

**RITUAL PROCESSIONAL FURNITURE:
A MATERIAL AND RELIGIOUS PHENOMENON IN EGYPT**



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ABSTRACT

Doctorate of Philosophy

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Temples in ancient Egypt were confines of restricted sacred space. Only priests had access to the inner workings of the temples and their mysteries. During the great festivals, the gods that dwelled in these sanctuaries went on procession for everyone to see, travelling to other temples in barques of gold and wood. These barques were typical of furniture that was both religious and processional. Study of the lexicography, iconography, and function of ancient Egyptian *ritual processional furniture* could shed light upon the metanarrative of ancient religious practice. This research identifies the unique characteristics and lexicography of ritual processional furniture as manifest in ancient Egypt between the Old and New Kingdoms.

A multidisciplinary approach is taken in regards to the data, utilizing both lexicographic and iconographic sources, to which a seven criteria conceptual framework is applied in order to select the appropriate data. The methodology used in this study is inductive and qualitative, and the conclusions are derived from primary sources. Objects that are discovered to be ritual but not processional are eliminated from further analysis. The analyzed data is synthesized and assimilated to expand the current paradigm of ritual processional objects into a new understanding.

In this thesis three primary classes of ritual processional furniture are identified and examined in detail: chests, barques, and palanquin thrones. This project analyzed over sixty lexemes and three hundred fifty instances of iconography. The lexemes for twelve chests, six sacred barques, and six palanquins were found to have been used as ritual processional furniture. The iconographic study examined the pictorial instances by typology and locale. For sacred barques, the results attempted to resolve the ongoing problems concerning identification and inconsistencies between icon and text. The results for palanquin thrones showed that the iconography from sacred barques was appropriated and compressed elevating the king to a focus of religious adoration.

This extensive study of Egyptian ritual processional furniture contributes to the ongoing dialogue regarding the material and cultural context of religious expression by synthesizing the paradigm of temple sacred space upon smaller physical objects. The contribution to knowledge has been to flesh out the identities of specific instances of ritual processional furnishing and to assimilate the architectural understanding of sacred space with the available data so as to arrive at a new understanding of the existing paradigm. The significance of these contributions is that they further develop our understanding of the religious cultural context of ancient Egypt.

To my father, Bruno, who impressed upon me
the value of learned Christian scholarship

&

To Mark Lanier, without whose generous funding,
this project would not have been possible.

(ii)

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¹ RPF is an abbreviation for *Ritual Processional Furniture*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

See *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* for the majority of standardized abbreviations. Abbreviations not included in or used differently from the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* are as follows:

Cat	The catalog number of the iconography assembled for this thesis (p. 307).
<i>Hier. Ostr.</i>	Černý and Gardiner's <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> .
KRI	Kitchen's <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i>
PT	<i>Pyramid Text</i>
RPF	Ritual Processional Furniture

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Ritual procession is a part of every culture whether it manifests in weddings or funerals.² Procession is also a part of many religions, and many religious functions are served through the ritual that accompanies procession.³ The establishment of such rituals is well-documented in ancient Egyptian culture during the festivals. Any given temple could have dozens of festivals and feasts, depending upon its rituals and customs. The festival calendar at Abydos mentions no less than fifteen feasts during the four months of inundation alone.⁴ And during these festivals, furniture that had ritual significance often accompanied those who were endowed with religious authority.

While the festivals were lavish by any estimation, they were not done in a capricious manner. They served a valuable purpose to the stability of Egypt, which was to provide direct personal encounter with the gods. The sequestered nature of

² J. Lowell Lewis, *The Anthropology of Cultural Performance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 60. William W. McCorkle, *Ritualizing the Disposal of the Deceased: From Corpse to Concept* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2010), 7.

³ Martha C. Sims and Martine Stephens, *Living Folklore: An Introduction to the Study of People and Their Traditions*, 2nd ed. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2011), 131.

⁴ Sherif El-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 57-58.

temple practice made it necessary for gods to go on procession in order to maintain cosmic order.

The festival was a necessary inversion to the created order to support the greater cosmic order. With normal temple ritual, gods resided in sacred space, and temple architecture enforced a strict heaven and earth dichotomy that excluded common people from the normal events of daily ritual. The gods would communicate indirectly through priestly intermediaries, and offering distribution existed to maintain the priests. With festival processions, gods could travel outside of their temples, and the divine expanded across the non-sacred landscape to allow common people to mingle with the gods. Gods talked directly to people by responding to questions through the movement of their sacred vessels,⁵ and offerings were distributed as occasions of public beneficence.⁶

The procession then was an exception to the way things normally worked to demonstrate that everything was working normally. The contrast emphasized that everything was still working as it should.⁷ The inversion to the normal order of the temple service, i.e., the created order of the earth/heaven dichotomy, worked within the consistent framework of official religion while being received by common

⁵ Dieter Kessler, "Bemerkungen zur Tempel- und Gottesgerichtsbarkeit im Neuen Reich," *Scribe of Justice: Egyptological Studies in honour of Shafik Allam*, eds. Zahi A. Hawass, Khaled A. Daoud, and Ramadan B. Hussein (Cairo: Ministry of State for Antiquities, 2011), 249-263.

⁶ B. J. J. Haring, *Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1997), 114 and 260.

⁷ The disruption of festival religious service was symptomatic of the chaos in the land. See *BM EA 5645*, rt.11 (R. B. Parkinson, "The Text of 'Khakheperreseneb': New Readings of EA 5645, and an Unpublished Ostrakon," *JEA* 83 [1997], 58 lines 3-6).

people through an interactive incarnational lens, i.e., I believe the god because Amun-Re is passing right in front of me and he notices me. Furthermore, the processions demonstrated that the king was ultimately in control because the gods were wandering the land.⁸ The procession as a moment of revelation was an important aspect of processional ritual of temple festivals as it provided direct encounter with the divine, but for the funerary procession the divine encounter was indirect and cooperative, i.e., working with the gods in divine re-enactment.

Behind the significance of these processions existed an underlying problem that necessitated the use of *ritual processional furniture* (abbreviated RPF). The apparent strict separation of the sacred and the profane caused by temple architecture implied the real possibility of ritual defilement.⁹ In Egypt, so much effort was put into sequestering the gods in space that was sanctified and made holy¹⁰ that it created a wall of separation that was bi-directional. Not only was the profane not permitted to enter into sacred space but the holiness of the divine could not exist outside of its heavenly realm in the profane. This created a metaphysical problem of how did the gods that needed to dwell in sanctified space affect Maat (cosmic order) in the profane world, even though the king's ability to rule the land hinged upon the gods influence.¹¹ The ritual procession was largely the answer to this problem; however, RPF was the means through which this was accomplished.

⁸ Jan Assman, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*, trans. Andrew Jenkins (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 223-224.

⁹ Robert Vergnienx, "L'organisation de l'espace (I): du sacré au profane." *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève* 13 (1989), 164-165.

¹⁰ Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 115.

¹¹ Emily Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat: Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 3.

The gods still could not exit sacred space but pieces of RPF that had many of the attributes of temples could allow gods to travel outside temple space by preserving a continuity of sanctified sacred space.

1.1. Literature and Trajectory of Ideas

The earliest discussion was by Georges Legrain who took a strictly Egyptological view of the sacred barques in the 1917 article discussing the role of barques in processions and their use as vessels for votive statuary within the temple context.¹² Legrain engaged a limited set of the lexicography related to sacred barques.

Fulcran Vigouroux in *Dictionnaire de la Bible* wrote the first general treatment of Egyptian RPF. Vigouroux's interest centered upon the relationship between sacred barques and processional chests and the Ark of the Covenant, although details are not presented in the relatively short article.¹³ Vigouroux vaguely compared a relief of the Barque of Amun-Re and the Jar Chest of Amun as found in Lepsius' *Denkmäler* to overarching similarities with the Ark but did not draw any specific comparisons.¹⁴

¹² Georges Legrain, "Le logement et transport des barques sacrées et des statues des dieux dans quelques temples égyptiens," *BIFAO* 13 (1917), 1-76.

¹³ Fulcran Grégoire Vigouroux, "Arche d'alliance", *Dictionnaire de la Bible, contenant tous les noms de personnes, de lieux, de plantes, d'animaux mentionnés dans les saintes écritures, les questions théologiques, archéologiques, scientifiques, critiques relatives à l'ancien et au Nouveau Testament et des notices sur les commentateurs anciens et modernes* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey & Ané, 1926), tome I, 912-923.

¹⁴ Vigouroux, 912 and 918.

G. A. Gaballa and Kenneth A. Kitchen wrote an extensive article on the Sokar festival in an article published in *Orientalia* (1969).¹⁵ Following that article, Kitchen contributed a brief article, “Barke”, to the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (1975) where he described some of the ritual uses of barques.

Another general treatment of chests comes from the writings of Jac. J. Janssen. He addressed chests in relation to the community at Deir el-Medina in a tangential manner in his *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (1975). He distills but does not expand these findings in *Furniture at Deir el-Medina including Wooden Containers of the New Kingdom and Ostraca Varille 19* (2009).

Claude Traunecker presented a discussion of the development of sacred barques in *La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak* (1981), where he discussed the evolution of the barque of Amun-Re.¹⁶ Traunecker conducted a detailed description of the barques that were involved in the festival that took place at the Chapel of Achoris. While he focused primarily on the chapel itself and its rituals, he did delve into the history and development of the barque of Amun-Re.

Regarding chests, perhaps the most important general contribution to the subject of chests comes from Geoffrey Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture: Boxes, Chests and Footstools* (1994). This short work focused primarily on material culture finds of boxes and chests but avoided lexicography and iconography.

¹⁵ G. A. Gaballa and Kenneth A. Kitchen, “The Festival of Sokar,” *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 1-76.

¹⁶ Claude Traunecker, *La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak*, vol. II (Paris: Éditions ADPF, 1981), 38-45 and 77-85.

Arno Egberts wrote a comprehensive work on meret chests entitled *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating of the Meret-Chests and the Driving of the Calves* (1995). Because Egberts is so thorough in his treatment of meret chests, any coverage this thesis could do of the meret chests would be a duplication of effort. In addition examination of meret chests would probably not lend much more to our understanding of RPF than has already been contributed by Egberts. Thus, Egbert's results and methodology will be engaged without attempting to duplicate his scholarship. However, Egberts contributed to the theoretical understanding by suggesting a rudimentary paradigm for RPF (pp. 8-8) that can be built upon.

The most recent and perhaps most thorough treatment of sacred barques was done by Christina Karlshausen first in her 1995 article in *Revue d'Égyptologie* and later in *L'Iconographie de la Barque Processionnelle Divine en Égypte au Nouvel Empire* (2009), which is the published result of her 1997 thesis. Her treatment of sacred barques was narrowly focused dealing primarily with the evolution and redaction of sacred barque iconography. She specifically excludes lexicography and the barque of Sokar.¹⁷

In 1999 Edward Brovarski wrote an article "Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests in the Old Kingdom" for *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* where he discussed the lexicography and iconography of boxes and chests from the Old Kingdom period.

¹⁷ Christrina Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine en Égypte au Nouvel Empire* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers & Department of Oriental Studies, 2009), 4-5.

Similar treatment of boxes and chests from the New and Middle Kingdoms has yet to be done.

Ritual processional object as a special class of object was first recognized by Katherine Eaton in her 2005 thesis, *The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos*. Eaton focused primarily on the temple of Seti I at Abydos and included not just furniture¹⁸ but all ritual processional objects, e.g., fans and incense burners. She stated that her primary purpose was to understand “how ritual was performed”,¹⁹ so she did not define these objects beyond their use within the ritual context nor did she tie these interactions to an overarching paradigm. Eaton continued her research on the performance of ritual in her subsequent work, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual* (2013). Conversely, my thesis is focused upon the objects themselves and narrows the material culture focus to furniture but broadens the scope in terms of locale and chronology.

As can be observed few studies have been done treating RPF as a comprehensive class of objects. What studies that do exist examine very narrow aspects or are relegated to specific articles related to the subject matter. While some narrowly focused studies have been conducted on specific areas of chests and barques, no major study has been done on palanquins and no comprehensive study addresses the subject as a whole.

¹⁸ See p. 8 for the definition of *furniture* used in this thesis.

¹⁹ Katherine Eaton, “The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2004), 447.

While the theoretical understanding of coffins has advanced to where they are now recognized to hold a votive function for the dead,²⁰ the current paradigm (per Egberts) holds that ritual processional objects are those that are manipulated in the presence of the deity through the ritual act.²¹ However, if this class of objects is indeed a special class of item as it has been recognized by the trajectory of ideas, then warrant exists to study this subject because such a study could reveal properties or characteristics that may be unique to these items and as a result contribute to our understanding of the overall religious cultural context.

1.2. Definition of Ritual Processional Furniture

Because the literature lacked a conceptual framework for defining RPF, a framework was needed to constrain the data set. This framework was developed from *prima facie* examples of RPF, from which three broad criteria were posited. The first two criteria are definitional, that is, they set the original parameters for defining the study and represent the initial *prima facie* limitations of the study, and the third emerged from the literature.

From these three criteria, a broad set of data was gathered from the primary source material. The fourth criterion emerged from the consensus of the literature, and the remaining three criteria are common traits that were discovered through reflection upon the primary sources. These criteria provide the conceptual

²⁰ Harco Willems, *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom, Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1958), 47.

²¹ A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating of the Meret-Chests and the Driving of the Calves*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1995), 53.

framework which filters data germane to the research question. This thesis ultimately determined seven criteria that are common to most kinds of ritual processional furnishings.

(1) For consideration to be studied, the item must be first a piece of furniture.

As a working definition, *furniture* is a piece of large movable equipment, such as tables and chairs, used to make a space suitable for living or working.²² This excludes smaller items such as spoons and cups and larger stationary items such as architecture and monumental works. The furniture must make a space usable. The space in question here is a precinct of religious space, either space that already exists within sacred precincts of a temple or space that is made useable within the confines of the furnishing itself.

(2) For consideration to be studied, the furniture must serve a primarily ritual or religious function. This excludes furniture where the main purpose is utilitarian, e.g., chairs for domestic use. However, this includes portable thrones because in the late New Kingdom, these particular thrones serve a religious purpose above and beyond the mere functional use of being a chair. The purpose of the furniture must be to facilitate the religious ceremony whether it is to perform a function such as the presentation of offerings or to provide protection or sanctify space for a deity.

(3) The furniture must be designed to be transported as part of its regular periodic function. This means that the furnishing must be designed to be carried or moved as a part of its normal use. Eaton supports this criterion by defining ritual

²² A. S. Hornby, ed. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 7th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 632.

processional objects as those “used outside of the temple in processions.”²³ This excludes furniture such as stationary beds as they are not designed to be moved around. It also excludes sarcophagi, coffins, and canopic shrines as these items are not meant to be transported as a part of their regular function, even though they are moved once in procession. The ritual sled might be considered for inclusion since its use is primarily ritual, and it was repeatedly used; however, whether it is possible to classify the sled as "furniture" would probably be an arbitrary decision that seems doubtful as it does not make space useable per the previous criterion. A sled, even a ritual one, probably falls under the classification of transportation more than furniture as its function is not really as much part of the cultic ritual as much as it is the means to achieving the ritual procession. In the same manner, the sled then functions similar to a functional wagon or a true boat, which can transport items but do not prepare a defined space for use per criterion 1.

(4) One feature that appears consistently is the presence of carrying poles that are placed below the centre of gravity of the item. This placement of the poles is intended to give maximum visibility and not to provide stability in transport. The poles with this placement are the means by which most processional furniture is transported. The use of carrying poles appears to be an identifying feature of RPF, which is by no means exclusive to this class of artifact but only in occasional circumstances does a particular artifact lack this feature while still being classed as processional furniture. Eaton uses the presence of carrying poles as “the primary

²³ Eaton, “The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos,” 9.

diagnostic criterion” for portable shrines and palanquins.²⁴ This is a matter of form following the function that it was intended to serve. The purpose of this furniture was to be carried out in a procession and as such it needed to have a form that could be carried by a group of people in parade, which made the use of carrying poles the ideal method of transport. The poles serve the additional function of preventing direct contact with the sacred object by the porters. This enhances the separation of the sacred and prevents accidental defilement.

It is important to note that the absence of carrying poles does not by itself mean that the item is not RPF. Some items are clearly RPF even if they do not have carrying poles, e.g., *mrt* chest. The shrine cabinets portrayed at Denderah temple are an important example of this where the priests are carrying the boxes with aid of shoulder straps <Cat. Cx0142>. Most shrine cabinets were not treated in this manner and the processional ritual at Denderah provides us with an exception rather than a rule. It is then safe to say that this criterion is diagnostic and descriptive rather than prescriptive.

(5) RPF has the feature of being connected to a person, whether that person is a human or a god. An example of this will be the “chest of Anubis” (p. 199). The fact that RPF was connected to a person became, in Egyptian religious use, the means by which the deceased could still provide influence in the affairs of the

²⁴ Eaton, “The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos,” 50.

living. The barques of deceased kings managed to impart a ritual presence that prompted onlookers into obedience to the now divine monarch.²⁵

(6) These furnishings functioned as a kind of container or vessel. Chests and boxes are the obvious kinds of storage; however, sacred barques also held votive images in their capacity as elaborate shrine cabinets. Moreover, even palanquins are vessels that hold human beings or gods as they are carried on procession. Ritual boats that held mummies as found in certain Middle Kingdom burials are neither containers nor are they processional in the sense presented by criterion 3.

(7) The presence of religious symbols and iconography is a diagnostic but not defining feature. This iconography performs the function of declaring or making an object pure, holy, or protected. Normative symbols within the Egyptian context are the repetition of common use symbols²⁶ that include the ankh, djed, neb, sceptres, tjet, maat and shu feathers, and wadjet eyes, but may also include reserved iconography including the uraeus and Nekhbet vulture. The use of religious iconography suggests that these furnishings can have a votive function that could make them suitable as objects of worship.

²⁵ Richard H. Wilkinson, "The Coronational Circuit of the Walls, the Circuit of the *hmnw* Barque and the Heb-sed 'Race' in Egyptian Kingship Ideology," *JSSEA* 15 (1985), 45-51.

²⁶ Geoffrey Killen, *Egyptian Woodworking and Furniture* (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, Ltd, 1994), 17.

1.3. Methodology for Studying Ritual Furniture

This study of RPF is designed using a variety of historiographic methodologies that are relevant to the study of ancient history. The bipartite core of the project will be a lexicographic study that will build upon the work of Brovanski and Janssen and an iconographic study that builds upon the work of Traunecker, Eaton, and Karlshausen. These two studies are then interpreted in light of their function in regards to their use of sacred space. Typological concerns will not be explicitly addressed as these would be largely redundant given the content of the two studies. A typology could be abstracted from the data, but typology is not the focus of this study *per se*.

Textual and iconographic sources to be considered will include ancient Egyptian records from the Old Kingdom until the end of the New Kingdom. In citing textual sources, a single standardized text is preferred over citing a large number of the same text. This has been done to avoid false bibliography and because this thesis has not for the most part engaged in the textual criticism of sources. Hence, where a standard edition has sufficed, single textual sources are cited.

The use of texts carries with it an entire exegetical tradition, which is generally familiar to scholars in Egyptology. These hermeneutical rules arise out of knowledge passed down from within the discipline via lexicographic and interpretive study. These rules form the basis of study in the ancient languages and are generally uncontested in all but their fine points.

In addition to textual sources, iconography will play an important role in the methodology of this thesis. The study of iconography, however, sometimes lacks

the prolegomena associated with lexicography, not necessarily because of a paucity of data, but because of a lack of necessary contextual parity between texts and pictorial sources. Even when scene and text are presented in the same work, text and pictorial source can differ radically on what is being communicated.²⁷ This is not to say that there is a contradiction, but there can be a shift in emphasis between the iconographic and textual sources. Texts often act as commentary upon iconographic sources with the expectation that the viewer comprehends all that is happening in the scene. The context is often what is missing as iconographic sources are analyzed.

Iconography can give insight into a culture through its pictorial language, but caution must be exercised when inferring from iconography what is in circulation in the material culture. Proper methodology dictates that material culture informs iconography, whereas misapplied iconography can distort the record if not juxtaposed against material culture. Karlshausen surmised that the scenes in the baroque chapels were to create a ritual setting that did not always correspond to exact reality.²⁸ With this in mind, there are methodological constraints that intuitively arise with the use of iconographic data, which come about because of limitations to the data or the interpretation of the evidence.

²⁷ Valérie Angenot, "Discordance entre texte et image: Deux exemples de l'Ancien et de Nouvel Empires," *GM* 187 (2002), 11-21.

²⁸ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, 246.

1.4. Classes of Ritual Processional Furniture

Given the trajectory of ideas, methodology, and constraints laid out above, certain types of processional furniture stand out for consideration. These classes of furniture are commonly observed in reliefs and archaeology, forming the basis of study for the thesis. Each of these classes includes instances that meet the identifying criteria previously mentioned.

The first class of RPF is the ritual chest. The chest is well-represented in funerary iconography and the best attested class in material culture finds. Some chests may have been utilitarian storage chests that were adapted to become a shrine. Conversely, chests may also take on a sloped-lid design like what is found on shrines that would house the images of deities. Shrine cabinets represent a borderline case. Some shrine cabinets were chests that maintained a ritual processional use while other shrine cabinets were permanent installations that were never intended to be moved. Shrine cabinets that fit the former will be treated as a kind of chest while the latter are outside the scope of this thesis.

The second class of RPF is the sacred barque. This is a model of a boat that is carried on poles or dragged on a sledge.²⁹ The sacred barque was a kind of portable shrine intended to house and protect a divine figure when on procession. Often a shrine is built around the hull of the barque, and the barque shrine is carried as a single unit. This class is functionally a specialized extension of the shrine

²⁹ Dilwyn Jones, *Ancient Egyptian Boats* (London: Trustees of the British Museum Press, 1995), 21.

cabinet but analogically derived from the boats that transported the statues of the gods.³⁰ The sacred barque appears in iconography as early as the Old Kingdom and continues through to the Ptolemaic period, and barque processions continue into modern times with the festival at Luxor parading the boat of the Muslim saint Sheikh Yūsuf al-Haggāg.

The third class being studied is palanquin thrones, which is a part of a larger class of furniture called “carrying chairs” or *palanquin* by earlier archaeologists. The English translation of the term implies a class distinction as a means of transport by the wealthy. While there is evidence that such was the case in the Old Kingdom, this term fails to grasp the religious connotations that are expressed by the later iconography of this furnishing. During the New Kingdom, the palanquin throne became a symbol of theocratic and military supremacy, and thus only the king, queen, and gods were shown to travel by palanquin even though palanquin use by the upper class most likely persisted through the Ramesside period. The use of palanquin thrones as RPF appears to be limited to the New Kingdom.

Other minor classes of RPF are possible but are not adequately attested at this time and are therefore outside the consideration of this thesis. Altars are places where food and libation offerings were processed. It is possible that portable altars may have been used to make periodic offerings along the procession path.

³⁰ While this does mean that barques could be deconstructed into the category of chests, the decision to treat barques as a separate category is arbitrary but necessary in order to make the data manageable. Doing otherwise would heavily skew the weight of the data towards chests, and at the same time rob the richness that would otherwise belong to this category.

There are some objects that are like furniture but are not furniture. The Abydene symbol of Osiris is excluded from this study because it is a religious article that is a focus of adoration, whereas RPF are items that facilitate religious ceremony but are generally not worshipped in and of themselves. The Abydene symbol is closer to a votive statue than it is to furniture. Similarly, standards will also be excluded from the study because they are primarily votive and not furniture. Even some of the ritual objects associated with the Min cult are not furniture *per se*. The planters that follow the Min float in the Feast of Going Forth of Min are not pieces of furnishing but a frame intended to hold lettuces, trees or standards.³¹

1.5. Terminology

The studies of lexicography and iconography lend themselves to various issues regarding English usage and definitions. As this thesis focuses upon the metanarrative of physical objects, the terms *idealized* and *mythological* are used as descriptors. I have chosen the term *idealized* to suggest that object may have had a physical representation but has features that could be exaggerated to reflect a religious understanding or artistic ideal. I use the term *mythological* to suggest that a particular feature or instance is extant only as a religious construct but not as a physical object. So when I discuss “mythological barques”, these are barques that appear in context to a theological discussion but in all likelihood were not constructed as physical objects.

³¹ Harold Hayden Nelson, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1940), pl. 211.

Regarding the use terms for chests, I have used three terms in this thesis: chests, boxes, and coffers. For this thesis, *chest* and *box* may be used interchangeably without distinction or difference. A *coffer* simply refers to small chests used to store precious items. Another term used is *basket*, which refers to a box made of wicker, typically used domestically.

The sacred barque is a vessel that was used to transport the image of a god when it goes on procession. The term *barque* is somewhat imprecise. I have opted to use the Old French form of the word instead of the current English form of the word *bark*. The current English form of the word has additional connotations apart from the definition that means a “boat,” so to prevent confusion the Old French form is preferred. Even with this limitation, the term *barque* has been used in a variety of ways within the study of Egyptology. The *hnw* chest is often referred to as a “barque” when it is a chest used for a ritual or processional purpose; however, the *hnw*, which is the name for the barque of Sokar, is a true barque. But not only has the term *barque* been used for chests, it has also been used for true ships, e.g., the Great Barque of Amun-Re, which is the ship that the ritual processional barque is transported upon when travel on the Nile was needed. While this usage is appropriate, for our purposes we need to make a distinction between the barques used as RPF and the barques used as true boats. For the purposes of terminology and since the use of the term *boat* is vague, we will refer to true boats as *barges* instead of barques. The study of the barges is outside the scope of this thesis as it is not furniture *per se*.

Summary

We have seen that RPF is an area that has not had sufficient scholarly coverage. To date coverage has been either highly focused or tangential. Any areas already covered by previous studies will not be covered by this thesis so as to avoid a duplication of scholarship. RPF is a class of object that can be defined, and a methodology can be set forth that can bring reason to this area of study. The overarching purpose of this thesis is to identify specific instances and define the unique characteristics of RPF using lexicography and iconography, i.e., the metanarrative of ritual.

If RPF was believed to have some kind of magical power, then it is clear that these objects were not incidental but integral to the rituals involved and in fact made the items contained within them ritually acceptable to the deities involved. This project extends the current religious cultural context baseline for these specialized objects by showing their uniqueness of form and function in such a way as to set them apart from mundane objects. These ideas do not propose a paradigm shift but expand the work already done by deepening the understanding of the paradigm that is currently recognized using a qualitative approach.

CHAPTER 2

SACRED SPACE FUNCTION OF RPF³²

RPF originally began as mundane objects that had a practical use (p. 179). As these mundane objects were used to store sacred items for the afterlife, these items transitioned from functional objects to objects that had to be empowered to maintain ritual purity often through magical warding through votive symbolism (p. 232). Ritual processional furnishing ultimately acted as containers (p. 12) that served to either protect the contents with magical warding or, very rarely, to keep something magical from getting out.³³

These objects became sanctified and defined their own limits of sacred space. Sacred space is an important concept that undergirds our understanding of religious structures, such as temple architecture, as the delineation of the holy from the profane. Sacred space takes physical elements, which embodies the divine, acting as mediaries between heaven and earth.³⁴ As John Baines points out, the

³² Much of this chapter was published as “Egyptian Barque Shrines and the Complexity of Miniaturized Sacred Space,” *Meaning and λόγος: Proceedings of the Early Professional Interdisciplinary Conference Held at the University of Liverpool April 8-10, 2013*. ed. Erica Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2015), 185-194.

³³ P. Westcar, 12,4-5 (Aylward M. Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians: Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar* (Berlin Papyrus 3033) [Reading: J. V. Books, 1988], 16,2-4).

³⁴ Mircea Eliade suggested that the manifestation of the sacred transforms an object or space into something fit to participate in the cosmic drama transmuting the

sacred spaces of Egypt “have a ‘cosmographic’ function” that mimics the structure of the universe.³⁵

Typically scholars have broached the topic of sacred space through an examination of large freestanding structures, such as temples and palaces, and even the layout of tombs can be compared to temple architecture in regards to the creation of sacred space.³⁶ What is much less recognized is that the architectural separation of the sacred space within temples is recapitulated on a smaller scale with cultic furniture. Through an examination of the ways in which space was cordoned off within a particular type of cultic furniture called the sacred barque, I hope to show analogous methods in both form and style with the well-studied divisions found within large freestanding structures. Therefore, an understanding of sacred space can give us insight into how the Egyptians relate to their own concepts of divinity from an emic perspective. Through the study of sacred space, we can come to

mundane into a “supernatural reality” (*The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask [New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959], 12). Susan Guettel Cole maintained that sacred space is created through the induction of a new community or ritual but “had to be formally allocated for sacred precincts, altars, and temples” and involved the replication of sacred objects (*Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience* [London: University of California Press, 2004], 39). Ronald L. Grimes recognized the dichotomy between ascribed emic meaning and the scholarly inclination to not see beyond materialism (“Ritual, performance, and the sequestering of sacred space,” *Discourse in Ritual Studies*, ed. Hans Schilderman [Leiden: Brill, 2007], 152-153). Conversely, David Weir thought that sacred space is a “human universal” that necessitates a “sacred” and “profane” dichotomy (“Liminality, Sacred Space and the Diwan,” *Sacred Space: Interdisciplinary Perspectives within Contemporary Contexts*, eds. Steven Brie, Jenny Daggers, and David Torevell [Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009], 39).

³⁵ John Baines, “Temple Symbolism,” *Royal Anthropological Institute Newsletter* 15 (1976), 10.

³⁶ Jan Assmann, “The Ramesside tomb and the construction of sacred space,” *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, eds. Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: British Museum Press, 2003), 47-48.

understand the rules and patterns that define this cosmographic language of delineation. Rules that emerge from this study are that sacred space is cordoned off from profane space. Sacred space can be defined by iconography. And there is more than one type of sacred space in the Egyptian cosmographic repertoire. Sacred space can be multiplied through iconographic intensification and layering. Multiple types of space can be layered for complex religious effects. The iconographic study of ritual barque sanctuaries when compared to the sacred barques demonstrates an increasing sophistication of the partitions of sacred space within the smallest confines of physical space.



2.1. Partition of Sacred Space

The Egyptians followed a complex set of rituals in order to initiate entry into sacred space. *wꜥb*-priest followed rigorous standards of cleanliness for the priests prior to their entry into sacred space.³⁷ Priests obeyed a regimen of ritual bathing and hair removal that demarcated those who were ritually clean from the uninitiated. And just as the priests who entered into sacred space conformed to certain standards of ritual purity, temple precincts also conformed to certain identifying characteristics and rituals that could set it apart from secular buildings, e.g., opening of the mouth

³⁷ John Laurence Gee, “The Requirements of Ritual Purity in Ancient Egypt” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1998), 313-314.

ceremony.³⁸ Nevertheless, the distinctions between temple and palace in ancient Egypt were blurred as the roles of god and king converged.³⁹

Commonalities in architecture exist between temple, palace, and tomb that convey notions of sacred space. We find in these examples of sacred architecture that there are markers that identify them as places that marked them off from profane space. In the case of tombs, this space was marked by devices, images, and statues of guardian deities that protect the sacred space from intrusion.


Besides the structural barrier of the temenos wall, the Egyptians could show that an area was regarded as sacred through the use of symbols. The temple walls could be marked with the lapwing bird, , to show that an area was public.⁴⁰ But the most common of these non-architectural devices used to mark off sacred space was the frieze. A frieze is a decorative horizontal border with a repetitive pattern along the upper section of a wall, column, or object which is used as an architectural or design element. It can be found in tombs and temples and on funerary objects. Its importance goes beyond mere decoration. Friezes contributed to the greater language of larger architectural units, such as tombs, by adding a vertical dimension to symbolic cosmology, e.g., the heker frieze, , was used in

³⁸ Mariam F. Ayad, "Towards a Better Understanding of the Opening of the Mouth Ritual", *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6-12 September 2004*, vol. I, eds. Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2007), 111.

³⁹ Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 266-267.

⁴⁰ Denise M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 27.

tombs to show a division between oasis and desert⁴¹ or a horizon that delineated the earthly realm portrayed on the walls from the stars and heavens portrayed on the ceiling. Through the history of Egypt, friezes were used within an architectural context in keeping with its original function, which is to (a) provide an artificial horizon to an architectural element and (b) define an area of importance. While the solar friezes used in the context of temples and tombs is well known, the frieze was also adapted for use as a ceremonial element in other contexts and on objects.

Friezes can convey a sense of architecture even when used on smaller structures and objects. An example of an object that has architectural attributes though functions neither as a structure nor temple is a pavilion. Such objects can have multiple uraeus friezes, and the choice of the uraeus as a protective deity and protective image is common.⁴² The uraeus frieze as used on pavilions probably even inspired the *t3yt* hieroglyphs ().⁴³ A simple example of such a frieze is from the tomb of Paser, which was completed during the reign of Seti I (Dynasty 19).⁴⁴

⁴¹ Marek Marciniak, “Un successeur contemporain de la frise de *khekerou*?” *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II. (Cairo: L’Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale, 1985), 110.

⁴² Robert Kriech Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 4th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993), 224.

⁴³ Sally Johnson, “Uraeus statuettes,” *Mummies & Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, eds. Sue D’Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catherine H. Roehrig (Boston: Dallas Museum of Art, 1992), 144.

⁴⁴ J. Vandier, *Manuel D’Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. IV (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1969), fig. 300.

Even during the Amarna period, uraeus friezes were still used but were integrated into Aten worship. From the tomb of Ramose, built during the reign of Akhenaten (Dynasty 18), there is an example of a palace façade that has a uraeus frieze that looks inward to an Aten in the centre.⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that despite the supposed monotheistic ideology of the Aten and the divine connotations of the uraeus, depictions of the royal family are associated with the Aten in conjunction with the uraeus.⁴⁶ Perhaps, the connotations of the uraeus by the Amarna period had drifted from its identity as deity towards a lesser form of divine being.

A second image of a pavilion from the tomb of Ramose shows a pavilion within a pavilion, each pavilion has a uraeus frieze upon it.⁴⁷ Hanging from the ceiling is a row of date palm clusters. These date clusters are a fruit that is connected with the sun god.⁴⁸ The use of concentric pavilions and friezes is a common feature in the New Kingdom.

Another example of multiple friezes and pavilions comes from the Amarna-period anonymous tomb 226.⁴⁹ This scene contains a total of three concentric pavilions and five rows of uraei (Fig. 1). The outer canopy has a frieze of uraei wearing *šwtj* crowns. The middle canopy has two friezes of uraei: the top row has a

⁴⁵ Florence Friedman, “*3h* in the Amarna Period,” *JARCE* 23 (1986), 104.

⁴⁶ Anna Stevens, “The Material Evidence for Domestic Religion at Amarna and Preliminary Remarks on Its Interpretation,” *JEA* 83 (2003), 163.

⁴⁷ Vandier, fig. 296-297.

⁴⁸ Alix Wilkinson, “Symbolism and Design in Ancient Egyptian Gardens,” *Garden History* 22 (1994), 2.

⁴⁹ Norman de Garis Davis and Alan H. Gardiner, eds. *Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmosē, and Another* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933), pl. 41.

typical uraeus frieze and the bottom row uraeus frieze has palm date clusters above their solar disks. The inner canopy has a top frieze of typical uraei and bottom row of palm dates only. The platform of the middle canopy, upon which Akhenaton is sitting, also has a frieze of typical uraei. This shows that even the platform is considered an architectural unit requiring its own frieze.

The ultimate use of the uraeus frieze is to define sacred space through the repeating sequence of divine images. Moreover, by using one uraeus frieze within another, we see that the Egyptians had the capacity to define ever smaller units of ritual space. We also come to understand that for the Egyptians, not all sacred space is the same. There are rings of “holiness” where the inner rings are zones that have the greatest holiness by reason of the cumulative effects of iconographic intensification. While the use of such uraeus friezes can be found on large units of sacred space, ritual spaces were not limited to architectural units but also onto non-architectural objects such as coffins and furniture, e.g., the *pds* chest (p. 68).

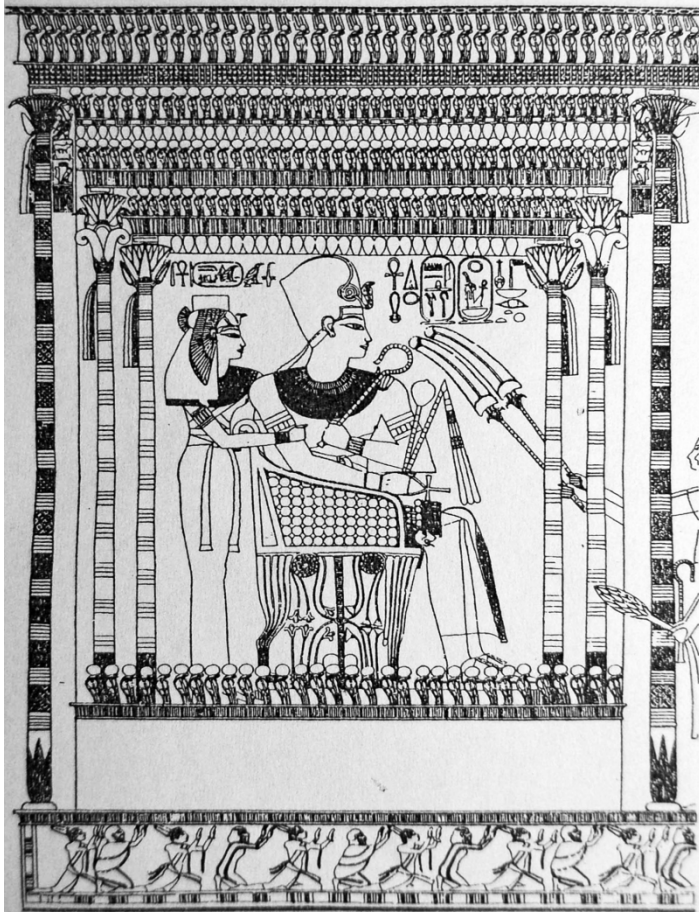


Figure 1. A pavilion with five concentric uraeus friezes from TT 226 (Vandier, 1969, fig. 302).

For example, a single frieze of uraei adorned the wooden funerary canopy from the Rhind tomb that dates to the death of its owner Montsuef in 9 BC.⁵⁰ The canopic shrine of Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18) uses a shrine within a shrine.⁵¹ Each shrine is topped with a frieze of uraei carved from wood and gilded with gold. Similar cobra heads to those found on Tutankhamun's canopic shrine were found in the tomb of Amenhotep III, which were made of blue faience.⁵² The practice of

⁵⁰ Christina Riggs, "The Egyptian funerary tradition at Thebes in the Roman Period," *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Nigel Strudwick and John Taylor (London: British Museum Press, 2003), 192-193 and fig. 1.

⁵¹ Katharine Stoddard Gilbert, ed. *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 154.

⁵² Dorothea Arnold, "An Egyptian Bestiary," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, ns 52 (1995), 42.

decorating canopic shrines continued into the Greco-Roman period where there is an example adorned with both uraeus and heker friezes.⁵³

Besides canopic shrines, uraeus friezes appear to have been used on sacred barques used by gods in temple festivals, e.g., <Cat. Bx0148>. A fragment of an openwork bronze decoration was published that included a section of uraeus.⁵⁴ A similar frieze is depicted on the illustration of the Barque of Amun-Re as found on the east wall of the sanctuary of the Horus Temple at Edfu.⁵⁵

Another context where uraeus friezes are found is upon coffins. Coffins of the New Kingdom perform many of the same functions as the tombs themselves in the definition of sacred space for the purpose of resurrecting the dead.⁵⁶ Given that these coffins performed similar functions to the tombs that housed them, the coffins had many of the same cosmographic architectural features including solar friezes. An example of such a coffin is that of Henettawy (Dynasty 21) where a typical uraeus frieze runs along the side of an anthropoid coffin.⁵⁷

Yet the most compact use of sacred space that is defined by the uraeus frieze seems to be situated around thrones. From the tomb of Nakhtamun, there is a relief

⁵³ D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig, pl. VII.

⁵⁴ Edward Lee Bockman Terrace, "Three Egyptian Bronzes," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 57 (1959), 49.

⁵⁵ Terrace, 52.

⁵⁶ John H. Taylor, "Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: an overview," *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. V. Davies (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 164. Note here that the term "resurrecting" is the concept that the dead follow a daily cycle of inhabiting and departing a tomb and is not intended to convey the Judeo-Christian concept of the resurrection of the body.

⁵⁷ Catharine H. Roehrig, "Tomb group of Henettawy," *Mummies & Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, eds. Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catherine H. Roehrig (Boston: Dallas Museum of Art, 1992), 163.

of a pavilion with a deity seated upon a throne which has a frieze of uraeus.⁵⁸ The “golden throne” from the tomb of Tutankhamun has two sets of uraeus: one set along the inside of the throne in hammered foil relief and a second set of four uraeus statues behind the throne watching behind the back of the king.⁵⁹

Many scholars have suggested that the function of the uraeus was apotropaic, i.e., warding off evil.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, this framework does not account for the complex nature of Egyptian deity. The problem is that the Egyptian view of deity is unlike what is encountered in other ancient near eastern contexts. Like their Aegean counterparts, Egyptian deities were ambivalent.

Some Egyptian gods had a good and a bad personality. PT 534 mentions that the gods have a “good” and an “evil coming.”⁶¹ For example, the goddess Sekhmet was said to cure disease but only because she led demons of darkness and could inflict plague, and thus, she cured malady by withdrawing the sickness she inflicts.⁶² Hapy, god of the Nile inundation, brought produce to the field but also caused strife and danger and forced farmers to relocate on an annual basis.⁶³

The whole matter of sacrifice to deity is then to assuage the “bad coming” aspect of deity and turn the “good coming” towards the adherent while

⁵⁸ Vandier, fig. 299.

⁵⁹ M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2008), 30.

⁶⁰ Eaton-Krauss, *Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools*, 36.

⁶¹ PT 534 (Sethe 1267-1273).

⁶² Kasia Szpakowska, “Demons of Ancient Egypt,” *Religion Compass* 3 (2009), 801-802.

⁶³ Roland De Buck, “On the meaning of the name *ḥꜥꜣj*,” *Orientalia Neerlandica: A Volume of Oriental Studies* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff’s Uitgeversmaatschappij N. V., 1948), 13.

simultaneously fueling and energizing the deity with an aspect of himself, a consubstantial offering or symbol of that offering that reinforced “reciprocal creation.”⁶⁴ The idea of sacrifice was more than the giving of gifts; it was an important part of cyclic economy that keeps stuff necessary for life flowing. Just like the many modern economists who believe that the financial system works best when money frequently changes hands, the Egyptians believed that their world worked best when stuff (order, life, breath, health, dominion, food, etc.) flowed between mortals and their gods. Thus, those deities that are seen as "apotropaic" are actually dualistic deities that have their aspects properly oriented; their "good coming" protects the adherent, and their "bad coming" inflicts harm upon his enemies.

Similarly, the uraeus had a good coming that protected sacred space and a bad coming that spat fire on the enemies of the king.⁶⁵ The uraeus deity acts very much in an offensive posture as do actual rearing cobras. It is then a matter of circumstance that whoever is behind the uraeus cobra is protected. For our purposes then, the use of the uraeus frieze provides a convenient demarcation that can define a unit of sacred space.

Overall, the Egyptian conception of sacred space was sufficiently robust so as to produce several interesting effects. The first is the ability to miniaturize sacred space allowed them to create a zone of sacred space upon practically any object or

⁶⁴ Byron E. Shafer, “Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview,” *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron E. Shafer (London: I. B. Taurus Publishers, 1997), 24.

⁶⁵ PT 256 (Sethe 302).

container. Furthermore the ability to layer one sacred space within another permitted an intensification of meaning that could amplify a sacred space to become a most sacred space. In addition the Egyptians had more than one type of sacred space. Two types of sacred space discussed in this thesis are the exclusion of bad things by the uraeus and sanctification by the Nekhbet vulture (p. 41); however, Egyptian notions of sacred space were not simply limited to only these two types.⁶⁶ As such the Egyptians could produce a variety of layered effects that could make a space sufficient for a variety of ritual needs. And if religious concerns changed so that the Egyptians found a deficit in the cyclic economy of a particular furnishing, they could add a new layer of iconography as a way to augment for the desired effect, as the veil with the Nekhbet vulture had been added to barques during the Thutmoside period.

⁶⁶ Repeating patterns of hieroglyphs, i.e., djeds, ankhs, and tjets, are suggestive of other types of sacred space with their own particular meanings. It is important to note that these symbols can be combined into a repeating pattern and do not require their own space in isolation to other symbols. This is also why rebus friezes of the names of kings are ritually effective in creating sacred spaces. Take for example the cryptographic rebus friezes of Ramesses III <Cat. Bx0154>, which having *wsr* and *m3t* in his prenomen, create a sacred space impart both power and order.

2.2. Sacred Space of New Kingdom Temples and Barques

Much of the vocabulary of temple sacred space has already been well explored.⁶⁷ Admittedly much of this vocabulary had its final formulation during the Ptolemaic period yet had its antecedents much earlier in the New Kingdom. We will not repeat those previous word studies for the sake of space; however, we will address the partitions of space so that we can discuss the recapitulation of these partitions in sacred barques.

In order to set the context for this study of RPF, I will first briefly describe the most common ways in which sacred space was cordoned off architecturally. This study of temples is restricted to the New Kingdom period when the language of sacred space was formalized. Although barque sanctuaries are a consistent feature of Old Kingdom temples, the architecture of Old Kingdom temples appears to follow a completely different paradigm of sacred space that is yet to be fully understood, and the archaeological record of Middle Kingdom temples is too fragmentary to draw any definitive conclusions.⁶⁸ The memorial temple of Djoser (Dynasty 3) is a sporadic collection of courts, chapels, and altars that are distributed across the site with no obvious regard to divisions of space.⁶⁹ The memorial temples

⁶⁷ J. Brett McClain, "The Terminology of Sacred Space in Ptolemaic Inscriptions from Thebes," *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, eds. Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2007), 85-92. Also, Patricia Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographic Study* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1984).

⁶⁸ Dieter Arnold, "Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms," *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron E. Shafer (London: I. B. Taurus Publishers, 1997), 74.

⁶⁹ Rainer Stadelmann, "The development of the pyramid temple in the Fourth Dynasty," *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Stephen Quirke (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1997), 1-2.

of late Dynasty 4 and early Dynasty 5 show wild variations in floor plans but often lack features that become common in the New Kingdom, e.g., vestibules.⁷⁰ The inconsistency of temple designs in the Old Kingdom could indicate that the specific formulation of the sacred space paradigm was still in its formative stages.

Temples of the New Kingdom, despite variations in size and layout, had a common language of sacred space, which formed into a religious convention that persisted into the Ptolemaic period. This language of sacred space even follows rules of syntax that are fairly consistent. For the purposes of comparison, we will use the floor plan of the Temple of Khonsu as an exemplar to illustrate the concepts of sacred space.⁷¹ The Temple of Khonsu <Cat. Zx0005> has a normative layout of a temple with typical partitions of sacred space without the extravagancies that are found in more elaborate temples (such as the Temple of Amun at Karnak) that nonetheless follow the same religious conventions of other New Kingdom temples. While the selection of the Temple of Khonsu is somewhat arbitrary and no two Egyptian temples are identical in layout, the features of the Temple of Khonsu are analogous to what is found in most contemporary temples of the period and are simple enough for spatial analysis, which can be extrapolated to the more extravagant temples. I will describe the spaces within the Temple of Khonsu in ascending sacredness.

⁷⁰ Stadelmann, 7-8.

⁷¹ Edward F. Wente, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court: with translations and texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1979), "Ground Plan of the Temple of Khonsu."

2.2.1. Peristyle and Hypostyle Halls

The outmost portions of sacred space are the outer open court or covered peristyle hall and hypostyle hall, which in dynastic times were known as *wsht*.⁷² The outer portions were the only sections of sacred temple space that representatives of the general population had any access to and this access was restricted to special occasions and festivals.⁷³ These areas of temporary common access were marked in ancient times by the use of the lapwing (*rhwt*) bird. Apart from these special events, the only access that the common person had to the temple was the outside of the temple walls.⁷⁴ The *wsht* was the only place in Egyptian ritual architecture where sacred meets the profane. These columned areas were decorated with nature motifs and represented the earthly realm.

2.2.2. Inner Court and the Doors of Heaven

The inner court was separated from the hypostyle hall by a set of double doors called the “Doors of Heaven.” While outer doors were typically covered in bronze, the Doors of Heaven were covered in a variety of metals. *P. Harris I* describes the gifts that Ramesses III made to several temples. He covered the doors and doorposts of Temple of Khonsu with gold (*nbtw*) and inlaid with figures (*hptw*)

⁷² McClain, 89.

⁷³ Lanny Bell, “The New Kingdom ‘Divine’ Temple: The Example of Luxor,” *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Bryon E. Shafer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 135.

⁷⁴ Peter J. Brand, “Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: The Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor”, *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, eds. Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2007), 60.

of electrum (*dꜥm*).⁷⁵ He also made for the Temple of Ka-en-kemet doors and doorposts that were like the Doors of Heaven (*ꜥꜣwy pt*) decorated in gold and bronze (*hmt*) and inlaid with figures of “every precious stone” (*ꜥꜣwt nb*).⁷⁶ We can gather from this that the Doors of Heaven were more elaborately decorated than normal temple doors and held special significance. By the inference of the epithet, it is plain that the Doors of Heaven opened to the Inner Court, which was an abstraction of the heavenly realm.


It is important to realize that these doors represent a kind of analogical thinking. The Egyptians conceived that the process of travelling from earth to heaven was similar to moving from one room to another and what separates any two rooms (or realms of existence) was a kind of door. This is not to say that the Egyptians believed that the realms were really connected by a real wood-and-hinges door. Analogical thinking is more than symbolic because it starts with the real world, which it then mythologizes and idealizes.⁷⁷ Another example of analogical thinking in Egyptian architecture is the common use of false doors in tombs, which represented idealized portals to the heavenly realm.

⁷⁵ *P. Harris I*, 7,13 (W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyphische Transkription* [Brussels: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique, 1933], 9,16).

⁷⁶ *P. Harris I*, 8,8 (Erichsen, 10,11-12).

⁷⁷ Richard E. Averbeck, “Myth, Ritual, and Order in ‘Enki and the World Order,’” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123 (2003), 758-759.

2.2.3. The Great Seat (Barque Sanctuary)

Inside the centre of the inner court is a pair of walls shaped like square brackets, i.e., the barque sanctuary. Architecturally, these walls are the foundations of a complete shrine built inside another temple. The barque sanctuary in Dynasty 18 became known as the *st wrt*, , “Great Seat/Throne” and became synonymous with both the sacred barque and the sanctuary section of the temple.⁷⁸ This was the place where the sacred barque was housed and was considered the most important place in the temple design.

The Great Seat was in actuality a complete and often elaborate stone shrine with a roof that was built inside of the temple. It was typically constructed from stone that was of higher grade than what was used in other portions of the temple. Famous examples of Great Seats include the limestone “White Chapel” of Senwosret I, calcite Barque Sanctuary of Amenhotep I <Cat. Bx0004>, and the red quartzite “Chapelle Rouge” of Hatshepsut <Cat. Bx0005>. This use of a complete chapel within a temple suggests the application of layered sacred spaces at an architectural level.

Within these walls, there is a raised platform with a stone plinth in its centre.⁷⁹ It is upon this plinth that the sacred barque rests. Fortunately, several of

⁷⁸ Edward Brovanski, "Senenu, High Priest of Amūn at Deir El-Bahri," *JEA* 62 (1976), 72.

⁷⁹ It should be noted that the reconstruction of the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak placed the plinth in the wrong location. During the reconstruction, the plinth was moved from the Great Seat to the inner shrine about two feet from the rear door of the shrine. Barque reliefs inside the temple show that the barque of Khonsu was carried by eighteen men <Cat. Bx0174>. There is no possible way that the barque could sit on the plinth in its current location, and neither would there be sufficient room for nine men to fit in the space behind the plinth.

these stone plinths have survived. This has given us a better appreciation of the scope of sacred barque use than either the iconography or archaeological remains alone would suggest. An example of this is the plinth for the Temple of Seth at Avaris.⁸⁰ While the inscription on the Avaris plinth was dedicated to Seti I, it can be inferred that even if initially the Hyksos did not follow Egyptian religious practice, the religious practice at the site was normalized towards Egyptian conventions.

At the back of the Temple of Khonsu was a private shrine, which was where the image of the god was kept when not on procession. In this niche the king or high priest as the king's proxy would perform the daily rituals, which included clothing and ritually cleansing the god and his sanctuary.⁸¹ The fact that private shrines are less elaborately decorated than the Great Seats is somewhat curious given that the current scholarly thinking maintains that this where the image of the god (*twt*) resides when not on procession.

2.2.4. Sacred Space as a Barque Dynamic

The barque of Sokar is perhaps the archetypal example of the sacred barque at its most primitive. Whereas other cult barques underwent change over time, the barque of Sokar largely resisted change over the millennia, even while undergoing great variability in the minor details. The barque of Sokar has a relatively simple shrine compartment of segregated space and an elaborate figurehead. We may even

⁸⁰ KRI I, 232.

⁸¹ Shafer, 22-23.

conjecture that the shrine was a recreation of a thatched hut perhaps alluding to possible roots as a popular cult. Much more of the evidence regarding royal memorial temples survives from the Old Kingdom because they were constructed of stone as opposed to “divine” temples that could have been constructed of perishable materials, such as, reed, wood, and mud brick.⁸²

Ultimately, the sacred barque becomes its own dynamic of sacred space becoming both the centre of temple space and the outer limits of its own sacred precincts. And many strains of Egyptian cult worship had architecture that incorporated barque sanctuaries, such as the cults of kings, and such sanctuaries are explicitly recorded in the temples of many gods, e.g., Nekhbet.⁸³ As a feature of Egyptian temple cults, the use of the sacred barque is ubiquitous during the New Kingdom as is its placement in the holiest space of the temple. Upon entering the barque sanctuary, a priest or temple worker would see a veiled box on a plinth with the ends of a boat sticking out.

The sacred barque included in temple worship had several standardized attributes. While the sacred barque was little more than an elaborate box shrine, as Egypt was a river nation having the boat as the preeminent form of travel, it is no surprise that this box shrine took on the attributes of that preeminent form. First, attendant statues that stood upon the decks of the sacred barque acted as proxies that served the god making offerings and worship (p. 238). These proxy manifestations were the ideal attendants for divinity. It is important to realize that the attendants

⁸² Shafer, 4.

⁸³ Alan H. Gardiner, “The goddess Nekhbet at the Jubilee Festival of Rameses III,” *ZÄS* 48 (1911), 48-49.

that stood on the decks of the sacred barques are not commoners. In the Egyptian point of view it is not an abasement to be a servant of a god. And with very rare exceptions, e.g. Hathor and Thoth,⁸⁴ only kings served the gods directly.

2.2.5. Veil and Vulture

The veil used with sacred barques was in all likelihood linen with a gold foil Nekhbet vulture (p. 160). The earliest example of the barque veil explicitly shows the head of Nekhbet peering around the back side of the barque <Cat. Bx0005, Bx0026> (p. 252), and many examples of reliefs from across several locales show the wings of the vulture imprinted upon the veil. Ramesside versions of the veil could include a trim of uraei along the edges of the “wings” <Cat. Bx0077-Bx0079> with each uraeus filling the place of a feather of Nekhbet’s wings. The use of the vulture iconography on the veil is common enough to reasonably suggest that it was a defining feature.

Veils as a means of separation were a part of Egyptian religious convention in the New Kingdom.⁸⁵ They provide a way to separate the sacred object from the onlooker while preserving a silhouette of the form. The veil of the sacred barques was wrapped around the base of the shrine leaving the top exposed.

⁸⁴ CT 1098 (Adriaan De Buck and Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. VII [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961], 381-385). Leonard H. Lesko, *Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 100.

⁸⁵ Brand, 61.

While the veil, added during the reign of Thutmose I,⁸⁶ was considered by the Egyptians to be a kind of barrier, it was not considered to be a barrier in the same manner as a door or a wall; instead, it was an important augmentation used to make the sacred barque more like a temple because its primary purpose was not to separate but to provide additional iconographic warding. The veil of the sacred barque was wrapped around the base of the shrine leaving the top exposed. The reason for the veil then cannot be to obscure since the contents of the barque would have been concealed by the shrine cabinet. Rather I would suggest that the purposes of the veil were to (a) provide a layer of separation, (b) seal the shrine when the great doors were closed, and, primarily, (c) provide divine sanctification to the shrine. This symbolism is similar to that which is found on the Great Seats found at locations such as Luxor.

Where the uraeus (or wadjet) provided separation of sacred space by keeping the profane out, i.e., exclusion, winged deities sanctify the space within the embrace of its wings, i.e., inclusion. The uraeus protects the god with outward radiance while the vulture protects by inwardly focused empowerment and sanctification. In contrast to the Wadjet, Nekhbet has been associated with purification⁸⁷ and is associated with *hḏn* plant,⁸⁸ which had an offensive smell that was used, according to Faulkner, “to make a tomb untenable by evil spirits.”⁸⁹ The veil with the vulture

⁸⁶ Christina Karlshausen, “L’évolution de la barque processionnelle d’Amon à la 18^e dynastie,” *RdE* 46 (1995), 121.

⁸⁷ Ritner, 46.

⁸⁸ PT 400 (Sethe, 696e-g).

⁸⁹ Raymond O. Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 131 note 2.

purifies and sanctifies the shrine beneath it. The veil functions to augment the barques so that they function to purify the contents in the same way that the *shdt* of Heliopolis purified its contents (p. 89).

This sanctifying relationship can be seen in a relief from the chapel of Osiris Heqadjet at Karnak (Dynasty 23-25) (Fig. 2) where Nekhbet has her wings extended to sanctify a pair of Uraeus: one was wearing the white crown and the other the red crown.⁹⁰ It is clear in this iconographic example that the dual Uraeus symbolized kingship, and the function of Nekhbet was to ritual cleanse that kingship. It is important to recognize that the purification function of the vulture is consistent with the dualistic nature of Egyptian deity. Nekhbet's good manifestation is oriented through her embracing function, and her bad manifestation appears in the destructive power of the sun, "dout la flame est grande".⁹¹ Conversely, the "evil spirits" were lesser beings that do not seem to possess the dualism associated with true deity.



Figure 2. Relief from the chapel of Osiris Heqadjet at Karnak. Nekhbet is shown wearing a *3tf* crown with her wings wrapped around two uraeus wearing the *hdt* and *dšrt* crowns (Legrain, 1900, p. 129).

Henri Frankfort in his discussion of the coronation of kings noted that the crowns were "charged with power" derived from the twin goddesses, Wadjet and Nekhbet.⁹² While the two ladies are tutelary goddesses, perhaps they became

⁹⁰ Georges Legrain, "Le temple et les chapelles D'Osiris a Karnak," *RecTrav* 22 (1900), 129.

⁹¹ René Preys, "Nekhbet, l'oeil droit du dieu solaire," *RdE* 61 (2010), 169.

⁹² Frankfort, 107.

recognized as such not because of the geographic locations of their cults as is often suggested, Nekhbet of Nekheb (modern El Kab) and Wadjet of Buto,⁹³ respectively, but because of their roles in defining sacred space. This double action of exclusion/inclusion also makes theological sense of the symbolism of the two ladies that represent divine kingship.

2.2.6. Shrine Cabinet

If the veil is removed, the wooden cabinet that contains the image of the god, or *shrine cabinet*, could be seen in its entirety. It is the recapitulation of the entire inner court of a divine temple. It has a pair of doors on the front and back, repeating the pathway from the Doors of Heaven to the inner shrine, and the doors include a double bolt locking system (p. 118) that probably was used on larger doorways.

A uraeus frieze is often on the top of the shrine, pointing outwards. This is in contrast to the iconography that points the uraeus to one side; this is because of the “loaded weapon” effect that the uraeus would have had upon the observer. This is because the nature of the uraeus was to cast fire upon the trespasser in what would in no way be an exaggeration to call a “death ray” effect. PT 256 describes the effect as “the flaming blast of my uraeus is that of Ernūtet who is upon me.”⁹⁴

⁹³ Frankfort, 96 and 46.

⁹⁴ PT 256 (Sethe, 302a-b). Translation by Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 66.

Uraeus friezes when painted on inner walls are generally drawn in profile. On exterior walls and on furniture, the uraeus generally face outward from the sacred space. The uraeus frieze on other shrines has the cobras facing outward from the shrine <Cat. Cx0112>. This cordon of sacred space on the shrine cabinet serves to exclude the profane from the sacred space that was sanctified by the veil.

2.2.7. Twin Goddesses

Within the shrine cabinet was a pair of winged goddesses whose function it was to sanctify the holiest part of the barque. In the Dynasty 18, craftsmen begin to show the interior of the barque shrines in the lowest register of the barque reliefs as if they were visible through both the veil and side of the shrine cabinet. As a result there is little evidence suggesting the decoration of the lower exterior portion of the shrine cabinet. Nevertheless, the artists were conveying what was important to them, which was the presence of the god. We know this is the case because the barque of the composite god Amun-Re reveals two interior compartments: the lower for Re and upper for Amun <Cat. Bx0079>. In the case of the barque of Amun-Re, the image of the god is flanked by goddesses who are typically manifestations of Maat <Cat. Bx0077>. With the Khonsu barque the two goddesses are lunar deities. These goddesses are always winged purifying the most holy area of sacred space, and the main god is always between their wings.

2.2.8. The Throne

Between the twin goddesses sat the image of the god. The god was shown seated upon a throne, pedestal, or symbol. The image of the god was made of electrum and precious stones and is thought to be quite small in keeping with the size of the barques. Despite its diminutive size, especially when compared to other cult statues, theologically it was maintained that in this location dwelled the abiding presence of the deity. The materials of the image are subsumed by the deity and transfigured into the deity without compromising or limiting the abilities of the divinity.⁹⁵

2.2.9. Post-Amarna Thrones, Iconography Compressed

When Akhenaten renovated the palanquin throne, he borrowed the symbolism of the sacred barques. Uraei, winged goddesses, and sphinxes became incorporated into the design of the new throne (p. 292). This iconography was laid upon the throne in such a way that all the essential elements are found but not spread out as they are on the sacred barque. With the sacred barques, these elements were distributed across different sections of space, e.g., sphinxes on the deck and uraeus on the shrine cabinet. On the thrones, all the elements occupy the same plane.

The separation of sacred space that occurred with the sacred barques is collapsed onto one unit of space, which is the seat itself. The religious effects of the motifs on the barques appear to be incremental and cumulative, probably as the

⁹⁵ Shafer, 6.

result of the gradual development of barque iconography during Dynasty 18 and into early Dynasty 19. The motifs of the thrones have an intensifying relationship all focused upon the single area of sacred space. The sacred thrones borrowed all the barque iconography, with the possible exception of the uraeus frieze which was a late addition to barques, and compressed it to fit upon the physical seat.

2.2.10 Recapitulation of Concentric Sacred Space

We have seen thus far a progression of concentric zones of different kinds of sacred space. Within the divine temple of the New Kingdom, there is a progression of sacred space from the outer courts and pillared halls, to the inner court, and into the barque sanctuary. Within the barque itself, these functional units of sacred space as found in temple sacred space are miniaturized and recapitulated from the deck, to the shrine cabinet, and in between the twin winged goddesses. The deck recapitulates the outer courts where heaven and the servants of the god meet, the intersection between functionaries and divine benefactors. The shrine cabinet is the recapitulation of the inner court, and the winged goddesses recapitulate the Great Seat adding a layer of sanctifying protection.

The entire purpose of the sacred barque was to act as a small portable temple so that the god could travel out among the people.⁹⁶ The layered protection of the sacred spaces found inside a temple were recreated within the barque so that the god

⁹⁶ Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Barke," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, bd. 1, eds. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), 623-624.

could go on procession without risk of ritual defilement. This composite of layered sacred space has a level of sophistication that goes beyond that which was used with ritual processional chests, which were typically protected by a single type of device, e.g., a uraeus frieze, and had a relatively simple hierarchy of space. And likewise, these symbols were carried over on sacred thrones albeit in a conflated form. The purpose these symbols was to make the container a votive item that could be enlivened and empowered through the sacred journey and presence of deity, and that presence transformed the inert substrate material into something that was ritually acceptable.⁹⁷

Summary

In this study, the function of RPF was found to be analogous to temple architecture. Moreover, the architectural units of sacred space within the Egyptian understanding are flexible enough to commute their meaning to smaller objects that can then be subjected to analogical thinking. This study has further shown that the religious symbolism used with the partitions of sacred space are much more functional than simply decorative. Like two blades of a scissor, the Uraeus and Nekhbet motifs act as complementary magical wards. The former protects the profane from invading sacred space while the latter sanctifies the space inside the spread of her wings. The sacred palanquin throne compresses the religious

⁹⁷ David Lorton, "The Theology of Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt," *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Michael B. Dick (Winona Lake, IA: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 133. Lorton suggested that the symbols of the gods makes something ritually alive. This same principle can be extended to sacred symbols on RPF.

symbolism that was found on the barques used to carry gods into a vessel intended to sanctify the king sitting in the place of deity.

Within the barque itself, these functional units of sacred space as found in temple sacred space are miniaturized and recapitulated. The purpose of this recapitulation was to be a vessel of sacred space that could transport the cult statue while undergoing continuous purification through magical warding. The complexity of this religious symbolism and warding was intended to meet the ongoing requirements of the deity by anticipating any needs imposed by the ritual cyclic economy, i.e., purity, dominion, power, and order. While in the case of cult imagery, the sacred is contained within holy shrines in order to maintain the status of ritual purity even in profane environments, e.g., on procession, it is also true that RPF could act as sacralizing converters. For example, mundane figs could be placed in a sacred chest becoming blessed, and when the figs are removed they are considered sacred and made appropriate for ritual service. This use can be found in temple scenes where offerings are brought before the gods in wooden *pds* chests, e.g., <Cat. Cx0088>.

CHAPTER 3

LEXICOGRAPHY OF RPF

When broaching the subject of RPF, a lexicographical study is necessary as a foundation to a comprehensive study of the subject. This chapter will explore the vocabulary of RPF in light of Egyptian lexicography. The structure of this chapter will be divided according to each class of portable ritual furniture. The lexemes discussed in this chapter are recognized as being kinds of chests, barques, or palanquins, although their exact nature may be contested or uncertain. Objects that probably meet the seven criteria outlined in the first chapter (p. 8) will be considered in the final analysis; objects that do not have a demonstrated ritual and processional use will be eliminated from further analysis.

3.1. RPF and Lexicographic Methodology

In exploring lexicography as an entry point into the topic of RPF, issues quickly arise as to the methodology and historiography involved in using a clearly literary method to investigate matters of ritual meaning. Since its publication, *Wörterbuch* has become a *de facto* standard reference in Egyptian lexicography, to such an extent that it has had a chilling effect on subsequent lexicographical work. In the past fifty years, only a handful of lexicographical studies have been

published.⁹⁸ But as Gardiner observed in his review of the first two pages of *Wörterbuch*, where he found that seventeen out of twenty lexemes required further work, lexicography as a general area of study needs more serious attention.⁹⁹

In as far as the determination of meaning of lexemes is concerned in the framework of real objects, consideration needs to be made regarding not only the lexical meaning but the time frames involved. The meaning of lexemes can change over time or even fall out of common usage, as will be observed in the study of the *hnnw* chests (p. 76).

As this thesis is concerned primarily with the metanarrative of ritual and not the performance of ritual *per se*, the understanding that is sought is one of subtextual meaning. The performance meanings of the rituals are not as much the focus of this study as the functional understanding of the use of the RPF. Such being the case, then lexicography could provide a fertile opportunity to show how certain furnishings were used within the ritual context. In short, the study of lexicography can help strip away the forms of ritual performance to expose the underlying meaning by engaging the meanings of lexemes at an atomistic level. These postmodern approaches are relatively new to Egyptology but provide the opportunity for deeper analysis.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Some of the more notable examples of these studies are J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), Dilwyn Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Nautical Titles and Terms* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988), Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon, A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1997).


⁹⁹ Alan Gardiner, "The First Two Pages of the *Wörterbuch*," *JEA* 34 (1948), 12-18.

¹⁰⁰ Gianluca Miniaci, "The collapse of faience figurine production at the end of the Middle Kingdom: reading the history of an epoch between postmodernism and grand narrative," *Journal of Egyptian History* 7 (2014), 109-142.

3.2. Chests

Chests and boxes represent the greatest diversity of ritual items examined in this chapter. There are over two dozen varieties of boxes and chests used between the Old and New Kingdoms. Many of these boxes are outside the scope of this thesis because they are used neither for procession nor for ritual purposes, e.g., the *ḥ3-ḥt* “plain wooden box.”¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, some were used in ritual processions or were associated with other processional items that had a memorial function. The function of some of these ritual boxes is clear being represented in both text and iconography while others have definitions that are not yet fully understood.

3.2.1. *3tp* Coffers

3tp, , “coffer” is a hapax legomenon found in the *Dialogue of Ipuwer*.¹⁰² The text discusses the upheaval of the social order where slaves usurped the roles of the former masters.¹⁰³ The verses in this passage denote a complete upturning of the social order from what it was to what it had become, e.g., “He who had no grain (now) a lord of granaries.”¹⁰⁴ The *P. Leyden 344*, 8,5 reference states that “Look, she who had no clothing box (*pds*) is (now) a lady of a coffer (*3tp*).”

¹⁰¹ Edward Brovarski, “Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests in the Old Kingdom,” *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, eds. Emily Teeter and John A. Larson (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999), 39.


¹⁰² *P. Leyden 344*, 8,5 (Roland Enmarch, *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* [Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005], 41).

¹⁰³ Alan H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969), 10-11.

¹⁰⁴ *P. Leyden 344*, 9,4 (Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, 68).

This suggests that an *3tp* was significantly more valuable than a *pds*. Sethe suggests that *3pd* might be the same as *ipd*, “furniture”¹⁰⁵ in an attempt to explain the fact that this is the sole occurrence of the word. The *3tp* does not appear to have an RPF use.

3.2.2. *itnt* Chests

itnt , , is a type of chest found in the rock tomb of Ibi at Deir el

Gebrâwi.¹⁰⁶ The term is a hapax legomenon but appears as a label. The chest is long with a flat corniced lid and legs <Cat. Cx0053>. We only have one iconographic example of this kind of chest, which comes from the tomb of Ibi (Dynasty 6) <Cat. Cx0053>. The *itnt* chest is similar in form to other kinds of chests like the *hnw* chests.

In the scene two workers are finishing the chest that is on raised legs and a corniced lid. The caption that coincided with the iconography reads *ḥw m sntr itnt nt [...] pr mdḥ nw hnnw*, “beating of varnish of the Itjnet of [...] house and hewing of the interior.”

¹⁰⁵ Kurt Sethe, “Zu d’Orb. 18, 1,” ZÄS 44 (1907), 134-135.

¹⁰⁶ Davies, *Rock Tombs at Deir el Gebrâwi* , pt. I, pl. XIV.

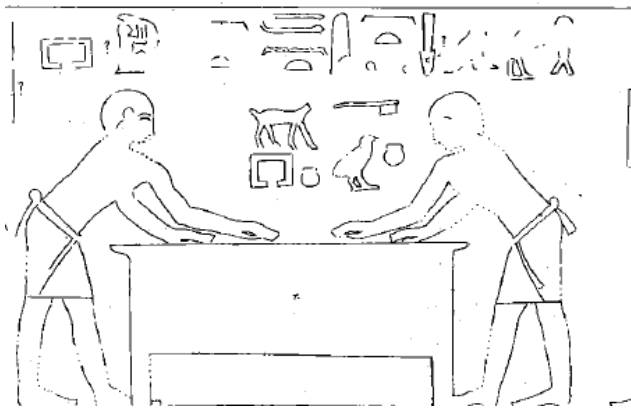


Figure 3. An *itnt* being finished by a pair of workers (Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi*, part I, 1902, pl. XIV).

We notice from the iconography (Fig. 3) that the action of the carpenters is not so much “beating” as “polishing” (or perhaps “slapping” or “rubbing”). We can observe this from the fact the hands of the carpenters are open and palm down. The translation of *sntr* as “varnish” comes to us via lab tests that identified the resin of *Pistacia* spp. being identified in ancient Egyptian contexts;¹⁰⁷ however, this does not exclude the use of *sntr* in other contexts where the intent is to burn it as “incense”¹⁰⁸ or where it is to be incorporated in cosmetics as “perfume.”¹⁰⁹ From the mastaba of Khafkhufu I (Dynasty 4), a man is shown preparing a ball of *sntr* in small bowl with a stand <Cat. Cx0011>; the importance of this kind of vessel is that it is the kind of vessel was used for the burning of incense offerings¹¹⁰ and could even have a perforated lid¹¹¹ and was similar in function to the incense cones that were

¹⁰⁷ Christian T. de Vartavan, “*Pistacia* species in relation to their use as varnish and ‘incense’ (*sntr*) in Pharaonic Egypt,” *Bulletin of Parthian and Mixed Oriental Studies* 2 (2007), 63.

¹⁰⁸ PT 274 (Sethe 404d).


¹⁰⁹ *Urk.* IV, 329,8. PT 200 (Sethe 116).

¹¹⁰ Hermann Junker, *Gîza*, vol. 5 (Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1941), abb. 5 [b].

¹¹¹ Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza, 1935-1936*, vol. 7 (Cairo: Government Press, 1953), pl. L[B].

commonly in use during the Old Kingdom.¹¹² The shape of the *itnt* container bears some resemblance to the funeral bier shown in <Cat. Cx0052>, although it is unlikely that the *itnt* has an RPF use.

3.2.3. *ḥdt* Box

ḥdt (also spelled *ḥdt*), , is a small or medium rectangular box.

While it was not used as a processional item in its own right, Brovarski held that it is seen on the forward deck of wooden model solar barques, acting as an analogic miniaturization of a ritual item.¹¹³ Montet believed that the *ḥdt* was primarily a small coffer in comparison to the larger *hnw*;¹¹⁴ however, we have already seen that *hnw* were not defined by size, which Montet also recognized. Janssen stated that the *ḥdt* would have generally been a small box not exceeding three deben in cost.¹¹⁵

In *O. Berlin P 12343* verso, an *ḥdt* box was made for the price of two deben.¹¹⁶ The *ḥdt* coffers also appear on the property list of Khay, foreman of the workers.¹¹⁷ The *Stela of Seker-Kha-Bau* (Dynasty 3), which is a furniture list on the stela of his wife at Saqqara, mentions an *ḥdt*.¹¹⁸ The pictographic determinative in the register below the phonetic complement shows a rectangular box that does not have distinct features.

¹¹² Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza, 1935-1936*, vol. 7, pl. L[A].

¹¹³ Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature," 30.

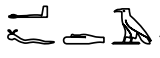
¹¹⁴ Pierre Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée dan les tombaeux égyptiens de l'ancien empire* (Paris: Strasbourg University, 1925), 309.

¹¹⁵ Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period: An Economic Study of the Village of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes* (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1975), 197.

¹¹⁶ *KRI* VI, 165,2.

¹¹⁷ *O. CG* 25584, 1:2 and 2:5 (*KRI* V, 470,5 and 9).

¹¹⁸ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pt. I, pl. II.

O. Gardiner 8 records a transaction where a *ʕfd*, , was purchased for two deben.¹¹⁹ An example of an *ʕfd* appears in *P. Harris I* that was made of silver (*ḥd*).¹²⁰ *O. Gardiner* 36 records a wood *ʕfd* box that was purchased for two deben.¹²¹ An *ʕfd* made of wood (*ḥt*) was made in *O. Turin* 57387.¹²² The meager prices attached to this item seems to imply that the *ʕfd* box is somewhat diminutive in size. However, the *ʕfd* appears to have a ritual aspect as demonstrated by *P. Turin* 1887, which mentions a *ḥm-ntr* priest of Khonsu bringing an *ʕfd* to a temple.¹²³

One interesting rendering of *ʕfd* comes from *O. Berlin P 14214* verso 14, which reads *ʕfd iw.s ḥr ʕt.s*, “an *ʕfd* that is on its body.”¹²⁴ The text concerns a lawsuit that was taken to the Ramesseum for adjudication for an unpaid debt of goods.¹²⁵ In *O. Louvre N. 698* recto, a man attempts to communicate to his deceased wife, the chantress of Amun-Ikhtay, through an *ʕfd* under which she is buried.¹²⁶ Kathlyn Cooney suggested that this term implies a kind of coffin that has an anthropoid shape; however, Cooney noted that *ʕfd* is not the word normally associated with coffins (*wt*).¹²⁷ Yet any vessel that can have a votive function could be said to have a “body”. Shabti and small anthropoid coffers have “bodies,” e.g.

¹¹⁹ *Hier. Ostr.* 31,5,7.

¹²⁰ *P. Harris I*, 13b,11 (Erichsen, 17,14).

¹²¹ *Hier. Ostr.* 36,1 rt 8.

¹²² *KRI VII*, 382,9.

