HEAVEN ON EARTH

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TEMPLES, RITUAL, AND COSMIC SYMBOLISM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

edited by

DEENA RAGAVAN

with contributions by

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Tablet of Shamash (detail). Gray schist. Sippar, southern Iraq. Babylonian,
early 9th century B.C.E. British Museum BM 91000–04

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

The present volume is the result of the eighth annual University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminar, held in Breasted Hall on Friday, March 2, and Saturday, March 3, 2012. Over the course of the two days, seventeen speakers, from both the United States and abroad, examined the interconnections among temples, ritual, and cosmology from a variety of regional specializations and theoretical perspectives. Our eighteenth participant, Julia Hegewald, was absent due to unforeseen circumstances, but fortunately her contribution still appears as part of this volume.

The 2012 seminar aimed to revisit a classic topic, one with a long history among scholars of the ancient world: the cosmic symbolism of sacred architecture. Bringing together archaeologists, art historians, and philologists working not only in the ancient Near East, but also Mesoamerica, Greece, South Asia, and China, we hoped to re-evaluate the significance of this topic across the ancient world. The program comprised six sessions, each of which focused on the different ways the main themes of the seminar could interact. The program was organized thematically, to encourage scholars of different regional or methodological specializations to communicate and compare their work. The two-day seminar was divided into two halves, each half culminating in a response to the preceding papers. This format, with some slight rearrangement, is followed in the present work.

Our goal was to share ideas and introduce new perspectives in order to equip scholars with new questions or theoretical and methodological tools. The topic generated considerable interest and enthusiasm in the academic community, both at the Oriental Institute and more broadly across the University of Chicago, as well as among members of the general public. The free exchange of ideas and, more importantly, the wide range of perspectives offered left each of us with potential avenues of research and new ideas, as well as a fresh outlook on our old ones.

I'd like to express my gratitude to all those who have contributed so much of their time and energy to ensuring this seminar and volume came together. In particular, I'd like to thank Gil Stein, the Director of the Oriental Institute, for this wonderful opportunity, and Chris Woods, for his guidance through the whole process. Thanks also to Theo van den Hout, Andrea Seri, Christopher Faraone, Walter Farber, Bruce Lincoln, and Janet Johnson, for chairing the individual sessions of the conference. I'd like to thank all the staff of the Oriental Institute, including Steve Camp, D'Ann Condes, Kristin Derby, Emma Harper, Anna Hill, and Anna Ressman; particular thanks to John Sanders, for the technical support, and Meghan Winston, for coordinating the catering. A special mention must go to Mariana Perlinac, without whom the organization and ultimate success of this seminar would have been impossible. I do not think I can be grateful enough to Tom Urban, Leslie Schramer, and everyone else in the publications office, not only for the beautiful poster and program, but also for all the work they have put into editing and producing this book. Most of all, my thanks go out to all of the participants, whose hard work, insight, and convivial discussion made this meeting and process such a pleasure, both intellectually and personally.

Deena Ragavan

Seminar participants, from left to right: Top row: John Baines, Davíd Carrasco, Susanne Görke; Middle row: Matthew Canepa, Uri Gabbay, Gary Beckman, Elizabeth Frood, Claus Ambos; Bottom row: Yorke Rowan, Ömür Harmanşah, Betsey Robinson, Michael Meister, Tracy Miller, Karl Taube, Clemente Marconi; Front: Deena Ragavan. Not pictured: Julia Hegewald and Richard Neer

13

EGYPTIAN TEMPLE GRAFFITI AND THE GODS: APPROPRIATION AND RITUALIZATION IN KARNAK AND LUXOR

Elizabeth Frood, University of Oxford*

In this chapter, I consider how clusters of graffiti in particular areas of Egyptian temples offer a relational and performative perspective on the creation, organization, and meaning of sacred space, and attempt to integrate this micro-view with wider architectural contexts and primary decorative programs that are the more common focus of study. Temple graffiti are often interpreted as evidence for "popular religion" and non-elite involvement in temples, particularly major ones. However, restricted access to temple spaces and the diversity of graffiti indicate that their creation was one of a range of internally focused forms of practice and display relating to temple personnel, especially in outer areas such as exterior walls and open courts. My principal aims are to rethink the institutional practice of graffiti and, more broadly, to assess distinctions between interior and exterior in temples. Interpreting graffiti as socially embedded acts or events (Baird and Taylor 2011b, p. 6) highlights the dynamism of temples, which were repeatedly renegotiated and reconfigured by individuals and institutions. This renegotiation is visible in the appropriation and intensified significance of specific exterior and secondary spaces.

I focus on formal graffiti that include images of gods, building on distinctions made by Claude Traunecker (1991) in his survey of divine images in temples. He integrates discussion of formal graffiti with cult statues and reliefs that show the king performing rituals for gods, the latter being the primary form of temple decoration (fig. 13.1). This detailed analysis situates graffiti within a broad spectrum of divine representation, emphasizing its diversity and plurality. Discussing the status of these "images détournées," Traunecker suggests that "leur caractère hiérophanique n'est pas consécutif à un acte [rituel] mais à la révélation de leur statut dans l'esprit de ceux qui les côtoyaient quotidiennement pour des raisons de service" (1991, p. 89). I consider both possibilities, not only that graffiti are connected with the articulation of places by temple personnel (also Traunecker 1979, pp. 27–30; 1982) but that their creation can be understood as a ritual act, a performance. Some graffiti mobilize

performance explicitly, for example, by evoking speeches. Evidence such as this opens a window onto practice, especially the ritualization of specific actions and places. This process, in Catherine Bell's formulation, is "a way of doing things to trigger the perception that these practices are distinct and the associations they engender are special" (Bell 1992, p. 220). Bell's analysis examines the connection between strategies of ritualization and the negotiation of power relationships; graffiti in many modern urban environments are acts of appropriation, as they are in the ancient Egyptian contexts that I treat (cf. Mairs 2011, p. 157; Plesch 2002a, p. 143). In this, graffiti may complement, but are not identical with, other, more traditional forms of nonroyal self-presentation such as statues and stelae.

I begin with a definition of the types of graffiti that are treated in this chapter, as well as their contexts in temple complexes. I then examine three categories of graffiti: 1) scenes of deities that relate to human, nonroyal worshipers, on a traditional or semi-traditional model; 2) single figures of deities in previously undecorated spaces; and 3) the adaptation and transformation of primary decoration through graffiti. These categories are exemplified by groups of graffiti in temples in Thebes (modern Luxor) in Upper Egypt: Luxor temple and two temples within the complex of Amun at Karnak. Each case-study involves more than one of these categories. The secondary inscriptions that constitute graffiti in these contexts are clearly marked as different from related primary decoration and this difference is essential to their status.

This discussion develops out of my project to record, edit, and publish hieroglyphic, hieratic, and figural graffiti from Karnak, in collaboration with the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak. Much of this corpus is derived from the comprehensive archive of graffiti at the site gathered and analyzed by Traunecker in the 1960s and 1970s (see Traunecker 1979) and now held in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.[1] I have begun with graffiti in the Ptah temple, a small structure in the northern part of the precinct; I present aspects of these graffiti as my third case-study (cf. Ragazzoli and Frood 2013). The approach outlined here is preliminary and based on a relatively early stage of research.

Definitions

In this article, "graffiti" designates a text and/or image inscribed or inked on a surface, here a temple wall, that was not originally intended to receive it. This definition differs from many modern western perceptions of graffiti as illicit, counter-cultural, and often subversive, but agrees with research on graffiti from cultural contexts ranging from the classical world (e.g., Baird and Taylor 2011a) to early modern Europe (e.g., Fleming 2001; Plesch 2010, pp. 142–47). Textual graffiti, often integrated with pictures, are attested for almost all periods of ancient Egypt and are part of scribal self-presentation, and so an elite institution.[2] Purely pictorial graffiti can be more difficult to relate to institutions (Cruz-Uribe 2008a). In the temple environments I study, pictures and texts are closely interrelated and probably derive from similar practices.

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[1] This project relates closely to those developed by Helen Jacquet-Gordon (2004) and Jean-Claude Degardin (2009, 2010) for graffiti in the temple of Khonsu in Karnak. The material I treat here is generally more formal than the graffiti they present, although my approach overall is complementary.

[2] E.g., Parkinson 1999, p. 92; Ragazzoli 2011. A. J. Peden (2001) and Hana Navrátilová (2010) provide surveys of the range of graffiti from ancient Egypt. Navrátilová in particular usefully focuses on implications of context.

This definition is not without problems. One is how far we can distinguish primary and secondary inscription, especially in temples that were in use over centuries or millennia, accumulating decoration in areas perhaps not originally intended to receive it or not executed after their initial construction (e.g., Brand 2007, pp. 52–59). Traditional Egyptian temple decoration, visual and textual, centered almost exclusively on presenting the relationship between the king and the gods, and material with this content and focus is primary in most contexts. Separating the royal and primary from nonroyal and secondary is productive for an initial categorization of graffiti (Cruz-Uribe 2008b, pp. 200–02). This distinction, however, breaks down to some extent in late second- and early first-millennium Thebes, when kings were not commissioning decoration and members of the ruling priestly families were taking on royal features of display. Nonetheless, a distinction between a royal style of self-presentation in special contexts and something more typically nonroyal in others seems to be maintained.[3]

It is also difficult to distinguish between the "formal" and the "informal." Even in discussions of graffiti as an institutional practice, they are normally considered to be informal, spontaneous products of individuals, rather than something that might be a group commission. This distinction is especially problematic in temples where graffiti were sometimes modeled on traditional, formal forms of display. Many of the inscriptions I discuss, especially the images of gods, are very formal: beautifully carved, painted, and sometimes associated with formal hieroglyphic texts. It is location, features of content and presentation (such as isolated figures of gods without a ritual performer) and, occasionally, association with less formal hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions which point toward considering these compositions as graffiti.

