promotion form the organizing principle of Ameneminet's biography. In traditional biographical texts and related images, the events that crystallized the relationship of individual and king are those of appointment, promotion, and reward (Doxey 1998, 80–1, 87–90, 109–151; Guksch 1994, 31–45; 52–4). In 18th Dynasty tombs, scenes of reward and installation became a visually condensed means of expressing this relationship (Radwan 1969, 17–33). These scene types were also used in the Ramessid period (Gnirs 1996, 234, n. 231), when their meaning and associations seems to have undergone subtle transformations, notably in the display of the cultic aspect of the king. I move from a general discussion of scenes of reward and promotion to examine the biographies in more detail. A salient example of the adaptation of these scene types is in the tomb of the vizier Paser, one of the few Ramessid tombs to include a reward scene. Two biographical texts in the tomb also seem to allude to the traditional structure of installation texts. The interaction of these scenes and texts with elements of standard Ramessid tomb decoration can be usefully compared with the treatment in the tomb of the high priest of Amun, Nebwenenef, which also includes an installation scene.

The tomb of Nefersekhheru exhibits perhaps the most striking incorporation of the king into a Ramessid decorative programme, seeming to bind the king's figure with that of the protagonist's local god. The thematization of royal and divine space emerges in particular in Nefersekhheru's biographical text, through the presentation of his role in different zones of the palace. The king's position in these tombs contrasts with his presentation in the biography of Setau, which was set up in the temple of Wadi es-Sebua in Nubia. Here stelae dedicated by officers and soldiers who served under Setau are associated with his self-presentation, partaking in his quasi-royal cult presence and action.

5.2 Images of installation and reward

Reward and installation scenes have been studied both as isolated scene types (Radwan 1969, 17–34; Schulman 1988, 116–47, n. 217, with Baines 1991a; Eichler 1998 for installation scenes) and in studies of visual narrative (Gaballa 1976, 62–4, 72–8, 129–30; Meyers 1985). Observations of 19th and 20th Dynasty imagery of reward and installation illuminate aspects of the position of the king in the texts that focus on these events. The two themes tend to be visually parallel, often being distinguished only by accompanying inscriptions (Kitchen 1973, 240–1; Eichler 1998, 60).

The first scenes of installation and reward are in early 18th Dynasty non-royal tombs and both motifs became standard components of tombs at Amarna. In the 19th and 20th Dynasties the media of presentation and the settings and focus of action expand. Eleven scenes of reward are known from Ramessid non-royal monuments (Redford 1970, 208–226; Kitchen 1973, 240). In the Saqqara tomb relief of Horimin (8.c) and the Theban tomb of Paser (2.m, text 3; 5.2.1), the image is accompanied by short biographical statements. The biography in the tomb of Nefersekheru with its accompanying image also alludes to traditional reward scenes (5.3). Installation texts and scenes are, in contrast, known from only two Theban tombs, those of the God's Father Neferhotep from the reign of Horemheb (2.s), and of the high priest of Amun Nebwenenef (2.n, see 5.3).

In early 18th Dynasty scenes, the individual stands before the king, who sits in a baldachin (Radwan 1969, 17–20). The event takes place before an audience; occasionally another person mediates between the king and the tomb owner, while other members of the court often participate (Eichler 1998, 53–4). In Amarna tombs, the event is depicted before a window of appearances and the king is accompanied by members of his family, with the Aten above (Radwan 1969, 19, 21–2, 27–31; Eichler 1998, 51–2).

The texts which accompany scenes of reward are often brief captions (e.g. Amenhotep Siese: *Urk.* IV, 1211–12) or short speeches of praise for the king by the recipient or the audience (e.g. Huya: Davies 1903–8, III, 13, pl. 17). Early 18th Dynasty installation texts are often framed as third person narrative reports which incorporate speeches of the king about the nature of the office and the new holder's worth (Eichler 1998, 57–9). Speeches of courtiers in praise of the king's actions are also often present (e.g. Rekhmire: Davies 1943, I, 15–17, pls. 13–16). The installation texts in the tombs of

the vizier Useramun (Thutmose I–III: Dziobek 1998, 3–15, pl. 1) and the high steward, Kenamun (temp. Amenhotep II: Davies 1930, I, 18–9, II, pl. 8), are modelled on the royal monumental textual genre of the royal tale, in which the king discusses the installation with members of his court (Eichler 1998, 51; see also Loprieno 1996b; 5.2.2 here). In these examples, the tomb owner himself usually does not speak whereas Amarna scenes have paired speeches of king and official that foreground the latter's dependence on royal command and teaching (Assmann 1980; Eichler 1998, 59–60).

Ramessid scenes and narratives of reward and installation draw on and transform the 18th Dynasty range of models. In the 19th Dynasty, the media for scenes of reward extend to temples both on stelae and on walls. The stela of the officer Mose from Qantir (Hildesheim 374: Eggebrecht 1993, 72–3, fig. 67) presents a visual narrative of reward in which the culminating scene in the lower register shows Ramesses II standing on the knees of his own colossal statue distributing gold discs to Mose and his soldiers. Ramesses II is depicted rewarding the viceroy Amenemope on the south wall of the forecourt of the temple of Beit el-Wali, as a component of scenes relating to the domination of Nubia (Roeder 1938, pls. 30–31). A tableau of reward scenes of the high priest of Amun, Amenhotep, is carved on the exterior walls of the seventh court of the southern approach to the temple of Amun in Karnak (3.2.3). There the image of Ramesses IX permits a radical transformation of a zone of temple space.

The focus of the scenes shifts in later Ramessid examples. In the 20th Dynasty Theban tomb of Amenemope (TT 148: Gaballa and Kitchen 1981, 172–5), and the tomb chapels of Paser in Medinet Habu (Schott 1957, 2–5, pl. 1) and Penne in Aniba (Steindorff 1937, pl. 102), visual narratives of reward are centred on the individual's commission and endowment of royal cult statues that are depicted. In Paser's case other types of cult equipment are also included. In a damaged scene from a 20th Dynasty tomb in Rifa, the reward seems to be mediated through a statuette of the king offering Maat to a figure of Thoth as a baboon (Petrie 1907, pls. 29–30). Redford (1970, 212, n. 7) suggests that this may represent the commissioned statue for which the individual is rewarded. The motif of the royal cult statue foregrounded in these scenes and in the stela of Mose emphasizes the dual aspect of the king, as an active, mediatory participant in a 'historical' event and as a recipient of cult through his statue. This treatment of royal

presence is found in the biographies of Nefersekheru and Setau discussed below and can be compared with the cult form of the king as a statue that is a feature of royal self-presentation in the 19th Dynasty (Wildung 1973, 553–4, 561).

In the next section I examine scenes and narratives of royal installation and reward in the Theban tombs of Paser (TT 106) and Nebwenenef (TT 157). Neither of the tombs is published (for Paser: Assmann, Hofmann, Kampp, and Seyfried in press). My discussion is consequently limited to the biographical texts and their associated scenes, which I do not integrate fully into the tomb as a whole (contrast chapter 2). That both tombs fuse traditional 18th Dynasty scenes with Ramessid decorative programmes is clear from the descriptions given by Porter and Moss (1², I, 219–224, 266–8) and Kampp-Seyfried (1996, I, 382–5, 445–7) and the texts published by Kitchen (KRI I, 285–301; III, 1–9; 282–91). I examine the ways in which these biographical texts transform 18th Dynasty models both to stress continuity with the past and to mark distinctions and departures from it.

5.2.1 The Theban tombs of Paser and Nebwenenef

Paser and Nebwenenef held high office in the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II. Texts in their tombs provide narrative accounts of their promotions to these positions. Paser was southern vizier under both kings. In contrast to the considerable number of monuments belonging to or associated with Paser datable to the reign of Ramesses II (Donohue 1988, 107–111), only his tomb attests to his being vizier under Sety I which suggests he received appointment towards the end of that reign. His latest attestation as vizier is from year 21 of Ramesses II, while his successor Khay is named on an ostrakon of year 30 (KRI II, 380, 7). A statue belonging to a high priest of Amun, Paser, dated after year 21, may indicate that he was later appointed to that position (KRI III, 292, 10–293, 9); his father had also held this title (Kitchen 1979, 385–6).

Paser's tomb-chapel is located in a valley between the hills of Qurna and Khokha (TT 106). The remains of its pyramid and associated cult building are approximately 100 metres to the west on the Qurna hill between TT 65, -7-, and -8- (Seyfried 1990, 350–3, fig. 1). I draw on Seyfried's preliminary report on the tomb, which emphasizes (1990, 348) the temple-like nature of the chapel, created through images of Paser adoring the

gods and funerary scenes in the transverse hall, as well as rock-cut statues of deities in the shrine (plan: fig. 31). The mummiform feet of the central statue suggest that the group may have shown [Horus], Osiris, and [Hathor-Isis] (Seyfried 1990, pl. 58c, 348).

Alongside standard Ramessid motifs are a number of scenes and texts that present aspects of Paser's official role, centred on his relationship to the king. In default of a full publication, I offer some suggestions about the presentation of Paser's relationship to the king. In a sense, the whole tomb is designated as royal space. On the entrance lintel Paser is shown worshipping cartouches of Sety I while the two biographical texts on pillars in the transverse hall begin with dedicatory formulae usually associated with temple statues, 'given as a gift of the king' (2.m, texts 1 and 2, ll. 1) probably referring to the whole tomb space (Kitchen 1993a, 197; so Frood 2003, 66, n. a). Scenes and texts concerned with Paser's office and relationship to Sety I dominate the walls of the south half of the transverse hall. Beside the entrance is a scene showing Paser's reward before Sety (2.m, text 3). Next to this Paser is depicted inspecting the products of the temple workshops, among which are included statues of the king (Assmann 1992). On the west transverse wall of the south half of the hall are remains of scenes and texts relating to Paser's installation to office, including traces of 'the Duties of the Vizier', an instruction (*tp-rd*) about the office of vizier, possibly composed at the beginning of the New Kingdom (KRI I, 290, 10–291, 10). The east face of pillar B in this half of the tomb also bears a biographical inscription of Paser that focuses on Sety I (2.m, text 1). In contrast, the walls of the north half of the hall are wholly religious in theme, with scenes of Paser and his family before deities and a funerary procession (PM II, 1, 222, (10)–(12)). Sety I is shown offering to the sun-god in the solar barque in the upper register of the east wall (Kitchen 1993a, 195). The distribution of different aspects of self within different zones of the transverse hall is comparable to the tomb of Samut (2.2.3).

In contrast to the wall decoration, images and texts on the pillars in the transverse hall seem to fuse the presentation of Paser's relationship to the royal and divine spheres. Biographical inscriptions are inscribed on face a of pillars B and G in the south and north half of the hall. The text on pillar B is dedicated to Sety I, and an abbreviated version is dedicated to Ramesses II on pillar G (5.2.2). Kitchen (1993a, 189–90) suggests that the distribution of texts relating to the two kings reflects the stages of work on the tomb

during successive reigns. The faces of the other pillars bear images of Paser and/or his parents before deities (e.g. pillar A, faces a, c, d; pillar B, faces b, c) and scenes of funerary ritual (pillar H, c, d). The king is sometimes incorporated into these scenes; on face c of pillar C in the south half, Paser is depicted before an image of Hathor as a cow suckling Sety I. The surviving texts include royal epithets and a speech of Hathor to the king. The scene on face d of pillar E in the north half of the hall depicts Paser before Montu and Maat. The accompanying address to the god is made on behalf of Sety I and includes phrases describing royal power that are paralleled in the biographical texts (texts 1 and 2). It also incorporates short biographical statements:

<i>j-ntr-šps nb-mb3yt</i>	O august god, lord of the council of thirty,
<i>k3-nht hry-jb-jwny</i>	strong bull residing in Armant,
<i>nswt [... ...]</i>	King of [... ...],
<i>[... ...]</i>	[... ...]
<i>hw.k-nswt-(mn-m3^ct-r^c tjt-r^c)</i>	may you protect Menmaatre, image of Re,
<i>dj-^cnh m-hh</i>	given life in millions
<i>hfnw m-rnpt</i>	and hundreds of thousands of years ...
...	...
<i>[...]-dmḏ m-hf^cf</i>	[foreign countries] assembled in his grasp,
<i>pḏt-9 m-nḏt-hm.f</i>	and the nine bows as maidservants of His Person;
<i>mwt.f-m3^ct m-s3-h[^cf]</i>	his mother Maat as the protection of his b[ody],
<i>[... ...]</i>	[having appeared as Great-of-Magic?],
<i>[...]-st.s r-jmy-jnh.f</i>	[taking?] her place between his eyebrows. ^a
<i>shr.s-n.f hftjw.f nb</i>	She overthrows all his enemies for him,
<i>[... ...]</i>	[... ...]
<i>[... ...] [j.]tkk-t3šw.f</i>	[...] who attack his boundaries.
<i>jw j-hr-šms.f m-hrt</i>	I follow him daily,
<i>sn[sn]</i>	[associating with?] [... ...],
<i>[... ...]</i>	[acting as a servant?],
<i>3h n-nb.f</i>	effective for his lord,
<i>[...] hr-hswt nt-pr-nswt</i>	[...] bearing favours of the palace ...