¹²³ *P. Turin 1887* rt 1,8 (Alan H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* [Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1948], 75,1).

¹²⁴ *KRI V*, 577,4.

¹²⁵ *KRI V*, 576,7-8.

¹²⁶ *Hier. Ostr.* 80, rt 1-2.


¹²⁷ Kathlyn M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007), 4-5.

Carter no. 266g (Fig. 4), that could be used as substitute bodies for the deceased. In the case of the *O. Louvre N. 698*, it is important to recognize that the man is talking to the *ʕdt* in a personified manner and asked the *ʕdt* to pass his message along to his wife (recto 2-3). This does raise interesting religious questions regarding the personification of inanimate objects and their perceived volition with regards to the justified dead. The conclusion is that the *ʕdt* can be used as ritual furnishing but not as RPF.



Figure 4. The miniature coffin from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Carter no. 266g (Burton photo 1719).

3.2.3. *bnn* Chest?



bnn,  is an item made of pine or cedar (*ʕš*), which appears in an offering list to Amun-Re in *P. Harris I*.¹²⁸ The section of the text where this item is located is among other wood items. The term is a hapax legomenon where the meaning is uncertain. *Wörterbuch* suggests that the word means a “Balken”¹²⁹ connected etymologically with the stem of a ship (*bnbnt*).

¹²⁸ *P. Harris I*, 15b,12 (Erichsen, 19,18).

¹²⁹ *Wb.* I, 460,18.

Helck suggested that this item is a kind of chest.¹³⁰ This furnishing does not appear to have a RPF use.

3.2.5. *pr-ᵑntyw* Shrine-Shaped Box

The *pr-ᵑntyw*, , “shrine-shaped box” (literally “house of myrrh”) is an inscription found on some Old and Middle Kingdom objects and inscriptions and may be related to the *pr-wᵑb* (literally “house of purity”) depicted in Tomb 2 at Beni Hasan. A rectangular sarcophagus from a burial at El Bersheh owned by a man named Amenemhat (mid-Dynasty 12) has a list of named objects painted on the interior, one of which is a *pr-ᵑntyw*.¹³¹ After the *pr-ᵑntyw*, the next item in the list, *pr-ᵑnw*, , was thought by Lacau to be identical to the *pr-ᵑntyw*.¹³²

A *pr-wᵑb* is shown on a painting in the tomb of a different Amenemhat (Tomb 2) at Beni Hasan (Dynasty 12).¹³³ The box is labeled as a *pr- wᵑb nt hbny*, “a chest of ebony” and has a dedicatory inscription to Amenemhat on the side of the chest. The box is shown beside a *shḏt* box and has a smaller container component set upon or attached to a stand that holds the contents off the ground <Cat. Cx0060>. There is no evidence to suggest an RPF purpose for these containers.

¹³⁰ Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962), 557,54.

¹³¹ CG 28091, no. 67 (Pierre Lacau, *Sarcophages, antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, tome II [Cairo: L’Institut Français D’Archeologie Orientale, 1906], 45).

¹³² CG 28091, no. 68 (Lacau, *Sarcophages*, tome II, 45).

¹³³ Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pt. I, 38 and pl. XIII.

3.2.6. *pr-n-st3* Funeral Bier




The use of *pr-n-st3*, , translated literally as a "house of dragging" from the verb *st3*, differs in respect to *gs-pr* in that it does not seem to have wider associations. *Wörterbuch* describes the *pr-n-st3* as "Kasten zum ziehen", i.e, a pull-able box that is an accessory to a royal tomb.¹³⁴ Gardiner regarded the term to mean "a receptacle which can be dragged"; he based this determination upon the similar term *ḥsmn ḥ-n-st3*, which he rendered as a "bronze brazier which can be dragged."¹³⁵



Figure 5. An *ḥ-n-st3* brazier with runners (*Urk. IV*, 639).

Unlike the *gs-pr*, which was only dedicated to kings, a *pr-n-st3* could be dedicated to priests and kings.¹³⁶ *P. BM 10403* seems to *prima facie* use the term *šfdw*, , as a synonym for the *pr-n-st3* where the text ascribes both a *pr-n-st3* and a *šfdw* belonging to the chief priest of Amun, Ramessesnakht, using the two terms in the same way.¹³⁷ However, it is also possible that the *šfdw* could be a component part of the *pr-n-st3*.

¹³⁴ *Wb.* I, 516,1.


¹³⁵ Alan H. Gardiner, "The term  *pr-n-st3* in Pap. Mayer A.," *ZÄS* 59 (1924), 72.

¹³⁶ *P. BM 10403*, 1,2-8 (Peet, pl. XXXVI).

¹³⁷ *P. BM 10403*, 1,13 and 1,8 (Peet, pl. XXXVI).

Nevertheless, the *gs-pr* and *pr-n-st* should not be regarded as synonyms since *P. Mayer A* maintains the same distinction that is found in *P. BM 10403*.¹³⁸ As with the *gs-pr*, the *pr-n-st* was stored in the funerary temple of Ramesses III, and so it was associated with the memorial ritual of the temple but not necessarily used in a funerary context.¹³⁹ This association gives us a hint for these furnishings that suggests a broader use than simply a single interment.

In connection with the *pr-n-st* is the term *st*, often translated as “to drag”, has appeared several times. Already we have discussed this term in relation to *pr-n-st* which had carrying poles, but it is unclear as to whether the *pr-n-st* could also be dragged and what was its relation to the *h-n-st* which from the iconography had a sledge but no poles and therefore must have been dragged.

The term *st*, , appears in *P. Anastasi II* where, speaking in praise of Ramesses II, the author writes *h3st nb st.n.f hry inw.sn*, “every foreign land, he dragged away (*st.n.f*) carrying their tribute.”¹⁴⁰ Given that the tribute is in poetic form, we can expect the colorful meaning of “to lead, drag” to help illustrate the verse, which appears to be part of the standard repertoire of conquest passages.¹⁴¹ *P. Harris I* uses the word in a similar manner discussing the “carrying away” of Punt and its incense.¹⁴² A similarly worded phrase was found at Ramesses III’s enclosure of Amun at Karnak, which reads “you dragged away every land even also their

¹³⁸ Compare *P. Mayer A*, 1,2 (KRI VI, 803,14) with *P. BM 10403*, 1,9 (Peet, pl. XXXVI).

¹³⁹ *P. BM 10403*, 1,2 (Peet, pl. XXXVI).

¹⁴⁰ *P. Anastasi II*, 3,1 (LEM, 13,9-10).

¹⁴¹ Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 42.

¹⁴² *P. Harris I*, 7,7 (Erichsen, 8,18).

tribute;”¹⁴³ the statement employs a verb in the second tense with the only candidate for intensification being the prepositional phrase.

P. Turin 2002 uses *st3* in connection with the installation of funerary equipment.¹⁴⁴ Andrea McDowell provided a translation suggesting that the alabaster shrine was dragged down into the tomb.¹⁴⁵ The text mentions two shrines (*gti*). The first shrine was an outer shrine made of *mry*-wood. A pole (°) of *qdy*-wood was inserted into it and a *s3-nfr* was attached to a shrine of granite (*gti n m3i*) beneath it.¹⁴⁶ And the shrine of alabaster (*gti n šs*) was delivered (*st3*) in order to install it inside the shrine of *mry*-wood (*gti n mry*).¹⁴⁷ After the shrine was installed, the silverwork was attached to the equipment. *P. Turin 2002*, like many texts that use *st3*, is not specific in its use.

From the reliefs at Medinet Habu, the phrase recurs with a slight variation, “I overthrew (*dh.n.i*) every land. [I] dragged (*st3.n.i*) away the lands of the Phoenicians (*fnḥw*) and also their tribute.”¹⁴⁸ Similarly, Ramesses III in his year 11 chronicle of the Second Libyan War recorded on Pylon 1 at Medinet Habu describes how the Retennu were struck by Egypt and how the god “dragged” or perhaps “delivered” them in order to destroy them.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ Harold Hayden Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, pt. I (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1936), pl. 23,19.

¹⁴⁴ *KRI* VI, 244-245.

¹⁴⁵ Andrea G. McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 223.

¹⁴⁶ *KRI* VI, 245,4-5.

¹⁴⁷ *KRI* VI, 245,5-6.

¹⁴⁸ *KRI* V, 216,12.

¹⁴⁹ *KRI* V, 60,3.

P. Harris I uses *st3* in a clause of purpose describing an offering of pomegranate wine (*šdḥw*) and grape wine (*irp*) given as daily offerings; the daily offerings were intended to draw Heliopolis (*iwnw*) to the temple.¹⁵⁰ Medinet Habu was supplied (*ḥpr*) with people and provisions in order to bring (*st3*) orchards with flowers (*k3mw hr ḥrr*).¹⁵¹ There is also an interesting use of *st3* that could clarify the meaning of the word, reading *dī wī st3 qbḥ s3w r niwt.k iwn r ḥrpw*, “I caused to deliver libation offerings and geese to your city Heliopolis to the leaders.”¹⁵² The traditional translation of “to drag” cannot be applied here. Neither libation offerings nor geese would be dragged or led but carried.

This word appears in the Battle of Qadesh of Ramesses II, being used in reference to Ramesses II leading ships.¹⁵³ And it occurs in the “Poem” section of the account where Ramesses II was leading (*st3.tw.i*) all the princes of the army and chariotry.¹⁵⁴ Later in the “Bulletin” text of the Battle of Qadesh, the two spies of the Hatti are brought (*st3*) before the king.¹⁵⁵ The dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II at Abydos has the king calling his official and the lector priests who delivered (*st3*) papyrus scrolls.¹⁵⁶ There is also a reference in the Qanais temple dating to year 9 of Seti I where gold-washers are set for the delivering (*st3*) of gold dust to the temple.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁰ *P. Harris I*, 27,8 (Erichsen, 31,18).

¹⁵¹ *P. Harris I*, 29,8 (Erichsen, 34,11).

¹⁵² *P. Harris I*, 28,2 (Erichsen, 32,14).

¹⁵³ *KRI II*, 38,10-15.

¹⁵⁴ *KRI II*, 96,5.

¹⁵⁵ *KRI II*, 109,12-15.

¹⁵⁶ *KRI II*, 326,7.

¹⁵⁷ *KRI I*, 68,1.

When we consider the range of meanings for *st3*, it can be observed that there is a root meaning for the lexeme that applies to all the interpretative glosses available. The traditional rendering of “to drag” proposed by Gardiner seems to only apply to a small percentage of readings. A better rendering of the root lexeme would be “to deliver.” This rendering makes sense of all the readings for the verbs proposed above, including scenes of leading and the bringing of offerings, deliveries, and funerary goods.


With regards to RPF, the proposed reading makes sense of the *ʕh-n-st3*, “brazier of delivery,” i.e, a censor that delivers up incense. The *pr-n-st3*, “house of delivery,” is a funeral bier used to deliver the deceased similar to *šfdw*. Some contexts of *st3* cannot be associated with dragging but all the contexts can be seen as an extension of the verb “to deliver.”


It might be argued that there is already a word for “to deliver” so this lexeme would be redundant within the language; however, there is also a lexeme that exists for “dragging” (*ith*) for which the meaning is explicit as is found in texts such as *P. Turin 2044 recto*.¹⁵⁸ Just because the lexeme already exists within a language does not mean that a lexeme with a similar meaning could not also co-exist within the same language for a variety of possible historical reasons, e.g., assimilation of local dialects.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ *KRI* VI, 340,14.

¹⁵⁹ Ronald Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 6th ed. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2010), 40.

The construction of the *pr-n-sṯ* that belonged to the high priest Ramessesnakht was described as having six pole rings of copper (*hmt š3qw n nb3w*)¹⁶⁰ and six carrying pole-ends (*h3(w)t nb3w*).¹⁶¹ The fact that the text mentions “pole-ends” almost exclusively instead of complete poles raises the question of the configuration and use of poles with ritual furniture.

The term *nb3*, , is a generic word for carrying poles.

Examples of *nb3* are used in agriculture as carrying poles, e.g., they are depicted in the tomb of Paheri as being used for carrying sacks of grain.¹⁶² In the *Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun*, the sacred image of the god Amun was carried on thirteen poles, .¹⁶³ Ramesses III made for the sacred barque of Ptah poles that were overlayed (*ht*) in good gold (*nbw nfr*) and engraved (*hty*) with the name of the god.¹⁶⁴ *Papyrus Westcar* mentions Prince Hordedef being carried on a palanquin (*qniw*) of ebony that had *nb3* of sesnedjem-wood (*ssndm*) that were *gnh*, “beschlagen sind”¹⁶⁵ with gold.¹⁶⁶ The text of the reign of Taharqa from Karnak mentions sacred barques (*sšm-hw*) of Ptah, Khonsu, and Amun upon a pair of *nb3* poles.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁰ *P. BM 10403*, 1,24-25 (Peet, pl. XXXVI). *P. Mayer A*, 2,7 (KRI VI, 806,15-16) uses “rings of copper,” *š3qw hmt*, in reference to the *pr-n-sṯ*.

¹⁶¹ *P. BM 10403*, 1,22-23 (Peet, pl. XXXVI).

¹⁶² *Paheri* 3, 1 (J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* [London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894], pl. III).

¹⁶³ *Urk.* IV, 2028,13.

¹⁶⁴ *P. Harris I*, 46,9-47,1 (Erichsen, 51). Pierre Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 2 [Cairo: Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1994], 169-170).

¹⁶⁵ *Wb.* V, 176,9.

¹⁶⁶ *P. Westcar* 7,12-13 (Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*, 9,2-3).

¹⁶⁷ Auguste Mariette, *Karnak: étude topographique et archéologique* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1875), pl. 42,17-21.

The word *nb3* is related to the word *nb3t*, which means a “stake” or a pole that is driven into the ground.¹⁶⁸ An example of this use is found at the temple of Seti I at Abydos, which mentioned the *mdd*, “hard striking” of a *nb3t* stake.¹⁶⁹ This word also appears in the reliefs from the great temple at Denderah where ropes (*w3wy*) are loosened (*wh5*) from a *nb3t* stake.¹⁷⁰

While we have iconographic examples of pole rings, their vocabulary is less certain. Peet asserted that *š3qw* meant “pole ring.”¹⁷¹ In *O. DeM. 125*, a woman attempts to trade a tunic for a *š3qw* with the seal and stone determinatives (Gardiner Signs S20 and O39 respectively);¹⁷² in this case the *š3qw* is probably a kind of personal adornment such as a bracelet. In *Papyrus Harris I*, the phrase *š3qw n wh3 n imn* suggests a ring that encircled a column of Amun that was made of *nbw nfr*, “good gold”.¹⁷³ *P. BM 10054* records a robbery where the *š3qw* of a statue of Nefertum was “peeled” (*qq*) of the gold which had “covered” (*dg3*) it.¹⁷⁴ The *Annals of Thutmosis III* recorded the capture of *nbw š3qw* with Gardiner Sign F27 as war booty.¹⁷⁵ Even though in *P. Mayer A* the phrase *š3qw 2 n ḥsmn*, which given that this text is a tomb robbery papyrus, probably refers to rings of bronze,¹⁷⁶ in the *Kahun Papyri* the phrase *ḥsmn š3q* in lists of possessions may not be metal but rings

¹⁶⁸ *Wb.* II, 243,10.

¹⁶⁹ *KRI* I, 186,6-7.

¹⁷⁰ Auguste Mariette, *Dendérah: description générale du grand temple de cette ville*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1870), pl. 7b.

¹⁷¹ Peet, 171.

¹⁷² *KRI* III, 543,8.

¹⁷³ *P. Harris I*, 13a,8 (Erichsen, 16,13-14).

¹⁷⁴ *P. BM 10054*, rt. 3,9 (Peet, pl. VI).

¹⁷⁵ *Urk.* IV, 692,11.

¹⁷⁶ *P. Mayer A*, 2,7 (*KRI* VI, 806,15-16).

of amethyst.¹⁷⁷ Given the use of the word in the various contexts, it then seems probable that *š3qw* in *P. BM 10403* and *P. Mayer A* refer to pole-rings used with carrying poles. An example of such a pole-ring assembly was discovered on a chest (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 61445; Carter No. 032) (Fig.6) from the Tomb of Tutankhamun that had two bronze staples that were driven through a wooden base attached to the box bottom, accommodating half-length poles.¹⁷⁸

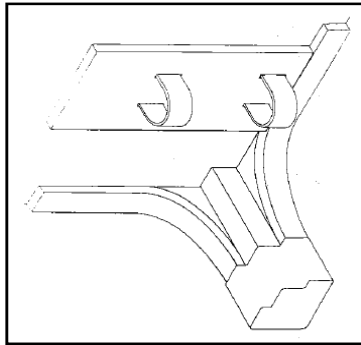


Figure 6. Pole-ring assembly from Tutankhamun chest (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 61445; Carter No. 032) (Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, 1994, 52).

Poles appear in three configurations in both iconography and in artifacts as follows: (1) where the poles are attached to the furniture and are an inseparable feature (Fig. 7), (2) full-length poles that transverse the length of the furniture through pole rings or catches, and (3) half-length poles that do not transverse across the length of the item and are inserted into rings or sockets.

¹⁷⁷ UC 32179, col. 2,9 (Mark Collier and Stephen Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts* [Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006], 28). UC 32183, rt, bottom left, line 6 (Collier and Quirke, 32). J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 122. Kei Yamamoto, "The materials of Iykhernofret's portable shrine: An alternative translation of *Berlin 1204*, lines 11-12," *GM* 191 (2002), 103.

¹⁷⁸ Geoffrey Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture: Boxes, Chests and Footstools* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1994), 53.

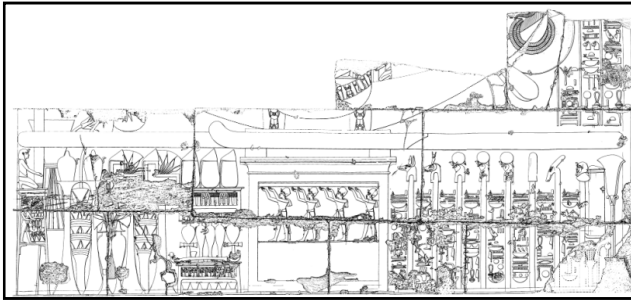


Figure 7. Partial relief of a sacred barque resting on a plinth with both sledge and non-removable carrying poles (Dorman, 1994, pl. 7).

UC 16448, a Dynasty 22 painted wood panel that is kept at the Petrie Museum, mentions the *nb3w* carrying poles as part of the furniture of a barque (*wi3*).¹⁷⁹ In the case of sacred barques and certain shrine cabinets, the carrying poles become part of the overall barque or the sledge upon which the barque rested and are not removed from the item even when it is at rest upon a plinth. With the chests that were designed to have removable poles, these poles can be in either the full or half-length configurations. With some half-length poles, the pole-rings are clearly displayed in the iconography (Fig. 8). These examples date back at least as far back as the Old Kingdom.

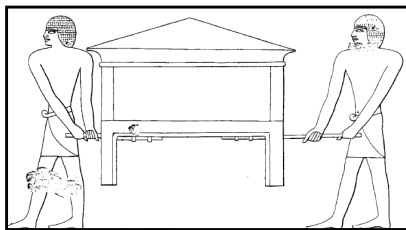


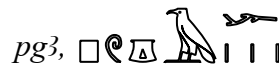
Figure 8. A linen chest being carried using half-length poles inserted into rings from the mastaba of Mereruka (Duell, 1938, Part I, pl. 69).

The *pr-n-st3* described in the Tomb Robbery papyri had a number of pole-ends that was in excess of what was needed to carry such an item. Adding extra poles was a common addition to sacred barques. For example, the barque of Mut in the West Shrine of Mut at Luxor Temple is shown with eight pole ends

¹⁷⁹ Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 64-68, pl. XXIII vs 2.

superimposed <Cat. Bx0097>. During the reign of Ramesses III, the sacred barque of Amun-Re had ten pole ends <Cat. Bx0136>. This seems to indicate that the poles served more than just a utilitarian function of carrying the item but were present for processional purposes. More poles means more people on parade, which implied that the owner of the furnishing was of greater importance.

3.2.7. *pgʒ* Chest or Coffin



"chest, coffer" is a term that occurs in the Ramesside period. *Papyrus Anastasi IIIA* refers to a *pgʒ* among the goods of foreign lands.¹⁸⁰ The text describes a fine *pgʒ* of Amor (*imʿr*), which has the foreign land determinatives and probably refers to the Amorite people group. It is described as having carrying poles (*mʒwt*) that were made of mery-wood (*mry*) that were inlaid (*mḥ*) with the work of Kedy (*qdy*). Their tops (*ḥʒt*) are in a red cloth (*inst*).

P. Anastasi IV describes preparations that were made in anticipation of Pharaoh's arrival and has a similar description of a *pgʒ* to what is found in *P. Anastasi IIIA*. The text reads *pgʒw nfrw n imʿr iw nʒy.sn mʒwt n mry iw.w mḥ m bʒk ḳdy nʒy.ns ḥʒtyw m inst*,¹⁸¹ "fine chests of Amor having their poles of mery-wood being inlaid with the work of Kedy, their tops of red cloth."

The term *mḥ*, "to inlay," should also be considered. The etymology is derived from the general root lexeme meaning "to fill." An inlay (or "filling") is a material that fills in a hole or cavity in a substrate. For his chapel in the Temple of Amun at Thebes, Ramesses III made a vase stand (*ḥnty*) overlayed (*ḥt*) with fine


¹⁸⁰ *P. Anastasi IIIA*, 7-8 (*LEM* 33,10-12).

¹⁸¹ *P. Anastasi IV*, 16,6-7 (*LEM* 53,1-3).

gold (*nbw nfr*) and inlaid (*mḥ*) with stones (*inr*).¹⁸² *P. Lansing* describes a villa built by Reai where the walls were inlaid (*mḥ*) with lapis lazuli (*hsbd*).¹⁸³ The Stela of Imenyseneb (Louvre Museum 269) (Dynasty 12) tells how Imenyseneb was commanded to clean the temple of Abydos with the draughtsmen filling (*mḥ*) paint (*drwy*) into the designs.¹⁸⁴ The inscription from the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) (Dynasty 18) mentions a collar that is inlaid (*mḥ*) with lapis lazuli (*hsbd*) and every costly and noble stone (*ʿ3t nbt špst*).¹⁸⁵

From the ninth campaign of Thutmosis III (year 34), the war booty brought back included *ḥwt ʿšw n pg3w*, “wooden goods and a chest” and a palanquin (*qniw*) worked (*b3k*) in bronze (*ḥmt*) with inlays (*mḥ*) of costly stones (*ʿ3t*).¹⁸⁶ We can infer from *Urk. IV*, 705 and the fact that *mḥ* means “to inlay” that the *pg3* that appears in *P. Harris I* with the “work of Kedy” may have been decorated with some kind of metal (or wood) into wood craft.

3.2.8. *pds* Chest

pds, , “box, chest” is important because it can be used as a basis for comparison with other chests and boxes. Gardiner transliterated this as *ghs*,¹⁸⁷ even though *pds* is probably the better transliteration based upon the spelling found in the *Annals of Thutmosis III*.¹⁸⁸ As mentioned previously, *pds* is found in the *Dialogue*

¹⁸² *P. Harris I*, 6,1 (Erichsen, 6,14-15).

¹⁸³ *P. Lansing*, 12,3 (*LEM* 110,17).

¹⁸⁴ Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 76,10.

¹⁸⁵ *Urk. IV*, 1859,12.

¹⁸⁶ *Urk. IV*, 705,10-15.

¹⁸⁷ Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, 62.

¹⁸⁸ *Urk. IV*, 630.

of *Ipuwer* as the chest that the poorest of slaves would not even own and is used as a basis for comparison against the more expensive *3tp* chest.¹⁸⁹ The normative use of the *pds* appears to be for the storage of clothing.¹⁹⁰

O. Cairo CG 25670 mentions *pds* with the term *t3y*, “box,” making it clear that what is being referred to is a kind of container.¹⁹¹ The use of *t3y* as a redundant term also appears with *g3wt*. *P. Westcar* mentions a sack (*h3r*) of grain placed inside a box (*pds*) which was placed inside a *htm* box.¹⁹² Earlier in *P. Westcar* in the story of wax crocodile, the wife of the chief lector priest Ubainer possessed a *pds* chest full of clothes (*hbsw*).¹⁹³

According to the *Wörterbuch*, *pds* can also be used of a document box.¹⁹⁴ An example of this is found in *P. Anastasi I* in a letter of Amenemope where men are commanded to make a *pds* for carrying documents.¹⁹⁵ From the same papyrus in a letter where a man is defending his right to the titles of scribe and army officer, the man claims that the documentary evidence is in a day book register found in a *pds* chest within a scriptorium.¹⁹⁶ The Deir el-Medina material also mentions *pds*

¹⁸⁹ *P. Leyden 344*, 8,5 (Enmarch, 41).

¹⁹⁰ Eugène Dévaud, “Varia,” *Sphinx, revue critique embrassant le domaine entire de l’égyptologie* 13 (1910), 91.

¹⁹¹ *CG 25670*, I rt, 6 (E. R. Ayrton, C. T. Currelly, and A. E. Weigall, *Abydos*, pt. III [London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904], pl. LV).

¹⁹² *P. Westcar*, 12,4-5 (Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*, 16,2-4).

¹⁹³ *P. Westcar*, 2,1 (Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*, 1,11).

¹⁹⁴ *Wb.* I, 566,15.

¹⁹⁵ *P. Anastasi I*, 16,3 (Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 56,2-3).

¹⁹⁶ *P. Anastasi I*, 12,2 (Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 42,6-7).

spelled phonetically in conjunction with grain measurements (*hq3t*).¹⁹⁷ The term also appears among a list of wood items in *O. Turin 57290*, 8.¹⁹⁸

However, just because the *pds* was compared as a possession of the poor in the *Dialogue of Ipuwer*, this does not mean that it was an item for the poor. In the Amherst fragments, a *pds* is mentioned in relation to lapis (*hsbd*) and turquoise (*mfkt*) along with offerings of silver and gold.¹⁹⁹ *The Victory Stela of King Piankh* (Dynasty 25) mentions messengers that arrived with gifts which included gold, costly stones, and clothes in a *pds*.²⁰⁰

Reliefs of a pair of chests with poles labeled *nbw pds n mnht* are found in the *Annals of Thutmosis III* written at Karnak (Fig. 9) as part of the votive offerings to Amun.²⁰¹ The poles on both chests are the full-length types. The form of the *pds* used at Karnak by Thutmosis III <Cat. Cx0072> is practically identical to the offering chests presented to Amun-Re in a procession by Amenhotep III in the sanctuary at Luxor Temple <Cat. Cx0088>. The iconography of the *pds* used at Luxor supplies an additional detail, which is that each uraeus frieze is terminated by a single uraeus that faces the opposite direction. The friezes on tops of the lids of the *pds* surrounding the lid and facing outward is similar to what is found on shrines, e.g. <Cat. Cx0112>. This form of *pds* is RPF used to prepare and transport offerings.

¹⁹⁷ *O. DeM 50* vs 2 (KRI III, 553,12).

¹⁹⁸ Jesús López, *Ostraca ieratici, n. 57093-57319* (Milan: Istituto Cisalpino la Goliardica, 1980), pl. 92-92a.

¹⁹⁹ *Legend of Astarte*, 1x+12 (Alan H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1932), 77,9-10).

²⁰⁰ *CG 48862*, 33 (*Urk.* III, 18,5-6).

²⁰¹ *Urk.* IV, 630.

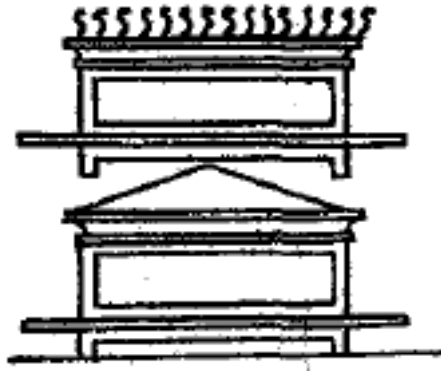


Figure 9. A pair of *pds* chests from the *Annals of Thutmosis III* on a relief at Karnak (*Urk. IV*, 630).

3.2.9. *mhn* Chest, Coffin, Box

mhn, , “coffer” appears to be a small container according

its price when compared with other types of containers.²⁰² The lexeme for this particular chest appears to be restricted to the New Kingdom. *O. Michaelides 13* recto 3 mentions a *mhn* which was given in payment for a decorated stela.²⁰³ In line recto 6 of the same ostraca, the *mhn* is said to be decorated (*sš*).²⁰⁴ In *O. Michaelides 7* recto 1, a *mhn* is made with inlays (*mḥ*) of wood (*ht*).²⁰⁵

In *O. Gardiner 33*, which is a list items summarizing a debt of the Medjay Paserety to Penniut, a *mhn* made of wood is among the items.²⁰⁶ The *mhn* was sold for 3 deben. Penniut sold Paserety a wood *tȝy* box in the same document for 6 deben.²⁰⁷ Another list of wood items from Deir el-Medina, *O. Petrie 15*, included a *mhn*, *tȝy*, and *tb*.²⁰⁸ A pair of *mhn* is associated with a stable in *O. BM 5631*.²⁰⁹

²⁰² Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medīna*, 34.

²⁰³ *KRI IV*, 153,2-3.

²⁰⁴ *KRI IV*, 153,5-6.

²⁰⁵ *KRI VI*, 174,15.

²⁰⁶ *Hier. Ostr.* 18,3,5.




²⁰⁷ *Hier. Ostr.* 18,3,4.

²⁰⁸ *Hier. Ostr.* 26,5,1-4.

²⁰⁹ *Hier. Ostr.* 88,3.

P. Geneva D191 mentions a *mhn* as a vessel for a grain offering to the gods Amun and Khnum.²¹⁰ Thus, the *mhn* can be used for ritual purposes but is probably not RPF.

3.2.10. (m)*htm(t)* Chest

The *mhtmt*, , and *htmt*, , boxes appear to be used as receptacles for libation and incense offerings. The word *mhtmt* is the older form of the word originating in the Old Kingdom and often has a determinative that represents a “wickerwork box or hamper.”²¹¹ Brovarski noted that this determinative was used in terms related to funerary festival preparation during the Old Kingdom, and Jéquier observed that this same determinative when used with *hnqt*, “offering” was used specifically within a funerary context.²¹² Gardiner noted that the etymology of *htm* denotes a box that is a “‘closed’ or ‘sealed receptacle.’”²¹³ In *P. Westcar*, a maid placed a sack (*h3r*) of grain inside a box (*pds*) which was placed inside a *htm* box, .²¹⁴

The etymology of *htm* is clearly associated with the verb “to lock, close.”²¹⁵ This is a common word that is not contested. The use of a *htm* conveys the notion of sealing by means of a magical power.²¹⁶ The use of *mhtmt* in both offerings and in

²¹⁰ *P. Geneva D191*, vs 3 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 58,12-13).

²¹¹ Brovarski, “Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature,” 32.

²¹² Gustave Jéquier, “Note sur deux hiéroglyphes,” *BIFAO* 7 (1910), 90-91.

²¹³ Alan H. Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41 (1955), 13.


²¹⁴ *P. Westcar*, 12,4-5 (Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*, 16,2-4).

²¹⁵ *Wb.* III, 350-351.

²¹⁶ Ritner, 143 note 637.

dealing with magic appears conveys at least a ritual use; however, evidence for a processional function is absent.

3.2.11. *mrt* Chest

The *mrt*, , “chest” is a ritual chest of the New Kingdom that was the successor to the *stt* chests found in Old Kingdom reliefs. These chests have been covered in detail by Egberts;²¹⁷ however, he does approach the topic from a later perspective and projects his interpretation of its symbolism back into time. This is particularly noticeable in his interpretation of the *mrt* chest in connection with the Osiris myth, “The preceding survey shows the consecration of the *meret*-chests to be firmly linked with the Osiris myth.”²¹⁸ Yet the “preceding survey” is based upon “texts of the Graeco-Roman period”²¹⁹ and some evidence during the Ramesside period but ignores the connection of the *mrt* chest with other cults in the New Kingdom such as those of Min,²²⁰ Montu,²²¹ and Hathor,²²² as well as, ignores the fact that the *mrt* chest’s antecedent, the *stt* chests, were dedicated to Thoth.²²³

Even though the *mrt* was a development that emerged from the *stt* chests, there are differences in the construction of the two kinds of chests. The *mrt* chest was generally shorter than the *stt* (compare Cat. Cx0126 with Cx0018); however, the

²¹⁷ Egberts, vol. 1, 67.

²¹⁸ Egberts, vol. 1, 183.

²¹⁹ Egberts, vol. 1, 182.

²²⁰ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Koptos* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896), pl.

VI.2.

²²¹ Paul Barguet, “Tôd: Rapport de fouilles de la saison février-avril 1950,” *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 90.


²²² *PM* II, 351 (35).

²²³ Heinrich Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, trans. and ed. John Baines (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1986), pl. 18.

mrt retained the feathered lids and continued to be mounted upon sledges. The carpenter Pashed made a wood *mrt* valued at 4 deben in the second year of Ramesses V in *O. Petrie 17*.²²⁴

An interesting ostrakon that deals with *mrt* is *O. Černý 20*,²²⁵ which is an inventory of work completed. The interesting aspect of this particular list is the frequent occurrence of painted work, including, painted coverings (*wt sš*) (lines 1 and 8), a painted meret chest (*sš t3 mrt*) (line 3), and the painting of a sarcophagus (*sš-qd nty db3t*) (line 4). According to Egberts, meret chests were often decorated with painted strips of cloth.²²⁶ The second mention of the painted coverings coincides with the second occurrence of the meret chest (line 8). Since this text seems to have been predominantly the work of a decorator, we may be able to imply that the *šqr* and *tbt* chests that are mentioned were also painted.

3.2.12. *mstpt* Funeral Bier

The *mstpt*, , is a shrine that is dragged with ropes. *Wörterbuch* calls it a “Kasten” and “(den Toten) auf dem Schlitten ziehen,”²²⁷ and the term could be etymologically related to *stp*, “to escort”. The term is uncommon but appears in the tomb of Djau (Dynasty 6) at Deir el Gebrâwi.²²⁸ Fortunately, the tomb features a relief of the shrine, depicting a kind of shrine cabinet on a sledge (Fig. 10). The scene actually depicts two shrines: a larger followed by a smaller. These shrines

²²⁴ *Hier. Ostr.* 28,2,4.

²²⁵ *KRI VII*, 343-344.

²²⁶ Egberts, vol. 1, 69.

²²⁷ *Wb.* II, 152,9 and 11.

²²⁸ Davies, *Rock Tombs at Deir el Gebrâwi*, pt. 2, pl. VII.

appear to be funerary biers, the larger for the mummy and the smaller for the canopic chest. This seems to be the funerary procession ritual that was used during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Champollion records the term in the phrase *st3 hr mstp n k3w w3dw*, “delivery upon a bier by sturdy oxen.”²²⁹

Another example appears in *P. Berlin 10499* variant of *Sinuhe*.²³⁰ The text discusses the time of Sinuhe’s death and the details of his burial. A procession would be made for him and he was to be placed in a *mstp* shrine to be dragged by oxen. The account in *Sinuhe* is consistent with the rendering that the *mstp* is not merely a portable shrine but a portable bier.

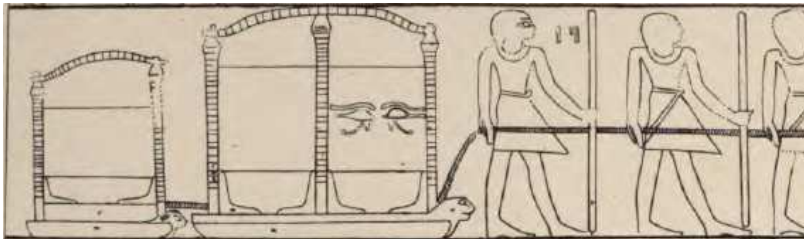



Figure 10. Servants dragging *mstp* shrines to the tomb of Djau (Davies, 1902, Part 2, pl. VII).

It is uncertain whether the *mstp* or the biers of the Old and Middle qualify as RPF because it is uncertain at this time as to whether the biers of those periods were interred with the deceased. However, the importance of the *mstp* is that it establishes a pattern of the barque bier being strongly tied to the processional canopic shrine. And thus when we examine the processional canopic shrines of the New Kingdom which are demonstratively RPF because of communal reuse (p. 199), it then is a reasonable to conclude that the barque biers are also RPF, supporting the conclusions already drawn by the earlier lexicographic work (p. 62).

²²⁹ Jean-François Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: notices descriptives*, vol. I (Paris: Didot Frères, 1844), 836.

²³⁰ Aylward M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1972), 32,9 (=Sinuhe, B193-194).

3.2.13. *hn(w)* Chest

Besides the *pr-n-st3* and the *šfdw*, there were other types of ritual processional chests that were used in Egypt. *hn(w)*, , is a general term for a box or chest. The word can appear with chest (Gardiner Sign Q5), coffin (Gardiner Sign Q6), and shrine cabinet determinatives. The word is common in the Old and Middle Kingdoms and is still extant in monumental inscriptions as late as the Ptolemaic period. An early example of *hn* is found on the furniture list in the tomb of Rahotep (Mastaba 6 at Medum), which dates to early Dynasty 4.²³¹ Conversely, a late example is found at Denderah temple where one of the offerings mentioned is a *hn n mry*, “a chest of mery-wood.”²³² Another reference to a *hn* at Denderah temple was made from electrum (*dʿm*).²³³

Besides the term’s commonplace use, it can also refer to an anatomical designation. The term *hn* can refer to the cranial cavity of the skull as can be seen in *P. Edwin Smith* line 4,2 where a medical diagnosis in the text makes reference to a *hn n tp.f*, “the chest of his head.”²³⁴ The text comments that the cranial cavity is in the design (*twt*, literally “image”) of a chest (*hn*). Another body part that *hn(w)* can refer to is the abdomen or body cavity as it serves as the seat of the heart/mind.

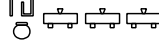
²³¹ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Medum* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1892), pl. 13.

²³² Auguste Mariette, *Dendérah: description générale du grand temple de cette ville*, vol. IV (Paris: A. Franck, 1873), pl. 38,117.

²³³ Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. IV, pl. 36,46.

²³⁴ James Henry Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus: Published in facsimile and hieroglyphic transliteration with translation and commentary in two volumes*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), 197.

This use appears at the Ptolemaic rear chapel at Edfu Temple in an utterance from Khonsu saying to the king *ib.k mn hr hnw.f*, “your heart is firm in his abdomen.”²³⁵

The word *hnw*, , appears in PT 309.²³⁶ The text refers to the king who is on the barque of Re, opening his boxes (*wn <cartouche> hnw.f*), sealing his letters, and sending out his messengers. The text infers that in the afterlife the king is doing scribal duties for Re, which includes the ancient equivalent of filing where documents and writing supplies are kept in chests such as a *hn(w)*. In a similar vein, the *Wisdom of Neferti* mentions a *hn n hrt-ꜥ*, “a chest of writing materials.”²³⁷

The word *hn* appears in a crafting scene on the south wall of the chapel in the mastaba of Ti (middle Dynasty 5). The text reads *hꜣw hn m sntr*, “a chest beaten with resin,”²³⁸ even though the iconography does not show a complete *hn* except perhaps a portion thereof undergoing varnishing. The term is also found on a relief labeled *nbwy hn n [...]*, appearing among the votive offerings found at Karnak (Fig. 11).²³⁹ The term *nbwy* is the rare term in the dual that meaning “dark yellow gold”.²⁴⁰

²³⁵ Le Marquis de Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou*, tome 10 (Paris: La Société Asiatique, 1892), 272,9.

²³⁶ Kurt Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1908), line 491.

²³⁷ *Neferti*, Ito (Wolfgang Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970], 12).

²³⁸ Georg Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913), pl. 132.

²³⁹ *Urk.* IV, 637,2.

²⁴⁰ David Falk, “The products of Hatshepsut’s trade mission to Punt: An alternative translation of the Punt reliefs at Deir el-Bahari,” *GM* 238 (2013), 52-53.

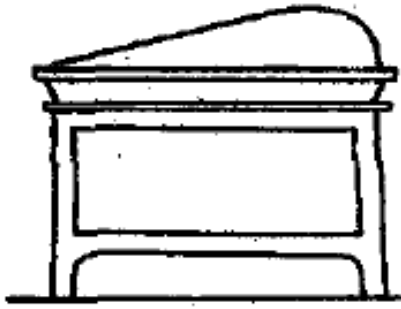




Figure 11. A *hn* chest from the *Annals of Thutmosis III* at Karnak (*Urk. IV*, 637,21).

From the tomb of Khnumhotep (Beni Hasan 3), the word appears in a line of text separating two offering lists on the south wall of the main chamber. The text mentions that the *hn* was “beaten” (*sh*) with resin (*mrht*).²⁴¹ The idea of varnish being “beaten” is not too distant from the idea of burnishing where mechanical force is used to provide an even application of the polish. Early modern applications of applying hard varnish use “beating” with the palm of the hand in order to distribute the varnish evenly.²⁴² A similar phrase is found in the tomb of Amenemhat, “Great Chief of the Oryx Nome,” (Beni Hasan 2).²⁴³ The spelling of *hn* in the tomb of Khnumhotep uses the chest determinative, , while the spelling in tomb of Amenemhat uses the coffin determinative, , (Gardiner Sign Q6), even though both inscriptions invariably refer to the same item.




The term is sometimes found in the phrase *hnw n niwty*, “the chest of Niuty” as an expression regarding a place that contains the sun being released in the morning. This expression appears at Edfu Temple as Re opened (*wb3*) the chest of

²⁴¹ Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pt. I, pl. XXXV.

²⁴² Temple Henry Croker, Thomas Williams, and Samuel Clarke, *The Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 2 (London: Printed by Authors, 1765), 55.

²⁴³ Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pt. I, pl. XVII.

Niuty.²⁴⁴ A second use of this expression is also found at Edfu as an utterance of Duamutef declaring that the *hnw n niwt* was being opened by Horus-Behedeti.²⁴⁵

A *hnw*,   , appears on the *Stela of Seker-Kha-Bau*, which is a list of furnishings on a stela by the wife of Seker-Kha-Bau (Dynasty 3) at Saqqara.²⁴⁶ In this list, the *hnw* is listed among *dsr*, *tst*, *fdt*, and *dbn* chests. The interesting thing about this list is that the determinative is separated from the phonetic component of the word and stylized to represent the objects being mentioned (Fig. 12). While this feature is standard in lists and accounting, it is a useful feature for our purpose as it allows us to see lexographical features such as redundant terminology and it can emphasize the pictorial nature of the determinatives. The *hnw* chest appears in this list as a box with short legs and a lid with a knob.

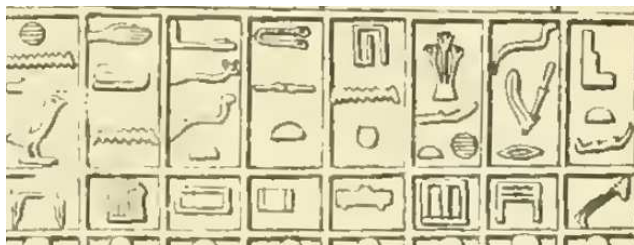


Figure 12. The furniture list from the Stela of *Seker-Kha-Bau* with the determinatives in the lower register (Murray, 1905, Part I, pl. II).

hn(w) chests were sometimes used for storage chests or for holding sacred and precious items, such as gold, silver, and bronze.²⁴⁷ An inscription found at the Speos Artemidos that dates to Hatshepsut remarks about a *hn* of clothing among the

²⁴⁴ Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou*, tome 10, 304, col. 1, 2.

²⁴⁵ Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou*, tome 10, 162, 4.

²⁴⁶ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pt. I, pl. II.

²⁴⁷ George Hughes, ed. *Medinet Habu*, vol. 5 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), pl. 325.

offerings of silver, gold, and every enduring vessel (*hnw nb mn*).²⁴⁸ It was used for storing clean linen for *w^cb*-priests after ritual purification or natron for mummification. A pair of chests is shown in the tomb of Thay (TT 23) (Dynasty 19) being used during the mummification process <Cat. Cx0135>. Smaller *hn(w)* chests were used for storing writing supplies.²⁴⁹ Larger *hn(w)* chests were equipped with carrying poles, and some were built in a shrine shape and some had legs.²⁵⁰ These chests date back to the Old Kingdom and may have been the precursor to other ritual processional chests.

The mastaba of Kagemni (ca. Teti) contains the statement *hn n h3t hn n hsmn* at the door of Chamber 1.²⁵¹ There are two *hn* mentioned here. The first is a “chest of measuring,” which is probably a standardized vessel for measuring volume. The second is a “chest of cleansing.” The term *hsmn* is translated as “sich reinigen” by *Wörterbuch*.²⁵² If this was a chest that contained clothing for ritual purification, it probably would have been labeled as containing clothing or linens. Likely this was a chest used to hold natron for the ritual purification and preservation of a dead body, which would fit with the mortuary context of the text. The tomb of Djehutinakht (no. 10) at El Bersheh, a site dedicated to the burial of nomarchs during the Middle Kingdom, records a *hn n hsmn*, “chest of natron.”²⁵³

²⁴⁸ *Urk.* IV, 388,1.

²⁴⁹ *Neferti*, Ilo (Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj*, 12).

²⁵⁰ Brovarski, "Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature," fig. 4.11.

²⁵¹ Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing, *Mastaba des Gem-Ni-Kai*. bd. I (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1905), 19,5 and Taf. V.

²⁵² *Wb.* III, 163,3.

²⁵³ Percy E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, pt. II (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895), 44.

The early use of chests for these items of ritual purification²⁵⁴ were in all likelihood the antecedents for chests where ritual purification was achieved by magical warding.

Two different labeled *hnw* were found in the Tomb of Mereruka. The first is a *hnw* of clothing with Gardiner Sign S27 found in Chamber A10 <Cat. Cx0045> and is a chest carried in poles with a peaked lid (Fig. 13). A second *hn* appears to be a longer chest (Fig. 14) with a flat corniced lid found in Chamber A12 <Cat. Cx0046>.

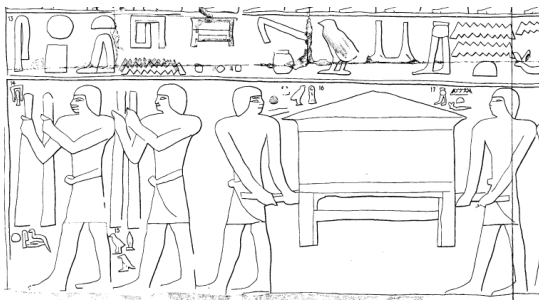


Figure 13. The smaller *hnw* chest carried on poles from mastaba of Mereruka (Duell, 1938, part I, pl. 99). The caption states that the chest contains clothing that is a gift by the king.

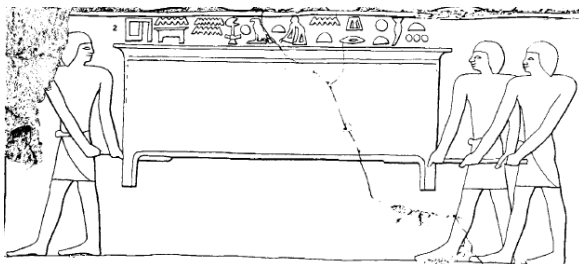


Figure 14. The larger *hnw* chest carried on poles from mastaba of Mereruka (Duell, 1938, part II, pl. 112).

²⁵⁴ CT 21 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 62,c-d). Ritner, 83. Sue D'Auria, "Mummification in Ancient Egypt," *Mummies & Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, eds. Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catherine H. Roehrig (Boston: Dallas Museum of Art, 1992), 15.

Sometimes a *hn(w)* was a term that was synonymous with the coffin. The *Biography of Weni* mentions the delivery from Nubia (*ibh3t*) of a *hn n ʕnhw*, “chest of life”, i.e., a sarcophagus; a coffin lid (*ʕ3*); and a benben stone (*bnbnt*), i.e., capstone of a pyramid, for king Merenra (Dynasty 6).²⁵⁵ A stela from the tomb of the soldier Ramose (*Berlin 7306*) mentioned a *hn n wsir*, “chest of Osiris” that is probably his coffin given that it is embraced (*hpt*) by the arms of the lord of the necropolis (*t3-dsr*).²⁵⁶

However, a *hn* with the coffin determinative (Gardiner Sign Q6) containing incense (*sntr*) was part of the offerings brought for Mereruka.²⁵⁷ This *hn* is being used as a container for offerings, which means that even when the coffin determinative is used, we cannot automatically assume that it is a coffin. Another *hn* from the mastaba of Mereruka is labeled as containing myrrh (*ʕntyw*) while another contained resin (*mrht*) <Cat. Cx0047>. Since it appears that *sntr* is a resin that could be used as both an incense and a varnish (see discussion on *itnt* “Chests,” p. 52), it is possible that *mrht* could be used likewise.

Unlike the typical *hn(w)* chests that were used for storage, some *hn(w)* chests were used for processional chests and acted as small religious structures. The *Biographical Stela of Thoth* (=Northampton Stela), dating to Thutmose III, discusses a list of objects: a *hnw špss*, “noble chest” that was worked (*b3k*) in bronze (*hmt*) and electrum (*dʕm*); a *qrh n ht nb*, “vessel of every wood”; clothing

²⁵⁵ *Urk.* I, 106,14-17.

²⁵⁶ Günther Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, bd. 2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924), 131 [C].

²⁵⁷ Prentice Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, pt. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1938), pl. 118.

(*mnht*); and every costly stone “of the god’s body” (*ʿ3wt nb nt ḥꜥw ntr*).²⁵⁸ The text specifies that the objects were for Hatshepsut’s monuments to her father Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands. This in all likelihood refers to the monuments that she erected at Karnak, which included the Chapelle Rouge and the Eighth Pylon.

When a *hnw* chest owned by the deceased king or a god was used in order to establish a continuing rule in earthly and heavenly spheres,²⁵⁹ the lid was often decorated with the statue of a god such as Amun or the king as a sphinx (Fig. 15) <Cat. Cx0136>. At Denderah temple, we find the reference *hnw šṭ3*, “chest of mysteries.”²⁶⁰ The term *šṭ3*, meaning “geheim, geheimnisvoll,”²⁶¹ is a reference to religious mysteries. Religious mysteries are those things that are hidden from the uninitiated Egyptian, which are those things that concern the use of cultic or votive statuary. A “chest of mysteries” is then a container that has as part of its structure a votive element on its lid, e.g. <Cat. Cx0134>, since *hn(w)* are not typically built with the height to be vessels containing votive statuary. Such chests could have served as a focus of worship or served in the votive capacity. A similar use is found at another Denderah instance with the phrase *hnw šṭ3* where the *šṭ3* has the goddess determinative (Gardiner Sign I12).²⁶² Thus, we find that the *hnw šṭ3* are dedicated or connected to a person or deity, a characteristic typical of RPF.

²⁵⁸ *Urk.* IV, 427,6-10.

²⁵⁹ Richard H. Wilkinson, 45-51.

²⁶⁰ Johannes Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, pt. 4 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1885), Taf. CXXIV.

²⁶¹ *Wb.* IV, 551,3.

²⁶² Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. IV, pl. 37,66



Figure 15. A *hnw* chest with a votive element from Medinet Habu (Hughes, 1957, pl. 325).



A votive function that a *hn(w)* could fill was as a planter for sacred plants. While this is not furniture *per se* as has already been noted with the Min planters (p. 17), it does demonstrate the flexibility of the use of this lexeme. In Room V of the Temple of Re-Horakhty at Karnak (dating to Taharqa and usurped by Psamtek II), the phrase *sndt n hnw*, “an Acacia in a box” is found to the left of a relief of a tree with a square base and the name of Osiris.²⁶³ Further magical use of *hn(w)* is suggested by the Coffin Texts. The *Book of the Dead* (Spell 99) (=Coffin Text 397) mentions the word with the phrase *sd.i hn.k*, “I smash your chest,” making reference to the magician speaking to the vulture god (*ntr gbgʒ*) who was the elder brother of Sokar.²⁶⁴ *P. Berlin 3038*, 15,1 uses the term in association with a chest containing cloth (*hnw hry-ʿ sšd*) that was found by a worker of the necropolis beneath the feet of a statue of Anubis (*hry rdwy inpw*).²⁶⁵ The fact that the chest was found beneath the feet of a cultic statue implies a ritual use.

²⁶³ PM II, 220. Emile Prisse D’Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens, bas-reliefs, peintures, inscriptions, etc., d’après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1847), pl. XXXIII.

²⁶⁴ *Urk.* V, 170,10.

²⁶⁵ Hermann Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung Autographiert*, vol. V (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958), 12.

The tomb of Djehuti-hotep, nomarch of the Hermopolis nome, at El Bersheh (Tomb 2) dating to Dynasty 12, has a painting of a scribe carrying documents that has the title *sš hn*, “scribe of the chest”.²⁶⁶ In the same tomb, the moving of the colossus was done by the *sš hn* Khati-ankh.²⁶⁷ Another person is shown among the overseers seated before Djehuti-hotep labeled only as *sš hn*.²⁶⁸ The term occurs in the tomb of Paenny as part of a title *hn n nsw hr šhrw t3wy*, “chest of the King with the plans of the Two Lands.”²⁶⁹ Given that the previous title was *imi-ib n hr m pr.f*, “confidant of Horus in his house,” we can deduce that the title implies that Paenny was involved in the strategic planning or perhaps the archiving of the plans for the King.

Finally, the term is also used for the “Anubis shrine,” which is the temporary canopic chest used to transport the canopic jars to the tomb and to the permanent canopic chest. The most famous of these chests was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun <Cat. Cx0111> but were in circulation from the New Kingdom onward (see discussion on the “Anubis Shrine”, p. 199). The term appears in the tomb of Kha-em-hat (TT 57) (ca. Amenhotep III) as a part of a set of titles in the expanded form *hn inpw*, , “chest of Anubis.”²⁷⁰ In the same tomb, the term appears in the abbreviated form  in the title *hry-tp n hn inpw sš-nsw*, “master of the chest of Anubis, the king’s scribe.”²⁷¹ The Anubis shrine is

²⁶⁶ Newberry, *El Bersheh*, pt. I, pl. XXVII.

²⁶⁷ Newberry, *El Bersheh*, pt. I, pl. XV.


²⁶⁸ Newberry, *El Bersheh*, pt. I, pl. XX.

²⁶⁹ *Urk.* IV, 1015, 17.


²⁷⁰ Victor Loret, “La tombe de Khâ-m-hâ,” *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, tome 1 (Paris: La Société Asiatique, 1889), 123.

²⁷¹ Loret, “La Tombe de Khâ-m-hâ,” 116.

mentioned four times in TT 57 using different orthographies. The term appears


among the titles of the Kha-em-hat as *wr-m3w n hn inpw*, , “the

greatest seer of the chest of Anubis.”²⁷² This phrase appears as a variant on the

ceiling of the tomb as *š-wsir wr-m3w n hny inpw*, , “servant of

Osiris, greatest seer of the chest of Anubis.”²⁷³

If Kha-em-hat’s duties as a lector priest and his specific titles were attached to this particular kind of furnishing, this adds weight to the hypothesis that the Anubis shrine was a possession that belonged to an entire community and was administered by a special priest. The fact that the title is so emphasized by Kha-em-hat speaks to the importance of the position.

While there are more labeled examples of *hn(w)* than any other lexeme for boxes, the examples show that there is no definitive type of chest meant by this lexeme. Černý suggested that *hn* was connected to *hr*.²⁷⁴ Černý suggested that *r* might have been replaced by the *n* through a consonantal “interchange.” However, given the range of uses that several textual sources cite for *hn* boxes, translating the term as a “footstool” seems dubious. Janssen suggested that *mhn* was used at Deir el-Medina instead of *hnw* based upon the textual variant  and the absence of *hnw* in the Deir el-Medina texts where he states, “If that would be the case [that the *hn* is actually *mhn* in *O. Ashmolean 655*], I know not a single occurrence of *hnw* in a Deir el-Medina text; yet it is a well-known word for ‘box’. It

²⁷² Loret, “La Tombe de Khâ-m-hâ,” 124.

²⁷³ Loret, “La Tombe de Khâ-m-hâ,” 121. Loret records this determinative as the road sign (Gardiner Sign N31). The *Belegstellen* corrects this rendering as a variant of a chest determinative [*Wb. die Belegstellen*, bd. II, 746].

²⁷⁴ Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), 39.

seems that *mhn* has taken its place in daily speech.”²⁷⁵ He is suggesting that by Dynasty 19 that the term *hnw* had fallen out of favour. The aforementioned textual variant appears in *O. Turin 57387* alongside other wood items and containers such as an *ḥfdt*.²⁷⁶ In *O. Ashmolean 655* line 10, *hn* appears which Janssen infers is *mhn* with the first two consonants cut off by damage to the ostrakon.²⁷⁷ *UC 16448*, a painted wood panel dating to Dynasty 22, mentions a list of wood furniture that includes an *ḥfdt*, *hnw*, *mhn*, and *wt*.²⁷⁸ The *hnw* has the shrine determinative (Gardiner Sign O18) while the *mhn* has no determinative. This would seem to indicate that *hnw* and *mhn* are not synonymous terms in the Third Intermediate Period. However, the workers at Deir el-Medina must have been familiar with *hnw* as a term since it appears as a label for ritual chests on the Dynasty 20 reliefs at Medinet Habu <Cat. Cx0136>. What could have happened is that the term *hnw* may have been elevated for those chests out of common use and used primarily for ritual purposes like those reliefs found at Medinet Habu.

In the final analysis, a *hn(w)* can refer to either a utilitarian or a ritual chest, and it can refer to large and small boxes and to boxes with a variety of shapes. It can be a storage chest, a chest for offerings, a focus of worship, and even a coffin. More importantly, some *hn(w)* were clearly used as RPF, particularly those that carried offerings to the gods or canopic jars in processions for the dead.

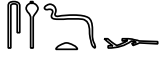
²⁷⁵ Jac. J. Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medina including Wooden Containers of the New Kingdom and Ostrakon Varille 19* (London: Golden House Publications, 2009), 34.

²⁷⁶ *KRI VII*, 382,9.

²⁷⁷ Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medina*, 34. For the text in question, Andrea G. McDowell, “An Incised Hieratic Ostrakon (Ashmolean HO 655),” *JEA* 81 (1995), pl. XX.

²⁷⁸ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, pl. XXIII vs 4.

3.2.14. *shdt* Chest

The *shdt*, , appears in only a few texts and was translated as “Kasten” by Adolf Erman based upon the Kahun Papyri²⁷⁹ where it appears twice. *UC 32179* (VI.10) verso is list of objects that were appropriated by the scribe Het, which mentions a *shdt ktt* (“a small box”) (line 2:8) and the contents found inside of it.²⁸⁰ The fact that a *shdt* can contain other items would point to the probability that we are dealing with an object that is a container such as a box or a chest. The items contained in the *shdt* include a gold “master” (*hry-tp*), possibly a diadem, and a bronze ring (*š3q*) (lines 2:10-11). *UC 32183* (VI.11) has a similar listing of a *shdt* and may have even been a compilation of the previous list but includes the quantity collected with each item.²⁸¹ The accounting used in *UC 32183* (VI.11) makes it possible to determine what is contained in the box versus other items being recorded as a part of the entire accounting. The *shdt ktt* in this list also contained one gold “master” and one bronze ring and, therefore, was probably not much larger than a modern jewelry box.

The other occurrence of a *shdt* is found at Beni Hasan Tomb 2.²⁸² A label on row 6 marks a box as being a *shdt nt hbsw*, “box of clothing”. The box shown is a rectangular box with short legs (Fig. 16) and an inscription on the side dedicating the contents to the owner of the tomb, Amenemhat.

²⁷⁹ Adolf Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind aus dem Papyrus 3027 des Berliner Museums* (Berlin: Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901), 48.

²⁸⁰ Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 28, col. 2,6.

²⁸¹ Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 32, rt, bottom left, 3.

²⁸² Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pt. I, 38 and pl. XIII.

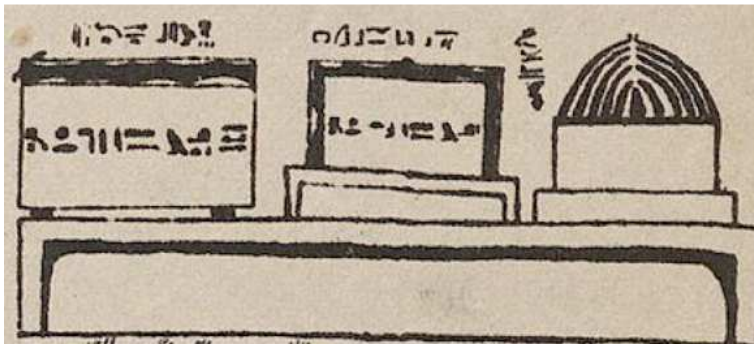


Figure 16. A *shdt*, *pr-w^cb*, and *dwn* containers portrayed in Beni Hasan Tomb 2 (Newberry, 1893-1900, Part I, pl XIII). Note that an errata to the inscriptions for the plates can be found on Newberry, p. 38.

The appearance of *shdt* that occurs in *P. Berlin 3027* includes a list of praises making up a magical incantation and the phrase *shdt nt t3wt w^cbt m iwnw*, “box of pure bearing of Heliopolis.”²⁸³ This phrase occurs directly after a list of gods who act to the god Re as subordinate functionary deities, e.g., “Horus is your arm.” Given that the box was associated with the idea of being carried or taken (*t3wt*) with the purpose of some kind of ritual purification (*w^cbt*) and with ritual use associated with the gods and Heliopolis, we can extrapolate that this is highly likely to be RPF associated with the cult of Re at Heliopolis.

3.2.15. *šfdw* Funeral Bier

At this juncture it would be appropriate to examine the use of *šfdw* with regard to the vocabulary of ritual furniture. Peet translated *šfdw* as a “chest” or a portion of the *pr-n-st3* apparatus.²⁸⁴ Peet appealed to the funerary procession of Antefoker (TT 60) asserting that a *šfdyt* is “seen to be precisely a tray with carrying-poles, borne on the shoulders of nine men.”²⁸⁵ What is shown in the iconography closest to the caption is not a tray but nine men carrying a kind of chest with poles

²⁸³ *P. Berlin 3027* Rs 5,2 (Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, 46,5-6).

²⁸⁴ Peet, 171.

²⁸⁵ Peet, 174 note 5.

(Fig. 17), which could have been a box-shaped coffin. The instance found in TT60 has a bed determinative, which implies that the object was used as a bier, strong connotations with sleep, death, and funerary lexemes.












Figure 17. Mourners carrying the *šfdyt* of Antefoker (Davies, 1920, pl. XXI).

Yet the anthropoid coffin (probably containing the mummy) is clearly identifiable in the register below the labeled one in question, being pulled upon a sledge by both men and a pair of oxen.²⁸⁶ While the use of the mummy lying on a bed determinative (Gardiner Sign A55) is suggestive of a coffin (per Peet) and is probably the case in the Dynasty 12 context, the anthropoid coffin within a box coffin was discontinued after the Middle Kingdom in favor of the anthropoid coffin alone, so a direct comparison between the *šfdyt* of TT 60 with the *šfdw* of *P. BM 10403* seems untenable, especially given that it is unlikely that a coffin of any kind would have been stored in a temple treasury per *P. BM 10403*. In all likelihood, the *šfdw* of Dynasty 20 is probably a box-shaped bier that resembled a Middle Kingdom coffin instead of being a true coffin, given the prevalence of box-shaped biers during the Ramesside period, e.g., <Cat. Cx0128>.

²⁸⁶ N. D. Garis Davies, *Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and his wife, Senet (No. 60)* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1920), pl. XXI-XXII.

The term also appears in the *Dialogue of Ipuwer* as *mtn qrs m bik m sfdwt, iw imnt n mr w3 r šwt*, “Look, they were buried as a falcon in the coffins, as what the pyramids concealed fell into emptiness”.²⁸⁷ The context suggests that this text reflects a Middle Kingdom connotation for the lexeme, which makes sense given the literary origins of *P. Leyden 344*.

The use of *šfd* is also found on the *Stela of Amenhotep II from Amada* and its copy located at the Temple of Khnum at Elephantine.²⁸⁸ The use of *šfdw* in these texts is marked by different determinatives. The Amada text uses the metal ingot determinative (Gardiner Sign N34), whereas the Elephantine text uses a unique determinative that is a circle with a handle and a hook, . While it is uncertain whether this determinative represents an incense spoon or some sort of gaffing tool, the sense that seems to emerge is that it is a kind of metal object with a handle. This is consistent with the *Wörterbuch* reading that gives the associated verb the meaning of “fassen, anfassen”.²⁸⁹

Along with *š3qw* and other ritual furniture are two verbs that are used to describe metal already mentioned above, *qq*, , and *dg3*, , which Peet translated as “stripped” and “covered” respectively.²⁹⁰ The former verb, *qq*, is used in the lexeme of a related term, *qq*,   , in *P. Sallier I* that was translated as “nuts” by Caminos;²⁹¹ a translation that makes sense given that nuts have to be peeled of an inedible shell. In the aforementioned *P. BM 10403*, the *qqi3*,   ,

²⁸⁷ *P. Leyden 344*, 7,2 (Enmarch, 39).

²⁸⁸ *Urk.* IV, 1296,5-6.

²⁸⁹ *Wb.* IV, 461,9.

²⁹⁰ Peet, 62.

²⁹¹ *P. Sallier I*, 8,4 (*LEM* 86,3). Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 321.

was stolen off of the ritual furniture (*šfdw*) of wood (*ht*).²⁹² Given the use of the metal object determinative (Gardiner Sign N34), it would be probable to surmise that *qqi3* means "metal foil" and the verb *qq* means to "peel."

Copper foil work hardens. The more it is hammered; the more brittle it becomes. To relieve the stress of work hardening the copper item must be reheated to the point where it glows red. However, when copper is reheated it also begins to oxidize, so copper foil that is too thin may burn up. Gold because its superior ductility and because it does not work harden could be easily hammered into foils as thin as 0.005mm.²⁹³ While small pieces of thin copper foil would have been available, larger portions would have been relatively thick in order to maintain a cohesive structure.

As a result the copper foil for a *šfdw* would not have been gilded but may have been mechanically fastened and as such may have been torn off relatively quickly like tearing wallpaper off of a wall. The copper foil equally would be unlike gold foil where the most rapid removal would be either by scraping the foil off or burning the entire object and sweeping up the remaining foil as what may have occurred in the pyramid of Senwosret II.²⁹⁴ Swift removal of the foil from the *šfdw* by the thieves is probable given the fact that copper foil was less likely to be pounded as thin as gold foil. This also gives credence to the idea that the *šfdw* was at minimum the chest component and not a carrying tray as Peet suggested.

²⁹² *P. BM 10403*, 2,3 (Peet, pl. XXXVI).

²⁹³ Jack Ogden, "Metals," *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, eds. Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 160 and 164.

²⁹⁴ Flinders Petrie, Guy Brunton, and M. A. Murray, *Lahun II* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1923), 13.

The verb, *dg3*, likewise is used in a variety of contexts. In *P. Anastasi IV*, the phrase *dg3 m nbw* occurs in regards to the grips of the staffs of the king,²⁹⁵ which could refer to gold foil being covered over wood. *P. BM 10326* (= *P. Salt 1821/155*) mentions a coppersmith who used the copper that he was given for the construction of four spears and any remainder was to be used for *dg3y*,²⁹⁶ which Wente translated as "overlays."²⁹⁷ In *P. Amherst* and *P. Leopold II*, the coffin of a king was "covered", *dg3w*, with gold.²⁹⁸ *P. Harris I* records three stelae (*wḏw*) that were made for the Temple of Ramesses III that were "covered in good gold" (*dg3 m nbw nfr*).²⁹⁹ Capart et al. have suggested that the phrase refers to a covering of gold leaf that is applied "to stone parts of buildings, ships, and staves."³⁰⁰

While it is ultimately uncertain whether *šfdw* refers to a complete piece of furniture or a portion thereof, it does seem to include any handles that may be associated with it. The fact copper foil was peeled from the *šfdw* in *P. BM 10403* (see p. 92) makes Peet's rendering that the *šfdw* was a tray implausible in this particular instance. And even though the poles may be a separable piece from the chest, the combination of poles and chest together as a bier seems to the author a more plausible rendering for the New Kingdom.

²⁹⁵ *P. Anastasi IV*, 17,3 (*LEM* 53,16).

²⁹⁶ *P. BM 10326*, vs 18-19 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 20,10-11).

²⁹⁷ Edward F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1990), 192.


²⁹⁸ *P. Amherst* 2, 14 (*KRI* VI, 484,15).

²⁹⁹ *P. Harris I*, 7,1 (Erichsen, 8,3).

³⁰⁰ J. Capart, A. H. Gardiner, and B. van de Walle, "New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies," *JEA* 22 (1936), 179.

Therefore, the possible use of the *šfdw* that then needs to be considered is that it could have been used as an elaborately decorated vessel for the temporary transport of a mummy. Perhaps, it is even an elevated version of the Middle Kingdom box coffins that were elaborately decorated in order to become a “magical instrument” like their earlier counterparts.³⁰¹ This practice may have developed because the cost of these boxes may have been prohibitive for anything other than temporary transport, and their use may have been unnecessary once the deceased was interred. Their role seems to be to provide a better funeral procession, similar to the modern use of renting limousines for funerals.

3.2.16. *šqr/šgr* Box

The *šgr*, , was the kind of box that appears most often in the Deir el-Medina material. Janssen records over fifty instances of *šgr/šqr* in New Kingdom documents.³⁰² A *šgr* of wood (*ht*) is mentioned twice in *O. Berlin 14214*.³⁰³ A *šqr* of wood is mentioned in *O. DeM 428* recto 4 along with items of wood such as a basket (*gʒb*).³⁰⁴ A list of three wooden *šgr* appears in *O. CG 25655* verso 2-3 that are assigned values of 5 and 2 deben.³⁰⁵ The fact that this item was sold for differing amounts would indicate that the quality or size of the *šqr* may

³⁰¹ Willems, 46.

³⁰² Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medîna*, 40.

³⁰³ *O. Berlin 14214*, vs 5 and 11 (KRI V, 577,1 and 3).

³⁰⁴ KRI V, 580,15-16.

³⁰⁵ KRI V, 595,15-16.

vary. While most *šqr* were made of wood according to the ostraca, they could also be made of bronze per *O. Liverpool 13625* verso 4.³⁰⁶

In *O. CG 25800*, a wood *šqr* was given as a gift worth two deben on the occasion of the appointment of a new worker.³⁰⁷ The carpenter Pashed made a *šqr* valued at 2 deben in the second year of Ramesses V in *O. Petrie 17*.³⁰⁸ A list of the property of the worker Sety in *O. Gardiner 36* mentions two *šqr*, one made of wood valued at 2 deben and another valued at 1 deben (spelled *škr*).³⁰⁹ Of the two *škr* mentioned in *O. Gardiner 123*, lines 8-10, one was made of wood priced at half a silver ring (*dbꜥt gs*) and the other was bundled with two baskets (*nbt-mndm*) and two strainers (*nqr*) for the same price.³¹⁰ In *O. DeM 10070*, a *šqr* is sold for one or two sacks (*h3r*) which may have contained a consumable; it is exchanged along with items such as sandals, sieves, grain baskets, mats, and burial equipment.³¹¹

O. Louvre E 03263 presents us with an interesting case where the word *šqr* appears in relation to another kind of box (*tb*). The *tb* box is exchanged for a *šqr* worth 1 (or 1 ½) *h3r*, an *oipe* of fish, and a pair of woman's sandals worth 3 *oipe*.³¹² There is also a situation where one *šqr* is traded for another *šqr* worth 3 *oipe* plus a pair of woman's sandals worth 3 *oipe*.³¹³ If according to Janssen a *h3r* is worth 4

³⁰⁶ KRI IV, 163,9. The idea of a bronze chest, as opposed to a wood chest covered in bronze foil, is not unheard of in Egyptian material culture. The Tôd treasure buried in the foundation deposit of the Temple of Montu contained four bronze chests.

³⁰⁷ KRI VI, 257,9-10.

³⁰⁸ Hier. Ostr. 28,2,6.

³⁰⁹ Hier. Ostr. 36,1 vs. col. I, 3 and 8.

³¹⁰ KRI IV, 220,1-3.

³¹¹ Pierre Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deîr el-Médîneh*, tome X (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2006), 257.

³¹² KRI III, 555,11-12.

³¹³ KRI III, 555,13-14.

oipe,³¹⁴ then the value of the former *šqr* would be 4 (or perhaps 6) *oipe*, while the latter would be 6 *oipe*. This document shows that the value of *šqr* can vary by 50% and can even be used to trade for a better *šqr*.

In *O. Gardiner 134* verso, the author appears to be making a list of property that he owns. Among the items is a wood *šqr* worth 2 units in contrast to a *g3wt* chest that is valued at 10.³¹⁵ Unlike the other Deir el-Medina ostraca that are focused upon attempts to collect a debt, this ostraca appears to be an attempt to declare or establish property that was already owned as indicated by the use of the possessive independent pronoun in circumstantial clauses. This declaration is also unusual in that it includes property that does not appear in other lists, i.e., high-end luxury goods: a wood door (*ht sb3*), a wood table (*ht mšr*), and a wood chair or possibly a palanquin (*ht qniw*), and raw materials, including, several jars of resin (*qmy*) and varnish (*mrḥw*).

O. Berlin P 11260 verso mentions the work that draughtsman Hormen did for Qaha, which was the innermost coffin and a footstool worth 13 deben, an *ḥdt* coffer worth 1 deben, a *šqr* chest worth 2 deben, and a *bš3* (perhaps a bucket) worth 3 deben. Similarly, as part of a lawsuit text, *O. Berlin P 14214* verso 5 (dating to Ramesses III) puts the value of the *šqr* concerned at 3 deben.³¹⁶ A *šqr* mentioned *O. Černý 20*, as discussed previous, was among the goods probably painted by the decorator.³¹⁷ *P. Turin 1880* includes a pair *šqr* worth 2 deben among the list of

³¹⁴ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 109.


³¹⁵ KRI VII, 345,12-13.

³¹⁶ KRI V, 577,1.

³¹⁷ KRI VII,343-344.

goods used to pay the physician Waskhat.³¹⁸ Given the evidence, it is unlikely that the *šqr* was used as RPF.

3.2.17. *qniw* Portable Shrine

The *qniw*, , was translated by Gardiner as a “portable shrine.”³¹⁹ It is etymologically related to the *qniw* that means a “palanquin.” The two terms are differentiated by their determinatives: the former uses a shrine determinative or the house determinative (Gardiner Sign O1) while the latter uses the branch determinative (Gardiner Sign M3). Haring broadly limits the meaning of *qniw* so that is not to be interpreted as a reference to memorial temples even though some temples were ultimately reduced to little more than chapels.³²⁰

P. Turin 1895+2006 is a work of Dhutmose, scribe of the Necropolis, on the collection of taxes in locations south of Thebes and dates to the reign of Ramesses XI.³²¹ The term appears as part of a place name, i.e., *qniw n nsw usr-m³-r³ mri-imn*, “the shrine of the king Ramesses III.”³²² The 30 sacks of grains were collected under the authority of the master (³) of the shrine (*qniw*).³²³ In the *Amiens Papyrus*, dating to Dynasty 20, a flotilla of ships travelled the Nile collecting grain as taxation. The mention of *qniw* is in connection to the estate of Mut-i-Re.³²⁴ The *Stela of Ikhnofret* (= *Berlin 1204*), a biographical text dating to Senwosret III,

³¹⁸ *P. Turin 1880*, vs 5,11 and vs 5,16 (*RAD*, 48,1 and 5).

³¹⁹ Alan H. Gardiner, “Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn,” *JEA* 27 (1941), 29.

³²⁰ Haring, *Divine Households*, 27.

³²¹ Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 23.



³²² *P. Turin 1895+2006*, rt 3,4 and 7 (*RAD*, 38,9 and 14).

³²³ *P. Turin 1895+2006*, rt 3,7 (*RAD*, 38,14).

³²⁴ *Amiens Papyrus* vs 6,x+1 (*RAD*, 13,7).

includes a reference to a *qniw* shrine that has a *k3r* shrine.³²⁵ This latter instance of a *qniw* is likely to be RPF given that procession was part of its regular periodic function and the fact that it was refurbished (p. 108).

3.2.18. *qrf* Cabinet?

The *qrf*,  and , was thought by Janssen to be a kind of shrine cabinet that was used to house a statuette or votive image.³²⁶ The word appears in three ostraca and a single papyrus. *P. Turin 2072* recto 1:4, dating to year 9 of Ramesses IX, gives a fragmentary mention of a *qrf* of Tjaty that was delivered probably from a craftsmen.³²⁷ *O. Cairo CG 25517* recto 3, dating to the reign of Siptah, mentions two craftsmen Ipu and Khonsu making a *qrf* for the vizier Hori.³²⁸

A *qrf* is mentioned twice in *O. Cairo CG 25584*, which concerns a property list of the Foreman of the Craftsmen Khay.³²⁹ This text is dated by Kitchen to the 17th, 18th, and 19th years of Ramesses III.³³⁰ These regnal years occur in the text marking each list of items that were in the possession of Khay; however, there are four lists in the text. It is conceivable that the first list is from the 16th year. There is remarkable consistency between the lists. In the unlabeled year, there are three items: a footstool, palanquin (*qniw*), and a coffer (*ḥḏt*). The footstool appears across all four years. The palanquin appears in all years except year 17. A coffer appears

³²⁵ Berlin 1204, 12-13 (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 71,4-6).