Thus, graffiti constitutes a diverse and varied practice, with temple graffiti holding a distinctive position. Graffiti practices vary from temple to temple in relation to access, style, and content. Patterns of survival complicate the picture. Recent discussions have centered on demotic, Greek, and Coptic graffiti as indicators of change in the meaning of sacred spaces in the late first millennium B.C.E. and early centuries C.E., including the final closure of temples with the spread of Christianity.[4] This work has enormous potential for understanding social contexts of script selection and use (e.g., Mairs 2011), as well as how temples and parts of temples were re-imagined by different religious communities.[5] These issues are relevant for Karnak and Luxor temples, which bear many demotic, Greek, and Coptic graffiti. I attempt to use this work on later periods to illuminate patterns from many centuries earlier.

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[3] Mark Ciccarello (1979) distinguishes between "kingship documents" and "priesthood documents," as well as a special "Karnak style," for Pinudjem I, a priest-king of the Twenty-first Dynasty (ca. 1075–945 B.C.E.; inscriptions of Pinudjem are discussed further below). For broader analysis of the self-presentation of Theban priest-kings from this period, especially through the formulation of their titles, see Römer 1994, pp. 1–131.

[4] E.g., Cruz-Uribe 2008b, pp. 218–24; Dijkstra 2008, pp. 97–102, 175–218; 2012, pp. 22–26. For an overview of temple graffiti, especially from the Graeco-Roman period, see Dijkstra 2012, pp. 19–22.

[5] E.g., Rutherford 2003. A related example from much earlier is the dipinti hieratic prayers on walls and columns in the hypostyle hall of the temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty king Thutmose III (ca. 1479–1425 B.C.E.) at Deir el-Bahri on the Theban west bank (Marciniak 1974). These were largely written in the late New Kingdom (ca. 1290–1075 B.C.E.) and indicate that during this time the temple was a more accessible votive environment dedicated to the goddess Hathor (Dolińska 2007, pp. 78–81).

Graffiti Showing Deities in Luxor and Karnak:
Space, Time, and Popular Religion

Temple graffiti in Luxor temple and in the Amun precinct in Karnak range from roughly scrawled names and titles to carefully carved relief scenes incorporating complex hieroglyphic and/or hieratic texts and figures. Hieroglyphic is the pictorial form of the script associated with monumental display. Hieratic is its cursive form, used for manuscript and documentary purposes, that was also developed for more formal, monumental contexts in the first millennium (e.g., Frood 2010, pp. 112–13). Almost all identifiable graffiti in the two complexes were incised into walls rather than executed in ink, but some bear traces of paint. Ink graffiti may have been more widespread than now appears to be the case.[6]

The temple complex at Karnak is a sprawling set of interconnected structures dedicated to the state god Amun-Re on the east bank of the Nile in Thebes (fig. 13.2). Karnak was probably founded around 2000 B.C.E., developing into a vast complex from the New Kingdom (ca. 1500 B.C.E.) onward. Temples for members of his group, the goddess Mut, the child god Khonsu, and the war god Montu, lie immediately to the south and north. The temple of Amun was the preeminent state temple in southern Egypt from the mid-second millennium B.C.E. As a prime focus of royal investment, it was constantly reworked throughout its history: buildings were dismantled, added to, rearranged; decorative programs were erased, recarved, and elaborated (overview: Blyth 2006). These processes complicate the analysis of graffiti.

In contrast, the temple of Luxor is smaller and more unitary (fig. 13.3). I treat this seemingly more straightforward case first. Graffiti practices in the temple are quite distinctive, perhaps relating to specific aspects of the temple's function (brief survey: Jasnow 1994). It lies about 2.5 kilometers south of Karnak and may have been founded rather later. The temple was dedicated to an ithyphallic form of Amun, Amenemope, and functioned in some way as a secondary location for the cult of Amun-Re. However it also had special status, at least in part through association with the royal *ka*, a principle that transmitted kingship through generations (Bell 1985).

Even when context is well understood, graffiti can be difficult to date. Dating often relies on combined analysis of context, content, orthography, prosopography, and paleography. It seems that graffiti-writing in Theban temples intensified as a practice from the late New Kingdom (Dynasties 19–20; ca. 1290–1075 B.C.E.) onward, although there are earlier examples.[7] One of these is a figure of a priest with hieroglyphic caption that was inked in red on the north side of the altar in the solar complex of the Eighteenth Dynasty female king Hatshepsut (ca. 1473–1458 B.C.E.) at Deir el-Bahri on the Theban west bank (Karkowski 2003, p. 255, pl. 53A). This graffito was whitewashed soon after execution and therefore probably dates to the original decoration of this suite under Hatshepsut. It is of a very different character to the material I treat here, especially as presence rather than visibility seems to have been the central concern of its creator.

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[6] A rare example of a surviving ink graffito from Luxor temple is the sign for "scribe" on a fragment of the Ramessid gateway built into the gateway of Philip Arrhidaeus (Epigraphic Survey 1998, p. 56, pl. 205, Gr. 16).

[7] Crudely incised figural graffiti and a very small amount of textual graffiti on blocks from the temple of Medamud, about 8 kilometers northeast of Luxor, have been dated to the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1975–1640 B.C.E.; Cottevieille-Giraudet 1931, pp. 36–37); these warrant a new study to secure this dating.

Graffiti of a formal type — lengthy hieroglyphic texts and images of priests and gods — first appear in the late New Kingdom in Karnak (Frood 2010, pp. 116–22) and are attested sporadically at Karnak and Luxor throughout the first millennium. In particular, finely carved graffiti of individual gods and groups of gods that are found in both temples seem to date across this period. At Luxor, an ithyphallic Amun-Re carved in raised relief on the west exterior wall between side doors leading into the hypostyle hall and the court of Amenhotep III bears traces of recarving as well as an inscription claiming its restoration under the Twenty-first Dynasty priest-king, Menkheperre (ca. 1045–989 B.C.E.; Brand 2004). A cluster of images of deities, including large ithyphallic and seated figures of Amun, is located at another side entrance into the forecourt (fig. 13.3A) (Porter and Moss 1972, pp. 335 [219–220]). Two long inscriptions detailing the restoration of temple structures and cult equipment were carved among these figures, one dated to Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus (332–316 B.C.E.)[8] and the other belonging to a later Ptolemaic priestly family (Jansen-Winkeln 2005). Both are addressed to the priests who would have used this doorway. The later text refers to divine processional images (*sšmw*) and it is tempting to suggest that these are evoked by the nearby pictures, at least some of which may have been carved at the same time. At Karnak, a broadly datable example is a sunk relief ithyphallic god carved on the exterior jamb of a side door leading into the temple of Montu from the neighboring temple of the god Harpre. Its inscription probably dates to the creation of this doorway during repair and remodeling in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (ca. 715–657 B.C.E.; Gabolde and Rondot 1993, pp. 258–60, fig. 4, pl. 6B).

The examples I treat in this paper can mostly be ascribed to the early to mid-first millennium (Dynasties 21–25) and their appearance relates in part to the political fragmentation and decentralization which characterizes the first half of this period. The Theban area was under the control of high priests who held quasi royal authority, a new political context that had a broad impact on developments in self-presentation. Localism is certainly a significant factor, as is the displacement of the symbolic figure of the king. Nonetheless, long-standing traditions of nonroyal self-presentation were maintained. For Theban elites, temple statues were a primary means of asserting claims to temple space, although it is seldom known where they were originally set up (e.g., Brandl 2008; Price 2010). Alongside this traditional medium, others emerged or intensified, including graffiti. I return to relationships between these strategies in my conclusion.

Graffiti of divine images have often been interpreted as objects of popular devotion and worship and connected with the "rise of personal piety" from the mid–late second millennium onward, rather than being related to elite modes of self-presentation.[9] This interpretation depends on features of content and style, but most especially on their location in areas thought to be accessible to ordinary people. As such they are understood to delineate "contact zones" (Ashley and Plesch 2002, pp. 4–6; with Plesch 2002b, p. 181), points of interface and perhaps tension, between the restricted temple cult and the wider populace. Peter Brand (2004; 2007, pp. 64–65) in particular argues that graffiti of gods on some exterior walls in Karnak and Luxor were set up by priesthoods of the late second and early first millennium

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[8] For translation of sections of the text and references, see Gorre 2009, pp. 53–57. He dates the inscription to Alexander IV rather than Alexander the Great (2009, pp. 53–54), but this is almost certainly incorrect. I am grateful to Francisco Bosch Puche, who is re-editing this text, for discussion.

[9] E.g., Dils 1995; and compare Luiselli 2011, pp. 58–59 with references. Agnès Cabrol's account (2001, pp. 720–31) of "popular" religious practices in Theban temples, especially in connection with processional routes, gives a sense of the range of evidence, including some graffiti.

in order to provide places of worship for non-elites who could enter the temple enclosures but not the temple proper.