(KRI I, 301, 1–5)

a. Compare **2.m**, text 1, l. 5.

The text closes with an address to the people of Thebes and statements about success in the afterlife (KRI I, 301, 5–7). A comparable text may accompany a scene of Paser before Meretseger on face a of pillar H. Porter and Moss (I², 1, 224) record that the lower register bore ‘a purification text on behalf of Ramesses II’, for which one can compare the prayers on the king’s behalf in the biography of Anhurmosé (**5.a**, cols. 4–8, 60–1) and

as the central theme of the stela of Hori (4.j; KRI VI, 439, 14–440, 2). The harpist's song on face d of pillar F in the north half may also refer to the king in the final verses: 'Make holiday, [...] having been transformed (*shpr.tj*), [...], you being in favour, [...] Horus beloved of Maat' (KRI III, 8, 11–13). The harper's song in the tomb of Nefersekheru also uses the motif of royal favour (5.3.1).

Royal and divine presence seem less intertwined in the tomb of the high priest of Amun, Nebwenenef in Dra Abu el-Naga (plan: fig. 36), an area that had long been associated with royal and high-status burials (Polz 1992, 112–14). In the 19th Dynasty, the tombs of the viceroy Setau (5.3) and of Nebwenenef's successors as high priest of Amun (3) were constructed there. The standing of the high priest Nebwenenef is attested to by his tomb and his largely destroyed mortuary temple south-west of the mortuary temple of Sety I at Qurna (PM I², 1, 421; Peck 1997, 268–70; Bell 1981, 52–4). His installation text indicates that he was high priest of Onuris, Hathor, and overseer of priests, 'to his south as far as Heriheramun, and his north as far as Thinis' (1.c, col. 4), before he was appointed as high priest of Amun in year one of Ramesses II. Nebwenenef's tomb, from which the forecourt and the portico are largely lost, was on a grand scale. Kampp-Seyfried (1996, I, 445) notes that its pyramid is the largest known from the Ramessid period.

The scene and text of Nebwenenef's installation are on the south wall of the east side of the transverse hall, next to the entrance (PM I², 1, 267 (8)). The descriptions in Porter and Moss indicate that the remaining walls of the transverse hall were decorated with scenes more typical of Ramessid tombs, including Nebwenenef before deities, rituals, and a judgement scene accompanied by a negative confession (PM I², 1, 267, (2)–(7), (9)–(12)). The pillars in the hall are Osiris figures (Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I, 445; Muhammed 1966a, pl. 13), a feature only otherwise known in the roughly contemporaneous tomb of the high steward Amenemope (TT 41: Assmann 1991a, II, pls. 7–9; compare Nefersekheru: 5.3). The walls of the south end of the long hall, leading to the shrine, include scenes more characteristic of 18th Dynasty tombs, including fishing and fowling and images of Nebwenenef spearing the 'tortoise of Re' and a hippopotamus (PM I², 1, 267 (12), 268, (16), (18); Säve-Söderbergh 1956). The location of these scenes may emphasize their ritual associations; the register above the spearing scenes includes

‘offering-texts before gods’ (PM I², 1, 268 (18)). Other scenes in the hall include the funerary procession (PM I², 1, 268 (19, II)). The programme of Nebwenenef’s tomb may have influenced his successors in office; the tomb of Bakenkhons is also notable for the 18th Dynasty character of its scene selections and style (Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I, 227).

The interconnection of aspects of official role and action with more usual Ramessid scene types points to the inherent flexibility of Ramessid tomb space. Such strategies of self-presentation can be compared and contrasted with the incorporation of biographical narrative in the tombs treated in chapter 2. In the tombs of Samut and Djehutyemheb, biography is adapted to and centred on the divine sphere. The tombs of Paser and Nebwenenef seem instead to generate distinct zones of representation which have the potential both to combine themes concerning relationship to king and gods but also mark them as distinct domains.

5.2.2 Royal roles and the assumption of power

A number of the texts in Paser’s tomb include traditional biographical phraseology. The prayer to Osiris on the stela on the south side of the tomb façade includes statements concerning moral action within the temple domain: ‘I have come before you, my heart bearing Maat ... I have committed no unworthy deed, I have not [diminished?] food offerings in the local temples, I have not falsified the offering measure’ (KRI I, 289, 6–7). The text closes with an appeal to the living and classic statements of right action: ‘I gave clothing to the naked in [...], ... I set the son in the place of his father, I satisfied the king in my time’ (KRI I, 290, 6–7). Similar, perhaps identical, statements concerning the provision of bread, water, and clothing are placed in the mouth of Paser’s father, Nebneteru, in his hymn to the setting sun on the thickness of the tomb entrance (KRI I, 285, 14).

Biographical phrases and narratives inscribed in the transverse hall of Paser’s tomb centre on his role and actions in relation to the king (compare here the prayer to Montu in 5.2.1). The self-presentation here explicitly draws on 18th Dynasty motifs. Paser is known from graffiti in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Khety (TT 311) and the 18th Dynasty tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) on the Theban West Bank which attest to his active interest in the earlier monuments nearby (KRI III, 22, 15; 23, 3–4; Kitchen 1979, 16;

Peden 2001, 104–5). The only known parallel of the scene of purifying canopic jars in the lower register of Paser's stela on the north side of the tomb façade is on the façade of the 18th Dynasty tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57, temp. Amenhotep III). Although Abdel-Aziz Sadek (1973, 68) considered Paser's scene an 'inaccurate copy' of the 18th Dynasty version, the differences are minor. The scenes in the transverse hall seem to draw on 18th Dynasty models of vizieral self-presentation in particular, with the extracts of the 'Duties of the vizier' on the west wall being the most explicit example. This is the only known post-18th Dynasty redaction of the text after its occurrence in the tombs of the 18th Dynasty viziers User (TT 131), Rekhmire (TT 100), and Amenemope (TT 29; van den Boorn 1988, 365, 371). The biographical texts and the reward scene are also aligned with earlier strategies of self-presentation.

The biographical text on pillar B in the southern half of the tomb (**2.m**, text 1; fig. 32) is inscribed beneath a scene of Paser standing before the king. After the introductory titulary, the text begins as a speech of Paser in praise of the king: 'Greetings to you King of Egypt, Re of the nine bows, you are a god who lives on Maat ...' (l. 2). The voice then changes to the third person to present a vision of the king within his palace: 'Now, His Person, his heart happy, was imbued with joy, exaltation in his limbs, in his palace of delectation' (ll. 3–4). The third person formulation continues throughout the rest of the text, including the narration of Paser's promotions to first companion and then vizier (cols. 9–10). The third person voice, as well as the palace setting generated by the description of the king and Paser's address to royal companions at the end of the text (l. 13), evokes 18th Dynasty installation texts (compare also Nebwenenef below). As Gnirs has noted (1996, 234, n. 231), the eulogy of the king with which the text begins refers to his accession in language comparable to Horemheb's accession inscription: 'having taken up the crook and flail, and the office of his father Geb, [gods] jubilating in the sky, the mansion of the official being in festival, and the lords of Heliopolis are rejoicing, Karnak is rejoicing, and Amun-[Re] very [greatly], when he saw his son upon his throne' (text 1, ll. 6–7, cf. text 2, ll. 4–6). Paser's promotion is thus aligned with the king's accession.

The extent of royal dominion evoked in the eulogy to Sety I – 'he has made to flourish the south and north, west and east, this entire land' (l. 8) – is partly paralleled in the aspects of administration on behalf of the king assigned to Paser: 'charged to receive

tribute (*jnw*) of the foreign lands of south and north, for the treasury of the victorious king. He was [...] sent from it on account of his efficiency, to calculate the revenue (*b3kw*) of the two lands throughout the districts of Upper and Lower Egypt' (ll. 10–11). Alignments of royal and vizieral roles and domains of action are a feature of 18th Dynasty biographies; Dziobek (1998, 150–2) lays out the structure and patterning of this theme for texts in the tomb of the vizier of Thutmose III, Useramun. In both structure and detail, Paser's text seems to look back to such 18th Dynasty examples.

The version of this text on pillar G dedicated to Ramesses II (**2.m**, text 2; fig. 33) presents shorter versions of the royal eulogy and omits Paser's closing speech to the Companions. This selective abbreviation heightens the salience of the stanzas of royal accession and his own promotion which are included. This symmetry of space and meaning is part of Paser's general alignment with royal power; he associates himself with the accession of both kings through the narratives and is the point of continuity between them.

The installation text in Nebwenenef's tomb (**2.n**) makes this alignment of royal and non-royal accession and assumption of role explicit. The scene shows Ramesses II standing in a window of appearances with Nefertari behind (Borchardt 1931, pls. I–II; fig. 37). Nebwenenef stands below with his right arm outstretched toward the king; behind him are a number of officials. As in 18th Dynasty installations, the text is inscribed around and over the heads of Nebwenenef and the officials behind him. A new feature of Nebwenenef's composition is that the first seven columns are inscribed between the pillars of the hall in which the appointment takes place. The text itself is therefore fused with and part of the royal architectural space, a treatment for which one can compare the statue of Wenennefer (4.3.3). The visual incorporation of the royal domain into the inscription is further emphasized by the cartouche of Nefertari at the beginning of the first column and those of Ramesses at the top of columns 3 and 4.

The text begins by reporting the king's arrival in Thinis in the third month of akhet of his first year, after participating in the festival of Opet in Thebes. Nebwenenef is ushered into the king's presence. The text then continues as a speech of the king, in which he appoints Nebwenenef to the office of high priest of Amun. The king relates how this decision was made through an oracle of Amun and closes his speech with a eulogy of

the god. The text continues with the jubilant response of the courtiers and a long speech of praise for the king. The final two stanzas narrate the king's handing over of the insignia of office and the publication of the appointment by sending out a royal decree.

The narration of the report as a royal decision evokes the literary genre of the royal tale (see provisionally Loprieno 1996b). This narrative device was also used in installation texts in the Theban tombs of Useramun and Kenamun (Eichler 1998, 51). In contrast with the earlier examples, it is Amun and not the king who makes the decision in favour of Nebwenenef. The king tells how rows of courtiers and priests were presented to the god but, 'he was not content with one among them, except when I spoke your name to him' (col. 10). In a striking transformation of the standard structure of the royal tale, the king is no longer the central actor; his role has become that of a mediator for the divine oracle. The motif of oracular selection is alluded to in the texts of Nebwenenef's successors Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy, and oracular action became central in the presentation of priestly power in the texts of Herihor at the end of the New Kingdom (Römer 1994).

In both narrative setting and structure, Nebwenenef's text is paralleled by Ramesses II's dedicatory inscription in the portico of the second court of the temple of Sety I at Abydos (KRI III, 323–36; Maderna-Sieben 2003). Both texts narrate the voyage of Ramesses to Abydos or Thinis after his participation in the Opet festival, linking Abydos and Thebes through royal processional and rituals of two types. The regular ceremonial of the Opet festival plays against the personal and singular nature of the oracle, contrasting the timeless quality and continuity of royal action with the specificity of events in the individual domain. Nebwenenef's narrative links the royal journey with his own domains of past and future action, aligning his appointment with Ramesses' cult activity and display of his assumption of royal power (Redford 1971). The royal decision process which is central to the dedicatory inscription can be contrasted with the emphasis on Amun in Nebwenenef's text. Redford (1971, 111) considers, on the basis of the use of dates and degree of elaboration in both texts, that Nebwenenef's inscription drew on documents written shortly after the event, in contrast with the dedicatory inscription, which 'is a free composition of a later date'. Here, the different spatial and symbolic contexts must be kept in mind. I would suggest, on the basis of the structural and

thematic connections between the texts, that related sources were used for both and that Nebwenenef's may be modelled on that of the king. In this it can be compared with the resonance of Paser's biographical inscriptions with the accession narrative of Horemheb discussed above.

The reciprocal, mediatory relationship between king and god expressed through the oracle is also present in the king's speech to Nebwenenef in which he describes the power of Amun and the benefits that he will receive as reward for the performance of office: 'He will cause you to endure at the head of his estate, he will give to you old age within it, and he will bring you to mooring upon the soil of his city. He will give (you) the prow-rope and the stern-rope, for he himself desired you, and no other who was suggested to him' (cols. 12–14). The speech of the king presents Amun as the personal god of Nebwenenef, a theme also discernable in the texts of Bakenkhons and Roma-Roy (3.4).