³²⁶ Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medīna*, 42.

³²⁷ KRI VI, 631,5-6.

³²⁸ KRI IV, 387,15.

³²⁹ KRI V, 470,7 and 9.

³³⁰ KRI V, 470,4.

in year 18, and a *g3wt* chest appears in years 18 and 19 and possibly also in year 17.³³¹ The *qrf* is found in the lists dating to years 17 and 18. The consistency of items from year to year suggests that the property remained in Khay's possession for an intermittent period of time and probably did not represent true property owned by the foreman. Given that this list is organized by year and without values, it is possible that this was a custodial account, i.e., property that was kept by the foreman for safe keeping.


O. Nash 11 (= *O. BM. 65933*) mentions *qrf* in relation to a votive image (*twt*).³³² The text is a list of items with values. The first item mentioned is a wood votive image, and the second is a *qrf*; however, a bed, baskets, a *g3wt* chest, and an *ʕdt* coffer are also mentioned. Grandet connected the making of a statue of the vizier in *O. CG 25517* with the making of the *qrf*,³³³ a supposition that Janssen attempted to build upon (already cited above). While it is possible that a *qrf* could be a shrine cabinet, the connection between the *qrf* and the construction of votive images seems presumptuous.

³³¹ *KRI V*, 470,7.

³³² *Hier. Ostr.* 72,2.

³³³ Pierre Grandet, "Travaux, grèves et personnages célèbres aux XIX^e et XX^e dynasties, dans quelques ostraca documentaires de l'IFAO," *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: La vie en Égypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire*, ed. Guillemette Andreu (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2003), 214.

3.2.19. *k3r* Shrine

The *k3r*, , is the generic term for a “chapel, shrine, or naos.” The word appears in a late Egyptian Miscellany, *P. Anastasi IV*, which is a letter written to a scribe that has taken to public drunkenness.³³⁴ The text reads *tw.k mi k3r šw m ntr.f*, “you are like a shrine empty of its god.” This text demonstrates that the *k3r* is some sort of vessel that contains a votive image.

The word appears prominently in mortuary and religious texts. PT 627 discusses the rebirth of the king; the *k3r* shrine of the king was said to open up when Re shines.³³⁵ In spells on certain coffins (*CG 28086*, *CG 28092*), it appears in reference to Re inside his *k3r* shrine.³³⁶ In PT 255, the king rose up and assumed the power and authority of “the Great One.” This “Great One” rose up from his shrine (*k3r*) and laid his insignia on the ground.³³⁷ In this same spell, a flame of the fire from Horus of Nekhen is directed to those who stand behind the shrine (*k3r*) and having raised up the “Great One.”³³⁸ The meaning of these acts is uncertain. PT 254 mentions the fire blast being against those who are behind the shrine.³³⁹ The word is found in the *Book of the Dead* (spell 17) of the New Kingdom where the *k3r* shrine is the place around which offerings are left.³⁴⁰ It is also used of the dead being confined in his coffin, pure (*‘b*) as the *k3r* shrine of Horus.³⁴¹ The second

³³⁴ *P. Anastasi IV*, 11,11 (*LEM* 47,9-10).

³³⁵ PT 627 (Sethe 1773c).

³³⁶ Pierre Lacau, “Textes religieux,” *RecTrav* 27 (1905), 229,41-44.

³³⁷ PT 255 (Sethe 300a).

³³⁸ PT 255 (Sethe 295).

³³⁹ PT 254 (Sethe 276).

³⁴⁰ *Urk.* V, 28,9 and 29,4.

³⁴¹ *P. Leiden T 6* and *P. Louvre N 3092* (Edouard Naville, *Das aegyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*. bd. 2 (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1886), kap. 130,6).



use shortly after mentions a *nwh*, , “cord” that is wound around the *k3r* shrine.³⁴² This latter use may describe a ceremonial cord that was used to seal the shrine once a set of rituals were performed. Seals using cord were found in Tutankhamun’s tomb being little more than a cord of twine passed through a set of metal loops with a clay bulla (Fig. 18).³⁴³ The use of these cord and clay seals could even be used alongside the *hns* sliding bolt,³⁴⁴ so neither should be considered an exclusive locking mechanism.



Figure 18. Cord and clay used to seal the third inner shrine, Carter no. 238a (Burton photo 0631).

The *Great Dedicatory Inscription* at the Speos Artemidos dating to the first year of Seti I mentions a *k3r* with the shrine determinative ()³⁴⁵. The text extols the deeds of Seti I; his rescuing of temples that had become engulfed in sand and his replenishing of daily offerings and enriching of temples. The text says *rdit*

³⁴² *P. Leiden T 6* and *P. Berlin 3002* (Neville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, kap. 130,7).

³⁴³ Eaton-Krauss and Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine*, 2 note 7.

³⁴⁴ See the sliding bolt, cord, and clay bulla from Carter No. 237a (Burton photo 612).

³⁴⁵ *KRI I*, 42,5.

ḥtp ʕšmw m k3r.sn, “causing the images to be satisfied in their shrines.”³⁴⁶ The term *ʕšm* is a term that refers to an “image of a god” that is related to *ʕhm*.³⁴⁷

The *Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri* dating to the fourth year of his reign makes a brief mention of a *k3r* as part of the epilogue to the main text.³⁴⁸ The text suggests that something/someone from the Two Lands was being gathered before their shrines (*k3r.sn*). In *P. Chester Beatty I* (= *P. BM 10681*) recto, the term appears in a dialogue spoken to Re-Horakhty by Baba (another name for Seth), who says that his shrine is empty (*k3r.k šw*).³⁴⁹

P. BM 10053 verso contains two references to *k3r* shrines.³⁵⁰ The text concerns the robbing of gold from royal funerary furnishings and later on mentions the theft of wood items (doors, floors, and *k3r*) from temples. The scribe of the army Oner asked for a shrine of cedar (*k3r n ʕš*) to which the scribe Sedi gave him a shrine that measured two cubits in height (*k3r iw.f irt mḥ 2 m hy*). This text reveals that the *k3r* was an item that could be about a metre in height.

P. Harris I makes a number of references to *k3r*. In the section that concerns Medinet Habu, Ramesses III mentions that he fashioned (literally “give birth to”) the statues of Ptah-Sokar, Nefertem, and all the Ogdoad and installed them into its shrine (*k3r*).³⁵¹ The shrines were worked (*b3kw*) in fine gold (*nbw nfr*) and beaten silver (*ḥd qm3*) that was inlaid (*mḥ*) with every genuinely valuable stone (*ʕ3t m3ʕt*)

³⁴⁶ *Speos Artimidos Great Inscription*, 7 (KRI I, 42,4-5).

³⁴⁷ Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 48.

³⁴⁸ KRI I, 58,13.

³⁴⁹ *P. Chester Beatty I*, 3,10 (LESt 40,14-15).

³⁵⁰ Peet, pl. XXI, 4,21-22.

³⁵¹ *P. Harris I*, 4,10-11 (Erichsen, 5,8-9).

firmly set (*mnḥt m ir*).³⁵² Later in *P. Harris I*, where Ramesses III states what he did for Amun of Thebes, he claims to have made a “statue of the lord” of gold that was beaten (*twt n nb m nbw m qm3*).³⁵³ This statue was set in the “place of his cult statue” (*st rh.f*) inside the noble shrine (*k3r špsy*). In the section discussing the Temple of Ramesses III at Memphis, the king states *b3k.i n n3y.k smw ḥtp m k3r.st m nbw ḥd ʿ3t mnḥt m ir*, “I worked in your images that are installed in their shrines in gold, silver, and valuable stones firmly set.”³⁵⁴

The summary of Ramesses III’s achievements for the god of Heliopolis, Re, includes the phrase *di.w.i ḥtp.w m k3rw nt ḥwt.k ntr*, “I have installed them in the shrines of your temple.”³⁵⁵ It is unclear whether this is a reference to a wooden shrine or the naos of a temple. Another occurrence of the term in *P. Harris I* appears in the section about the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis. Ramesses III restores the temple (*ḥwt*), and it was as the “shrine of mysteries” (*k3r št3*) of the Lord of All.³⁵⁶ The rebuilding of the temple and making it comparable to what is probably the chapel of Amun-Re means that this use of *k3r* is probably not referring to a piece of portable furniture but an architectural section of the temple perhaps a naos.

³⁵² The idea of stones being “firmly set” alludes to the age-old jeweller’s problem of stones becoming loose in their settings and falling out. And as is true for both ancient craftsmen and jewellers today, the best solution for this problem is prevention.

³⁵³ *P. Harris I*, 6,4 (Erichsen, 7,4).

³⁵⁴ *P. Harris I*, 45,7-8 (Erichsen, 50,16-17).

³⁵⁵ *P. Harris I*, 25,8 (Erichsen, 29,16-17).

³⁵⁶ *P. Harris I*, 58,2 (Erichsen, 67,4).

Another occurrence in *P. Harris I* uses of the term *qd*, “to build”, which is more typical of architecture made of stone than it would be of furniture made of wood. We read that Ramesses III built (*qd*) (line 6) a *k3r* for Amun at Karnak.³⁵⁷ He also made (*iry*) a shrine of mysteries (*k3r št3*) of fine stone (*inr nfr*) with its double doors of beaten copper (*hmt qm3*) and wood.³⁵⁸

A stela found behind a Colossus of Amenhotep III mentions the shine of the king as the “shrine (*k3r*) of your majesty, a good lord that does not fail” (line 10).³⁵⁹ The *Annals of Thutmosis III* in the Chapel of Amenhotep I and Thutmosis III mentions a *k3r* made of stone (*inr*) with great doors of cedar (*š m3š*).³⁶⁰ These *k3r* were made to house the cult images (*tw*) of the kings.³⁶¹ Given that the *k3r* was made of stone, this reference is more likely to refer to a naos than a shrine cabinet.

The term appears on the Naos of Necht-Har-Hebet (Fig. 19) found at the Temple of Edfu.³⁶² The inscriptions on the naos dates to the reign of Nectanebo II (Dynasty 30), which declares that the noble shrine (*k3r šps*) for Horus-Bedety was made of granite (*m3t*) with double doors (*šwt*) of mery-wood (*mry*) and shod (*ndb*) in copper (*hmt*) with gold (*nbw*) and wood (*ht*). Given that this description is close to the descriptions found in other instances, it is possible that these previous references to stone *k3r* shrines are naos of the type found at Edfu.

³⁵⁷ *P. Harris I*, 5,8 (Erichsen, 6,5).

³⁵⁸ *P. Harris I*, 5,10 (Erichsen, 6,8-9).

³⁵⁹ *Urk.* IV, 1674,1-2.

³⁶⁰ *Urk.* IV, 168,15.

³⁶¹ *Urk.* IV, 169,1-2.

³⁶² Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou*, tome 10, 10, montant droit, 2.



Figure 19. The granite *k3r* found at Edfu, i.e., the Naos of Necht-Har-Hebet (Rochemonteix, 1892, tome 10, Fig, 2).

The term appears a couple of times in *P. Bremner-Rhind* (=P. BM 10188), which is a late Dynasty 30 text. In the segment which is known as the “Overthrowing of Apep,” the text discusses the overthrowing of Apep by Re. At line 32,5, the king is included in the celebrations with rejoicing in the “barque of millions” (*wi3 n h3w*) and the hearts of the crew of Re are happy in his shrine (*k3r.f*).³⁶³ In all probability this refers to the mortuary temple of the king with perhaps the votive statues of the barques being housed in *k3r* shrines when not on procession. At line 32,10, the heart of Re is said to be content in its *k3r* shrine because he has overcome his enemies.³⁶⁴ It seems then that the *k3r* can act as the seat of authority from which the gods execute their judgment (line 30,13 and 30,26).³⁶⁵

³⁶³ Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (British Museum No. 10188) (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1933), 87,4-5.

³⁶⁴ Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 88,5.

³⁶⁵ Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 78,13 and 81,4.

On the exterior wall of the northeast court of Luxor Temple is an inscription that mentions an *k3r* of cedar wood (*ʕš*).³⁶⁶ At Denderah Temple, a different kind of *k3r* is mentioned with priests carrying shrine cabinets.³⁶⁷ The shrine is mentioned in close proximity to priests carrying shrine cabinets that are similar to the *g3ti* <Cat. Cx0142> (p. 113). The orthography uses a shrine-shaped determinative similar to what is represented in the reliefs. From the reliefs, these *k3r* shrines are being carried without poles and with the help of a shoulder straps (Fig. 20). The texts at Denderah further mention that the *k3r* were made of wood (*ht*).³⁶⁸

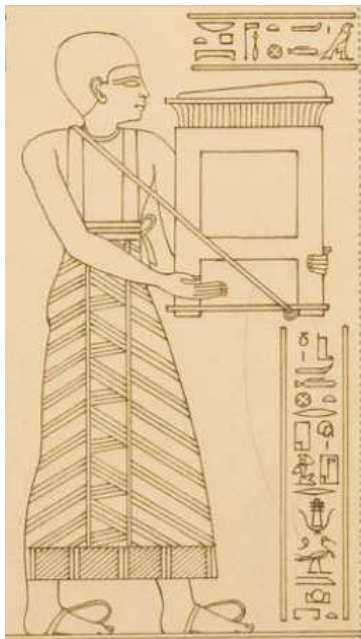


Figure 20. A priest carrying a *k3r* shrine from Denderah Temple (Mariette, 1873, pl. 10).

³⁶⁶ M. Georges Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 14 (1893), 34,e,4-5.

³⁶⁷ Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. IV, pl. 10.

³⁶⁸ Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. IV, pl. 37,66.

The Temple of Seti I at Abydos in the staircase (=Y' of Mariette)³⁶⁹ has a relief that relates the *k3r* to divine barques. In this inscription, the votive images (*šmw*) were installed (*bs*) on standards (*i3t*) that are in the barque and shrines (*wi3 k3r*).³⁷⁰ The grammar seems to exclude a genitival relationship between *wi3* and *k3r* where the order would be reversed if the direct genitive had been implied. The text seems to infer that there is an equivalent function between the barques and the *k3r* shrines, which is to house the gods. We can see the order of enshrining, which is to place the votive image upon a standard that is held inside the respective shrine cabinet, i.e., the standard acts as a means of enthroning the particular god inside each shrine. The term appears in the same staircase recounting the coronation of Seti I and his installment in his private chamber within the royal palace. That is the king takes the two lands as he travels southward then he sits in his compartment (*k3r*) when he reaches his palace (*h*).³⁷¹

A less clear text, *UC 16448* verso, states *di.i rh.k b3kw gnwty wn tw.i m ir.n.f k3r wi3 f3y hwt ntrw*, “I will cause you to learn the craft of the sculptor(?). I will have him make a shrine and a barque carrying the sacred wood (statues).”³⁷² Line 3 of the same text discusses votive images (*twt*) that are inside shrines (*k3r*) along with beds (*hʿti*), palanquins (*qniw*) and other kinds of furniture.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ PM VI, 26.

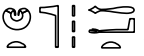
³⁷⁰ Auguste Mariette, *Abydos: description des fouilles*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1869), pl. 50b,23. Because of the poor preservation of the staircase texts (Eaton, “The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos,” 66), Mariette’s text has not been superseded by a later edition.

³⁷¹ *KRI I*, 188,3-4. Mariette, *Abydos: description des fouilles*, vol. 1, pl. 51a,40-41.

³⁷² Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, pl. XXIII vs 1-2.

³⁷³ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, pl. XXIII vs 3.

The *Stela of Ikhnofret* (= *Berlin 1204*) is a biographical text dating to Senwosret III, which includes a reference to a *qniw* shrine that is decorated in a variety of materials. The text states that the gods who attended the *qniw* shrine had their shrines (*k3rw.sn*) made anew.³⁷⁴ It seems that these *k3r* shrines were ritual processional furnishing used to transport gods on procession.

Ramesses III's speech to Amun-Re at Medinet Habu mentions the barque (*sšm*) of the god being installed in the hypostyle hall (*wsht 3t*), , with its holy shrine (*k3r dsr*).³⁷⁵

A slightly different use is found in *P. Berlin 3050*, dating to the reign of Takelot I (Dynasty 22), which describes the procession of the barque of Amun-Re-Horakhty.³⁷⁶ The text describes the god hearing the recitation (*nis*) of his followers (*imyw-hwt*) around his shrine (*k3r*) and the crew (*ist*) of his boat (*wi3*) having a happy heart (line II, 2-3). These phrases tied together imply a ritual procession with the followers being the priests and the crew being the votive statuary on the deck. It is possible that the term may reference a shrine cabinet on a barque.

Overall, the *k3r* appears to be a broader term than *g3ti*. It can either refer to the stone naos that served as a stationary shrine within a chapel, to a palanquin carriage, or to a wooden shrine cabinet (like the *g3ti*) that could be transported and even used in ritual processions. However, the use appears to be restricted to


³⁷⁴ *Berlin 1204*, 13 (Kurt Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches* [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1959], 71,6).

³⁷⁵ Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Calendar, The "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1934), pl. 138,28-29.

³⁷⁶ Serge Sauneron, "L'hymne au soleil levant des papyrus de Berlin 3050, 3056 at 3048 [avec 1 planche]" *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 84,10-11.

structures that held cultic statuary and mostly within a temple context, unlike *g3ti* that could be used to house other vessels in either temple or funerary contexts. And once put into service, these items maintained a continuity of sanctified space appropriate for cultic service.

3.2.20. *g3/g3wt* Chest

The *g3wt*, , was translated as a “Kasten (mit Deckel) aus Holz” in *Wörterbuch*.³⁷⁷ Janssen maintained that a *g3wt* is similar to an *ʕfdt* but is larger given its higher price.³⁷⁸ *P. Mayer B*, which mentions a series of precious items in relation to testimony with regards to a possible robbery and dating to the reign of Ramesses IX, states that there were 2 *g3wt* “which were full of clothes” (*iw.w mḥ m ḥbsw*) (line 13),³⁷⁹ which confirms that the *g3wt* was probably a kind of chest larger than the *ʕfdt* coffer.

In *O. Gardiner 44*, a *g3wt* was used as a partial payment by the Medjay Mentumose to the scribe Hori.³⁸⁰ This *g3wt* was valued at 10 copper deben, which was more expensive than many of the chests already examined and is close to the value of a bronze bowl done for 12 deben, a bed at 12 deben, and the footstool for 15 deben (lines 2-4). The total cost of goods in this transaction totaled 127 deben (line 5), making it one of the largest transactions recorded at Deir el-Medina.

³⁷⁷ *Wb.* V, 153,9. “box (with a lid)”.

³⁷⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 198.

³⁷⁹ *KRI* VI, 516,11-12.

³⁸⁰ *Hier. Ostr.* 24,1,3.

O. Petrie 48 mentions a *g3wt* along with leather goods and linen sheets.³⁸¹

This appears to be a list of goods from a shepherd, perhaps the tender of goats and cattle from one of the estates near Deir el-Medina. The reason for this is the 5 deben and 4 *oipe* (?) of leather from the *ih n pth*, “cow of Ptah” (line 7). The *g3wt* chest mentioned is priced at 10 (*h3r* ?) (line 9), to which the text adds *nty n.i ʿnh l*, “which to me equals a live goat” (line 10). This adds additional evidence that the primary occupation of the author seems to be that of a shepherd.

O. Cairo 25533 recto mentions a *g3wt* in connection with the workmen of Deir el-Medina and dates to the reign of Ramesses IV.³⁸² *O. Berlin P. 10665* vs 5 describes a payment made to Qen-nakht son of Pa-Re-Hotep of a *g3wt* chest along with four bundles of vegetables worth 2 deben;³⁸³ however, because the text is damaged over the word of interest, we cannot be certain if the price refers to the vegetables alone or includes the chest. *O. DeM 10093* (= *O. IFAO 1373*) is a receipt of a payment made to the scribe Hori by the workers foreman Khau for beef,³⁸⁴ dating to the 24th year of Ramesses III. Five of the eight items used for payment by Khau were cloth goods; however, one of the items was a pair of wood *g3wt* that was valued at 10 deben or more (verso 2).


³⁸¹ *Hier. Ostr.* 31,4.

³⁸² *KRI* VI, 175,15-16.

³⁸³ “Berlin P 10665,” in *Deir el Medine Online* [database on-line] (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München, 2002-2009, accessed 4 June 2014), identifier number 164.

³⁸⁴ Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh*, tome X, 288-289.

O. Lady Franklin, which is a text that discusses a list of funerary items including outer coffins (*mn-ꜥnh*) and anthropoid coffins (*wt*), includes a *g3wt* made of wood for price of 10.³⁸⁵ This text dates to the reign of Ramesses IV and the price seems consistent with early Dynasty 20. *O. Cairo CG 25362 recto 6-7*, which is a statement of the transfer of property, records a bed (*hꜥti*), a wood *g3wt* and a wood *t3y* chest purchased for 25 deben.³⁸⁶ The ostraca is dated to the 14th regnal year of Ramesses IX. A *g3wt* is mentioned in *P. Turin cat. 1907+ 1908 recto III line 1* as one of two items (the other item is obscured by a lacuna) valued at 20 deben.³⁸⁷

The *g3*, , is distinct in morphology from *g3wt* and is written with the house determinative (Gardiner Sign O1). From the Tomb Robbery papyri, a *g3* is mentioned in *P. BM 10053 recto 5,6* that was used as a receptacle for silver.³⁸⁸ The same text also mentions a *g3* that was used as a receptacle holding both silver and an *ꜥ*-vase (line 13). Although *P. BM 10053 recto* mentions silver items, the text deals primarily with the deposition of copper items stolen by eight thieves. *P. BM 10068* forms the complement to *P. BM 10053 recto* in that it records gold, white gold, and silver goods from these thieves. In *P. BM 10068 recto 6,11*, the thieves had a container that was a whitewashed wood chest (*ht sqh g3wt*).³⁸⁹ While it is unclear how the *g3* is materially different from a *g3wt*, it does appear to be a relatively unimportant container when compared to the *g3wt*.


³⁸⁵ *KRI VII*, 342,4-5.

³⁸⁶ *KRI VII*, 377,13-14.

³⁸⁷ Jac. J. Janssen, "A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus (Pap. Turin No. Cat. 1907/8)", *JEA* 52 (1966), pl. XVIIA.

³⁸⁸ Peet, pl. XVIII,5,6-7.

³⁸⁹ Peet, pl. XII,6,11.

The *Will of Naunakhte* bequeaths a *g3wt* chest³⁹⁰ among other kinds of furniture that includes *šgr*.³⁹¹ The orthography of the word in this text differs slightly from other examples appearing as  in *Naunakhte III* recto 12. Černý sees no significance attached to the *r(y)* appended to the end of the vocalized letters,³⁹² in which case there is no reason to assume that this is anything other than a morphological difference. The appearance of the word in *Naunakhte III* verso 11 uses the stone determinative while the use in *Naunakhte II* recto 11 specifies a wood (*ht*) *g3wt*.³⁹³ The idea of a stone chest is not out of the question when we consult the archaeological record. Canopic chests made out of alabaster are not uncommon, e.g., <Cat. Zx0001>, and stone chests for statuary are found among Old Kingdom burials <Cat. Cx0025, Cx0026>. A painted calcite chest was also found in the tomb of Tutankhamun <Cat. Cx0109>.

O. Gardiner 134 verso has a *g3wt* chest that is valued at 10 as compared to a wood *šqr* worth 2 units.³⁹⁴ The *g3wt* chest also appears among the goods list of the foreman Khay in *O. Cairo CG 25584*;³⁹⁵ these goods are among a list of luxury goods that included a palanquin (*qniw*) and a footstool (*hdm*).³⁹⁶

P. Harris I mentions *g3wt* on more than one occasion. A *g3wt* made of mery-wood appears on a list of goods in *P. Harris I*.³⁹⁷ The text reads *mry g3wt t3y*, “a mery-wood chest box.” The redundant terms of “chest” and “box” makes it clear

³⁹⁰ Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), pl. XIa rt 12 and vs 11.

³⁹¹ Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), pl. XIa and vs 13.

³⁹² Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), 38.

³⁹³ Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), pl. X rt 11.

³⁹⁴ *KRI* VII, 345,12-13.

³⁹⁵ *O. CG 25584*, 2:2, 3:2, and possibly 1:7 (*KRI* V, 470,8, 10, and 7).



³⁹⁶ *KRI* V, 470,8.

³⁹⁷ *P. Harris I*, 64c,3 (Erichsen, 77,4).

that a kind of receptacle is being referred to by the text. Thirty-one large silver *g3wt* (*ḥd g3wt ʿ3*) containing coverings (*ḥbs*)³⁹⁸ are part of Ramesses III's offerings to the Theban triad. The accounting portion of *P. Harris I* includes ninety-two wood *g3wt* that were whitewashed (*sqḥ*) and made in the shape of a cartouche (*mnš*).³⁹⁹ It is possible that this was the same kind of cartouche-shaped container that appears in the Tomb of Tutankhamun <Cat. Cx0105>.

The conclusions that we can draw from the texts seem to point to the *g3wt* chest as a piece of furniture that was consistently on the highest end of the durable goods spectrum and could be made of wood, stone, or even silver, but was not likely to be RPF.

3.2.21. *g3ti/gt* Shrine Cabinet

The *g3ti*, , or *gt*, , is a kind of box or shrine that is attached to other items. While the term is morphologically similar to the *g3/g3wt*, it appears to be used differently. One occurrence of *g3ti* is as an item imported from Tachsi, a land between Qadesh and the Orontes, in *P. Anastasi IV*.⁴⁰⁰ This particular passage deals with preparations that were made in anticipation for a pharaoh's arrival.

The *g3ti* appears among a list of items, both durable and agricultural goods that were left behind in the village according to *CG 25670*, I recto 8.⁴⁰¹ *O.*

Liverpool 13626 verso mentions what could be an outer coffin (*wt*) to which


³⁹⁸ *P. Harris I*, 13b,10 (Erichsen, 17,12-13).

³⁹⁹ *P. Harris I*, 71a,4 (Erichsen, 85,10).

⁴⁰⁰ *P. Anastasi IV*, 15,3-4 (*LEM* 51,12).

⁴⁰¹ Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, *Abydos*, pt. III, pl. LV.

something is done to it in wood, and it is to this object that a *g3ti* is attached (*ts*) (line 3).⁴⁰² It is not clear from this text whether it is the *wt* being inserted into the *g3ti* or *vice versa*. And the meaning of the word *ts*, “to tie, add together”⁴⁰³ does not give us a sense of direction. However, if the *wt* here is in fact a coffin,⁴⁰⁴ then the *g3ti* would be the shrine that surrounds the coffin. A coffin with a shrine around it was discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Fig. 21). While the exact nature of the work done in relation to the *wt* and *g3ti* is unclear, it appears to involve the use of three sacks of fine lapis (*hsbd nfr tnfy 3*) (lines 1 and 7).

At issue in *O. Liverpool 13626* is the meaning of *w3sy*, .⁴⁰⁵

This rare verb has no agreed upon meaning and no close cognates to compare it with. Janssen suggested that this means to “saw”, which is reasonable given its proximity to “wood.”⁴⁰⁶ The word appears in *O. Liverpool 13625*.⁴⁰⁷ Kitchen translated this word as “to save.”⁴⁰⁸ Perhaps future research will clarify the meaning of this word.

⁴⁰² *Hier. Ostr.* 62,3 vs 3.

⁴⁰³ *Wb.* V, 396-397.

⁴⁰⁴ Cooney, *Cost of Death*, 18-21.

⁴⁰⁵ *Hier. Ostr.* 63,3 vs 2.

⁴⁰⁶ Janssen, *Furniture at Deir el-Medîna*, 47.

⁴⁰⁷ *KRI* IV, 163,12.

⁴⁰⁸ Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated, Translations*, vol. IV (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 121 (163:12).

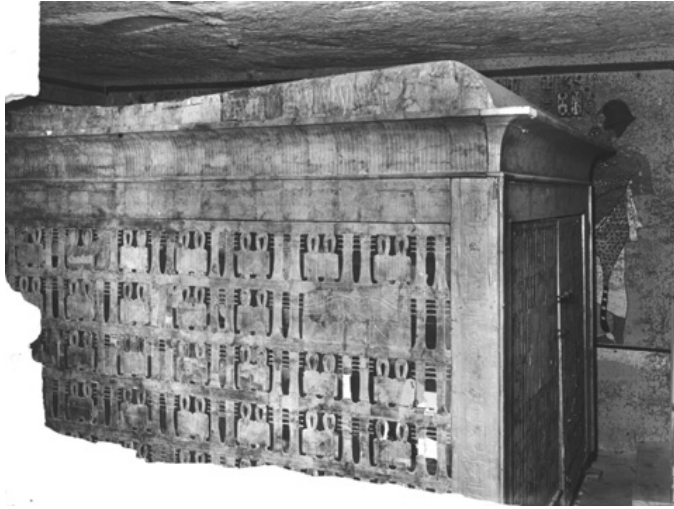



Figure 21. Oblique view of the large golden shrine of Tutankhamun that contained his sarcophagus *in situ*, showing the double doors with two sliding bolt locks, Carter no. 207 (Burton photo 0603).

P. BM 10054 recto 3, a tomb robbery papyrus, records the deposition of *wꜥb*-priest Penwenhab, which dates to year 18 of Ramesses XI.⁴⁰⁹ Penwenhab stated that he robbed the *gꜣti* of “this god” (Ramesses II) and they stole 4 *hns* items of silver.⁴¹⁰ He replaced the items with wood replicas (line 12) so that their absence would not be noticed.

The meaning of *hns* is uncertain but Peet translates the term as “ox-amulets?”. *Wörterbuch* mentions but does not define the word with a double-headed ox, i.e.,  or two ox-head determinatives (Gardiner Sign List F2), which are forms found in PT 275 and PT 534,⁴¹¹ but these morphological forms may have nothing to do with amulets when taken in context. Faulkner translated the instance of this word found in PT 275 as “double doors.”⁴¹² *Wörterbuch* also described a *hns* as “eines Amuletts aus Gold” in the form of a double-headed lion⁴¹³ from Capart,

⁴⁰⁹ Peet, 59.

⁴¹⁰ Peet, pl. VII,3 ro,12.

⁴¹¹ *Wb.* III, 300,6-7.

⁴¹² Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 84.

⁴¹³ *Wb.* III, 300,5.


who suggested that the *hns* is an amulet of double-leonine form, i.e., .⁴¹⁴ Peet conflated the two *Wörterbuch* definitions to derive his translation. There is no reason to assume that the *hns* described in any of these definitions is the same as that in *P. BM 10054* verso given the differences in morphology. The fact that the items in *P. BM 10054* verso had to be replaced with wood replicas by the *w^cb*-priest infers that the *hns* were probably not items found inside the *g3ti* but external ornamentation that had to be restored in order to make the item look complete.




Figure 22. Front view of the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun, showing the double doors with the two bolt locks, Carter no. 108 (Burton photo 0316).

P. Turin 2002 describes a *g3ti* that is made of alabaster, which was installed into another *g3ti* shrine of mery-wood.⁴¹⁵ The use of a stone shrine inside a wood shrine is very similar to the canopic shrine configuration found in Tutankhamun's tomb, where the inside shrine <Cat. Cx0113> with the canopic jars was made of calcite while the outer shrine was wood covered in gold foil <Cat. Cx0112>.

⁴¹⁴ Jean Capart, "Une liste d'amulettes," *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 19,56.

⁴¹⁵ *KRI* VI, 245,5-6.

Continuing with *P. Turin 2002*, the *g3ti*, once installed, was fitted with silver fittings (*wpwt n hq*) (line 24).⁴¹⁶ It may be reasonable to assume that the *hns* of *P. BM 10054 recto* is related to *wpwt*. A cognate of *wpwt* is the well-established word *wpi* meaning to “open, part, separate, divide.”⁴¹⁷

From Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut is described accompanying the gods on procession as they transverse the lands (*hns t3w*).⁴¹⁸ The word *hns* when used as a verb has the general meaning of “to tread/wander” but with this determinative can specifically mean to “move in two directions.”⁴¹⁹ An inscription to the Hathor cow at Deir el-Bahari reads *šm n dp, hns n sšw, phw, w3wt hr*, “going to Buto, travelling in marshes, backwaters, and the ways of Horus,”⁴²⁰ indicating that *hns* is a verb of motion. An inscription found at the Speos Artemidos dating to the reign of Hatshepsut reads *p3ht wrt hnst int hry-ib i3bt*, “the great (goddess) Pachet transversed the eastern valley.”⁴²¹ The *Poetical Stela of Thutmosis III* likewise at verse 21 states *di-i m3.sn hm.k mi s3b šm^c nb gst hpwty hns t3wy*, “let them see your Majesty like an Upper Egyptian jackal, lord of speed, a runner who transverses the two lands.”⁴²² The idea behind *hns* in these texts is not simply the idea of travelling in one direction but travelling back and forth at will. This connotation is particularly true of both the Poetical Stela and the Speos Artemidos inscription where the dominion of the travelling agent is of particular importance. Noting the  sign,

⁴¹⁶ *KRI* VI, 245,7.

⁴¹⁷ *Wb.* I, 298-301.

⁴¹⁸ *Urk.* IV, 248,1.

⁴¹⁹ Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 193.

⁴²⁰ *Urk.* IV, 237,8-9.

⁴²¹ *Urk.* IV, 386,15.

⁴²² *Urk.* IV, 617,15.

Gardiner stated that “the determinative suggests simultaneous movement in opposite directions.”⁴²³

Given that the lexeme *hns* has a back and forth action, I would suggest that a *hns* in the case of *P. BM 10054* recto is neither an amulet nor a decoration but a sliding bolt that would have been used on a shrine cabinet door, and that a *wpwt* is a bolt-type door lock. These sliding bolts are vaguely reminiscent in shape to the double animal determinatives mentioned above (Fig. 23). *P. BM 10054* recto records that 4 *hns* of silver were taken (line 12). The large shrine cabinets that would have been found on sacred barques may have had two sets of doors, one set on the front and one on the back of the shrine, or perhaps a shrine within a shrine. Each set of doors has two metal bolts that keep the doors shut. The door bolts that have been found on the smaller shrine cabinets in the tomb of Tutankhamun were made of silver and not ebony as had been reported by Carter.⁴²⁴ The fact that these bolts were silver is exactly what is described in *P. BM 10054* recto.

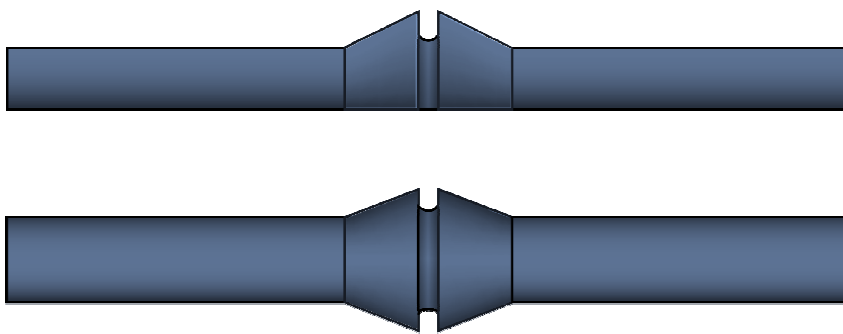


Figure 23.
Diagram of the
lateral and dorsal
views of a sliding
door bolt
(illustrated by
author).


⁴²³ Gardiner, *JEA* 41 (1955), 13.

⁴²⁴ M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985), 2 note 6.

Janssen suggested that a *g3ti* is a “shrine” or “catafalque” and tied it to the word *g3it*.⁴²⁵ Cooney countered that the tie between the two lexemes is untenable since *g3it* does not have the wood determinative and that the word means a “chest”, and because of its tight association with coffins (*wt*) means specifically a “canopic chest.”⁴²⁶ Given that a *g3ti* can have silver components that can be stolen and replaced per *P. BM 10054*, Cooney’s final translation of a canopic chest is simply untenable. Both Janssen’s and Cooney’s translations, however, have merit. Janssen is correct that a *g3ti* can be a shrine and Cooney is correct that it can be a chest.

In sum the *g3ti* appears to refer to any shrine cabinet that is used to contain another item, which could be a coffin, another shrine, a canopic box, or a votive statue. The *g3ti* are often characterized by the use of double doors with a pair of sliding door bolts. The *g3ti* is a kind of portable shrine, which represents the transition of chests to other kinds of RPF. These kinds of furnishings lead up to the consideration of the composite forms of furnishings, i.e., sacred barques.

3.2.22. *gs-pr*

 *gs-pr* (literally “half-house”) is a term that has been associated with administrative buildings during the Old Kingdom. Peet assumed that the *gs-pr* in *P. BM 10403* was a kind of portable chest similar to the *pr-n-s3*.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 231.

⁴²⁶ Cooney, *Cost of Death*, 35.

⁴²⁷ Thomas Eric Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 170.

The *Biography of Weni* explains that the king, when he went to war with the Asiatics, gathered his army from the territory between *gswy-pr mi-qd.sn* to Sedjer (*sdr*) and Khen-sedjeru (*hn-sdrw*).⁴²⁸ *Wörterbuch* suggests from this text that *gswy-pr* should be taken as the "Staatsverwaltung."⁴²⁹ Moreno Garcia noted that the *gs-pr* was not a single centralized administrative district but that there were many *gs-prw* in Egypt and that it described state-controlled land in marginal or swampy zones that was used primarily for agricultural production.⁴³⁰ Gratjetzki suggested that the *gs-pr* oversaw the local economic system and administered the agricultural activities of state-controlled lands.⁴³¹ Helck suggested that the *gs-pr* was a kind of workshop for the artisans of royal monuments.⁴³² In contrast Alessandra Nibbi suggested that *gs* represented a mound of dirt representing the river bank.⁴³³ Lichtheim maintained that *gswy-pr* referred to the swath of the Nile Delta,⁴³⁴ although this suggestion rests upon the proximity of the term to "Lower Egypt" in the previous prepositional phrase and further depends upon Sedjer and Khen-sedjeru being taken as toponyms.

⁴²⁸ *Urk.* I, 101,12.

⁴²⁹ *Wb.* V, 198,14.


⁴³⁰ Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, "Territorial administration and the organization of space in Egypt during the third millennium BC. (V): *gs-pr*," *ZÄS* 126 (1999), 121-124.

⁴³¹ Wolfram Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittlern Reiches* (Berlin: Achet Verlag, 2003), 202.

⁴³² Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 297 note 1.

⁴³³ Alessandra Nibbi, "Hieroglyphic Signs *gs* and *km* and their Relationship," *GM* 52 (1981), 43.

⁴³⁴ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 22 note 3.

In the *Biography of Weni*, the king descends from Upper Egypt at the head of his army and a list of people that were accompanying the army.⁴³⁵ This list includes hereditary noblemen, seal-bearers, courtiers, chiefs, rulers of Upper and Lower Egypt, the overseer of the Nubians, the overseer of *hm-ntr* priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the overseer of the *gs-prw* men, , all of whom were at the head of the conscripts from Upper and Lower Egypt.

The *Biography of Nekhbu* is a Fifth Dynasty text that contains the expression *hrp hwt-k3 [nt hm.f] m t3-mhw gs-pr n hwt*, "supervised the Ka-chapel [of his majesty] in Lower Egypt and the *gs-pr* of the temple."⁴³⁶ Even as early as the Old Kingdom, the *gs-pr* was more than just an administrative district but a portion of a temple complex. A later reference in this text makes reference to the *gs-pr n nsw*, "gs-pr of the king,"⁴³⁷ which shows a *gs-pr* being dedicated to the sovereign, a detail similar to what is found in *P. BM 10403*.⁴³⁸

In the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, the *gs-pr* takes on a distinctly religious meaning, *hs3yt sntr n gsw-prw shtp.w ntr nb im.f*, "cassia and incense for the *gsw-prw*, which satisfies every god."⁴³⁹ The plurality of gods coupled with the use of incense implies that this more than a secular administrative centre. While an administrative function of the *gs-pr* cannot be excluded, it appears that the *gs-pr* in the Middle Kingdom also had an explicitly religious role. Golénischeff suggested that this

⁴³⁵ *Urk.* I, 102,6.

⁴³⁶ *Urk.* I, 219,17-220,1.

⁴³⁷ *Urk.* I, 220,13.

⁴³⁸ *P. BM 10403*, 1,9 (Peet, pl. XXXVI).

⁴³⁹ *P. Leningrad 1115*, 141-142 (Aylward M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* [Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1972], 45,16).

should be translated as "temple,"⁴⁴⁰ a contention that is supported by *Wörterbuch* when *gs-pr* is used in the plural.⁴⁴¹

In *P. BM 10403*, its use becomes associated with the *pr-n-st3*, which is part of the ritual furniture used in temples. The context of the passage makes it clear that both *gs-pr* and *pr-n-st3* are constructions that were contained inside the treasury of Medinet Habu, and thus, as Peet argued, the meaning of *gs-pr* here does not convey the same sense that it had during the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁴² It is possible that the *gs-pr* is tied to the royal cult seeing as the only *gs-pr* mentioned in this text belonged to Seti I⁴⁴³ in contrast to the *pr-n-st3* that could belong to either a high priest of Amun (Ramessesnakht) or a king (Ramesses II).⁴⁴⁴

In ostrakon MMA Field no. 23001.108 verso 11 from Deir el-Bahari dating to the reign of Hatshepsut, one of the stone masons is mentioned as not being found in the *gs-pr*,⁴⁴⁵ suggesting that a *gs-pr* could be large enough to sit inside, perhaps a portable kiosk or memorial shrine. If the *gs-pr* was the place where the symbol of the royal memorial cult resided, then it is possibly the region around where the cult resides included the lands of its estates. In the case of Weni, this would probably be at Saqqara and encompassing the area of Memphis, and the fact that *gs-pr* is in the dual could be explained by concurrently active memorial cults initiated by a possible

⁴⁴⁰ M. W. Golénischeff, *Conte du Naufragé* (Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1912), 218.

⁴⁴¹ *Wb.* V, 198,13.

⁴⁴² Peet, 173 note 3.

⁴⁴³ *P. BM 10403*, 1,9 (Peet, pl. XXXVI).

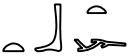

⁴⁴⁴ *P. BM 10403*, 1,7-8 (Peet, pl. XXXVI).

⁴⁴⁵ William C. Hayes, "Thutmoside Ostraca from Dēr El-Bahri," *JEA* 46 (1960), 48.

coregency of Pepi I and Merenre or Merenre and Pepi II.⁴⁴⁶ It is even possible that the plurality of *gs-pr* may reflect the number of active royal funerary cults at the time of the writing of particular texts. This is possible given that memorial temples over time were shut down and their funerary objects were consolidated into active memorial cults, e.g., the funerary objects of Seti I and Ramesses II being kept in the memorial temple of Ramesses III.

We have seen that *gs-pr* can represent a portable temple object or structure of a deceased king that is smaller than a temple treasury and larger than a portable chest; it can refer to a group of people; it can represent a religious institution; it can be associated with a group of towns and agriculture; and it is associated with a rank that has sweeping powers. Given the extreme variation of meaning and given the evidence available suggesting a tie to religious institutions, the *gs-pr* as a term has complexity that changes over time and according to context. Specific to the New Kingdom context, I would suggest that the *gs-pr* is perhaps a portable royal kiosk; a meaning that may have emerged as the kiosk was perhaps the authoritative seat from which authority was exercised.


***tb/tbt/dbt* Box**

The *tbt/dbt*,  / , is a common term for box that often appears in the Deir el-Medina texts; however, its meaning was not settled until the publication of the hieratic inscription found on a chest from Tutankhamun's tomb.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977), 111-114.

⁴⁴⁷ Jaroslav Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1965), 8.

The box (Carter no. 001k), labeled with *t3 dbt qdt*, “the wooden box”, contained thirty-nine pieces of linen. The use of the *tbt* seems to extend into general use as a storage container. The *tb* box appears among other boxes and chests in *O. Petrie 15*.⁴⁴⁸

The word appears to descend from the Old Kingdom form, , which *Wörterbuch* defines as a synonym for a “Palast” or *pr-ꜥ3*.⁴⁴⁹ The word continues into the Greco-Roman period as a kind of shrine for a god alluding to its use for ritual purposes.⁴⁵⁰ The word survives into Coptic as **ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ** and means “chest, coffin.”⁴⁵¹3

O. DeM 955 mentions a pair of filled wood *g3* chests and a live goat exchanged for grain and a wood *dbt*.⁴⁵² In *O. Gardiner 119*, Amennakht son of Rashpeteref made goods of wood that included a table (*mšr*) and a *tbt* done for 10.⁴⁵³ *O. Turin N. 57366* (=suppl. 9592) recto 3, speaking of goods taken and placed into the tombs of the necropolis, mentions *ht dbt nt ht 75*, “75 wood and *dbt* of wood.”⁴⁵⁴ This phrasing possibly may be dittography emphasizing that the chests are indeed wood chests as opposed to “baskets,” although the former reading may also be possible.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁴⁸ *Hier. Ostr.* 26,5,1.

⁴⁴⁹ *Wb.* V, 561,2.

⁴⁵⁰ *Urk.* II,5,16.

⁴⁵¹ *Crum CD*, 397.


⁴⁵² Pierre Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh*, tome IX (Cairo: Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale, 2003), 405.

⁴⁵³ *Hier. Ostr.* 33,3,2.

⁴⁵⁴ López, *Ostraca ieratici*, n. 57320-57449, tav. 113.

⁴⁵⁵ Janssen, *Furniture of Deir el-Medina*, 49.

O. Louvre E 03263 presents us the case where a *tb* is purchased for a *šqr* box, fish, and a pair of woman's sandals for the value of 8 (perhaps 10) *oipe*.⁴⁵⁶ *O. Černý 20* discusses a *škr* alongside a *tbt* that had been a commissioned (*smdt*) piece.⁴⁵⁷ This does raise some questions as to what extent these works were part of a general inventory versus pieces done for hire, which in turn raises further questions as to the kind of interaction that the craftsmen had with their customers. The ostraca mentions a carrying pole (*m3wd*) that can be used with this particular kind of box.⁴⁵⁸

The term *m3wd*,  was a variety of carrying pole associated with the *tb* chests in *O. Louvre E 03263*.⁴⁵⁹ The word is morphologically distinct from *m3wt* by the use of the papyrus stem (Gardiner Sign M13), which carries a phonetic value *wd*, or the mace sign (Gardiner Sign T3). The lexical form that uses the mace sign (*m3hd*) is probably only a minor phonetic variant.

A cognate of the word (*m3wd*) appears in *P. Harris I* possibly meaning to “embellish, engrave, or carve” and is in reference to the barge named *Userhat*, the barge of Amun-Re, measuring 130 cubits in length and decked out in gold and precious stones. The figureheads in front and back were embellished (*m3wd*) with uraeus (*iʿrt*) and atefs (*3tf*).⁴⁶⁰ A relief fragment dating to Seti I that shows the prow of *Userhat* was recovered from a temple at Deir el-Medina <Cat Bx0081>. The *Dedicatory Stela for Ramesses I* at Abydos dating to the reign of Seti I mentions

⁴⁵⁶ *KRI* III, 555,11-12.

⁴⁵⁷ *KRI* VII,344,9.

⁴⁵⁸ *KRI* III, 555,9.

⁴⁵⁹ *KRI* III, 555,9.

⁴⁶⁰ *P. Harris I*, 7,6 (Erichsen, 8,17).

nby.i n.f m3wdw m dꜥmw, “I fashioned for it poles with electrum,”⁴⁶¹ which probably refers to wood poles that were overlaid with electrum.

The word appears in *P. Leiden I 350* verso (column 4, lines 18-21), which is a ship’s log dating to the 52nd year of Ramesses II. Two poles (*m3wd*) were among the 60 herbs and 5 jars of milk that were on the cargo manifest of items obtained at Piramesses.⁴⁶² From the *Taking of Joppa* (= *P. BM 10060*, = *P. Harris 500* vs. 1.1/3.15), the subterfuge that general Djehuty used against Joppa involved making their soldiers look like captives by removing their sandals and “weapon” (*m3wd itrr*).⁴⁶³ The particular kind of weapon suggested by the term *m3wd itrr* is unknown, but it would be something that would identify the individuals as soldiers, perhaps a javelin.

O. Berlin P 12343 verso 5, dating to Ramesses IV (Dynasty 20), mentions a wooden *m3wd*, which had been purchased for an unspecified amount of grain.⁴⁶⁴ *O. Berlin P 10626*, dating to Dynasty 19, is a record of goods that Amenemipet gave to Sa-wadjet in payment for a *m3wd n imnty*, “a pole of the west” (verso 2).⁴⁶⁵ The recto side of the ostraca records the total value of the goods that were exchanged for the *m3wd* (recto 4), which was 12.5 copper deben (recto 5). An additional 5 deben of copper was paid to Hayemwas (recto 6), making the total value of the pole to be 17.5 deben (recto 8). The term *m3wd n imnty* also appears in *O. DeM 434* recto

⁴⁶¹ *KRI* I, 112,8-9.

⁴⁶² *KRI* II, 812,11.

⁴⁶³ *LESt* 83,15.

⁴⁶⁴ *KRI* VI, 165,6.

⁴⁶⁵ “Berlin P 10626,” in *Deir el Medine Online* [database on-line] (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München, 2002-2009, accessed 13 May 2014), identifier number 188.

(column 1, line 4).⁴⁶⁶ Contrasting this high price paid for a *m3wd n imnty* is the single deben that was paid for a wood *m3wd* in *O. Strasbourg H. 84* recto 12.⁴⁶⁷

This vast difference in value suggests that a *m3wd* and a *m3wd n imnty* are materially different items and not synonyms. The use of the term *imnty* with furniture is not restricted to *m3wd*. It also appears with a *tb* chest found in *O. Turin N. 57387 (=suppl. 9618)* recto 11.⁴⁶⁸ Considering that a *m3wd* is a kind of pole used with a *tb* and that both of these items can have *imnty* as an adjective, it is possible that the adjective refers to a particularly desired ornamentation that may have originated from Libya (i.e. the West).

O. Nash 4 (=O. BM EA 65941) recto is a list of property that includes a wood *tbt* valued at 10 deben (line 2) owed by Neferhotep to Parehetep in payment for the work of a coffin (*wt*).⁴⁶⁹ *O. BM EA 05643* mentions a pole (ϣ) of a *tbt* (line 2) among a list of goods (ϣ *n tbt*).⁴⁷⁰ The fact that a pole can be used with the *tbt* seems to indicate that this particular kind of furnishing is large enough to be carried by poles. A similar reading may also be possible from *O. Turin N. 57290 (=suppl. 6843)* which could read *tbt ϣ I*.⁴⁷¹ The orthography of *tbt* that included a trailing ϣ (Gardiner Sign D36) can also be found in *P. Turin N. 57387* recto (=suppl. 9618)

⁴⁶⁶ Jaroslav Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, tome V (Cairo: L’Institut Français D’Archeologie Orientale, 1951), pl. 25.

⁴⁶⁷ *KRI* VI, 429,3.



⁴⁶⁸ Jesús López, *Ostraca ieratici, n. 57320-57449* (Milan: Istituto Cisalpino la Goliardica, 1982), tav. 123.

⁴⁶⁹ *Hier. Ostr.* 57,1 rt 2.

⁴⁷⁰ *Hier. Ostr.* 85,2,2.

⁴⁷¹ Jesús López, *Ostraca ieratici, n. 57093-57319* (Milan: Istituto Cisalpino la Goliardica, 1980), Tav 92,3.

(line 11).⁴⁷² Given the previous reading in *O. BM EA 05643*, these other readings could be translated as a “*tbt* and pole.”

The ρ,  or , is in many respects the generic term for a pole and is naturally derived from its lexeme meaning an “arm.” The term occurs in *P. Anastasi IV* as part of a chariot where it appears with the wood determinative (line 16,11).⁴⁷³ This is invariably the same part as the ρ-*n-ḥtri* that is made mention of in the *Battle of Qadesh* dating to Ramesses II.⁴⁷⁴ The text is using the ρ-*n-ḥtri* as a means to count the number of chariots, which implies that only one ρ was used per chariot. *P. BM 10100* (= *P. Salt 1821/238/2*), dating to year 10 of the *whm-mswt* (Ramesses XI), contains instructions from Pharaoh’s general to bring the remaining chariot poles (ρ *mrkbt*) from where Sheduhor had brought the previous poles (lines 7-8).⁴⁷⁵

In *P. Anastasi III*, which is one of the parodies of the trades, the scribe is told about the profession of the warrior. We are told that the warrior has to sell what he owns to buy a chariot where the ρ of a chariot (alone) was sold for 3 deben and the chariot itself sold for 5 deben (lines 6,7-8).⁴⁷⁶ The ρ was a significant portion of the cost involved in the manufacture of chariots. The account of the *Second Libyan War* that was written in the temple of Medinet Habu (Ramesses III) gives a list of spoils that includes 902 wood ρ poles.⁴⁷⁷ *P. Anastasi I* (line 26, 6) mentions a new ρ

⁴⁷² López, *Ostraca ieratici*, n. 57320-57449, tav. 123.

⁴⁷³ *LEM* 53,8.

⁴⁷⁴ *KRI* II, 51,12.


⁴⁷⁵ Jaroslav Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1939), 50,9-10.

⁴⁷⁶ *LEM* 27,9-11.

⁴⁷⁷ *KRI* V, 53,8.

that is attached to a chariot, where we find the phrase *p3y.k ʿ m m3wt w3h.tw n3y.f dbywt*,⁴⁷⁸ “your new pole had its yoke arms attached.” Given that the “yoke arms” (*dbywt*) are attached to the ʿ pole, this means that in all likelihood the part in question is the pole that attached the yoke to the chariot carriage.

P. BM 10326 (=P. Salt 1821/155) verso 12, dating to year 10 of the *whm-mswt* (Ramesses XI), mentions an ʿ pole with the walking legs determinative (Gardiner Sign D54).⁴⁷⁹ This text was a personal letter that included instructions given to a carpenter to make the pole he was instructed to do.

The *m3wt*, , “carrying pole” occurs in the Ramesside period documents *Papyrus Anastasi IIIA* line 4,8⁴⁸⁰ and *P. Anastasi IV* lines 16,6-7.⁴⁸¹ These *m3wt* were made of mery-wood (*mry*) that was inlaid (*mh*) with the work of Kedy (*qdy*).

The term appears later on in *P. Anastasi IV* where the text discusses the creation of a splendid chariot for Pharaoh’s arrival (lines 16,10-11).⁴⁸² This text mentions two kinds of poles or rods. The chariot is said to have *m3wt* of Paher (*p3-hr*) and ʿ-poles of Iupa (*iwp3*) where Paher and Iupa are clearly toponyms probably indicating the origins of imported woods used to make these items. The text from lines 16,7 to 17,2 mentions four kinds of wood, so if other more exotic woods had been imported they may have been referred to by toponymic association. The fact

⁴⁷⁸ Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts: Series I: Literary Texts of the New Kingdom* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1911), 74,15-16.

⁴⁷⁹ Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 20,2.

⁴⁸⁰ *LEM* 33,11.

⁴⁸¹ *LEM* 53,1-4.

⁴⁸² *LEM* 53,7-9.

that both *m3wt* and 𐎎-poles appear together in this text suggests that they are materially different and both could be used as component parts for a chariot.

In the Deir el-Medina material, the term appears in *O. Louvre N. 698*, which concerns a man sending a message to his dead wife griping about how bad life is for him. The *m3wt* mentioned in this text is specifically related to carrying (*3tp*) of heavy loads.⁴⁸³ The function of this particular *m3wt* is quite clearly as a carrying pole.

O. Berlin P 12343 verso mentions a wood white-washed *tbt* costing eight deben along with 𐎎*fdt* box costing two deben,⁴⁸⁴ along with a wood coffin and a wood bed for 15 deben each (lines 2-3). The cost of the *tbt* seems to place its value beneath that of the *g3ti*.

3.2.24. *tnn* Chest?

tnn, 𐎎𐎎𐎎, is a hapax legomenon that only occurs in the furniture list of Hathor-Nefer-Hetep.⁴⁸⁵ The exact meaning of this word is uncertain, but *Wörterbuch* suggests that it is “ein Möbel (aus Ebenholz),” a kind of furniture made of ebony.⁴⁸⁶


⁴⁸³ *Heir. Ostr.* 80, rt 22.

⁴⁸⁴ *KRI* VI, 165,2.

⁴⁸⁵ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pt. I, 35.

⁴⁸⁶ *Wb.* V, 312,16.

3.2.25. *tȝy* Box

The *tȝy*, , is another term for box that appears in the Deir el-Medina texts. A homonym appears with the *hȝr* determinative (Gardiner Sign V19) that means a “basket”. However, if this latter form appears along with a material of construction and particularly a variety of wood, then this latter form can mean a “box” instead of a “basket.”

The word appears in *O. Berlin P 11260* verso 8 where a wood (*ht*) *tȝy* is valued in terms of grain.⁴⁸⁷ In *O. Berlin P 12343* verso 5, which notes the transfer of property given by Bak-en-werner to the draftsman Horsheri, a wood *tȝy* is exchanged and given the value of 2 deben.⁴⁸⁸ The word appears four times in a list of items (*O. Cairo CG 25365 + 25624*) that were being taken by various individuals perhaps to a festival.⁴⁸⁹ The word appears along with vocabulary for anointing oil (*mrȝ wrȝ*) and ritual loaves (*sš*). *O. Cairo CG 25362* mentions a wood *tȝy* chest among a set of furniture that includes a bed and *gȝwt* chest, which together were valued at 25 deben.⁴⁹⁰ *O. Cairo CG 25670*, I recto 6 mentions the term *tȝy* with *iw.f mȝ* (“which was filled”) making it plain that we are dealing with some kind of container.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁷ “Berlin P 11260,” in *Deir el Medine Online* [database on-line] (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München, 2002-2009, accessed 4 June 2014), identifier number 171.

⁴⁸⁸ *KRI* VI, 165,5-6.

⁴⁸⁹ *KRI* V, 516,8-517,1.

⁴⁹⁰ *KRI* VII, 377,13-14.

⁴⁹¹ Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, *Abydos*, pt. III, pl. LV.

O. Cairo CG 25677 verso lists property that was given to the citizeness Khaysheb⁴⁹² where *tȝy* occurs three times. The word appears as *ht n tȝy 2*, “wood for 2 chests” (line 12). The term *tȝy* in this particular instance has the swallow bird determinative (Gardiner Sign G36). This determinative also occurs in the instance of *tȝy* found on line 14, so it is probably not a scribal error. Line 13 in this text uses a the similar phrase, *ht n tȝ 2*, and is probably a minor textual variant of the preceding line.

As already mentioned from the *mhn* coffer, in *O. Gardiner 33* a *mhn* made of wood is among the items that were sold for 3 deben while a wood *tȝy* box was sold for 6 deben.⁴⁹³ The *tȝy* box also appears among other boxes and chests in *O. Petrie 15*.⁴⁹⁴ *O. Gardiner 8* mentions two *tȝy*, one priced at 10 and the other at 15, and an *ḥdt* coffer priced at 2.⁴⁹⁵ Černý and Gardiner claim that this ostraca was written with the same hand as *O. Petrie 48*.⁴⁹⁶ While there is some similarity between the two lists, *O. Gardiner 8* has more furniture items while *O. Petrie 48* includes unworked leather, making it likely that the same scribe wrote the two lists for two different clients.

⁴⁹² KRI IV, 176,6-7.





⁴⁹³ *Hier. Ostr.* 18,3,4-5.




⁴⁹⁴ *Hier. Ostr.* 26,5,3.

⁴⁹⁵ *Hier. Ostr.* 31,5,4-5 and 7.

⁴⁹⁶ *Hier. Ostr.*, p. 10.

3.2.26. *tst* Chest or Altar⁴⁹⁷

The *tst*, , appears in the furniture list of Hathor-nefer-hetep (late 3rd/early 4th Dynasty) and is identified as a “bundle(?)” or “cushion(?)” by Murray.⁴⁹⁸ The item appears in the list between *hnw* and *ʕdt* in a list of *s3d*-wood,   items. The list of furniture on the *Stela of Seker-Kha-Bau* mentions a *tst*⁴⁹⁹ where the pictographic determinative, , in the register below the phonetic complement lacks any immediately apparent distinguishing features.

This form of ritual furniture appears in PT 219 in a sequence where the king as Osiris is said to be the one who dwells in the god’s booth and who is in the censuring and who is in the *dbn* coffer, in the *tsti* chest,   , and in the *inqti* sack.⁵⁰⁰ Variants of the word in the Pyramid Texts include determinatives drawn as a box with a handle and legs and as a tall container with legs and cloth strip tie downs.⁵⁰¹

Wörterbuch identifies the *tst* as a “Kasten aus Holz”,⁵⁰² and suggests a connection with the verb, *ts*, meaning “to raise/lift up.” The determinatives associated with *tst* could refer to a variety of different kinds of chests that share a common feature of having legs. The idea of “lifting up” could be a reference to the

⁴⁹⁷ A portion of this section will be published as “The Significance of the Horns (𓏏𓏏) of Exodus 27:2: the Egyptian *tst* and Four-Horned Altars,” *Proceedings of the Exodus Consultation at the Lanier Theological Library, January 17-18, 2014*, forthcoming.

⁴⁹⁸ Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pt. I (London: Bernard Quartich, 1905), 35.

⁴⁹⁹ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pt. I, pl. II.


⁵⁰⁰ Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 49.

⁵⁰¹ Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, vol.1, line 184.

⁵⁰² *Wb.* V, 404,14, i.e., “wooden box.”

fact that this particular kind of furniture has legs used to keep the contents away from the ground.

In the scribal parody of the professions in *P. Sallier I*, *ts* has the association of “going up”, i.e., travelling.⁵⁰³ The same connotation is used with regard to horses in *P. Lansing* that are said to “go up” and down on errands.⁵⁰⁴ In another parody of the professions from *P. Lansing*, a scribe is extolled because “everyone seeks to exalt (*tst.tw.f*) him.”⁵⁰⁵

The idea of “exaltation” as a possible translation for *ts* raises the potential for a different interpretation for the *ts* from the *Biography of Washptah* especially when considered in a ritual context. The *tswt* mentioned in the *Biography of Washptah* (Dynasty 11) was said to concern *dbhw* [*n hmt hry-hbt*], “necessities [for the craft of the lector priest],”⁵⁰⁶ implying that this is furniture that had a ritual purpose. The determinative, , used with *tswt* in the biography is written three times and appears to have a corniced top with four legs. Brovarski maintained that the determinative shows a chest with a corniced lid and the four legs of the chest being displayed in a flattened profile.⁵⁰⁷ This use of a flattened profile showing the back legs would be very unusual and occurs with no other portrayal of chests.

It is not intuitive that the determinative used in the *Biography of Washptah* is a chest, and the religious idea of exaltation in the ancient near east was commonly associated with the presentation of offerings upon an altar, which opens up a

⁵⁰³ *P. Sallier I*, 7,4 (LEM 84, 13).

⁵⁰⁴ *P. Lansing*, 2,7 (LEM 101, 8-9).

⁵⁰⁵ *P. Lansing*, 10,9-10 (LEM 109, 10).

⁵⁰⁶ Bernhard Grdseloff, “Nouvelles données concernant la tente de purification,” *ASAE* 51 (1950), pl. I.

⁵⁰⁷ Brovarski, “Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature,” 41.

question regarding whether the interpretive gloss should be rendered as “to lift” or “to exalt.”

On the “Nefertity Colonnade” at Amarna that was reconstructed by Donald Redford, altars with eight legs (if we assume that legs are in matched pairs) and corniced tops appear in the reliefs.⁵⁰⁸ The fact that this altar has legs infers that this furnishing is not made of stone but of wood.

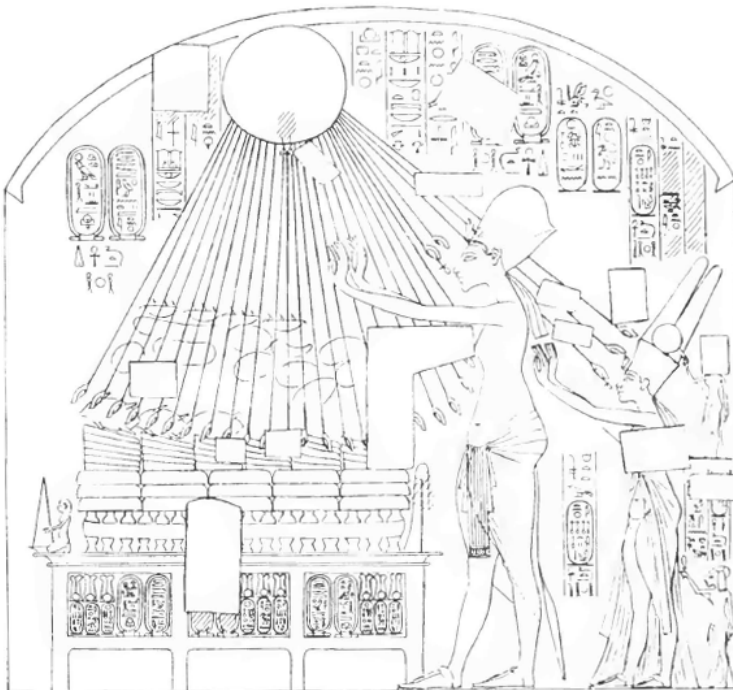



Figure 24. *Boundary Stela N* from Amarna with a relief of an altar with a corniced top and four legs (Davies, 1908, pl. XXXIII).

Given the range of determinatives that are used with *ṯst* when compared to the semantic range of *ṯs*, it is likely that this ritual furnishing may be a chest under some circumstances, or it could be a kind of altar in other contexts.

⁵⁰⁸ Donald B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), fig. 7.

3.2.27. *dbn* Round Topped Box or Coffin

The *dbn*, , is a word that is found in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, which *Wörterbuch* suggests means a “(runden) Kasten aus Holz.”⁵⁰⁹ From the tomb of Seker-Kha-Bau (Dynasty 3), a *dbn* appears directly after an offering list that includes *dsr*, *hnw*, *tst*, and *ʕdt* boxes.⁵¹⁰ The word appears on an offering list in the tomb of Rahotep (Dynasty 4).⁵¹¹ A panel from the top of a niche above a false door of the tomb of Irenessen (Dynasty 4) at Saqqara contains a list of offerings which includes a *dbn hn(w)*.⁵¹² Given that this is an offering list, each item is contained within a bounding box that organizes the list. The *dbn hn(w)* is a redundant term and not two chests because the term is found in a bounding box. The fact that the term is used in a redundant fashion makes it clear that the chest being referred to is a type of container or chest like a *hn(w)*. The word appears in the PT 219 referring to Osiris as the “one who is in the *dbn*.”

A fragment of papyrus dating to Dynasty 13 found in a tomb beneath the Ramesseum contains the phrase *dbn [n] d3b 30*, “thirty boxes [of] figs.”⁵¹³ This appears to be part of the food and drink offering that would have been interred with the deceased.

⁵⁰⁹ *Wb.* V, 437,16.

⁵¹⁰ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pt. I, pl. II.

⁵¹¹ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13.

⁵¹² *CG 01391* (Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, teil I [Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1937], 52).

⁵¹³ *P. Ramasseum E*, 9 (Roberto A. Díaz Hernández, “Der Ramesseumpapyrus E, Ein Ritualbuch für Bestattungen aus dem Mittleren Reich,” *Göttinger Miszellen Beihefte* Nr. 15 [2014] 22). Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41 (1955), 11 and pl. II col 9.

3.2.28. *dsr* Table Chest


The *dsr*, , is a word that is found on the list of furnishing on the *Stela of Seker-Kha-Bau*.⁵¹⁴ Given the specificity of the determinative, it is probably the kind of chest that has tall legs and resembles a small table. Several of these chests have been found in tombs and no other chest is quite like it. These chests appear in iconography <Cat. Cx0002 > and material culture finds <Cat. Cx0095, Cx0114>.



Figure 25. A *dsr* from the Tomb of Yuya and Thuyu (KV46) dating to the reign of Amenhotep III (Davis, 1907, pl. XXXVIII).

The etymology for this word comes from the same root that means “holy, sacred.”⁵¹⁵ However, the extended meaning of this lexeme includes a broad range of definitions that can mean “private”, “secluded”, “costly”, or “splendid”. Any or all of these meanings could be incorporated as lexical ancestors for the *dsr*-chest. Because the height of the legs implies stationary use, these chests appear to have a ritual but not a processional use.

⁵¹⁴ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pt. I, pl. II.

⁵¹⁵ Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2002), 324.

3.3. Sacred Barques

While sacred barques are known primarily from the rich iconography that is found at sites, such as Karnak, Luxor, and Medinet Habu, barques are accompanied by a diverse selection of lexicography.

3.3.1. Anatomy of a Sacred Barque

The combined study of ritual processional chests and barques has produced the following proposed lexicography of the sacred barque (Fig. 26). This proposed lexicography is a summary of the findings to date. In addition to these terms, there is also a possible *db3r n pt*, “(inner) shrine of heaven” (see p. 140), which would be a shrine inside the shrine cabinet that is not visible from the outside.

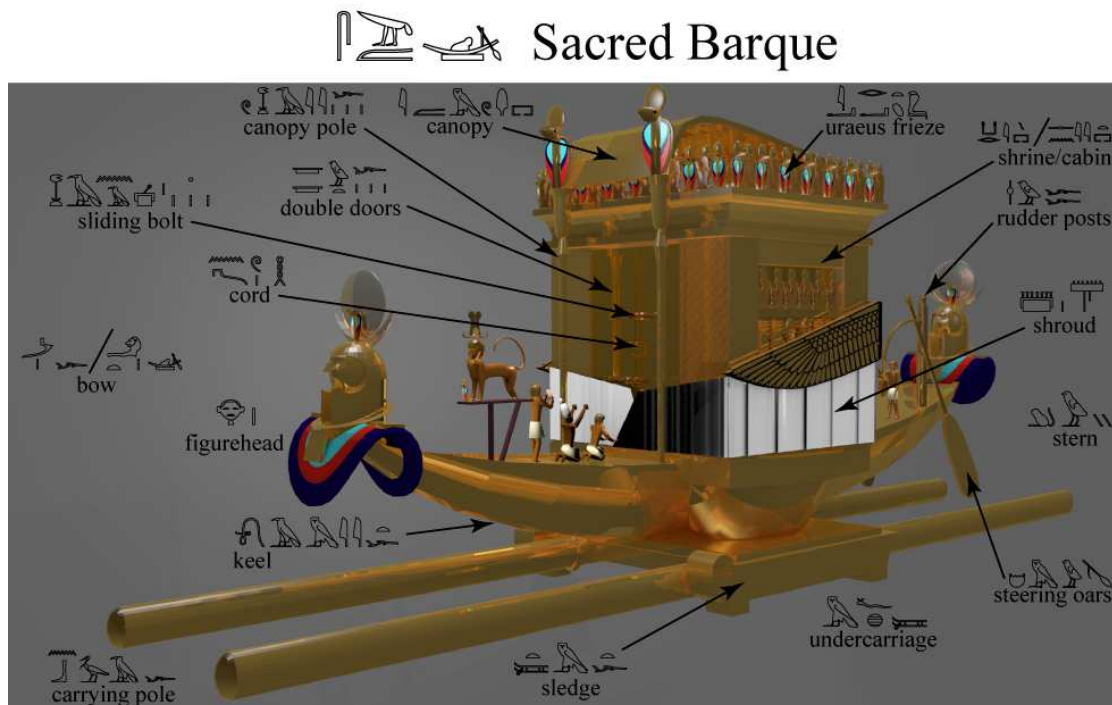



Figure 26: Lexicography of Sacred Barques (Illustration by Author)

3.3.2. *wi3* Boat or Barque

The *wi3*, , is the generic term for a boat, barge, or sacred barque. The term is extremely common and is not contested. However, a brief examination of the term focused upon divine barques could produce some residual findings that might be useful. It can refer to real boats⁵¹⁶ as well as the processional replicas. This is not to infer that *wi3* cannot have a ritual or divinizing use, only that the term *wi3* can be used with both real boats which are not RPF and processional replicas which are RPF. The chapel of Hathor at temple of Deir el-Bahari shows depictions of Hatshepsut's trading fleet that refers to these boats as *wi3 nsw*, "boats of the king."⁵¹⁷

The term is frequently used in respect to mythological or idealized barques,⁵¹⁸ e.g., Re's barque of [a million years] in the Karnak account of Seti I's campaign against the Hittites.⁵¹⁹ The *Contendings of Horus and Seth* (=P. Chester Beatty I recto) mentions Kheper being content in his barque (*wi3*).⁵²⁰ In a similarly idealized setting, the *Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri* mentions the barque of Kheper when it is set upon its pool.⁵²¹ However, the same text mentions *wi3* in a non-mythological use where Seti I inaugurates his temple and mentions the embellishing of the sacred barques with precious stones (*3wt šps*).⁵²²

⁵¹⁶ Wb. I, 271,15-272,2. Urk. IV, 2030,1.

⁵¹⁷ Urk. IV, 304,17 and 307,15. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, vol. IV, pl. LXXXIX and XCI.

⁵¹⁸ See p. 18 for a discussion on the use of the terms *idealized* and *mythological* as used in this thesis.

⁵¹⁹ KRI I, 19,12.

⁵²⁰ LES I 42,11.

⁵²¹ KRI I, 48,14.

⁵²² KRI I, 47,5.

The temple of Seti I at Qurna has an inscription on the portico dating to Ramesses II, which mentions the completion of his father's works including the completion of Seti's memorial temple and the barge (*wi3*) of the god. Ramesses II mentions the god in his sacred barque (*sšm.f*) resting in his sanctuary of electrum; and with a pole of electrum (*ʕ m dʕm*), the god crossed (*d3i*) in its own barge (*wi3* *ḥʕw*) during the Feast of the Valley (*ḥb.f n int*) to rest in his temple at the head of the kings.⁵²³ These details suggest that this barque belonged to the Amun-Re that was resident at Karnak and travelled to Qurna for which a few reliefs have survived <Cat. Bx0101, Bx0100>.

UC 16448 (discussed previously on p. 66) mentions a shrine (*k3r*) and a barque (*wi3*) or, possibly, a shrine of a barque (*k3r wi3*).⁵²⁴ In addition this text mentions the equipment that is associated with the barque; including, “a heavenly (inner) shrine” (*db3r pt*), double doors (*ʕ3wy*), carrying poles (*nb3w*), and a uraeus frieze (*iʕrt*).

The *Stela of Ikhnofret* (= *Berlin 1204*) mentions how Ikhnofret furnished the barque (*wi3*) of Osiris Hentyimentiu where Ikhnofret managed over (*hrp*) the work of the *nšmt*.⁵²⁵ The use of *wi3* here is most likely synonymous with the *nšmt* barque used throughout the stela. *CG 20712*, which is a “Stela of Montu” dating to Dynasty 11, mentions Montu the wab-priest, son of Insi, who carried (*f3y*) a processional barque (*wi3*) on behalf of the king (line 8). This textual evidence for carried barques predates most of the iconographic evidence. The earliest

⁵²³ *KRI* II, 636,4-5.



⁵²⁴ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, pl. XXIII vs 1-3.

⁵²⁵ *Berlin 1204*, 14 (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 71,7-8).

iconographic evidence for this kind of barque dates to Dynasty 18 <Cat. Bx0004>, while the earliest iconographic evidence of a barque on a plinth dates to Dynasty 12 <Cat. Bx0002>.


As previously mentioned (p.107), the cult images (*šmw*) were installed (*bs*) on standards (*i3t*) which are in the barque and shrines (*wi3 k3r*).⁵²⁶ The use of shrines alongside barques (*wi3*) seems to be a feature of the procession ritual.

3.3.3. *wrt* Barque Bier

The *wrt*,  , is a term for a barque that is found in a single text.

The *Stela of Ikhnofret* (= *Berlin 1204*) describes how Ikhnofret caused the god, i.e., the king, to enter into the barque bier (*wrt*).⁵²⁷

3.3.4. *wts-nfrw* Portable Barque Shrine

The *wts-nfrw*, , is a synonym for a “portable barque shrine”. The term appears to be much more restricted than *šm*, and only appears in a limited number of texts. The term is sometime translated as a “portable chapel-barque” from Breasted,⁵²⁸ but Jones translated it as a proper name for a sacred barque.⁵²⁹ The meaning appears to be derived from the word “to lift or carry” (*wts*).⁵³⁰ The term seems to be related to *wts-ntrw*, which is found in the inscription of the tomb of

⁵²⁶ Mariette, *Abydos: description des fouilles*, vol. 1, pl. 50a,23.

⁵²⁷ *P. Berlin 1204*, 22 (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 71,18).

⁵²⁸ James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. II (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1906), 38.

⁵²⁹ Dilwyn Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Nautical Titles and Terms* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988), 244.

⁵³⁰ *Wb.* I, 382,16-383,5.