Central to Brand's argument is the veiling of some graffiti alongside images of gods in interior primary decoration. Building on earlier discussions (e.g., Dils 1995), he argues (2004, pp. 263–64; 2007, pp. 59–65) that holes piercing the stone around many of these images supported frames for fabric coverings which could reveal the image to ordinary people at particular times. I consider the notion of veiling as anachronistic. Moreover, as Brand acknowledges (2007, p. 61), it does not fully account for the variety in the patterning of holes around scenes and figures. The holes, which have not been studied in detail, more probably point to different types of "enrichment" of images (Traunecker 1991, pp. 88–89), sometimes through gilding (Borchardt 1933; Fischer 1959, pp. 196–98) or embellishments with wood, fabric, or other materials. These may have been temporary. On the exterior of the rear wall of the Graeco-Roman temple of the goddess Hathor at Dendara is a large carving of her head which bears traces of gilding and the fixings for a wooden canopy (Cauville 1990, p. 86). This example, though much later than many discussed by Brand, shows how primary images could be elaborated in ways that almost certainly related to central cult performances (cf. Laroche and Traunecker 1973–1977, pp. 194–95).

Pictorial graffiti of gods often show them alone, or in somewhat disparate, seemingly jumbled groups, rather than interacting in ritual scenes as is common in traditional primary decoration (Brand 2007, p. 64). They mostly lack offering tables or other ritual paraphernalia. The fact that some figures are solitary may make them more directly involving and participatory. I argue here that the exterior spaces on which they were carved were probably not widely accessible. Rather, the images would have participated in and ritualized the movements of priests and temple staff, as is suggested particularly by their typical location near side doors. Temple personnel would have entered by these side doors from service and administrative areas. Once inside the temple, they were no longer performing for themselves but for the gods in an official capacity. If the graffiti mark internally oriented, secondary places of piety, veneration, and ritual action by these people (e.g., Traunecker 1979; Guglielmi 1994, pp. 58–59; Cabrol 2001, pp. 721–22) rather than being the sites for popular worship as Brand proposes, the mechanisms for their development and use need to be considered further, as well as what they imply about the meanings of areas of temples.

Graffiti in Luxor Temple: Priestly Families and Divine Utterance

Exterior sectors of Luxor temple bear some of the most extensive groupings of secondary divine figures, with a number at a very large scale and concentrated near side doors, as with the two examples noted above. An exterior section of wall, beside a side entrance leading into inner areas of the temple, is carved with a vast array of secondary divine figures and non-divine emblems, such as fecundity figures, in complex and diverse groupings (fig. 13.3B) (Brand 2004, pp. 261–62; 2007, p. 64; with Porter and Moss 1972, p. 335 [221]; Schwaller de Lubicz 1958, vol. 2, pl. 33). Some deities are captioned, including seated figures of Amun, standing ones of Mut, and squatting ones of Khonsu. These images are usually understood as practice models for carving or focal points for popular religion (Brand 2004, pp. 261–62 with n. 17), but were carefully carved, and some required scaffolding for their execution and were painted. Therefore they represent a large investment connected with temple activities and performances, although of a different character to traditional temple decoration. Their

location relates to priestly movement in and out of inner temple areas, as is also the case with comparable images elsewhere in the temple and at Karnak.

A valuable example is a large group of graffiti on the facade of the east gate leading into the long colonnaded hall between the court of Ramesses II and the forecourt of Amenhotep III (fig. 13.3C). Graffiti of various types are distributed across the wall surface, in the previously uninscribed space below the main area of decoration as well as integrated into primary scenes of royal ritual before gods. The most visible are two scenes belonging to the Twenty-first Dynasty high priest, later king Pinudjem I, which were inscribed just below head height underneath the primary scenes and over erased royal texts. Both are modeled on traditional monumental styles of display. One, at a very large scale, shows Pinudjem as high priest, followed by women of his family, censing and libating before two forms of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu (fig. 13.4) (Porter and Moss 1972, pp. 307 [27]; Epigraphic Survey 1998, pp. 52–54, pls. 199–200, Gr. 1; Jansen-Winkeln 2007a, p. 17, no. 22a). This mixed presentation integrates royal elements — the ritual gestures and the cartouche of one of the women in the caption — with others that are characteristically nonroyal or priestly (e.g., Pinudjem's accoutrements).

Only the upper part of the second scene survives (fig. 13.5). It was carved in raised relief farther to the east, on the rear wall of the Ramessid court, immediately below a row of personified foreign places bearing offerings. It shows an erased figure of Pinudjem's father Payankh, with his four sons behind him, their arms raised in adoration before an ithyphallic figure of Amun-Re. A woman called Nodjmet, probably Pinudjem's mother, stands behind the god in a place normally reserved for goddesses. This exceptional position suggests that she is being honored posthumously. A prayer that she may have "a [long] lifetime in [...] within Thebes (ꜥḥꜥw [qꜣ] m [...?] m-ẖnw wꜣst)" is given in the caption above (Jansen-Winkeln 2007a, p. 17, no. 22b; Haring 2012, p. 149, pl. 16). Although the word for "lifetime" is usually used of this world, occasionally it can refer to the afterlife (e.g., Barta 1968, p. 126). Here it could reflect Nodjmet's semi-deified status. The caption also states that Pinudjem dedicated the scene for his father, probably deceased (Taylor 1998, pp. 1151–52). The area separating the two scenes is largely lost, but traces of a possibly contemporaneous figure worshiping a god suggest that this space could have been filled with other graffiti (Epigraphic Survey 1998, pp. 55–56, pl. 204, Gr. 9).

The group of secondary inscriptions asserts the importance of the priestly group, among whom female kin are prominent. Their position close to the processional axis, with one of them below offering bearers, binds them to core rituals of procession and provision. The use of raised relief for the second scene is striking because even very formal graffiti are usually incised or carved in sunk relief. Raised relief is associated with interiors, and hence spaces with a heightened sanctity. Here the choice of raised relief grants a generalized prestige to the scene, as is also the case for the raised relief ithyphallic Amun carved on the temple's west exterior wall (Brand 2004). The court of Ramesses II, open to the sky and behind the entrance pylon, includes a barque shrine, indicating that it could serve as a temporary and transitional resting point for the barque in festivals and procession.[10] The court was probably understood as an exterior space (although not generally accessible), thus appropriate for the display of power and authority — partly via affirmation of lineage — by and to the priesthood.

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[10] For discussion of the relationship of the barque, a "mobile temple," to earlier architecture and decorative programmes in Luxor temple, including analysis of the creation and delineation of "interior" and "exterior" spaces, see Baines 2006, pp. 277–82.

On the east jamb of the doorway, close to the scene of Pinudjem before the triad and directly below the primary scenes, are two figures of deities: a small standing figure of Mut (Epigraphic Survey 1998, p. 55, pl. 203, Gr. 4) and a very large ithyphallic figure of Amun, the eye, eyebrow, and chin-strap of which once bore inlay (height ca. 2 m; fig. 13.6; with Epigraphic Survey 1998, p. 55, Gr. 5). The latter bears a hieroglyphic caption that mobilizes human need and potential response; he is "[Amun-Re]-Kamutef, mighty [god], the one who protects (or: 'advocate for') the wretched ([*jmn-rˁ*]-*k3-mwt.f* [*nṯr*] *nˁš p3 wšb j3d*)," the latter being a somewhat rare epithet newly attested at the end of the New Kingdom (Leclant 1955; Leitz 2002, vol. 2, p. 592).[11] Both images may "emulate" divine figures in the nearby primary decoration (Cruz-Uribe 2008a, p. 2), and the use of these models may itself have been a ritual/devotional act. This form of Amun "who protects the wretched" is also present in the elaborate grouping of gods on the temple's exterior wall discussed above (Schwaller de Lubicz 1958, vol. 2, pl. 33C). The two graffiti may have been carved at the same time or perhaps reference one another in some way.

Other graffiti on the facade of the gateway are fully integrated into the primary decoration. A scene of Amenhotep III offering incense to Amun and Mut (later recarved for Ramesses II), which is directly above some priestly graffiti, incorporates a hieroglyphic caption in five columns before Mut's face (fig. 13.7; with Epigraphic Survey 1998, pl. 202, p. 54, Gr. 2). The text begins with a dedicatory formula on behalf of its commissioner, the high priest of Amun Shoshenq, son of a king Osorkon.[12] The following three damaged columns are spoken by the goddess, granting benefactions to a woman in the high priest's household: "I (fem.) have given to the songstress of the residence of the high priest, Djedbastetesankh, daughter of Padi[... ...] life, prosperity, and health ... [love, before?] Shoshenq, true of voice, [the ...?] high priest of Amun (*dj.n.j n ḥst nt ḫnw n ḥm-nṯr-tpy ḏd-b3st-jw.s-ˁnḫ s3t* [*p3-dj-... ...*] *ˁnḫ wḏ3 snb ...* [*mrwt m-b3ḥ*] *šsnq m3ˁ-ḫrw* [*p3..?*] *ḥm-nṯr-tpy n jmn*)." By placing a speech in the mouth of the goddess, the dedicator reoriented the already ancient ritual scene to a personal context, while positioning Shoshenq as the mediator for this divine beneficence. It is suggestive that this graffito, like Pinudjem's about a century earlier, relates to a woman in the family. This is a likely instance of graffiti generating dialogues; "'speaking' to each other and their surroundings, as well as to a viewer" (Baird and Taylor 2011b, p. 7). In this particular case, the height of the graffito on the wall and lightness of the carving mean that, unless painted, it may hardly have been visible. Nonetheless, the act of inscription in this potent space may have been enough to invoke the benefits which are enumerated and to relate their bestowal to the family context. Probably hundreds of years later, a figure of the child-god Khonsu was added in front of the body of the goddess (fig. 13.7; with Epigraphic Survey 1998, pl. 202, pp. 54–55, Gr. 3). The damaged accompanying text begins with Khonsu's speech — "words spoken by" (*ḏd mdw jn*) — which seems to offer protection to a particular person: "[that the] perfect [name] of the servant of Amen[... ...-?]khonsuiy,[13] true of voice, [remain] in the presence of

[11] The epithet *nṯr nˁš* "mighty god" is only known from the Third Intermediate and Graeco-Roman periods (Leitz 2002, vol. 4, p. 427), pointing to a late date for the whole.