The royal mediation of the afterlife is the central theme in Paser's accompanying speech to the scene of reward (**2.m**, text 3). This scene, depicted beside the tomb entrance, shows Paser before the figure of Sety I, who is seated within a baldachin with Maat standing behind him (fig. 34). Paser's arms are raised while two courtiers adorn him with collars and a robe. The king wears the atef crown and has an undifferentiated body. Redford (1971, 212, no. 27, 218) reports a similar representation of the king in the reward scene in the unpublished tomb of Tjay (TT 23, temp. Merneptah: see **2.w**). The installation scene in the tomb of Rekhmire (Davies 1943, I, 15–16, II, pl. 13) provides an earlier parallel for presentations of the king as an Osiris-type figure in non-royal contexts; in this scene the imagery is further elaborated by the feathered patterning of the king's robe. Such representations seem to partly deify the king and the inclusion of the souls of Pe and Nekhen in Paser's scene strengthen the divine or next-world associations. His scene can be compared with depictions from the shrine of Sety I in the Osiris complex at Abydos where the king is shown in effigy form with gods performing rituals on his behalf, perhaps also linking him with Osiris (Calverley and Broome 1933–59, III, pl. 35–6, pl. 40). The accompanying text to Paser's scene begins as a eulogy of Sety: 'He is a Khnum who [fosters] people, who builds up the humble (*nmh*), who lifts up the wretch

(*m3jrw*), who [...] the nobles (*bw3w*)' (cols. 2–3). Paser then narrates his reward before the king:

The officials and companions were at the double gate,
[but I entered?] in the presence without being announced;
There [was not] one who did (this?) before me.

The favours of the king are suffused with my flesh, because of my [character?].
He chose me ahead of millions,
for he comprehended my perfection in his heart.

I am a Companion, whom he raised,
his teaching (*sb3yt*) is in my body,
all counsels are discerned in my heart,
(for) I am wise through these things he did for me.

(2.m, text 3, cols. 7–12)

The motif of royal teaching is found in the biographical statement accompanying the reward scene from the contemporaneous Memphite tomb of Horimin (8. j; KRI, I, 309, 9–11) and found in biographical inscriptions and reward scenes in Amarna tombs (Eichler 1998, 66; Guksch 1996, 54–7; Assmann 1980). In Paser's text this loyalist self-presentation is framed by funerary wishes in which the king plays a central mediating role: 'May you cause that I pass by the council, [...] the ancestors, that I may be told what is in the heart' (cols. 9–10) and 'may he (the king) cause that I spend my lifetime, rich in days (?) ... in the necropolis at [your] side [everyday], that I may mingle with the great ones, the ancestors, and the effective spirits' (cols. 22–5). The association of reward in this life with transfiguration in the next is evoked in other narratives of reward, including that of Nefersekheru (below; 5.3.1), and may be further emphasized through the Osirid image of the king which foregrounds his cultic and ritual role (contra Schulman, who suggested that the figure of the king is a statue 1988, 117, n. 224).

The scene of Paser inspecting the products of the workshop (*hwt-nbw*) of the temple of Amun in Karnak, which is next to the reward scene on the east wall of the tomb, may further emphasize the cultic role of the king. The central image in the scene is that of Paser receiving a cult statue of Sety I from the sculptors (Assmann 1992). The juxtaposition of the two scenes can be compared to reward scenes which centre on the individual's presentation of royal cult statues. Redford (1971, 216) suggests that Paser's reward is directly related to his supervision of the workshop. Although the two scenes are spatially and textually connected – Assmann (1992, 46–7) notes the motif of teaching in

texts in both scenes – I doubt, with Kitchen (1993a, 193), whether the reward is specifically tied to any one action or event in Paser's career. The reward and statue scenes bind Paser's role to the king's cult presence, in contrast with the biographies on the pillar, which present the king's actions within a defined historical context. There is evidence for Paser's role in relation to royal cult statues from outside his tomb. V. A. Donohue's (1988, 121) analysis of some of Paser's more obscure titles indicates that he acted as priest for two statues of Ramesses II. He is also depicted bearing the king's ka on a stela from Deir el-Medina (Turin 50095: Roccati and Tosi 1972, 129, 304; Pamminger 1996, 288).

The tombs of Paser and Nebwenenef display complementary and intertwining roles of king and official. Paser's role throughout the transverse hall of his tomb complements and parallels that of the king. A speech of an official to Paser in the workshop scene addresses him as 'eyes of the *nswt* king, ears of the *bjty* king, [a confidant], effective for his lord' (KRI I, 293, 15–16; Assmann 1992, 41). Part of this presentation is his action as a mediator for the king, a role that he also assumes in the self-presentations of his officials (Pamminger 1996, 288–90), for which one can compare that of Setau in Nubia (5.3). Nebwenenef also aligns himself with a royal role, particularly that connected with cult activity. In both cases, the texts and images explicitly associate each individual with the assumption of royal power at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, a phase characterized by archaizing tendencies in royal and non-royal self-presentation. Yet in both cases, 18th Dynasty motifs are adapted and extended to new temporal and symbolic contexts.

5.3 The tomb of Nefersekheru and Horus of Hebenu

Royal reward is also central to the biographical text inscribed within the broadly contemporaneous provincial tomb of the high steward, Nefersekheru (7.a). The accompanying image shows him adorned with gold *šbjw* collars. The receipt of these collars is part of the narration of his reward which is presented as the culmination of a series of progressive transitions to different zones within the royal palace. The description of these movements and spaces uses language more usually found in priestly biography, fusing the symbolism of palace and temple. I suggest that this fusion connects

with broader themes developed in images and texts throughout the tomb, which seem to align the king as presented in the biography with Nefersekheru's local god.

This interplay of royal and divine is developed in part through the textual and visual connections of the biography with songs and laments, as well as the unusual number and location of appeals to the living, including the use of this genre as a framing device for the biography. The extensive interweaving of different texts and images within tomb space is comparable to the presentation of appeals and hymns in the Theban tomb of Djehutyemheb (2.0; 2.2.2). The composition of both these tombs foregrounds the power of the spoken and written word in presenting an intimate relationship with the divine sphere and the protagonist's associated transformation. In Nefersekheru's tomb, this transformation is effected in part through the image of Horus of Hebenu, which is aligned with the king and with Nefersekheru's own statues.

Nefersekheru's rock-cut tomb is included among two rows cut into the upper slopes of the west side of the escarpment of Zawyet Sultan in Middle Egypt, ancient Hebenu in the Oryx nome. Jürgen Osing (1992b, 9) considers all the tombs in these upper slopes, of which only Nefersekheru's is decorated, to be of New Kingdom date. His tomb is located at the highest point in the upper row, beneath the mountain peak. There are remains of decorated Old Kingdom tombs in the lower slopes of the escarpment. Fragments of scenes in the forecourt of Nefersekheru's tomb indicate he may have used these Old Kingdom tombs as models (Osing 1992b, 39, 79 nos. 83–4). Osing (1992b, 32) suggests that the use of pillars to demarcate the cult shrine in Nefersekheru's tomb may also develop a local tradition, since a similar organization of space is also found in these Old Kingdom tombs (Varille 1938, pls. 1, 21).

Although a king's name is nowhere preserved, the decorative programme of Nefersekheru's tomb, particularly the incorporation of statues of deities, dates it to the Ramessid period. Osing (1992b, 32, 38) places it in the reign of Sety I or early Ramesses II on the basis of this feature, as well as linguistic and orthographic criteria. Many of the scenes are in raised relief, which points to the earlier date. The choice of site suggests that Nefersekheru was a native of Hebenu. His wife, Mutnefret, held the title 'great one of the enclosure of Amun-Re, lord of *jw-rd*', a town in the Oryx nome (Osing 1992b, 35–6). Nefersekheru himself is not known from any other monuments (Osing 1992b, 35), but

since his career was probably in the north evidence is likely to be sparse. The remains of a temple to Horus of Hebenu were found nearby, and a number of inscriptions in the tomb exploit the link with this god and designate the tomb as being within his domain (Osing 1992b, 9, 31; see also below).

The tomb was fronted by a large forecourt with a roofed, decorated portico (plan: fig. 87). The roof and pillars are now largely destroyed, but traces of decoration on the façade are preserved, depicting Nefersekheru overseeing various activities (Osing 1992b, pl. 33). In the southern corner of the portico is a deep niche, forming a secondary shrine. The south and east walls of the niche bear deeply carved panels. The panel on the east was dedicated to Isis and included her image, of which only the crown now remains (Osing 1992b, 40, pl. 8a, 34). The panel on the south was dedicated to Thoth, and a rock-cut statue of a baboon is visible in its centre (Osing 1992b, 39–40, pl. 8b, 34). The salience of these devotional spaces, and notably the statues of deities, may have encouraged the tomb's transformation into a temple in the Late or Ptolemaic period, when a kiosk was constructed in the forecourt and votive offerings were dedicated in this niche as well as the inner shrine area (Osing 1992b, 32–3).

The entrance to the tomb is also laid out as a panelled niche. The scene on the lintel shows Nefersekheru kneeling before Anubis, accompanied by offering formulae. The fragmentary texts on the side-panels include traces of formulae addressed to Re-Harakhty and Horus of Hebenu, as well as a description of the tomb's location within that god's domain: '... [Horus] of Hebenu in truth. I made my cavern (*tpht*) in the area of his domain (*m-h3w-pr.f*) in ...' (Osing 1992b, pl. 32c). Minimal traces of inscription remain on the thicknesses, which are largely covered over by the modern door (Osing 1992b, 41). Statements referring to the tomb's location within Hebenu are also incorporated into texts within the tomb itself. An inscription on the ceiling, which is aligned with the statue of Horus on the back wall of the shrine, addresses him as the god, 'who gave a tomb site on the mountain of his city on the day of the good burial which he decided. May my tomb be of long duration in your city and my corpse be in it' (Osing 1992b, 62, pl. 39d). This statement alludes to the ratification of the choice of site, perhaps by the god's oracle (compare the dream text of Djehutyemheb, 2.o, text 1).

The chapel is a single room with two pillars (largely lost) and two pilasters demarcating a separate area for the shrine. The biographical text fills the southern half of the west wall, beside the tomb entrance, the same position as the biography in the tomb of Anhurmoise (5.a, 2.2 4). The text is accompanied by a figure of Nefersekheru in the bottom left corner, facing the tomb entrance and presenting the text (fig. 88). The corresponding composition on the east side of the doorway is divided into two registers (Osing 1992b, pl. 36), of which the upper one depicts Nefersekheru and his wife seated before an offering list, with Nefersekheru's son censing before them. The register below shows Nefersekheru's wife in mourning before a shrine in which the corpse of her husband lies (fig. 89). There is a kneeling figure of her at either end of the shrine, creating a balanced composition reminiscent of scenes of Isis and Nephthys mourning Osiris, as is seen in Nefersekheru's funerary procession in which the shrine has protective figures of Isis and Nephthys at either end (Osing 1992b, pl. 37, middle register). The paired accompanying laments articulate the darkness and despair of death, in strong contrast to the successful, celebratory image of Nefersekheru which accompanies his biography. That on the right reads:

p3-ḥrwj-gr bw-mdw.n.f
p3-jp-ḏt.f ḥm

The loud one is silent, he does not speak,
The one who knew himself is now ignorant.

j-yh-ds.wy-qddy sḏr.tw n-nḥḥ

O woe, how wretched is the sleeper, when one sleeps
forever.

ḥ3-jry-3ty nty-ḥr.k jrt.n-mn^ct.k
pn^c.s-ṯ snhs[.s?]-qd.k
rs.k sḏm.k-ḥrw.j

Would that the bier beneath you should act as your nurse
turn you around, and rouse you from sleep,
so that you would wake and hear my voice.

jt-p3-mnjw r-t3 n-nḥḥ
dmj n-ḏt

The shepherd is taken to the land of eternity,
the city of forever.

št3y-n3 n-jmntt qsnw-sḥr.sn

Hidden are those of the West, and painful is their
condition.

wdf.wy-j.šm-n.sn bw-sḏd.f-ḥrt.f

rigid is one who is gone to them; he cannot speak of his
condition,

ḥtp.f m-st.f w^ct
nḥḥ jr.f m-kkw

(but) he rests alone in his place,
and eternity is for him in darkness.

(Osing 1992b, 55–7)

The theme of the spoken word mobilized in this song is a component of the biography. There Nefersekheru is characterized as one 'silent at the [right] time ... all of whose words are exact' (7.a, cols. 1–2), who recounts his life as a speech 'of my character, my

nature, and my plans' (col. 6). The tomb of Anhurmosé presents a comparable juxtaposition of thematically related scenes, with the biographical text placed on one side of the entrance around images of Anhurmosé's wife receiving the bouquet with a parallel scene on the other side (2.2.4). In Anhurmosé's tomb the scenes complement and enhance their meanings through similarity. In Nefersekheru's tomb, this heightening of meaning is generated through difference. The multiple perspectives on death presented by the contrast between the laments and biography on this wall of the tomb are also evoked in the lament sung by Mutnefret to accompany the funerary journey (Osing 1992b, 58, pl. 37, middle register), as well as in the harper's song and the appeals inscribed inside the shrine.