Ptahshepses (Saqqara necropolis no. 48) (Dynasty 5).⁵³¹ This text mentions the *wts-nfrw* with the boat determinative being lifted up for all the festivals of his lord.⁵³²

Without doubt, this related term is a sacred barque but is a hapax legomenon.

The term appears in the stela of the Temple of Osiris of Thutmosis I. The monument makes mention of Thutmosis I making monuments to Osiris and the furnishing of his barque of eternity (*sšm.f nḥḥ*).⁵³³ He mentions that the *wts-nfrw* was made of silver (*ḥd*), gold (*nbw*), lapis (*ḥsbd*), black bronze (*ḥsmn km*), and every precious and noble stone (*ʿ3wt nbt špst*).⁵³⁴ We know that the shrine cabinet would have included components made of silver and gold, and thus it is possible that the *wts-nfrw* could have been a synonym for the shrine cabinet assembly; however, I doubt that there is a direct connection here between the *sšm* and the *wts-nfrw*. The *Stela of Ikhnofret* (= *Berlin 1204*) referenced a *wts n.s nfrw.f* following the reference to the barque bier (p. 141).⁵³⁵ The text reads *di.n.i wd.f r ḥnw wrt wts n.s nfrw.f*, “I caused him to enter into a barque bier and lifted its splendor for him.” This association with barques develops in the Ptolemaic period where it becomes synonymous with the barque of Horus at Edfu.⁵³⁶

The term appears on the Obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak on the west side of the base at line 4. The Lord of All (*nb r-dr*) was described as having the place of his

⁵³¹ PM III, 464.

⁵³² *Urk.* I, 53,6-7.

⁵³³ *Urk.* IV, 97,12-13.


⁵³⁴ *Urk.* IV, 98,1-2.

⁵³⁵ *Berlin 1204*, 21-22 (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 71,18-19).

⁵³⁶ Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon, A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1997), 273.

heart, the *wts-nfrw*.⁵³⁷ The black granite statues of Neferibre-Nofer mentions the deceased being responsible for renewing the *wts-nfirt* in precious metal (*nfr nbw*).⁵³⁸

3.3.5. *nšmt* Barque of Osiris

The *nšmt*, , is the name of the divine barque of Osiris.⁵³⁹ The Abydos stela Sehetepibre with the *Loyalist Instruction* (ca. Amenemmes III) mentions the king directing the work of making the *nšmt* for the Lord of Abydos,⁵⁴⁰ which is an epithet for Osiris. *P. Harris I* mentions the great *nšmt* of Osiris being like the morning barque (*mʿndt*) which carried the *itn*, “solar disk”.⁵⁴¹ The *nšmt* barque continues as a form of RPF into the Roman Period.⁵⁴²

The *Stela of Ikhernofret* (= *Berlin 1204*) has a similar mention where Ikhernofret “managed over” (*hrp*) the work of the *nšmt*.⁵⁴³ The same line of the *Stela of Ikhernofret* (line 14)⁵⁴⁴ mentions further that he fashioned the *snty* of the barque, and later he equipped the barque called “truly arising is the Lord of Abydos” with a *snty* (line 19).⁵⁴⁵ The determinative used with *snty* is the chapel sign (Gardiner Sign O21). *Wörterbuch* translates this as “Kajüte,”⁵⁴⁶ i.e., a cabin. This text appears to be the only place where this term is found making its identification

⁵³⁷ LD III, 24[d][w],4.

⁵³⁸ M. Georges Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 16 (1894), 47,9.

⁵³⁹ Martyn Smith, *Religion, Culture, and Sacred Space* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 54.

⁵⁴⁰ Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 68,6.

⁵⁴¹ *P. Harris I*, 58,11 (Erichsen, 68,5).

⁵⁴² Christina Riggs, *Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), fig. 65.

⁵⁴³ *Berlin 1204*, 14 (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 71,7-8).


⁵⁴⁴ *Berlin 1204*, 14 (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 71,8).

⁵⁴⁵ *Berlin 1204*, 19 (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 71,15).

⁵⁴⁶ *Wb.* IV, 179,16.

tenuous. However, the term *snyt*, , also occurs meaning “cabin” on line 30 of the *Victory Stela of Piankhy*.⁵⁴⁷

The term *nšmt* appears in the *Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri* dating to his fourth regnal year. The decree mentions the great neshmet barque (*nšmt wrt*) that is launched upon the lake to transport the “father of his monument.”⁵⁴⁸ While many references to the *nšmt* barque refer to the mythological sailing of the barque, e.g. *P. Anastasi I*, 3,5, this particular reference probably notes a ritual sailing of a *nšmt* barge that may have transported the cult image of Osiris. The image of the resurrected Osiris being ferried in the *nšmt* is a popular theme and is found in *P. Anastasi IV*.⁵⁴⁹

The *Stela of Thutmosis I* found at Abydos describes the *nšmt* barge. The text says that the *nšmt* of cedar (*š*) was placed upon a dais (*htyw*) and its bow (*ḥ3t*) and its stern (*phwy*) were made of electrum (*dꜥm*).⁵⁵⁰ The text goes on to say that the purpose for the barge was to be rowed for the heb-sed festival in the district of Peqer.⁵⁵¹ The word for bow (*ḥ3t*) is well-established, but this is the first instance where the bow is contrasted with its opposite, *phwy*, . The lexeme for *phwy* meaning “der Hintere” or “das Ende” is also well-established.⁵⁵² A second example where it is used to mean the stern of a boat comes from the *Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II* where the king rows the stern (*phwy*) of his falcon boat (*bik.f*).⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁷ *Urk.* III, 16,15.

⁵⁴⁸ *KRI* I, 48,1.

⁵⁴⁹ *P. Anastasi IV*, 4,6 (*LEM* 38,16).

⁵⁵⁰ *Urk.* IV, 98,13-15.


⁵⁵¹ *Urk.* IV, 98,16-17.

⁵⁵² *Wb.* I, 535,14.

⁵⁵³ Alexandre Varille, “La grande stèle d’Aménophis II à Giza,” *BIFAO* 41 (1942), pl. 1,13.

Besides the *nšmt* that was a variety of barge, the *nšmt* probably had a ritual processional form that was not used for sailing upon water. The Stela of Intef (CG 20516), dating to Senwosret III, mentions the deceased giving carrying poles (ꜥ) to the *nšmt* barque for its journey to the sacred West.

3.3.6. *hnhnw* Sacred Barque

The *hnhnw*, , is a term used for the barques used for the transport of gods. The term appears primarily in the coffin texts. CT 1024 mentions the term,⁵⁵⁴ although the text is fragmentary and the significance of the term in this text is uncertain.

In CT 487 the term is used in reference to the hippo god (*nḥḥ*) where it says that her heart is pleased at the navigating (*sqdd*) of the barque (*hnhnw*).⁵⁵⁵ In CT 438 the *hnhnw* barque is said to transverse (*phrt*) [as it travels];⁵⁵⁶ a parallel text within spell 438 replaces the barque with a *k3r* shrine; however, the variant replaces the verb *phr* with *iti* (“to take”).⁵⁵⁷

The term appears in CT 423 stating that the deceased will be raised (*sꜥr*) from the *hnhnw* barque to the *wi3* barque of Kheper.⁵⁵⁸ The verb (*sꜥr*) is interesting because it presents connotations of “to ascend, make rise.”⁵⁵⁹ The inference seems to be that the *hnhnw* is the vessel of interment, i.e., a barque bier, while the *wi3* barque is a mythological barque. A similar narrative occurs in CT 173 where the

⁵⁵⁴ CT 1024 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. VII, 245,l).

⁵⁵⁵ CT 487 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. VI, 66,t).

⁵⁵⁶ CT 438 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. V, 290,k).

⁵⁵⁷ CT 438 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. V, 290,h-i).


⁵⁵⁸ CT 423 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. V, 262,a-b).

⁵⁵⁹ Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 214.

deceased utters that he has taken those who are in their caves (*tpḥw*) and caused them to circle the *hnhnw* barque.⁵⁶⁰

CT 153 mentions the term three times. The first instance is a vicarious spell where the deceased says *ink tm pri m wr hnhnw*, “I am Atum who goes as the great one of the *hnhnw* barque.”⁵⁶¹ In the second instance, the deceased is offered the bread and beer of the *hnhnw* barque, and the third states that the deceased is raised (*sꜥr*) from the *hnhnw* to the two barques (*wiḥwy*) of Kheper.⁵⁶² CT 143 repeats the themes of the *hnhnw* being a receptacle for food offerings and the sending of the *hnhnw* barque of Kheper.⁵⁶³

3.3.7. *ḥnw* Barque of Sokar

The *ḥnw* (not to be confused with *hnw* “chest”), , is the name of the style of divine barque associated with the Sokar cult. Ramesses III’s speech to Amun-Re at Medinet Habu mentions the *ḥnw* barque of Ptah-Sokar.⁵⁶⁴ The term for the *ḥnw* barque may be related to the “*ḥn*-bird” that causes the flight (*spꜣ.k*) of the deceased that is mentioned in PT 669.⁵⁶⁵

The festival of Sokar and the *ḥnw* barque appears prominently at Medinet Habu. The performance aspects of the Sokar festival commonly associated with the *ḥnw* appear to involve the king in procession with the Sokar barque with the purpose

⁵⁶⁰ CT 173 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. III, 56,e-f).

⁵⁶¹ CT 153 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 261,e).

⁵⁶² CT 153 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 263,c).

⁵⁶³ CT 143 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 176,c).

⁵⁶⁴ Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Calendar, The “Slaughterhouse,” and Minor Records of Ramses III*, pl. 138,29.

⁵⁶⁵ PT 669 (Sethe 1970b-c).

of granting eternity to the king (lines 24-25).⁵⁶⁶ The Sokar festival eventually becomes so strongly linked to the resurrection myth of Osiris to the extent that the procession of the *ḥnw* is celebrated as that of the composite god Sokar-Osiris. During the archaic period and early dynasties, the Sokar barque was associated with other archaic forms of barques such as the Maaty barque and the *bik* barque of the king, for which the only iconography appears on the Palermo Stone.⁵⁶⁷

PT 645 and its variant PT 647 connects the *ḥnw* barque with Sokar. PT 645 mentions the lifting of the *ḥnw* and the exalting of the god “in your name of Sokar”.⁵⁶⁸ PT 647 similarly mentions the exalting of the *ḥnw* in the name of Sokar.⁵⁶⁹ The determinative for *ḥnw*-barque (Gardiner Sign G10) appears with both the *ḥnw* and the name of Sokar. It is during the Old Kingdom that Sokar as a fertility deity becomes closely associated with Osiris and Ptah. The association of the latter to Sokar is understandable given the Memphite origins of both cults.

The term appears on the back side of the Dynasty 18 statue of Nakht-Min (CG 00779). The text mentions the house of the Sokar barque (*pr ḥnw*).⁵⁷⁰ PT 214 mentions the term in regards to the portion of a spell where the bonds upon the arms of Horus are broken in name of dweller of the Sokar barque (*ḥnw*).⁵⁷¹ PT 364 has the deceased being lifted up by Horus in the name of the *ḥnw* and the name of Sokar.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁶ G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen, "The Festival of Sokar," *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 11.

⁵⁶⁷ G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen, 14-15.


⁵⁶⁸ PT 645 (Sethe 1824a-b).




⁵⁶⁹ PT 647 (Sethe 1826a-b).

⁵⁷⁰ *Urk.* IV, 1909,8.

⁵⁷¹ PT 214 (Sethe 138c).

⁵⁷² PT 364 (Sethe 620b).

A feature of many kinds of processional and ritual furnishings is the sledge. The sledge appears in reliefs of sacred barques as well as ritual furnishings that have a non-processional purpose, such as, bronze braziers. Spell 1 from the Book of the Dead in *P. Milbank* (= OIM 10486) mentions the *ḥnw* barque being placed upon a *mḥ*.⁵⁷³ The *mḥ*, , is the sledge and undercarriage that barques are placed upon. The phrase, *ḥnw ḥr mḥ*, also appears in CT 314 as the duty of one in priestly service.⁵⁷⁴ In the case of the Sokar barque where the barque is made of woven reeds (see p. 224) and had to be remade more often than the wood barques of other deities, the ritual to place of the *ḥnw* upon the *mḥ* would have occurred more regularly than with say the *sšm*. The sledge and carriage of the Sokar barque being made of wood may have been the most permanent piece of the apparatus and thus would have seen repeated service.

Another word that appears for sledge is *tmt*,  and ⁵⁷⁵ The word is found in the *Book of the Dead* and is associated with the barque of Sokar (*ḥnw*) where the barque was placed upon a sledge (*tmst*).⁵⁷⁶ A separate word, *wnš*, , also appears to be used for a sledge as one of the items bequeathed in the

⁵⁷³ Thomas George Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960) pl. LII,13.

⁵⁷⁴ CT 314 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. IV, 95,p).

⁵⁷⁵ Wb. V, 301,3.

⁵⁷⁶ BD, 129 (=OIM 10486) line 730 (Thomas George Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960], pl. LXXXIII).

Will of Naunakhte.⁵⁷⁷ *Wörterbuch* posits that *wnš* is the word for a sledge with a jackal or wolf head that is signified by the Gardiner Sign U16.⁵⁷⁸

The purpose of sledges is to drag loads that were of significant weight. They appear to have been used in quarry and mining operations to move stone blocks that could weigh several tons. Few dedicated sledges have been recovered from archaeological sites. A sledge made of cedar wood was found in a deposit south of the Pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht.⁵⁷⁹ The sledge is 1.73 meters long and 0.78 meters wide and has two cross beams (Fig. 27). A 4.2 meter long and 0.8 meter

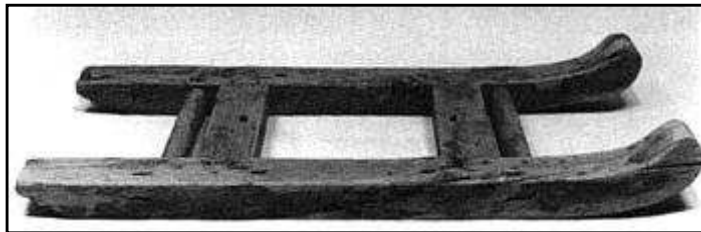


Figure 27. Cedar sledge from Senwosret I deposit near Lisht (MMA no. 24.1.84).

wide sledge, the largest one found, was buried near the pyramid of Senwosret III at Dashur.⁵⁸⁰

The sledge was by no means an exclusive method of transport. An barque or chest could have both a sledge and carrying poles. While the *ḥsmn ḥ-n-st3* had sledge-runners according to the oblation reliefs of Thutmose III at Karnak,⁵⁸¹ this in no way negates the iconographic accounts that showed the *ḥnw* barques with both a

⁵⁷⁷ Jaroslav Černý, "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents," *JEA* 31 (1945), 38. See, pl. X vs 7-8.

⁵⁷⁸ *Wb.* I, 325,2.

⁵⁷⁹ William Christopher Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A background for the study of the Egyptian antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol.1 (New York: Harper, 1953), 193, fig. 118.

⁵⁸⁰ Jacques de Morgan, *Fouilles A Dahchour: Mars-Juin 1894* (Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen, 1895), 83. CG 04928 (George A. Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats* [Cairo: L'Institut Français D'Archeologie Orientale, 1913], 88-89).

⁵⁸¹ *Urk.* IV, 639.

sledge and poles <Cat. Bx0074> and even some *hnw* chests with both runners and poles, e.g., the Anubis shrine in Tutankhamun's tomb (Fig. 28).




Figure 28. Anubis shrine of Tutankhamun with both sledge runners and carrying poles, Carter No. 261 (Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1118).

In CT 398 we see boat building as a metaphor regarding the re-assembly of the body of Osiris. It is a text that begins with the idea that the raw timber needs to be cut out and assembled with Sokar, lord of the *hnw* barque.⁵⁸² This particular coffin text has a vast coverage of shipbuilding terminology only some of which we will address; however, it is important to recognize that the terms of shipbuilding may not commute to that of sacred barques since sacred barques are models that have been modified to accommodate a cult statue and as such are not fully-articulated boats; for example, true boats have sails and masts unlike the sacred barques that have neither. Only a small portion of the vocabulary in this coffin text can be determined and the meaning of the remainder requires further texts and study; however, the meaning of terminology outside of an application to RPF is beyond the scope of this thesis and only those terms directly applicable to sacred

⁵⁸² CT 398 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. V, 124,c).

barques will be addressed. CT 398 line 129a mentions the use of *nwh*,

, ropes that are used to tie (*q3s*) the *hnw* barque.⁵⁸³ While the typical



sacred barque has no ropes, the Sokar barque has several ropes connected to it.





Ropes that can be identified from the iconography include a rope used to pull the barque, rope that acts as netting to secure the hull to the undercarriage, and rope to bind the thatching used to construct the barque (Fig. 29). The latter two options are the most likely candidates for the *nwh* of the *hnw*.




Figure 29. Close-up of the ropes used to tie together the thatching of the Sokar barque at the Medinet Habu. The twisted pattern of the ropes is clearly visible (Nelson, 1940, pl. 222).

⁵⁸³ CT 398 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. V, 129,a).

CT 398 line 125a mentions the *m3*, , “bow” as the lead (*h3t*) of Hat (*h3t*), Lord of the West. This verse is poetically interesting since *h3t*, , is also a synonym for the bow of a ship.⁵⁸⁴ A scene from the tomb of Paser (TT 106) has *hwt-hr m h3t*, “Hathor at the bow” with an image of Hathor at the front end of a mythological *nšmt* barque.⁵⁸⁵

Line 126a mentions a *w3myt*, , which is described as the backbone of the ship. In all likelihood this represents the keel of the ship. Line 127a mentions the *wḏwy*, , which are probably the posts supporting the rudders of the ship and etymologically related to the word *wḏ* meaning “Schiffe auf eine Reise senden.”⁵⁸⁶ Line 139b mentions the *hmw*, , and , which *Wörterbuch* identifies as “Steuerruder,” i.e., a steering rudder.⁵⁸⁷ The term often appears with oar determinatives (Gardiner Signs P8 and P10).

CT 398 line 145 mentions term *t3rt*, , as the “cabin” for Nut, the one who equips.⁵⁸⁸ Glanville’s suggestion that the term means a “cabin” became the generally accepted view;⁵⁸⁹ however, Schulman has challenged that view translating it as the forecastle on a ship.⁵⁹⁰ The term can have the barque on a

⁵⁸⁴ *P. Anastasi IV*, 8,7 (*LEM* 43,7).

⁵⁸⁵ *KRI* I, 295,5. J. Gardner Wilkinson (and Samuel Birch), *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Rev. ed., vol. III (London: John Murray, 1878), pl. XXXVIII.

⁵⁸⁶ *Wb.* I, 397,19.

⁵⁸⁷ *Wb.* III, 80, 16.





⁵⁸⁸ CT 398 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. V, 145,b).


⁵⁸⁹ S. R. K. Glanville, “Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056 (Part II),” *ZAS* 68 (1932), 20-22.

⁵⁹⁰ Alan R. Schulman, “ (*t3rt*): Cabin, Forecastle, Inclosed Structure,” *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 1 (1979), 31.

plinth determinative, which is similar to and became conflated with Gardiner Sign V19, and the house determinative (Gardiner Sign O1). This term, however, is rare at best. However, *k3r* (see p. 100) and *snyt* (see *nšmt* below) are the only terms that have been established for the cabin of a ritual processional barque.

3.3.8. *sšm/sšm-ḥw* Sacred Barque

The *sšm*,  (or commonly as the phrase *sšm-ḥw*,   )

is a term for a processional barque. The term appears with either a boat determinative or a , which is a simplified representation of a barque resting on a plinth. The term is often translated as “idol” or “portable image,”⁵⁹¹ even though Legrain tied it to processional barques in his analysis.⁵⁹² Eaton asserted that the term can refer to “divine images” or “processional barques,”⁵⁹³ echoing the opinions of Karlshausen and Ockinga.⁵⁹⁴

The term is often treated in modern dictionaries as a compound noun ignoring the *ḥ* or treating it as silent.⁵⁹⁵ But it is clear that the phrase is derived from

⁵⁹¹ For example, Wb. VI, 291,11-13 and Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated & Annotated*, vol. 1 (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1993), 97.

⁵⁹² Legrain, *BIFAO* 13 (1917), 4-5.

⁵⁹³ Eaton, “The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos,” 138.

⁵⁹⁴ Boyo G. Ockinga, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 41-42.

⁵⁹⁵ *Wörterbuch* transliterates the term *sšm-w* [Wb. IV, 291,16]. Faulkner transliterated the term *sšmw* [Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 248]. Lesko only acknowledged the second lexeme with the fan determinative, which he transliterates as *sšmw* [Leonard H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Providence, RI: B. C. Scribe Publications, 2002), 81]. Hannig transliterated the term as *sšm-ḥw* [Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 830-831].

two lexemes where the first lexical form is derived from *sšm* meaning to “führen, leiten”,⁵⁹⁶ i.e., “to lead/conduct” and the second lexical form is derived from *hw* meaning to “schützen, behüten”,⁵⁹⁷ i.e., “to protect” perhaps with the connotation of “setting apart” or “sanctified” which broaches the idea of being “holy.”⁵⁹⁸ It is possible that the adjective *hw* may be lexically related to word for fan (*hw*) as the fan logogram (Gardiner Sign S37) is found in *P. Harris I*, 11,1; however, this and other passages makes it doubtful that the word in this context means a “fan.”⁵⁹⁹ The lexeme, *hw*, appears to be in adjectival position, so even though it is treated as a compound noun in the dictionaries, the pronominal suffix appears after the first lexeme, e.g., *sšm.f-hw*.⁶⁰⁰ A comparable text appears on the back side of the Dynasty 18 statue of Nakht-Min (*CG 00779*), which describes the deceased becoming acquainted with its *sšm.s dsrt*, “sacred barque.”⁶⁰¹ If this term refers to the divine barques, the parent lexemes would make sense since the sacred barques lead the religious processions and because these barques were used to protect the gods within them and sanctify their sacred space with an array of religious iconography making them holy.

⁵⁹⁶ *Wb.* IV, 285, 7.

⁵⁹⁷ *Wb.* III, 244, 10.

⁵⁹⁸ James Karl Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt: The Term DSR, with special Reference to Dynasties I-XX* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiberg Schweiz Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 1985), 204.

⁵⁹⁹ Perhaps, the symbol of the fan as it often held by priests in ritual procession became a symbol synonymous with holiness.

⁶⁰⁰ *KRI* I, 116, 4.

⁶⁰¹ *Urk.* IV, 1909, 6-7.

The term appears in the sanctuary of the Chapel of Ramesses I at Qurna, dating to Seti I. The text describes Seti I making for his father a sanctuary for his barque (*sšm*).⁶⁰² The barque of Seti I is described as being made for his memorial temple and fashioned of electrum (*dʿm*), which was carried (*wts*) following the Lord of the Gods in the Festival of the Valley.⁶⁰³ The Festival of the Valley was one of the processional festivals that involved the barque of Amun-Re, which the barque of the king would have followed.

The term, *sšm*, also appears in the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos in room VI of the first Octostyle Hall. The inscription said that Ramesses II made his monument, making for his father a temple (*pr wr*) for the noble barque (*sšm šps*).⁶⁰⁴

P. Harris I mentions the *sšm-ḥw* of the cult images (*twt ibw*) that were served (*b3k*) by the chiefs, standard-bearers, administrators, and the people of the land.⁶⁰⁵ The passage infers that the gods of Thebes were receiving service by all the people of Egypt while on procession. Another reference to the *sšm-ḥw* in *P. Harris I* mentions the restoration of a *sšm-ḥw* with good gold (*nbw nfr*), silver (*ḥd*), lapis (*ḥsbd*), turquoise (*mḥkt*), and every noble stone (*ʿ3t nb špsy*).⁶⁰⁶ The orthography of the term has a determinative that had a flabellum with a maat feather, which is probably nothing more than a variant of Gardiner Sign S37.

⁶⁰² *KRI I*, 115,16.

⁶⁰³ *KRI I*, 116,4.

⁶⁰⁴ *KRI II*, 546,12.

⁶⁰⁵ *P. Harris I*, 11,1 (Erichsen, 14,1).

⁶⁰⁶ *P. Harris I*, 46,7-8 (Erichsen, 51,11-13).

The Festal Calendar at the Abydos of Ramesses II has the term within a temple of alabaster and granite with two door leaves of beaten copper and electrum.⁶⁰⁷ Within the same temple, the term appears in an offering decree made by Ramesses II for Osiris and for the sacred barque (*sšm-hw*) of Ramesses II and for the gods that are within the temple.⁶⁰⁸ The term is found in the festival court on the interior south wall where an inscription mentions the barque (*sšm*) of the king following the Ennead, which rests within his temple.⁶⁰⁹ The offering decree mentions the barque (*sšm*) of Osiris resting within the temple,⁶¹⁰ which is interesting given that the barque of Osiris is normally called a *nšmt*.

The Festal Calendar at Medinet Habu mentions nineteen occurrences of the *sšm-hw* of Ramesses III, including three festival days of Opet.⁶¹¹ The offering lists mention the total offerings given for the festivals of his father, Amun-Re and the conclave of gods and his *sšm-hw* of Ramesses III for the festival of Opet.⁶¹²

In the West Chapel of Khonsu at Luxor Temple, the jambs of the façade mention the barque (*sšm-hw*) of Khonsu that is decorated with electrum (*dʿm*), lapis (*hsbd*), and precious stones (*ʿ3t*), and placed upon four carrying poles (*nb3w*).⁶¹³ The block statue of Roma-Roy (ca. Merneptah) mentions that his children who are priests (*hṃw-nṯr*) are shouldering (*rmn*) the *sšm*.⁶¹⁴ Carrying RPF on the shoulders

⁶⁰⁷ KRI II, 514,9-11.

⁶⁰⁸ KRI II, 515,9-10.

⁶⁰⁹ KRI II, 532,2-3.

⁶¹⁰ KRI II, 532,8.

⁶¹¹ Nelson, *The Calendar, The "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III*, pl. 156,842-857.



⁶¹² Nelson, *The Calendar, The "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III*, pl. 156,782, 156,802, 156,821, and 156,876.

⁶¹³ KRI II, 628,6.

⁶¹⁴ KRI IV, 130,6.

implies that the *sšm* was a ritual barque as opposed to a small shrine that would have been carried at waist height, e.g., a *k3r* shrine.

The Hypostyle Hall inscriptions at Karnak dating to Seti I mentions a *sšm* barque that held a cult image (*twr*) for which Seti I constructed a barge (*wi3*) of cedar (*ʕ*) to transport it.⁶¹⁵ The Karnak text of reign of Taharqo (Dynasty 25) mentions the barque of Khonsu (*sšmw n ḥnsw*).⁶¹⁶ Taharqo also states that he improved the barque of Amun (*sšm-ḥw n imn*).⁶¹⁷ The connection between Karnak and Khonsu makes it clear that the *sšm-ḥw* is the sacred barques of the gods. The barques in this text are carried by *nb3* poles that are decorated in electrum and true stones.⁶¹⁸

Aside from carrying poles, many sacred barques also had a canopy supported by vertical poles. The *wh3*, , is a pole used in conjunction with a *imw/im3w/i3mw*, , “tent”. These terms seem to refer to the vertical poles and canopy combination that would have used around some portable shrine cabinets including those shrine cabinets that are found on some, but not all, sacred barques.

Both terms appear together in the *Annals of Thutmosis III* where they appear as booty. The *wh3* appears as a wood item of mery-wood that is worked with silver (*ḥd*) and is said to belong to a *im3w*.⁶¹⁹ The two terms are found later in the annals regarding the booty from Retennu where they are worked in bronze (*hsmn*).⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁵ KRI I, 207,16-208,2.

⁶¹⁶ Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 42,14.

⁶¹⁷ Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 42,19.

⁶¹⁸ Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 42,17.



⁶¹⁹ *Urk.* IV, 664,7.

⁶²⁰ *Urk.* IV, 705,13-14.




The Temple of Ptah at Karnak has an inscription marking the restoration of the temple by Seti I, which has a related term meaning “columns.” The inscription mentions that the columns (*wh3w*) and double doors of the temple had fallen into disrepair.⁶²¹ This cognate is also found at the Tomb of Khnumhotep II (no. 3 at Beni Hasan), dating to Dynasty 12, where the deceased states that he built a “columned hall” (*wh3*) that had been a field, erecting its “columns” (*wh3*).⁶²² It is conceivable that a *wh3* could refer to any standing pole or column.



Figure 30. Sacred barque of Ramesses II from the Ramesseum with a *ssm-hw* label (photo by author). The barque is being carried by three ranks of priests.




The *ssm* barques, besides having carrying poles and occasionally canopies, also had two other features: figureheads and viels. The *hrw*,  | , means “faces” in general but with regards to sacred barques and barges refers to the “figurehead”

⁶²¹ *Urk.* IV, 765,13.

⁶²² Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pt. I (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1893), pl. XXVI, 194-196. Percy E. Newberry, “The word    *kha*, a ‘*dîwân*’ or ‘office,’” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 22 (1900), 99-103.

specifically. The transliteration and translation of this particular word requires special consideration. Pierre Grandet translates this hieroglyphic group as “têtes”.⁶²³

The term appears in *P. Harris I* where a barge named *Userhat*, probably the barge of Amun-Re, measuring 130 cubits in length is decked out in gold and precious stones.⁶²⁴ The ram’s (*šfyt*) head figureheads (*hrw*) on front and back were embellished (*m3wd*) with uraeus (*iʿrt*) and atefs (*3tf*). The great cabin (*pr-wr ʿ3*) on the barge had an interior finished in fine gold (*nb nfr*) and inlaid (*mḥ*) with every kind of stone like a temple (*mi ḥwt*). This text shows that the figureheads were on both front and back as is found in the iconographic examples, e.g., <Cat. Bx0092>.

A description of the barge of Amun-Re from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak dating to Seti I mentions figureheads *hrw* () that are decorated in gold (*nbw*) and lapis (*ḥsbd*) having the insignia of Re on his forehead.⁶²⁵

Several figureheads from sacred barques are extant scattered among museums worldwide. One is kept at the British Museum, which is a bronze figurehead of the barque of Re dating to the reign of Ahmose II (Dynasty 26) <Cat. Zx0008>. Another is kept at the Liverpool World Museum (Fig. 31) which is mislabeled as “Isis with shield of protection (aegis).” The item is in fact the bronze figurehead for the barque of Amonet <Cat. Zx0007> (see pp. 255 for further discussion of the barque of Amonet). The crown has the distinctive uraeus coronet that was emblematic of Amonet; the Hathor horns and solar disk are not preserved. The item dates between Dynasties 26 and 30. A third figurehead of “Neith” dating

⁶²³ Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 1, 230.


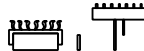
⁶²⁴ *P. Harris I*, 7,5-6 (Erichsen, 8,12-16).

⁶²⁵ *KRI I*, 207,4.

to Dynasty 26 is located today at the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (Accession# H 1550). At least two figureheads are held by the Rosicrusian Museum in San Jose, California. The Walters Art Museum has a gold figurehead of Sekhmet dating to the Third Intermediate Period. These “aegis” have a mount point behind the “shield” that proves that the intent is to be fastened to a post-like fixture facing forward and not to be worn like a pectoral amulet nor would they have been placed upon a standard because standard icons are shown in profile. A complete catalog and study of these objects is an area which deserves a full thesis in its own right; however, a complete study of these objects is outside of the temporal scope of this thesis.



Figure 31. Bronze figurehead of Amonet from the Liverpool World Museum (photo by author).

The *tbyt*, , refers to a “veil” or less commonly a “shrine.” The term appears frequently with the clothing determinative (Gardiner Sign S28). BD 142 mentions the “shrouded one” (*tbyty*) as an epithet of Osiris.⁶²⁶ The word is probably related to *tbyt*, , which *Wörterbuch* suggests may be an “Art

⁶²⁶ P. Boulaq 21, 45-46 (BD 142).

Vorhang,”⁶²⁷ i.e., a kind of curtain. The spell is a long list of epithets of Osiris; the purpose of which appears to grant the deceased freedom to go forth by day by empowering him through the invocation of the places that Osiris was empowered to travel. CT 44 mentions bathing with Re, perhaps a purification ritual, and donning clean linen that allows refuge with “him who lives in his shroud” (*hnꜥ ꜥnh m t3yt.f*).⁶²⁸

P. BM 10053 verso mentions a *t3yt* of Nefertum that was cut up by the carpenter Pasen for cedar (*ꜥš*) boards.⁶²⁹ In this particular case, the term probably refers to a type of shrine.

In *P. Harris I*, the term appears in reference to the city of Memphis where the barque sanctuary (*st wrt*)⁶³⁰ was exalted like the royal palace (*pr-wr*) beneath a “veil of gold” (*t3yt n nbw*) like the doors of heaven.⁶³¹ Grandet offers “un vantail(?) d’or” as a translation;⁶³² however, gold leafing here is unlikely given its fragility. Given the numerous of reliefs showing veils being used with barques, e.g., <Cat. Bx0089, Bx0007, Bx0149>, a more likely possibility is that the “veil of gold” is gold thread or gold wrapped thread, which has been woven into a linen veil that was wrapped around a barque shrine cabinet.

The term (*sšm-hw*) appears as a label with the sacred barque of Ramesses II (Fig. 30) at the Ramesseum <Cat. Bx0104>. From this there appears to be little doubt that the term can mean ritual processional barque. While it is possible that the

⁶²⁷ *Wb.* V, 232,13.

⁶²⁸ CT 44 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 188,a).

⁶²⁹ Peet, pl. XXI, 4,11.

⁶³⁰ Brovarski, *JEA* 62 (1976), 72.

⁶³¹ *P. Harris I*, 45,7 (Erichsen, 50,15-16).

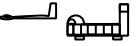
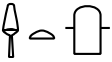
⁶³² Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I*, vol. 1, 286.

term may also refer to a cult image, the evidence for this seems thin. The *sšm-hw* demonstrates the full range of RPF qualities, not the least of which includes poles, religious symbolism, and acting as a container as well as participating regularly in religious processions. It is also a consecrated object suitable for carrying cult images.

3.4. Palanquin Thrones

For all its religious potency as a religious and symbolic object, the sacred barque became conflated with the symbolism of the portable throne (p. 292). Nevertheless, thrones imported their own lexicography as their portable counterparts become pregnant with religious and military significance.

3.4.1. ϵ and *h̄ts* Palanquin/Litter

The ϵ , , and *h̄ts*, , are rare terms for a “palanquin” that appears to be used primarily in the Old Kingdom. Each term appears with the substantival “great one” (*wr*) and does not appear apart from with this substantival adjective. Both terms appear in the Pyramid Texts. PT 81 mentions in a hymn of awakening the king, the reception of the women (*šrwt*) of the *wr- ϵ* .⁶³³ Both terms appear in PT 438 where the king is proclaimed to be immune from death.


A *wr- ϵ* is shown in the tomb of Sonb <Cat. Tx0010>. The determinative in the Sonb text shows the carriage of the palanquin with a person riding within it as well as a full relief of Sonb riding in his palanquin. This does show that there can be

⁶³³ PT 81 (Sethe 56c).

differences between the determinative and the real object, even when the artist styles the determinative to reflect the true nature of the object.

The king is said to be “the great one of the litter (*wr-ḥts*) and the great one of the palanquin (*wr-ḥ*) of Hentyimentiu.”⁶³⁴ The *wr-ḥ* is used in PT 467 where the deceased claims to have not made this king to dance (*ih3bw*) as the great one of the palanquin.⁶³⁵ It is not clear from the texts what difference exists between *wr-ḥ* and *wr-ḥts*. The Old Kingdom lexical form of *wr-ḥts* eventually becomes *wr-ḥst* as a term no longer understood. These palanquins may have been portable religious shrines for certain Old Kingdom cult statues and therefore are likely to be RPF.

3.4.2. *ḥwdt* Palanquin

The *ḥwdt*, , is a term for a “palanquin” that is used during the Old Kingdom. The biographical inscriptions of Washptah in *CG 01570* mentions a *ḥwdt* being made.⁶³⁶ In lines 2-3 of a different biographical stela from Giza, the deceased mentions that the king procured a palanquin (*ḥwdt*) for the deceased who had been *mnḥt*, “ill, suffering”⁶³⁷ so he could supervise the works of the king.⁶³⁸ The tomb of Zau at Deir el Gebrâwi (Dynasty 6) mentions a *ḥwdt* of ebony (*hbny*).⁶³⁹ The scene that accompanies this text shows a worker holding an adze working on the carriage portion of a palanquin without carrying poles (Fig. 32).

⁶³⁴ PT 438 (Sethe 811a).

⁶³⁵ PT 467 (Sethe 892c).

⁶³⁶ *Urk.* I, 43,15.

⁶³⁷ *Wb.* II, 66,20.

⁶³⁸ Hans Goedicke, “A Fragment of a Biographical Inscription of the Old Kingdom,” *JEA* 45 (1959), pl. II.

⁶³⁹ Davies, *Rock Tombs at Deir el Gebrâwi*, pt. II, pl. X.

The determinative (Gardiner Sign Q1) may suggest that the *hwdt* was a symbol of authority but there is no sense that it was used for ritual purposes.



Figure 32. A relief of a craftsman working on a *hwdt* palanquin carriage in the tomb of Zau (Davies, 1902, part II, pl. X).


3.4.3. *sbnr* Palanquin

The *sbnr*, , is possibly a “palanquin” based upon the determinative.

The term is a hapax legomenon and appears in only in the Old Kingdom text, *Stela of Hetepherenptah*.⁶⁴⁰ The text makes mention of an offering made to the king having made for him a *sbnr*.

⁶⁴⁰ *Urk.* I, 231,14.


3.4.4. *sp3* Palanquin

The *sp3*, , is another Old Kingdom term for a “palanquin.”

PT 571 mentions “he who is in the palanquin (*sp3*)” who provides for the king.⁶⁴¹

PT 570 similarly mentions Nekhbet commanding he who is in the palanquin to provide for the king,⁶⁴² thereby implying a ritual and processional use.

3.4.5. *qniw* Palanquin or Chair

The *qniw*, , is the general term for a “palanquin” or “throne”,

and may extend to a mundane term meaning nothing more than a “chair.” The term appears fairly frequently in the Deir el-Medina material. Janssen acknowledges that the lexical basis for the term comes from the term meaning “to embrace”⁶⁴³ but suggests that the chairs used by commoners at Deir el-Medina were restricted to either stools or chairs having backs but without arms.⁶⁴⁴

From texts already mentioned previously in detail, the term appears frequently. *O. Gardiner 134* verso mentions the term along with other furnishings, which includes a table, a door, and šgr chest.⁶⁴⁵ With *O. Cairo CG 25584*, which is a property list of the Foreman of the Craftmen Khay spanning over four years, the term appears in three of the four years.⁶⁴⁶ *UC 16448* in its discussion of the trade of the carpenter mentions *qniw* among the items to be taught by the teacher.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴¹ PT 571 (Sethe 1470a).

⁶⁴² PT 570 (Sethe 1452c).

⁶⁴³ *Wb.* V, 50,13-16.

⁶⁴⁴ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 187-189.

⁶⁴⁵ *KRI* VII, 345,11-13.

⁶⁴⁶ *KRI* V, 470,6, 8, and 10.

⁶⁴⁷ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, pl. XXIII vs 3.

O. Gardiner 44 as part of the payment made by the Medjay, Mentumose, to the scribe Hori reads *ḥt qniw 1 iw t3y.f mryt ḥr ʿt.s*, “one wood palanquin which has its ‘meryt’ upon its pole.”⁶⁴⁸ An *ʿt*, “a limb” is often used as a designation for a pole (see *ʿ*-poles, p. 128); however, a *mryt* is much less used with regards to palanquins. Janssen interprets the *mryt* as the upright back support and the *ʿt* as the poles of the back of the chair; thereby, claiming proof that the term means a “chair.”⁶⁴⁹ Admittedly some of the prices seem low for a palanquin given other New Kingdom commodity prices, e.g., the 3 *sniw* paid in *O. Gardiner 103* verso; however, other prices are commensurate with the highest valued good, e.g., the 30 deben paid in *O. Cairo 23800*, II, 4-5. While it would seem incredible that a worker would paid 3 *sniw* (roughly 15 deben) for a stool, it would also be equally incredulous to think that someone would pay more for a chair than for a bed, which is typically priced between 12 and 25 deben.⁶⁵⁰

O. Gardiner 103, a late 19/early Dynasty 20 text, is a record of payment to Khnummose by Kasa and mentions a price for a *qniw* which is 3 *sniw*.⁶⁵¹ A bed (*ḥti*) purchased in the same text appears to be priced at 1 sack (*ḥ3r*) of grain, but the interruption of a line break makes this reading uncertain. *O. DeM 195* records the payment to Pentaweret by the people of the town and another for a list of crafted items.⁶⁵² A wood (*ḥt*) *qniw* is mentioned on line 2 which was done for 15 deben.

⁶⁴⁸ *Hier. Ostr.* 24,1,3-4.

⁶⁴⁹ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 189.

⁶⁵⁰ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 181.

⁶⁵¹ *KRI V*, 585,15.

⁶⁵² *O. DeM 195*, rt 2 (*KRI VI*, 166,9-10).

O. CG 25800, which dates to mid-Dynasty 20, lists property that was given as a bribe to the administrators to secure a promotion for a boy.⁶⁵³ The scribe Hor-Shery was given a wood *qniw* valued at 11 deben (line 1:4). The chief of the workmen, In-Her-Khau was given a *ht qniw šriw* *ʿt.f 1* valued at 30 deben.⁶⁵⁴ McDowell translates this as a “wooden chair with a low seat.”⁶⁵⁵ *Wörterbuch* defines the term *šri* when used as an adjective to mean “klein sein, klein”⁶⁵⁶ and is related to the Coptic term *ⲱⲣⲉ* meaning “small, young.” The term does not appear to be a noun as such and lacks the wood determinative, which would indicate that it would be a kind of furniture and lacks a numerical determinative found with individual items in these lists. More likely the phrase should be translated as “one small wooden palanquin (or chair) and its poles.” In line 2:6-7, the same Hor-Shery, mentioned previously, received one large folding chair (*ht isbw ʿ3 1*) that was done for 30 deben and a footstool (*hdmt rdwy*).

O. Gardiner 66, dating to mid Dynasty 20, mentions the term twice. The text is a payment for a *qniw* by the workers of the crew. The scribe Mossu paid 10 deben for a *qniw* and an additional 2 deben for a *qniw* of wood.⁶⁵⁷ Given the low monetary values involved, the purchase of a palanquin is unlikely. *O. DeM 146* mentions a pair of *qniw* sold for 30 deben and a bed (*hʿti*) for 20 deben.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵³ *KRI VI*, 257,9.

⁶⁵⁴ *KRI VI*, 257,11-12.

⁶⁵⁵ McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt*, 230.

⁶⁵⁶ *Wb.* IV, 524-525.

⁶⁵⁷ *KRI VI*, 256,7-8.

⁶⁵⁸ *KRI VI*, 664,12-13.

While these are probably fairly modest chairs, the term may describe elaborate thrones in other contexts. The *Annals of Thutmosis III* that mentions the booty taken from Qadesh describes six *qniw* and footstools (*hdm*) that are made of ivory, ebony, sesnedjem wood, and worked with gold.⁶⁵⁹ From the ninth campaign of *Annals* (year 34), the war booty that is brought back includes wooden goods in a chest (*ḥwt ʕšw n pgʕw*) and mentions a palanquin (*qniw*) with inlays (*mḥ*) of costly stones (*ʕʕt*).⁶⁶⁰ *P. Bologna 1094* contains a letter from the female musician of Amun, Shery-re, to the master of the priests of the palanquin (*qniw*) of his majesty.⁶⁶¹ Gardiner places the date of *P. Bologna 1094* to sometime after the 8th year of Merneptah.⁶⁶² The iconographic portrayal of priests carrying the palanquins of kings seems to be introduced during the reign of Ramesses II <Cat. Tx0036>.

Nevertheless, the term can also be used to mean a palanquin. *P. Chester Beatty II* is an allegorical text of the late Ramesside period that speaks of Truth (*mʕʕt*) seeking to avenge his father against the falsehood of his uncle, Falsehood (*grg*). Truth as a child is taken by his father and is given a *qniw* that carries him (*ḥr.f*).⁶⁶³ *P. Westcar* mentions Prince Hordedef being carried on a palanquin (*qniw*) of ebony that had *nbʕ* poles of sesnedjem-wood (*ssndm*) that were “beschlagen sind” (*gnḥ*)⁶⁶⁴ with gold.⁶⁶⁵ This last reference clearly refers to a palanquin as opposed to a simple chair.

⁶⁵⁹ *Urk.* IV, 666,16-17.

⁶⁶⁰ *Urk.* IV, 705,10-14.

⁶⁶¹ *P. Bologna 1094*, 7,2 (*LEM* 6,15-16).



⁶⁶² *LEM*, xiii.

⁶⁶³ *P. Chester Beatty II*, 6,3 (*LESt* 33,8).

⁶⁶⁴ *Wb.* V, 176,9.

⁶⁶⁵ *P. Westcar* 7,13 (Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*, 9,3).

3.4.6. *khss* Palanquin

The *khss*, , is a term for “palanquin” that occurs in a small number of texts. The term appears among the Kahun papyri. *UC 32179* (=Lot VI.10) verso mentions a *khss* on a list of other wood items.⁶⁶⁶ The term appears in *CG 20623*, a Middle Kingdom stela found at Edfu, which mentions a *khss* as part of a offering formula. In the formula, Horus Behdety comes by five oxen in a *khss*.⁶⁶⁷ Finally, *qhst*, , which *Wörterbuch* suggests is a synonym,⁶⁶⁸ appears in the Mammisi at Edfu in reference to being made a palanquin for the king (*bity*).⁶⁶⁹

Summary

This study of the lexicography of RPF has examined over sixty terms dealing with the lexicography of chests, barques, and palanquins, and a systematic lexicography for the components of divine barques has been posited. The study has produced improved readings for several terms: *gs-pr*, *st̓*, *šfdw*, *dsr*, *k̓r*, *g̓t̓i*, *wpwt*, *h̓ns*, *hnhnw*, *tst*, and *s̓m-h̓w*. Physical objects from the archaeological record were connected to their lexical terms; including, the Anubis shrine (*hnw inpw*), figureheads (*hrw*), table chests (*dsr*), cord seals (*nwh*), and sliding bolt locks (*h̓ns*). Some of chests/boxes were shown to have purpose that could be both religious and processional: *pr-n-st̓*, *šfdw*, *tbt*, *hn-n-st̓*, *hn(w)*, *pds*, *mrt*, *st̓t*, *sh̓dt*, *k̓r*, *mst̓pt*, and

⁶⁶⁶ Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Kahun Papyri: Accounts*, 27, col. 2, line 3.

⁶⁶⁷ *CG 20623*, bottom register, 3 (H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, teil II [Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1908], 263).

⁶⁶⁸ *Wb.* V, 138,9.

⁶⁶⁹ Émile Chassinat, *Le mammisi d'Edfou* (Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1910), 150.

qniw (shrine). Seven terms for chests demonstrated ritual but not processional uses: *ʿfdt*, *(m)htm(t)*, *šqr/šgr*, *dbn*, *dsr*, *gʒ/gʒwt*, and *gʒti/gt*. A few terms even demonstrated other lexical readings, e.g., the altar (*tst*). The seven terms for barques and five of the terms for palanquins also showed qualities that were religious and processional.

When a meaning of a term has been challenged by this thesis, more often than not, this has occurred as the result of a provisional meaning that was used for convenience and has never since been questioned. Sometimes a meaning is ascribed based on a reasonable deduction from a limited set of evidence. The results of this thesis should remind us that our understanding of Egyptian lexicography needs to be constantly reassessed because of the continuous publication of new material.

CHAPTER 4

ICONOGRAPHY OF RPF

While lexicographical studies of RPF (ritual processional furniture) afford us an abundance of data on one level, often no close correspondence correlates the words with the iconographic evidence. As a result the approach to iconography must include some examples that are not RPF *per se* but could provide us with evidence that may help narrow or eliminate possibilities. With chests for example, the boundaries between RPF and mortuary furniture are often blurred while with sacred barques the boundaries are usually clear.

The data that has been gathered for this study includes iconography that is derived primarily from private and royal tombs and temples with some examples from stelae and material culture finds. The time frame for this data set is generally restricted from the Old Kingdom until the end of the New Kingdom; however, examples from the Late Period until the Ptolemaic period have been consulted as needed when they help to explain earlier practices, although the Late Period and thereafter have their own eccentricities that do not correspond to the religious practices of earlier periods. Likewise, some chests and boxes do not form part of this study because they lack relevance to the specific topic of RPF (see p. 8 for definition of RPF). Canopic chests are a broad category of chest, broad enough to

warrant their own study; however, they are not RPF and will not be included in the data set as they do not have a repeated or regular processional use. Yet the form of the chest used for the transportation of canopic jars is RPF, so some overlap will be inevitable.

The approach that will be taken with regards to the data will depend somewhat upon the class of furniture being addressed. In the case of ritual chests where the data set is diverse, the data will be organized according to types synchronically. This is in contrast to sacred barques where the data set is large but there is not a lot of variation between examples from the similar cultic traditions. This class will be organized first according to geographic locale then diachronically according to specific cultic tradition in order to best analyze the development of iconography and symbolism. Since the data set for palanquin thrones is sparse spanning over a long period of time, the data will be treated diachronically.

4.1. Perspective and Iconography

As the majority of material presented in this chapter revolves around ancient iconography, certain issues inevitably arise concerning the interpretation of iconography. These issues generally relate to how the modern mind coming from an innate cultural understanding of perspectival artwork interprets ancient forms of information transfer.

Before discussing issues surrounding two dimensional perspective in Egyptian art, we need to discuss how media and culture creates perceptual distortion. Contrary to what is commonly assumed, people in the 21st century also

possess perceptual distortion based upon culture. A modern observer looking at a photograph taken with a 50mm lens will presume that the photograph is a true representation of reality without even acknowledging the distortion caused by the lens.⁶⁷⁰ Classically trained artists see this distortion when a portrait is painted from a photograph versus a live sitting; a photograph done with a 50mm lens tends to widen the photographic subject. So why is this distortion not noticed by the untrained observer? Photographs contain visual cues that hook into the viewer's framework of reality. Moreover, the 50mm lens is the general purpose lens that has been supplied with virtually every 35mm SLR camera since the 1920s. Photographs done with the 50mm lens are so common that people accept and perceive them as having great accuracy.⁶⁷¹ This perception of normality is a kind of social contract between the viewer and the photographer (or artist).⁶⁷²

These social contracts and shifts in perceptual normality are a common feature of art history. During the renaissance, "normal" included one and two-point perspective and a true foreground and background, but all objects in the scene are in focus regardless of distance from the observer. The shift from the renaissance to neoclassicism is marked by recessing the subject into shadow while playing close attention to focus in order to simulate distance. The techniques of the neoclassical period rendered the techniques of the renaissance passé and obsolete, i.e., society no

⁶⁷⁰ A. V. Kraiskii and T. V. Mironova, "Use of correlation processing of images for determination of distortions and color aberrations of photographic cameras and lenses," *Measurement Techniques* 54 (2011), 511-516.

⁶⁷¹ Martin S. Banks, Emily A. Cooper, and Elise A. Piazza, "Camera Focal Length and the Perception of Pictures," *Ecological Psychology* 26 (2014), 31-32.

⁶⁷² Amanda Boetzkes, "Phenomenology and Interpretation Beyond the Flesh," *Art History* 32 (2009), 707.

longer accepted the techniques of the renaissance as properly representing normality.

Having peeled back some of the layers of perceptual distortion that are encountered in art history, we can now engage Egyptian art on the basis of its social contract. We can broach the perspective of two dimensional art not then as a primitive form of art but as a form of social convention that the artists have adapted to solve specific rendering problems. The Egyptians, as a rule, lack point perspective, true fore and backgrounds, and complex shading, preferring to have their flat media rendered on a single projection plane. In the truest sense, Egyptian art is not two dimensional, which is the naïve “viewing” of a scene in two dimensions; instead objects portrayed in Egyptian art are arranged and “projected” onto a single two-dimensional plane in such a way as to show the true nature of the items.⁶⁷³ This is a level of pictorial sophistication beyond naïve two dimensional viewing. The use of a single projection plane was sufficiently robust to accommodate complex information transfer, e.g., horizontal layering could be used to show several ranks of priests walking in parallel without the one in front blotting out the images of those behind him. This then provided a form of image distortion that remained within the confines of what the Egyptians expected and considered normal.

⁶⁷³ Emma Brunner-Traut, “Aspective,” *Principles of Egyptian Art*, trans. and ed. John Baines (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1986), 425.

Projection planes may have arisen as a result of choices in media and supports as they tend to play a large role in artistic outcomes. During the Old Kingdom, statuary followed conventions where standing poses had limbs that were rigidly conformed to the mass of the stone block being used so as to prevent limbs from being broken off due to the fragility of the stone. The use of wood in statuary in the Middle Kingdom allowed sculptors to express forms of statuary that were more in line with idealized poses as opposed to changing those poses to conform to the limitations of the medium. While this is somewhat due to the survivability of wood in the archaeological record, the point is that as a medium the types of stone available to the Egyptians for statuary necessarily limited the artistic outcomes.

Single projection planes are also more common when the purpose is communication through illustration per Foucault.⁶⁷⁴ The purpose of illustration is to communicate visual information as opposed to decorate. Even today blueprints are normally rendered in two dimensions because this method most succinctly displays the information that is trying to be rendered. Unlike the assumption that presumes that a single projection plane is a sign of child-like primitivism, the Egyptians may have preferred a single projection plane because it is an efficient form of information transfer. Early Egyptian work, e.g., cosmetic palettes, being carved in stone such as slate, granite, and basalt made rendering designs and information in anything beyond low relief difficult. This would require the most expedient form of relating pictographic information while still being acceptable to aesthetic good

⁶⁷⁴ Catherine M. Soussloff, "Michel Foucault and the Point of Painting," *Art History* 32 (2009), 736-737.

sense. What may have started off as expediency could have formed a paradigm of artistic sensibility.

Once a standard repertoire is acceptable and established, there is little desire to deviate from what is considered to be normal. In fact deviating from what is normal usually elicits strong corrective incentives to maintain the paradigm through conventional inertia. Innovation under these circumstances then takes on small, subtle changes that work within the accepted convention.

While it is outside the scope of this thesis to evaluate how the Egyptian material is treated by art criticism, suffice it to say that the perspective outlined above is consistent with an “art materials” as opposed to a “historicist” critical perspective.⁶⁷⁵ The latter views art in terms of gradualism whereas the former views art in terms of revolution. The core idea behind “art materials” theory is that art exhibits rapid change when there are either changes in art regards⁶⁷⁶ or technological changes in art materials, which is at its core in opposition to relational theories of art.⁶⁷⁷ The social contract is then the result of viewer perception and needs combined with the limitations of art materials combined with the individual artist’s ability to work within those limitations.

⁶⁷⁵ Tristan Weddigen, “Materiality,” *Art Bulletin* 95 (2013), 34.

⁶⁷⁶ Noël Carroll, “History and the Philosophy of Art,” *Journal of the Philosophy of History* 5 (2011), 377. A *regard* in art criticism is defined as an imperative that the artist deliberately attempts to provoke, particularly a state of mind or a mood, e.g., a sense of the sacred.

⁶⁷⁷ Alex Neill and Aaron Ridley, “Relational Theories of Art: the History of an Error,” *British Journal of Aesthetics* 52 (2012), 141-151.

When dealing with Egyptian iconography, there are three components that go into that work: the text, the illustration, and the cultural context, i.e., the social contract. Texts often accompany illustration although it is not always clear how they relate to the iconography. This lack of clarity exists because we lack the cultural context of the intended viewer, which is the assumptions and attitudes that are carried in the heads of the ancient peoples. This lack of cultural context does present the modern archaeologist with potential interpretive issues.

By means of a real world example, there are some interpretive issues that are encountered with the iconography of chests. One such issue is identification where there is confusion concerning whether the item being shown is a box or a square mat projected upon the two dimensional space. When a mat is shown like this, it can appear as a rectangle.⁶⁷⁸ Yet there are features that a chest might display that a flat mat would lack such as legs or a corniced rim, e.g., <Cat. Cx0076>.

Another interpretive issue is that of determining a rectangular basket which is made of wicker and used in field work as opposed to more permanent wooden chests that could have been used as furniture. Context helps to determine baskets, and as it so happens, these baskets are often shown lacking details and are often indistinguishable iconographically from a simple rectangle. Thus, iconography that appears as simple parallelograms are generally excluded from consideration in this thesis as they are unlikely to have a bearing upon RPF.

⁶⁷⁸ Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 168.

There is also potential for confusion between biers and coffins especially the box coffins of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.⁶⁷⁹ Biers have the potential to be reused for several burials as they do not seem to be interred with the deceased and are thus part of the class of RPF; however, coffins are intended to be used only once. Certainty as to whether one is dealing with a bier or a coffin cannot be completely assured; however, dating of the burial may provide some assistance in differentiating the two kinds of furnishing.

Iconographic confusion can also exist between offering tables that are not processional furniture and certain kinds of chests that may have had a secondary function as tables, e.g., <Cat. Cx0095>. We will not take great pains to identify these kinds of chests except when obvious as their function as processional furnishing is probably quite limited. It is clear from the design of these chests that they were generally intended to be stationary.

With regards to perspective and furniture specifically, furnishings can be portrayed from a variety of points of view depending upon what that artist wanted to show. Chests can be portrayed either in profile, e.g. <Cat. Cx0028>, or end-on , <Cat. Cx0137, lower left>. Barques are typically shown in profile with the figurehead collars turned to face the observer, whereas the collars would be oriented perpendicular to the hull. Some barques figureheads from early Dynasty 18 are shown without the collars; however, as time progresses the collar becomes a heavily

⁶⁷⁹ Steven Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs: The Culture of Life and Death* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 142-143.

exaggerated feature. And while ordinary chairs are sometimes in a three quarter or flattened profile,⁶⁸⁰ sacred thrones are normally shown in profile.

While the process of iconographic interpretation is somewhat subjective, the interpretive hermeneutic of this work will presume a methodology consistent with a native idealism in art perspective. That is we will presume that the ancient artist is trying to communicate within the limits of how the ancients understood perspective without the prejudice of thinking that what is shown was illustrated in the same manner as how we see perspective.

4.2. Ritual Chests

The available iconographic data for ritual chests is the median sample set of the three classes of RPF, even though chests and boxes have the most diverse vocabulary. However, little of this iconography is labeled. As already discussed in the lexicographical study, some of the categories of chests, e.g., *hn(w)* chests, are sufficiently broad as to include both processional and non-processional types of furniture.

4.2.1. Offering and Storage Chests

RPF had its beginnings as mundane practical items that were elevated to a religious purpose through the use of analogical thinking. The use of religious ritual is an act that that engages what is perceived to be reality in the world of the

⁶⁸⁰ Boris De Rachewiltz, *The Rock Tomb of IRW-K3-PTH* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), pl. xxii.

divine.⁶⁸¹ Analogical thinking as it pertains to magical objects takes everyday items, e.g., pots, doors, knives, and boxes, and mythologizes and idealizes them in such a way that their use becomes fit for participation in the drama of the gods.⁶⁸²

In the case of ritual chests, the nascent object is idealized from the ordinary storage chest. The source of these ordinary storage chests were those chests used in daily life <Cat. Cx0102>. From the tomb of Menna (TT 69) (Dynasty 18), we see a wooden chest being used by a scribe for writing implements <Cat. Cx0082>. From the tomb of Amenemopet (TT 276) (Dynasty 18), Nubians are shown bringing tribute of baskets of gold rings and chests <Cat. Cx0086>. The earliest iconographic example of storage chests for grave goods being used comes from the tomb of Hesyre (ca. Djoser, Dynasty 3) <Cat. Cx0001, Cx0002>, yet invariably storage chests in tombs would have occurred even earlier.

Besides chests that were used for utilitarian storage <Cat. Cx0001>, chests that are used primarily as furniture <Cat. Cx0002> were also extant. This latter kind of chest is essentially a chest with tall legs that would have opened from the top. These chests would have served as both a storage container and as a table. The iconography found in the tomb of Hesyre (Fig. 33) is comparable to Dynasty 18 chests found in the tombs of Yuya and Thuyu (KV46) (Fig. 34) <Cat. Cx0095> and Tutankhamun (Fig. 35) <Cat. Cx0114>. Despite their use as ritual objects, these chest tables would not have been practical as processional items as their awkwardness seems to imply that they were intended for stationary use.

⁶⁸¹ Averbeck, 767.

⁶⁸² Averbeck, 758.

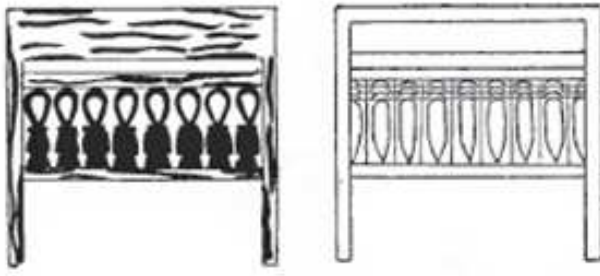


Figure 33. Chests with tall legs from the tomb of Hesy (Quibell, 1913, pl. XVIII).



Figure 34. Chests with tall legs and a hinged lid from the tomb of Yuya and Thuyu (Davis, 1907, pl. XXXVIII).



Figure 35. A chest table from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1307).

Chests that were used for explicitly ritual purposes can be seen alongside solely utilitarian storage chests from Dynasty 5 <Cat. Cx0015>. The transition from utilitarian chests used for ritual purposes to chests with an expressed ritual purpose was not a linear development but appears to be the result of parallel lines of development. This development began as utilitarian chests needed to store goods

needed for the afterlife, e.g., <Cat. Cx0021>. Clean linen garments for the dead were idealized for the appearance of the dead before the gods much in the same way that priests donned clean linens after ritual purification,⁶⁸³ and chests used to store these linens <Cat. Cx0007> were likewise idealized.

The storage chest as a utilitarian container of mere chattel eventually gave way to chests that were idealized as religious objects in their own right; these storage chests that were used for mortuary purposes became idealized into forms that resembled shrines during the Dynasty 6 <Cat. Cx0023>.⁶⁸⁴ Examples of early ritual chests are the stone cabinets that were used to hold wooden votive statues <Cat. Cx0025> found at the Giza Necropolis. Chests for ritual use continued through the history of Egypt well into the Roman period <Cat. Zx0009>. On the Hadrian Gate at the Temple of Philae, which dates to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Osiris-Sokar is portrayed carrying a chest for ritual purposes. Yet the boundary between a ritual chest used for offerings and a storage chest is vague at best. Nevertheless, addressing these chests can provide a good starting point for discussing other forms of chests.

Further obscuring the issue of identification is that many varieties of ritual chests are non-processional but are constructed in the shape of shrines and other ritual forms. An example of this comes from the Tomb of Sennufer (TT 96) where

⁶⁸³ Reinhard Grieshammer, "Reinheit, kultische," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, bd. 5, eds. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 213.

⁶⁸⁴ Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, 20. See <Cat. Cx0066> for a New Kingdom example of a chest with a shrine-shaped lid.

a pair of servants is shown carrying two different chests (Fig. 36) both of which have lids in the shape of the roofs of shrine cabinets.⁶⁸⁵ This may be a form of



Figure 36. Two servants carrying two kinds of offering chests with shrine lids (Virey, 1898, fig. 3).

miniaturization of larger shrine cabinets to more compact forms. Many of the chests that are used for grave goods, e.g., <Cat. Cx0039>, lack these shrine-shaped lids and are little more than storage boxes. Similar jewelry chests with shrine-shaped lids were recovered from the tomb of Sat-Hathor-Ant (Dynasty 12), which were made with gold, silver, and bronze metal components and ebony with ivory inlays <Cat. Cx0063>. From the mastaba of Mereruka (ca. Teti), the owner of the tomb is portrayed sitting upon a bed and beneath him are his goods, which includes chests with flat lids <Cat. Cx0044>.⁶⁸⁶ In the mastaba of Mereri (late Dynasty 6), a relief displays a dwarf carrying a simplified chest (Fig. 37) similar to that depicted in the mastaba of Mereruka.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁵ Philippe Virey, "Les tombe des vignes a Thèbes ou tombe de Sennofri, directeur des greniers, des troupeaux et des jardins D'Ammon," *RecTrav* 20 (1898), fig. 3.

⁶⁸⁶ Jean Capart, *Memphis: à l'ombre des pyramides* (Brussels: Vromant & Co., 1930), fig. 354.

⁶⁸⁷ Zaki Y. Saad, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara 1942-43," *ASAE* 43 (1943), fig. XXXIX [B].



Figure 37. Dwarf carrying chest from Mastaba of Merari (Saad, 1943, fig. XXXIX [B]).

Similar diversity of chest design is found in the burial chamber of Ihy (Dynasty 6), which was usurped by Seshseshet Idut, near the Pyramid of Unis. While these chests lack the shrine-shaped lids, they may have been constructed with a variety of inlays for cosmetic purposes.⁶⁸⁸ Colour paintings from the tomb of Huy (TT 54) (Dynasty 18) at Thebes show funerary chests (Fig. 38) with shrine-shaped lids that are painted in multiple colour tones <Cat. Cx0084>, suggesting that a variety of materials may have been used in their construction. Inlays could have included imported materials such as ebony or ivory, which have been part of trade goods since predynastic times, or were made of faience or could have even been made of other kinds of wood and possibly painted with plaster and pigments. A chest similar to those portrayed in the tomb of Ihy was reconstructed from fragments of wood and inlays made of ivory and faience (Fig. 39) that were found in the mastaba of Perin (Dynasty 4 or 5) at Saqqara <Cat. Cx0003>.

⁶⁸⁸ R. Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout* (Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1935), pl. XXIII [B].

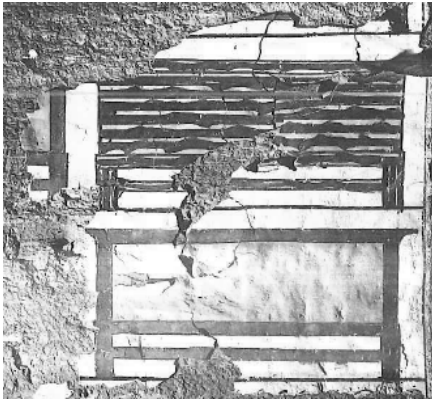


Figure 38. Two chests form the burial chamber of Ihy (Macramallah, 1935, pl. XXIII [B]).



Figure 39. Reconstruction of a chest from the mastaba of Perim (O'Neill, 1999, 418).

Much of the evidence for this kind of decoration comes from the boxes and chests that were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62). One of the chests from KV 62 was constructed from ivory, ebony, and red wood <Cat. Cx0107>. The use of ebony was a part of trade goods mentioned in the Punt Reliefs at Deir el-Bahari.⁶⁸⁹ Another chest recovered from KV 62 was made of ebony and painted white <Cat. Cx0110>. The practice of painting a box with plaster then painting elaborate scenes over the plaster is also extant <Cat. Cx0106>. Furthermore, a small box found in KV 62 demonstrated the use of red wood veneer <Cat. Cx0104>.

⁶⁸⁹ *Urk.* IV, 329,5.

Moreover, storage chests could be used to store items that were used in daily life that may have been ritualized in order to be enjoyed by the deceased in the afterlife. The tomb of Queen Hetepheres (Dynasty 4) contained several items that were used in her life that were repackaged for use in the afterlife. The curtains for a bed canopy were stored in a long wooden box that was covered in gold mountings <Cat. Cx0004>. This box was probably made specifically for interment as a storage box for the curtains as means of taking a mundane item and preparing it ritually for the afterlife. Boxes containing pottery, ointment jars, jewelry, and linens were also found among the grave goods <Cat. Cx0005 to Cx0010>.

A New Kingdom example of a linen chest with a peaked lid was recovered from the family tomb of Senenmut (TT 71) <Cat. Cx0071>. The use of storage chests for grave goods occurs throughout the history of dynastic Egypt. Storage boxes for offerings were not restricted to a mortuary context. A set of four chests made of copper containing items of silver, gold, and lapis were recovered from a foundation deposit from the Temple of Montu at Tod <Cat. Cx0061>. This practice of boxing favoured possessions for the afterlife or as preparation for the foundation deposit of a temple seems nascent to the practice of boxing in order to perform ritual blessing.



Figure 40. A jewelry chest with a peaked lid and short legs (Naville, 1907-1913, part I, pl. XX).



Figure 41. A wooden box with peaked lid from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Carter No. 316 (Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1103).

4.2.2. Generic (*hnw*) Chests

Some of these chests are specifically identified as *hnw* chests or “barques”. As previously discussed in the lexicographic study (p. 76), *hnw* is the generic word for chests and boxes that could range in size from small cases for writing implements to large storage chests for linens. However, the *hnw* chest also had versions that were used in ritual and mortuary practices.

The mastaba of Ptahhotep and Akhethetep (Dynasty 5) has an early example of a *hnw* with a label <Cat. Cx0020>. This example was used for storing cloth (*d3iw*) and appears as a simple box with legs and a flat lid. From the tomb of

Mereruka (Dynasty 6), a large chest identified as a *hnw* was carried on half-poles by three men (Fig. 42) <Cat. Cx0046>. The chest is long with a flat lid. The purpose of this *hnw* chest was to transport offerings to the tomb.

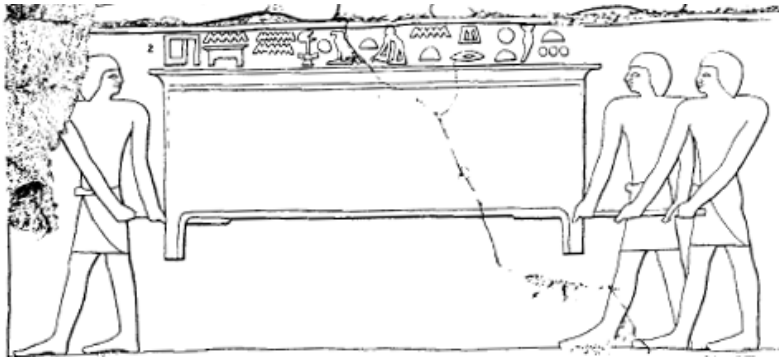



Figure 42. A *hnw* chest carried on poles to mastaba of Mereruka (Duell, 1938, part II, pl. 112). The caption reads that it is a chest of carrying “sweet things.”

A much smaller *hnw* chest was recovered from the tomb of Hetepheres (Dynasty 4). This chest was stored along with pottery inside a larger wooden chest. The chest has an inscription on the lid which reads *hnw hr dbnw*, , “a box carrying bracelets” <Cat. Cx0006>. We know that the form of *hnw* in this inscription uses a chest determinative (Gardiner Sign Q5). The use of *dbnw*, which uses three metal rings as determinatives, is also of interest. *Wörterbuch* translates this term as a “Kasten mit Ringen” implying that rings are being contained in this box;⁶⁹⁰ and the contents of the box were large graduated silver bracelets intended to be worn up the arm.⁶⁹¹

⁶⁹⁰ *Wb.* V, 436,6.

⁶⁹¹ George Andrew Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), 17.

From the tomb of Ibi at Deir el Gebrâwi (Dynasty 6), there is a *hn* <Cat. Cx0054> being worked on that was intended for offerings and jars (*pṛt-hrw snwt*). Like the *itnt* from the same tomb (p. 52), the craftsmen are polishing (*ḥw*)⁶⁹² the chest; however, unlike the *itnt* the *hn* in this case does not have a corniced top. It should be noted that the men are described as *mdḥ n pṛ-dt*, “hewing the house of eternity,” which is interesting given that *pṛ-dt* is sometimes a reference to a tomb, but according to Gardiner the term *pṛ-dt* can also refer to a “funerary endowment,”⁶⁹³ which would be more fitting in this circumstance.

From the treasury at Medinet Habu (Ramesses III), *hnw* chests are displayed that contain precious items for temple ritual practice. A round-topped lid is shown with a handle on the top of the lid and a handle on the end panel of the box (Fig. 43). This chest is remarkably similar to a ritual chest recovered from the tomb of Tutankhamun <Cat. Cx0110>, which was made of ebony and painted white (Fig. 44). Writing on the side of this chest suggests that the chest contained “17 *d3y* garments making 14 *d3iw* sets of garments.”⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹² See p. 50 for discussion on “beating” of hard varnish as a kind of polishing.

⁶⁹³ Alan H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1916), 77-78 note 2.

⁶⁹⁴ Howard Carter, excavation card 101-5 for Carter No. 101 (Oxford: Griffith Institute).



Figure 43. Chest from relief at Medinet Habu treasury (Hughes, 1957, pl. 333).



Figure 44. Round-topped chest of ebony and painted white wood. Carter No. 101 (Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 0137).

The treasury also shows chests that have statues of gods and sphinxes on the lids <Cat. Cx0136>. Two of the chests have a statue of a sphinx on the lid, another has a statue of Re in leonine form (Fig. 45), and the fourth one has a statue of Amun-Re in leonine form. The use of these chests at Medinet Habu was to present offerings of gold and precious stones to the gods. A Dynasty 19 example of a chest with a votive statue can be seen in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 257), which shows the deceased and his wife adoring the simian statue of Re-Horakhty sitting upon a chest <Cat. Cx0134>.



Figure 45. A *hnw* chest with a shrine-shaped lid and a statue of Re in leonine repose (Hughes, 1957, pl. 325).

Another example from the Treasury at Medinet Habu shows the *hnw* chest of Amun-Re alongside other kinds of unidentified chests <Cat. Cx0137>. One of these chests had a flat-top lid with two sphinx statues facing towards the centre and the handle of the lid between them (Fig. 46). The chest is displayed end on, so there is some possibility that the sphinxes on the lid are side by side in parallel, which could be similar to the two sphinxes that are on the sides of the throne palanquins <Cat. Tx0027>. However, given that parallel features in these reliefs are shown superimposed upon one another through horizontal layering, e.g., poles with ranks of priests, a naïve interpretation of two facing sphinxes is also possible, which would be comparable to Israelite Ark of the Covenant, which claims to have the cherubim facing towards each other (Exod. 25:20). An analysis of these particular chests by Killen regarding this kind of temple furnishing would have been helpful, unfortunately his analysis of temple furnishings is restricted to stand and tables and makes no mention of these particular offering chests.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹⁵ Geoffrey Killen, “Ramesside Woodworking” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 2012), 320.



Figure 46. Unidentified chest from relief at Medinet Habu treasury (Hughes, 1957, pl. 333).

4.2.3. Portable Chests

During the Old Kingdom, chests appeared in a variety of sizes and shapes. A typical design of portable chests can be found from the mastaba of Mereruka <Cat. Cx0040 to Cx0043>. These chests had a lid with a peak and tall legs and was carried on poles by two men. From the iconography it is clear that the poles were half-length poles, and there were two pole rings visible per pole.

The tomb of Ankh-Ma-Hor from early Dynasty 6 displays a kind of chest with tall legs that had a peaked lid secured with ropes <Cat. Cx0029, lower register>. The purpose of the ropes may have been to provide a kind of security seal where a string was tied around the box and then sealed with a clay bulla to prevent tampering.⁶⁹⁶ The chest was carried with two sets of poles (Fig. 47). Four men are shown carrying the chest. One man at the rear is shown steadying the box with a single hand <Cat. Cx0029, upper register>, demonstrating that stability was an issue when the poles were placed at the bottom of the chest.

⁶⁹⁶ Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, 48.



Figure 47. Four men carrying a chest with grave goods (Capart, 1907, pl. LXV)

From the same tomb a similar chest is carried by two men.⁶⁹⁷ This chest lacks the ropes of other chests, e.g., <Cat. Cx0028>. The poles are clearly full length poles that are displayed running along the exterior of the chest. But what is unique about this example is that the poles have a pair of flanges, one on each side of the box pointing to the floor (Fig. 48). Clearly this is a development designed to increase stability by preventing the poles from rolling during transport. The disadvantage of flanges is that these flanged poles need to be carved down from larger sections of wood. This disadvantage could be the reason why the innovation did not continue into later periods.

⁶⁹⁷ Jean Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah* (Brussels: Vromant & Co., 1907), pl. LXIV.

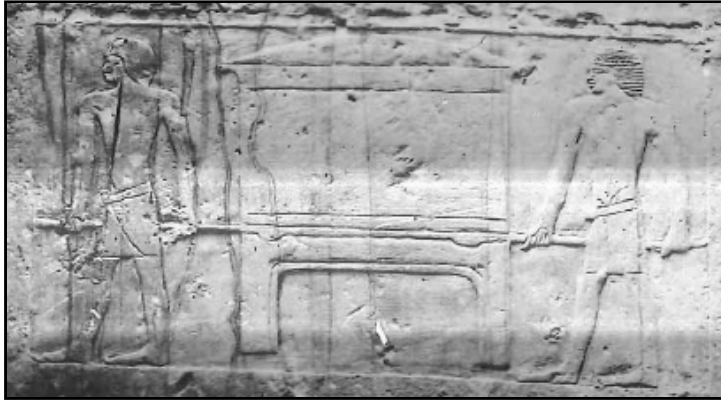


Figure 48. A chest being carried by poles with flanges (Capart, 1907, pl. LXIV).