[12] Shoshenq is probably the later king or "co-regent" Shoshenq II (ca. 890 B.C.E.), son of Osorkon I

(Epigraphic Survey 1998, p. 54, n. b; Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, p. 56, no. 28).

[13] The Epigraphic Survey (1998, pp. 54–55 with n. e) suggests restoring "servant of Amenhotep," the deified Eighteenth Dynasty official Amenhotep son of Hapu, followed by the personal name "[Padi]khonsuiy."

Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, that he may beg for himself favor, power, a long lifetime, and a great and good old age as a gift, his body whole with health and life (... [*mn rn?*] *nfr bȝk n jmn* [... ...-?]*ḥnsw-jy mȝꜥ-ḥrw m-bȝḥ jmn mwt ḥnsw r dbḥ n.f ḥswt wsr ꜥḥꜥw qȝ jȝw ꜥȝ nfr m ḥnk jw ḥꜥ.f tm m snb ꜥnḫ*)." These two "speaking" graffiti in front of Mut seem to activate and enliven the primary decoration. The addition of Khonsu, who was third in the Theban triad with Amun and Mut, "completes" the original ritual scene (Epigraphic Survey 1998, p. 55, n. f), so his location was carefully selected and perhaps heightened the potency of the whole.

The entire wall bears a multi-layered set of additive transformations, accumulations of meaning that relate to and make play with the primary decoration. These meanings are specific and individual, as well as being self-evidently secondary and mostly highly visible, especially through the use of inlay as well as the sheer scale of Pinudjem's scenes. The process of addition is therefore central to their function. These acts of dedication, addition, and enrichment through graffiti appropriate and re-fashion divine images for the individual and the priestly group. They probably relate directly to priestly activities connected with the court and the primary axis through the temple; more broadly, they ritualize, and perhaps renew, this contact zone between outer and inner areas.[14]

The Temple of Ramesses III in Karnak: Addition and Circulation

Groups of graffiti with the mixed contexts and content of the wall at Luxor, combining new inscriptions in previously uninscribed areas with subtle addition to and transformation of primary decoration, are relatively rare in both Karnak and Luxor (Traunecker 1991, p. 89, with n. 65). My second case-study is a similar set of interconnected and personal dedications on an exterior wall of a barque shrine of Ramesses III (ca. 1187–1156 b.c.e.), which was constructed in the court in front of what was then the first entrance pylon, standing perpendicular to the main temple axis (figs. 13.2, 13.8). In the Third Intermediate Period, Shoshenq I (ca. 945–925 b.c.e.) enclosed the area in front of the pylon with massive walls and gateways, incorporating the front part of the Ramesses III temple and monumentalizing the court. On the east side an elaborate gate, the "Bubastite portal," was constructed between the side of the temple and the pylon, next to a side entrance into Ramesses III's temple.

Running along the east exterior wall are two registers of scenes of Ramesses III offering to various deities (indicated in the caption to fig. 13.8). Toward the center of the lower register, two scenes of the king bear small hieroglyphic graffiti in single columns in front of the bodies of the goddesses Nekhbet and Tefnut (Epigraphic Survey 1936b, pls. 104, 105f, h). Both are dedicatory formulas of members of temple staff; differences in orthography indicate that they were carved at different times. The likely first was carved before the face of Nekhbet, who stands in a shrine (figs. 13.1, 13.9): "dedicated by (or: 'made by') the chief servant of the domain of Amun Iuuenamun (*jr.n ḥry sḏm(w)-ꜥš n pr jmn jw.w-n-jmn*)."[15] The shrine's frame bears six deep, regular piercings, suggesting that it was enriched by gilding or some sort of structure or frame (some smaller holes are also visible within the shrine).

The use of the hieroglyphic script and framing lines for the graffito show that it was modeled on primary scene captions and that the text was intended to be integrated with the primary decoration, although distinct from it. The second inscription carved before the figure of Tefnut in the nearby scene lacks the framing lines: "dedicated by the overseer of brewers of the domain of Amun [...?]enamun (*jr.n ḥry ꜥtḫw n pr jmn [...?]-n-jmn*)." The scene itself does not bear traces of additional enrichment. As with the group in Luxor, this points to the extent to which graffiti generate graffiti, producing "graffiti spaces" that are often quite contained and distinct (Navrátilová 2010); in temples this seems also to ritualize place, through marking these areas as different and special.[16] Iuuenamun's graffito may also assert his involvement in the enriching of the image of the goddess. His name is well attested from the New Kingdom (Ranke 1935–1977, vol. 1, p. 14, no. 1) so his text may have been carved relatively soon after the temple was built, perhaps as a way of delineating and redefining the activities and movements of temple staff in relation to the building.

Personal contexts of dedication extend farther along this side of the temple and onto its front through the carving of two new secondary divine images: a figure of Ptah in a niche-like area created by the "lip" at the rear of the temple pylon and a seated figure of Amun-Re on the eastern corner of the pylon's facade (figs. 13.10–11). There is now no obvious visual relationship between the two, but because they are so close to each other, they are likely to be connected to common practices. The damaged figure of Amun, which includes holes for enrichment, would have been the more visually prominent (fig. 13.10). A damaged hieroglyphic caption in a column before the god's face gives a divine speech on the model of primary temple scenes: "Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands ... (*ḏd mdw jn jmn-rꜥ nb njsw tꜣwy* ...)." On a block to the right, level with Amun's head, are traces of a small standing figure with arms raised in adoration.

The figure of Ptah is partly incised and partly rendered in raised relief (fig. 13.11; cf. Epigraphic Survey 1936b, pl. 112k). The god is almost a meter high and stands on a beveled plinth, in his usual effigy-form. His eye was deeply carved for inlay (now lost). In front of his face are six damaged columns of a hieroglyphic caption in raised relief. Traces of an incised baldachin that would have enclosed his figure are visible above his head. The caption includes a wish characteristic of nonroyal self-presentations — "that he (Ptah) may give life, prosperity, health, a perfect lifetime in his domain, bearing joy ... (*dj.f ꜥnḫ wḏꜣ snb ꜥḥꜥw nfr m pr.f ḫr ršwt* ...)." A dedicatory text of a priest was carved in raised relief below the scene, appearing to form part of a unitary composition, although both texts may have been added later. As with the Pinudjem scene in Luxor, the use of raised relief is notable. Alongside the prestige associated with this technique, here it may also evoke an interior context. This sense is heightened architecturally by the location, which creates a semi-enclosed, almost niche-like space. Nine piercings surrounding the figure may have supported a structure. The shiny flicker of the inlaid eye in this shady area would have contributed to the image's visual impact.

Some graffiti along the eastern side of the Ramesses III temple were meant to be highly visible, perhaps focal points for viewing and action. They can perhaps be imagined as clearly delineated, brightly decorated "shrines" or "stations" marking out the daily movements of priests and other temple staff through the new side doors and courts. They are not only pious

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[16] The *jr.n* dedicatory formula, which is a very common way of claiming responsibility for a monument, indicates that incising the text into the wall could be a dedicatory or votive act in itself (compare Plesch 2002a; 2002b, esp. pp. 182–86, on early modern graffiti as dedicatory acts in some Italian churches).

interventions but seem also to govern and ritualize these regular activities. The court they lead to was a central performative space for festivals and other cultic activities, although by no means a generally accessible area. Such additions and reworking create "contact zones" between the central rituals of temples, which are manifested in the primary decoration and realize core cosmologies, and daily, ephemeral but vital practices, activities, and performances. The personal dedications which lay claim to their creation, both here and at Luxor, also bind the scenes to the performance of their re-creation, enrichment, and renewal, as well as to particular people.

The Temple of Ptah in Karnak:
More Marks = More Sacred = More Marks?

The final groups of graffiti I discuss are on the walls of the temple of Ptah. These constitute one of the most concentrated clusters at Karnak (Traunecker 1979, p. 24). The material is comparable to the examples from Ramesses III and Luxor in its association with side doors and movement, however here clear distinctions are made between the images of gods and personal inscriptions.

The Ptah temple lies in the northern part of the later Amun precinct (figs. 13.2, 13.12). For most of its history, it was independent from the precinct proper, lying outside the second-millennium enclosure wall. It may therefore have functioned as a barque shrine for the god on procession from the main temple. The second-millennium core of the temple was considerably reworked from the early first millennium onward, especially its access routes and entrance. Five gateways leading into the temple were successively added from ca. 715 B.C.E. onward, the final being that of Ptolemy XII Auletes. In the 370s (Thirtieth Dynasty) the temple was incorporated into the precinct behind a massive mudbrick enclosure wall which comes very close to its north side (Thiers and Zignani 2011b, p. 21). Ongoing investigation by the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak is transforming understanding of the temple's position, function, and relationship to other structures in the area (e.g., Thiers and Zignani 2011a). This work will have a significant impact on the interpretation of the graffiti, especially those on exterior walls. Here I present some preliminary thoughts on just a few examples.

The majority of the graffiti in the Ptah temple cluster along the south exterior wall of the main building, although a number of individual graffiti and groups of graffiti are located on the north exterior wall and the gateways, while a scene on the rear exterior wall may indicate that there was a contra-temple constructed there and integrated with the temple cult (cf. Laroche and Traunecker 1973–1977, pp. 194–95). I focus here on the figural and textual graffiti on the otherwise uninscribed north and south exterior walls, since these seem to relate to patterns of movement and circulation comparable to those discussed for Luxor temple and the temple of Ramesses III.