A processional movement, comparable to those identified in the Theban tombs discussed in chapter 2, is generated through the scenes on the transverse south and north walls of this chamber (Osing 1992b, 43). On the south wall, three registers depict a formal 'banquet' (lower), followed by the funerary journey (middle and upper) which culminates in rituals before the tomb (Osing 1992b, pl. 37). The north wall is filled by a single scene depicting Nefersekheru and his wife being led to Osiris by Horus (Osing 1992b, pl. 38; detail: fig. 90). The accompanying text starts above Nefersekheru's head and continues over a pile of offerings presented by his son. It begins as Nefersekheru's hymn of praise to Osiris and request for voice offerings, continuing with a version of Book of the Dead spell 173, in which Horus describes his role in a series of statements to Osiris. Osing (1992b, 60–2) discusses two other examples of this spell, a late 18th Dynasty papyrus of a Nebseni (Nebseni 1876, pl. '9') and a scene belonging to Merneptah in the Osireon at Abydos (Murray 1903, pls. 8–10). The spell is also attested in four other papyri sources (Holger Kockelmann, pers. comm. 2004); one from the New Kingdom (P Amherst 33), two from the Third Intermediate Period (P BM 9953 B; P Amherst 17), and one Ptolemaic text (P Leiden T 31). Of these four only the fragmentary vignette accompanying the spell in the London papyrus of Khay is published (Shorter 1938, 3, pl. 4). The remaining traces show the head of Horus, as well as his outstretched hand which breaks into one of the columns of the spell. In the vignette of Nebseni's papyrus, Horus is not depicted while in the scene in the Osireon he is shown alone presenting life to Osiris. In both scenes the protagonists (Nebseni and Merneptah) present

offerings, in the position taken in this scene by Nefersekheru's son. As discussed by Osing (1992b, 60–1), Nefersekheru's scene is extended to include Isis, Nephthys, and Nefersekheru's wife, and has visual parallels in vignettes of Book of the Dead spell 125 (for which Seeber 1976). I suggest that the selection of this text and the thematic expansion of the vignette is connected with the emphasis on the presence and role of Horus in the tomb and the linking of this role with that of the king in the biography (5.3.1).

The pilasters marking the entrance to the shrine are decorated with figures of Nefersekheru and Mutnefret adoring Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (North) and Osiris (South) (Osing 1992b, pl. 40). Osing suggests that traces on the north side of the stump of the southern pillar indicate that it bore an image of Horus (1992b, 63, pl. 39e). The side walls of the shrine present ritual scenes associated with the Book of the Dead. In the lower register of the south wall, Nefersekheru and his wife are depicted before women offering water and milk to the sacred districts (Osing 1992b, pl. 41), a scene that Osing notes (1992b, 64) is otherwise only known from Theban tombs of the mid-18th Dynasty. The upper register is divided into two scenes, with that on the left showing Nefersekheru standing in adoration in the solar barque and the right consecrating the meret chests (Egberts 1995, 44, no. A.b-XIX.3-ZS.1).

The north wall is also divided into two registers. In the small upper register, paired scenes from BD 100/129 show Nefersekheru standing in barques with Osiris (left) and the phoenix (right; Osing 1992b, pl. 42). In the visually dominant lower register, Nefersekheru and his wife are seated before a harpist (fig. 91). The accompanying song incorporates elements of the biographical text, connecting Nefersekheru's lived experience of royal presence with the cultic area of the shrine and the transition to the next world. I discuss these aspects of this text in more detail below (5.3.1).

The shrine is dominated by the remains of rock-cut statues of Anubis (south), Osiris (centre), and Horus of Hebenu (north) set within niches on the back wall. Each niche forms a shrine to each particular deity, with the sides of the niches bearing adoring figures of Nefersekheru and framed by afterlife wishes. On the walls between the statue niches are the remains of narrow standing statues set on high bases (fig. 92). The area around each statue is filled by an appeal to the living. The statue on the southern half of

the wall had the arms folded across the chest and one foot slightly forward (pl. 94). The statue on the northern side has an undifferentiated body with its feet together (pl. 93). Osing (1992b, 72) suggests, on the basis of seated pair statues in contemporaneous Theban tombs, that the statue on the north represents Nefersekheru while that on the south is his wife. I propose instead that both statues depict Nefersekheru in transfigured state. I know of no parallel for the representation of a tomb-owner's wife in a standing, 'Osirid' pose. Comparable presentations of the tomb-owner himself are attested in Theban tombs of the high steward of Amun, Amenemope, and the high priest of Amun, Nebwenenef, both of the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty which have Osiris pillars of the tomb owner in the transverse halls (Assmann 1991a, I, 14–15; II, pls. 7–9; Kampp-Seyfried 1996, I, 445; Muhammed 1966a, pls. 12–13). Nefersekheru's tomb is striking in including such images within the shrine, closely aligned with statues of gods. In the Ramessid Theban tomb of the scribe of the divine offerings Nefersekheru, rock cut statues of the tomb owner stand on either side of a niche bearing a statue of Osiris. Here the individual is depicted as living, wearing a kilt and incense cone (TT 296: Feucht 1985a, pl. 20). The presentation here may relate to the small space of the tomb which condenses traditional images from the more usual tomb shrine into the niche in the hall. Kampp-Seyfried (1996, I, 51, 434) also notes that there are statues of the tomb owner on either side of a statue of Osiris in the shrine of the unpublished tomb of the priest Amenemope (TT 148). It is possible that such linking of human and divine statues evokes the royal presentation of statues of king and gods in temples such as Abu Simbel.

The texts surrounding the statues in Nefersekheru's shrine, through their mobilization of a human audience, may extend the implications of such connections. The text around the northern statue in Nefersekheru's tomb (fig. 93) begins as a declaration of innocence:

<i>[rdj].j-s3 hr-st-jt.f</i>	I [did not take] a son from the place of his father,
<i>nš.j-s hr-ht.f</i>	I did not expel a man from his property,
<i>bw-mkh3.j (m-)tr-ntr</i>	I did not turn away from worshipping god ...
<i>jy.n.j m-htp r-hrt-ntr</i>	I have come in peace to the necropolis,
<i>šw.kw m-bwt jmyt.s</i>	free from abomination therein,
<i>mr.n-wj nswt n-rk.j</i>	for which the king of my time loved me.

j3w.kw n-hryt.j I grew old without terror,
jm3h.kw m-šms-hr.j venerated in the following of my Horus.

(Osing 1992b, 75–8, pl. 43, cols. 2–5)

These statements represent an expansion of the condensed phrases in the biography concerning Nefersekheru's moral character: 'I did not push aside (*gs3*) the wretch who has nothing in favour of the great' (cols. 14–15). The declaration closes with an appeal addressed to 'all people who will come, generations until forever' and requests that 'you may care for my statue (*twt.j*) in my august tomb, my statue at my side (lit. 'the recipient of my life: *šsp-r-ḥj.gsy.j*), for its form is my nature (*qd.f-pw 3bwt.j*), so that you may say to it after seeing it before my tomb, "Breath to your nose, Nefersekheru true of voice"' (Osing 1992b, pl. 43, cols. 6–7). Osing (1992b, 78, n. aj) suggests that these statements refer to a fragmentary free-standing statue of Nefersekheru that stood in the tomb, but I think it likely that they also encompass these rock-cut images.

The text around the southern statue (fig. 94) is addressed to:

<i>šhw-nb tp[-t3]</i>	<i>whḥ-mdw-ntr</i>	...all scribes on earth who clarify writing,
<i>hmww m-k3t-mhy</i>		skilled in the works of the Filler,
<i>dd-drfr-st.f</i>		who set the papyrus roll in its (proper) place,
<i>ḥqy m-šhw-nw-dhwtj tsw-mdwt</i>		who enter into the writings of Thoth and phrases of speech,
<i>jpy-jb b3k-tjt</i>		who are discerning in the use of images,
<i>hhy-jb hr-šhw</i>		skilful in writing ...

(Osing 1992b, 75–8, pl. 44, cols. 1–2)

The evocation of Thoth-like ability connects with the shrine to Thoth in the portico and with the theme of the written word developed in the biography through the emphasis on Nefersekheru's education and his role as scribe for the king (5.3.1).

The occurrence of appeals inside the tomb's shrine is unusual as is the alignment of tomb-owner's statues with those of deities. The appeals heighten this alignment by seeming to give the statues a 'voice'. Through these texts and statues the shrine area becomes a personal and subjective space, comparable with the programme in the tomb of Djehutyemheb, in which the most intimate self-presentation, the narration of the dream of Hathor, is inscribed inside the shrine and aligned with images of the goddess (2.2.2). An earlier example is the rear wall of the 18th Dynasty tomb of Paheri at Elkab, where biographical statements and an appeal to the living are included in the long text which surrounds rock-cut statues of the tomb-owner and his wife and mother (Tylor 1895, pl. 16). These texts come after traditional prayers and an elaborate description of the

afterlife. In these latter tombs the narration of lived experience is oriented to the next world. In Nefersekheru's tomb the self is presented as both 'public' and participatory protagonist, especially in connection with the biography to which both appeals explicitly refer, and as the object of a cult and linked to divine statues. This drawing of 'lived' voice and experience into the shrine space can be compared with the fusion of the king with the divine sphere which is enacted, in part, by the biography.

5.3.1 Royal spaces

Like the appeals inscribed in the shrine, Nefersekheru's biography (7.a) is framed as an appeal to the living. The text also has elements of an instruction which foreground the potential for oral recitation: 'that the ignorant may know as well as the skilled. I will speak of my character, my nature, and my plans, so that my concerns and my [...] are before you' (cols. 5–6). The last ten columns of the text recapitulate the appeal within a truth claim, closing with blessing and threat formulae. The poetic approach to form is encapsulated by the proverb of the final verse, which gives a literary tone to the whole composition: 'I speak in order to let you know. It is good to listen' (col. 28). Other verses in the text also have a proverbial quality: 'A witness for the truthful one is his noble tomb' (col. 16; and Fischer-Elfert 1994, 45–6, for other possible citations). Setting this appeal as an instruction perhaps directs it to the living world while the shrine and Osirid context of his other appeals, and the inclusion of a declaration of innocence, have an more overtly after-life function, further demarcating the different zones of the tomb and the progressions between them.

The career narrative begins with Nefersekheru's childhood and education, a theme developed notably in the biographies of Bakenkhons (2.a, back pillar, cols. 1–2) and Anhurmoose (5.a, cols. 9–15). Scribal education brings Nefersekheru into the royal domain and the text is thereafter dominated by his movement from place to place within the palace rather than traditional episodes of promotion by the king to increasingly high office which characterize such biographies as Ameneminet (2.r), Paser (2.m, texts 1–2), and Setau (1.a, 5.4). The naming of rooms and places within the palace draws Nefersekheru into more and more intimate and restricted domains of royal presence and activity. Osing (1992b, 49, ns. n, p) and Franke (1994b, 125) suggest that the rarity of the

vocabulary designating these areas points to the use of ancient or specialist terminology. I suggest that, in some cases, this may relate to the context of use rather than deliberate archaising. Some of the phraseology that describes his movements seems more usually associated with priestly activity within temples, perhaps enabling the linking of the figure of the king with the local god that is developed through the tomb space.

Nefersekheru's proficiency in writing brings him into the 'Mansion of Life' (*hwt-^ḥnh*) (col. 8). Osing's note on this term (1992b, 49, n. 1) follows Gardiner (1938b), who concluded that the *hwt-^ḥnh* referred to living quarters of the palace, in particular the rooms concerned with food preparation. Gardiner's discussion is based largely on Old Kingdom sources, in particular the title *hry-wdb-hwt-^ḥnh* which he translated as 'master of the king's largess in the Mansion of Life'. He observed that the title often occurs in association with other titles relating to ritual and ceremonial roles connected with the physical person of the king. Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia's reassessment of this title (1997, 140–3; 1999, 44–8) largely supports Gardiner's, although he does not restrict the title or the *hwt-^ḥnh* to food preparation and service. He suggests the *hwt-^ḥnh* was a palace institution or area, perhaps incorporating the throne room, which may have been particularly concerned with the evaluation of resources, including food provisions. He (1997, 141–3) emphasizes that the limited occurrence of the title indicates only a small number of people were connected with the institution.

In the biography of Ptahmose, Memphite high priest under Amenhotep III, entry into the *hwt-^ḥnh* is part of the privilege of his promotion to office, thus underscoring the restricted nature of its space: 'I was given to Ptah-Sokar and the Henu barque, while I was in the presence; no other could enter the Mansion of Life (*n-^ḥq.tw r-hwt-^ḥnh*), but he (the king) caused that I walk freely (?: *stn*) in the place of [...]' (*Urk.* IV, 1918, 19–1919, 1; Kozloff et. al. 1992, 241–2, cat. 37). On a fragment of a door-jamb, probably from a Saqqara tomb, the individual Benanath, who is depicted adoring cartouches of Ramesses III, holds the title 'chief physician of the *hwt-^ḥnh*'. A column above the scene bears the inscription 'beloved of ... who resides in the *hwt-^ḥnh*' (Gaballa 1973, 109). Gaballa (1973, 110, n. b) also observes that a chief physician of the *hwt-^ḥnh* was the owner of a funerary papyrus dated to the 18th Dynasty (Botti 1954, 70–2, pl. 3). The *hwt-^ḥnh* may not be an unusual term in New Kingdom sources. Its restriction to the palace context and,

therefore, the Memphite area (Moreno Garcia 1997, 141 for the Old Kingdom), may explain its scarcity in published material. The medical titles perhaps imply that the *hwt-ḥnh* involved a close physical proximity to the king.