The tomb of Ihy has a scene with three chests: a small chest carried by a single man and two large chests carried upon poles (Fig. 49).⁶⁹⁸ Unlike most iconographic representations the picture of the large chest with poles is accompanied by a label that identifies the type of chest as a *hn n sty hb*, “a chest of fragrant festal oil.”

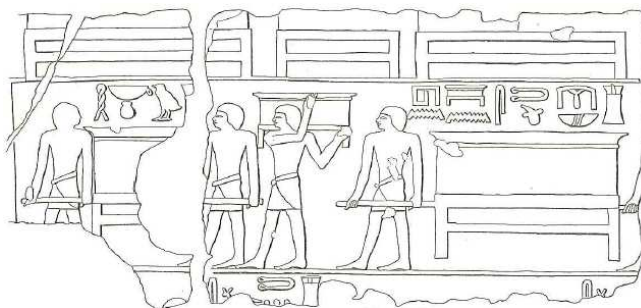


Figure 49. Three chests, one containing fragrant festal oil, from the tomb of Ihy (Macramallah, 1935, pl. X [B]).

Within a temple context, portable ritual chests are used for votive offerings <Cat. Cx0072>. These chests, called *pds*, are similar to both *hnw* and other portable chests in form. While there is no specific feature that distinguishes the *pds* from the *hnw* as has already been discussed in the lexicography chapter (p. 68), some temple


⁶⁹⁸ Macramallah, pl. X [B].

pds have features that are specific to RPF, for example, poles and a uraeus frieze on the lid that marks the interior as sacred space.⁶⁹⁹

4.2.4. Cartouche Boxes

One of the varieties of boxes that had a primarily ritual but not processional function was the cartouche box. The cartouche box is found in both divine temple and mortuary contexts. We find reliefs of the cartouche box at Medinet Habu <Cat. Cx0136>, and there was a small version of the box was found in KV 62 <Cat. Cx0105>. It is possible that these are the boxes that are associated with the term *g3wt* (see p.113), and may represent ritual blessing through a presentation of a continuity of Maat.⁷⁰⁰

4.2.5. *stt* Chests

Among the more unusual chests of the Old Kingdom is the *stt m dhwtj*, . A pair of these chests with a text label (Fig. 50) appear in a relief from the tomb of Niankh-khnum and Khnumhotep (Dynasty 5)⁷⁰¹ located near the Pyramid of Unis. These chests appear in the iconography to be tall, slender chests dragged upon individual sledges with feathers on each lid.

⁶⁹⁹ A detailed discussion on uraeus friezes and sacred space can be found in the chapter, “Ritual Furniture and Sacred Space” (page 284).

⁷⁰⁰ Teeter, 92-93.

⁷⁰¹ Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1977), taf. 16.



Figure 50. A pair of *stt m dhwtj* chests from the tomb of Niankh-khnum and Khnumhotep (Moussa and Altenmüller, 1977, Taf. 16).

A second example of a *stt* comes from the tomb of Tepemankh (Dynasty 5) from the Abusir necropolis.⁷⁰² The chest in this example (Fig. 51) is more squat than the previous example. Some kind of strapping or cloth wrapping can be seen around the middle of the chest. The lid has two feathers and a tree like what is found in the determinative mentioned previously.



Figure 51. A *stt* chest from the tomb of Tepemankh (Schäfer, 1986, pl. 18).

⁷⁰² Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, pl. 18.

A third example of *stt* chests comes from the tomb of Ihy.⁷⁰³ The painted scene shows four of these chests that are tall and narrow (Fig. 52) like the first example but have an enlarged base, and the lids support three feathers. A similar chest is found on the reliefs of the mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep (Dynasty 5) with an enlarged base and narrow top; however, the lid supports four feathers <Cat. Cx0022>.



Figure 52. Four *stt* chests from the mastaba of Seshseshet Idut (Macramallah, 1935, pl. XXVI [lower]).

The extant examples <Cat. Cx0013, Cx0015, Cx0018> suggest that these containers were roughly the height of a man, although we have to be careful to acknowledge that iconography is often an unreliable source for information dealing with size. The relative size of these containers also sets them apart from the related *mrt* chests that appeared from Dynasty 18 onwards.⁷⁰⁴ The term has a unique determinative that is a pictograph of the *stt* chest; this determinative differs from the

⁷⁰³ Macramallah, pl. XXVI [lower].

⁷⁰⁴ For a complete treatment of the iconography of *mrt* chests, see A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating of the Meret-Chests and the Driving of the Calves*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1995).

iconography in that it only has two feathers and a tree (similar to Gardiner Sign M1) on the lid.

It seems clear that the *stt* is the antecedent of the *mrt* chest, a fact to which Egberts admitted.⁷⁰⁵ Egberts further suggested that the *stt* contained loaves and grain based upon a resemblance to grain heaps in harvest scenes.⁷⁰⁶ Although Egberts suggested that the source of the *mrt* is the Osiris cult based upon an anachronistic understanding of Greco-Roman literature (see p. 73), the antecedent chests appears to belong to a ritual practice of the Thoth cult as indicated by the name (*dhwtj*) making Egbert's methodology suspect.

While the two chests share a “dragging” procession as part of their religious ritual, only the meret is shown being presented with a “striking” ritual act <Cat. Bx0126> before the cult statue of Amun-Re, a god not typically associated with a funerary cult.⁷⁰⁷ Furthermore, the meret chests could accompany other rituals; they are shown in the procession of the barque of Amun-Re in Hatshepsut's portrayal of the Opet at the Chapelle Rouge <Cat. Bx0007>. Meret chests are also depicted going before the *hnw* barque at the Feast of Sokar shown in the chapel of Paser <Cat. Bx0146>.

While the specific use of the *mrt* and *stt* chest is uncertain, given that the *stt/mrt* could be used in both funerary and temple contexts, it appears to be a vessel of presentation, that is, a vessel into which offerings were stored. The vessel was then dragged before a ritual barque, a box shrine, or in a funerary procession, e.g. on


⁷⁰⁵ Egberts, vol. 1, 427.

⁷⁰⁶ Egberts, vol. 1, 425.

⁷⁰⁷ Amun-Re is not the only non-funerary god to which a meret is presented. Meret chests are also presented to Min, Montu, and Hathor (see p. 71).

the lower eastern wall (southern half) in burial chamber J1 of KV14, and then opened (by breaking them in the case of the *mrt* chest) in order to present consecrated offerings. Regardless of any possible specific purpose, both the *stt* and *mrt* appear to stand as examples of RPF.

4.2.6. Anubis Shrines

One of the more perplexing mysteries surrounding ritual chests deals with the iconic Anubis shrine. This particular chest is shown as a dog or jackal lying on a shrine in Gardiner Sign E16, , and is used as an ideogram for *Inpw*, “Anubis” and *hry-sšt3*, “he who is over the secrets.” The form of these chests often mimics the similar votive shrines, and the canine on the chest often can represent either Anubis or Wepwawet <Cat. Cx0122>. There is some suggestion that this could have been a chest that was an adaptation of an architectural element, pylon, or temple façade. Even when shown as a piece of furniture, it is often depicted with a false door on the side. This is not to suggest that every box with an Anubis painted upon it was RPF; for example, the Ramesseum box was a Dynasty 12 document box from a private tomb was painted with an Anubis upon it that was interred with the deceased but was not processional.⁷⁰⁸

The representation of these chests in tombs presented a powerful iconic element for some ancient Egyptians, being perhaps the only piece of RPF used in a tomb frieze. In the tomb of Userhet (TT 51), dating to Seti I, the burial chamber has

⁷⁰⁸ J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London: Bernard Quartich, 1898), 3.

a frieze that is a repeating sequence of Hathor faces and Anubis shrines interspaced with Kheker symbols (Fig. 53) <Cat. Cx0124>.



Figure 53. The frieze with Anubis shrines from TT 51 (Davies, 1927, pl. XVIII).

An image of an Anubis shrine is found in the Dynasty 19 tomb of Neferronpet (TT 336) at Deir el-Medina. In this tomb there is a wall painting of a man standing beside the mummy of the deceased, carrying a chest with a false door and a jackal figure (Fig. 54).⁷⁰⁹ Bruyère suggested that this was the canopic box for Neferronpet.⁷¹⁰ Canopic chests typically have four compartments for canopic jars, e.g. <Cat. Zx0001> and <Cat. Zx0002> , and are often found on a sledge <Cat. Zx0004>.



Figure 54. A man carrying an Anubis shrine from tomb of Neferronpet (TT 336) (Bruyère, 1924-25, fig. 62).

⁷⁰⁹ Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1924-1925* (Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1925), fig. 62.

⁷¹⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1924-1925*, 93.

The idea that these Anubis shrines were used as canopic chests is supported by the iconographic evidence. In the vaulted tomb of Pedneit (Dynasty 26), the Anubis shrine (Fig. 55) portrayed shows an interior view with canopic jars.⁷¹¹ However, the canopic jars found in the tomb of Tutankhamun were located in a canopic chest <Cat. Cx0113> within a canopic shrine <Cat. Cx0112> and not in his Anubis shrine <Cat. Cx0111>, even though the Anubis shrine has the four compartments that would have been used for canopic jars. The canopic chest of Tutankhamun was made of alabaster, had a sledge, and lacked statuary on the shrine-shaped lid.



Figure 55. Anubis shrine from the tomb of Pedneit, showing two of the four canopic jars in profile (Barsanti and Maspero, 1901, fig. 6).

The Anubis shrine from the burial of Nodjmet (ca. Herihor) is unlike what is found in other portrayals as it has a shrine-shaped lid as opposed to a flat lid, a sledge without carrying poles, and lacks a false door.⁷¹² The tomb of Roy (TT 255) has a painting of an Anubis shrine being carried on poles. This chest has a shrine-shaped roof like that of Nodjmet's chest but has carrying poles and no sledge <Cat. Cx0116>.

⁷¹¹ Alexandre Barsanti and Gaston Maspero, "Saqqâra, Around Pyramid complex of Unis," *ASAE* 2 (1901), fig. 6-7.

⁷¹² PM I, 662. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Temp. 20.12.25.11.

When the Anubis shrines have been recovered from an archaeological context, they are recovered without any canopic jars, so we could conclude that the purpose of these chests is similar to *šfdw* or barque bier (p. 202), which is that their function may be transportation not interment. The Anubis shrine may have been used to transport the canopic jars to the burial, but then the canopic jars were ritually interred into a proper canopic chest at the burial site. This would explain the ubiquity of true canopic chests with jars, e.g., the canopic chest and jars found in the tomb of Sat-Hathor-Ant (Dynasty 12),⁷¹³ and the paucity of Anubis shrines.

The formal role of Anubis in the funerary ritual was to safely guard the dead to the afterlife.⁷¹⁴ The ritual procession of the Anubis shrine effectualized the safe transport of the dead to the afterlife after which the Anubis shrine was no longer needed for the deceased and the afterlife. Given that the Anubis shrine was used for ritual purposes and that they seem to be used repeatedly for funerary processions (see p. 86 for Anubis shrine as a communal asset), this particular kind of chest seems to qualify as proper RPF as opposed to true canopic chests that were intended for one time use.

4.2.7. Barque Biers

Early biers were little more than coffins transported on raised supports or beds mounted on a sledge beneath a canopy e.g., <Cat. Cx0075 and Cx0052>. During the New Kingdom, biers begin to merge with other classes of RPF.

⁷¹³ Guy Brunton, *Lahun I: The Treasure* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1920), 19.

⁷¹⁴ CT 24 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 74,h-i).

Beginning around the reigns of Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III (Dynasty 18), we start to see examples of chests merging with barques, resulting in a new form of mortuary bier <Cat. Cx0089> that is distinct in form from earlier biers. These barque biers became a common feature of Dynasty 19 iconography.

The tomb of Khenmosi (TT 30) has a painted scene of oxen dragging a chest upon a barque upon a sledge <Cat. Cx0118>.⁷¹⁵ A stela of Merymery (Dynasty 19) shows a funeral procession with a shrine cabinet fixed to a barque on poles being carried by six men <Cat. Cx0090>.⁷¹⁶ The funeral procession of Djouty (Dynasty 19) shows a bier in the shape of the shrine cabinet fixed to a barque (Fig. 56) being carried by four men <Cat. Cx0128>.⁷¹⁷ A common feature of these barque biers that is not found on early biers is a pair of goddess statues, one placed at each end of the deck of the barque, facing in towards the cabinet, which from later iconography can be identified as Nephthys and Isis <Cat. Cx0123>. Perhaps, this feature was borrowed from sacred barques that were in circulation at the time of Amenhotep III (p. 251).

⁷¹⁵ Marcelle Baud, *Les dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine au temps du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo: Imprimerie de L'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1935), fig. 34.

⁷¹⁶ Marcelle Werbrouck, *Les pleureuses dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1938), pl. XXXVI.

⁷¹⁷ Werbrouck, pl. XXVI.



Figure 56. Funeral procession of a barque bier upon poles (Werbrouck, 1938, pl. XXVI).

The tomb of Ipuy (TT 217) dating to around the time of Ramesses II shows one of these barque biers being prepared as part of Ipuy's funerary goods (Fig. 57), and if the scale is to be believed, then the barque biers must have been considerably larger than a *šfdw*. While the scale in <Cat. Cx0133> may seem unrealistically large, I would suggest that the reliefs and paintings of other barque biers were scaled down to a size where their proportion could not accommodate a mummified human, e.g., <Cat. Cx0128>. A scene in the tomb of Neferronpet (TT 178) (Dynasty 19) clearly shows the mummy of the deceased inside the barque bier <Cat. Cx0130>.

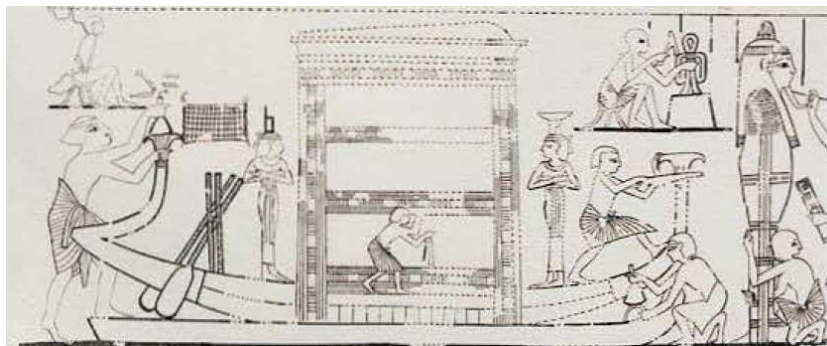


Figure 57.
Craftsmen building
a barque bier from
TT 217 (Davies,
1927, pl. XXXVI).

The primary purpose of these chests seems to be as a kind of temporary bier that transported the dead <Cat. Cx0085, Cx0081> to the grave site after which the mummy was transferred into its permanent coffin. A possible reason why this may have been done was to defray the cost of funerals or as part of a funerary ritual custom as we have already seen with the Anubis shrines (p. 199) and the lexicographical study of *pr-n-st3* and *šfdw* (pp. 58-94). Another likely reason would have been to ritualize the journey to the afterlife effectualizing the migration between two barques, e.g., the *hnhnw* to the *wi3* barque (p.145) or the night-barque to the day-barque.⁷¹⁸ This practice of separating biers and sarcophagi in the funeral procession is a practice that extends back at least to Dynasty 6 as is seen in the tomb of Ibi where a clearly labeled sarcophagus (*wt*) is transported in procession with the funeral bier and a canopic chest <Cat. Cx0052>. Scenes that show the construction of a funeral bier infer that the owner had sufficient wealth where he not only did not need to share RPF but that his RPF would contribute to and have ongoing influence in the community as a communal asset; thus, possibly elevating his status.

4.2.8. Shrine Cabinets

Shrine cabinets are perhaps the most complex form of ritual processional chest. While they are often seen holding statuary for grave goods, they are perhaps most commonly used within a temple context <Cat. Cx0139 - Cx0142>. More

⁷¹⁸ CT 55 (De Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. I, 245,b-c).

importantly their form shifts from being ritual processional furnishing in their own right to becoming integrated into sacred barques.

Chests with sloping or curved shrine-shaped lids first appear in the iconographic record in Dynasty 5 <Cat. Cx0019>; the sloping lids of Dynasty 5 appear to be less curved and flatter than they do in the iconography of Dynasty 6. The shrine-shaped style of lid becomes a common feature of Dynasty 6 iconography, e.g., a chest with shrine-shaped lid and knob handle appears on the side of the sarcophagus of Mena <Cat. Cx0038, third register from top> alongside icons of chests with peaked lids. During the Old Kingdom (Dynasty 6), wood statuary was already being housed in simple stone chests <Cat. Cx0025 - Cx0026>.

The use of shrine cabinets for holding cultic statuary became ubiquitous in grave goods throughout the history of Egypt. Statuary boxes occur early in the history of Egypt (Dynasty 4) <Cat. Cx0012>, and true shrine cabinets, i.e., cabinets with doors, were an innovation occurring no later than Dynasty 5 <Cat. Cx0016>. Early shrine cabinets have a flat corniced roof as a characteristic, a style of cabinet that continued into Dynasty 12 <Cat. Cx0062>. The shrine cabinets appear to reach their final form, i.e., with the shrine-shaped lid, during the Middle Kingdom <Cat. Cx0057>, a form which persisted through the New Kingdom, e.g., <Cat. Cx0093>.

The typical shrine cabinet is a tall narrow container with doors on the side, a sloped lid, and is built upon a sledge regardless of the weight or size of the cabinet. Several examples of wooden shrine cabinets painted black were found in Tutankhamun's tomb (Fig. 58) <Cat. Cx0108>. These cabinets varied in shape and size according to the contents, which generally held the figures of deities on

standards. A particularly tall and slender example of a shrine cabinet was even believed to be a case for holding a cubit measure <Cat. Cx0115>. The interesting thing about this particular example is that it retains all the features of the shrine cabinet (sloped lid and sledge), even though it cannot be dragged because of its proportions making these features primarily ceremonial.



Figure 58. Tomb of Tutankhamun with several shrine cabinets in situ (Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1097).

The iconography of shrine cabinets is a common feature in scenes of craftsmen and workshops. In the tomb of Puyemre (Dynasty 18), a craftsman is shown working in front of a shrine cabinet <Cat. Cx0073>. While these chests are somewhat difficult to distinguish from canopic chests, e.g., <Cat Cx0090>, which have similar features to shrine cabinets and are even carried on poles, context is usually a good indicator of whether one is dealing with a shrine cabinet or a canopic

chest. For example, a relief in the shrine section of the tomb of Huya (Amarna Tomb 1) displays two shrine cabinets among other chests and grave goods <Cat. Cx0100>. Since canopic chests do not come in pairs and because other grave goods are surrounding the depictions of the shrine cabinet, the context makes it obvious that we are not dealing with canopic chests.

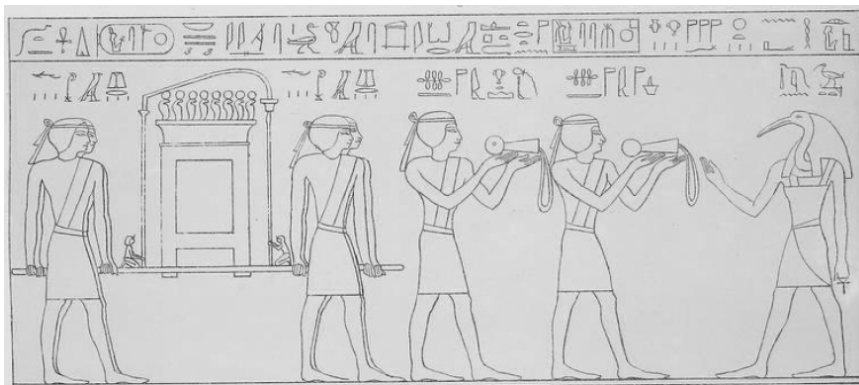


Figure 59.
Priests carrying a
shrine cabinet on
poles (Mariette,
1880, pl. 19c).

Moreover, some shrine cabinets do not have shrine-shaped lids but have a uraeus frieze fitted with a canopy, e.g., <Cat. Cx0125>. These canopies were originally a feature found on tents and perhaps on boats. The tomb of Ibi shows a canopic chest that is being transported on a sledge with a canopy <Cat. Cx0052>. While canopic chests are often found with a sledge, e.g., <Cat. Zx0004>, there are no extant examples of a canopic chest with a canopy. However, examples of these canopies are found on model boats.⁷¹⁹

An important development of the shrine cabinet (*k3r*) is its use in temple rituals (Fig. 59). Although a late example the Temple of Hathor at Denderah has several scenes depicting wab-priests carrying shrine cabinets <Cat. Cx0139>.

⁷¹⁹ Jones, *Ancient Egyptian Boats*, fig. 22 and pl. VII.

Priests are shown carrying shrine cabinets using both poles and with the aid of straps that are strung around the shoulders of the priests and attached to the base of the cabinets <Cat. Cx0141, Cx0142> with particular examples of these shrine cabinets being carried by four <Cat. Cx0140> or eight priests <Cat. Cx0141>. A shrine cabinet of Hathor is also portrayed having both a canopy and a uraeus frieze <Cat. Cx0141>; these features are common to the cabinets that are found on sacred barques, e.g., <Cat. Bx0148>. An early example of a shrine cabinet with these features is found at the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, which not only has a canopy and a uraeus frieze but also has statuettes of worshippers <Cat. Cx0125>.

While the data is insufficient to determine whether the features of these complex shrine cabinets were borrowed from the cabinets of sacred barques, e.g., <Cat. Cx0051>, or if these features were an extension of shrine cabinets that were assimilated into the sacred barques, it can be said that both shrine cabinets and sacred barques were dipping from the same pool of ideas. Shrine cabinets took the idea of canopies from real world tents or boats. And sacred barques integrated shrine cabinets as the cabin for transporting the divine image.

While most shrine cabinets were not for ritual processional purposes, being containers intended for either mortuary purposes or for housing votive statuary in a temple, some were intended to be used as RPF. From the temple of Seti I at Abydos (Dynasty 19), there are three strong examples of shrine cabinets that had a ritual processional function. These cabinets had carrying poles and sledges and contained the votive statues of Heket and Hathor <Cat. Cx0121>. The shrine cabinet of

Wepwawet (Fig. 60) had poles and a sledge but rested upon a stand that itself had a sledge <Cat. Cx0122>.



Figure 60. The king making an offering to a cult statue inside the shrine cabinet of Wepwawet with carrying poles and sledges (Calverley, vol. III, 1938, pl. 16).

4.3. Sacred Barques

Barques are a specialized extension of shrine cabinets. They are the most depicted form of processional furniture in temple reliefs.

4.3.1. Extent of the Evidence

The study of barques from an iconographic standpoint provides the researcher with challenges with regards to the evidence. There are several gaps in the evidence that makes analysis difficult.

The data set for the iconography of barques differs significantly from that of chests. While instances of the iconography of chests can be found throughout Egypt's history, iconography of barques is basically restricted to the New Kingdom or later. While the earliest extant instance of a sacred barque with the full array of features dates to the Old Kingdom <Cat. Bx0001>, this one example stands in isolation.

The architectural layout of the temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms makes it clear that barques were in use long before the iconographic evidence becomes normative. Architectural elements within a temple that are indicative of barque include (1) elongated inner shrines that are at least three metres in length and (2) bracket-shaped walls of a *st wrt* ("Great Seat"). These features along with ritual causeways and boat burials represent the primary archaeological evidence of barque use during the Old Kingdom.⁷²⁰ Some temples lack these features. It has to be remembered that while the sacred barque is the preeminent vehicle for gods travelling between temples, barques are not the only option for the transport of cult statues. In smaller temples and temples without barque facilities, votive statues may have been transported with the use of a shrine cabinet carried on poles, with straps, or even carried by hand.⁷²¹

With strong evidence for the existence of sacred barques through architecture and lexicography, some account should be given for the absence of barque iconography in earlier periods. Part of this might be an issue of records keeping;

⁷²⁰ Dieter Arnold, 36 and 57-58.

⁷²¹ For examples see catalog numbers Cx0121, Cx0122, Cx0125, Cx0139, Cx0140, Cx0141, and Cx0142.

during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, surviving reliefs from temple walls lack depictions of barques. Part of this may be due to the survival of the archaeological record as most of the iconography of barques is from temple contexts, and the preservation of Middle Kingdom temples is generally poor.⁷²² The stone from most of the Middle Kingdom temples was redressed and reused in the construction of New Kingdom temples. But the lack of barque reliefs in the early surviving reliefs does point to a possible shift in ritual emphasis.

With the iconography of barques being limited to the New Kingdom period (or later) with only rare exceptions, the data is further limited by the fact that most of these temples are restricted to Upper Egypt. New Kingdom temples that would have been rich in iconographic sources, e.g., Heliopolis, Piramesses, did not survive to the present. Little of the iconography collected in the catalog comes from a Lower Egyptian context. This is more an attestation to the preservation of the archaeological record than it is to the distribution of barques. The limitation of localities represented prevents the extrapolation of broader generalization to wider Egyptian society with a high degree of certainty.

4.3.2. Methodological Approach

As the study of barque iconography matured, it became clear that the methodology of comparing their features according to barque typology was not going to work when taking into account the limited time frames involved. And while the data set is quite large, there is not a lot of overlap between the various

⁷²² Deiter Arnold, 74.

sites. Where there is overlap in cult and chronology, there are substantial differences in iconography between the various locales. These differences appear to be more than just local convention or flavour but allude to multiple instances of the same cult in circulation at the same time.

Given the limited overlap of contemporaneous material and the nature of the evidence in general as discussed previously, treating barque iconography according to locale and then performing the appropriate chronological and stylistic comparisons would be most appropriate for dealing with the limitations of the data. A notable exception to this is the Sokar barque, which given its frequency and range of occurrence, lends itself to a diachronic analysis.

Some studies of sacred barques have already been done in detail, and as mentioned in the introduction (see p. 19), we will not cover those areas already addressed by other scholars. For example, Karlshausen has done an exhaustive study on the evolution of the sacred barques at Karnak, and Traunecker has done exhaustive work on the details of the barques at the Chapel of Achoris.⁷²³ The research done by earlier scholarship will not be re-addressed unless it is insufficient.

The sacred barque is a highly ritualized item that is pregnant with religious and ritual connotations. These connotations are often expressed in tomb scenes as barques that are the artist's conceptions of myth. The mythological barques are beyond the scope of this thesis and will not be addressed as we are only concerned

⁷²³ Karlshausen, *RdE* 46 (1995), 119-137 and *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine en Égypte au Nouvel Empire* (2009). Traunecker, *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak* (1981).

with those barques that manifested as RPF. A common example of this is the “barque of Re” that appears ubiquitously in tomb scenes. While varying in lesser or greater degrees to real divine barques used in temple contexts, most of these iconographic representations are mythological constructs. Perhaps a future discovery from Heliopolis may give us more light as to the true representation of the sacred barque of Re.

4.3.3. Mythological Basis of the Sacred Barque

The iconography of sacred barques is similar to ritual chests insofar as they were real objects that were elevated to a ritual purpose through analogical thinking. Being a river nation, the preeminent form of travel was the boat. To iconographically show a god can travel great distances, a boat would have been incorporated into the mythology. Unlike ritual chests, the elevation ultimately resulted into a complete mythological transformation. This transformation shows the gods using the sacred barque not as real objects but as mythological convention, e.g., <Cat. Zx0006> .

The sacred barque is an extension of the myths involving the sun and moon gods. In the Re myth the sun god travels the land of the living during the day and the land of the dead at night in his barque. The barque of Re myth is extant from the earliest dynasties of Egypt. Likewise, Thoth is described as traveling on a lunar barque in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts.⁷²⁴ In the Pyramid Texts the king is seen

⁷²⁴ Amanda-Alice Maravelia, *Les astres dans les textes religieux en Égypte antique et dans les hymnes orphiques* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), 302. PT 210 (Sethe 128c-129).

to sit on the solar barque with Re.⁷²⁵ The development of the mythology of barques underwent a process of construction and consolidation as religious constructs underwent reductionism in order to explain the complexities of cyclic recurrence via the day and night barques of Re and Atum respectively.⁷²⁶

The mythology of the barque of the solar and lunar deities was extended to become a prominent feature of the temple design. Each temple was equipped with its own variation of the sacred barque that ultimately became part of the concentric nature of the sacred space within a temple precinct, which was discussed earlier in Chapter 2. The temple rituals rehearsed the progression of cyclic rebirth vertically from earth to heaven and horizontally through the presentation of offerings between deity and mankind. The role of the sacred barque in these rituals was to act as a paradox insofar as barques are a recapitulation of sacred space. The barque was seen as a recursion of cyclic sacred space within temple sacred space. This connection of the barque with cyclic eternity presented a problem for Amarna theology which denied the nocturnal travel of the sun because of its association with Osiris.⁷²⁷

While the barques were initially connected with celestial bodies, any god or goddess that had a temple could presumably have a sacred barque. Forms of cult not typically associated with popular festivals could have sacred barques as part of its temple ritual, e.g., Seth worship at Avaris.⁷²⁸ Even the cult of the king had its

⁷²⁵ PT 252 (Sethe 274b).

⁷²⁶ Elizabeth Thomas, "Solar Barks Prow to Prow," *JEA* 42 (1956), 79.

⁷²⁷ Cathie Spieser, "Amarna et la négation du cycle solaire," *Chronique d'Égypte* 76 (2001), 25-26.

⁷²⁸ Labib Habachi, "Sethos I's devotion to Seth and Avaris," *ZÄS* 100 (1974): 95-102.

own sacred barque that resided in the king's memorial temple and participated in the Opet festival <Cat. Bx0033>.

While the sacred barque was a common feature of temple practice, its most public role was during the festival of Opet. The purpose of the Opet festival was for the king to merge with Amun and to separate, recreating the act of creation as a ritual that served to rejuvenate the entire nation.⁷²⁹

4.3.4. Iconographic Formulae

From the iconography, it is clear that the Egyptians cared about certain aspects of iconography much more than others. And since the pictorial depictions of barques are many times unlabeled, the Egyptians themselves seemed to depend upon the features and styling to identify each particular barque. The style of the barques included a combination of figurehead, votive statuary, number of hulls, and the configuration of the shrine cabinet. This styling is remarkably consistent even between locales for contemporaneous time periods. The decoration that appears on the side panels of the shrine cabinet could vary and was probably more formulaic than what was actually seen on the barques especially during periods that involve the inclusion of a veil.

The Egyptians did not seem to care about the decoration that may have really existed on the sides of the shrine cabinets on the barque relief representations. Even within the same barque chapel, the designs on the sides of the shrine cabinets can

⁷²⁹ W. Raymond Johnson, "Honorific Figures of Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall," *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David P. Silverman (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 137.

differ for the same object (p. 234). It is clear that these designs were more an exercise of the local repertoire than they were a reflection of what was really seen on the side of the barques. These designs appear to be repetitive patterns instead of identifying features. This is not to say that the symbols portrayed by local repertoire lacked ritual significance. Clearly, the local repertoire reflects some kind of votive symbolism that was actually on the sides of the shrine cabinets; however, evidently an exact duplication of that symbolism was unnecessary for the ancient artists. Nevertheless, that the reliefs were completed with votive symbols, even if part of a local repertoire, speaks to their importance.

The differences between iconographic traditions versus the reality of decoration extend beyond mere literal representation. Local repertoire only represents one small aspect of this. The reality of decoration can be difficult to ascertain as there are no extant barques that have survived the archaeological record. The few figureheads which have survived have shown that the iconographic tradition deviates from reality with regards to scale. Figureheads tend to be made of metals such as bronze or gold and are generally less than 12 inches in breadth. Iconographic representations of figureheads from late Dynasty 19 tend to become progressively larger until the end of Dynasty 25 (p. 246), although the increase in the scale of the figurehead becomes most exaggerated only from the end of Dynasty 20 onward.

Scale as a difference in iconographic tradition also sometimes appears when the artist wants to emphasize that the object is something physical. This particular exaggeration in size is particularly true on stelae where worshippers are portrayed before a real barque, e.g., *Stela of Piay* (ca. Ramesses II) <Cat. Bx0084>. On this

stela the figurehead of the barque of Khonsu is the same size as the Piay, and the remainder of the barque is only alluded by showing the carrying poles.



Where differences existed because of regional instances of barques, these differences manifested themselves in minor variations primarily in the figurehead, whereas the votive statuary, number of hulls, and configuration of shrine cabinet tended to remain static, e.g., Amun-Re at Abydos when compared to Amun-Re at Karnak. While there is some consensus that the portrayals of the barques are not exact depictions of the physical objects,⁷³⁰ there is equally no doubt that the reliefs are an attempt to show the persistent physical attributes, e.g. votive figures, of the objects concerned. While there are variances in scale and in repetitive details, we can expect that the presence of persistent attributes corresponds to reality as these attributes seem to remain consistent across contemporaneous depictions. Figure 61 is a table that shows a summary of these persistent physical attributes and provides an identification guide for sacred barques.

⁷³⁰ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, 246.

Name	Figurehead	Crown of Standing King Figure	Other Features	Examples
Ahmose-Nefertari	Woman head wearing headband with a uraeus on forehead	White		<Cat. Bx0102, Bx0092>
Amonet	Woman head wearing Hathor crown often with a band of uraeus and a double uraeus on forehead.	Khat (White when without uraeus band)		<Cat. Bx0136, Bx0166, Bx0106>
Amun-Re	Ram head wearing uraeus, Khnum crown, or solar disk	Khat	Shrine cabinet may show a double compartment	<Cat. Bx0005, Bx0050, Bx0068, Bx0077, Bx0091, Bx0139>
Amun-Re “King of the Gods”	Re-Horakhty figure on prow, Khonsu figurehead on aft	White		<Cat. Bx0125>
Dedwen	Re-Horakhty figure of prow, recurved aft	Khat		<Cat. Bx0018, Bx0017>
Horus	Falcon head with solar disk	White		<Cat. Bx0065, Bx0083>
Isis	Woman head wearing Hathor crown	White		<Cat. Bx0063, Bx0064, Bx0083, Bx0147>
Khonsu	Falcon head with lunar disk. With lunar crescent after Dynasty 18.	White (Dyn. 18) Khat (Dyn. 19)		<Cat. Bx0050, Bx0094, Bx0149, Bx0142>
Montu	Falcon head with double solar disk	Khat		<Cat. Bx0111>
Mut	Woman with head band and uraeus on her forehead (Dyn. 18). Woman wearing double crown (Dyn. 19).	White (Dyn. 18) Khat (Dyn. 19)		<Cat. Bx0051, Bx0088, Bx0097>
Nekhbet	Falcon head wearing solar disk	White		<Cat. Bx0028>
Osiris	Osiris head on prow, papyrus stem on aft	Khat		<Cat. Bx0062, Bx0083>
Ptah	Double figure of Re-Horakhty standing on a djed pillar on prow, recurved aft.	Khat	Double hull	<Cat. Bx0071, Bx0083>
Re-Horakhty	Child figure on prow with netting, recurved aft	No figure	Double hull	<Cat. Bx0044, Bx0069, Bx0083, Bx0124>
Royal (Senwosret III)	Re-Horakhty figure of prow, recurved aft	No figure		<Cat. Bx0016>
Royal (Dyn.18)	King’s head wearing Khnum crown	Two figures		<Cat. Bx0080>
Royal (Horemheb)	King’s head wearing Hemhem crown	White		<Cat. Bx0033, Bx0035>
Royal (Ramesside)	King’s head wearing solar disk or Hemhem crown	Two kings wearing either crown		<Cat. Bx0072, Bx0085, Bx0156, Bx0104, Bx0108>
Sokar (including Ptah-Sokar, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and Osiris-Sokar)	Oryx head looking back on prow. No aft figurehead.	No figure	Thatched hull with vertical staves.	<Cat. Bx0048, Bx0074, Bx0145, Bx0150, Bx0151, Bx0157>

Figure 61: Identification Guide to the Sacred Barques

4.3.5. Barque of Sokar

The archetypal barque is that of the deity Sokar. The barque of Sokar goes by the name *ḥnw*,  or , and care needs to be exercised to not confuse it with the *hn(w)* chest discussed previously which is completely unrelated (see p. 146 for discussion of the *ḥnw* lexeme). The barque of Sokar becomes a part of a variety of festivals in the Egyptian ritual cycle and even has its own detailed determinative that appears in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) dating to the reign of Amenhotep III to Akhenaten <Cat. Bx0029>.

As discussed in the lexicography chapter, the *ḥnw* exists in literature as early as the first couple dynasties (p. 147). As far as its form is concerned, the Barque of Sokar retained an archaic appearance that speaks to its antiquity as an ancient barque form. An example of a primitive sacred barque <Cat. Bx0001> belongs with a bovine head was found at the to the Wadi Hammamat and perhaps dates to no later than the end of the Old Kingdom given that barques take on an upright shrine cabinet style during the Middle and New Kingdoms. This very early example is a graffito that demonstrates many of the characteristics that would be found in later Sokar barques. The barque has a bovine figurehead, a sledge, and a ceremonial draw cord. This ceremonial draw cord is a feature of Sokar barques that persists even after carrying poles were added to these barques. The “dragging of the Sokar barques” becomes part of the ritual procession of the Sokar cult. The prominent sledge with the draw cord seems to imply that these were once functional features of sacred barques that later became ceremonial.

An early New Kingdom instance of the barque of Sokar occurs inside the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak <Cat. Bx0014> dating to the reign of Thutmosis III. From this relief the prow figurehead is visible with the oryx head facing towards the aft. The two columns of eight priests carried the barque using poles, which were probably attached to a sledge that has eight vertical staves. Upon these staves was attached a cradle upon which the barque sat. The remarkable thing about this particular depiction is that the priests for the Sokar procession outnumber that of the contemporary processions of Amun by four.

A hieroglyphic image of a Sokar barque appears as a determinative on the walls of the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) <Cat. Bx0029>. The determinative, dating to the reigns of Amenhotep III to IV (Dynasty 18), is a highly detailed carving, sufficient to warrant analysis. This barque of Sokar lacks the carrying poles of other examples, but it retains a long sledge and carriage, three stakes, and three rudders. The prow has the oryx head looking backwards and an engraving mark that represents the falcon head of Sokar as well as the pull rope.

The Dynasty 19 tomb of Paneb (TT 211) contains an example of the Sokar barque that is painted upon a plastered wall. The figure on the top of the shrine cabinet appears to be a falcon that is wrapped as a mummy, which is the normative iconographic form of Sokar. This painting shows four rudders and some of the thatching on the side of the shrine cabinet <Cat. Bx0047>. A veil is visible that is wrapped around the body of the shrine beneath the carriage stakes and the carriage itself and some of the ropes can be seen.

Even in Dynasty 19 the form of the Sokar barque was probably highly variable. The tomb of Amenemhab (TT 44) at Sheik Abd el-Qurna shows a Sokar barque on a plinth <Cat. Bx0052>. This particular barque has three vertical staves instead of the four commonly found on Sokar barques. The tomb of Niay (TT 286) at Dra Abu el-Naga has a Sokar barque that does not have the vertical staves <Cat. Bx0054>, but it does show the vertical tent poles that often accompany a canopy. This example is shown with a veil and tent poles, indicating a blending of characteristics of divine and Sokar barques that can manifest in the iconography of private tombs.

There are two depictions of the Sokar barque at the Dynasty 19 temple of Seti I at Abydos. The depiction found in the second hypostyle hall has an elongated figurehead, a tall shrine cabinet with straight vertical sides, and carrying poles <Cat. Bx0074>. The barque is shown resting on a plinth inside a shrine. The depiction found in the outer hypostyle hall has sloping sides on the shrine cabinet and no carrying poles <Cat. Bx0075>. This barque is shown on a dais with the king wearing the *dšrt* crown towing the barque by a rope.

The portrayal of the Sokar barque during the reign of Ramesses II is quite variable. A painting fragment of a Sokar barque found at the tomb of Panehesi (TT 16) (ca. Ramesses II) at Dra Abu el-Naga shows the detail of the figurehead and the top of the shrine cabinet <Cat. Bx0110>. The tomb of Mosi located at Saqqara showed the upright stakes and carrying poles but lacks the rudders and sledge <Cat. Bx0082>. The tomb of Djehuti (TT 45) at Sheik Abd el-Qurna shows a Sokar barque that lacks the upright stakes but has a carriage; the depiction shows both a

sloped Sokar-style shrine cabinet superimposed over a *g3ti*-style shrine cabinet <Cat. Bx0114>.

The tomb of Thay (TT 23) at Sheik abd el-Qurna, dating to the reign of Merneptah, shows a Sokar barque similar to what is found in TT 19. It differs in a couple respects. The TT 23 barque has four vertical stakes which are flush with the top horizontal strut <Cat. Bx0128>. The Sokar falcon is also shown wearing a beaded collar.

During Dynasty 20 the Sokar barque continues to show incredible flexibility in form. In the Tomb of Tjanefer (TT 158), the Sokar barque is shown with four vertical stakes, a veil, three rudders, and a double hull <Cat. Bx0135>. The Sokar barque on a lintel from the Ramesseum <Cat. Bx0145> shows the double hull like what was seen in TT 158. The barque at the Ramesseum lacks carrying poles and perhaps most interesting is that even though this barque has three rudders, a fourth rudder appears to have been pulled out and placed flat upon the deck. Compare this to a painted sandstone slab found at the Ramesseum (ca. Dynasty 22), which shows the barque of Osiris-Sokar with three rudders and a fourth pulled out and placed flat upon the deck.⁷³¹

At the Funerary Chapel of Paser (ca. Ramesses III), a Sokar barque, identifiable by the four vertical stakes, is shown on procession behind four meret chests <Cat. Bx0146>. This Sokar barque is unlike other Sokar barques: the tail is recurved, there is only a long single rudder, and the prow lacks the oryx head. The barque is carried by eight priests.

⁷³¹ Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. XXII.

The depiction of the *ḥnw* barque at the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III is detailed and gives us additional information for the period. The *ḥnw*-barque depicted has utterances that might imply that the owner is Sokar-Osiris <Cat. Bx0150> or Ptah-Sokar-Osiris <Cat. Bx0151>. Caution must be exercised when using utterances for identification purposes (see “The Utterance Text Problem”, p. 279).

The barque is shown resting on a stand with two sets of sledges <Cat. Bx0150>. The lower set of sledges is part of the carrying poles. The upper set is attached to the four vertical stakes. In all likelihood the barque was detachable from the carrying pole apparatus. The vertical stakes appear to be made of reeds that are wrapped with cord. The thatching on the side of the shrine is also shown (see Fig. 29). The thatching is held in place with rope; the twisting of the rope is clearly visible. The aft has three short paddle rudders. However, the Sokar barque shown on the west wall of Room 4 of the Sokar shrine has only one sledge with carrying poles <Cat. Bx0153>.

Ultimately, the barque of Sokar retains a primitive thatched shrine as part of its ceremonial form. The thatching of reeds used on the Ptah-Sokar barque is readily apparent in iconographic examples, e.g., the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50) (Dynasty 19) where the thatch work can be seen on the hull of the barque, which is intended to convey the sense of a boat made of bundled reeds strapped together <Cat. Bx0048>. The thatching is also seen on the shrine cabinet. Unlike other divine barques where the shrine is constructed of wood that is carved and covered in gold foil, the Sokar barque maintains its rustic aesthetic for ritual purposes. The barque, probably because it is primarily made of reeds, was not attached to a sledge as if it were one

piece but the iconography shows that the barque was a separate piece that rested upon a carriage of poles and ropes. Instead the Sokar barque appears suspended in a cradle that was attached to eight vertical masts connected to a sledge with carrying poles. Furthermore, the festival scenes show the empty carriages entering the temple and leaving with the Sokar barques but not those barques returning⁷³² as is depicted in other barque scenes, e.g., the barque reliefs at Luxor, Karnak, and the Ramesseum show the barques exiting and returning. With typical barques the sledge and barque are built as a single inseparable unit as is demonstrated by either the box shrines or the pavilion/canopy that encase the hulls and are built use the sledge as a foundation, e.g., <Cat. Bx0148 >. Furthermore, comparing the contemporaneous examples of the Khonsu barque <Cat. Bx0148> with the Osiris-Sokar barque <Cat. Bx0149>, clearly shows the the Osiris-Sokar barque is a separate unit resting on an apparatus of ropes and poles while the Khonsu barque had no supporting apparatus with the hull being directly connected to the sledge and thus had to be permanently attached. As such because the Sokar barque was made of reeds, because it was not permanently attached to a sledge, and because empty sledges are shown entering the temple in festival but not full sledges returning, this barque probably lacked the permanence of other divine barques probably having to be ceremonially rebuilt on a regular basis. This would also account for the great variation that surrounds the iconography that is associated with this particular barque.

⁷³² Gaballa and Kitchen, Fig. 3.

In conclusion, the author believes that the barque of Sokar was a reed boat that had to be rebuilt on a regular basis. Unlike other barques that were made of wood and were meant to be permanent, the Sokar barque was clearly made of ephemeral materials. Although no Sokar barques have been discovered in the archaeological record, it may be possible that the Sokar barque may have had a function similar to the corn-mummies,⁷³³ an artifact demonstrating cyclic rebirth.⁷³⁴ Perhaps the rebuilding of the Sokar barque became connected with the idea of Sokar as a resurrection deity, and the rebuilding ritual was incorporated into the myth of cyclic rebirth leading ultimately to the uncanny longevity of the cult.

4.3.6. Divine Barque at Saqqara

A loose block found at Saqqara displayed a Dynasty 19 barque of Re-Horakhty <Cat. Bx0044>. The block does not have a lot of detail and probably comes from a temple context, and the relief has few details. The details shown are however significant. The shrine cabinet is shown without either a veil or a canopy and poles; this differs from both the Dynasty 18 relief at Semna <Cat. Bx0017> and the relief dating to Seti I at Abydos <Cat. Bx0070>. The figurehead of the barque is covered by netting with Re-Horakhty as a child sitting upon it. Two knots at the top the netting would indicate that this barque has a double hull, making it similar to the barque relief at Abydos.

⁷³³ Katherine Eaton, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual: Performance, Pattern, and Practice* (Routledge: London, 2013), 105.

⁷³⁴ Maria Costanza Centrone, "Corn-mummies: a case of «figuring it out»", *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6-12 September 2004*, vol. I, eds. Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2007), 297.

4.3.7. Divine Barques at Abydos

The premier site for sacred barques outside of Karnak is the Memorial Temple of Seti I at Abydos. The temple has what is probably the most diverse selection of divine barques found anywhere in Egypt with depictions of barques that are found at no other site. These depictions are extremely detailed, like those found at Karnak. This site has a restricted archaeological context, i.e., only being modified during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II. Given that we have reliefs from both sites that can be dated to the reigns of the early Ramessides and given that the same religious cult, i.e., Amun-Re, is found at both temples, this allows us to make direct contemporaneous comparison between the two sets of reliefs.

The temple of Seti I has seven barque chapels lined up between the hypostyle hall and the inner chapels of the two Osiris halls. The southern annex of the temple has a wing that has a staircase with a pair of adjoining halls: one dedicated to the seven barques, the other to Nefertum and Ptah-Sokar. The precise order and progression of the processional ritual is not clear and remains a topic of academic debate.⁷³⁵

Our analysis of the Abydos temple will begin with a look at the barques that are not found elsewhere. The purpose in doing this will perhaps help us to establish a stylistic baseline. A stylistic baseline will allow us to declare features to the Abydos barques that may have been superimposed over the real objects in order to make them conform to local tastes.

⁷³⁵ Katherine Eaton, *Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual*, 21-22.

The first of these barques is that of Osiris (Fig. 62). Osiris is the pre-eminent god of the Abydos region and his worship extends back to possibly pre-dynastic times. Despite the antiquity of the Osiris cult, the first thing that can be observed about this barque is that it appears to lack the archaic aesthetic that is observed with the Sokar barque.

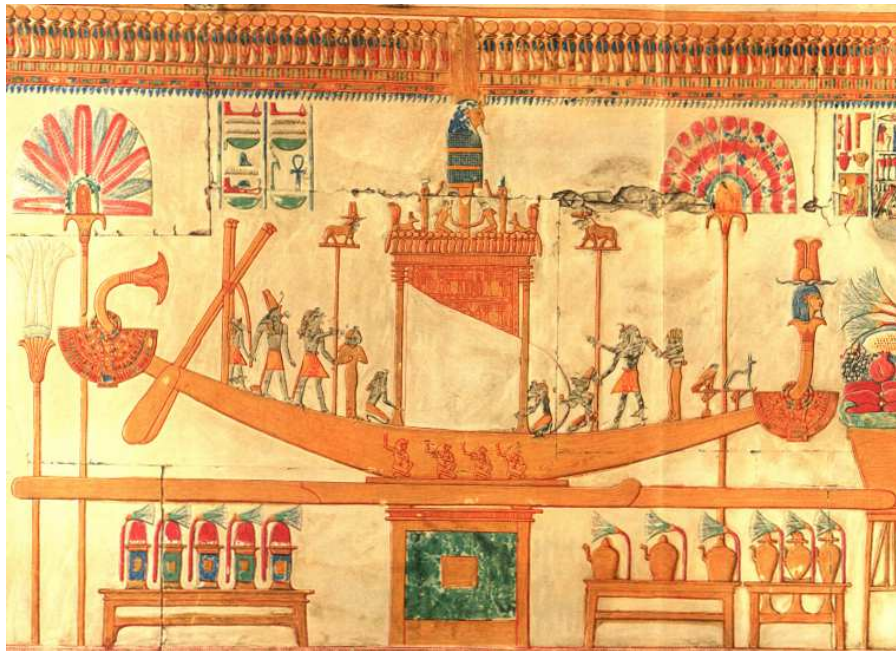


Figure 62.
The divine
barque of
Osiris resting
on a plinth
(Calverley,
vol. I, 1933,
pl. 7).

Like other barques, the barque of Osiris has the normative features of divine barques: a shrine cabinet, carrying poles, a veil, a sledge, rudders, and votive figures. Unlike other barques there are details that are a contrast to other extant barques. The jewelled collars hang around the narrow ends of the hull and are not flush with the single figurehead on the prow. The hull of the barque terminates at both ends with papyrus stems.

The faces of several of the votive figures have not been preserved even though the faces of Osiris, Nephthys, and Isis remain intact. On the deck of the barque, a pair of Hapy figures, Bast (or Sekhmet), and Horus can be identified.

Standards of Horus and Wepwawet are found where the royal sphinx would have been placed. The motif found on the side of shrine cabinet is a repeating sequence of two djed pillars and two tjet knots. The shrine cabinet lacks the canopy found on other barques but has a corniced roof that is extended and supported with decorative djed poles.

A uraeus frieze and two larger uraeus figures face away from the centre of the shrine cabinet. The roof supports additional votive figures: two figures of Anubis and a figure of Nephthys and Isis facing towards the Osiris pole that runs through the barque. It is interesting to note that the barque of Osiris does not seem to contain a cult image like other cults but instead used a votive pole. The Osiris cult uses as its primary votive instrument a pole, the *t3-wr* fetish, that is much thicker than typical standards. This pole is possibly constructed from an entire tree that is carved down to size.

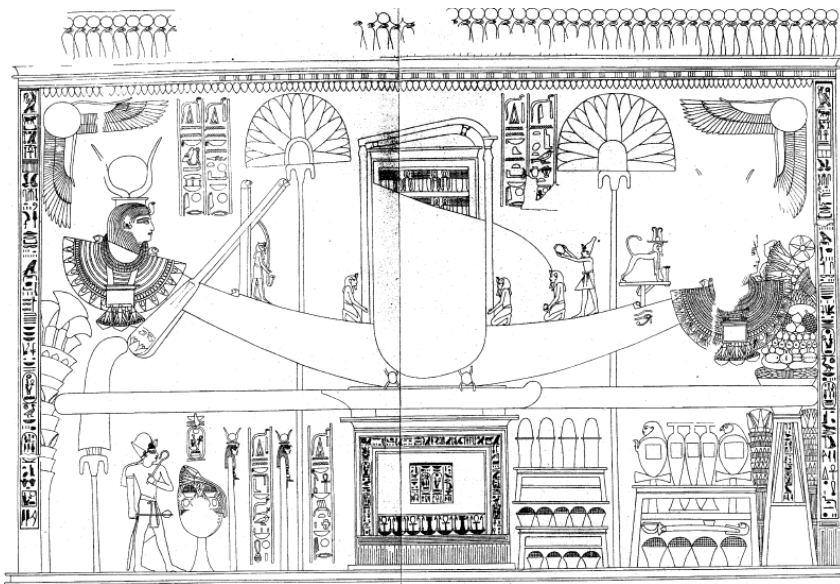


Figure 63. The divine barque of Isis resting on a plinth (Calverley, vol. I, 1933, pl. 19).

The barque of Isis (Fig. 63) follows a pattern that is typical of other examples and has features typical of the Ramesside period, including, poles, sledge, shrine cabinet, canopy, veil, oars, and votive figures. The votive figures are similar to those encountered with the barques at Karnak. The shrine cabinet is decorated with the repeating sequence of two djed pillars and two tjet knots. The lack of the uraeus frieze is atypical and the feature is absent from both Abydos depictions of this barque <Cat. Bx0063, Bx0064>. Even places where the uraeus would be expected, i.e., the tops of the canopy poles, the uraeus is absent. The only places where the uraeus appears on the barque of Isis are upon the royal sphinx and on the Hathor crowns on the figureheads. While the uraeus does not appear to be antithetical to the cult of Isis, the absence of the uraeus on the shrine cabinet is strange.

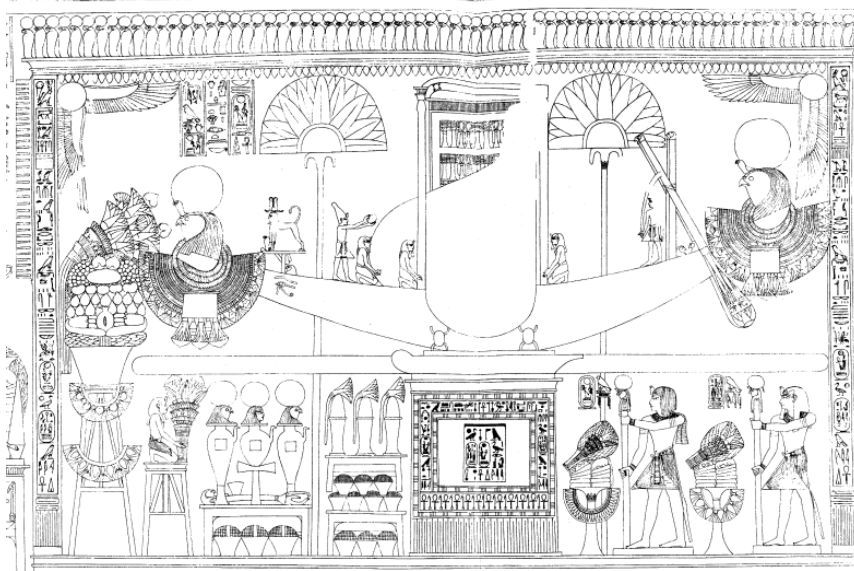


Figure 64. The divine barque of Horus resting on a plinth (Calverley, vol. I, 1933, pl. 30).

The barque of Horus (Fig. 64) is virtually identical to the barque of Isis (Fig. 63) except for the figureheads. There is an iconographic inconsistency that emerges with this particular barque. The figureheads have solar disks which is not normal to most depictions of Horus. In fact the figurehead is very similar to the depictions of the barque of Nekhbet, and this example could have been identified as a Nekhbet barque if it had not been for the text labels in the reliefs. This does raise questions about the identification of certain Khonsu, Nekhbet, and Horus barques that have ambiguous features.

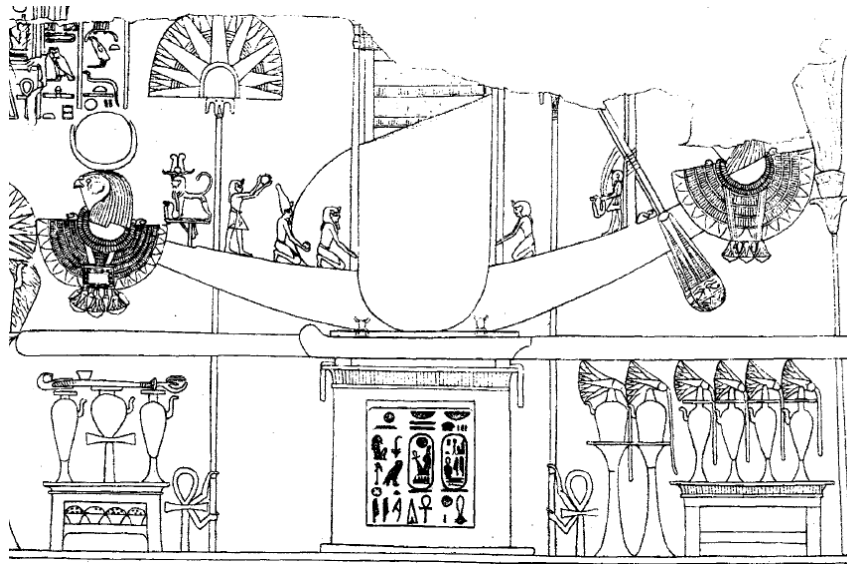


Figure 65. The divine barque of Khonsu resting on a plinth (Calverley, vol. II, 1935, pl. 10).

The barque of Khonsu (Fig. 65) at Abydos has some minor differences that makes it distinct from the barque of Horus (Fig. 64). The most notable difference is the figurehead which has the addition of a crescent moon under the lunar disk, whereas the barque of Horus lacks any crescent with the solar disk. Another minor difference is the votive figures. The Khonsu barque has a standing figure with a loaf wearing a *h3t* crown and a kneeling figure with incense pots wearing a *hdt* crown,

whereas the Horus barque has the standing figure with a *hdt* crown and the kneeling figure with a *h3t* crown. The barque of Mut has the same arrangement of votive figures as the barque of Khonsu <Cat. Bx0067>. And like the Horus barque, the side of the shrine cabinet of the Khonsu barque has a repeating sequence of two djed and two tjet figures.⁷³⁶

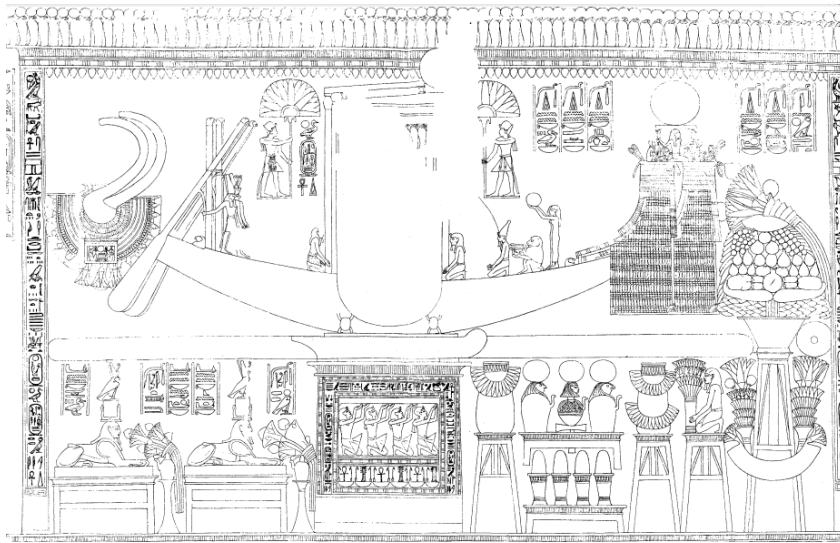


Figure 66. The divine barque of Re-Horakhty resting on a plinth (Calverley, vol. II, 1935, pl. 15).

The barque of Re-Horakhty (Fig. 66) differs from the other barques in a number of ways. A solar disk was mounted to the front of the canopy. The sides of the shrine cabinet are decorated by uraeus serpents, and an winged uraeus with a coiled tail decorated the side of the shrine roof <Cat. Bx0070>. The purpose of these symbols was to maintain the ritual purity of the contents through votive symbols and magical warding. Some of the votive figures were kings, but there were also the figures of gods. Two falconine gods wearing the double crown act as

⁷³⁶ Amice M. Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1934), pl. 11.

oarsmen. A baboon holding an eye of Horus (probably Thoth) sat on the deck, and two goddesses stood behind the baboon holding a solar disk.

The hull of the barque is also different. Instead of a single hull, there were two hulls bound together. The two hulls are visible at the prow and stern. At the stern the two ends of the hull were passed through the beaded collars. Also there are not two but four oars visible. The two hulls at the prow of the barque manifested as a beaded mesh that draped down, and at the right corner is a frog (Heket). The two bows were gathered together by a Re-Horakhty as a child sitting across the two bows, holding up a heaven sign with a solar disk above it. The sterns of the hulls are deeply recurved without a terminating figurehead.

The barque of Ptah <Cat. Bx0071> has a double hull like that of Re-Horakhty. It had a recurved tail similar to the barques found at Semna. When compared to the barque of Dedwen at Semna <Cat. Bx0017>, there were some minor differences in iconography. The barque at Abydos had an additional votive figure, a kneeling king wearing a *h3t* crown. The barque at Abydos had a collar tied around the prow and stern of the hull. The prow of the barque of Ptah had two overlapping images of Re-Horakhty standing on a djed pillar, one per hull.

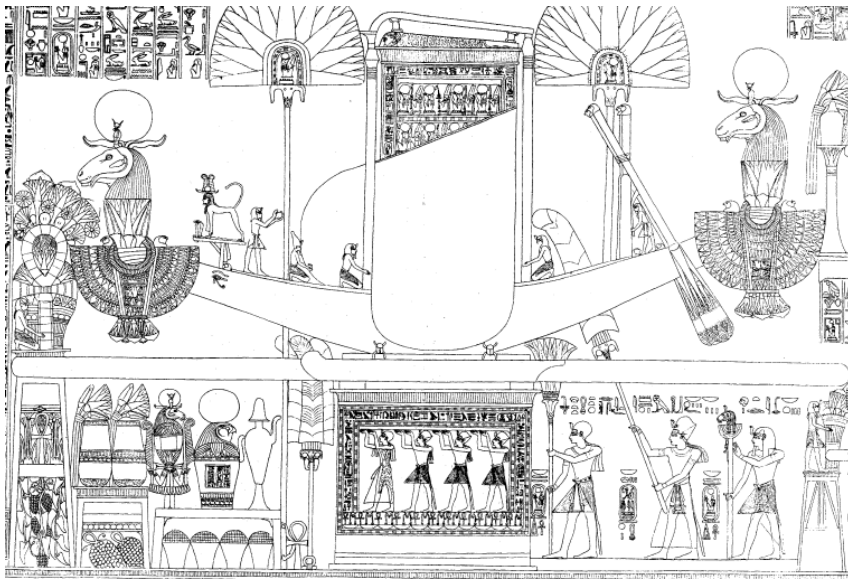


Figure 67. The divine barque of Amun-Re resting on a plinth (Calverley, vol. II, 1935, pl. 10).

The barque of Amun-Re (Fig. 67) at Abydos differs from the depiction of barques found elsewhere. The most significant difference is the figurehead that has the head of Amun-Re emerging from a lotus flower.

There is an inconsistency in the depiction of the barque of Amun-Re. The left side of the shrine cabinet <Cat. Bx0068> shows a repeating sequence of Re and Amun figures. The two visible registers show the same sequence. The right side of the shrine cabinet <Cat. Bx0067> shows a repeating sequence of Re and Amun figures in the top register and a repeating sequence of djed and tjet figure in the register below.

Most of the depictions of barques at Abydos were found within their respective barque chapels. In the Hall of Barques (= Mariette room Z), which dates to the period of Ramesses II, we do not have complete reliefs of barques, instead there is a depiction of Ramesses II venerating six figureheads of the barques <Cat. Bx0083>. Each figurehead is labeled. The labels found in the Hall of Barques are consistent with the identification found within each of the barque chapels. The

portrayal of the figurehead of Amun-Re is consistent with that found in the barque chapel, a portrayal which is unique to the Abydos locale. Other unique features found on the chapel figureheads also appear in the Hall of Barques including the double-hull and figurehead of the barques of Ptah and Re-Horakhty. Differences, however, do exist between the Hall and barque chapels. In the barque chapel depiction of the figurehead of Osiris, the head is on the end of an elongated prow with a papyrus stem. The Osiris head is attached directly to the collars in the Hall of Barques. In the depictions of the figureheads of Amun-Re, Horus, Isis, and Re-Horakhty, the pectoral amulets are missing from the collars. The pectoral amulets may be a removable feature to the barques and as such may not be a key or identifying feature. And in the case of the figurehead of Osiris, the figurehead neck may have been shortened so as to work with the other depictions of the figureheads before Ramesses II. Therefore, while the figureheads shown in the Hall of Barques are consistent with the depictions in the chapels, there are some differences. The figureheads in the Hall of Barques overall seems to confirm the more detailed depictions found in the barque chapels.

4.3.8. Divine Barque at El Kab

The Temple of Amenhotep III was co-dedicated to Nekhbet and Hathor. The chapel originally belonged to Sobekhotep III; however, extensive remodeling by Amenhotep III to the barque relief is why it really should be considered an Dynasty 18 example. The relief inside the barque sanctuary is one of the few reliefs that confirms the identity of a barque of Nekhbet <Cat. Bx0028>. Given that this relief

was found in the sanctuary, it is natural that the barque is depicted resting upon a plinth.

The votive images upon the barque are composed of a royal sphinx and four worshipping kings as well as oarsmen. The standing king figure is wearing the *ḥdt* crown. The figureheads are falconine with long hair, collars, and a smaller bird head by the neck. The figurehead also has a solar disk with a uraeus serpent. Stylistically the barque and figurehead is similar to other falconine barques, e.g., Khonsu.

4.3.9. Divine Barques at Karnak

Karnak as a context for divine barques presents us with several difficulties not presented at other sites. The reliefs at Karnak have been modified many times by successive kings making contemporaneous comparisons difficult.⁷³⁷ The site was a major cult site from at least Dynasty 12 until the Roman period. Our focus here will be to set out the iconography, so it can be used as a basis for comparison with clearer examples from other locales.

Barque use at Karnak extends as far back as the reign of Senwosret I (Dynasty 12). The only surviving remnants of this barque shrine are the blocks found in the construction of Pylon IX showing the king presenting offerings to what is probably the barque of Amun <Cat. Bx0002>. The relief however is badly worn and not found in its original Middle Kingdom context, so little more can be said of

⁷³⁷ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, 32 and 212-214.

it, except that it does establish an orthopraxis using barques as early as the Middle Kingdom at Karnak.

An early New Kingdom example of divine barques is the Barque of Amun at Karnak that was depicted on a block within the barque sanctuary (*st wrt*) of Amenhotep I <Cat. Bx0004>. The block is minimalistic in regards to the iconography of the furnishing. The barque features the ram's head figures on prow and stern, a single figurine of a royal sphinx on a standard facing the prow, and a pair of rudders but no deck crew. A light sledge was present but was not thicker than the carrying poles. It seems apparent that the sledge at this point was little more than ceremonial. The shrine cabinet of the barque that is visible is not decorated on its lower registers, but it has a canopy and tent poles.

The figurehead on the barque of Amun lacks jewelled collars. This is not saying that the physical object lacked the jewelled collars. The more plausible explanation is that the iconography of the figurehead had not yet developed to the point where the collars were shown stylized in profile.

A distinctive feature of these early barques of Amun is a figurehead with the lack of an elaborate crown. Many of these figureheads had little more than a uraeus with a Hathor crown. These early Amun figureheads even lacked the solar disk that would become their distinctive trait in later years.

One of the interesting features about early barques is that the carrying poles were very slender and had a light sledge. The shrine cabinet of early barques appears to be significantly narrower than the plinth that it is resting upon suggesting that these early barques were lighter than their successors. While the increasing numbers of priests over time carrying the barque is not necessarily direct evidence

of a heavier load, an increase in the number of columns of priests and a larger sledge does suggest that a heavier barque could be accommodated. If such were the case, it raises the question that these barques may not have only been augmented but also, from time to time, replaced completely. A residual question that this raises is what rituals surrounded the induction and retirement of sacred barques?

Between the reigns of Thutmosis II and Hatshepsut, several modifications were made to the divine barques at Karnak. The light sledge continued to be used with the height of that sledge being not much thicker than the pole, which at this point remains slight <Cat. Bx0006>. Around this time a veil was added that was wrapped around the base of the shrine cabinet. The veil was drawn under the canopy poles forming a tight wrapping around the base of the cabinet <Cat. Bx0009>. Additional figures were added to the deck including worshippers to the front and back of the shrine cabinet. Two figures stand between the prow and the sphinx: Isis and Maat <Cat. Bx0009, Bx0005>. Some barques ca. Hatshepsut also had an oarsman, e.g., <Cat. Bx0008>. Two fan bearers stand with fans above the barque <Cat. Bx0006>.

These attendants that stood upon the deck of the barque acted as proxies to serve the god. This function is similar to shabti figures that were used in tombs, whose function was to serve the deceased in the afterlife. The kinds of figures that were used on the decks of the ritual barques included human navigators, worshippers, and offering bearers but also included supernatural beings such as sphinxes. It is important to note that the servants are not commoners but are often manifestations of kings. The humans were depicted wearing the *h3t* crown and the

hdt white crown of Upper Egypt,⁷³⁸ and even the sphinx is a symbol of royal sovereignty and power. The tradition of kings serving on the barques of gods goes back to the Old Kingdom with kings serving Re on the solar barque.⁷³⁹

During the reign of Hatshepsut, we find that the barque of Amun-Re was probably carried by twelve priests, i.e., two columns of six priests <Cat Bx0010>, although only one column is shown in profile. At the Chapelle Rouge the barque is shown in procession with a single column of six priests visible <Cat. Bx0007>. The artistic convention of showing the barque of Amun-Re with only a single column of priests seems typical of the repertoire that was used with this particular barque at Karnak, even though overlapping figures have by that time been used elsewhere, e.g., Deir el-Bahari <Cat. Bx0013>. It is possible that the red quartzite used at the Chapelle Rouge mandated a rendering that worked within the limitations of the substrate (see art materials theory, p 176).

In Thutmose III's reign the styling and portrayal of the barque of Amun-Re is similar to what we find during Hatshepsut's reign. During the reign of Thutmose III, the iconographic use of overlapping columns of priests was introduced to Karnak <Cat. Bx0014> with two columns of eight priests (sixteen priests) being shown carrying the barque of Sokar. There does appear to be a reticence to change the Karnak repertoire until it had been already established by other cults.

⁷³⁸ Katja Goebis, "Crowns," *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 323-324.

⁷³⁹ PT 252, 262, 267, 309.

The instance of the barque of Amun-Re from the reign of Thutmosis IV gives little additional detail <Cat. Bx0020>. The relief is damaged at both figureheads and on the shrine cabinet. The offering list encroaches close enough to the prow figurehead to suggest that this barque retained the use of the single uraeus crown.

Little remains of the relief of the barque of Amun-Re from the Third Pylon at Karnak dating to the reign of Amenhotep III <Cat. Bx0021>. All that is visible are poles, sledge, and a tip of the collar from the prow figurehead. However, much more is extant from the barge of Amun-Re (Fig. 68), which has a figurehead of Amun-Re with the double horns and crown of Khnum.⁷⁴⁰ This barge figurehead is similar to the barque figurehead found on the barque at Deir el-Bahari <Cat. Bx0013>. It is intuitive to assume that figureheads of the barques match those of the barges, yet other barge scenes suggest that there may have been a discord between the figureheads on barque and barge, e.g., <Cat. Bx0088>.



Figure 68. Figurehead from the barge of Amun-Re of Amenhotep III (Foucart, 1924, pl. III).

⁷⁴⁰ Georges Foucart, "La documentation thébaine," *BIFAO* 24 (1924), pl. III.

By the reign of Horemheb, the barques of the Theban triad had been further expanded. The barque of Khonsu depicted on the reliefs at Luxor temple shows that twenty-four priests were being employed for the Opet Festival procession, i.e., three columns of eight priests <Cat. Bx0037>. The figurehead of the Khonsu barque now bore the lunar disk. While we do not have a lot of early examples of the Khonsu barque, early examples of the barque of Amun-Re lack the solar disk, e.g., <Cat. Bx0010>. The barque of Amun-Re was crowned with a uraeus and was not augmented with a solar disk prior to the reign of Seti I, compare <Cat. Bx0039> with <Cat. Bx0078, Bx0092>. The barque of Amun-Re has the full complement of deck figures: Maat, Isis, a sphinx statant with the Sobek crown facing the prow on a standard with a uraeus, a sphinx couchant facing the shrine cabinet, a king with *hdt* crown standing presenting a loaf, a king with a *h3t* crown kneeling presenting incense offerings, two kings with *h3t* crowns kneeling worshipping (one at the front and one at the back of the shrine cabinet), and two kings with *h3t* crowns acting as oarsmen <Cat. Bx0051>. Figures were also added to the sledge: one king with a *h3t* crown followed by three jackal deities (perhaps representing the four sons of Horus). The interior of the barque is also represented as if visible through the side of the shrine cabinet and the veil. In the example from Luxor Temple, Amun-Re in falconine form is seated on *nb* and *mri* symbols. Two goddesses are displayed respectant⁷⁴¹ with Amun-Re between them. The goddesses are winged and seated on a *nb* symbol.

⁷⁴¹ “Respectant” is a heraldic term meaning “facing each other.”

The iconographic changes that took place during the reign of Seti I established a pattern for the barque of Amun-Re that would not be significantly changed during the remainder of the New Kingdom. The source of these images is the Great Hypostyle Hall that was started by Seti I and completed by Ramesses II. The crown of the figurehead now bears the full solar disk and the interior of the shrine cabinet has two compartments <Cat. Bx0079>, and a uraeus frieze was added to the shrine cabinet <Cat. Bx0077>. The upper compartment shows the image of Amun wearing the atef crown and seated upon a Nefertum flower over a *mri*-sign. To each side of the votive figure are kneeling servants each holding a Wedjat eye. These three figures are flanked by a pair of winged goddesses. Each goddess has a solar disk on her head, is holding up the ankh-sign, and is standing upon a *mn*-sign. The lower compartment has the image of Re with a solar disk and holding a Maat feather at a 60° angle seated upon a *mn*-sign. To each side of Re is a goddess with a solar disk on her head kneeling upon a *mn*-sign; in their upper hand is an ankh and their lower hand is empty. The significance of the *mn*-sign is that it is a cryptographic writing of the prenomen of Seti I, Menmaatre.

A different Seti I relief of the barque of Amun-Re (Fig. 69) on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall shows similar features, except that the goddesses in the lower compartment are holding was-ankh-djed staves in their lower hands <Cat. Bx0078>. This relief shows evidence of a palimpsest that shows that there was a larger two compartment box-shrine. The was-ankh-djed staves are found in the other Karnak reliefs <Cat. Bx0076, Bx0077, Bx0095>. In the relief from the north half of the east wall, the lower hands of these goddesses are empty <Cat. Bx0079>.

The relief of the west side of the north wall shows two additional votive figures <Cat. Bx0077>. There is a second kneeling king wearing a *hdt* crown in front of a winged kneeling goddess with Kheper wings and a solar disk and uraeus. Another kneeling king wearing a *hdt* crown and holding a Maat goddess sign is present between the goddess (with standing djed and ankh symbols) and the shrine cabinet. These added figures may have also been present in earlier reliefs but are visible in this relief because of its detail.

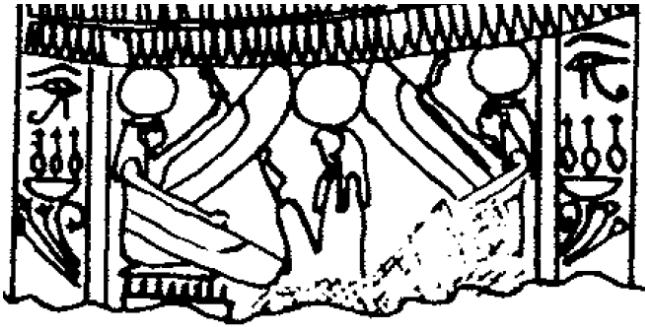


Figure 69. Lower compartment from the shrine cabinet of the barque of Amun-Re of Seti I (Nelson, 1981, pl. 226).

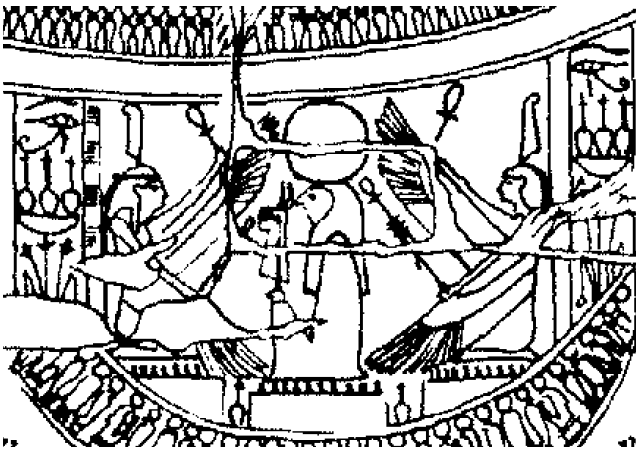


Figure 70. Lower compartment from the shrine cabinet of the barque of Amun-Re of Ramesses II (Nelson, 1981, pl. 53).