On the north side, near a side door, two graffiti of deities were carefully and precisely carved approximately midway between the side entrance and the rear of the temple: a large standing figure of Ptah facing west toward the door (fig. 13.13), and a smaller standing figure of an effigy-form Osiris facing east toward the rear. The only other graffito on this wall is a small, roughly carved divine barque nearby. Although the two figures of gods are relatively close together, they differ in scale and position and do not relate to each other in any straightforward way: Osiris is half the size of Ptah and higher up the wall. Upper sections of

their figures were carved on infill blocks that are now partly or entirely lost; the face, hands, and accoutrements of Ptah are missing, as is the head of Osiris.

There are no accompanying inscriptions, and features of iconography are not distinctive, so dating is problematic. I suggest that the figures were carved before the enclosure wall was constructed in the 370s B.C.E. This wall constrained entry and exit, which were the regular activities in the temple to which these figures probably relate.[17] The relationship of these images to the movements and practices of temple staff is supported by comparison with the previous examples. Both figures also bear holes, indicating that they were enriched. As at the temple of Ramesses III, these embellishments will have heightened the impact of the images, and distinguished their role in delineating and ritualizing circulation.

On the south exterior wall are more extensive clusters of graffiti of varied type, formality, and content. Some areas are so densely inscribed with layered hieratic graffiti that many are almost illegible. These graffiti seem to consist mainly of the names and titles of priests and scribes. The most visually prominent elements are two scenes of gods on neighboring blocks near the middle of the wall (figs. 13.14–15). The blocks are palimpsest — the scenes were inscribed over graffiti, traces of which remain visible — and more graffiti of names and titles in hieratic and hieroglyphic scripts were written below and around the scenes. One of the scenes was recarved, and both are surrounded by piercings, some of which are filled in with plaster. Thus a zone of graffiti was perhaps formalized and ritualized through the addition of scenes and subsequently by ongoing inscription in relation to the scenes. Additionally, some of the graffiti were almost certainly plastered over during stages of reworking, with the plaster then falling away, while others seem to have been erased.[18] All these interventions complicate the understanding of the wall as a graffiti zone, although the close spatial relationship between the two modes is clear.

The likely earlier of the two scenes shows the ibis-headed god Thoth on the left, with a lunar disc on his head and in a striding pose, before standing figures of Ptah and Hathor, both of whom face toward the main temple axis. All three are depicted in conventional poses and costume. An offering table bearing a vessel for libations and a lotus bloom that stands in front of Hathor was probably added when the scene was recarved. A caption in six short columns above the scene gives the deities' names and epithets. Thoth's pose before the other two deities, as well as the epithet "true scribe of the Ennead" included in his caption, asserts his mediating capacity in the divine world, a role in which he is well attested in royal and nonroyal contexts (e.g., Stadler 2009). He may also act as an intermediary for the individuals in the surrounding graffiti. Overall, the scene's composition is more traditional than the graffiti of gods discussed above for Luxor temple and the Ramesses III temple. Compositions that show gods facing one another and interacting are typical of nonroyal contexts, and they increase and diversify from the late second millennium onward. An example is the lunette of a Nineteenth Dynasty non-royal stela in the British Museum that shows Thoth addressing Osiris, Isis, and Horus; the stela's owner and his wife are depicted below (EA 74847:

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[17] Constraint became closure in the Ptolemaic period, when an internal staircase was built that blocked the north side entrance, and a new side entrance was created on the south (Thiers and Zignani 2011b, p. 21).

[18] Compare the evidence for the whitewashing of graffiti in temples at Deir el-Bahari in the later New Kingdom, perhaps in connection with restoration of the reliefs (Dolińska 2007, p. 78).

Malek 2012, p. 310, no. 803-056-750).[19] A wall in the hall of a nonroyal tomb on the Theban west bank, dating to the reign of Ramesses II (ca. 1279–1213 B.C.E.), displays a row of stelae showing goddesses interceding with other deities on the owner's behalf (Seyfried 1995, pl. 30), while related scenes in the hall show Thoth and the deified Eighteenth Dynasty king Amenhotep I acting as mediators (Seyfried 1995, pls. 30, 32). The overall effect is that of a processional route, perhaps mimicking the environment of a temple court (Seyfried 1995, p. 113). Something comparable may be alluded to on the south wall of the Ptah temple, but is more generalized and, perhaps, inclusive.

At some point, perhaps centuries, later, the figures of all three gods in the graffito were recarved. This recarving is particularly visible in the new outlines of their bodies. The scene was vividly painted or repainted; traces of bright yellows, blues, and reds remain throughout. The second scene may have been carved at the same time as the restyling of this one. It shows Thoth with an undifferentiated, effigy-form body, standing behind a figure of Ptah, who is also in effigy-form. Both gods face right, toward the rear of the temple. This distinctive iconography for Thoth seems unattested before the first millennium (Leitz 2002, vol. 7, p. 640 with references; e.g., Munro 1973, pl. 19, figs. 67–68). A Late Period, perhaps Twenty-fifth Dynasty date, seems likely stylistically, and accords well with the extensive reworking of the temple and surrounding area attested during this time.[20] Thoth's effigy-form body aligns him visually with Ptah, and perhaps also asserts his syncretism with Khonsu, another lunar god who was often depicted in effigy-form. Such iconography relates to Thoth's complex roles and associations (overview: Stadler 2012), especially his lunar aspect, which are visible in later primary decoration elsewhere in Karnak (e.g., Graindorge 2002).

Although the figures of the two gods are carved within a delineating frame, the latter's base extends to the right, where a further column for text was marked out but not inscribed, suggesting that more elements were planned than executed. These could have included a worshiping human figure, or perhaps another god as in the first scene. The caption that was carved evokes the presence and participation of worshipers in a column which addresses Ptah: "praise to your *ka*, O lord of the gods (*j3w n k3.k p3 nb ntrw*)." The extent to which these imagined worshipers encompass the individuals whose names surround the scene remains an open question, as some or all of these graffiti may have been covered by plaster, at least for a while.

Monumental environments often appear to collapse time, and seem distant from human actors. Areas like this, however, make it possible to plot long, probably punctuated, processes of addition, formalizing, and re-formalizing of sacred areas. These processes almost certainly relate to wider developments in this part of the temple complex. Excavation has revealed Twenty-fifth Dynasty monumental gates close to the south side of the Ptah temple, delineating an east–west processional axis, and indicating the extent to which this area was a focal point during this period alone.[21] The graffiti therefore offer a way to circumscribe the practice of particular groups in relation to these sacred spaces and routes, including their movements around temple complexes, where they pause, and where they focus attention

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[19] Photographs are available via the British Museum Collection Database: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx.

[20] My thanks to Martin Stadler for discussion of the iconography of this scene and for references.

[21] This axis was blocked by the last Ptolemaic enclosure wall (Thiers and Zignani 2011a, p. 15).

outside the interior primary spaces. Movements, gestures, and relations are solemnized and ritualized, reorganized and structured in a new way. These ways of selecting areas, then commissioning and/or creating graffiti have wider implications for changing meanings of places within temples.

Discussion

In bringing together these various styles of secondary inscription, I am working toward a re-examination of contrasts between formal and informal, institutional and personal, in sacred space. This material foregrounds the presence, movements, and activities of the people who managed temples in the first millennium. The inscription of graffiti was their practice, so it has wide-ranging political, religious, and spatial implications. As a strategy to assert the legitimacy and authority of priestly groups, seen here particularly with Pinudjem's inscriptions in Luxor, some graffiti appear closely comparable to more traditional forms of self-presentation, especially statues and stelae, which can similarly appropriate parts of temples, especially outer areas such as open courts.[22] However, formal graffiti are never very widespread, so this is not a replacement of traditional forms with something that was perhaps cheaper and easier to commission. Formal graffiti incorporate distinctive features, and are a new form of display whose development seems closely connected with changing power structures in Thebes in the early first millennium.

The distinctiveness of these graffiti lies partly in their tendency to focus on pictures of gods, and the re-working and presentation of these images in seemingly non-traditional ways. In this these graffiti can be distinguished from, for example, inscriptions of high priests of the late New Kingdom that were inscribed on exterior walls of the southern processional route at Karnak. These scenes and texts prioritized individual status in their appropriation of temple areas associated with service and administration (Traunecker 1979, pp. 27–30; Frood 2007, pp. 54–83), although principles of decorum restricting the representation of gods during this earlier period may have also placed constraints on display within such personal contexts in temples. The later graffiti of gods, while often citing individual acts of dedication, attest to and mobilize wider group practices. The scenes on the exterior of the Ptah temple seem to be an explicit instance of this, especially as the surrounding graffiti of scribes and priests may not have always been visible. However, these practices remain very much bound up with the display of status and prestige, for example, through the fine carving and painting of some graffiti that indicate the commissioning of artists, as well as various strategies of enrichment.

Graffiti as acts of place-making (Fisher 2009, pp. 184–85) formalize areas that were almost certainly sites for other ritual, devotional, and votive activities of personnel (e.g., offering, libation, prayer) that are now largely irretrievable archaeologically. An exception may be a graffito of a vessel inscribed on one of the two gates built by the Twenty-fifth Dynasty king

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[22] A biographical text inscribed on a late New Kingdom stela of a high priest reports finding statues of ancestors and nobles "cast down and scattered" in areas of the open courts (*wbꜣw*) at Karnak, including "the great outer court of the temple (*wsḫt ꜥꜣt n bnr n ḥwt-nṯr*)" (Boraik 2007). His description of their restoration follows: "He had them lifted up and re-established in the great stone festival court (*wsḫt ꜥꜣt ḥbyt n jnr*) in which the offerings of Amun were laid." It is likely that the priest's stela, which was discovered at a site of secondary deposition, was set up with the statues in this outer court.