Neferekheru's text highlights the ceremonial associations of the *hwt-ḥnh*, which are alluded to by its position in Old Kingdom title strings and by Ptahmose's biography. It is the setting for ritual preparation before Neferekheru enters royal service: 'I purified myself there in order to serve His Person' (col. 8). This act thematizes ritual purity as a requirement for entering royal space. Acts of purification in the context of ritual performance occur in priestly biography (4.d, rear surface, left side), but the only parallel known to me of the purification of an individual is the Middle Kingdom stela of the overseer of priests at Abydos Wepwawetaa: 'I performed my office while I was a child, I was purified at my time of discernment (*wḥb.n.j r-tr.j n-s33*)' (Sethe 1928, 72, ll. 12–3). In both Neferekheru's and Wepwawetaa's biographies this purification marks a transition from youth to adulthood and official role. Wepwawetaa's text can also be translated 'I was made a wab priest' (e.g. Lichtheim 1988, 76) and the double layers of meaning may be evoked in Neferekheru's text. Neferekheru's purification is aligned with his initiation in the following stanza. Initiation is also a central motif in priestly biography (Bakenkhons; 2.a, back pillar cols. 2–3; Roma-Roy, 2.d, right side, col. 3; Wenennefer; 4.e, l. 7) so that royal and divine access seem parallel here.

As a result of this ritual act, Neferekheru moves into the audience chamber to write 'in the place where His Person was' and from there into the *k3p n-ḥnty*:

I was enclosed within the protected chamber of the outer palace (*k3p n-ḥnty*),
being a youth whom the palace staff love,
because of the silence of my mouth;
there was no memorandum concerning me in the mouth of a messenger of the lord of the two
lands.

(7.a, col. 9)

k3p is rare in Ramessid texts as a designation of palace space. In Middle Kingdom titles and documents referring to palace officials and administration, the *k3p* was associated with the inner apartments of the palace, distinct from the official, 'public' domain of the *ḥnty* (Quirke 1990, 39–40, with schema p. 41) and the term retains these associations in titles such as 'child of the *k3p*' in 18th Dynasty sources (Feucht 1985b). A comparable use of *k3p* in a biographical text is the block statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu (CG 583),

on which is an epithet describing him as ‘one who hears words of the secret *k3p*, an official to whom something is confided ... who makes the laws for the inhabitant of the palace’ (*Urk.* IV 1815, 5; and see Osing 1992b, 35, n. 37). The only other attestation of the *k3p* as a palace domain from this period is in the decree of Horemheb, which regulates movement in the *k3p* and the *ḥnwty*, perhaps setting them in opposition as the most restricted, ‘private’, and most ‘public’ spaces (Osing 1992, 49 n. n, o): ‘The sandal-bearers serve in the court of the audience chamber in which they can move freely by coming and going through its doors, ... I instructed the step of the audience chamber and the routines within the *k3p*’ (Kruchten 1981, 178–9). *k3p* also occurs in Nefersekheru’s title-strings at the beginning of the appeal inscribed around his southern statue in the shrine: ‘scribe of the offering stand in the protected chamber of Horus’ (*sh-wdḥw m-k3p-hr*) (Osing 1992b, 34, pl. 44, col. 1). If Osing’s reading of the verb describing the movement into the *k3p* as *ḥn(r)* is correct (see 7.a, n. e), the concept of being enclosed within a restricted area may heighten the ritualized associations of this space, although the reference to messengers, highlighted by an enjambement, suggests that it may have been a zone of mediation between the palace and the outside world.

The next episode may bring Nefersekheru further into inner zones of the palace and close to the physical person of the king:

It was my good character which promoted me.
I was initiated (*bs.kw*) into the [preparation chamber] in the hidden [horizon],
beginning with the invocation of my name by His Person,
to be royal scribe of the meal of the king in his following.

(7.a, cols. 9–10)

Although the readings of *wḥbt* and *3ḥt* are uncertain, the description of this area as ‘secret, hidden (*ḥt*)’ implies access to restricted knowledge and space (Baines 1990, 9–10). Osing suggests (1992b, 50, n. s) that if *wḥbt* and *3ḥt* are correctly read, this area was associated with the butchery and preparation of meat for the king’s meal, an idea supported by the title ‘royal scribe of the meal for the king’ (*sh-nswt-ḥbw-r3-nswt*) to which Nefersekheru is appointed. *3ḥt* is attested as a name for butcheries at Akhetaten (Fairman in Pendlebury 1951, 171–2; Gardiner 1955, 1). The inscription of the high priest of Amun, Roma-Roy, records his restoration of the *wḥbt* of the temple ‘(as) a place for the butchers and brewers who are within it’ (2.e, col. 8). Butchery was laden with

ritual associations (Eyre 2002), so the motif of initiation may be appropriate to this context.

Rather than viewing Nefersekheru's text as transferring priestly motifs into the royal domain, his language may reflect a usage that was common to both. The promotion from priest to vizier is described as an initiation (*bs.kw*) in the biography of User, vizier under Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV, 1031, 16; cf. Kruchten 1989, 186–92). The thematizing of palace space in Nefersekheru's biography rather than office and title allows the multiple associations of the phraseology with royal and divine spheres to be foregrounded and heightened, perhaps playing into the presentation of the king as mediator in Nefersekheru's transformation in this-life and in the next which is developed through the tomb.

The closeness to the king, rendered possible by the transition to different zones of the palace, leads to royal recognition, culminating in promotion. The salience of this promotion is emphasized through its more conventional narration, in which the office rather than the place is named: 'I was promoted to high steward by the king, being alert and not neglectful concerning what was placed before me, [when I performed] my [services?] for my Horus' (cols. 11–12). The moment of reward which follows, although linked with the appointment to Nefersekheru's highest office, is not tied to any single event or action, but is generalized and plural:

I was favoured without ceasing everyday.
I was rewarded often for every task,
the gold thereof at my throat, the myrrh which is upon my head,
real *jbr*-balm from the beginning of the land anointing my limbs.

When I went forth from the gates of the palace,
all my people were joyful to the height of the sky.

(7.a, cols. 12–13)

This description corresponds with the iconography of Nefersekheru before the text, adorned with gold collars and with an incense cone on his head. Reward also moves Nefersekheru from restricted, enclosed space into the public domain, as well as bringing him to the end of his narrated life with a reference to old age (col. 14). Reward in this life, mediated through the king, alludes to transformation at death (Frood 2003, 79–81), as is made explicit in the Osirid image of the king accompanying the reward scene in the

tomb of Paser (5.2.2). This connection is exploited in Nefersekheru's tomb through the use of the reward motif in the harpist's song.

There is more than one reading of 𓆎 at the end of the narration of promotion. This is normally read *nb.j* (*Wb.* II, 227), but, as Osing notes (1992b, 50, n. x), 'my Horus' is probable in light of the writing of Horus in other texts in the tomb. The title 'scribe of the offering stand in the protected chamber of Horus' (*sh-wdhw m-k3p-hr*) inscribed around the southern statue of Nefersekheru in the shrine has a parallel around the northern statue, 'scribe of the offering stand in the palace of the [king]' (*sh-wdhw m-ḥ n-[nswt]*): Osing 1992b, 34, pl. 43, col. 1, pl. 44, col. 1). Together, these titles align the king and Horus. Their fusion is made explicit in the harper's song in the shrine, which draws themes of the biography and the appeals together with the images and statues in the tomb:

<i>3w-jb.k rs.tj m-htp</i>	Be happy when you awake in peace,
<i>[p3]-ḥsy ḥw-nfr</i>	favoured one (with) a perfect life,
<i>nfr-shrw m3-ḥrw</i>	Nefersekheru, true of voice,
<i>p3-qb-ḥw shnt.n-nswt hr-qd.f</i>	the calm living, whom the king promoted on account of his character,
<i>mrwt.k hry-jb-hr.k</i>	love of you is in the heart of your Horus,
<i>s3.tj m-snyt</i>	being raised up in the entourage,
<i>hnm.tj (m-)rswt thhwt</i>	suffused (with) joy and exaltation,
<i>jh[h]y h[ḥwt]</i>	ju[bilati]on and [celebration].
<i>[h]rt.k m-hswt-nswt</i>	Your portion is the favour of the king,
<i>nbw [j]br</i>	gold and <i>jbr</i> -balm,
<i>[h]n[m.tj] tsw-mrwt</i>	[being united with?] the speech of Meret,
<i>wšm-jb m-rwt</i>	who examines the heart from outside ...
(Osing 1992b, 66–72, pl. 42, cols. 1–7)	

Osing (1992a, 11–24; 1992b, 68) plausibly suggests that the parallels of theme and language between the biography and the harper's song indicate that the song was sung at Nefersekheru's reward and then adapted to the tomb. The personal elements in the text, such as the word-play on Nefersekheru's name in columns 10–11 – 'you existed in life and perfect plans (*wn.k m-ḥ-nfr-shrw*)' – as well as the explicit references to the reward scene in the biography, further support the view that the song was composed or adapted for Nefersekheru himself. Fischer-Elfert (1994, 47–8) offers a possible parallel from entries in the 13th Dynasty P Boulaq 18 in which an individual's promotion to office is preceded by a banquet at which singers and harpists performed. The interconnections between the appeals, the laments, the harper's song, and the biography point to a

strikingly explicit and artful composition of the tomb and progression through its space. This interweaving of text and image enacts the movement through the palace developed in the biography; both draw the world of the king in lived experience into the divine sphere and place the self at the centre of this transformation.

5.4 Setau at Wadi es-Sebua

The biographical stela of Setau, viceroy of Kush under Ramesses II, dedicated within the temple he built on behalf of Ramesses at Wadi es-Sebua, places the king within temple space and foregrounds his symbolic and cultic function in relation to the individual using strategies that contrast with those developed in Nefersekheru's tomb. Christine Raedler's (2003) extensive study of Setau's monuments and texts explores the implications of his self-presentation as the embodiment of royal power in Nubia as well as aspects of his ritual connection to the king. Her treatment focuses on the orchestration of this role through social networks and she offers a synthesis of his career and monuments. I draw on this work in my treatment of his biography.

Setau is first attested as viceroy of Kush on a double rock-cut stela that he dedicated at Abu Simbel in year 38 of Ramesses II (KRI III, 104, 15–106, 15). The scenes on the stela depict Ramesses II smiting enemies for Amun and Horus and may be modelled on the king's own double stela at the site (Raedler 2003, 151, n. 126). Setau was viceroy for at least 25 years, the longest known tenure (Raedler 2003, 154) although his exact enddate is not determined. The reading of a year-count of 63 on a stela from Tonqala is very uncertain (KRI III, 105, 5) and this stela may also have been dedicated by his son (Helck 1975, 105–6). Two other viceroys under Ramesses II are attested after him: Anhotep and Mernudjem (Raedler 2003, 133; KRI III, 112–113, 7). The details of Setau's early career narrated in the Wadi es-Sebua stela indicate that he came from a civic rather than military background, in contrast to his predecessors in office (Raedler 2003, 153–4). This is confirmed by a stela of his found at Dra Abu el-Naga, which was probably commissioned before he became viceroy, and on which he bears the titles 'overseer of the domain of Amun' and 'festival leader for Amun' (Raedler 2003, 140, no. 1, n. 48). His emphasis on 'increasing harvest' and 'bulging granaries' in the biographical stela may be connected with this earlier career in civil administration.

Setau is attested in at least 100 sources, distributed across Egypt and Nubia (list and distribution map: Raedler 2003, 140–5, fig. 8). Architectural elements with his name have been found at Memphis (Raedler 2003, 143, no. 83; Dewachter 1985, 23–5) and Abydos (Raedler 2003, 140, no. 8), and it is likely that he dedicated commemorative cult chapels at both sites. His unpublished tomb is at Dra Abu el-Naga in Thebes (TT 289: PM I², 1, 369–72; Habachi 1976; Kampp-Seyfried 1996, II, 558–61; Raedler 2003, 140 no. 2, 151–2); its outer area and chapel were usurped in the Late Period and are badly damaged. Kampp-Seyfried (1996, II, 559) states that the underground structures are closely comparable with the tomb of Ramesses II. Setau also dedicated a number of monuments at Elkab, which came under his jurisdiction as viceroy (Raedler 2003, 137, 140–1 nos 9–12), including a rock-cut chapel and a small free-standing structure known as the ‘Thoth-chapel’ (Derchain 1971, 69–73; Drenkhahn 1975). The inscriptions on the latter include some biographical statements (1.b). His name also appears in the fragmentary biography of the fanbearer [Hor/Mut]emhab found in the fortress on Sai Island (1.c).