The barque of Amun-Re during the reign of Ramesses II takes on some minor iconographic changes <Cat. Bx0089>. Images from the reign of Ramesses II are found in the Great Hypostyle Hall. In the upper compartment of the barque of Amun-Re, the goddesses are holding a *wsr*-sceptre instead of the ankh sign. This

iconographic change reflects the cryptographic writing of Ramesses II's prenomen, Usmatre.

The goddesses in the lower compartment (Fig. 70) are also different from the Seti I reliefs. The goddess on the left is Maat who has a Maat-feather on her head and headband. At first blush, the god on the right appears to be Shu with a Shu-feather on his head and no headband; however, it is more likely that the figure is simply another Maat drawn with a Shu-feather. In their lower hand is a staff with an ankh-djed-was sceptre. The image of Re is holding a was superimposed over a Maat feather, which is probably Ramesses II's redaction of Seti I's unfinished reliefs with his prenomen rebus. This holding the Maat feather vertically is found in other Karnak barques dating to Ramesses II <Cat. Bx0091>. The sceptres held by the goddesses in the lower compartment can also appear in was-ankh-djed order in some Ramesses II reliefs <Cat. Bx0093>. And there are other reliefs dating to Ramesses II where these goddesses have solar disks instead of feathers as crowns <Cat. Bx0093, Bx0094, Bx0095>.

On the north half of the west wall of the Hypostyle Hall is a relief of the barque of Amun-Re being transported on the barge of Amun-Re <Cat. Bx0092>. Behind the kiosk is the barque of Khonsu resting on a plinth. In front of the kiosk is another barque with headbands upon the figureheads, clearly labeled with the cartouche Ahmose-Nefertari. This identification would confirm the participation of the Ahmose-Nefertari barque at Karnak as early as Dynasty 19 and probably was also extant in Luxor during the reign of Horemheb.⁷⁴²

⁷⁴² Christina Karlshausen, "Une barque d'Ahmès-Néfertari à Louxor?" *SAK* 23 (1996), 225.

Another interesting distinction of the Karnak reliefs is the priests carrying the barques <Cat. Bx0089>. The numbers of priests that are employed at Karnak maintained the numbers established by Horemheb recorded by the Luxor reliefs (30 for Amun-Re and 18 for other barques) (see <Cat. Bx0034, Bx0036>). The most interesting feature is that the priests for the barque of Amun-Re were wearing masks; the priests in front were wearing falconine masks and those to the rear were wearing Anubis masks. Priests for the barques of Khonsu and Mut are not shown wearing masks. From the relief on the south wall west side, there is a procession of the Theban triad <Cat. Bx0094>. The identities of these barques is confirmed by the inscriptions on the north wall west side <Cat. Bx0093>. The priests carrying the barque of Amun-Re in <Cat. Bx0094> lack the masks shown in <Cat. Bx0089>.

Another image from the Great Hypostyle Hall <Cat. Bx0088> shows the barques of Amun-Re, Khonsu, and Mut being transported upon the barge of Amun-Re. While there is remarkable consistency between these images including the solar disks and shrine cabinet compartments, there are some differences that need to be noted. First, the figurehead on the barque of Amun-Re differs from the barge of Amun-Re. The figureheads on the barge use the Khnum crown. We will see from the Luxor reliefs that there was a figurehead mismatch concerning the barge figureheads for Mut/Amonet (p. 247). This mismatch of figureheads does not appear to have bothered the ancient Egyptians. Second, the figurehead on the prow of the barque of Amun-Re has a pectoral amulet, but this feature is missing from the aft figurehead. This difference may show that the pectoral amulet was a feature that was not fixed.

The Triple Barque Shrine of Seti II, located near the First Pylon, is a rest shrine that was used for the processions of the Theban triad as it traveled to the western quay. While the general configuration of the barques of Mut <Cat. Bx0129>, Amun-Re <Cat. Bx0130, Bx0131>, and Khonsu <Cat. Bx0132> remain consistent with the barques of early Dynasty 19, their portrayal begins to undergo a subtle artistic change. The collars of the figureheads begin to be enlarged as a stylistic convention during this period. The enlargement of the figurehead collars was a trend that continued until Dynasty 25.

The Temple of Ramesses III at Karnak, which opens from the south into the forecourt between the First and Second Pylons, shows several reliefs with barques. The relief on the east wall of the first court shows five barques on procession for the Festival of Amun-Re <Cat. Bx0136>. The relief has the Amun-Re barque in the lead with the barques of Khonsu and Amonet in the top register and with Mut and Ramesses III in the lower register. All the barques of this relief have standing kings with *h3t* crowns. The relief on the east wall of the first court shows the bottom compartment of the shrine cabinet of the barque of Amun-Re with a cult image of Re in falconine form <Cat. Bx0137, Bx0138>. This is unlike the reliefs at Medinet Habu where the bottom votive figure is in the form of a ram. This would point to the idea that the cult of Amun-Re, while largely syncretized by Dynasty 20, still maintained individual practices at various cult centres. The barques of Mut <Cat. Bx0141> and Khonsu <Cat. Bx0142, Bx0143> are also present in the Temple of Ramesses III but are not significantly altered from previous instances.

The Temple of Khonsu (Herihor, Dynasty 21) has several barque reliefs depicting the Theban triad. On the west wall of the court, the barque of Amun-Re is shown in its barge. Little survives of the barque except the dual compartments; however, the figurehead of the barge shows Amun-Re wearing the Khnum crown decorated with two uraeus wearing Heket crowns <Cat. Bx0163>. Compare this figurehead with the relief on the east wall having the solar disk crown <Cat. Bx0167>.

Also on the west wall is a relief of barge of Amonet transporting the barque of Mut <Cat. Bx0164>. The compartment on the barque of Mut has the seated cult image of Mut wearing the double crown flanked by winged Wadjet wearing the *dšrt* crown. The collars of the figureheads of the barque are enlarged and flared up. The continuation of the scene with the Khonsu barge shows little difference between the figureheads of barge and barque <Cat. Bx0165>. The compartment has the cult image of Khonsu seated with a lunar disk flanked with falcon deities having lunar disks. The lack of consistency between barque figureheads and the barge figureheads clearly continued into Dynasty 21.

On the north wall of the court of the Temple of Khonsu, four of the divine barques are shown in procession <Cat. Bx0166>. The barques are labeled as follows: Amun-Re, king of the gods; Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep; Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, and Amon[et resi]ding in Karnak. The crown on the figurehead of the barque of Amonet is identical to the figurehead of the barge used by the so-called barge of Mut <Cat. Bx0164>. The form of the barque is almost identical to that of the barque of Isis, except for the standing king and for the poles of the canopy. On the barque of Amonet, the canopy poles have “jars” near the tops of the

poles. Here we see the importance of the standing votive figure of the king as a key element for barque differentiation and identification.

The east wall of the court has a scene of the Theban triad resting on plinths with Herihor presenting incense and libation offerings <Cat. Bx0167>. In this depiction all three barques are presented with their inner cabinets exposed. The barque of Mut and Khonsu display a single compartment while Amun-Re shows both compartments. There is a slight change to the barque of Mut from previous periods. The canopy poles have been augmented with Hathor heads (Fig. 71). This configuration is similar to the canopy poles found on the barque of Mut of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu <Cat. Bx0154>, although the frieze is different (Fig. 72). The frieze is a repeating sequence of *wsr* sceptres, solar deities, and cartouches during Ramesses III and uraeus and solar deities during Herihor. This change in the frieze also occurs with the barque of Khonsu <Cat. Bx0168>; however, the canopy poles on the barque of Khonsu remain unchanged at this stage. The consistent use of the cryptographic use of the king's prenomen on the barques suggests that the function of these barque did not only serve a priestly religious function but also served a political function that upheld the king in a cooperative role that showed the legitimacy of the king's reign and established that the king was an inaugurated divine power.

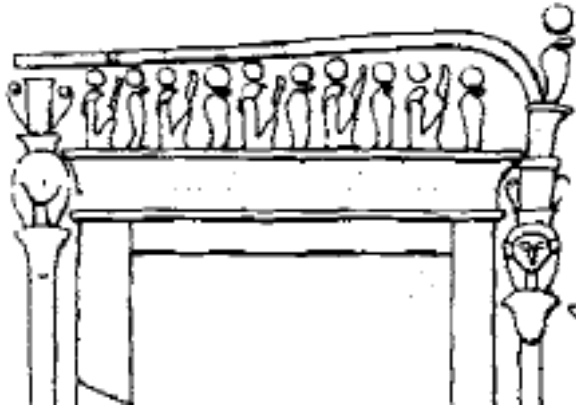


Figure 71. Canopy from the shrine cabinet of the barque of Mut of Herihor in the Temple of Khonsu (Wente, 1979, pl. 53).

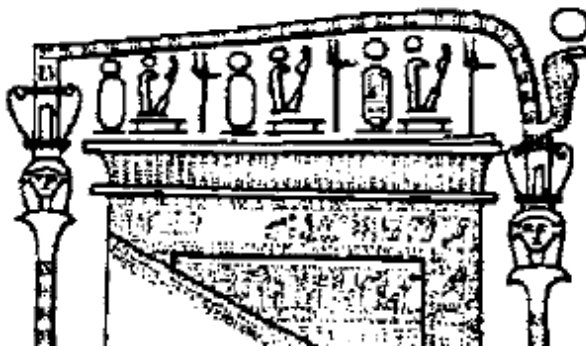


Figure 72. Canopy from the shrine cabinet of the barque of Mut of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Nelson, 1940, pl. 229).



Figure 73. Canopy from the shrine cabinet of the barque of Mut of Horemheb in the Temple of Luxor (Dorman, 1994, pl. 46).

It should be noted that the presentation of incense by the king to the barque is not just found at Karnak but was ubiquitous. It is possible that the presentation of incense prepared the barque for service similar to the initiation rituals used for

temples and coffins.⁷⁴³ And while other sites may tell us more about the objects, no site has a longer history of barques, and thus Karnak will always be the most important site for barque reliefs.

4.3.10. Divine Barques at Luxor

The history of Luxor is complex. The temple that had stood at Luxor was destroyed by Amenhotep III and rebuilt to face Karnak.⁷⁴⁴ It is at this time that he strongly linked the festal calendar at Luxor to that at Karnak, overriding the distinct rituals that may have been held there and increasing the length of the Opet festival from 11 days under Hatshepsut to 24 days.⁷⁴⁵ The processional colonnade was built by Amenhotep III but was decorated by Tutankhamun, Horemheb, and Seti I. And an additional court and pylon was added by Ramesses II.

Early barques from Luxor Temple are found in the second antechamber of the temple and date to the reign of Amenhotep III when the Luxor temple was destroyed and rebuilt. This portion of the temple suffers from issues of preservation and publication. Very little of these reliefs survives today, and the primary publication from this portion of Luxor by Gayet in 1894 has accuracy issues. The reliefs at Luxor Temple deserve full and accurate publication; however, that task is beyond the scope of this publication.

⁷⁴³ Aylward M. Blackman, "The Significance of Incense and Libations in Funerary and Temple Ritual," *ZÄS* 50 (1912), 75.

⁷⁴⁴ Elizabeth Blyth, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 105.

⁷⁴⁵ Haring, *Divine Households*, 45.

The iconography that does exist of the Amenhotep III barque reliefs shows that the iconography was still in a pioneering phase. First, the “standing king” that becomes important in later reliefs is only sporadically attested in the early reliefs. Perhaps, the early success of the Amunist cult spurred other cults to adopt the feature. Second, when the interior of the shrine cabinet was shown, the image of the votive statue was drawn as a Khepri.

The Amenhotep III portion of Luxor temple has several barque reliefs that are of interest. In the Chapel of Mut, a chamber to the southern side of the hypostyle hall, there is a barque that has figureheads that bear remarkable resemblance to the later barque of Ahmose-Nefertari (for discussion of Ahmose-Nefertari, see p. 244) and compare with <Cat. Bx0092>. Unfortunately, the utterance text for this relief is highly degraded.

Likewise from the second antechamber in the main temple, which is the chamber immediately before the barque sanctuary (*st wrt*), three early barques are depicted on procession. In the leading position, closest to the barque sanctuary is the barque of Amun-Re. The barque of Amun-Re of Amenhotep III retains the uraeus crown of the early barques of Karnak <Cat. Bx0025>. The four columns of six priests are shown overlapping one another, making the total number of priests carrying the barque twice as many as those carrying the barque during the reign of Hatshepsut <Cat. Bx0007>. The deck crew begins at the prow with a pair of standing goddesses similar to what is found on barque biers (p. 203). This is followed by a royal sphinx, followed by a kneeling king with a *h3t* crown and a recumbent sphinx, followed by a standing king holding a Khepri over a kneeling king giving worship. Perhaps most interesting is that the interior of the shrine

cabinet is exposed through both the sides of the shine and the veil. Inside the shrine cabinet is a pair of winged goddesses with their wings surrounding the god, represented by a Khepri, in the centre. It is clear that at this point in time the barque of Amun-Re had only one compartment <Cat. Bx0025>. The relief is labeled but does not have an utterance text.

Following the barque of Amun-Re is a barque with female figureheads <Cat. Bx0024>. The figurehead is the same as the figurehead associated with the barque of Ahmose-Nefertari <Cat. Bx0092>. This barque is accompanied by an utterance text spoken by Mut, Lady of Asheru. The portion of the relief with the deck crew is badly damaged, and the shrine cabinet shows the veil but not the contents.

There is a third early barque from the second antechamber shown that belongs to a falconine deity <Cat. Bx0023>. The figurehead is falconine with a solar/lunar disk and uraeus. There is no evidence that there ever was a lunar crescent with this barque. The foredeck crew is limited only to a royal sphinx and a kneeling king giving worship. The utterance text that accompanies this barque reads *dd-mdw s3 mry*, “A beloved son utters,” which might infer Khonsu as son of Amun and Mut without actually stating it. However, the iconography is more in keeping with the barque of Horus, another “beloved son.”

From the third antechamber which is the chamber that surrounds the barque sanctuary, there are two additional reliefs of the barque of Amun-Re dating to Amenhotep III <Cat. Bx0026, Bx0027>. The two barque portrayals are not significantly different from the depiction of the barque of Amun-Re in the second antechamber <Cat. Bx0025>, except that the barque is shown at rest on a plinth. They do exhibit one other interesting detail, which is that they squeeze in the

Nekhbet vulture that is on the back of the veil, showing that the veil is an extension of the wings of the goddess. This detail is also found on the veil from a relief in the Chapelle Rouge, which shows the Nekhbet vulture wrapping her wings as part of the veil <Cat. Bx0005>.

At the beginning of Dynasty 19, Horemheb and Seti I made several additions to Luxor including the barque reliefs in the Colonnade Hall. Between the reigns of Tutankhamun and Seti I, several barque reliefs were added to a colonnade hall leading up to the Amenhotep III temple. Portions of the inner compartment of the barque of Amun-Re were revealed <Cat. Bx0042>. A pair of Maat winged goddesses are kneeling surrounding a small Khepri. At this point there is no inference of a second compartment, which is consistent with the Luxor barques of Amenhotep III, e.g. <Cat. Bx0025>. When on procession the barque was carried by five columns of six priests (total 30) <Cat. Bx0036>, one column more than what was used with the royal barque and two more than with the barques of the Beloved Son <Cat. Bx0034> and Mut <Cat. Bx0037>.

The barques involved in the Opet Festival are shown in procession to Karnak Temple. With respect to the iconography alone, the divine barques displayed include those of Amun-Re <Cat. Bx0032>, two barques attributable to Mut <Cat. Bx0051, Bx0030>, and three barques attributable to Khonsu <Cat. Bx0034, Bx0050, Bx0037>, and the royal barque of the king <Cat. Bx0033>. The barque reliefs that are found in the Colonnade Hall are not consistent with regards to their iconography. At the entrance to the hypostyle hall, the archetypal barques of Khonsu and Mut are depicted on the walls. The Khonsu barque leaves as a barque with a *ḥdt* crowned standing king <Cat. Bx0034> and returns with a *ḥ3t* crowned

standing king <Cat. Bx0037>, neither of which have the crescent moon on the figurehead found on the archetypal Khonsu barque <Cat. Bx0050>.

Karlshausen first noticed that the pattern of the barques at Luxor did not match the Theban triad as shown at Karnak. The barque of the woman with the headband crown she identified as belonging to Ahmose-Nefertari.⁷⁴⁶ Her case for this identification is persuasive but is based upon comparative iconography found in later examples from the Ramesseum and Karnak. The fact is that the early Mut barque at Luxor is particularly challenging because of its ambiguous iconography; therefore, the ultimate identity of the Dynasty 18 barque of Mut may not be easily resolved. While there was thought to be an Amenhotep III temple at the site of the Temple of Mut,⁷⁴⁷ the existing walls of the precinct do not “as yet demonstrably pre-date the Ramesside Period; many are, or may be, later than Dynasty XX”.⁷⁴⁸ So there is little that can be derived from the Temple of Mut that could easily resolve the relationship between Amonet and Mut in Dynasty 18.

The barque that is accompanied with an utterance text identifying the speaker as “Mut, lady of Heaven” bears a figurehead wearing a circlet crown with a uraeus that has a Hathor crown <Cat. Bx0030>. Given the reliefs found in Luxor Temple dating to Amenhotep III, one possibility is that this form, i.e., a uraeus on the forehead of a woman with a standing king wearing a *hdt* crown, represents an early form of the barque of Mut that later gave way to the archetypal form, which

⁷⁴⁶ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, 101.
Karlshausen, *SAK* 23 (1996), 219.

⁷⁴⁷ PM II, 255.

⁷⁴⁸ Richard Fazzini, “Mut-Tempel, Karnak,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, bd. 4, eds. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 248.

used the double crown and a standing king wearing the *h3t* crown. This explanation creates a problem in that both forms are present in the Colonnade Hall, and therefore both forms may have been created contemporaneously. The archetypal barques of Khonsu <Cat. Bx0050> and Mut <Cat. Bx0051> appear in the southern sections of the Colonnade Hall that were modified by Seti I, whereas the sections dating from Tutankhamun to Horemheb seem to have the non-archetypal forms.

Other barques may have participated in the processions at Luxor. The river barge of Amonet (Fig. 74) is clearly identifiable from the reliefs at the Colonnade Hall, which Dorman describes as the “barge of Mut.”⁷⁴⁹ The utterance text ascribes the speech to “[Mut lady of Asch]eru” but the figureheads of the barge without doubt belong to Amonet,⁷⁵⁰ the consort deity of Amun at Karnak. Strangely, the text in the relief makes no mention of Amonet. Yet by the time of Ramesses II, we can be certain that the barque of Amonet played a role in the processions of Thebes <Cat. Bx0106>, a role which continued into Dynasty 20 <Cat. Bx0136>. Ramesses II even established cult statues of Amonet at Luxor.

We can determine that there is certainly a complex relationship between Amonet and Mut. Both goddesses are consort deities to Amun, both were extant in the Theban area at the time of Amenhotep III: Mut at Karnak (ca. Amenhotep I)⁷⁵¹ and Amonet at Luxor (Amenhotep III).⁷⁵² The similarities across several of these

⁷⁴⁹ Peter F. Dorman, ed. *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall: with translations of texts, commentary, and glossary* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), pl.30.

⁷⁵⁰ Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 68.

⁷⁵¹ Herman te Velde, “Mut,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, bd. 4, eds. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 246.

⁷⁵² LD III, 74b.

consort cults permitted Amonet to become identified with the cults of Mut, Hathor, and Isis.⁷⁵³ Perhaps Amonet's occasional portrayal of her wearing the *dšrt* crown associated her with Upper Egypt whereas Mut's archetypal portrayal of her wearing the double crown permitted Mut to assume a more universal appeal, allowing the Mut cult to subsume other consort cults that did not have as strong a following.



Figure 74. Figurehead on the barge of Amonet (Dorman, 1994, pl. 30).

With regard to the barque of Khonsu, it is difficult to be certain about the identity of the falconine barque. While the utterance texts of the Colonnade Hall (ca. Tutankhamun to Horemheb) suggest that it is the barque of Khonsu, the utterance text associated with the falconine barque inside the Amenhotep III temple gives only the name *s3 mry*, “a beloved son.” No less than three distinct configurations appear for falconine barques at the Colonnade Hall. (1) There is the archetypal barque of Khonsu which has a lunar disk, a lunar crescent, and a standing king with *h3t* crown <Cat. Bx0050>, which seems to appear in sections worked by

⁷⁵³ Eberhard Otto, “Amaunet,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, bd. 1, eds. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), 183.

Seti I. (2) There is a falconine barque with a solar disk and a standing king with a *hdt* crown <Cat. Bx0034>. (3) And there is a third falconine barque with a solar disk and a standing king with a *h3t* crown <Cat. Bx0037, Bx0038>.

These three falconine barques are different again from the instance that appears in the Amenhotep III temple <Cat. Bx0023>. The iconography of the barque variant found in <Cat. Bx0034> is practically identical to the barques of Horus (at Abydos) and Nekhbet (at El Kab). There is little question that the falconine barque variant 1 is the Dynasty 19 form of the barque of Khonsu and barque variant 2 is the Dynasty 18 form, which is most similar to the Horus barque given the presence of the *hdt* crown.

It is also possible that early barques at Karnak/Luxor favored the *hdt* crowned figure while later barques favored the *h3t* crown with variant 3 being the transition between variant 2 and variant 1. If so, this would imply that in late Dynasty 18 barques were more inclined to be upgraded then replaced altogether as they were in early Dynasty 18. The *hdt* crown appears to be an earlier variant in the barques of Khonsu and Mut (but not Amun-Re) that transitioned to the *h3t* crown during the reigns of Horemheb to Seti I.

During Dynasty 19 the Khonsu barque became more distinct from the other falconine barques by the addition of a lunar crescent that appears beneath the lunar disk, e.g., <Cat. Bx0050>. Ramesses II expanded Luxor Temple by adding a peristyle open court that incorporated the Triple Barque Shrine that was originally built by Hatshepsut and enhancing the reliefs found there. The depiction of the archetypal barque of Mut reveals an additional detail not seen in other representations. The barque is shown resting on a plinth with the poles and sledge

tracks superimposed <Cat. Bx0097>. The relief shows four poles and four sledge tracks, one per pole. An interesting feature of this barque is that in the position of the standing king, there are two superimposed faces (Fig. 75). One of the faces is wearing the vulture crown of the queen. The shrine of Amun-Re shows a doubling of the



Figure 75. Detail of standing king on the barque of Mut (photo by author).

standing king, even though the heads of the figures have not been preserved <Cat. Bx0098>. The appearance of the doubling of the standing king on the barque relief in the shrine of Khonsu is not as obvious <Cat. Bx0099>. However, where this doubling occurs the *hdt* crown is not used, which rules out the possibility that the barques had both one king with a *h3t* and one with a *hdt* crown but only one side showing. In other instances where both sides of a barque are shown in reliefs from the same context, no difference in the standing king is observed. Thus, the portrayal of the standing king appears to be a static feature regardless of the viewing orientation. The reliefs at Abydos show that the standing king is the same when

viewed from either side for the majority of sacred barques, i.e., <Cat. Bx0063, Bx0064>, <Cat. Bx0065, Bx0066>, and <Cat. Bx0067, Bx0068>, and the same is true of the reliefs of the barque of Dedwen at Semna <Cat. Bx0017, Bx0018>. An exception to this seems to be royal barques that have two kings that are visible from opposite profiles, e.g., <Cat. Bx0104, Bx0108>. Given that archetypal Mut barques are a Dynasty 19 phenomenon, a possible reason for this unusual occurrence at the Triple Shrine at Luxor may reflect the deference between Ramesses II and his queen, Nefertari.

4.3.11. Divine Barques at Qurna

The Temple of Seti I at Qurna has two reliefs of the barque of Amun-Re. The function of this temple was as a memorial temple for the cult of Seti I, although much of the work in this temple was completed by Ramesses II. The temple today is largely destroyed; however, the remnants show that the temple had several barque sanctuaries dedicated to both the Theban triad and the Osirian gods.

The barque reliefs were of the barque of Amun-Re: one on procession and another resting on a plinth. Of the former barque, only the prow figurehead and front rank of priests survives <Cat. Bx0101>. The figurehead had the solar disk that seems typical of Dynasty 19 Amun-Re figureheads. The ram's head of Amun had the curved horns like what is seen in the Karnak reliefs, e.g., <Cat. Bx0089>, but not the horizontal horns that are found in the Abydos reliefs <Cat. Bx0068>. The latter relief has features similar to what is found in the Karnak reliefs of Ramesses II, including the twin compartments in the shrine cabinet with the flanking goddesses and cult images visible <Cat. Bx0100>.

4.3.12. Divine Barque at Deir el-Bahari

At Deir el-Bahari only a single instance of a barque is present, which is a barque of Amun-Re dating to Hatshepsut <Cat. Bx0013>. This is an important example of a barque of Amun-Re as there are several contemporaneous examples from Karnak that allow us to make a direct comparison. The relief has sustained a fair amount of damage, but many important features of the barque are still visible; and the barque is labeled *imn-rꜥ nb nswt t3wy*, “Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands”.⁷⁵⁴

Several features of the figureheads of this barque stand out from the contemporary examples at the Chapelle Rouge, Karnak. The bust of Amun-Re has been given two sets of horns, both curved and straight. The figurehead also has the elaborate Khnum crown, which differs from the single uraeus that was used as a crown in the Karnak reliefs.

The barque is appreciably larger than the one at Karnak. The poles are much thicker than other early examples. There are also many more priests carrying the barque. The relief shows five columns of six priests. This is more than twice the twelve priests that carried the barque of Amun-Re at Karnak <Cat. Bx0007>. A political explanation for the differences between the barque at Karnak versus that of Deir el-Bahari would be reasonable, i.e., Hatshepsut was establishing her authority and power by making her mortuary temple the most resplendent locale of Amunist worship. And given that the number of priests for the barque of Sokar when

⁷⁵⁴ Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, pt. III (London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898), pl. LXXXIII.

compared to the processions of Amun-Re (p. 221), there might be cause to wonder about the state of relations between the Thutmosides and the Thebans.

4.3.13. Divine Barques at the Ramesseum

At the Ramesseum, the mortuary temple of Ramesses II, eight barques are portrayed on the southeast wall of what has been called the Astronomical Room.⁷⁵⁵ As the inscriptions on the wall assert, the procession of the four barques on the right side are going to Amun-Re while the procession of the four barques on the left are coming back to the Ramesseum. With the procession going out to Amun-Re and returning to the Ramesseum, the barques of Khonsu and Mut appear in their canonical forms <Cat. Bx0103, Bx0107, Bx0105, Bx0109> along with the barque of the king <Cat. Bx0104, Bx0108>.

Unique to the going out procession as well as unique to the Ramesseum is a highly detailed portrayal of a barque of Ahmose-Nefertari <Cat. Bx0102>. There is an utterance text with this barque that reads *dd-mdw in hmt-ntr mwt- nsw hmt-nsw wrt nbt t3wy i' hms-nfrtry*, “an utterance of the wife of the god, mother of the king, the great queen, lady of the two lands, Ahmose-Nefertari.” While this example is the finest extant example of a barque of Ahmose-Nefertari, it is consistent with other examples of this type of barque: the standing king is wearing the *hdt* crown and the figurehead is of a woman wearing the vulture crown of a queen with a head band and a uraeus on the forehead.

⁷⁵⁵ PM II, 439.

With the procession coming back to the Ramesseum, the barque of Amonet is shown filling the slot that was occupied by Ahmose-Nefertari <Cat. Bx0106>.

The barque is accompanied by the utterance text *dd-mdw in imnt hrt-ib ipt-swt n imn hq3-w3st*, “an utterance of Amonet residing in Karnak of Amun, ruler of Thebes.”

This is interesting since this is an earlier attestation of a barque of Amonet at Karnak than what is found at Karnak itself, the earliest of which dates to the reign of Herihor <Cat. Bx0166>.

4.3.14. Divine Barques at Medinet Habu

Medinet Habu began as the funerary temple of Ramesses III but quickly became the administrative centre for Theban Necropolis, consolidating the funerary cults of West Thebes. The site was built as an addition to a small Thutmoside temple dedicated to Amun of Djanet.

In addition to the funerary temple, Medinet Habu is the site for a small number of other funerary chapels including the Chapel of Paser. Among the barque representations at the Chapel of Paser, the Sokar barque has already been discussed previously (p. 220). The wall shows the Feast of Sokar but includes other barques on the procession. Of these other barques, the other surviving depictions from this wall include the barque of Isis <Cat. Bx0147>, which has the Hathor crown, the standing king with the *h3t* crown, and a label which reads “Isis the Great, god’s mother, in Abydos.” The other barque relief that appears in this chapel is from the Beautiful Feast of the Valley and is of the barque of Amun-Re <Cat. Bx0148>. This relief has few details and is otherwise unremarkable.

The Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III has a substantial diversity of barque scenes. On the north wall of the second court is a detailed relief of the archetypal barque of Khonsu <Cat. Bx0149>. The figureheads are falconine with lunar crescent and disk and with double jewelled collars, and the pectoral amulet shows an idealized solar barque within it. Despite the detail, there are only six votive figures, which have the arrangement that were normative to Khonsu barques, i.e., standing king wears a *h3t* crown. The interior of the shrine cabinet is not revealed but the frieze has a sequence of a *wsr*-sceptre, seated snake god with Maat feather and solar disk, and a cartouche of Ramesses III with a solar disk, all repeated thrice. The registers on the side of the shrine cabinet have figures of Khonsu holding the *wsr*-sceptre with a border of text with cartouches of Ramesses III. The use of the king's prenomen establishes the royal imprint upon the divine barques denoting a interdependent relationship between king and god.

The north wall of the south court has a scene of the Theban triad resting on plinths <Cat. Bx0154> and on procession <Cat. Bx0155>. There are some changes to the internal chambers of the shrine cabinet from the time of Ramesses II. The top compartment has, seated upon a *mr*-sign upon a *iʿb*-sign (Gardiner Sign W9), Amun with straight and curved horns and an Atef crown. The winged goddesses are standing on the floor of the compartment, holding ankh signs in both hands, and have a solar disk with an overlapping feather on their heads. A full height *wsr*-sceptre is between their wings. The lower compartment which had a falconine form of Re during Dynasty 19 was replaced with the ram form of Amun-Re, with only curved horns and a solar disk and uraeus on its head, seated on a *mr*-sign. The twin

winged goddesses are kneeling on a *nb*-sign and are not holding any sceptres. A full-height *wsr*-sceptre is placed behind each goddess.

The scene at the mortuary temple of Ramesses III from the east wall of the second court portraying the Feast of Sokar shows five barques on procession <Cat. Bx0152>. Three of the barques are identical. The fourth is a barque with a recurved stern and a true shrine cabinet with four vertical stakes. The fifth is an “empty” barque with a recurved stern four vertical stakes and nothing between the stakes. The empty barque is notable in that it gives credence to the idea of the *hmnw* barques as ephemeral objects that are made only for that year’s festival. The three identical barques are significant in that they have no shrine but have a throne between the four stakes. The throne is a block throne with the *hwt* symbol. The sacred barque is both a shrine and the seat of authority for a god. Likewise a throne acted as a form of sacred space. It is clear that this symbolism is commutative between barques and palanquin thrones.

4.3.15. Divine Barque at Elephantine

Only a fragment remains of the relief of a divine barque <Cat. Bx0003> that was found at the Great Temple of Khnum at Elephantine. The block for this particular relief was found in the foundation of the temple. This brings up the question as to whether the block is part of the original temple or was recycled from another temple.

The aft figurehead, oars, and canopy poles of this Dynasty 18 relief survive. However, it is important as an early example of barque reliefs. Karlshausen identifies this barque as belonging to Khnum.⁷⁵⁶ Even though this temple is dedicated to Khnum, this example is perhaps an early example of a barque of Amun. The dedicatory text is specifically to *it imn t3w*, “his father Amun of lands”, not Amun-Re. The aft figurehead is a ram form with the curved horns of Khnum, and upon its head is a uraeus with a Hathor crown. The uraeus with the Hathor crown is a feature commonly found on the figureheads of Dynasty 18 barques, e.g., <Cat. Bx0009>.

4.3.16. Divine Barques at Wadi es-Sebua

The temple located at the Wadi es-Sebua, Nubia was initially built by Amenhotep III but was taken over by Ramesses II and rededicated to Amun and Re-Horakhty.⁷⁵⁷ Barsanti and Gauthier’s study of stelae from es-Sebua shows a variety of triads represented; the first two members of the triad were Amun and Ramesses with the third member of the triad being Osiris, Ramesses (repeated), Atum, Mut, or Horus.⁷⁵⁸ The relief on the west side of the sanctuary is of a priest thurifying before the barque Amun-Re resting on a plinth <Cat. Bx0127>. The barque relief found in the east side of the sanctuary of the temple has falconine figureheads with a solar disk and the standing king with the *hdt* crown (shown in the illustration from

⁷⁵⁶ Karlshausen, *L’iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, 321.

⁷⁵⁷ Rolf Gundlach, “Sebua (Wadi es-),” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, bd. 5, 768.

⁷⁵⁸ Alexandre Barsanti and H. Gauthier, “Stèles trouvées à Ouadi es-Sabouâ (Nubie),” *ASAE* 11 (1911), 66-84.

Lepsius)⁷⁵⁹ <Cat. Bx0126>. Even though the relief dates to the period of Ramesses II, the iconography of the relief is more consistent with the barque of Horus found at Abydos (compare <Cat. Bx0066>).

4.3.17. Divine Barques at Derr

The temple located at the el-Derr in lower Nubia was built during the reign of Ramesses II. The temple contains a dedicatory text to the gods “Re, Lord of Heaven” and to “Amun-Re, Lord of Karnak”; however, there are also scenes of the deified Ramesses II being worshiped, and the temple contained the cult statues of Re-Horakhty, Ramesses II, Amun-Re, and Ptah.⁷⁶⁰ The depictions of barques at Derr are found in the pillared hall and the sanctuary, which was used as a barque sanctuary.

The barque that is depicted has a falconine figurehead with a solar disk <Cat. Bx0120>. The figurehead is wearing a pectoral amulet and the standing king is wearing a *h3t* crown. The barque is unlike other examples of the barques of Amun-Re, Re-Horakhty, and Ptah. Blackman reconstructs the utterance text to read *dd-mdw in sšm-hw n mry-[imn r^c-ms-sw]*,⁷⁶¹ “an utterance by the barque of Mery[amun Ramesses II]”.

⁷⁵⁹ LD III, 180a.

⁷⁶⁰ Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, “Derr,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, bd. 1, eds. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), 1069.

⁷⁶¹ Aylward M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr* (Cairo: Imprimerie de L’Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale, 1913), 54.

4.3.18. Divine Barques at Abu Simbel

The Great Temple at Abu Simbel was built by Ramesses II and dedicated to Re-Horakhty, Ptah, and Amun-Re. The south chapel of the Great Temple contains an example of a barque relief <Cat. Bx0125>. The barque is unlike other examples encountered so far with the prow figurehead having a figure of Re-Horakhty and the aft figurehead of Khonsu. The inscription of the plinth is dedicated to Ramesses II and Amun-Re, King of the Gods (*imn-rꜥ-nsw-ntrw*), i.e., “Amunrasonther,” and is the probable attribution for the barque. There is also a falconine barque probably belonging to Khonsu shown being taken on procession (see p. 279 for a discussion of this barque).⁷⁶²

The North Chapel has a partially idealized barque of Re-Horakhty characterized by the recurved stern and a child with lotus flowers on the prow <Cat. Bx0124>. The barque is shown floating above a plinth. The figures on the deck are enlarged and the kneeling king is shown wearing the blue crown. The enlarged figure of Re-Horakhty is shown seated upon a block throne under a canopy.

A fourth barque representation is located in the second hall of the Great Temple <Cat. Bx0121>. Ramesses II and Queen Nefertari are censuring before the barque of Amun-Re. The figureheads are rams heads with solar disks. Also shown is the dual chambered shrine cabinet and veil.

⁷⁶² Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, fig. 4.

4.3.19. Divine Barques at Semna

Semna Temple was home to a funerary cult dedicated to Senwosret III and to Dedwen (the Nubian god of incense) and was built during the reign of Thutmosis III. At that location there are two reliefs with barques of Dedwen <Cat. Bx0018, Bx0017>, which are remarkably similar to the barques of Re-Horakhty. The barque is somewhat minimalistic with four votive figures (three kings and a royal sphinx), a recurved tail as the stern of the hull, and a figure of falcon with a solar disk on the prow. The barque has features in common with other barques including carrying poles, sledge, oars, shrine cabinet, canopy, and tent poles. The panels on the side of the shrine cabinet has two registers of a repeating sequence of two djed pillars and two tjet knots <Cat. Bx0017>. An interesting iconographic feature of these reliefs is that even though this barque has two rudders, the rudders are portrayed hanging over the starboard side <Cat. Bx0018>. The plinth upon which the barque of Dedwen rests is dedicated to the funerary cult of Senwosret III.

4.3.20. Barques in Private Tombs and Stelae

Barques appear in private tombs dating back to the Old Kingdom. The vast majority of the depictions found in private tombs are the mythological solar barques that have no analog to any real world object. During Dynasty 19, private tomb owners begin to incorporate scenes of barque adoration into their reliefs. The barque of Sokar (already mentioned above, p. 220, also see the lexicography of the Sokar barque, p. 146) is a particularly common barque portrayed in tombs <Cat. Bx0048, Bx0052>, but other barques also appear in tomb reliefs and stelae.

The barque of Re-Horakhty is one of the more common portrayals of barque adoration in private tombs. A block from the tomb of Huy (TT 14), dating to late Dynasty 19, shows a figure adoring the aft section of a barque <Cat. Bx0045>. The tail portion of the hull is recurved, which is a feature found on Re-Horakhty barques found at Abydos <Cat. Bx0070>.

The tomb of Pahemner (TT 284) at Dra Abu el-Naga, dating to the Ramesside period, shows two barques on procession <Cat. Bx0053>. While the barque in the lower part of the relief is clearly identifiable as that of Mut, the upper barque is probably the Khonsu barque. The upper barque lacks the lunar crescent of the barque of Khonsu, but the lack of precision of the drawing, i.e., votive figures and the lack of a canopy, makes a definitive identification difficult.

Private stelae provide some of the best contrast between mythological forms and real objects when it comes to barques. The barques typically shown on stelae and tombs are the mythological barques of Re (Fig. 76). Depictions that are intended to reflect real objects are displayed in context to other real objects such as offerings, altars, and carrying poles. Real object depictions on stelae tend to emphasize the figurehead displaying it larger than the worshippers. This trait is shown in the *Stela of Piay* (ca. Ramesses II) <Cat. Bx0084>. In this stela the entire barque is not shown but an enlarged Khonsu figurehead, carrying pole, and a full offering table are shown, which is enough to show that a real object is being inferred. The iconography of the barque of Amun-Re in private stelae is in line with other Dynasty 19 conceptions of divine barques. A fragment of a stela from Deir el-Medina shows the figurehead of Amun-Re with the full solar disk <Cat. Bx0058>.



Figure 76. A mythological sun barque of Re on the Stela of Iytnofre (Černý, 1958, pl. 6).

The *Stela of Neb-Nektuf* (Dynasty 19) found at the temple at Koptos shows Ramesses II thurifying before a barque on procession <Cat. Bx0087>. The figureheads are of a woman wearing the Hathor crown and the king standing on the deck is wearing the *h3t* crown. The text above the barque seems to indicate that this is the barque of Isis. Normally, the barque of Isis uses the *hdt* crown for the standing king; however, these details may not have been strictly enforced on private monuments.

The tomb of Amenmosi (TT 19) at Dra Abu el-Naga, dating between the reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I, shows the barque of Amenhotep I presented in a partially idealized form <Cat. Bx0059>. The barque is shown with a royal sphinx, and the figurehead has the head of Amenhotep I with a solar disk. Whether this is a real object is difficult to resolve given that there are idealized elements. It is possible that the workers at Deir el-Medina could have built private barques for private worship since the workers built barque biers for the deceased. While they

had the means to build private forms of worship, it is uncertain if they created an actual barque of Amenhotep I and what form it took if it had been built.

The tomb of Khons (TT 31) at Sheik Abd el-Qurna, dating to the reign of Ramesses II, has several depictions of the barque of Montu. Khons was the high-priest of Montu so it makes sense that his tomb would be decorated with the images of this barque. The paintings show the barque of Montu as both a real object and in a semi-idealized form <Cat. Bx0113>. The barque of Montu has two characteristics that make it distinct from other barques: (1) an overlapping double solar disk and (2) a standing king figure with a *h3t* crown <Cat. Bx0111>. There are twelve priests carrying the barque, which is a relatively small number compared to the barques depicted in temple contexts. However, because this is a private tomb context, it is possible that getting the number of priests correct may not have been a priority for the tomb artists.

A relief found inside the Ptolemaic temple enclosure at Deir el-Medina (ca. Seti I) shows the barque of Amun-Re on procession with the vizier Paser, the scribe Amenemopet, and the servant Amenemonet <Cat. Bx0081>. The relief shows the barque of Amun-Re being carried to its barge. The figurehead is shown with the solar disk, which is similar to the Amun-Re barque of Seti I at Karnak <Cat. Bx0078, Bx0079>. The shrine cabinet shows the bottom compartment only.

The *Votive Stela of Amennakht*, ca. Ramesses III (Dynasty 20), shows the barque of Amun-Re being carried on procession. The notable aspect about this depiction is that there are six columns of four priests carrying the barque. This is one more column than appears during the preceding reigns; however, it is two less

priests per column than what has been shown previously. There is clearly an effort by the craftsmen to show the six superimposed columns. Perhaps the number of priests per pole had been standardized so that four per pole actually inferred six priests but the number of columns was a new feature that had to be emphasized. If this were the case, then the actual number of priests carrying the barque of Amun-Re at this time would have increased by 6 to 36 instead of decreasing by 6 to 24.

During the reign of Ramesses IX, barques continue to be used in funerary contexts. An example of this is from the tomb of Nebamun (TT 65) at Sheik Abd el-Qurna, which shows the deceased offering incense to the barque of Amun-Re <Cat. Bx0159>. This depiction differs from those at Karnak in that it only reveals a single shrine cabinet compartment with the ram form of Amun-Re seated on a Nefertum flower flanked by goddesses wearing Maat feathers. This relief shows the barque's starboard side. When the port side is shown, the lower compartment shows Amun-Re in falconine form flanked by goddesses with solar disks <Cat. Bx0160>. The canopy follows a square contour and is less curved than in other depictions. The collars on the figureheads are enlarged, which is in keeping with late Dynasty 20 stylistic convention.

4.3.21. Royal Barques on Monuments

The use of sacred barques applies not only to gods but also to kings. This use by kings probably extends back to the Middle and Old Kingdoms; however, the evidence that we have generally dates to the New Kingdom, even for Middle Kingdom royal cults.

An early example of a royal cult is the funerary cult of Senwosret III that was located at Semna temple. These reliefs date to the reign of Thutmosis III; however, given the veneration that Dynasty 18 had for Middle Kingdom rulers, it is unlikely that these cults were purely New Kingdom inventions. The depictions of the royal barque at Semna of the barque of Senwosret III shows the barque with carrying poles and sledge resting on a plinth with a dedication formula of the funerary cult <Cat. Bx0016>. The form of this royal barque is similar to the barque of Dedwen <Cat. Bx0018, Bx0017> with a recurved stern and a figure of Re-Horakhty on the bow only <Cat. Bx0016>, a royal sphinx, two worshipers (one presenting a bread offering), and a canopy. The Semna relief shows a royal barque in a view that has idealized and concrete elements. The figure of Senwosret III is shown inside the shrine cabinet seated on a block throne wearing the *hdt* crown and holding a flagellum and *w3s* sceptre, and the deck has ankhs and *w3s* sceptres with arms holding the standards of Wepwawet and Thoth <Cat. Bx0019>. The similarity between the barque of Senwosret III and Dedwen invokes the question whether the barque of Senwosret III was a Dedwen barque that might have been repurposed for the royal cult as an homage by Thutmosis III.

The royal barque of Amenhotep I that became a part of the worship of craftsmen appears on an unprovenanced Dynasty 19 temple block <Cat. Bx0043>. While most of the details of this particular barque are missing, we can see that the barque was being carried by two columns of *wꜥb*-priests. We can see from this that the veneration of Dynasty 18 kings continued into the Ramesside period.

The royal barque of Horemheb that took part in the Opet Festival has the figureheads of the king are adorned with the *hmhm* crown <Cat. Bx0038>. The trappings of this barque are similar to other barques found at Karnak <Cat. Bx0033> with four votive figures, oarsmen, a royal sphinx, veil, shrine cabinet, and canopy. The standing king is wearing the *hdt* crown. The barque of Horemheb has four columns of priests, which is one more column than were used by the divine barques of Khonsu and Mut. The barque of Horemheb travelled on the barge of Amun-Re along with the sacred barque of Amun-Re <Cat. Bx0039>.

The participation of the royal barque in the Opet festival becomes a vehicle that accelerates the deification of the Pharaoh from a god in potential, i.e., deification upon death, into inaugurated divinity, i.e., deification through auguration via coronation. The Opet processions of Hatshepsut, which are the best documented of Dynasty 18, are characterized by divine barque of Amun-Re, and the procession documented by Amenhotep III at Luxor shows no indication of royal barques participating at Opet. By Dynasty 19, the royal barque plays a prominent role that excels beyond the grandeur of either Khonsu or Mut. The message that this communicates would have been obvious; i.e., pharaoh is a mightier god than Khonsu or Mut. This elevation of the barque of Horemheb may have been the first step leading to the more overt deifications proclaimed by the Ramessides.⁷⁶³

⁷⁶³ M. Eaton-Krauss, "Ramesses: Re who creates the gods," *Fragments of a shattered visage: The proceedings of the International Symposium of Ramesses the Great*, eds. Edward Bleiberg and Rita Freed (Memphis, TN: Memphis State University, 1991), 20-21.

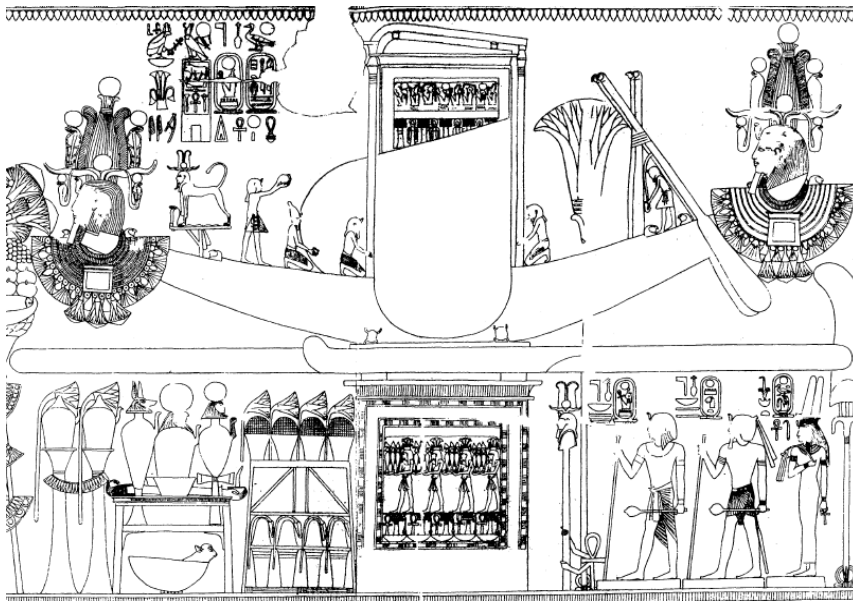


Figure 77. The royal barque of Seti I at Abydos resting on a plinth (Calverley, vol. II, 1935, pl. 35).

The royal barque of Seti I at Abydos (Fig. 77) is similar to the barques of Khonsu and Mut that were resident in the local area. This instance of the royal barque differs slightly from other instances of the royal barque. The standing king is wearing the *h3t* crown; however, the corresponding chiral image for this chapel has not survived.⁷⁶⁴

Images of royal barques also appear on private stelae. The *Stela of Paser*, priest of Osiris, dating to Ramesses II, depicts the barque of king Ahmose being carried by priests <Cat. Bx0086>. The barque is labeled with the cartouche of king Ahmose, and the figureheads bear the Khnum crown. The shrine cabinet is wrapped with a veil, a feature that does not occur in divine barques until around the reigns of Thutmosis II/Hatshepsut.

⁷⁶⁴ Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. 2, pl. 32

An unattributed private stela from Abydos dating to Ramesses II shows a barque of Ramesses II in procession <Cat. Bx0085>. The royal barque shown on this stela is materially different than the royal barques shown in the temple reliefs. The figurehead has the solar disk, the only votive figure is a royal sphinx, and there are only four priests carrying the barque. The Khnum crown is more typical of royal barques of the period, which may indicate that this was a royal barque that was not part of the official royal cult.

The private tomb of Userhet (TT 51), dating the reign of Seti I, shows the deceased adoring the barque of Thutmosis I resting on a plinth <Cat. Bx0080>. The figureheads of the barque are shown wearing the Khnum crown. This use of the Khnum crown is typical of royal barques. A veil is also visible, which stands a possibility of being a later addition to the barque. Official reliefs using a veil are shown dating to the reign of Thutmosis II and Hatshepsut.

Royal barques appear in the Astronomical Room of the Ramesseum. The barque of king appears with two standing kings on the deck; the heads of the kings are shown with a shadow indicating that the statues are superimposed. The barque leaving shows the standing king with the *ḥdt* crown <Cat. Bx0104> while the one returning is shown with the *ḥ3t* crown <Cat. Bx0108>. Given that this is the temple where the barque of Ramesses II would have dwelled most of the time as well as being the official mortuary temple, it stands as the best witness for the configuration of this particular royal barque.

The relief of the royal barque of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu <Cat. Bx0155> is virtually identical to the royal barque of Seti I at Abydos <Cat. Bx0072> and the barque of Ramesses II <Cat. Bx0155>.

4.3.22. One Solar Cult or More?

An interesting observation emerges when one compares the depictions of the barques at Karnak against the depictions at Abydos. *Prima facie* we have two solar cults represented at Abydos by the barques of Re-Horakhty and Amun-Re. The reliefs at Abydos demonstrate that there were multiple barques of Amun-Re and thus multiple cults of Amun-Re. The barques at Deir el-Bahari and Chapelle Rouge provides a snapshot of barques during the reign of Hatshepsut. Likewise the barques found at Abydos, Karnak, and Luxor provide a snapshot of the barques during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II.

The barques of Amun-Re at Karnak, Luxor, and Abydos from the reign of Seti I <Cat. Bx0076, Bx0050, and Bx0068 respectively> all differ from one another. The barque of Amun-Re at Luxor has the Khnum crown, the Karnak barque has a solar disk and curved horns, and the Abydos barque has a solar disk and two sets of horns. The barques of Amun-Re at Karnak and Luxor lack the Nefertum flower found on the Abydos figurehead. The Karnak barque has two goddess figures on the deck (Maat and Isis/Hathor) in front of the royal sphinx that are absent from the Abydos barque. The barque at Karnak has a shrine cabinet with double corniced top and a frieze with alternating uraeus and falconine solar deities. The Abydos barque has a single corniced top with no frieze. The poles of the canopy on the Karnak example has a uraeus, whereas this feature is absent from the Abydos example. The

Karnak relief shows additional figures on the sledge that support the barque and canopy poles, which are absent from the Abydos reliefs. The Karnak reliefs show a winged solar goddess as a pectoral necklace on the figurehead, a second winged solar goddess before the shrine cabinet; an additional sphinx in a recumbent position faces the shrine cabinet <Cat. Bx0077, Bx0078>.

Given that there are many differences between the barque reliefs at Karnak versus Abydos during the reign of Seti I and given that these portrayals are consistent respective to their individual localities, it seems clear that what we are dealing with are different barques of Amun-Re. This implies that there was not a single unified cult of Amun-Re but perhaps many manifestations of the Amun-Re cult.

Even so there is remarkable consistency between the various locales for the barque of Amun-Re even if the minor differences show that more than one cult existed. This raises questions as to who are the builders of these barques. Are these the products of the craftsmen at Deir el-Medina or some other craftsmen? Are these barques the product of a single or multiple traditions? These questions are difficult to answer since they rely largely upon the preservation of the archaeological record. Little evidence of barques survives from Lower Egypt and little survives from the Middle Kingdom period; therefore, projecting a trajectory of tradition is problematic even though one senses that a core tradition of the cult of Amun may have arisen from Hermopolis Magna, which is associated with the Hermopolitan Ogdoad during the Old Kingdom.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶⁵ PT 301 (Sethe 446c-d).

4.3.23. The Utterance Text Problem

We have already noted a discrepancy between utterance texts and the iconography of the barges found at Luxor (p. 255). What emerges is a problem of utterance texts that is associated with the identification of barques. The problem is that sometimes utterance texts differ from what they are purported to represent.

At Abu Simbel, Derr, and es-Sebua, a falconine barque is shown being taken on procession while the utterance text refers to Ramesses II.⁷⁶⁶ In this particular case, the barque is being shown with Ramesses II before it thurifying and libating to it. The utterance text would seem to suggest that this is the barque of Ramesses II. While it makes some sense on the basis where the king is referred to in regards to the falconine *bik* barque, there does not appear to be any precedent in the iconography before or after Ramesses II. At Abu Simbel, this barque <Cat. Bx0122> is juxtaposed opposite to the barque of Amun-Re <Cat. Bx0121>, a position normally occupied by the barque of Khonsu; so Ramesses II's assumption of the barque of Khonsu (as one beloved son) with his own barque (another beloved son of Amun-Re) is only natural. A similar juxtaposing is also found at Es-Sebua <Cat. Bx0126, Bx0127>. Furthermore, a falconine barque as a royal barque has no precedence even among the known examples of the royal barques of Ramesses II, e.g., the Ramesseum barque <Cat. Bx0104>.



⁷⁶⁶ Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (New York: J. J. Augustine, 1969), fig. 4.

Dorman's approach to this problem has been to rely upon the labels that the Egyptian scribes supplied. While relying upon the labels can help to confirm the identity of a barque, it cannot establish the identity when it is clearly at odds with what is present in the depiction. Another approach has been to ignore the labels or ascribing them perhaps to scribal error or depending upon the iconography as the primary means of identification. While this approach can establish the identity, it broaches another error that is to miss what is really happening in the reliefs.

In contrast to the naïve readings of Dorman, Karlshausen consults other criterion to establish a proposed identity. In the case of the barque of Khnum <Cat. Bx0003>, she resorts to temple context over the inscription on the loose block.⁷⁶⁷ In response to a possible inconsistency regarding the solar manifestation of the Nekhbet barque, she also inferred that the divine barques move towards solar manifestations because of a deity's connection to Re, e.g., Nekhbet is identified with Hathor's role as the distant eye of Re in the Nubian distance, and thus Nekhbet becomes associated with Re-Horakhty, and the white crown of Nekhbet thereby manifests as the Eye of Horus.⁷⁶⁸ While this explained (in a convoluted and *ad hoc* fashion) why the Nekhbet barque would have a solar falconine form, it did not explain the solar falconine form of the Beloved Son barque at Luxor temple being ascribed to Khonsu (a lunar deity). Nor does it explain why the barque of Mut was transported on the barge of Amonet.

⁷⁶⁷ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, 29.

⁷⁶⁸ Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, 56-57.

With the archetypal Mut barque, we find the utterance *mwt nbt išrw*, “Mut, lady of Asheru”⁷⁶⁹ where Asheru is the lake at the Mut Temple at Karnak. The Amenhotep III relief in the second antechamber uses the utterance text *mwt nbt išrw nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw*, “Mut, lady of Asheru, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods” <Cat. Bx0024>, a title that appears in some *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulations.⁷⁷⁰ With the early Mut barque, we find two identification markers: an utterance text and a caption.⁷⁷¹ The utterance text ascribes the speech to , which is traditionally transliterated as *mwt nbt pt*, “Mut, lady of heaven.” The caption states *irt sntr ḥ3wty mwt nbt t3wy*, , “thurifying to Foremost, Mut, lady of the Two Lands.” While the title *nbt pt*, “lady of heaven” in the utterance text is a normal title for Mut, the caption has *nbt t3wy*, “lady of the Two Lands,” which is similar to *nbt pt ḥnwt t3wy*, “woman of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands,” a common epithet for Nekhbet,⁷⁷² as well as many others.⁷⁷³ Herman te Velde suggested that there is the possibility that even the name Mut may be read as either “mother” or Nekhbet.⁷⁷⁴

Even stranger is the caption before the barque to Horemheb (immediately to the right of the barque of Mut)⁷⁷⁵ that says *irt sntr n w3dt.k ntr pn nfr*, “thurifying to your Wadjet (and) the good god.” Furthermore, the vulture with the flail determinative (Gardiner Sign G15) is problematic because it is ambiguous. While it

⁷⁶⁹ Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 12.

⁷⁷⁰ Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. bd. V (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002), 139.

⁷⁷¹ Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 12.

⁷⁷² Taylor and Griffith, *The Tomb of Pahari at El Kab*, pl. IX, line 2.

⁷⁷³ Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, bd. IV, 156-159.

⁷⁷⁴ Velde, “Mut,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, bd. 4, 246.

⁷⁷⁵ Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 12.

is normally transliterated as *mwt*, it can also be read as *nhbt*.⁷⁷⁶ Given the propinquity to the label thurifying Wadjet, symmetry suggests that Nekhbet would be referenced nearby as the natural complement to Wadjet.⁷⁷⁷

On the one hand, the ambiguity of Luxor reliefs as a whole could reflect the syncretizing effect of the integration of the royal cult into the Opet festival. Several lines of evidence supporting this possibility. First, at the end of Dynasty 18, the Amun-Re barque begins to reflect the style of the Amun-Re barques of the mortuary cults of West Thebes, showing a growing influence over which processional forms were present at Opet. The barque of Amun-Re with the Khnum crown <Cat. Bx0035> dating to Seti I was not a barque form native to either Karnak or Luxor but was extant at Deir el-Bahari. Second, the royal barque is clearly identifiable participating in the Opet festival from the reign of Horemheb onwards <Cat. Bx0038>. Third, other royal cults, e.g., Ahmose-Nefertari, stand a high probability of being part of the processions of the mortuary temples of West Thebes given the reliefs and inscriptions found at the Ramesseum.

On the other hand, the net effect of syncretizing the Opet between Luxor and Karnak could have created inconsistencies in the Luxor reliefs and utterances for at least three other possible reasons.

⁷⁷⁶ Andrey O. Bolshakov, "Mut or not? On the meaning of a vulture sign on the Hermitage statue of Amenemhat III," *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, ed. Sue H. D'Auria (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 26-27.

⁷⁷⁷ Ali Radwan, "Nekhbet with Wadjet or Isis with Nephtys: the Lasting Concept of Two Goddesses in Ancient Egypt," *Hommages à Fayza Haikal* (Cairo: L'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 2004), 217-218.

(1) Inconsistencies in utterances or iconography could have been the result of human error. The scribes and workers would have been told what labels to use. And having to adapt the new names to the new iconography, the workers may have chosen what labels seemed closest to their understanding. I tend to shy away from ascribing error when reasonable alternatives exist, and I would do so again in this case. Enough alternative explanations for the inconsistencies exist that to resort to a scribal error rubric seems unnecessary.

(2) The utterance texts are neither captions nor dedicatory texts at all but are in the truest sense meant to convey spoken utterances. A likely explanation why the labels do not always match the scenes is that they are not labels at all but are in fact utterances from one god to another or even from a god to himself. While the idea of self-praise may seem strange to us, there are examples of it in ancient near eastern literature, e.g., Exodus 34:6-7. The utterance at El Kab is spoken by the “Lady of El Kab” <Cat. Bx0028>. This idea is supported by the fact that some reliefs have more than one utterance text attributed to different speakers, e.g., <Cat. Bx0027>. True captions are sometimes present on barques, e.g., <Cat. Bx0006, Bx0013>, but they are uncommon. There are also instances when the utterance speaker does not belong to the barque in question; e.g., the barque of Ramesses III in the Karnak Temple of Ramesses III has a true caption but also has an utterance text ascribed to Amun-Khnum-Neheh <Cat. Bx0136>. The Medinet Habu relief of the barque of Ramesses II <Cat. Bx0156>, which has a true label, has above it an utterance text ascribed to Amun-Re residing in the Ramesseum. As such utterances and labels need to be confirmed against the iconography of the barque.

(3) The subordination of local deities at Luxor could have been part of a program of religious reform. Amenhotep III may have instituted reforms in order to deconstruct the number of divinities that were involved in Opet by integrating them into the mythos of Karnak. Perhaps, this explains the conflation of Amonet and maybe even Ahmose-Nefertari into the cult of Mut or the Beloved Son into Khonsu. Amenhotep III with his reforms at Luxor would have had more deities and barques than he needed, so he could have assimilated them into the existing roles of the Theban triad. The political overtones involved in the Opet festival as a display of royal power may have been instrumental in Amenhotep III's reforms that could have blurred the lines between royal and divine. Post-Amarna, some of these former deities assumed roles with their original identities, e.g., the barque of Ahmose-Nefertari <Cat. Bx0092>. Thus, the participating barques at Opet may have just as easily been deities filling the roles of Amun-Re, Khonsu, or Mut as dramatic reenactment, which in turn necessitated fluid identity. Ritual, which is by definition divine dramatic reenactment, demands that the participants assume the role prescribed by the gods, which in turn makes identity fluid in liminal contexts.⁷⁷⁸

Given the three possible explanations for the utterance problem, I find the last explanation most compelling and the second one influential. The fact that Amenhotep III engaged in a program of divine deconstructionism seems evident from the iconography of the barque reliefs. The third explanation makes sense of the Abu Simbel reliefs where Ramesses II assumes the role of deity <Cat. Bx0123>.

⁷⁷⁸ Roy Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 97.

Ramsesses II in effect assumes the dramatic reenactment as a beloved son through the rituals of the Khonsu barque.

Concerning the use of utterance texts as labels, we can see that they still require the reader to consider carefully the scene as a whole. On the one hand the evidence generally shows that utterance texts can be useful for identification, but slavish dependence upon them can mislead in identifying portions of scene iconography. On the other, using the utterances as captions misses the purpose of these phrases, which is to comment or add dialogue or praise.

4.4 Palanquin Thrones

A palanquin is defined as a chair or a carriage, which is often covered, that is carried around with poles. The palanquin, like the chests and barques discussed previously, began not as a religious symbol but as an object that had a domestic use. As with the chest discussed previously (p. 179), the palanquin underwent a period of development that eventually became idealized and incorporated into analogical thinking. Unlike barques the bulk of the extant evidence of palanquins comes to us from Old Kingdom tomb sites; however, sufficient evidence survives from the New Kingdom to ascertain the trajectory of development. This later evidence also includes instances located at major temple sites.

4.4.1. Old and Middle Kingdom Palanquins

The earliest palanquin that appears in the iconography was found in the tomb of Nefermaat at Medum and dates to the beginning of Dynasty 4 <Cat. Tx0001>.

This early palanquin appears to be little more than an upright chair and a footstool placed upon a tray with poles. While the development of the palanquin from the household chair is intuitive, it appears that little had been done in Dynasty 4 to account for stability issues relating to the seated officials riding high in the seat. Later design modifications would account for the lack of stability, e.g., a litter design with poles placed near the center of gravity that allowed for safer travel of the dignitary.

Unlike a throne the palanquin of the Old Kingdom was used primarily by court officials. And unlike later portable thrones that implied divine status, the carrying chair was meant to convey "moral rectitude and fiscal responsibility."⁷⁷⁹

Ann Macy Roth's assessment of the palanquin as a symbol is derived from payment scenes where durable goods were given in advance to craftsmen and to ensure that payment had been properly distributed. There are no known iconographic examples of kings using palanquins during the Old Kingdom, although there is no reason why they could not have used them especially given that *P. Westcar* suggests that Prince Hordedef was carried in a palanquin.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁹ Ann Macy Roth, "The Practical Economics of Tomb-Building in the Old Kingdom: A Visit to the Necropolis in a Carrying Chair," *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David P. Silverman (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 238.

⁷⁸⁰ *P. Westcar* 7,12-13 (Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*, 9,2-3).

A complete example of a palanquin was found in the tomb of Hetepheres (G 7000X) at Giza dating to the reign of Khufu <Cat. Tx0002>. The palanquin was made in a litter style out of wood and covered in gold foil and painted with black paint. Unlike the armchair found in the same tomb, this palanquin lacks religious symbols and iconography. As the mother of the king, the existence of a palanquin in her tomb indicates that royalty did in fact use palanquins. The mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III (G 7530), dating between the reigns of Khufu to Shepseskaf, has a relief of a pair of workmen building a palanquin <Cat. Tx0003>.

A fragment of a relief from the tomb of Khnumhotep at Saqqara (Dynasty 5) shows the nomarch seated in a litter-style palanquin holding a flail <Cat. Tx0007>. Palanquins during the Old Kingdom could take other forms that could include vertical stakes and cage work that were used for sunshades <Cat. Tx0004>. The mastaba of Itisen (G 4810), dating to middle Dynasty 5, shows the deceased being carried in a litter-style palanquin with tent poles and a canopy <Cat. Tx0005>. The mastaba of Snedjem-ib Inti (G 2370), dating to Dynasty 5 (ca. Shepseskara), has a palanquin but in the style of a throne <Cat. Tx0009>. The upright style of the palanquin allowed the enthroned to ride higher than the litter style, making him more visible. The Old Kingdom marked a pioneering phase of development where various configurations of palanquin were used.

The mastaba of Watetkhethor (ca. Teti) in Saqqara shows the deceased in a upright style palanquin <Cat. Tx0018>. This palanquin emphasized the throne-like aspects. The shape of the chair is reminiscent of the block thrones used by deities and the iconography on the side panel of the chair is of a seated lion. The lion motif broaches the purview of royal symbolism. The tomb of Seshemnufer at Dahshur

also portrays a upright style palanquin with a tent canopy <Cat. Tx0008>. The tent canopy has the curve that is found on the canopies of shrine cabinets. The tomb of Ipi (Dynasty 6) at Saqqara had a litter style carriage with a canopy <Cat. Tx0013>. The canopy is designed in an unusual form similar to a marquis with tent poles (Fig. 78).

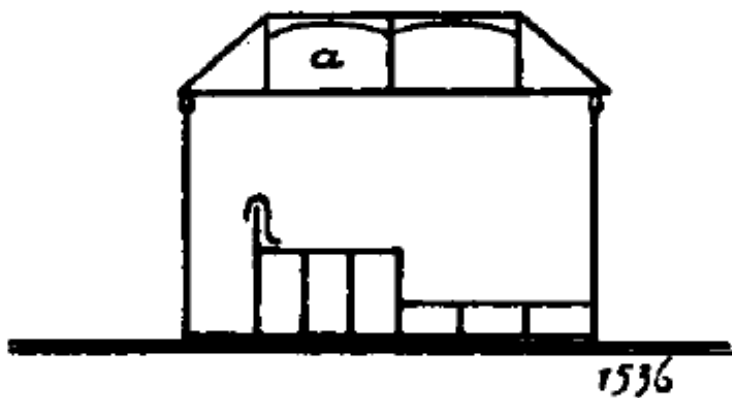


Figure 78. A palanquin with a canopy from the tomb of Ipi (Borchardt, 1930, Teil I, 239).

A similar palanquin is seen in tomb of Meryre-Meryptahankh (G 2381) <Cat. Tx0019>; however, the side panels on the canopy show decoration with djed pillars. The empty palanquin shown in the mastaba of Mereruka has vertical poles and may be like the preceding two examples <Cat. Tx0014>; however, another image with the deceased being carried in the palanquin shows the deceased recumbent and the palanquin without the poles <Cat. Tx0015>. The example on the stela from the tomb of Ptahhepes at Saqqara has the vertical poles but without the canopy <Cat. Tx0017>. The tomb of Sonb at Giza shows the deceased in a litter style palanquin without a canopy but with a servant holding a sunshade over him <Cat. Tx0010>.

The tomb of Pepiankh the Black (Meir Tomb A.2) dating to the reign of Pepi II (Dynasty 6) has a detailed relief of the owner being transported in a palanquin <Cat. Tx0022>. The style of the palanquin has a marquis canopy and tent poles similar to palanquin found in the tomb of Meryre-Meryptahankh <Cat. Tx0019>.

The tomb of Djehutyhotep II at El Bersheh, dating to Dynasty 12, shows the servants of the vizier carrying an empty litter style palanquin <Cat. Tx0023>. While examples of palanquins from the Middle Kingdom are rare, there appears to have been little further development of the palanquin since Dynasty 6.

4.4.2. Early Palanquin Thrones

The development of the portable throne was not a sudden innovation but was the culmination of centuries of symbolism that had its origins in the Old Kingdom. The portable throne resulted from the merging of the symbols of the stationary throne and the palanquin.

The development of the stationary throne developed a separate symbolism apart from the carrying chair. The stationary throne in its earliest forms is little more than a square block with a backrest <Cat. Zx0003>. Besides this iconographic "block throne," which is probably an idealization rather than a real object, Egyptian kings possessed a variety of wood thrones.

The only complete set of thrones that we have from antiquity comes from the tomb of Tutankhamun. Four thrones were discovered. The first, the "gold throne," is a leonine style throne with arms that are covered with gold foil and gold sheet fashioned by repoussage and chasing. The second, the "cedar throne" is a leonine style throne without arms made of cedar. The third, the "child's throne" is similar to

the cedar throne but is scaled for a child and is painted white with gold accents.⁷⁸¹

The fourth, the "ebony throne" is modeled like a folding stool and is constructed with ebony and inlaid with strips of ivory.⁷⁸² Of the extant thrones, the gold throne comes the closest to the iconography associated with portable thrones. Yet the golden throne was used for neither regular daily use because of its fragility nor for strictly funerary use given the presence of both Atenist and Amunist symbols.⁷⁸³

The portable throne began just prior to the Amarna period, and it became an important symbol of living kingship. Yet of the four thrones from the tomb of Tutankhamun, none were portable thrones. This raises some questions, such as, why is there no portable throne found among the memorial items when other RPF, such as the Anubis shrine, were found? The simplest explanation for the absence of the portable throne is that the object represents the divinity of the living king and, therefore, became such an important object of state that it was not buried with the deceased king. It is likely that after the death of Tutankhamun, the portable sacred throne as well as any other major throne of state would have been assumed by his successor, Ay. Another possible explanation for the absence of the portable throne may also be an attempt by Tutankhamun to steer away from symbolism that was inspired by Atenism.

Iconographic depictions of palanquins as symbols of personal moral rectitude were no longer represented in private tombs during the New Kingdom. While the records, i.e., bills of sale, at Deir el-Medina reveal that palanquins were

⁷⁸¹ Eaton-Krauss, *Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools*, 69.

⁷⁸² Eaton-Krauss, *Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools*, 87.

⁷⁸³ Eaton-Krauss, *Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools*, 54.

still being made for private use,⁷⁸⁴ they were not represented in tombs except in respect to the portrayal of the king. New Kingdom palanquin iconography takes on two different forms: the first is as the portable throne of the kings, the second is as the votive cult statue where the statue of the king or a god is shown seated on a palanquin throne often upon a box stand. These two forms of palanquin can be difficult to distinguish outside the context of a scene.

The first appearance of royal palanquins in the New Kingdom is at Deir el-Bahari (ca. Hatshepsut). The empty throne is shown being carried by twelve servants <Cat. Tx0024>. The carrying poles are attached to the throne running through rings that are connected to the seat of the chair. The platform of the palanquin is supported by the poles, but most of the carrying stress is placed upon the throne and not the platform as is typical of most palanquins. The throne is shown in a $\frac{3}{4}$ profiled view so that both arms of the chair are visible; on each side of the throne is the royal lion and the legs of the throne are leonine feet. The throne has no other symbolism.

A relief of a palanquin throne at Luxor temple dates to Amenhotep III <Cat. Tx0026>; unfortunately, little of this relief survives except the leonine feet, carrying poles, and the servant carrying the throne. Traces of a uraeus frieze is visible near the seat. The adoption of the uraeus frieze during the reign of Amenhotep III is possibly the first religious iconography to be added to the palanquins, although this relief was usurped by Ramesses II so the religious iconography may not necessarily be attributable to Dynasty 18.

⁷⁸⁴ *KRI* V,470,6-8. *KRI* VII,345,11-12.

4.4.3. Sacred Palanquin Thrones

At Amarna itself there was no pre-existing cult ritual practice, and the fact that the Aten cannot be put on procession seems to have forced religious imperatives that were a necessary part of Egyptian ritual and cultural practice.

Examples of Amarna period sacred palanquin thrones are found in the rock cut tombs at Akhetaten. The tomb of Meryra on the east wall shows a sacred palanquin throne resting on the ground with servants facing the throne from behind holding offerings <Cat. Tx0028>. The same relief shows the empty palanquin throne being thrified by a priest showing that the object is sacred. The throne has the royal lion on the side as is typical of most thrones, but it also has the royal sphinx wearing the double-crown standing above it. The use of the royal sphinx on the thrones is a symbol that was used previously primarily on the sacred barques, e.g., <Cat. Bx0004>, and does not appear on thrones until this point. The carrying poles are supported by the *w3d* symbols and figurines of the men of the “nine bows,” which are symbols of royal power. An oddity about this representation is that the king is not seated in the throne even though servants are presenting offerings, making the throne a cultic instrument. This raises the question as to whether the sacred palanquin throne was a proxy for the divine power of the king. There is some question as to whether an empty throne suggests some invisible deity as is shown in the procession of gods in the architrave at Luxor Temple <Cat. Tx0035>.

The tomb of Huy has a relief of Akhenaten superimposed with the image of the queen being carried on the sacred palanquin throne <Cat. Tx0027>. The image is incomplete but shows the royal lion, the royal sphinx, and a uraeus frieze.

Another relief from the same tomb shows Akhenaten and the queen being carried on

the sacred palanquin throne by servants, some servants are holding fans (see p. 154 for the fan as symbol of holiness) and sunshades, and the image of Aten rides above the royal couple. The text that accompanies the image describes the king and queen seated upon a *qnyt ʿ3t n dʿm*, “great palanquin of electrum” that was on procession to meet the representatives of Syria, Kush, and all the foreign lands that were presenting their tribute.

The Great Speos of Horemheb at Gebel el-Silsila has a relief of Horemheb being carrying on a throne palanquin by soldiers <Cat. Tx0029>. Even though throne lacks the religious symbols of the sacred throne palanquin of Akhenaten and is reminiscent of the thrones of the Dynasty 18, confirming the idea that the Amarna period throne was an overwhelmingly religious symbol, priests are also present, one of which is presenting incense to the king.

The sacred throne palanquins appears again as part a cult image repertoire for the royal cult in several Ramesside tombs. The tomb of Amenmosi (TT 19), dating to early Dynasty 19, depicts priests of the royal cult carrying the image of Amenhotep I <Cat. Tx0034>. The throne is placed upon a box stand, and the image of the king wearing the blue crown is seated on a throne surrounded by the wings of the Re falcon.

The tomb of Huy (TT 14) shows the images of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari carried on a box stand <Cat. Tx0030>. The back of the throne appears to be a goddess whose wings are wrapped around the king. A second portrayal from the tomb of Huy shows a line drawing of the cult image; however, the drawing shows the royal lion on the side of the box stand <Cat. Tx0031>.

The tomb of Piay (TT 344) shows priests carrying what are probably the statues of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in a palanquin <Cat. Tx0033>. The images show the Re falcon's wings surrounding the images with a second image of Re; both Re images are wearing the solar disk.

The royal cult image that is found in the tomb of Panehesi (TT 16) at Dra Abu el-Naga, dating to Ramesses II, shows the image of Amenhotep I enthroned on a box stand <Cat. Tx0038>. The side of the box stand has the royal lion. The back of the throne shows a Nekhbet goddess with a solar disk, a royal sphinx, and a image of the Ba with a solar disk.

The tomb of Khabekhnet (TT 2) at Deir el-Medina shows Amenhotep I wearing the blue crown being carried on a palanquin throne <Cat. Tx0036>. While the palanquin throne is not appreciably different from non-Amarna Dynasty 18 palanquin thrones, a difference in iconography appears in the porters who are priests with the high priest walking at the side of the throne. This portrayal of the priests carrying the cult image of the king is remarkably similar to the procession of the sacred barques, e.g. <Cat. Bx0007>. The same tomb shows the cult statue Amenhotep I being carried on a palanquin throne augmented with religious symbols, i.e., the uraeus frieze and the Nekhbet goddess protecting the king with her wings <Cat. Tx0037>. Over the shoulder of the image of Amenhotep I is an image of Amun enthroned with Maat protecting Amun with her wings. The statue of the king would be visible in procession and not just an artistic convention, just as the king in a palanquin would be open for all to see as the sign of royal power.