Shabaka (ca. 715–700 B.C.E.) at the entrance to the Ptah temple (fig. 13.12). Traunecker observes (1982, p. 58) that an emplacement for a large vessel on the ground nearby suggests that the graffito marked a place for purification or libation before entering the temple proper. It is likely that other graffiti "sign-post" practice in comparable ways. Repeated activities may be indicated by the "dialogues" of graffiti that develop, as well as by the piercings that surround many of the images, some of which were later plastered over, pointing to different elaborations at different times. Ongoing investment is further demonstrated by the recarving of graffiti, including ithyphallic figures of Amun in Luxor temple and the temple of Montu at Karnak (Brand 2004, pp. 259–60) and one of the scenes on the south wall of the Ptah temple. Even the possible erasures near this scene attest to the potential salience and potency of graffiti and the areas in which they are inscribed.

Thus graffiti not only delineate places of devotion for temple staff, they ritualize their regular activities and movements in association with central cult rituals and performances. The gods depicted are mostly major deities and this strengthens the connection with primary cult;[23] although their forms, such as Amun's ithyphallic iconography (see Baines, this volume), are often specifically intercessory and outward looking, so appropriate to more visible contexts. This activity and visibility has specific implications for distinctions between interior and exterior, normally so sharply distinguished in architecture and decoration. Graffiti of both formal and informal types tend not to occur in interiors (cf. Frood 2010), but rather suggest a complex reconfiguring of exterior parts of sacred precincts which renders their meaning more explicit and expansive. This could be seen as a reconfiguring of traditional hierarchical ordering of cult places, and the articulation of secondary (exterior) places and practices into central activities and cosmologies. Much in this material is personal and individual, which forms part of its reorientation and meaning. The inscriptions are, in some sense, institutional, but the "institutional" context was diversifying and transforming. Graffiti-inscription is a conscious and selective act of appropriation and ritualization of exterior areas and doorways, not only because space was available for inscription, but also because it was highly visible to the people who mattered, other temple personnel. Graffiti relate directly to their active involvement in the creation and re-creation of places, and inform their patterns of movement, pausing, gaze, and action.

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[23] This contrasts with some formal late New Kingdom graffiti in Karnak that show individuals before minor and/or specialized deities such as Horus-Shed, Taweret, and the deified Eighteenth Dynasty king Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose Nefertari (Traunecker 1979, pp. 26–30, figs. 1–2).

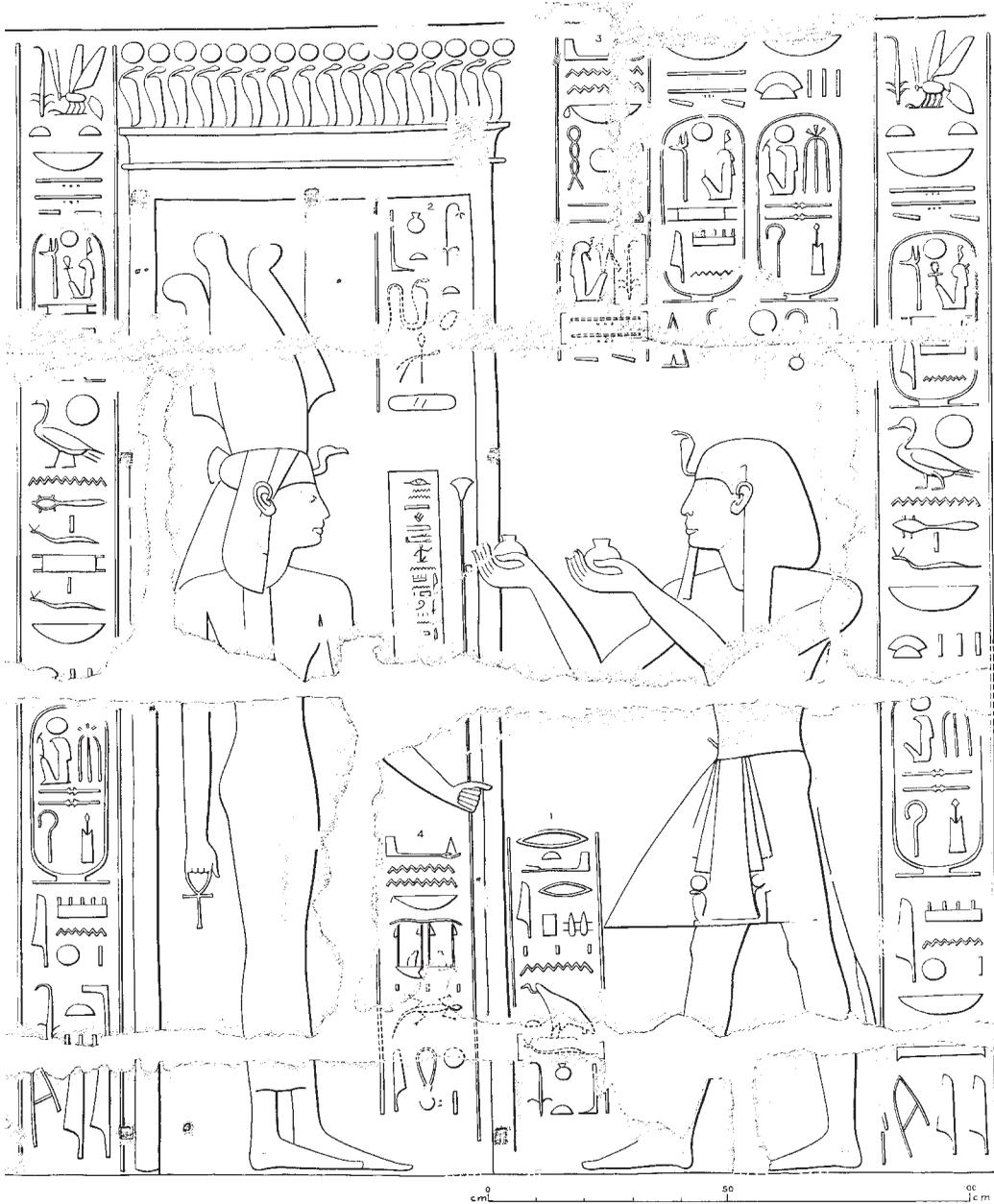*Elizabeth Frood*

Figure 13.1. Scene of Ramesses III offering wine to the goddess Nekhbet; east exterior wall of the temple of Ramesses III, Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1936b, pl. 105h)
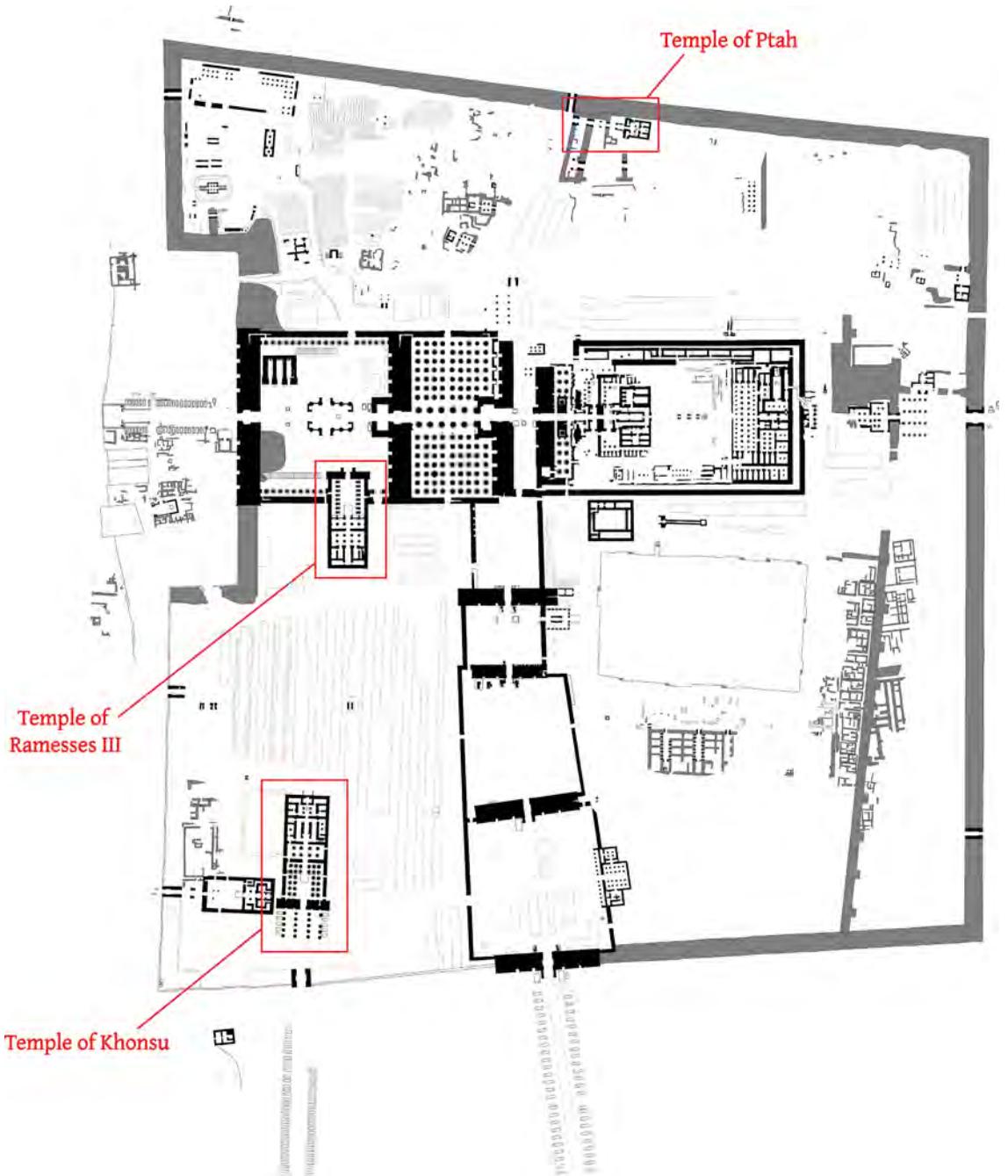
Figure 13.2. Plan of the temple complex of Amun at Karnak (© CNRS-CFEETK)