The scenes on the walls of the ‘Thoth chapel’ at Elkab depict the merging of the solar eye with the sun-god through the mediation of Thoth and Onuris (Derchain 1971, 69–73; Raedler 2003, 147–9). A statue of the king probably stood inside the chapel, linking the royal cult with that of the sun-god. Setau is depicted in the entrance area of the chapel, adoring Thoth on the thicknesses and offering eulogies to the king in the interior, a strategy of self-presentation that aligns his relationship to the king with the mediatory roles of Thoth and Onuris toward the sun-god (Raedler 2003, 147–8; fig. 11). The eulogy on the left side of the entrance closes with short biographical statements about his relationship with the king. ‘I am a servant, useful [to his lord, the overseer] of his treasury, [...] favoured [by his lord, who rejoiced?] on account of (his?) perfection. He appointed me at the head of his [numerous?] courtiers on account of what I said (?)’ (KRI III, 84, 6–7; Derchain 1971, pl. 29). These phrases, and the corresponding epithets in the eulogy on the right side (KRI III, 85, 2–3; Derchain 1971, pl. 30), can perhaps be understood as condensed formulations of the topics of the long narrative dedicated at Wadi es-Sebua.

Setau’s large biographical stela was found in situ by the north wall of the second outer court of the temple of Wadi es-Sebua with a number of smaller stelae belonging to

military officials (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911). For Setau Wadi es-Sebua was a salient zone of action, dedication, and self-presentation (plan: fig. 2). Of the 100 sources for Setau compiled by Raedler (2003, 140–44), 41 are from the temple of Ramesses II, including statues, architectural elements such as door jambs and lintels, and the stela with its associated ‘client’ stelae (Raedler’s nos. 21–39, 41–59, 96–8). A statue was found in the nearby temple of Amenhotep III, which Setau restored in the name of Ramesses (Raedler 2003, 142, no. 40). A rock stela near the temples depicts Setau being rewarded by the king (Raedler 2003, 142 no. 60).

Setau’s extensive self-presentation at Wadi es-Sebua led Michel Dewachter (1985, 35–7) to conclude that it was the central site for Setau’s administration of Nubia (see further below). Whatever the administrative role of the site, the concentration of monuments attests to its importance for Setau’s career. Wadi es-Sebua and Gerf Hussein are the only new temples that Setau is known to have built, although he did restoration work at other temple sites (Hein 1991, 95–6; Raedler 2003, 154–5). Irmgard Hein (1991, 112 with refs.) argues, on stylistic grounds as well as its omission from Setau’s biography, that the much smaller temple of Gerf Hussein was built after Wadi es-Sebua. As a new foundation for Ramesses II in Nubia, Wadi es-Sebua could be seen as the central, culminating action of Setau’s career and biography. The temple is the core element of the narrative on the stela, as is the work at Karnak on the Munich statue of Bakenkhons (**2.b**, 3.2.2).

A large number of statue fragments dedicated by Setau were found in the first inner court of the temple. Dewachter (1985, 35) proposes that these belonged to ten statues, which he suggests, from an analysis of their inscriptions, formed five statue pairs. It cannot be established exactly where these pairs were set up; their grouping may have paralleled that of the group of stelae dedicated in the second outer court.

This outer court seems to have been the central zone for displaying Setau’s administrative and cult responsibilities and presenting his role as intermediary for individuals associated with the temple. A number of architectural elements bearing his name and image were found in a mud-brick building located off the southern wall of the second court (plan: fig. 3). This building, studied by Dewachter (1985), perhaps formed a central zone of administration and secondary cult performance. The stone ‘altar’ found by

Henri Gauthier in the centre of room A, led him to designate this room as a ‘chapel’ or barque station (1912, 35). The adjacent room B contained round enclosures which Dewachter suggests were grain silos. Directly opposite the entrance to this building, against the north wall of the court, was found the biographical stela of Setau set up in a row with six other stelae (fig. 5: I use the numbers of Barsanti and Gauthier 1911). Setau’s stela (1.a, VII; fig. 5), at almost twice the size of the others, dominates the group. The others (I, II, III, IV, V, X; see figs. 6–10) belonged to soldiers; the surviving inscriptions state that they were dedicated for Setau (KRI III, 87, 15; 88, 8; 89, 2–5, 96, 2–3). Where texts survive, the owners of these stelae bore the title ‘standard-bearer’.

Four similar stelae were found in disturbed contexts in the second court, not far from the wall supporting the row of stelae (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, 64). Another stela of Setau (VI; fig. 8) and one belonging to an overseer of all the priests of all the gods, Mernudjem (VIII; fig. 10), were found in the sand south of the row of sphinxes (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, 75, 81). Mernudjem is also known from a number of objects from Buhen (KRI III, 132–5; Raedler 2003, 158). The stela of the *sk*-officer Ramose (IX; fig. 9), which includes a narrative text, was found in four pieces north of the row of sphinxes (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, 83). Barsanti and Gauthier (1911, 85–6) did not note the findspot of a stela belonging to the sculptor Pentaweret (XI), which was dedicated to Thoth and is the only one of the group that bears no mention of Setau. Raedler (2003, 158) suggests that Pentaweret was responsible for the production of the stelae. Another stela of Setau was found against the inside face of the south wall of the first outer court (Gauthier 1912, 36–7, no. 5). This stela depicts the king before Renenutet in the upper register with Setau adoring in the lower; Dewachter (1985, 35) considers that the image of the goddess is associated with the function of the building on the south side of the temple as granary and storehouse. A small mudbrick building in the second court next to the row of stelae was also associated with Setau and his staff. A doorjamb found here bears an image of a wab priest of the temple behind a figure of Setau (Dewachter 1985, 34; Raedler 2003, 144 no. 97).

That these stelae establish Setau as a patron for his client soldiers and priests is clear from their visual similarity, the dedicatory setting within the temple, and the inscriptions. On stela IV, Setau stands with the owner before three columns of offering formula for

Setau's health and prosperity (KRI III, 90, 2–3); formulae on stelae I and II are similarly made on behalf of Setau and close with a dedicatory statement: 'made by X (*jr.n* X)' (KRI III, 87, 14–88, 4; 88, 6–15; figs. 6–7). The scenes and texts of stela X are lost but its framing texts also name Setau (KRI III, 96, 2–5). The 'client' stelae of Setau's officers and personnel parallel visually the larger stela of Setau. Two also include short narratives of events which are presented in his biography. The upper register of Setau's stela depicts the king on the left, kneeling and offering wine to seated figures of Amun, the deified Ramesses II, Mut, and Maat (fig. 4). Setau is shown parallel to the king in the bottom left corner of the stela with his arms raised. The orientation of the king and Setau contrasts with the conventional left-facing offering figures in the scenes on the smaller stelae.

The six stelae beside Setau's are also divided into two registers, with framing texts that parallel the jambs of his stela. The upper registers depict Ramesses II offering before a range of gods, including Amun, the deified Ramesses II, Anat, Hathor, Harmakhis, Harakhty, and Atum. In two cases (I, II; figs. 6–7) the gods are depicted within portable shrines standing on a pedestal, the side of which is dominated by the figure of a rampant lion. This same shrine is also depicted on the stela of Ramose (IX; fig. 9). The lower registers are more variable in composition. Three show the owner before pairs or triads of gods (I, II, V). In context, the adoring figures on the smaller stelae faced toward the temple sanctuary, from which the gods emerged. The processional context is emphasized through portable shrines. On Setau's stela, by contrast, he and the king face outward, perhaps welcoming the gods into the temple. He and the king are aligned in their provision of temple space for the divine, as well as for human worshippers who are represented by the client stelae, which include Setau himself through his dedication of one of the smaller stelae (VI; fig. 8). Setau and the king can perhaps be understood to emerge from the temple in order to interact and mediate with their dedicators. The theme of provision of temple space is also foregrounded within Setau's biographical narrative.

Raedler (2003, 157–9, fig. 12) uses the dedicatory context of the Wadi es-Sebua stelae as a case-study of social networks displayed by Setau in Nubia. As she observes, the stelae place Setau in an intermediary role for the soldiers and officials responsible for constructing the temple and performing the cult in it, in a manner comparable to the mediatory role of the king with the gods depicted in the upper registers of the stelae.

Raedler (2003, 158) characterizes the network of relationships presented within Wadi es-Sebua as weak: the individuals are bound to Setau through the temple building work alone, and his role as intermediary for them is effective only for the duration of the project. She compares the stelae with the depiction of Setau leading rows of high and middle level officials before Ramesses II on the south and north walls of his cult chapel at Qasr Ibrim. On the basis of attestations of a number of these individuals on other monuments, attesting to their role in the administration of Nubia, Raedler argues that the images in Qasr Ibrim represent a strong network with Setau at the centre, a miniature court in parallel to the royal court (Raedler 2003, 159–62, fig. 15). She concludes that Aniba was the administrative headquarters for Setau, despite the lack of other finds relating to his activity there.

The date included on Setau's stela and two of the accompanying client stelae binds them to the specific context of the receipt of the royal decree and subsequent military campaign that led to the construction of the temple. However, the temple of Wadi es-Sebua and the chapel at Qasr Ibrim are distinct functional and symbolic contexts; decorum would affect the presentation of social relationships within them in different ways. Qasr Ibrim was a small 'private' chapel dedicated by Setau to show his personal connection to the royal cult. Wadi es-Sebua was a royal foundation dedicated to Amun-Re, a domain in which non-royal self-presentation was incorporated into a nominally and symbolically royal cult practice.

As a number of the self-presentations that I study show, temple building was a culminating event in biography, a central, concrete manifestation of service to god and king. The dedicatory zone established by Setau and his clients along the processional axis of the temple does not represent a weak, finite social network, but rather participates in the enduring performative context of temple space. Through their self-presentations on their stelae, the soldiers and temple staff linked their identities with the building of the temple, mediating their own lives through the salient stela and narrated biography of Setau. The presentation of this relationship can be compared with scenes of reward in which others partake of royal favour through the central individual (e.g. the reward in the Amarna tomb of Mahu: Davies 1903–08, IV, pl. XVII). On the Qantir stela depicting the reward of the officer Mose, the royal eulogy given by the troops depicted behind Mose

explicitly mobilizes this concept: ‘You are Re, you are his likeness when you shine, we live by seeing you and because of the [soldier] Mose’ (KRI III, 264, 4–5). Setau’s text and dedicatory context is particularly striking in its extension of this motif to lay a personal claim to temple space.

5.4.1 Being the king

Setau’s biography on the Wadi es-Sebua stela (1.a) is the most extended and elaborate Ramessid narration of a life and career in relation to the king. It begins with a date – year 44, first month of *pṛt*, day 2 – followed by the titulary of Ramesses II. This date corresponds with that on two of the client stelae. Stela III of Paheripedjet bears traces of three columns recording Setau’s receipt of a royal command in year 44, I *pṛt* (KRI III, 89, 11–13). In the lower register of the text on the stela of Setau’s *sk*-officer, Ramose (IX), a figure kneels before eight columns of inscription: ‘Year 44: His Person placed a command before [(his) confidant?], viceroy of Kush, Setau, true of voice, with the soldiers of the company of Ramesses meriamun “Amun is the protector of his son”, that he should take captives in Libya in order to build in the temple of Ramesses-meriamun-in-the-domain-of-Amun, as well as commanding the *sk*-officer Ramose to muster (*sṯs*) from the company; by the *sk*-officer Ramose’ (KRI III, 95, 5–15; fig. 9). The date therefore seems to commemorate the receipt of a royal command to secure a workforce for the temple through military action. This action is alluded to later in Setau’s narrative. The incorporation of royal commands and decrees within biography has a long pedigree (Gnirs 1996, 217–9). Here the decrees are set within the client stelae which may strengthen the quasi-pharaonic role Setau is enacting.

The narrative proper is designated as a hymn of praise to the king: ‘He says, in extolling this perfect god, Horus, beloved of Maat: I am a servant ...’ (l. 3). Setau’s life is dedicated to the king, an explicit statement of dependence incorporating him into the royal domain, comparable with the hymns that frame or are incorporated into the biographical narratives of Djehutyemheb (2.o, text 1) and Samut (2.q, text 1). Themes of teaching and eulogy are interwoven in the narrative – ‘I caused those who are young to extol His Person’ (l. 9) – and, in the final lines, the biography becomes an instruction: ‘Let every noble do what I have done for my lord’ (ll. 23).