During the reign of Ramesses III, the palanquin takes on idealized significance at Karnak where the king was shown being carried by the spirits of Buto and Hierakonpolis <Cat. Tx0039>. Inside the palanquin the king is shown seated on a *hb* symbol similar to Amun seated upon a *nb* or *mn* symbols implying that what is being shown is not a real object.

At Medinet Habu, the sacred throne palanquin is further augmented. The throne has the royal lion, royal sphinx, Re falcon, and image of Buto on the throne sides <Cat. Tx0041>. The back of the throne had a pair of Maat goddesses with their wings surrounding the king, and the entire throne assembly was encased in a kiosk with a uraeus frieze. A mixture of priests and soldiers accompanied the throne.

During Dynasty 20 the use of palanquins with cult images continued. The funerary chapel of Paser at Medinet Habu shows a relief of the cult image of Ramesses III with religious symbols similar to other cult images: royal lion, royal sphinx, and Nekhbet goddess <Cat. Tx0040>. The box stand rested upon a stand with legs similar to an offering table.

The small step of the uraeus frieze by Amenhotep III began a trajectory that propelled the palanquin as a processional object of high ritual significance, i.e., the “great throne of electrum.” The earliest extant example of the portable sacred throne appears during the reign of Akhenaten <Cat. Tx0028>. The sacred portable throne is distinct from the portable throne of early Dynasty 18 by the addition of the iconography that is found on the divine barques. The borrowing of iconography from barques should not surprise us since the Egyptians saw the convergence of

throne and barque in some of their barque processions, that is, the Egyptians had by Dynasty 20 developed a barque that hosted an empty throne <Cat. Bx0152>.

The barque processions created a mandate that existed to show that the god was real. The highly sequestered nature of temple practice made it necessary for gods to go on procession in order to maintain cosmic order, i.e., the god exists because he has transcended the temple to travel among the people. With the Aten a gap was created that left a vacuum in the religious life of Egypt.⁷⁸⁵ The aniconic philosophy of Atenism added to the minimal iconography of the Aten left little that could be incorporated into corporeal representations.⁷⁸⁶ The use of the sacred palanquin throne and chariot processions may have been an attempt to replace the processions of the deities within sacred barques with an analogous symbol consistent with Atenism. Akhenaten used these ceremonial chairs in a religious procession that proceeded towards the temple, where the king was adored by foreigners and priests.⁷⁸⁷ Other kinds of royal and chariot processions that were a part of liturgical life at Akhetaten⁷⁸⁸ demonstrated Akhenaten acting as an intermediary to the Aten. Since the Aten was a noncorporeal deity and did not have a votive image (*twt*)⁷⁸⁹ and since the religious practice of Atenism deprecated association with other gods (*ntrw*),⁷⁹⁰ the next best object of adoration would have

⁷⁸⁵ Redford, 169-170.

⁷⁸⁶ James K. Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 198-199.

⁷⁸⁷ Redford, 111-112.

⁷⁸⁸ Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, 108.

⁷⁸⁹ Emily Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 49.

⁷⁹⁰ Stephen Quirke, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 117.

been the king as a living god. Strictly speaking Atenism is not a true monotheism but a ditheism: the eternal Aten and his son, the king as the living god.

The emergence of the sacred palanquin throne may have been a direct result of Akhenaten's reforms. Perhaps this came about as a result of Atenism's rejection of the boat motif and that use of sacred barques.⁷⁹¹ The Aten was not portrayed as a god that journeyed across this sky as Amun-Re was portrayed; instead the unchanging nature of the Aten shown in the full noon position was emphasized.

And when the state support was removed from the major temples, causing the temples to close,⁷⁹² so too was state support for the accompanying festivals also removed, e.g., the Opet. The *Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun* describes the temples having fallen into neglect and the shrines becoming desolate and overgrown with plants.⁷⁹³ Clearly without state support, large festivals like Opet would not have had the financial capability to continue, even though this would not have been a problem at smaller temples which probably were able to continue with their festal calendars without significant interruption. Upon Akhenaten's death, the use of sacred barques promptly resumed, e.g. <Cat. Bx0041>, with the use of the sacred palanquin thrones syncretizing with the restored religious practice.

⁷⁹¹ Quirke, 125.

⁷⁹² Jan Assmann, "Aton," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, bd. 1, eds. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), 527.

⁷⁹³ *Urk.* IV, 2027,3-9. John Bennett, "The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun," *JEA* 25 (1939), 9. Ronald J. Leprohon, "The reign of Akhenaten seen through later royal decrees," *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II. (Cairo: L'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1985) 97.

4.4.4. Decline of the Symbol

One reason for the decline of the portable throne is linked to the decline of Egyptian hegemony itself. While Ramesses III was ultimately successful in his struggle against the invasion of the Sea Peoples, his successors quickly lost control over both Nubia and the Levant. By the reign of Ramesses IV (Dynasty 20), the New Kingdom had virtually lost its entire hegemonic holdings,⁷⁹⁴ and the succeeding kings failed to recover what was lost, even though some evidence exists that Ramesses VI made a campaign into Canaan.⁷⁹⁵ As the Egyptians lost their foreign holdings, it became more difficult to the present the varnished image of the god-king as the one who had divine power over the world. Procession of the sacred throne may correlate with declining state of political affairs.

The portable throne is a unique phenomenon in the history of Egypt in that it has a long developmental history but rapidly falls out of favor near the beginning of Dynasty 21. The use of the portable throne first appears during Dynasty 18 and continues until the reign of Herihor <Cat. Bx0163>. The portable throne was not just a chair upon which the king was carried, but it was a potent religious symbol that was used to convey religious significance within the processional ritual.

The royal cult continued through to the end of the Ramesside period. The tomb of Nebamun (TT 65) (ca. Ramesses IX) at Abd el Qurna shows the royal cult image upon a box stand parked in front of a votive image of Amun <Cat. Tx0042>.

⁷⁹⁴ Shlomo Bunimovitz, "Problems in the 'ethnic' identification of the Philistine material culture," *Tel-Aviv* 17 (1990), 211.

⁷⁹⁵ James M. Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241 (1981), 23.

The final appearance of the royal cult palanquin appears at the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak (ca. Herihor) <Cat. Tx0043>. The palanquin has the royal lion and sphinx, and Nekhbet wearing the *hdt* crown with her wings around the image of Herihor.

The restricted financing of Theban building projects probably played an effect on what ended up being recorded. Scenes of the king riding upon his portable throne probably gave way to more traditional portrayals such as the king offering sacrifices. The trickledown effect of temple and memorial spending may have had the consequence of limiting what reliefs and paintings ended up being used in lesser tombs. The final appearance of the palanquin appears in a double image at Karnak (dating to Shoshenq I); however, the image upon the throne is not the king but Amun-Re <Cat. Tx0044>. Thus, the final throne palanquin does not belong to the king but to the king of the gods.

Summary

This study of the iconography of RPF has examined over three hundred fifty instances of chests, barques, and palanquins and has demonstrated that each of these classes of furnishings have manifested in ritual processional forms at some point during Egypt's pharaonic history.

The earliest form, the chest, runs through the history of Egypt and has more diversity than any other form and comes to fruition in a ritual function by Dynasty 5 and fully as RPF possibly as early as the Middle Kingdom. The sacred barque, which has its roots in the prehistory of Egypt, manages to persist as a portable temple for both kings and gods into the Roman period. The symbolism of the barque icons provides a key that can be used for identification. Finally, the

palanquin throne begins as a palanquin for the Egyptian elite in the Old Kingdom and is elevated to the symbol of divine kingship during late Dynasty 18, gains its zenith during Dynasty 19, and goes into decline during the latter half of Dynasty 20. While the palanquin throne derives its symbolism from chests and barques, it also has the shortest run as RPF, ceasing to be a symbol of the royal cult soon after the reign of Herihor and ceasing as an important symbol altogether prior to the Late Period.

Moreover, the study of iconography has also revealed insight into the ritual practices that surrounded RPF. These objects were prepared for use by the presentation of incense in a manner similar to the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. And the sacred journey effectualizes the magical transformation, e.g., the procession of the canopic jars in the Anubis shrine puts into effect the safe transit of the deceased via ritual reenactment. Furthermore, these objects (particularly barques) are not just objects that are manipulated by the actors in the ritual context, but they facilitate the fluid identity of the actors in liminal contexts, allowing kings, like Ramesses II, to take on the identity of the gods. This fluid identity helps to explain perceived inconsistencies in the utterance texts that sometimes accompany RPF.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The topic of this thesis was chosen because not only was there a gap in the knowledge regarding ritual processional objects but also because the current paradigm presented inadequacies regarding the definition and functionality of these objects. In response this thesis sought to identify the unique characteristics and lexicography of RPF.

The research was designed by explicating the definition of RPF to seven criteria (p.8). Three of these criterion expand upon the current definition for ritual processional furnishing. This definition limited the objects involved to three classes of RPF: chests, barques, and palanquins. This thesis needed to explore the lexicography and iconography of these objects in order to discern RPF from mundane furnishing. Once that distinction was determined, the RPF could be analyzed for characteristics. Thus, this research intended to answer the question of what exactly qualifies as RPF and in what ways are these objects unique.

This thesis began with an examination of over sixty terms. Thirty-two terms for chests, shrines, and boxes and thirteen associated terms were examined. Seven terms for chests, shrines, and boxes showed evidence of being used ritually, twelve terms showed evidence of being used as RPF, and twelve terms lacked evidence of

being used in either rituals or processions. Six terms for barques and eight associated terms were examined. Eight terms for palanquins were examined. All terms for barques and five of the palanquins demonstrated qualities that were ritual and processional. Terms, such as the *shdt*, were shown in texts to demonstrate qualities that were not only ritual and processional but also contributed to the ritual purification of the contents (p. 89). Other terms, such as *dsr* and *sšm-hw*, were shown to be associated with terms meaning to be “holy” or “sacred” (p. 154) while showing iconography that is used with purification (p. 41). The results of this thesis has challenged the meaning of some terms, e.g. *hns*, while resolving the meaning of other terms, e.g., *sšm-hw*, or even expanding the range of still others, e.g., *tst*. A secondary result of this study is the assembling of a systematic lexicography (seventeen terms) for the parts of the sacred barques based upon the detailed study of analogous terminology concerning chests.

The study of iconography has also shown the interrelationship between chests, barques, and palanquins, both as mundane items elevated through analogic thinking but also as items that shared each other traits manifesting in new forms, e.g., the barque bier (p. 202). And several physical objects were connected to their lexical terms, which should ultimately help to bring new understanding to the religious context of ancient Egypt.

Through this study, a systematic method for dealing with the iconography of sacred barques was discovered and has produced an identification chart (p. 219) for dealing with barques that have ambiguous characteristics. Early Dynasty 18 barques lacked these distinct identifying features, which can lead to misidentification;

however, by late Dynasty 18 barques developed fully-fleshed features that ossified into consistent representations. Nevertheless, even into the Ramesside period, the identities of the barques could be fluid contingent upon the ritual purposes of dramatic reenactment (p. 284).

Ultimately, RPF operated by transporting offerings and cult images while simultaneously sanctifying and protecting their contents through magical symbolism. The Anubis shrines (p. 86) and barque biers (p. 205) were objects used by families and entire communities as vessels to convey the dead to their tombs. These furnishings were not normally interred with the dead but were part of the procession leading up to interment. The use of this furnishing seems to ritually prepare the dead for final burial as part of the cleansing the deceased and by reenacting the sacred journey of the dead to the underworld. These communal items were dedicated to a god or a person, e.g., Ramessesnakht, and maintained within the treasuries of the temples. Similarly, palanquin thrones had this function of magically imbuing the king with power like the gods. This characteristic of enhancing the contents of the furnishings with ritual cleansing or magical power expands the current paradigm by adding additional qualities to the existing definition. These qualities augment the cultural baseline by showing that RPF were special purpose objects.

Beyond the scope of this thesis, several lines of residual research were uncovered that could be explored in the future. (1) Barque figureheads are held by museums worldwide mislabeled as “aegis”; a thorough comprehensive study on this topic needs attention. (2) Modern temple reconstruction in Egypt is largely based

upon the Roman temple paradigm where the “holy of holies” is at the back of the temple without consideration to the ways barques would have interacted with temple architecture, whereas the Egyptian temple paradigm emphasizes the barque sanctuary as the heart of the temple. (3) Questions of barque induction and retirement still need to be addressed. (4) Some furnishings that are strictly ritual in nature, e.g., stationary shrine cabinets or altars, could be the focus of future doctoral research. (5) A modern publication of the Dynasty 18 reliefs at Luxor Temple is a glaring gap in the literature that needs to be filled. (6) The Ptolemaic and Late Period material was beyond the scope of this thesis but are unique and deserve proper treatment. (7) The new understanding of RPF offered by this thesis may affect our understanding of cultures influenced by Egypt such as those in Nubia and the Levant.

During the research I became acquainted with the theory of sacred space as it was associated with temple architecture. The temples of Egypt operated under the rubric of a cosmographic machine that recapitulated heaven and earth as well as the cycles of eternity. This rubric of sacred space could be applied to smaller architectural units such as pavilions. Viewing sacred spaces from a wider perspective has validated my observations that those architectural paradigms could be transferred to even smaller objects. So when my results were analyzed, it was intuitive that RPF not only made the greater living space suitable for religious use but also made a sanctified space within its own confines, i.e., a holier space within a space, and that this kind of space was temple-like in nature. While the current paradigm held that these objects are both manipulated in the presence of a deity

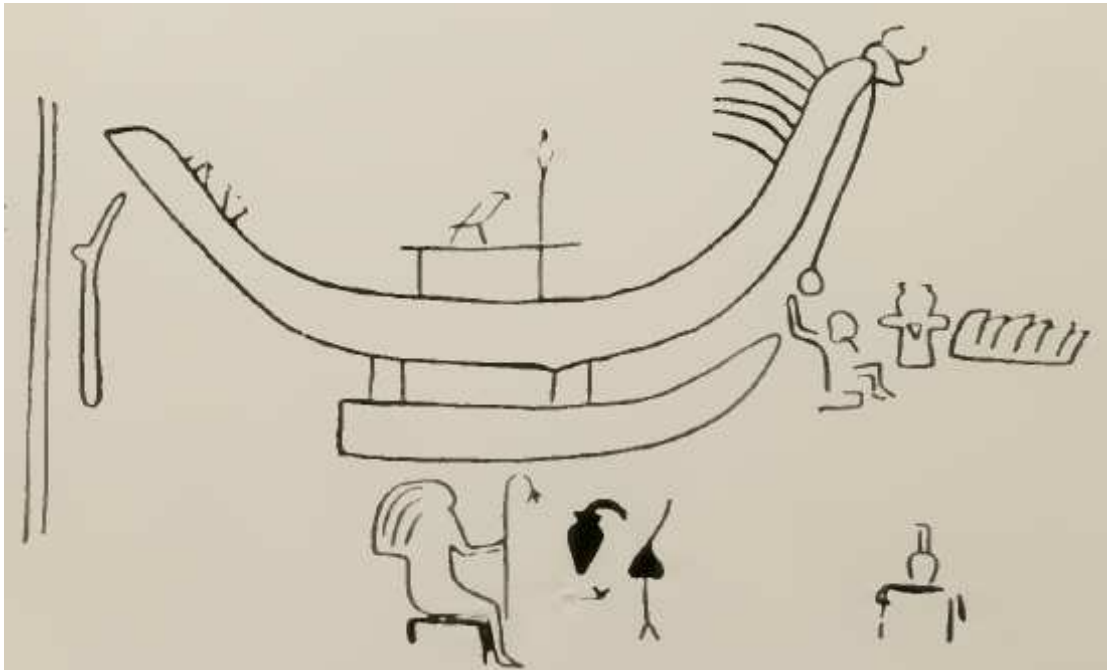
through a ritual act and that they are used outside of a temple in processions, this class had additional characteristics that acted as a magical conduit that ritually prepared and blessed items for religious use. The means by which this happens is through the creation of sacred spaces that were defined and protected by uraei and sanctified by winged goddesses and effectualized by the dramatic reenactment of sacred journey. For the ancient Egyptian, RPF was more than superfluous temple clutter to help facilitate ritual. On the contrary RPF was an essential component of ritual as it dealt directly with problems of liminality elevating profane objects to ritual acceptability. My contribution to knowledge has been to not only flesh out the identities of specific instances of ritual processional furnishing but to assimilate this architectural understanding and synthesize it with the available data so to arrive at a new understanding.

The methods used in this project positions it as an expansion of the wider literature and builds modestly upon their conclusions. This project provides a definition for RPF that is more defined and nuanced than Eaton and expands the paradigm provided by Egberts. The work also provides a larger examination of lexicographic data than what is provided by Brovarski or Janssen, but also builds upon and challenges some of their conclusions. The work also interacts with the theoretical outcomes of other related studies such as the funerary research of Cooney and Willems and temple architectural theory of Baines and Bell. While these conclusions are based upon the data and may even be generalized given the multi-locale nature of the iconographic data, with the limited extent of the textual data,

caution must be exercised. Therefore, I would prefer to apply the conclusions of this thesis on a case by case basis.

CATALOG

This catalog of images contains the various iconographic sources used in this thesis. The sources are arranged primarily by category, secondarily by chronology (by dynasty then according to specific reign), tertiary by geography (north to south), and finally by author. The area of Thebes after other considerations is arranged in the following order: Karnak, Luxor, mortuary temples of west bank, private tombs by number, then Deir el Medina. The dating of the tombs and monuments comes primarily from Porter and Moss. The figure identification number will be indexed by a letter representing its category as follows: (B) barques, (C) chests, (T) palanquins, (Z) supporting figures.



Catalog Bx0001

Source: Weigall, *Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts*, pl. VII [17]. PM VII, 329.

Date: Old Kingdom.

Locale: Wadi Hammamat.

Context: Graffito

Description: A bovine barque on a sledge.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0002

Source: Cotellet-Michel, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003), fig. 11.

Date: Senwosret I, Dynasty 12.

Locale: Chapel of Senwosret I, Pylon IX, Karnak.

Context: Temple

Description: Block showing king offering to barque on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0003

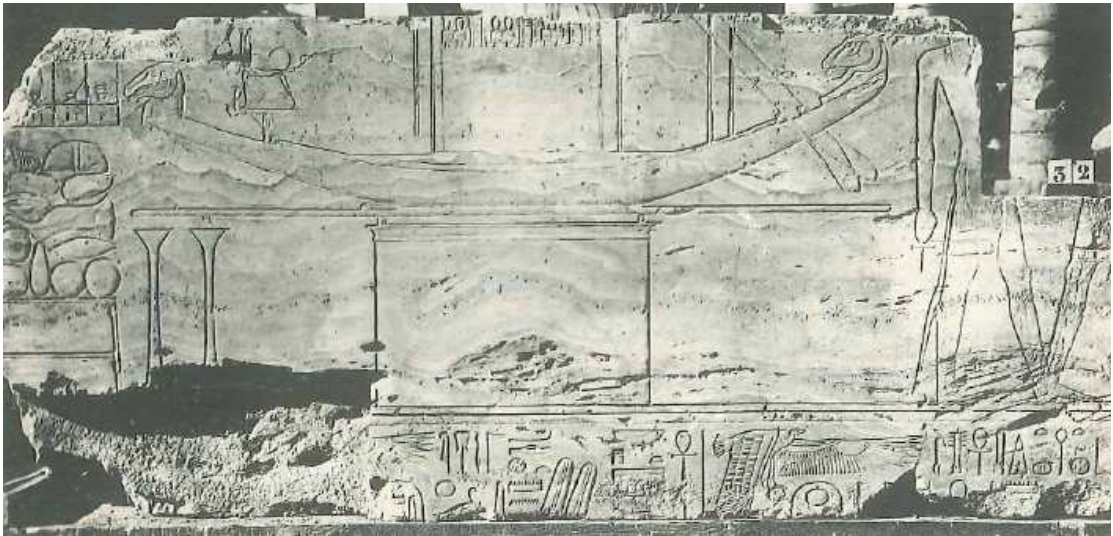
Source: Honroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker, *ZÄS* 46 (1909) Abb. 22. PM V, 227.

Date: Dynasty 18.

Locale: Great Temple of Khnum, Elephantine. Block built into foundation of temple.

Context: Temple

Description: Stern of the barque of Amun showing aft figurehead. The inscription reads *it.f nb imn t3w*, “his father and lord, Amun of lands.”



Catalog Bx0004

Source: Pillet, *ASAE* 23 (1923), pl. III [1]. PM II, 63.

Date: Amenhotep I, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Barque sanctuary of Amenhotep I, Third Pylon, Karnak. Interior, south wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Sacred barque of Amun resting on a plinth. An inscription above the royal sphinx reads *imn nb nswt t3wy*, “Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands.”



Catalog Bx0005

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 70.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Barque sanctuary of Hatshepsut, "Chapelle Rouge," Karnak. Interior, north half.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Amun-Re resting on a plinth with a label reading *imn nb nswt t3wy*, "Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands."



Catalog Bx0006

Source: Lacau, *ASAE* 26 (1926), 131. PM II, 67.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Barque sanctuary of Hatshepsut, "Chapelle Rouge," Karnak. Block from
the assemblage of the Third Pylon, Karnak.

Context: Temple

Description: Hatshepsut before the barque of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0007

Source: Legrain, *BIFAO* 13 (1917), pl. VII [4]. PM II, 66.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Barque sanctuary of Hatshepsut, "Chapelle Rouge," Karnak. Exterior, north side.

Context: Temple

Description: Priests carrying the barque of Amun-Re. Four meret chests are before the barque.



Catalog Bx0008

Source: Pillet, *ASAE* 23 (1923), pl. IV [1]. PM II, 65.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Barque sanctuary of Hatshepsut, "Chapelle Rouge," Karnak.

Context: Temple

Description: Presenting flowers and incense to the barque of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0009

Source: Pillet, *ASAE* 24 (1924), pl. III [upper]. PM II, 70.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Barque sanctuary of Hatshepsut, "Chapelle Rouge," Karnak. Interior, north half.

Context: Temple

Description: Hatshepsut presenting a collar to the barque of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0010

Source: Pillet, *ASAE* 24 (1924), pl. III [lower]. PM II, 67.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Barque sanctuary of Hatshepsut, "Chapelle Rouge," Karnak. Exterior,
south side.

Context: Temple

Description: Hatshepsut following the barque of Amun-Re in procession.



Catalog Bx0011

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 174.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18. Refurbished by Seti I.

Locale: Eighth pylon, Karnak. North face.

Context: Temple

Description: Two Maat goddesses inside the shrine facing towards the center: one with the shu feather and one with the maat feather. The wings of the two goddesses surround the name of Seti I in what seems to be a later addition. Many additions to this relief were done during the reign of Seti I making its historical value more relevant to Dynasty 19.



Catalog Bx0012

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 174.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18. Refurbished by Seti I.

Locale: Eighth pylon, Karnak. North face.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Amun-Re on procession.



Catalog Bx0013

Source: Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part III, pl. LXXXIII. PM II, 347.

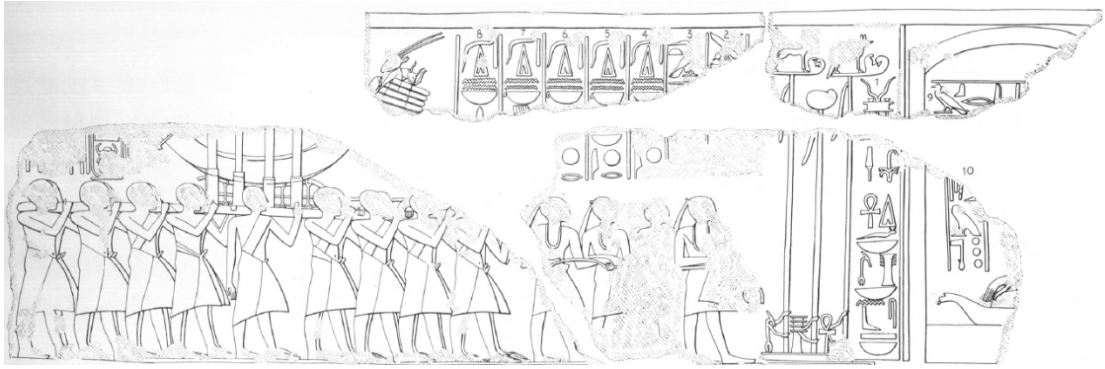
Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Deir el-Bahari. Middle colonnade, southern wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The barque of Amun-Re being carried by thirty priests.

(321)



Catalog Bx0014

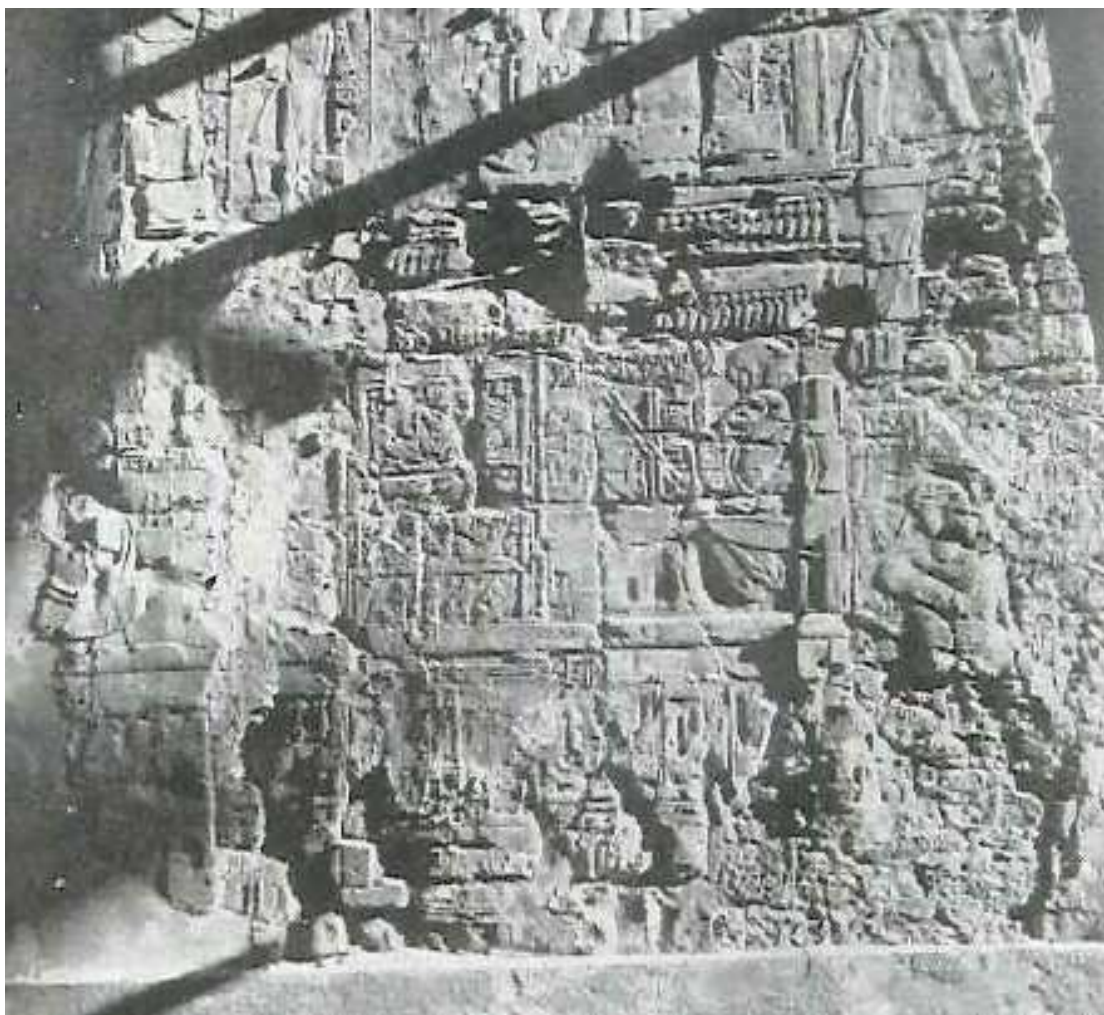
Source: Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pl. 228a. PM II, 116.

Date: Thutmose III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Karnak Temple, Great Temple of Amun. Room XVI, south wall.

Context: Temple

Description: A procession of the Sokar barque.



Catalog Bx0015

Source: Chevrier, *ASAE* 53 (1956), pl. IX [right]. PM II, 195-196.

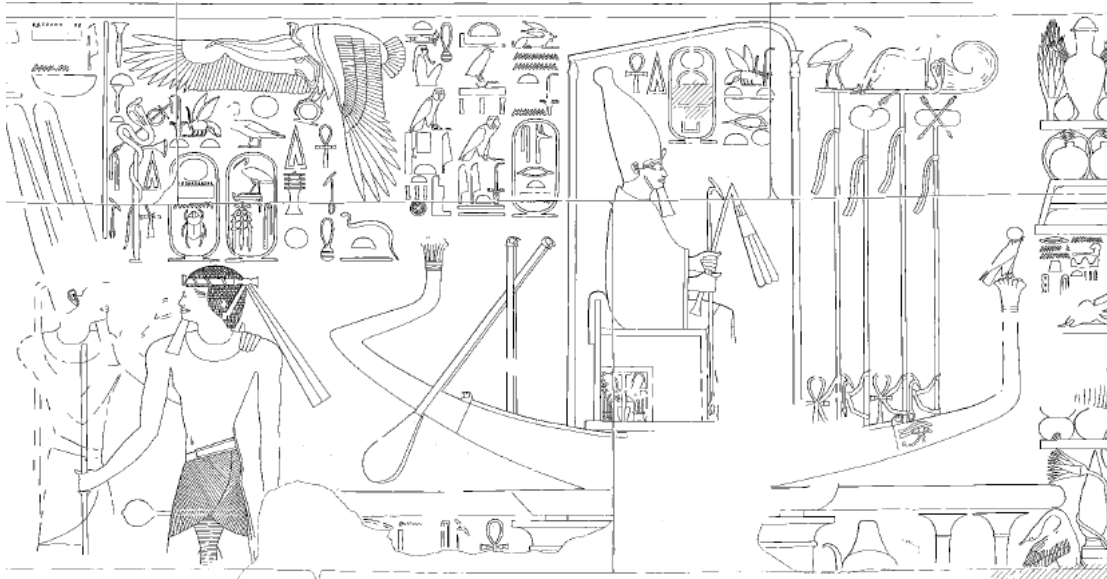
Date: Thutmose III (?), Dynasty 18. Probably refurbished by Seti I.

Locale: Temple of Ptah (=Lepsius G, F in 1st edition), Karnak.

Context: Temple

Description: Sacred barque of Amun-Re on a plinth. The chapel lacks clear dedicatory cartouches; however, blocks used in foundations have cartouches of Amenhotep I and Thutmosis I. Porter and Moss attribute the temple to Thutmosis III based upon [Chevrier, *Ann. Serv.* 49 (1949), 11] with blocks being reused from

Hatshepsut. The style of the crown of the figurehead was changed to include a full solar disk and the shrine cabinet has a double compartment with the goddesses inside exposed, features that are more typical of Seti I or later.



Catalog Bx0016

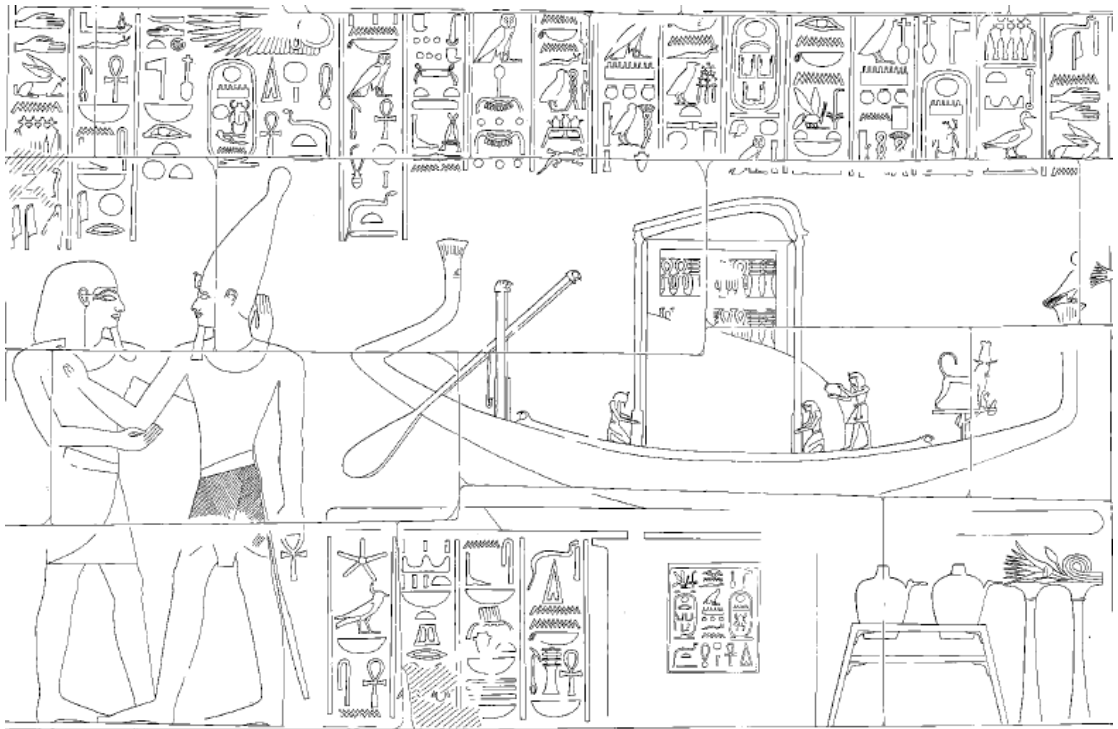
Source: Caminos, *Semna-Kumma I*, pl. 50. PM VII, 147.

Date: Thutmose III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Semna, main building. Inside east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: A portable sacred barque dedicated to the funerary cult of Senwosret III.



Catalog Bx0017

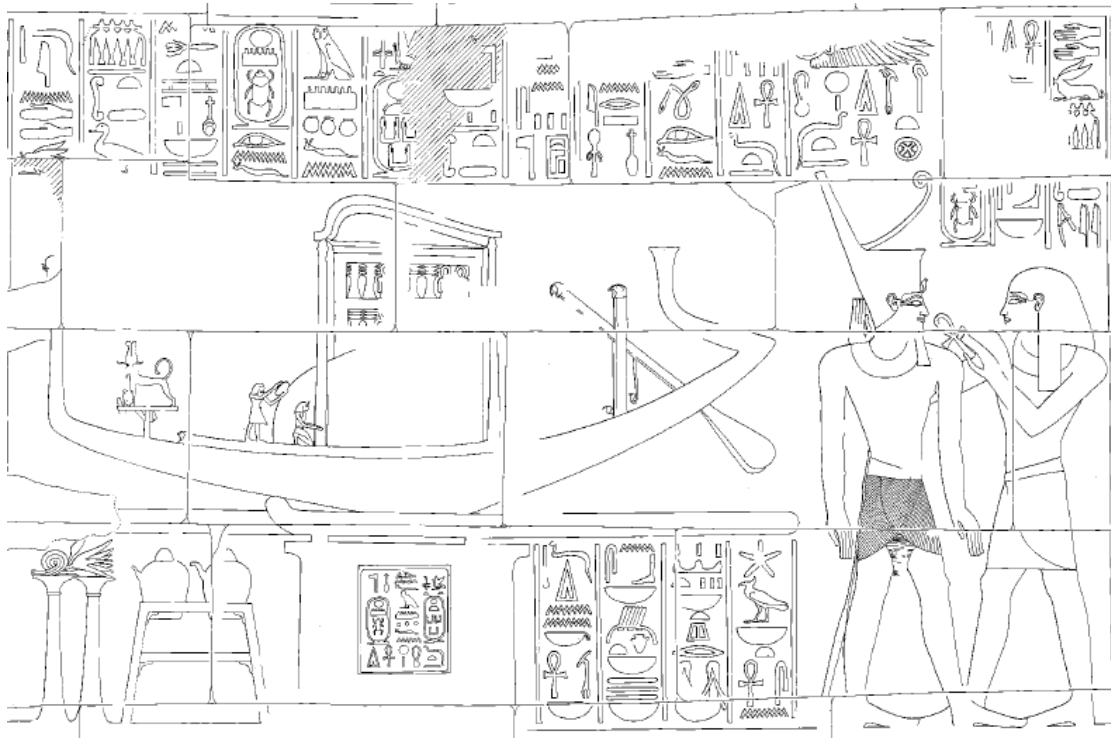
Source: Caminos, *Semna-Kumma I*, pl. 51-52. PM VII, 147.

Date: Thutmose III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Semna, main building. Inside east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: A portable sacred barque of Dedwen resting on a plinth. The plinth has a dedication to the funerary cult of Senwosret III. Dedwen of Southern Nubia and a [beloved] son, the good god, Senwosret III, speaking in the utterance text had presented to him offerings of oil, electrum, gold, bronze, and copper.



Catalog Bx0018

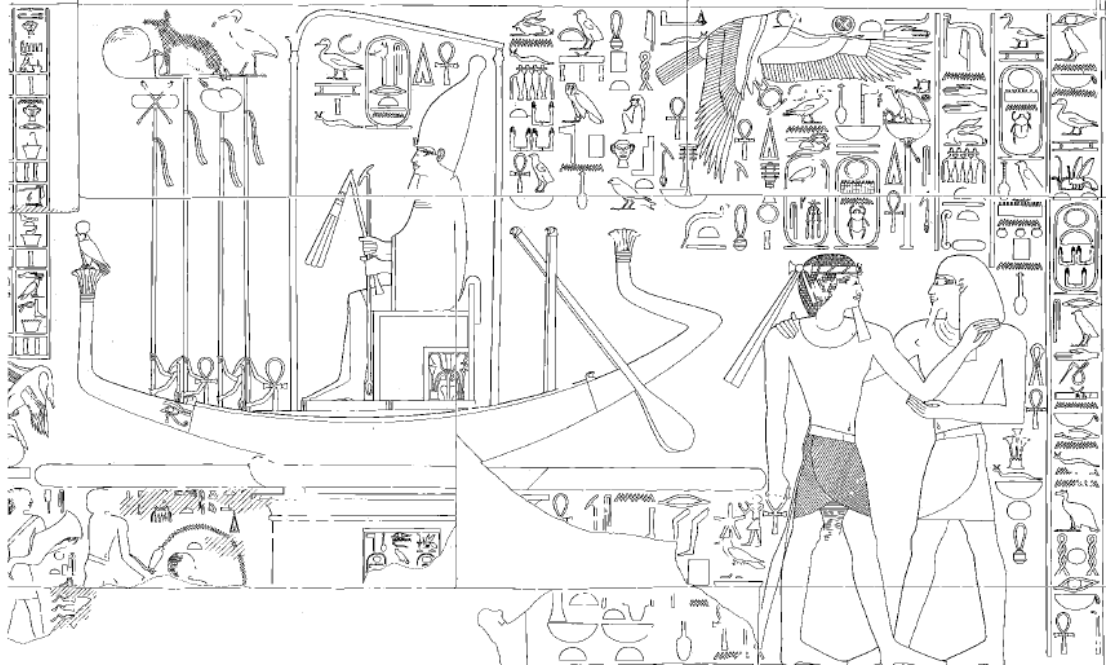
Source: Caminos, *Semna-Kumma I*, pl. 55-56. PM VII, 147.

Date: Thutmose III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Semna, main building. Inside west wall.

Context: Temple

Description: A barque of Dedwen resting on a plinth. The plinth has a dedication to the funerary cult of Senwosret III.



Catalog Bx0019

Source: Caminos, *Semna-Kumma I*, pl. 57. PM VII, 147.

Date: Thutmose III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Semna, main building. Inside west wall.

Context: Temple

Description: A portable sacred barque for the funerary cult of Senwosret III resting on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0020

Source: Pillet, *ASAE* 24 (1924), pl.II. PM II, 72.

Date: Thutmose IV, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Barque sanctuary of Thutmose IV, Karnak. Interior.

Context: Temple

Description: The king kneeling before the barque of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0021

Source: Foucart, *BIFAO* 24 (1924), pl. I. PM II, 61.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Third Pylon, Karnak Temple. North wing, east face.

Context: Temple

Description: The river barge of Amun-Re transporting a divine barque. The barge has figureheads of Amun-Re with the crown of Khnum [Foucart, *BIFAO* 24 (1924), pl. III].



Catalog Bx0022

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 319.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18. Usurped by Ramesses II.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Hypostyle Hall, Chapel of Mut.

Context: Temple

Description: King making offerings to sacred barque of Mut. The barque relief has been significantly damaged. The depiction by Gayet (*Le temple de Louxor*, pl.

XXIX) differs significantly from what is found both in the drawing and the text.

The utterance text with the barque is badly degraded and unlikely to be the same inscription found in <Cat. Bx0024>. Even so the spacing of the lacunae makes the reading proposed by Gayet improbable.



Catalog Bx0023

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 321-322.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Second antechamber.

Context: Temple

Description: King making offerings to sacred barque. The utterance text is ascribed to *s3 mry*, "A beloved son."



Catalog Bx0024

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 321-322.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Second antechamber.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Mut on procession. The utterance text is ascribed to *mwt nbt išrw nbt pt*, "Mut lady of Ascheru, lady of heaven."



Catalog Bx0025

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 321-322.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Second antechamber.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Amun-Re on procession. The relief has a true label identifying Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands.



Catalog Bx0026

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 324.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Third antechamber, southeast wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Amun-Re on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0027

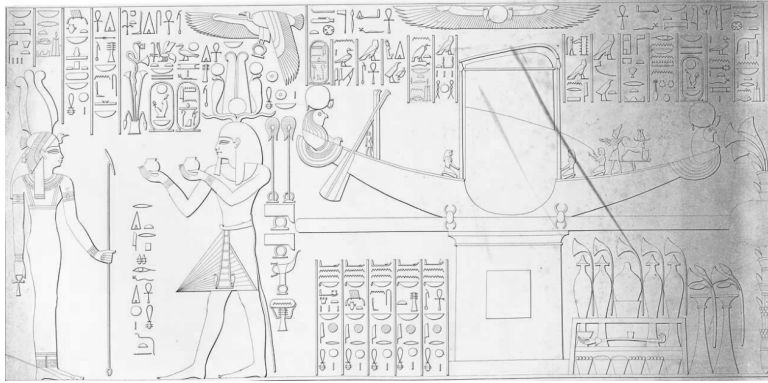
Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 324.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Third antechamber, northwest wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Amun-Re on a plinth. While this barque is unmistakably that of Amun-Re as confirmed by an utterance text to the upper right (partially destroyed), an utterance text to the left of the plinth is addressed to "a beloved son, Amenhotep III."



Catalog Bx0028

Source: LD III, 80c. Photography by Raymond Betz. Source :

http://www.osirisnet.net/monument/elkab/photo/temple_amenophis3_01.jpg.

Accessed: Dec 3/2013. PM V, 189.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Amenhotep III, El Kab. Eastern temple, interior.

Context: Temple

Description: The barque of Nekhbet resting on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0029

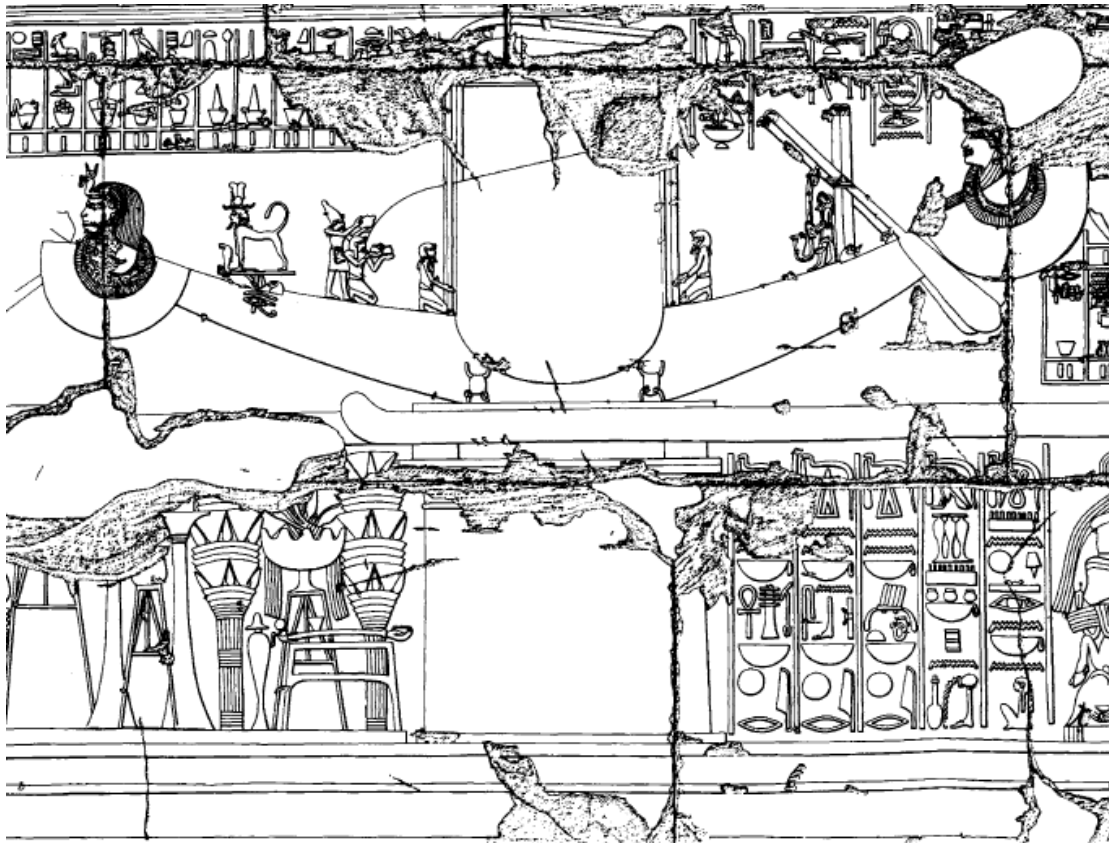
Source: Schott photo 8758. PM I, 298.

Date: Amenhotep III to IV, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Kheruef (TT 192). Passage.

Context: Funerary

Description: Hieroglyph of barque of Sokar.



Catalog Bx0030

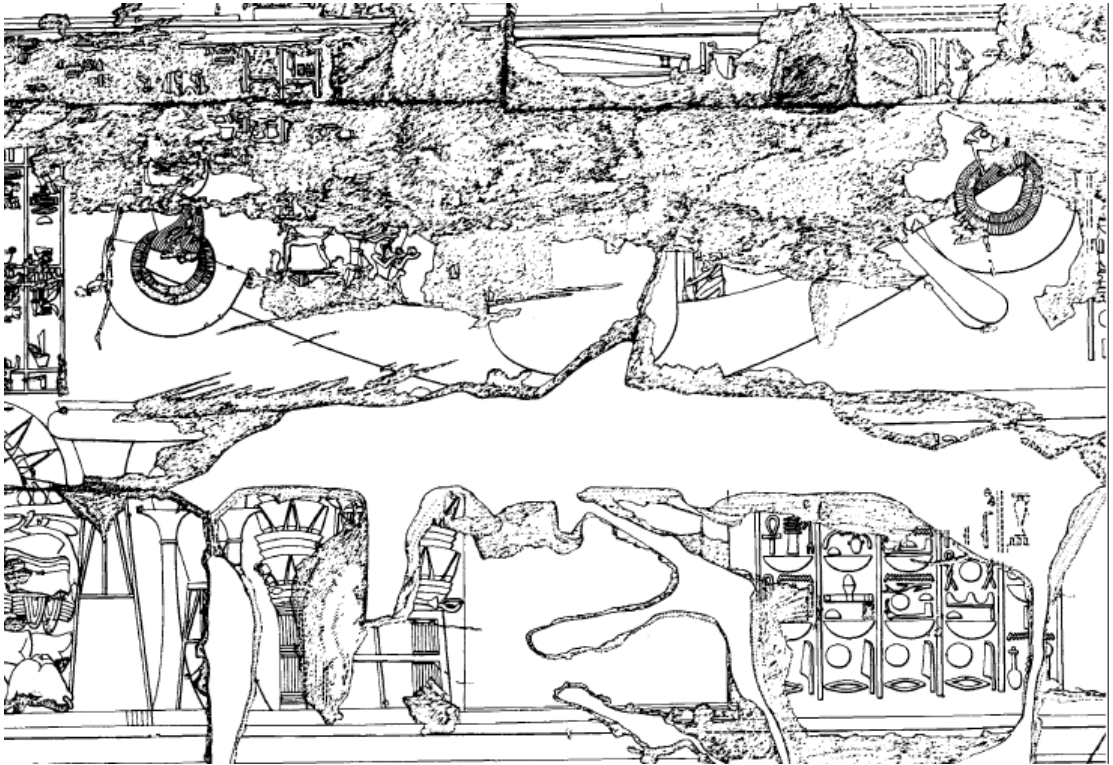
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 5. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, west wall, northern section.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Mut parked at Karnak Temple. The utterance text is spoken by Mut, lady of Ascheru, lady of heaven.



Catalog Bx0031

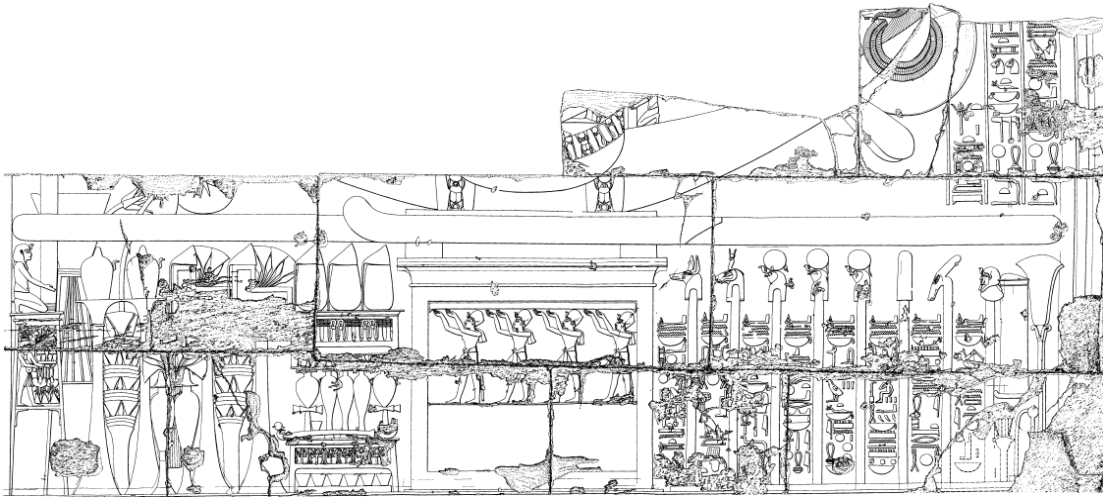
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 5. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, west wall, northern section.

Context: Temple

Description: Falconine barque parked at Karnak Temple.



Catalog Bx0032

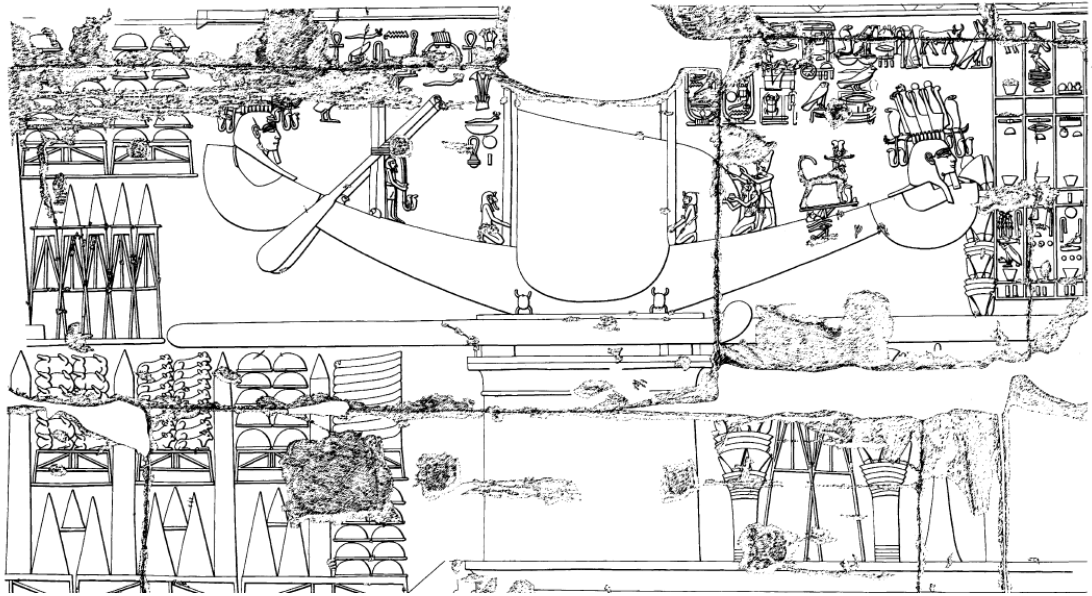
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 7. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, west wall, northern section.

Context: Temple

Description: Fragment of barque of Amun-Re parked at Karnak Temple.



Catalog Bx0033

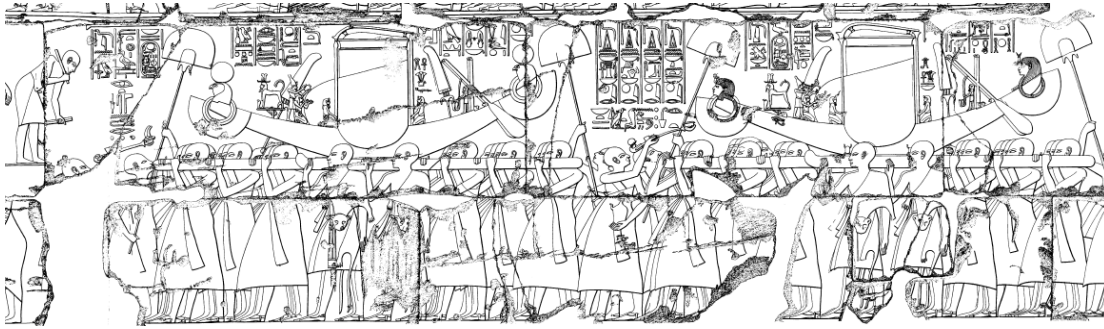
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 11. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, west wall, northern section.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of the king parked at Karnak Temple; above the prow of the barque is the titulary of Horemheb.



Catalog Bx0034

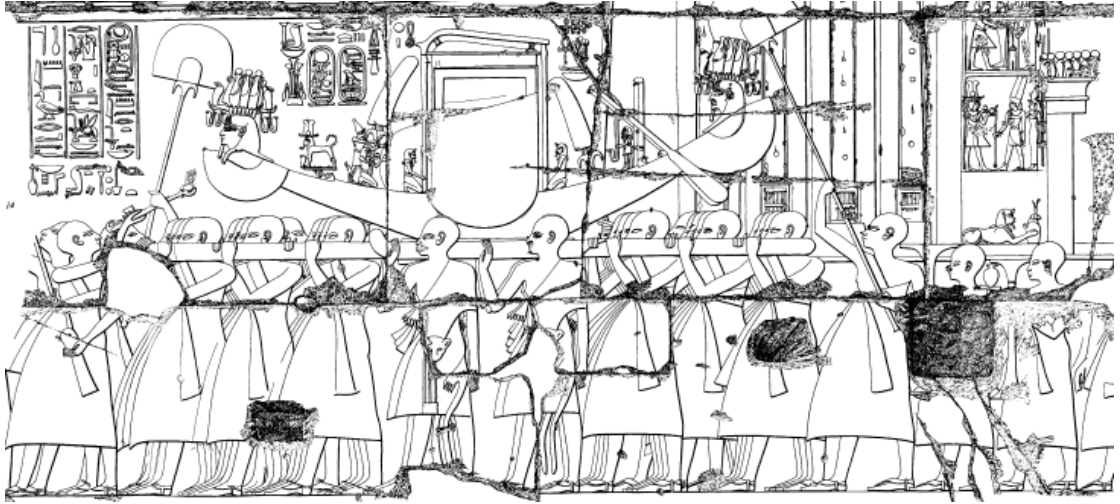
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.14. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, west wall, central section.

Context: Temple

Description: The procession leaving Karnak Temple of the sacred barques of the Theban triad. The utterance text before the falconine barque reads *dd-mdw hnsu m w3st s3 mry nb t3wy dsr-hprw-r nfrwy mnw pn ir.n.k n di.n n.k nhh m nsw t3wy dt*,
“An utterance of Khonsu of Thebes, a beloved son and the lord of the two lands, Horemheb. How beautiful is this monument which you made and which by you have caused to be eternal as king of the two lands forever.”



Catalog Bx0035

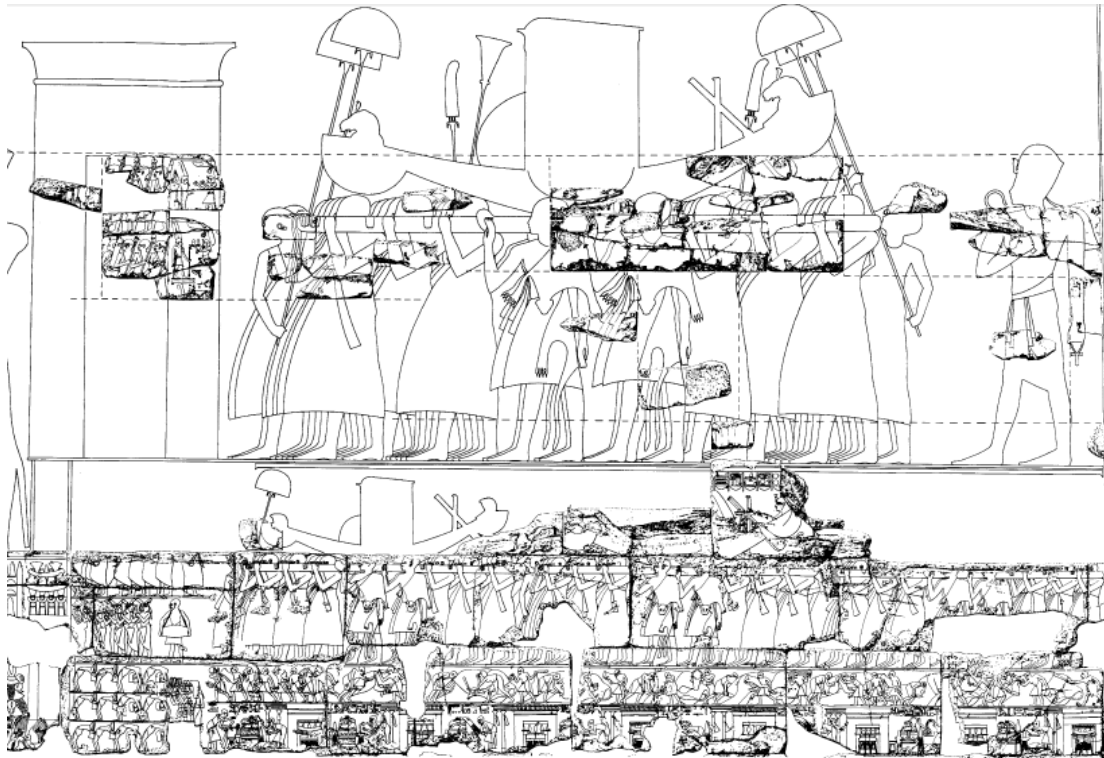
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.16. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, west wall, central section.

Context: Temple

Description: The procession of the sacred barques as it leaves Karnak Temple. The barque of the Horemheb follows the Theban triad.



Catalog Bx0036

Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.35. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, west wall, southern section.

Context: Temple

Description: The fragments of the barques of the Theban triad arriving at Luxor Temple.

Catalog Bx0037

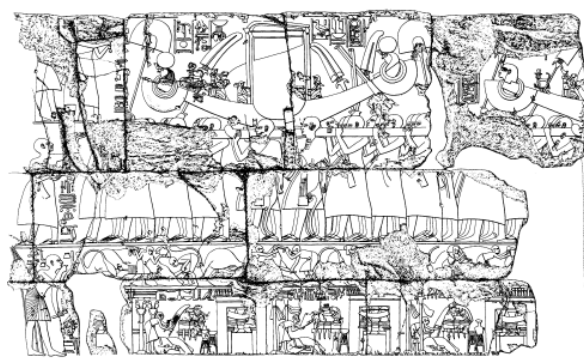
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.55. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

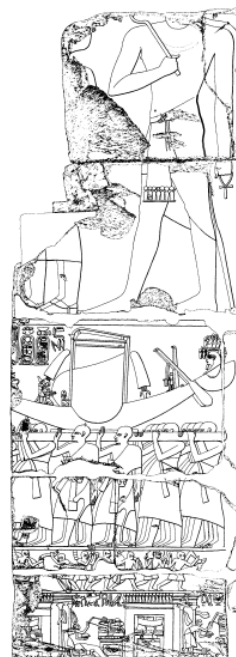
Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, east wall, southern section.

Context: Temple

Description: The barques of Khonsu and Mut leaving Luxor Temple.



LATER DOORWAY



Catalog Bx0038

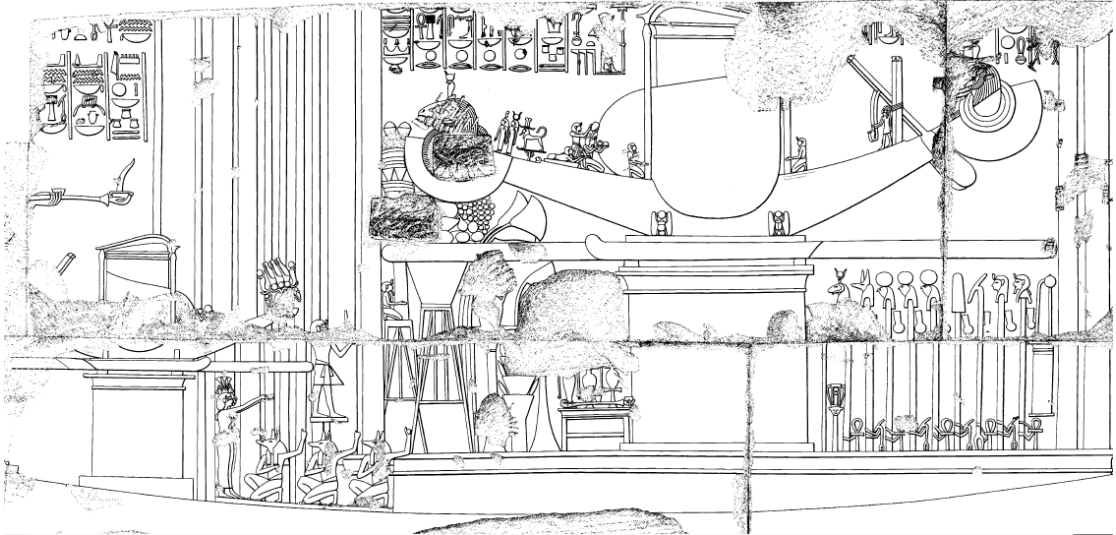
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.63. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, east wall, southern section.

Context: Temple.

Description: The king departing Luxor Temple with the barques of Khonsu and Mut (left) from <Cat Bx0037>, and the king (right).



Catalog Bx0039

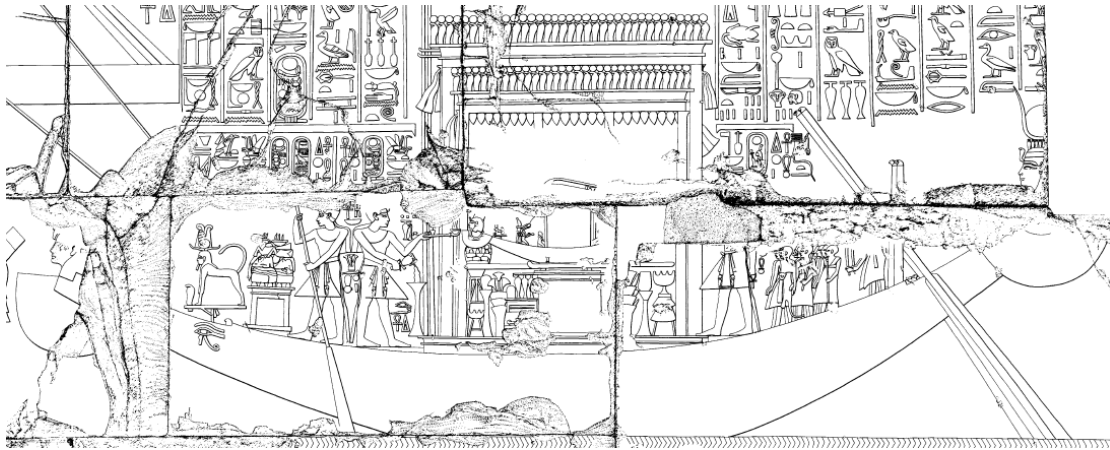
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.79. Photo from Foucart, *BIFAO* 24 (1924), pl. XVIII. PM II, 315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, east wall, central section.

Context: Temple

Description: The river barge of Amun-Re. The sacred barque of Amun-Re is housed within a shrine. In front of this sacred barque is the sacred barque of the king.



Catalog Bx0040

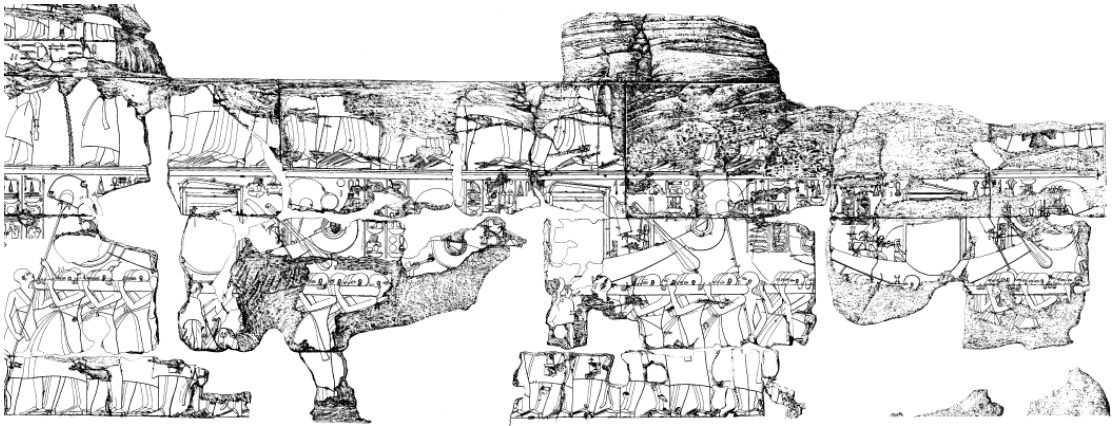
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.82. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, east wall, central section.

Context: Temple

Description: A river barge with the barque of Mut inside a shrine.



Catalog Bx0041

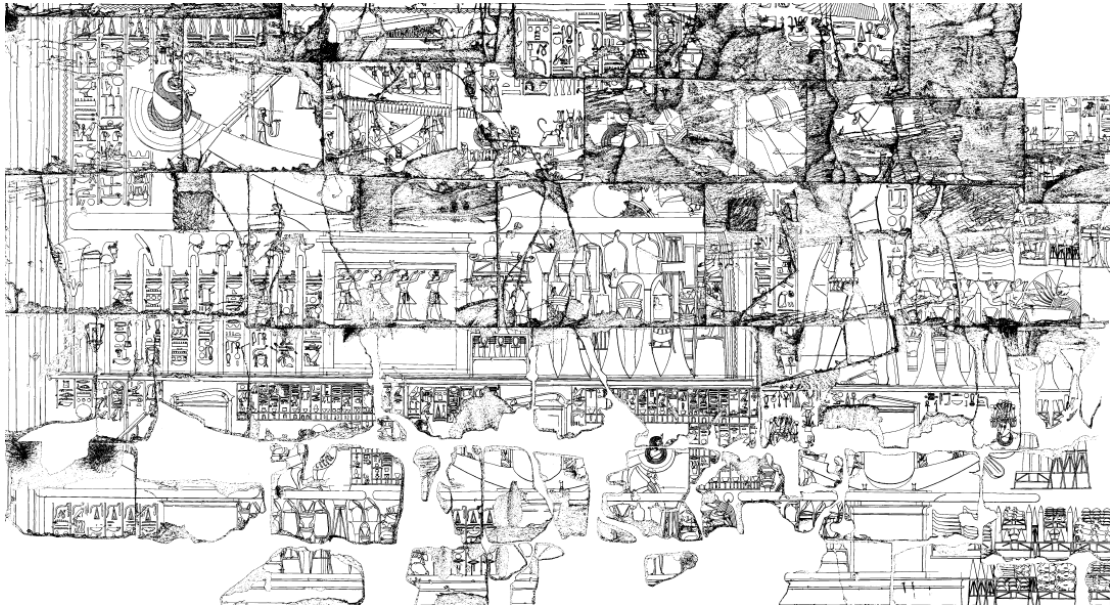
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.101. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, east wall, north section.

Context: Temple

Description: The barques of Khonsu, Mut, and Horemheb arriving at Karnak.



Catalog Bx0042

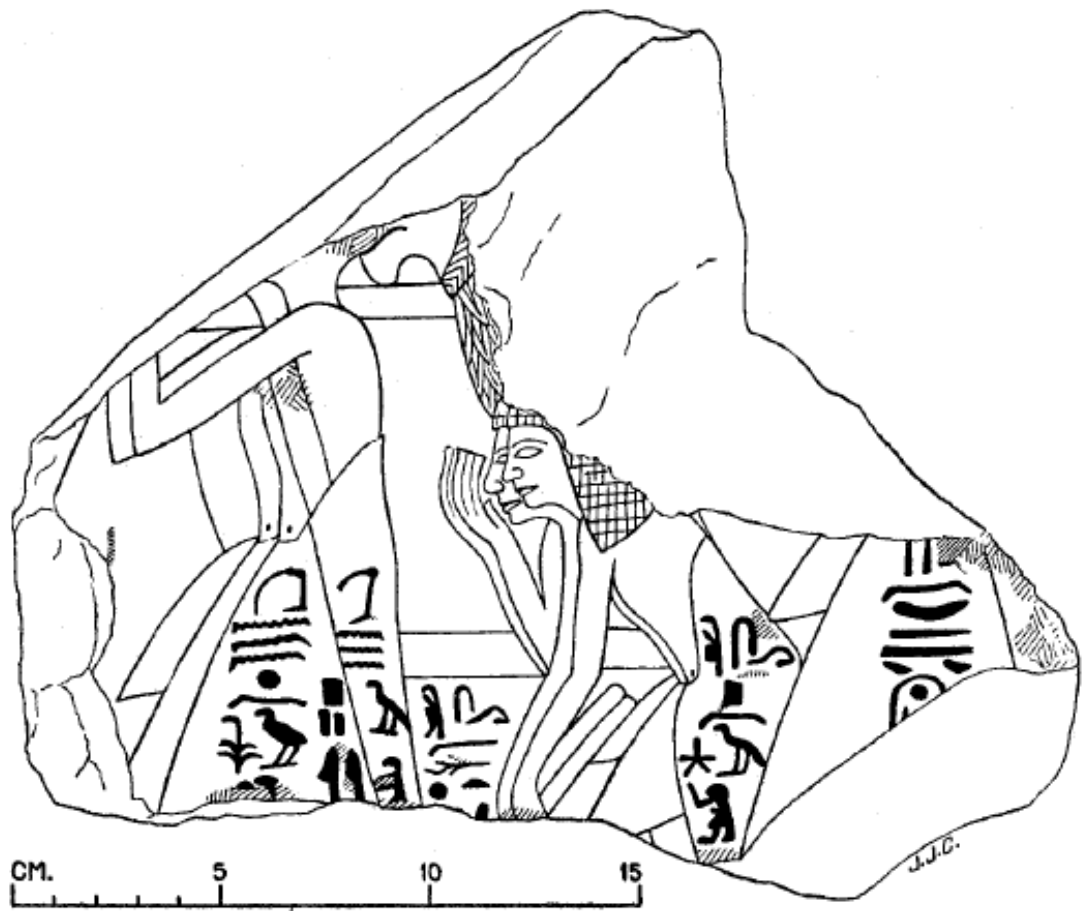
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.108. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18), usurped by Horemheb.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, east wall, north section.

Context: Temple

Description: The barques arriving at Karnak and the king purifying the barques at Karnak with water.



Catalog Bx0043

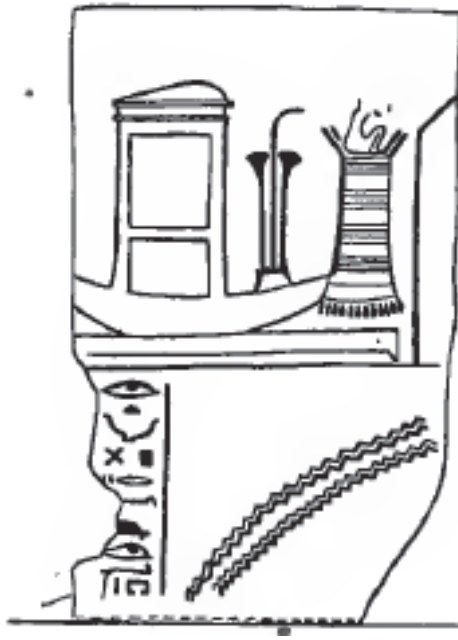
Source: Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 190-192 and fig. 3. PM I, 736.

Date: Dynasty 19.

Locale: Fragment of block.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Amenhotep I carried by wab priests.



Catalog Bx0044

Source: Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10)*, pl. LXXXI [10]. PM

III, 669.

Date: Dynasty 19.

Locale: Fragment of block, Saqqara.

Context: Temple

Description: Possibly a barque of Re-Horakhty.



Catalog Bx0045

Source: Davies, *JEA* 24 (1938), 40, fig. 24. PM I, 26.

Date: Late Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Huy (TT 14), Dra Abu el-Naga. Hall, ceiling.

Context: Temple

Description: Aft portion of a barque.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0046

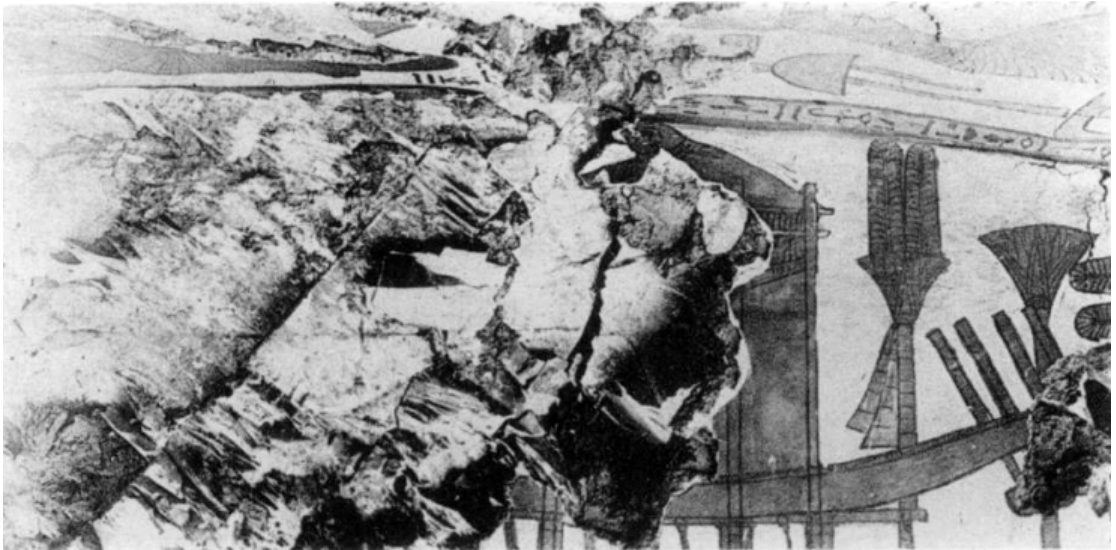
Source: PM I, 301.

Date: Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Bekenamun (TT 195), Asasif. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased and wife with hymn before barque of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.



Catalog Bx0047

Source: Mackay, *JEA* 7(1921), pl. XXIII[1]. PM I, 307.

Date: Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Paneb (TT 211), Deir el-Medina. Burial chamber, tympanum.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque of Sokar.



Catalog Bx0048

Source: Nelson and Hölscher, *Work in Western Thebes 1931-33*, fig. 38. PM I, 96.