Elizabeth Frood
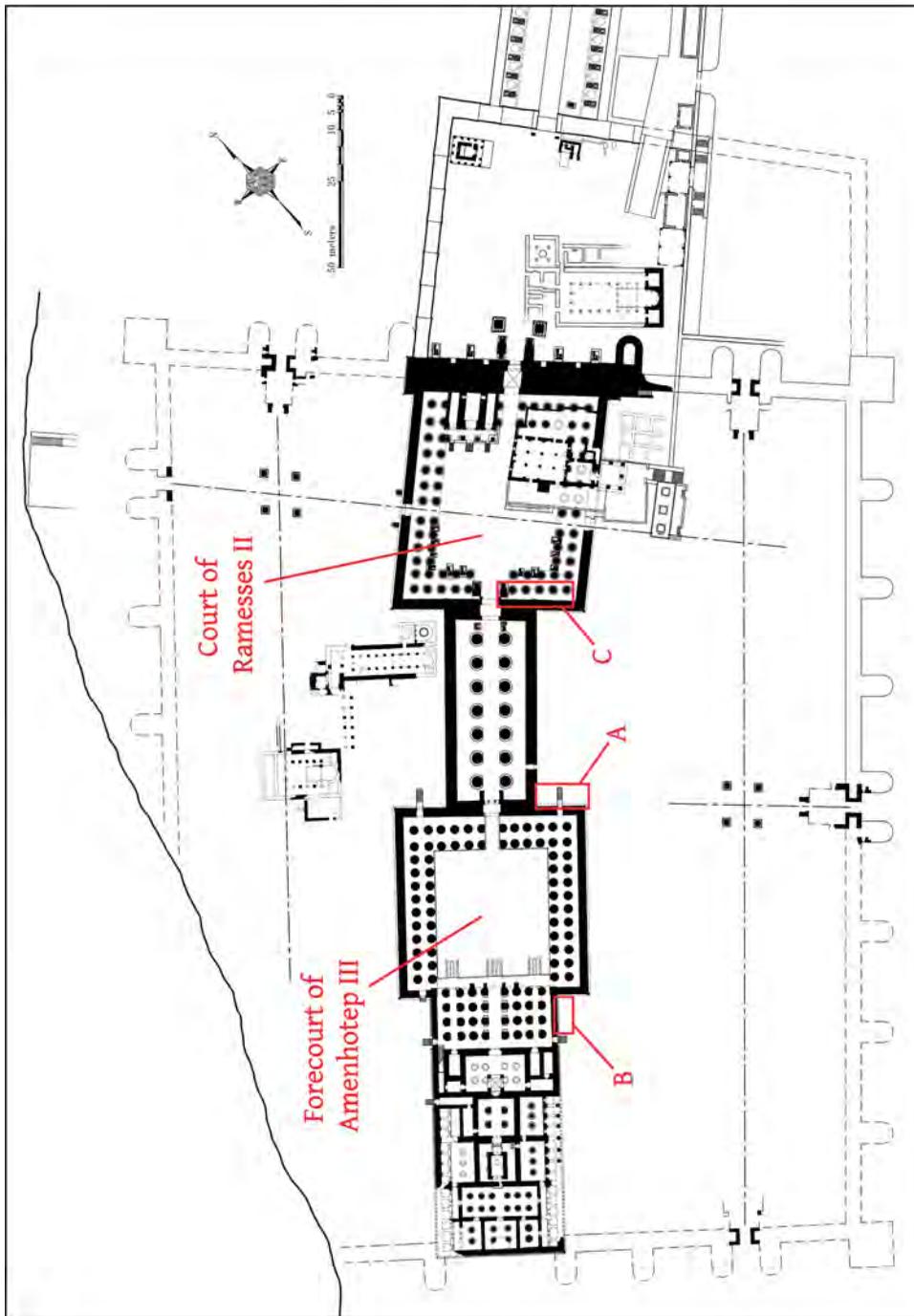
Figure 13.3. Plan of the temple of Luxor, with key areas indicated
(courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey and Jay Heidel)

Figure 13.4. Graffito scene of Pinudjem and female kin before two forms of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu; east facade of the colonnade of Amenhotep III, Luxor temple (Epigraphic Survey 1998, pl. 199)

Figure 13.5. Graffito scene of Pinudjem and male kin before Amun-Re and his mother Nodjmet; east side of the rear wall of the court of Ramesses II, Luxor temple (photograph by E. Frood)
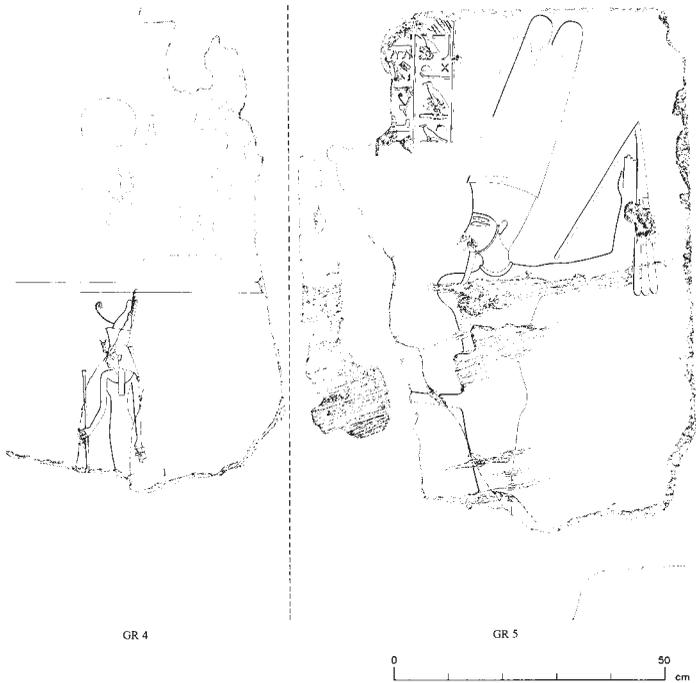
Figure 13.6. Graffito of Amun-Re-Kamutef "who protects the wretched;" east facade of the colonnade of Amenhotep III, Luxor temple (Epigraphic Survey 1998, pl. 203)

Figure 13.7. Graffiti before the face of Mut, whose nose, breast, and arm are visible in the photograph; east facade of the colonnade of Amenhotep III, Luxor temple (Epigraphic Survey 1998, pl. 201)
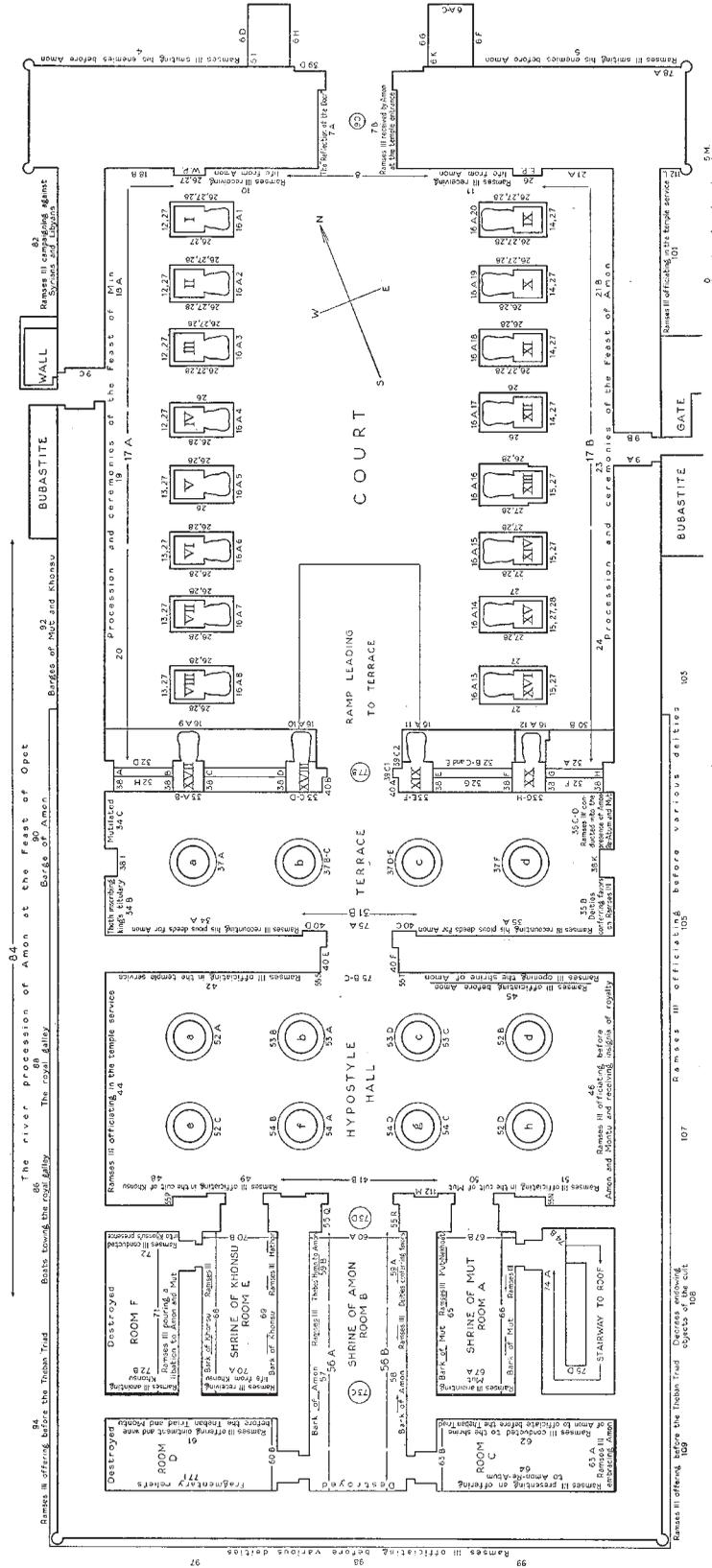
Figure 13.8. Plan of the temple of Ramesses III, Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1936a, fig. 1)