The king is the central figure of Setau's public life. The first two stanzas of the narrative (ll. 3–5) are concerned with childhood and education. In contrast with other Ramessid biographies, in which teaching is self-directed (Anhurmo: 5.a, cols. 12–15) or obtained in the temple (Bakenkhons: 2.a, col. back pillar, 1–2), Setau's education is bound to the palace and the king. He refers to himself as a '[fosterchild] of the palace, for I grew up in the palace as a youth' (l. 3). Palace upbringing is attested as a motif in biographical texts from the Middle Kingdom onwards (3.3.1 with refs.). However, the fragmentary phraseology here seems distinctive, for example in 'speechless (?) in the affairs of one who is in the palace' (1.a, l. 4, with n. b), a usage that may be comparable with the heightened language that transforms and extends traditional concepts in a biographical text such as that of Anhurmo (2.3.1).

Setau achieves his first office through royal recognition: 'I was recognized as one who performs beneficent acts for his lord ... I was recognized while I was a youth' (ll. 4–5). This recognition (*gm*) is the central transformative concept in the biography and occurs at key moments (ll. 6, 8). Setau's appointment to the position of viceroy is achieved through this recognition: 'Again my lord recognized me on account of the greatness of my excellence; I was appointed as viceroy of this land of Kush' (l. 11). This decision is given divine mandate through the goddess Maat in a statement at the end of the text that concludes the presentation of Setau's actions as viceroy: 'She instructed my lord when she caused him to recognize (*gm*) me' (l. 22). The final lines also reinforce the salience of *gm*: 'Let every noble do what I have done for my lord, since he recognized my form and my character entirely, so that their names (also) be recognized' (ll. 23–4). *gm* also occurs in the narrative of the high priest of Amun Roma-Roy (2.d right side, cols. 3–4) signalling his transition to priestly office; here it may allude to an oracle (3.4).

Shirun-Grumach (1993, 125–8) suggests that the meaning of *gm* in texts narrating the king's discovery of concealed objects such as wells is of 'receiving revelation'. Assmann (2002 (1996), 241, n. 88) notes the extension of meaning to the 'finding' of god in texts such as the Sphinx stela of Thutmose IV, in which the king discovers the god speaking to him in a dream. The revelatory force of *gm* in a royal context is powerfully expressed in the naos inscription also of Thutmose IV in which he states that he 'found this stone in the shape of a divine falcon while he was a youth' (*Urk.* IV, 1565, 1–6). The

repetition of the verb throughout Setau's narrative evokes such meanings and sites the revelatory and oracular occurrences described in the royal domain (cf. Nefersekheru, 7.a, cols. 10–11).

Within this context of royal recognition, the central actions in the narrative are focussed on the domain of temples, first in Egypt and then in Nubia. While the king is a force in Setau's life, temple domains and the cult statue of the king in the temple are the key recipients of action. The narrative of his first appointment as chief scribe of the vizier describes his provision for temples: 'I assessed the entire land with my great pen, being like a venerated one of the king ... I instituted divine offerings of all the gods, and I increased the [regular offerings] of every day through perfect action' (ll. 6–7). The verses that follow describe the treasuries and granaries of the gods as 'overflowing' (*ngsgs*; l. 7) and 'pregnant with the harvest' (l. 8).

The narration of this stage of Setau's civic career culminates with his cultic responsibilities as 'high steward of Amun in Thebes', 'overseer of the treasury', and 'festival leader of Amun' (ll. 9–10). These damaged verses seem to present an image of the king as a temple statue that may be fused with Amun:

The braziers of gold were in my hands,
presenting before him, exalting His Person,
honouring the Lord of the Two Lands each time he appeared,
[adoring Amun?] on behalf of [the sovereign?],
my god who built me up through his [guidance],
that he (Amun) may grant him eternity as Lord of the Two Lands.

(1.a, ll. 10–11)

Here Setau also places himself in the role of mediator towards the gods on behalf of Ramesses, a theme that plays out through the construction of the temple narrated in the following stanzas and in the dedicatory context of the stela itself.

Setau's actions as viceroy of Kush parallel and extend those presented in the earlier part of the narrative. The motif of economic increase remains central but is transformed in the Nubian context through its alignment with military action. In two stanzas following that of his appointment, Setau narrates the resulting overflow of tribute and assessments from Kush – 'like the sands of the shore' (ll. 12–13) – and a minor military action undertaken for the king against the chief of Akerty (ll. 13–15). Each stanza ends with the statement that 'no viceroy of Kush' had achieved anything similar (ll. 13, 14–15).

In Nubia, economic increase and military action are also intended for the temple, specifically the building of Wadi es-Sebua, as narrated in the next stanza:

Then I built the temple of Ramesses-meryamun-in-the-domain-of-Amun,
being shaped from the western mountain as a construction of eternity,
filled with the numerous people of the plundering of His Person,
his storehouses being filled with goods approaching the sky,
[barley], emmer, and many grains.

(1.a, ll. 16–17)

The aim of Setau's military interventions to provide a workforce for temple building is also stated on the stela of his soldier, Ramose (see above).

Setau's actions are directed towards the divine sphere into which Ramesses is incorporated. It seems that the narrative, which is uncertain in detail (1.a, n. h), places the king, as a statue, in the temple sanctuary: 'while he (the king?) is within the shrine of Amun of Ramesses meryamun, the lord of the ways, Horus of Quban with him' (l. 17). The king may be concretely transformed into a temple statue, perhaps comparable to the rock-cut statue incorporated into Abu Simbel. The decorative programme of Wadi es-Sebua, with its emphasis on divine aspects of Ramesses II, strongly evokes his cult presence in the space (Habachi 1969, 12–13; Wildung 1973, 554).

As concluded by Raedler (2003, 170–1), Setau presents himself forcefully as the embodiment of royal presence and power in Nubia. He mediates for the king with the gods and acts as 'the powerful arm of Pharaoh' in plundering Irem (l. 13). That the king is not physically present in this action is emphasized by the next stanza: 'I informed One of them (the prisoners) and they were taken to Egypt' (l. 15). Setau's role as judge, developed in the stanza that follows the culminating narrative of temple building, also aligns him with a royal role: 'He caused that I sit in the court in order to judge the two lands' (l. 19).

Setau's biography sits in a long-standing and very varied tradition of king-centred self-presentation in Nubia. Display of a close relationship with the king is exemplified for the earlier New Kingdom by the stela from Semna West of Usersatet, viceroy under Amenhotep II, which narrates an intimate and salient palace setting for the king's composition of a strikingly personal letter to the viceroy (Helck 1955). Baines (1998, 37–8) contrasts Usersatet's stela with the more conventional eulogy of the king inscribed in his shrine at Qasr Ibrim. Usersatet displays two aspects of royal presence in Nubia

through his monuments, comparable to, although more distinctive than, the mediatory and cultic presence of Ramesses in Setau's text. Setau's more immediate predecessors in office also incorporated a heightened imagery of royal power in their self-presentations (Wildung 1973, 563). The broken upper register of a rock-cut stela of the viceroy of Sety I, Amenemope, near Qasr Ibrim, depicts the king spearing a Nubian before a standing god, while his chariot waits behind on a section of rising terrain, in an unparalleled fusion of a smiting scene with a battlefield setting (Schulman 1988, 200–204, 208, fig. 33). The text inscribed below is an elaborate eulogy of the king's military prowess (KRI I, 98–9): 'he (Sety I) spends the seasons of ploughing in Egypt and the seasons of his harvests among the *rnnw*, destroying all their farms and hacking up their cities. His horses are sated with grain and his soldiers are intoxicated with wine through the victories of his strong arm'. Such imagery of provision is a key element of Setau's text, supplementary to his rhetoric of leadership.

The focus on the king's intervention and religious role in Setau's text, mobilized particularly through the oracular quality of *gm*, is partly related to this tradition and to the broader implications of the Nubian context. Kings seem to present their divinity more strongly in marginal areas such as Nubia, although this should be considered within broader innovations in Ramesses II's self-presentation within Egypt (Wildung 1973, 561–2). The analogy between the stelae of Setau and his staff and the Qantir corpus is important in this context. The Qantir stelae centre visually on the quasi-divine status of the king, particularly in his form as a temple statue (Habachi 1969, 27–39; Wildung 1973, 558–9, 564), and come out of lower levels of military and civil service in the north. Setau seems to expand the implications of these king-centred presentations further. His text celebrates the king and stresses dependence on him, but the emphasis on royal cult presence in Nubia may also be a distancing device that allows Setau to position himself, through narrative and monumental context, as the primary actor and mediator at Wadi es-Sebua, and, by implication, Nubia as a whole. Setau's mediatory role mobilized by the stela and foregrounding the king's presence, may have been extended by his statues, now very fragmentary, which were placed in the inner court, perhaps using the same style of progression through temple space as presented in royal contexts. Thus Setau's role in

Nubia is, like royal presence in his narrative, bound symbolically to the temple domain and dedicated to the divine sphere.

5.5 Themes of king and cult

Royal monumental discourse in the Ramessid period is characterized by considerable experimentation with the representation of the king's relationship to the gods. He is depicted as a suppliant, a priestly actor, and the semi-divine recipient of a cult (Baines 1998a, 39). This is encapsulated at the temple of Sety I at Abydos where the king is represented in these various roles. The multiplicity of the king's image in the royal context showed the way toward greater flexibility in his role in elite self-presentation. Ramessid biographies that focus on the relationship with the king delineate aspects of royal involvement in an individual's life, from the king as a temporally bound office-holder to his functioning as a cult object. The image of the king is used in a variety of ways and linked closely to the individual's transformation in the next world.

Experience of the king in this world is located specifically through palace settings, the use of dates, and the recording of events and interventions, such as installation and promotion, all of which were traditional motifs of non-royal self-presentation. This performative aspect of the king is particularly emphasized in the biographies of Nebwenenef and Setau, where the king's action is sited exactly in time by dates and decrees. Nebwenenef's text encompasses the divine sphere through the king's role as a mediator for an oracle of Amun and as the central priestly actor in the Opet festival. Setau's text expands the implications of the king's mediatory role by equating royal intervention with the force of an oracle. This association assimilates the king with the divine sphere: he is also a cult presence in the temple and in Setau's life, perhaps in the form of a statue.

The ceremonial and ritual role of the king, which is a feature of 18th Dynasty and earlier biographies, becomes salient in some Ramessid texts. This role is displayed by means of images of cult statues through which a number of reward scenes from the 19th and 20th Dynasties are mediated and its development may relate in part to the context of presentation. The tombs of Paser, Nebwenenef, and Nefersekheru explore the protagonist's relationship to the king in monuments that are basically oriented to the

divine sphere. Subtle shifts in the depiction of royal presence may be both required and enabled by these contexts. The most artful surviving treatment is perhaps in the provincial tomb of Nefersekheru. Unlike the tombs of Paser and Nebwenenef, that of Nefersekheru does not depict or name the king. Within the biography, the significance of royal presence is emphasized by the restricted palace areas to which Nefersekheru is admitted, as well as the language of initiation and protection used to describe his movements, rather than by the actions of the king himself. The implicit link between the king and the image of Nefersekheru's local god Horus in the tomb may expand the expression of royal divinity.

One of the most intimate presentations of an individual's connection with the king is the reward of the soldier Amenemhab from the reign of Thutmose III, narrated in his tomb biography: 'He dispensed joy and it filled my body; exaltation suffused my limbs (*thhwt hnm.n.f-h'w.j*)' (*Urk.* IV, 894, 14–15; Baines in preparation). The force of this physical and emotive experience of royal favour is comparable to verses in the harper's song of Nefersekheru which address him as 'suffused with joy and exaltation (*hnm.tj (m-)ršwt thhwt*)' (Osing 1992b, 66, pl. 42) through the actions of the king, 'your Horus'. The personal response to the king contrasts with the reserve implicit in the stative forms that narrate Nefersekheru's rewards in the lived context of his biographical inscription (7.a, 12–13). On the one hand, the king is vital to the careers of all the individuals discussed in this chapter; he discovers them, promotes them, and brings them to the culmination of their careers. On the other hand, despite of, or perhaps because of, his elevated, semi-divine status in their presentations, his role at these culminating moments is distanced, enabling individual action and agency to be foregrounded.

6 SYNTHESIS

6.1 Tradition and innovation

Marguerite Yourcenar, in her notes to *Mémoires d'Hadrien* (1974 (1958), 342) described the narrative of a life as comprising: 'trois lignes sinueuses, étirées à l'infini, sans cesse rapprochées et divergeant sans cesse: ce qu'un homme a cru être, ce qu'il a voulu être, et ce qu'il fut'. This formulation parallels the concerns to articulate prestige, role, relationship, and action that are mobilized in the biographies I study, as well as the desire to extend their meanings beyond a biological lifespan into the next world, enabling communication between the dead and the living. Such concepts had been central to biography from its earliest development as a genre. In the Ramessid period elements and contexts of presentation changed, participating in the loosening of decorum in depiction and display.

The transformation of earlier themes of self-presentation is visible in the diversity of visual and spatial settings as well as narrative motifs. Two-dimensional representation is often seen as having greater transgressive potential than three-dimensional forms such as statuary. In my corpus this is exemplified by the tomb of Anhurmosé which incorporates the image of his wife into the inscription. However, boundaries of presentation in non-royal statuary were also expanded during this time, particularly by the distinctive forms associated with the Abydos priesthood. Such monuments are works of art – architectural, visual, and verbal – and my study has sought to respond to and treat all of these dimensions, in contrast with traditional approaches which often prioritize the verbal aspects.

In shaping and displaying a self and life, Ramessid biographies are grounded in ancient motifs of service to king and god, exemplified by the building narratives that are central to the biographies of the high priests of Amun in Karnak (2.a–i) and the viceroy Setau (1.a). Themes of social responsibility are less central than earlier. The articulation of interactions with the human sphere may have been partly transferred to other domains of representation, such as the emphasis on the mapping of kinship and collegial relationships which is seen as a feature of late New Kingdom elite stelae and statues (e.g. Pirelli 1998). The role of individual as mediator between human and divine spheres,

which is mobilized in a number of the texts I treat, may also encompass this aspect of social role. Scholars such as Assmann (2002 (1996), 230) view this shift in focus from self and society to self and god as part of broader profound developments in thought and world-view in the 19th and 20th Dynasties. Alternatively, it may reflect change in forms of display which enabled aspects of life and self to be depicted in ways that had not been possible earlier as well as an increased concern to explore and express religious values.

In the priestly biographies of Anhurmosé and Bakenkhons, themes of social responsibility are associated with and set within temple precincts, in keeping with the general New Kingdom tendency toward increased investment in temples. This focus on temple domains is elaborated through motifs of priestly role and action, and extends to those who did not display priestly titles but nonetheless developed temples, particularly craftsmen. The chief sculptor Userhat's narration (4.a) of the manufacture of divine statues locates him at the nexus of temple space and the outside world.

The biographical inscriptions from Karnak and Abydos (chapters 3 and 4) develop themes relating to role and life in temples, such as ritual performance and ceremony. Distinctive features of these texts include the emphasis on singular moments of divine presence such as initiation (*bs*). Initiation is a component of biographies in the Middle Kingdom (Fischer-Elfert and Grimm 2003, 71) and the early New Kingdom (Kruchten 1989, 178, 188–9). In Ramessid texts its significance is greatly increased as the culminating moment in an individual's life and relationship to king and god. It also crucially leads to the protagonist's presence at the centre of divine action. The high priest of Isis Wenennefer (4.e) extends the implications of this motif: his initiation, and the celebration surrounding it, opens the way to his assimilation with the divine child Horus-Ihy.

Outside the priestly domain other models were drawn on in relating the self to the divine sphere. New motifs such as dreams, or the complex interaction of fictionalizing tale and juridical text of Samut (2.q), narrated comparable moments of divine intervention in which the self became the focus of divine presence. The new decorative programme in Ramessid tombs made possible such expansions in the ways a monument to a life could be fashioned. The tombs of Djehutyemheb and Samut in the Assasif and

the provincial tombs of Anhurmoise and Nefersekheru are the salient realizations of these developments.

The topos of childhood and education is also deployed to give an alternative temporal dimension to the shaping of self in texts. Childhood and early youth had been thematized in biography since the Old Kingdom (Kloth 2002, 128–31). The mapping of stages of life in some Ramessid biographies extends this motif. Examples range from the qualitative stages of childhood presented by Anhurmoise, who moves through four different aspects of youth from being ‘excellent as a weanling’ to ‘a humble youth who sat in the schoolroom’ (5.a, cols. 9–13) to the quantitative enumeration of early career set out on the back pillar of the Munich statue of Bakenkhons (2.b, back pillar, cols. 2–4). A number of texts, including the Cairo statue of Bakenkhons (2.a), locate childhood and upbringing in the temple domain, explicitly implicating the sacral in the formulation of a life. This effect is metaphorically heightened in texts such as that on the Deir el-Bahri statue of the vizier Paser (2.v) and the stela of the Deir el-Medina scribe Qenherkhepshef (KRI III, 275, 12–276, 1) which relate their protagonist’s birth in temple precincts. Such settings contrast strongly with earlier texts which have traditional, royal points of departure for the setting out of years, such as the late Middle Kingdom biography of Khusobek who incorporates his year of birth into a narrative concerned with military action and reward through the king (Baines 1987b).

The development of life and experience in bounded spheres of palace and temple is exemplified by the biography of the high steward Nefersekheru (7.a) whose movement through different zones of the palace is organized in terms of the passing of time. He moves from being a child ‘in the arms of his father’ to a ‘youth (*nfrw*)’ enclosed in the protected chamber of the outer palace (cols. 7–9). His act of purification alludes to the achievement of a stage of maturation. On promotion to royal scribe, he states that ‘years passed by me in this commission’ (col. 11). The setting of promotion within personal time is also a feature of the Munich statue of Bakenkhons. Throughout Nefersekheru’s narrative the emphasis on restricted access and the language of initiation and purification resonates with priestly narratives of temple space.

In all these areas Ramessid biographies drew on older motifs and developed them in new directions. The fictional tale which begins the biography of Samut (2.q) has been

seen as a quintessential Ramessid expression of departure from traditional idealizing formulae of biographical narrative. But it can be placed in the context of the literary frames evoked in the 18th Dynasty biography of Amenemhab (Baines forthcoming) and the Middle Kingdom inscription of Khnumhotep at Dashur (discussed in 2.3.2). In Samut's case, the interplay of the third-person fictional setting with other text-types and voices form part of an elaborate self-fashioning process, incorporating the whole tomb space, which is mediated through and enabled by Mut.

6.2 God and king: changing relationships

The central relationship developed in Ramessid self-presentations is with the gods. This relationship and other aspects of religious self are articulated in multiple, highly individual ways, the diversity of which exemplifies the increasing flexibility of rules of pictorial and textual decorum. The extent of innovation in presenting relations with the gods and its place in broader changes in Ramessid display can be illustrated by the role of goddesses in some of the self-presentations I treat. In the biographies of Djehutyemheb and Wenennefer, a goddess acts to enable key transitions or developments. In contrast, the texts in the tomb of Samut record his own discovery of Mut's presence in this life and aspiration toward her protection in the next. The biographies in the tombs of Anhurmoose and Maya do not mention goddesses or foreground relationships with the divine sphere, but representations of female divinity are part of the same decorative spaces as the inscriptions. Hathor and the goddess of the West were traditional components of tomb decoration, governing visually the owner's entry into the necropolis (Barthelmess 1992, 121–30). In the Ramessid contexts, the implications of the female divine element are expanded to link powerfully the lived world with the next and mediate the transition between the two. Such presentations sit in a context of greater salience of goddesses in New Kingdom, especially Ramessid sources. Alison Roberts (1984, 178–9) concludes that the emergence in the 19th Dynasty of temple scenes of the king being led by a goddess attests to a new emphasis on the mediatory roles of goddesses and forms part of a systemization in the representation of female divinity. These cases exemplify the many ways in which elite individuals could exploit and assimilate expansions of display and representation in contouring their own self-presentations. Such motifs were perhaps a

way of drawing the religious aspect of lived experience into the other-worldly domain of the tomb.

Although many of the texts I discuss have a strong religious focus, the king remained central to key events and transitions such as appointment, promotion, and reward. The salience of his image partly relates to status. While, in theory, most elite individuals could present a close relationship with the gods, the king was directly accessible to fewer. He was a central mediator of prestige and access and his image may have been crucial for display in some contexts, such as sanctioning the extensive inscription and decoration on the walls of Karnak by the high priest of Amun, Amenhotep (3.2.3). He also seems to be presented in more sharply defined aspects. In some contexts his cultic and ritual role is particularly demarcated. In the Theban tomb of Paser he is displayed in Osirid form with the souls of Pe and Nekhen (2.m, text 3). The king is not visually depicted in the tomb of Nefersekheru, and is instead linked with Horus through the decorative and inscriptional programme of the whole tomb space. It is possible that the specific mobilization of the king's divine potential may relate to expansion in the representation of relationships with the divine sphere.

6.3 Materiality of self and space

The ways in which biographical texts relate to and are shaped by monumental and spatial contexts forms the central theme of my discussions: how did elite individuals appropriate and incorporate domains of sacred space into their self-presentations? The implications of this focus are encapsulated in Gaston Bachelard's (1969 (1958), 203) observation that 'every object invested with intimate space becomes the center of all space'.

Biographical texts inscribed in some Ramessid tombs expand and transform the quasi-temple world created by their decorative programmes, mobilizing the lived experience and voice of the tomb owner as well as human audiences. The shifts in voice throughout the texts of Samut suggest a reflexive awareness of the implications of this expansion. These shifts draw in the imagined audience and perhaps locate the protagonist as a mediator between human and divine worlds. Biographies therefore bring other social practices and interactions into the tomb, beyond the cultic relationship of the owner with

the gods, including perhaps alternative elements of performance enacted, if only symbolically, by their presence.

Statues collapse distinctions of texts and images that can play out over entire tomb walls and chambers. The forms and genres of statues are constrained by their temple settings but can also incorporate and transform them. The images of Hathor rendered on the body of the statue of Ameneminet (2.r) draw the divine presence out from the temple sanctuary into accessible space and interaction with other worshippers and potential visitors. His statue exploits the inscriptional material of biography and prayer together with iconographic features in such a way as to make one complement and require the other.

Such potentials of statue format are also exemplified by the block statue of the God's Father of Ptah Ptahmose (8.e; fig. 99). Although bearing the cartouches of Ramesses II, features of this statue point to later developments. Images of kin, a central motif of traditional non-royal presentation on stelae, are included around the statue's base, while figures of gods are carved in low relief on the statue body. Scenes of deities are a component of temple statues in the Third Intermediate Period; Ptahmose's may be one of the earliest to include this feature. The columns and lines of text framing the images include some of the most ancient biographical phraseology: 'I came from my town, I descended from my district (*jy.n(.j) m-njw.t(.j) h3.n(.j) m-sp3t(.j)*) ... I gave bread to the one without it and clothes to the [naked] (*dj.n(.j)-t n-jwty-t.f hbs n-[h3y]*)' (KRI III, 416, 8–14). The statue of Ptah on the knees intensifies the salience of the body as a bearer of divine presence. This statue, which was probably set up in a temple of Ptah in Memphis, fuses images drawn from temple iconography with the most traditional elements of self-presentation. In this it exemplifies both the play with and flexibility of traditional and innovative forms of display characteristic of the Ramessid period as well as the transfer of material between genres.

Relationships of self to space not only entail an intimacy of presence visible in the statue of Ptahmose, they also operate more expansively, encompassing the ways individuals could distribute themselves across environments. Within the temple domain, this potential is illustrated by the statues and temple wall inscriptions of the high priests of Amun who used Karnak as a setting to develop motifs of priestly self and to demarcate

zones of priestly activity and association. Individuals such as Setau and Paser extended this practice further and dedicated monuments throughout Egypt and Lower Nubia. Setau, like the vizier Prehotep (4.h, 8.d) and overseers of works Penre (2.t, 2.u, 2.v, 3.a) and Amenmose (2.aa, 8.b), also had biographical texts dedicated in different localities. This method of making the self present in different regions can be compared with textual motifs which associate the individual with various temples through building works or the creation of cult objects. These are particular manifestations of a general and ancient practice. There may have been a heightened awareness of such strategies in the 19th Dynasty; the multiple statues of the Middle Kingdom vizier, Mentuhotep, distributed in salient locations in the temple complex at Karnak (Simpson 1991; Sauneron 1975, 65–75), were restored in the 19th Dynasty, perhaps by the high priest Roma-Roy.

The self-presentation of Ramesses II as king provides a notable parallel for this strategy. He is the only king who seems to have distributed his self and presence through other people, in this case his sons, each of whom held distinct offices, and to a lesser extent his daughters. These children, as Marjorie Fisher concludes (2001, I, 135), ‘may have represented separate aspects of Ramesses II’s kingship, extending the king’s role and support of it to all areas of governance’. The high priest of Amun, Roma-Roy, sets out something similar when he lists the various positions held by his sons in the Amun domain on one of his statues.

The distribution of self through others is differently elaborated in the dedication of the viceroy of Kush Setau. The presentation of aspects of his role, relationship to the king, and his image on the client stelae of members of his retinue may make him and his staff into a single entity, although they retain a degree of autonomy via their individual stelae. The soldiers’ lives are mediated through his and are a key component of his appropriation of royal and temple space. Setau also draws the world of the temple intimately into his self-presentation through the narration of its creation. Thus, personal and expansive incorporations and appropriations of sacred domains are mutually implicated and productive.

I have sought to explore the flexibility and creativity of elite self-presentation, the multiple ways in which Ramessid individuals chose to be present in and to transform monumental contexts. The biographical material of the Ramessid period exemplifies the individuality of strategies of self-presentation and how specific members of the elite artfully fashioned enduring forms of distinct lives through a convergence of text, image, and space in monuments that had power and presence in this life and in the next.

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