Figure 13.9. Detail of the graffito of Iuuenamun before the goddess Nekhbet; east exterior wall of the temple of Ramesses III, Karnak (cf. fig. 13.1; Epigraphic Survey 1936b, pl. 105h)

Figure 13.10. Graffito of Amun-Re; east corner of the facade of the pylon of the temple of Ramesses III, Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1936a, pl. 78a)
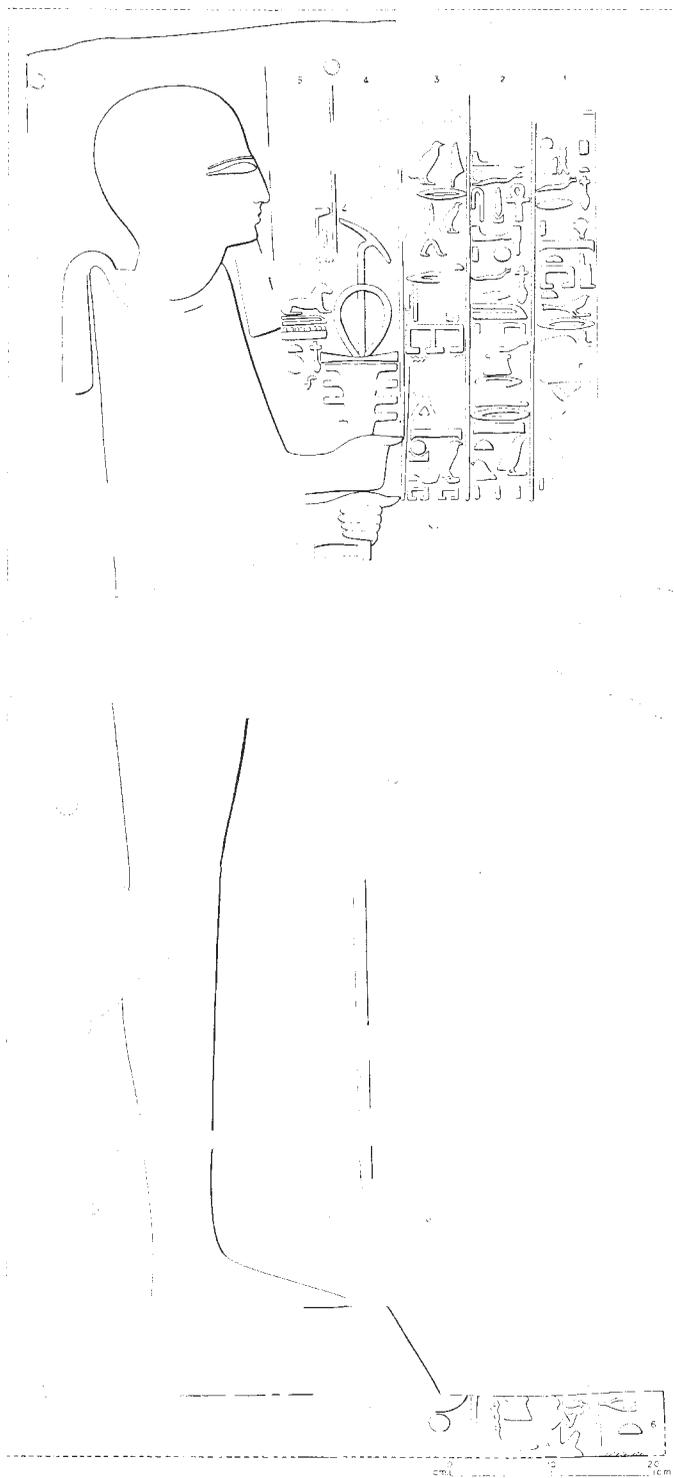
Figure 13.11. Graffito of Ptah; rear of the pylon of the temple of Ramesses III, Karnak
(Epigraphic Survey 1936b, 112l)
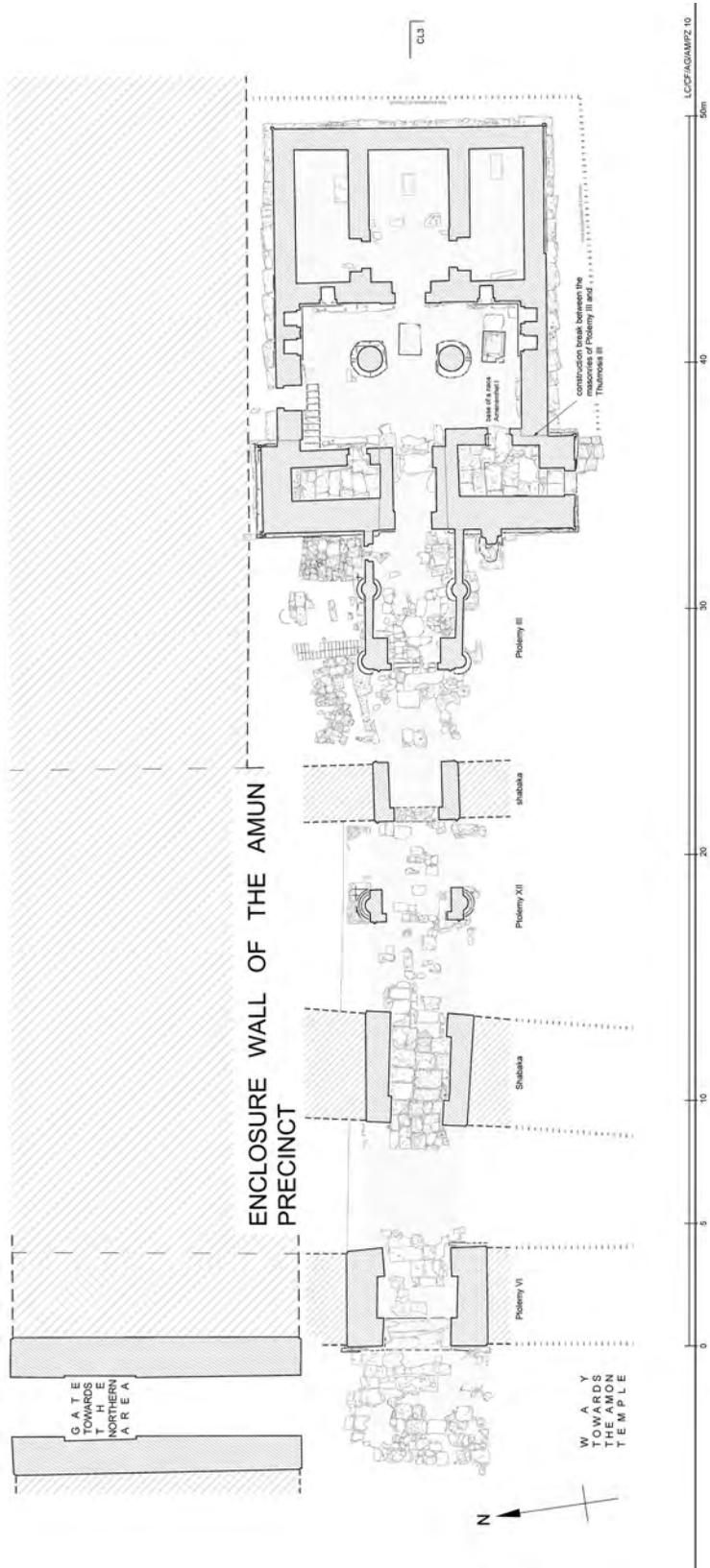
Figure 13.12. General plan of the temple of Ptah, Karnak (© CNRS-CFEETK)

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Figure 13.13. Graffito of Ptah; north exterior wall of the temple of Ptah (© CNRS-CFEETK/P. Batard)

Figure 13.14. Graffito scene of Thoth before Ptah and Hathor, with other hieratic and hieroglyphic graffiti; south exterior wall of the temple of Ptah (© CNRS-CFEETK/P. Batard)

Figure 13.15. Graffito scene of Thoth and Ptah, with other hieratic and hieroglyphic graffiti; south exterior wall of the temple of Ptah (© CNRS-CFEETK/P. Batard)

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