Date: Horemheb, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Ptah-Sokar barque (labeled) on a plinth at the Feast of Sokar.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0049

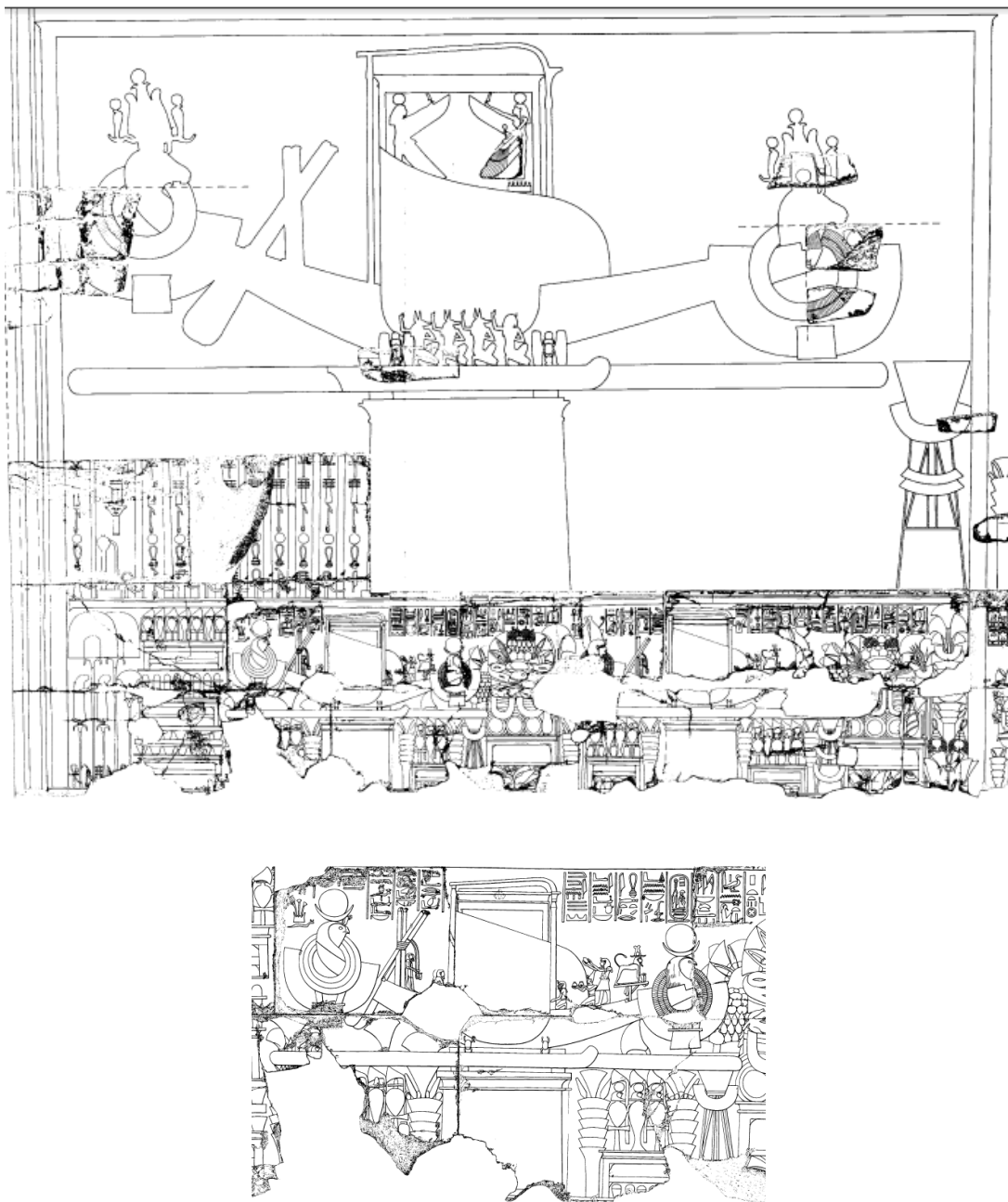
Source: *LD Text*, V, 178 [top]. PM VII, 121.

Date: Horemheb, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Rock Temple of Amun-Re and Thoth, Abahûda. Sanctuary.

Context: Temple

Description: King before barque of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0050

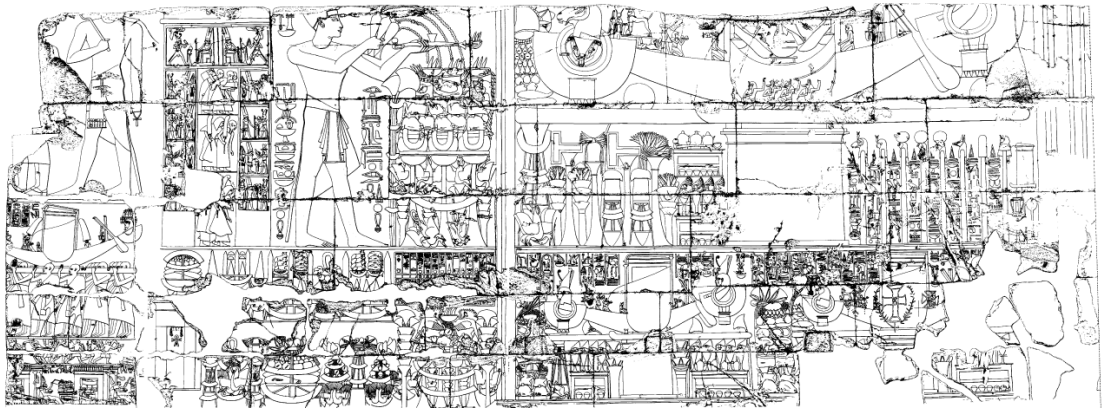
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.35 and 43. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Horemheb to Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, west wall, south section.

Context: Temple

Description: Barques of the Theban triad in Luxor Temple.



Catalog Bx0051

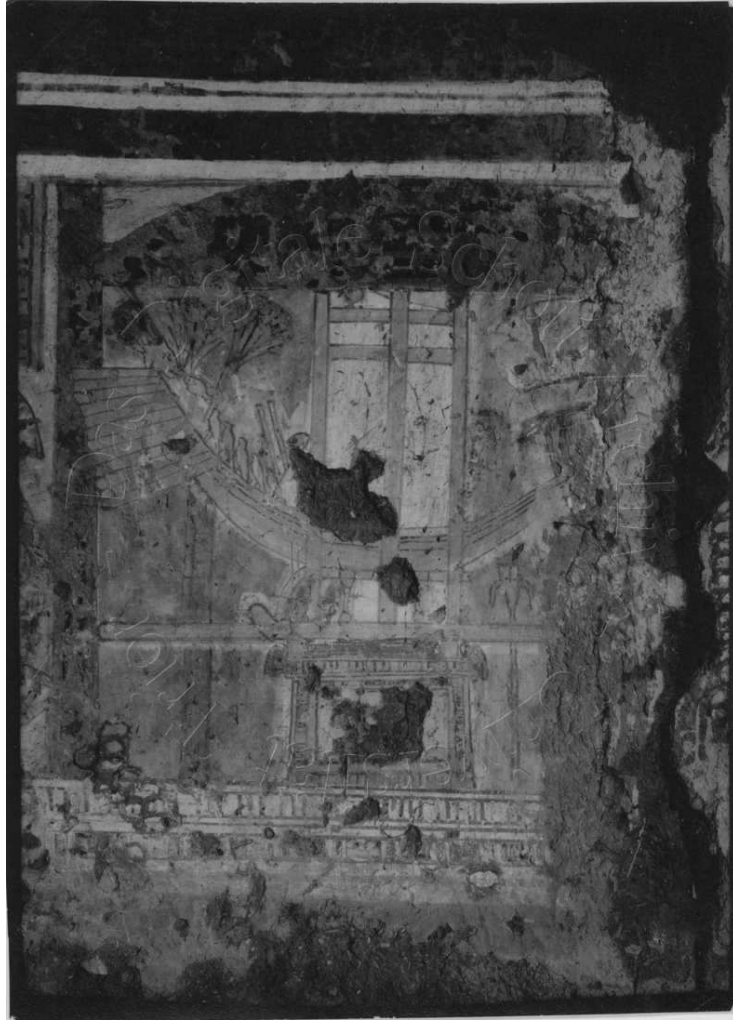
Source: Dorman, *The Festival Procession of Opet*, pl.55. PM II, 314-315.

Date: Horemheb to Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Colonnade hall, east wall, southern section.

Context: Temple

Description: The barques of Amun, Mut (archetypal), and Khonsu at rest before leaving the temple.



Catalog Bx0052

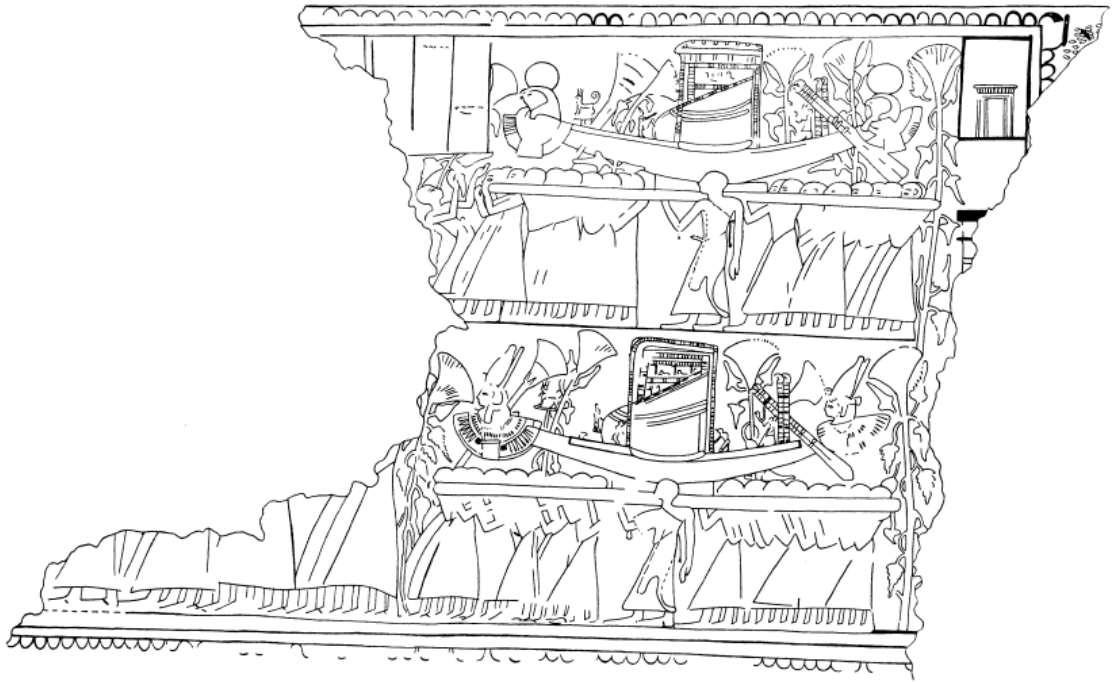
Source: Schott photo 7303. PM I, 84.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Amenemhab (TT 44), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque of Sokar resting on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0053

Source: Davies, *JEA* 25 (1939), pl. XVIII. PM I, 366.

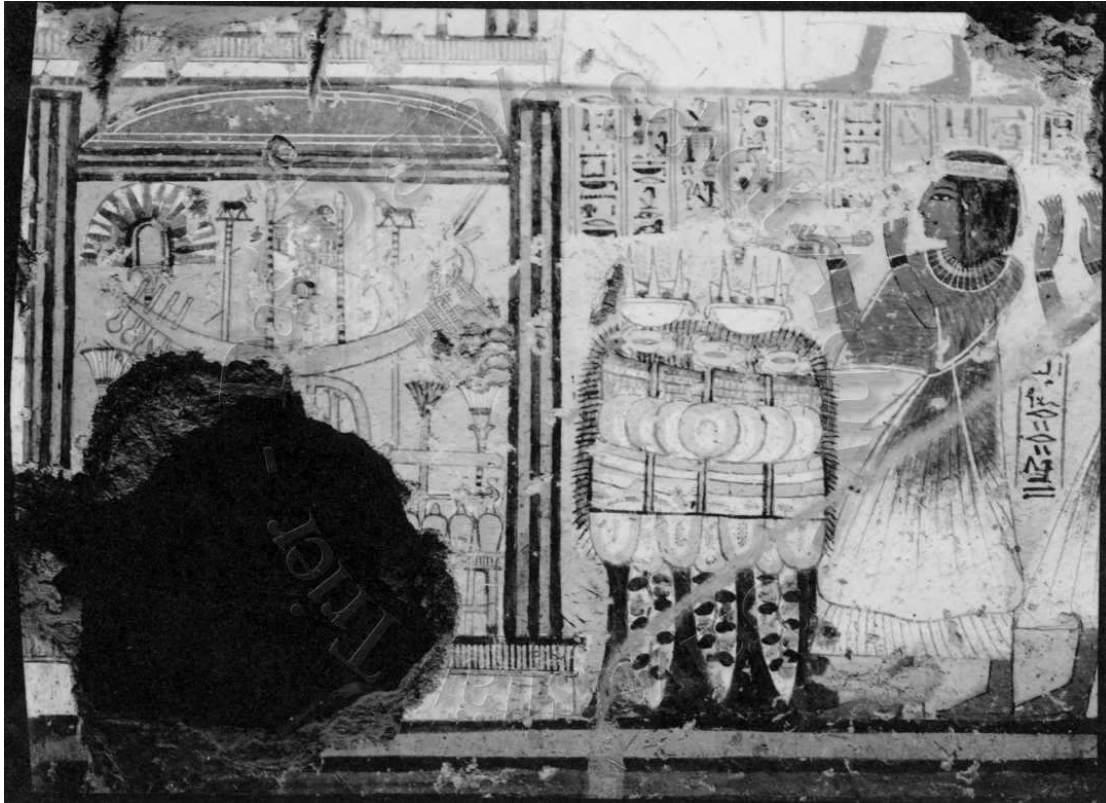
Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Pahemneter (TT 284), Dra Abu el-Naga. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barques of Khonsu and Mut (archetypal) carried in the Opet Festival.

Barque of Amun-Re was destroyed.



Catalog Bx0054

Source: Schott photo 6003. PM I, 368.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Niay (TT 286), Dra Abu el-Naga. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased censes before barque of Sokar in kiosk.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0055

Source: PM I, 369.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Pendua (TT 287), Dra Abu el-Naga. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque of Sokar on a stand.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0056

Source: PM I, 432.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of unknown person (TT 371), Khokha. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque of Sokar.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0057

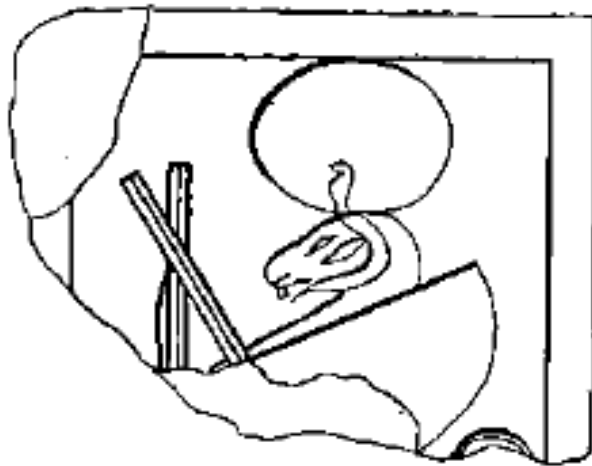
Source: PM I, 433.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Amenmessu (TT 373), Khokha. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased prostrate adoring barque of Amun-Re-Atum-Horakhty with a barque of Sokar.



Catalog Bx0058

Source: Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médinah, 1931-1932*, fig. 30[b].

PM I, 737.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Fragment of Stela Louvre E. 16320, Deir el-Medina.

Context: Funerary

Description: Fragment showing the stern of sacred barque of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0059

Source: Schott photo 4953. PM I, 33.

Date: Ramesses I to Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Amenmosi (TT 19), Dra Abu el-Naga.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque of Amenhotep I.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0060

Source: PM I, 79.

Date: Ramesses I to Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Amenemopet (TT 41), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased and his wife making offerings before barque of Sokar.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0061

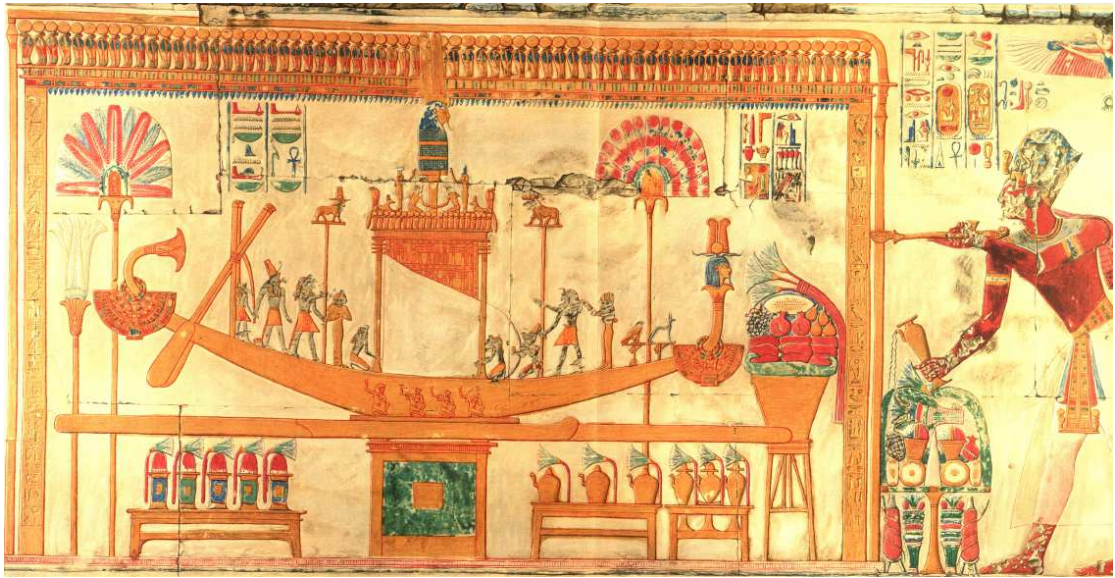
Source: PM I, 223.

Date: Seti I to Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Paser (TT 106), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Pillar C.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque of Sokar on shrine.



Catalog Bx0062

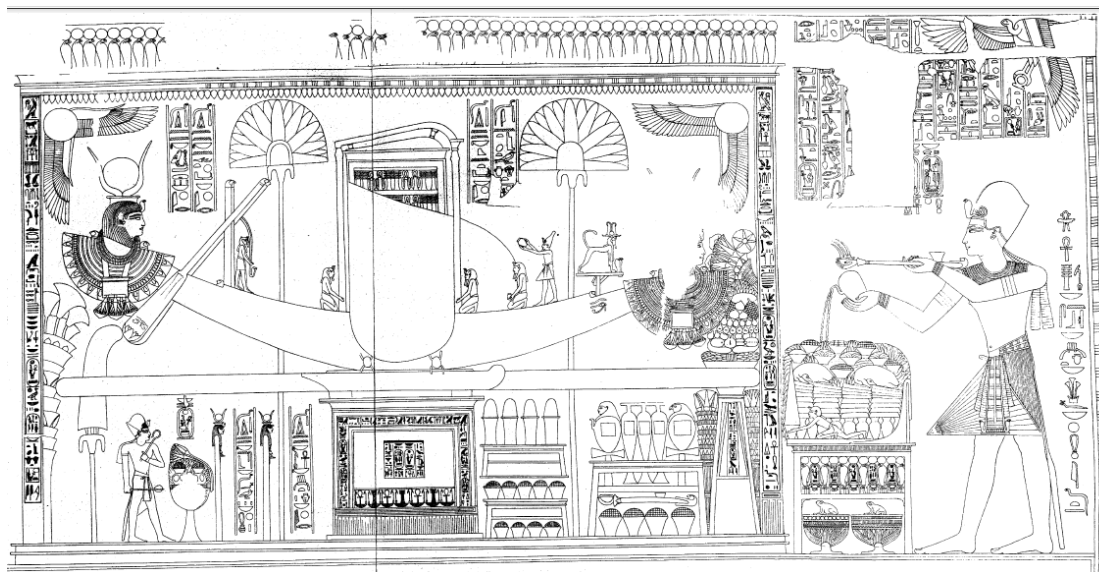
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. I, pl. 7. PM VI, 15.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Osiris, north wall, western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense and libation to the barque of Osiris labeled *wsir hnty(w)-imntyw ntr md hry-ib hwt mn-m3t-r*, “Osiris Hentyimentu, god of speech, who resides in the temple of Seti I.”



Catalog Bx0063

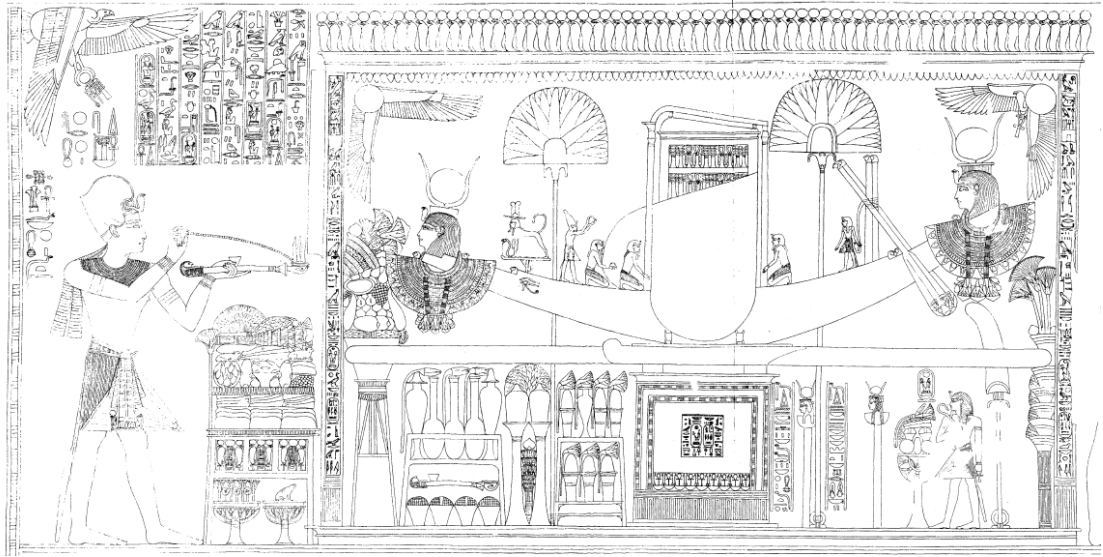
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. I, pl. 19. PM VI, 17.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Isis, north wall, western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense and libation to the barque of Isis. The utterance text is ascribed to *ist wrt ḥry-ibt ḥwt [mn-m3ʿt]-rʿ*, “Isis the Great who resides in the temple of Seti I.”



Catalog Bx0064

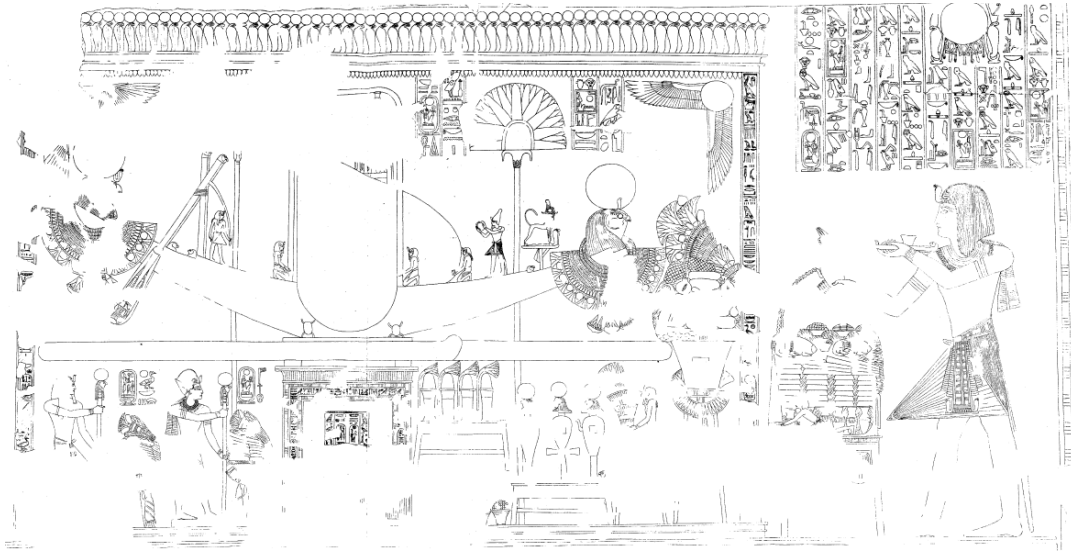
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. I, pl. 22. PM VI, 17.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Isis, south wall, western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense to the barque of Isis.



Catalog Bx0065

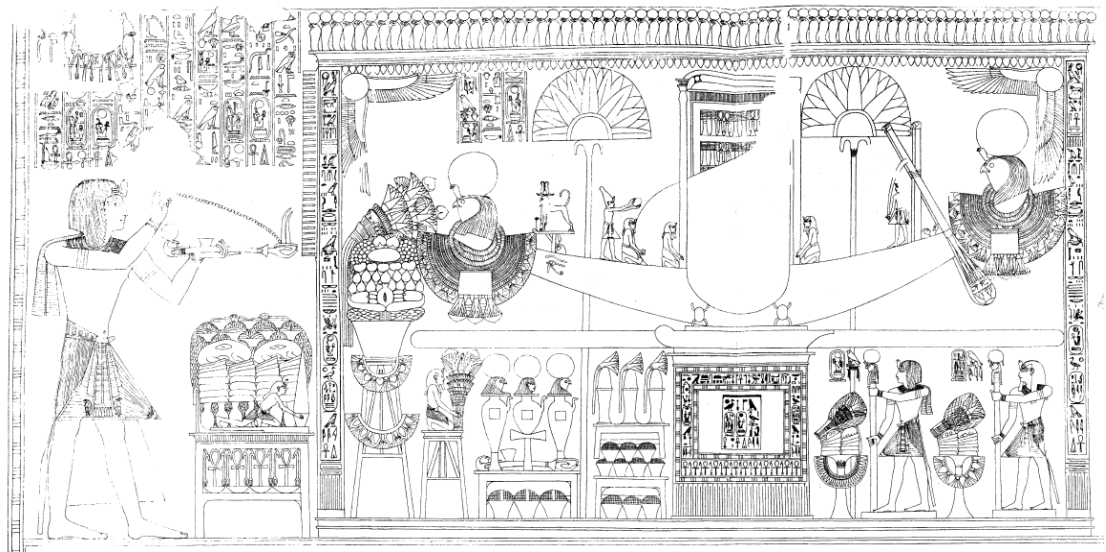
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. I, pl. 27. PM VI, 18.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Horus, north wall, western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense and libation to the barque of Horus.



Catalog Bx0066

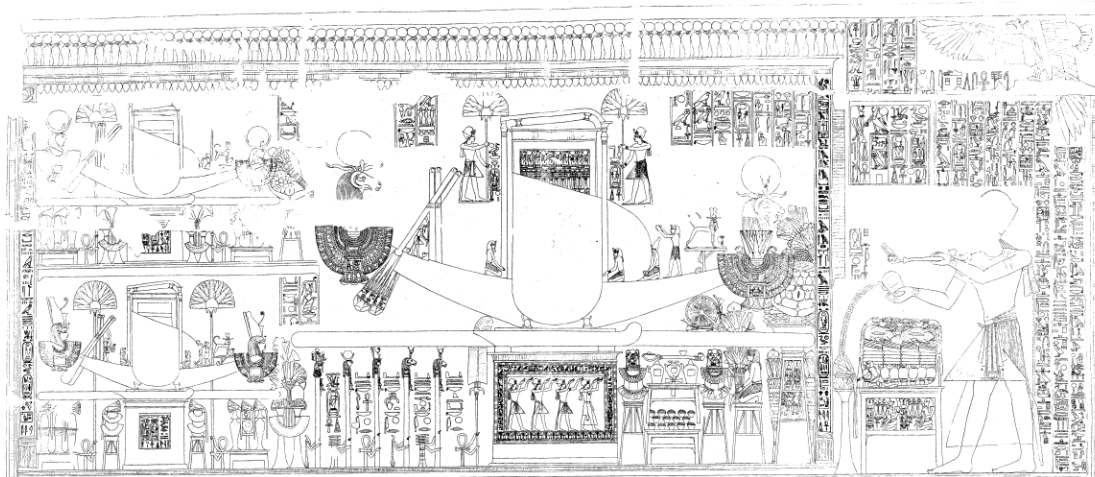
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. I, pl. 30. PM VI, 18.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Horus, south wall, western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense to the barque of Horus. The utterance text reads *dd-mdw in hr hry-ib hwt mn-m3^ct-r^c ib.i htp ht irt n.k nb t3wy mn-m3^ct-r^c di 'nh*, “An utterance by Horus who resides in the temple of Seti I, ‘my heart is satisfied by your deeds, lord of the two lands, Seti I, given life.’”



Catalog Bx0067

Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. II, pl. 5. PM VI, 14.

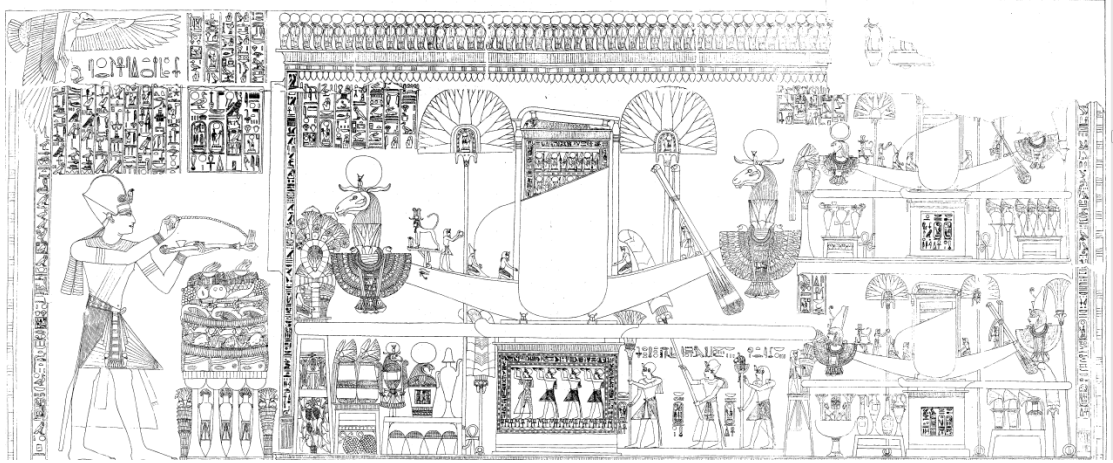
Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Amun-Re, north wall,
western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense and libation to the barques of the Theban triad.

The utterance text above the barge of Amun-Re has the ascription *imn-r^c nsw-ntrw*
hry-ib hwt mn-m^ct-r^c, “Amun-Re, king of the gods, residing in the temple of Seti
I.”



Catalog Bx0068

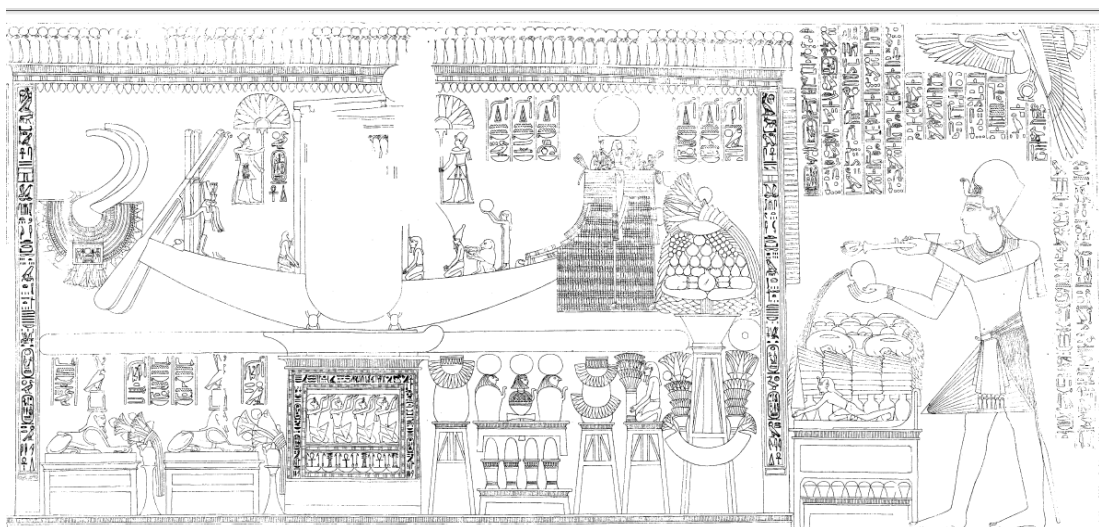
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. II, pl. 10. PM VI, 14.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Amun-Re, south wall,
western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense to the barques of the Theban triad.



Catalog Bx0069

Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. II, pl. 15. PM VI, 12.

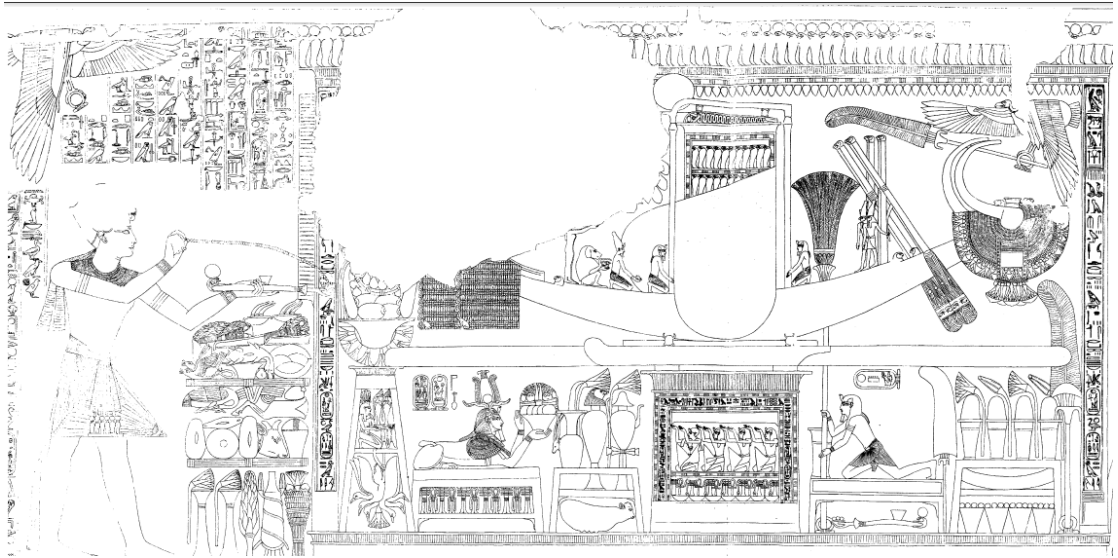
Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Re-Horakhty, north wall,
western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense and libation to the barque of the Re-Horakhty.

The utterance text is ascribed to Re-Horakhty.



Catalog Bx0070

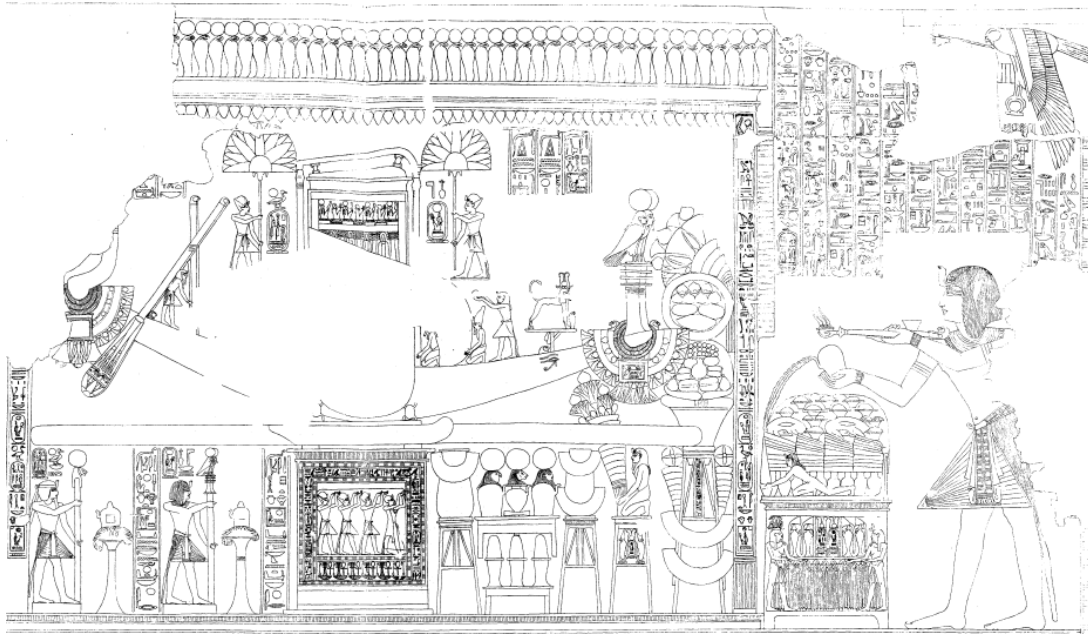
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. II, pl. 18. PM VI, 13.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Re-Horakhty, south wall,
western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense to the barque of the Re-Horakhty.



Catalog Bx0071

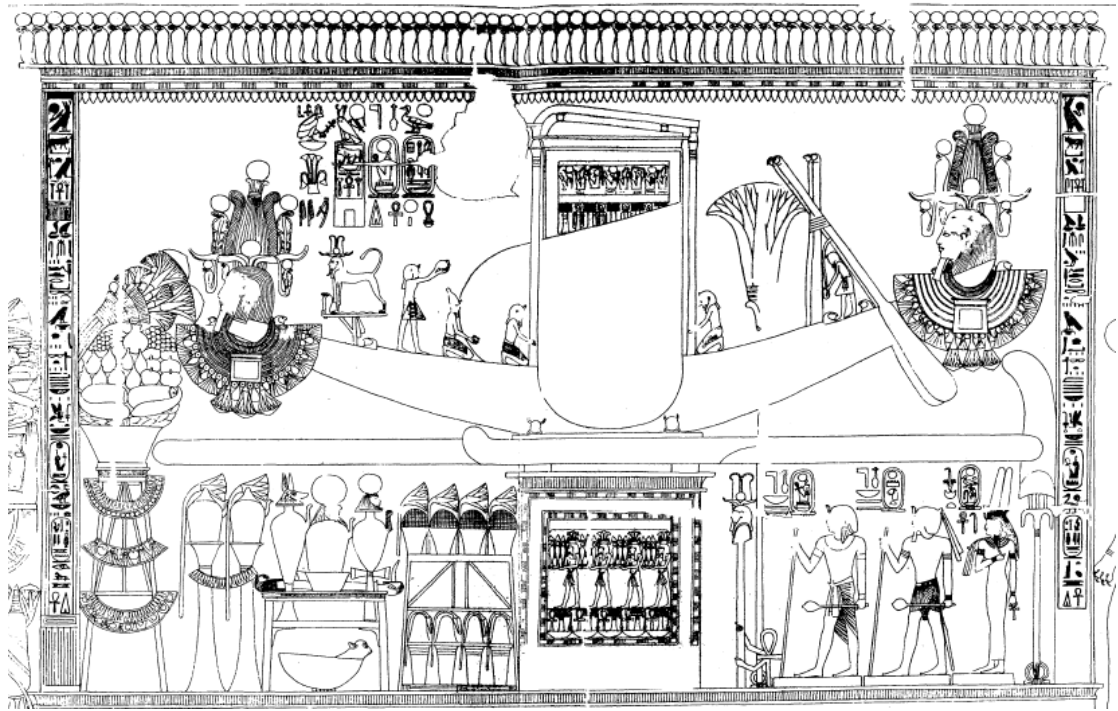
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. II, pl. 23. PM VI, 11.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Ptah, north wall, western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense and libation to the barque of the Ptah as identified by the utterance text.



Catalog Bx0072

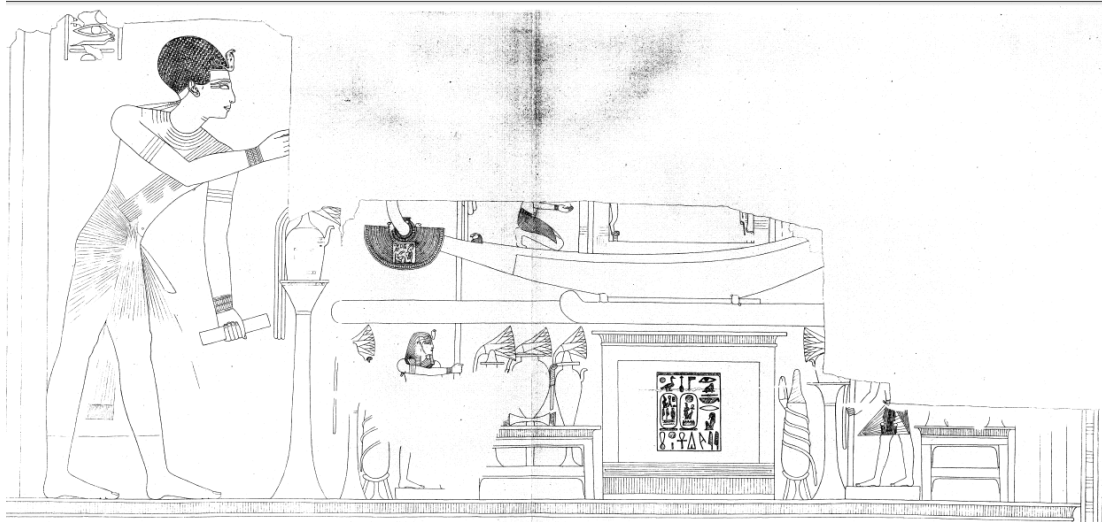
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. II, pl. 35. PM VI, 11.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Chapel of Seti I, south wall, western section, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Thoth and Inmutef making offerings to the barque of the Seti I.



Catalog Bx0073

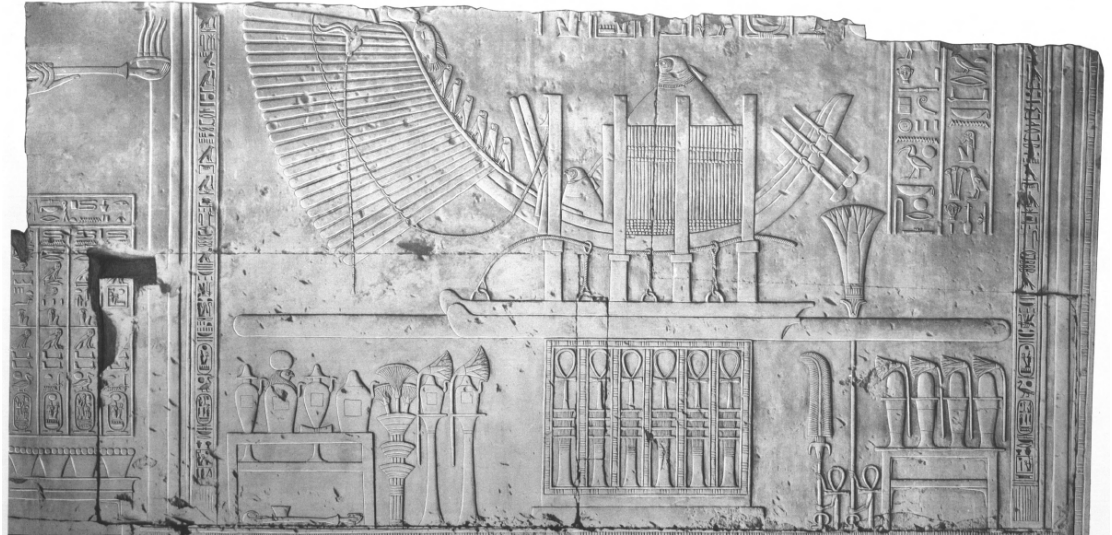
Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. III, pl. 63. PM VI, 22.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Second Osiris Hall, east side room, east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I before barque of Osiris.



Catalog Bx0074

Source: Calverley, *Temple of King Sethos I*, vol. IV, pl. 38 [b]. PM VI, 24.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Second Hypostyle Hall, south wall,
above entrance to the Gallery of the Lists.

Context: Temple

Description: King before barque of Sokar.



Catalog Bx0075

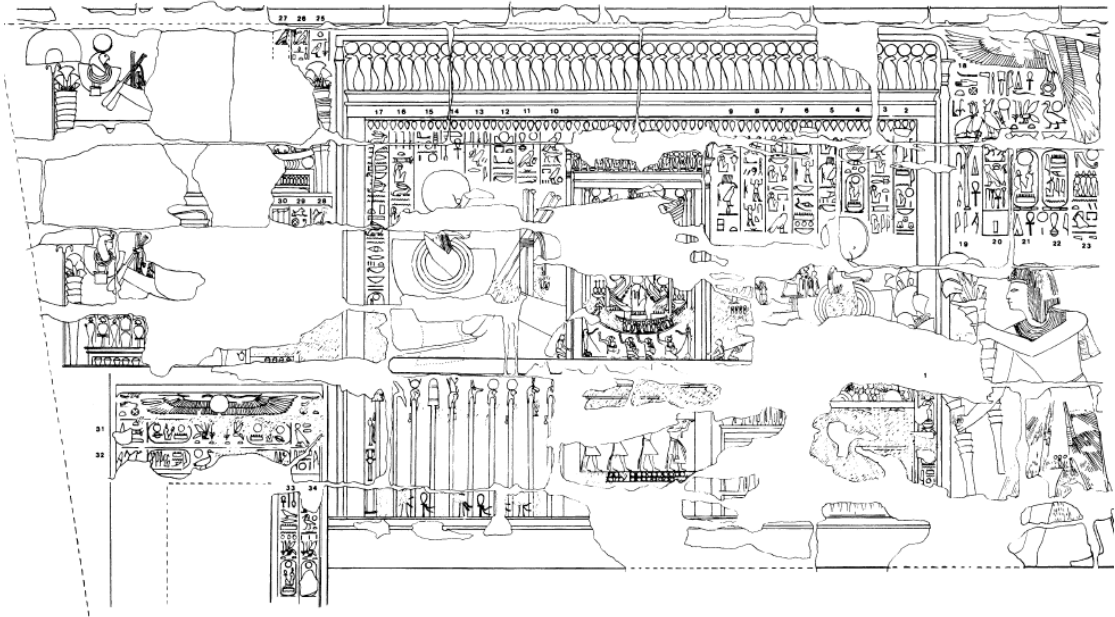
Source: Nelson and Hölscher, *Work in Western Thebes 1931-33*, fig. 40. PM VI, 26.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19. Usurped by Ramesses II.

Locale: Abydos Temple of Seti I, Abydos. Outer Hypostyle Hall.

Context: Temple.

Description: Sokar barque being drawn by the king.



Catalog Bx0076

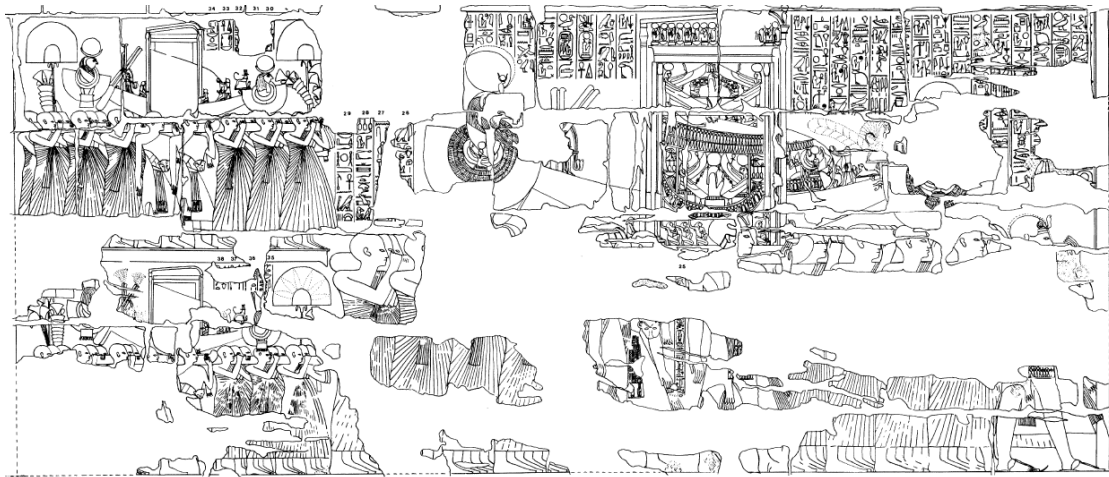
Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 178. PM II, 44.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 274, 275, and 279, north wall, west side,
bottom register, west end.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I presenting floral offerings to the Theban triad.



Catalog Bx0077

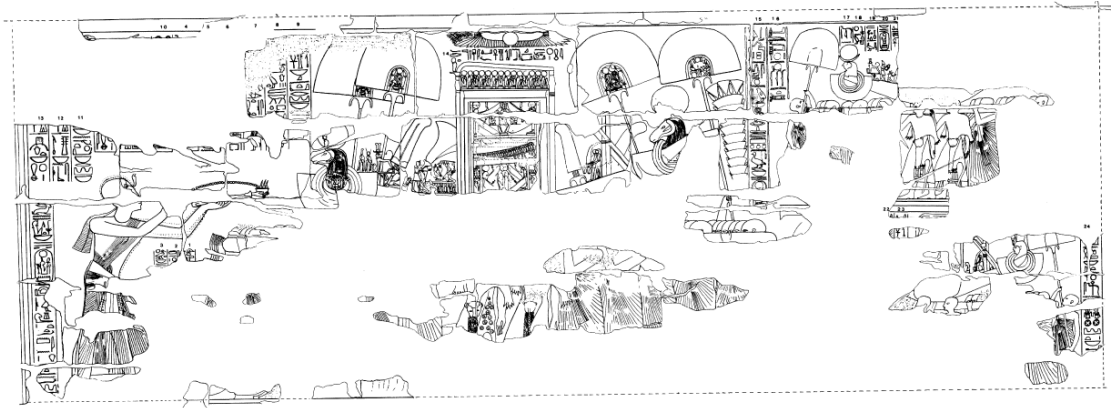
Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 180. PM II, 44.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 277 and 278, north wall, west side, bottom register, east end.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I leading and marching beside the procession of the Theban triad.



Catalog Bx0078

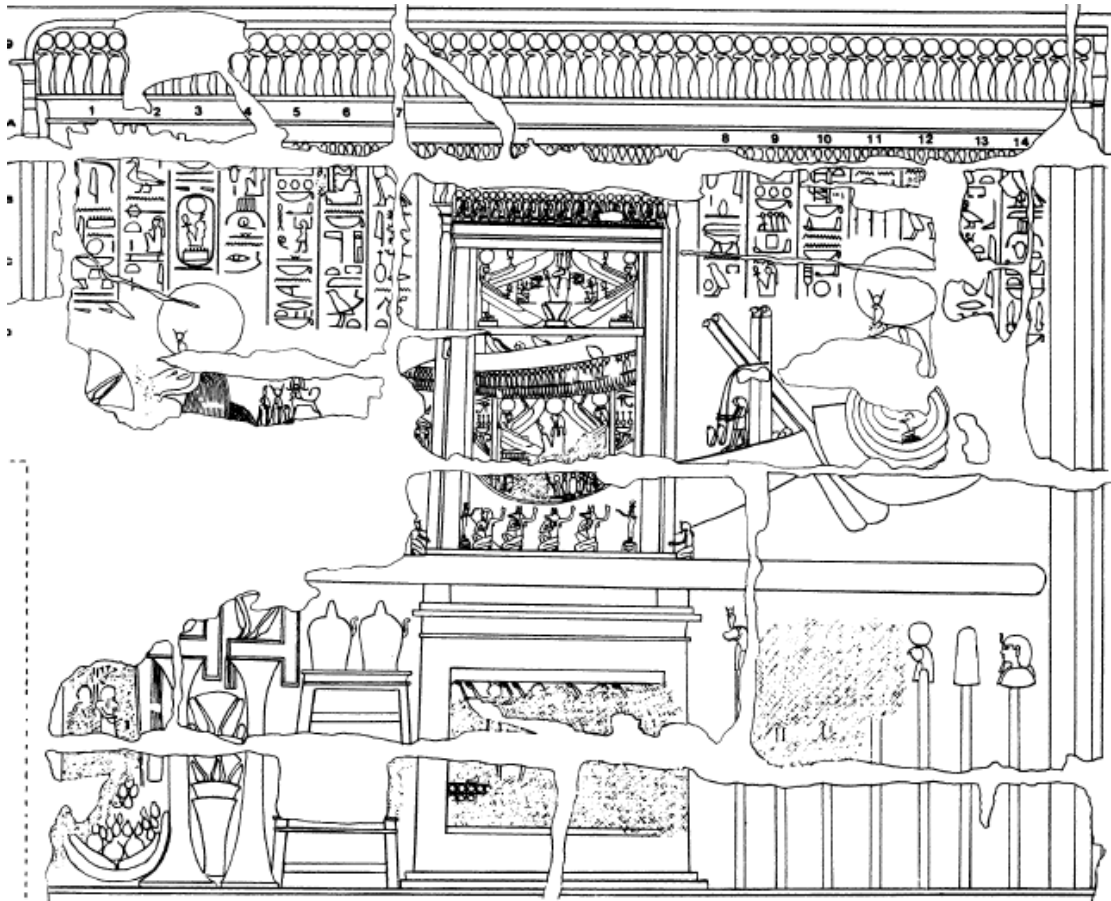
Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 197. PM II, 45.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 291 and 292, north wall, east side, bottom register, west end.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I thurifying to barques of the Theban triad on procession.



Catalog Bx0079

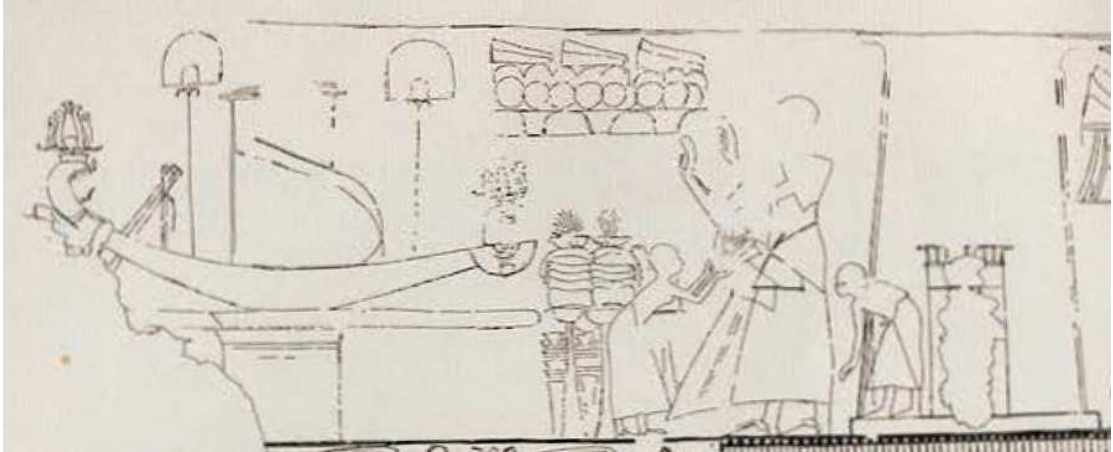
Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 226. PM II, 46.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 334, east wall, bottom register, north end.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I with offering before the sacred barque of Amun-Re within a temple shrine.



Catalog Bx0080

Source: Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XVI. PM I, 97.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Userhet (TT 51). Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased adoring royal barque of Thutmose I.



Catalog Bx0081

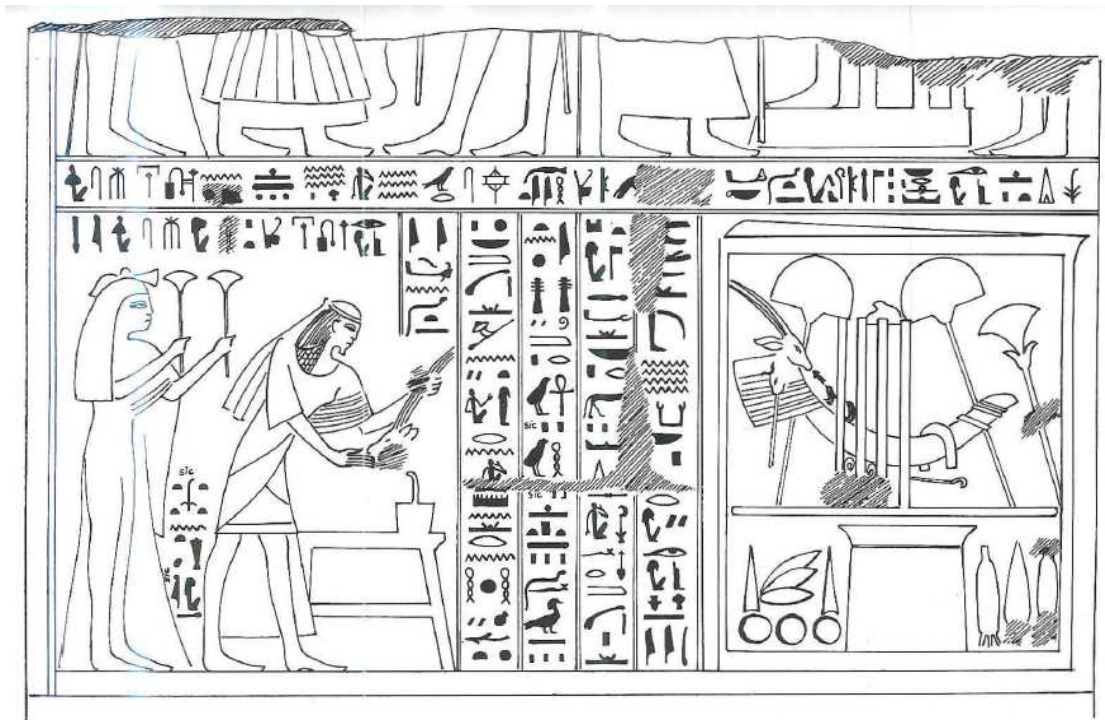
Source: Foucart, *BIFAO* 24 (1924), pl. XI. PM I, 699.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Inside Ptolemaic temple enclosure, Deir el-Medina. Excavation of
southwest part, fragment of a relief.

Context: Funerary

Description: Priests carrying the barque of Amun-Re. The river barge of Amun-Re
named and labeled *Userhat* is shown in the register below.



Catalog Bx0082

Source: Gaballa, *Orientalia* 41 (1972), 178-179 and Tab. V. PM III, 554.

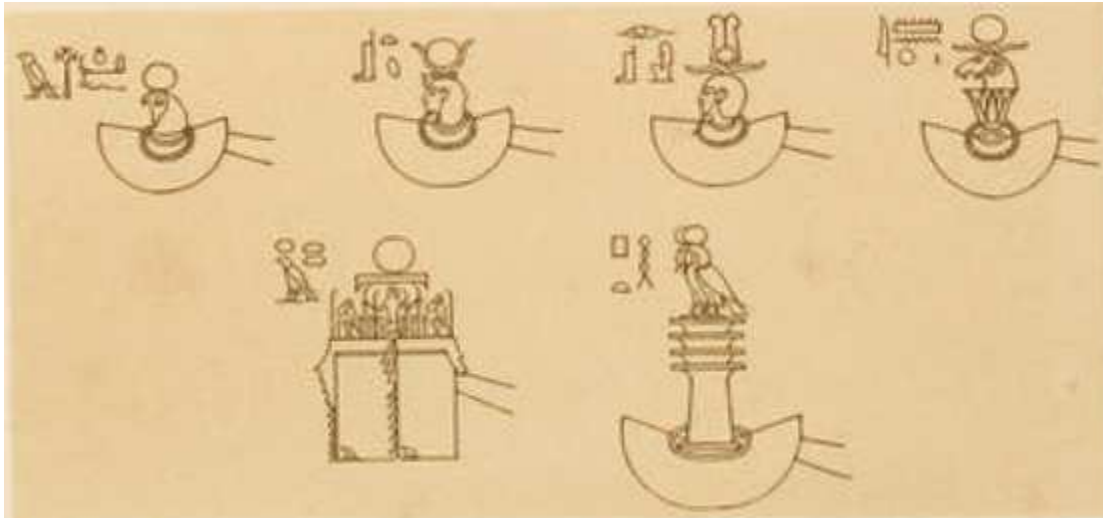
Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Mosi (= No. 5 of Loret) near Pyramid of Teti, Saqqara.

Reconstructed doorway.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased and wife adoring barque of Sokar in shrine.



Catalog Bx0083

Source: Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. I, pl. 49 [G]. PM VI, 26.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Seti I, Abydos. South wing, hall of barques.

Context: Funerary

Description: Ramesses II venerating figureheads of the barques. The figureheads are labeled from left to right: [top] Horus who Protects, Isis, Osiris, Amun-Re, [bottom] Re-Horahkty, Ptah.



Catalog Bx0084

Source: Černý, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection*, pl. 8. PM I, 733.

Date: ca. Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Bankes Stela no. 8 (Stela of Piay).

Context:

Description: Deceased and wife adoring barque of Khonsu of Thebes.



Catalog Bx0085

Source: Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. II, pl. 52. PM V, 51.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Osiris Temple, Kom el-Sultan, Abydos.

Context: Temple

Description: Procession of the barque of Ramesses II with his nomen.



Catalog Bx0086

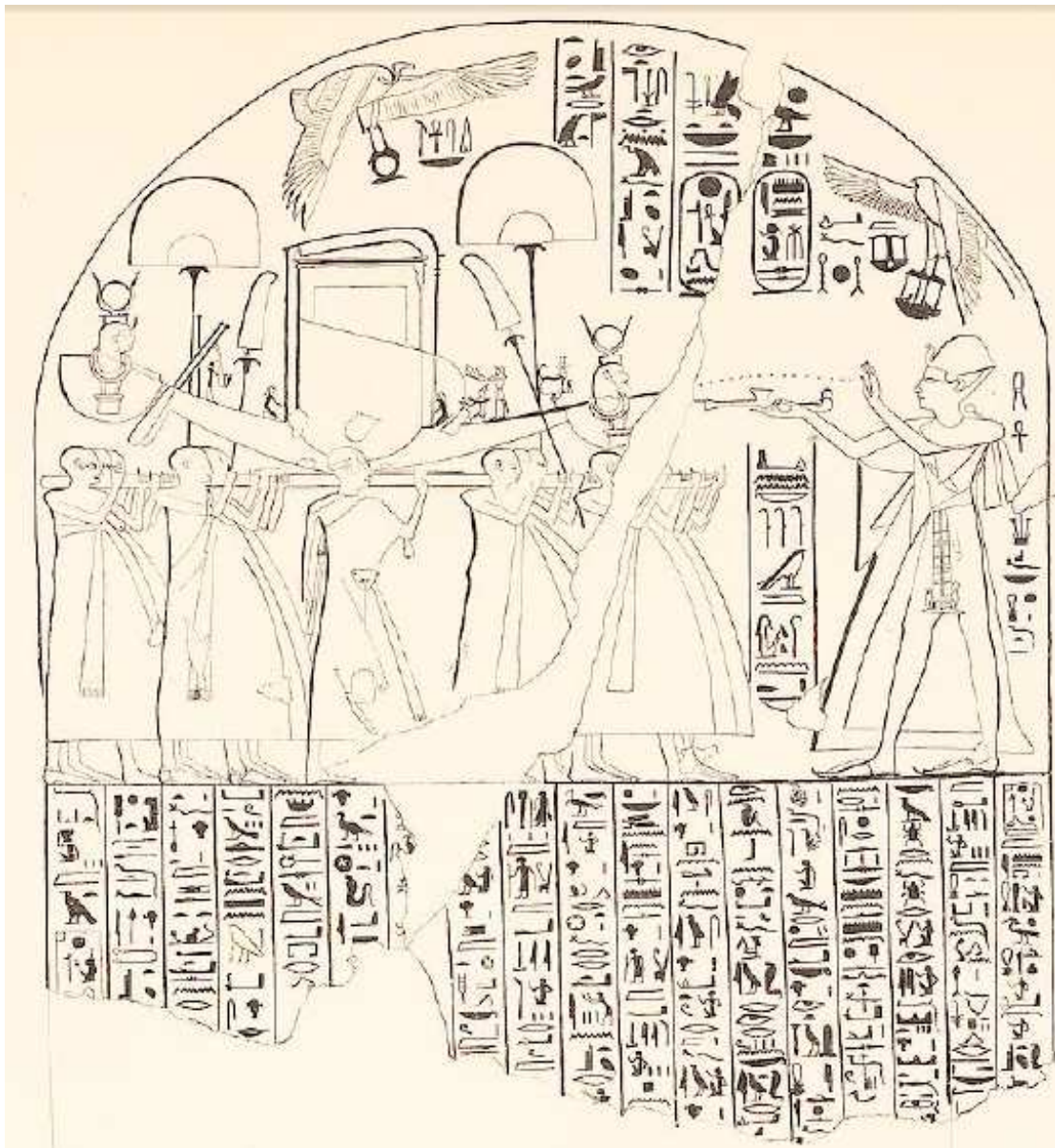
Source: Legrain, *ASAE* 16 (1916), 161-162 and pl. 3. PM V, 93.

Date: Year 14 of Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Abydos.

Context: Temple

Description: Stela of Paser, priest of Osiris, with priests carrying barque of Ahmose, identified by his cartouches.



Catalog Bx0087

Source: Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. XIX. PM V, 129.

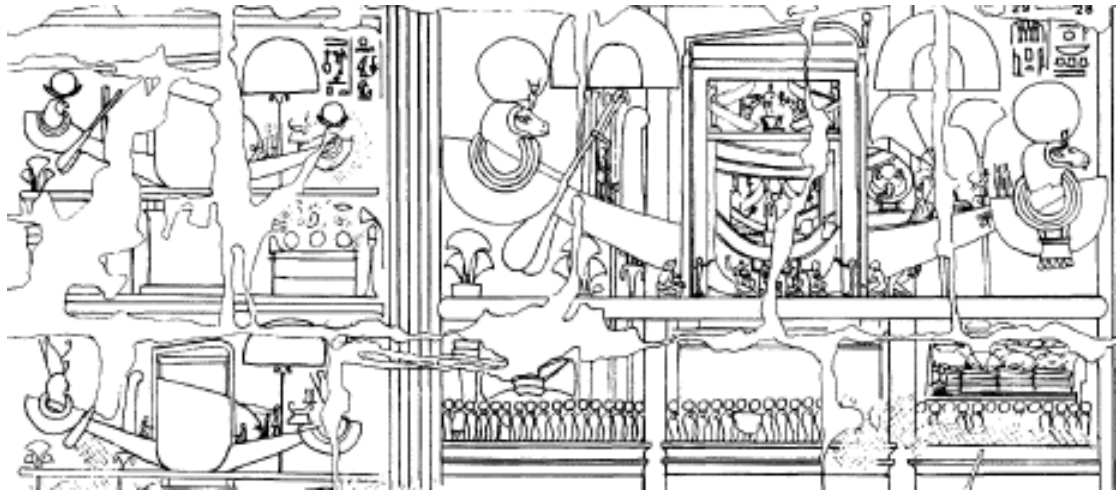
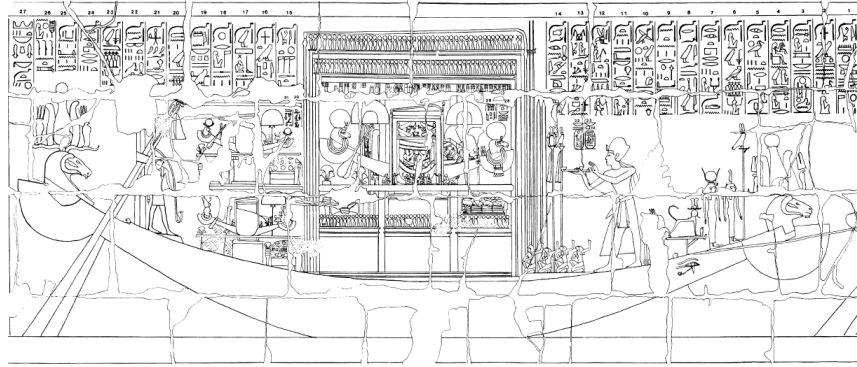
Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Stela found near the Ptolemaic temple at Koptos.

Context: Temple

Description: *Stela of Neb-Nektuf*. Ramesses II censing before the barque of Isis on procession. The barque is labeled *ist wrt mwt-ntr*, "Isis the Great, god's mother."

(393)



Catalog Bx0088

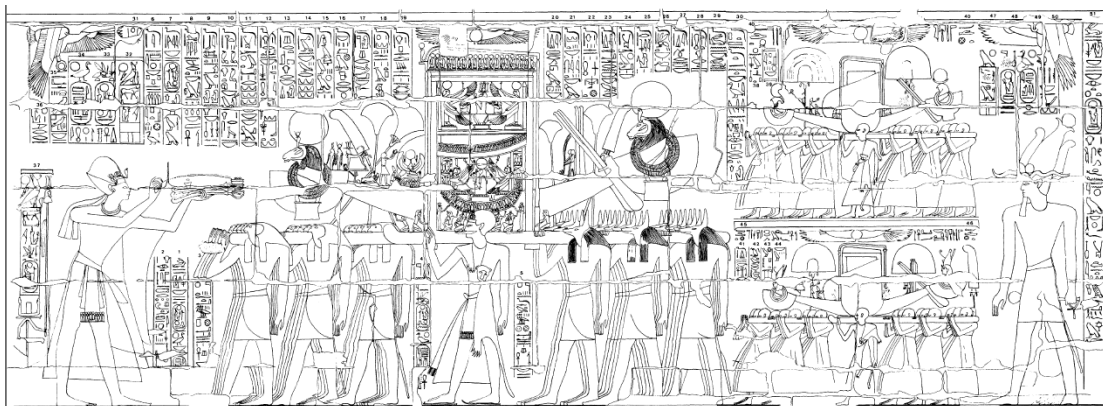
Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 38. PM II, 46-47.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 72, west wall, south half, bottom register.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses II thurifying to the Theban triad on the river barge.



Catalog Bx0089

Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 53. PM II, 47.

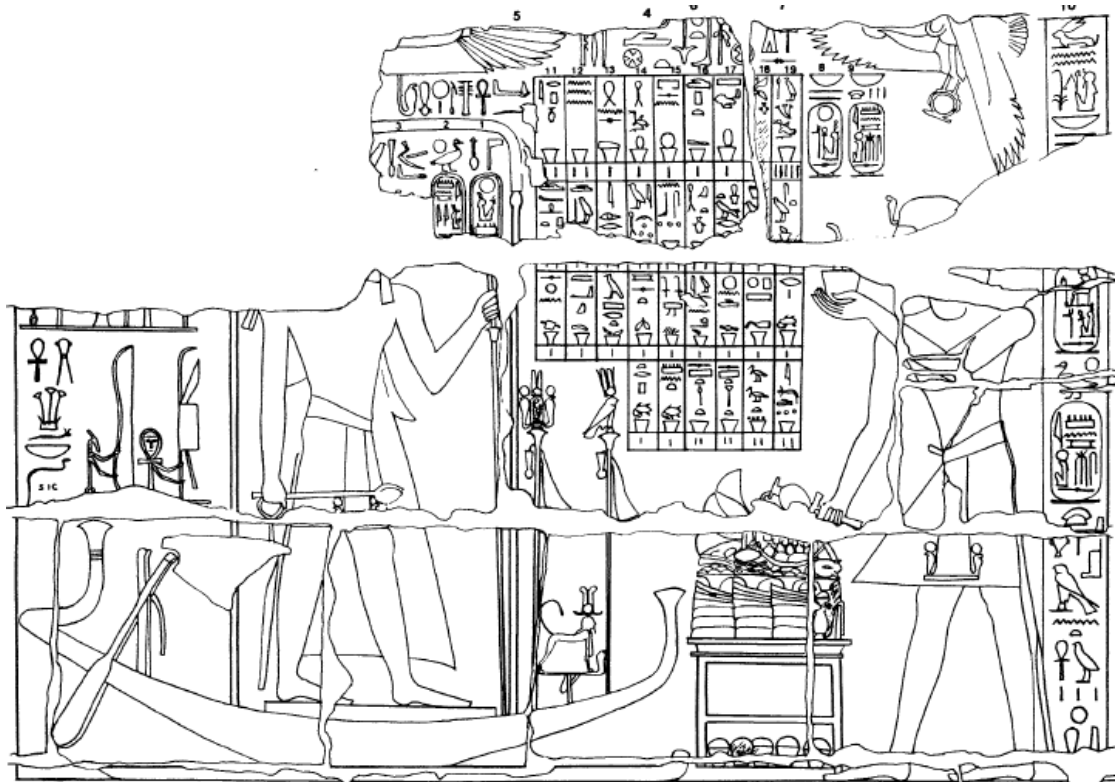
Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 99 ,100, south wall, west half, bottom register, east end.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses II leading a procession of the Theban triad followed by Seti

I. The priests carrying the barque of Amun-Re are wearing masks of Horus and Anubis. Other priests are not wearing masks.



Catalog Bx0090

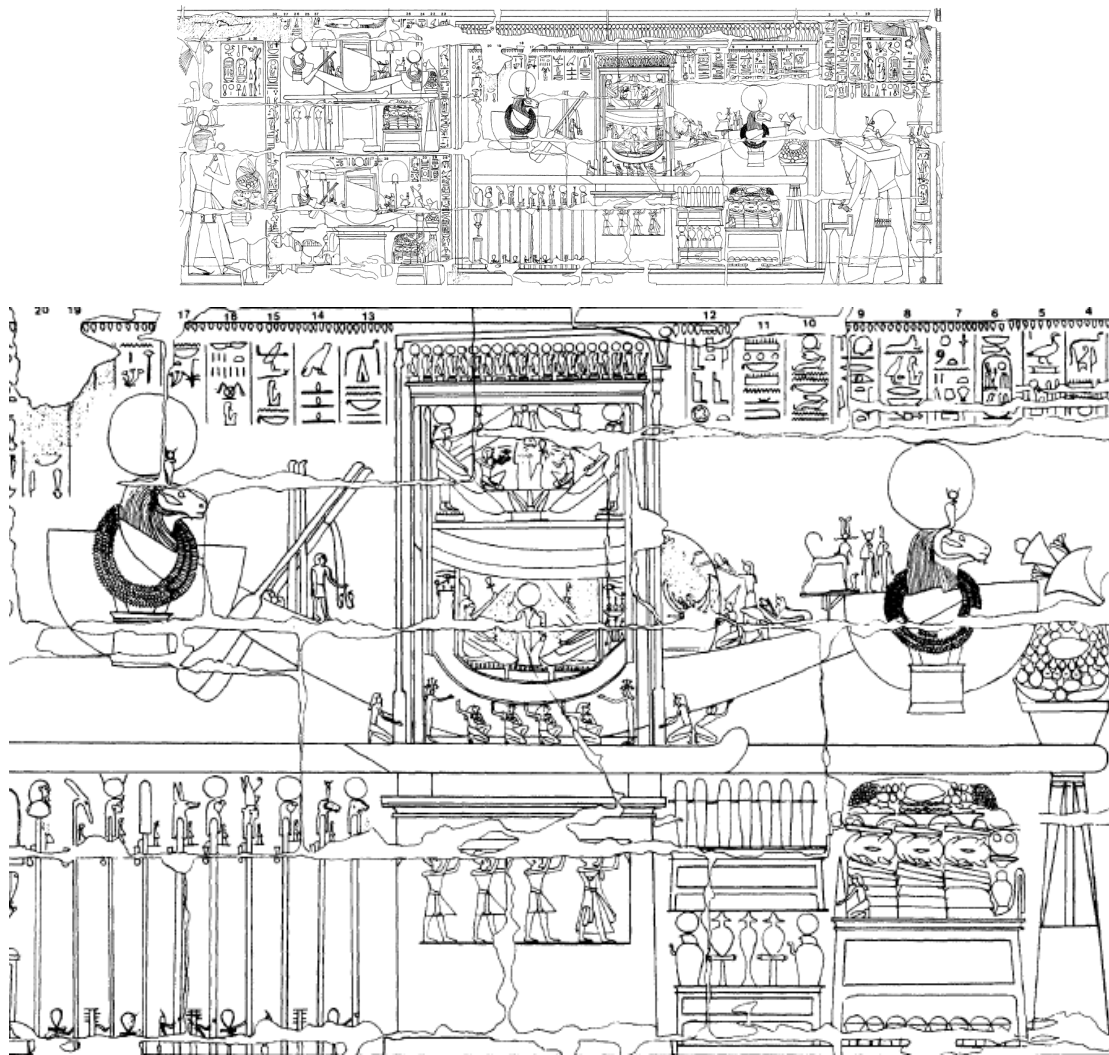
Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 65. PM II, 48.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 105, south wall, east half, upper register.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses II presenting offerings to deified cult image of Seti I. The cult image stands under a canopy upon a barque that is upon a sledge.



Catalog Bx0091

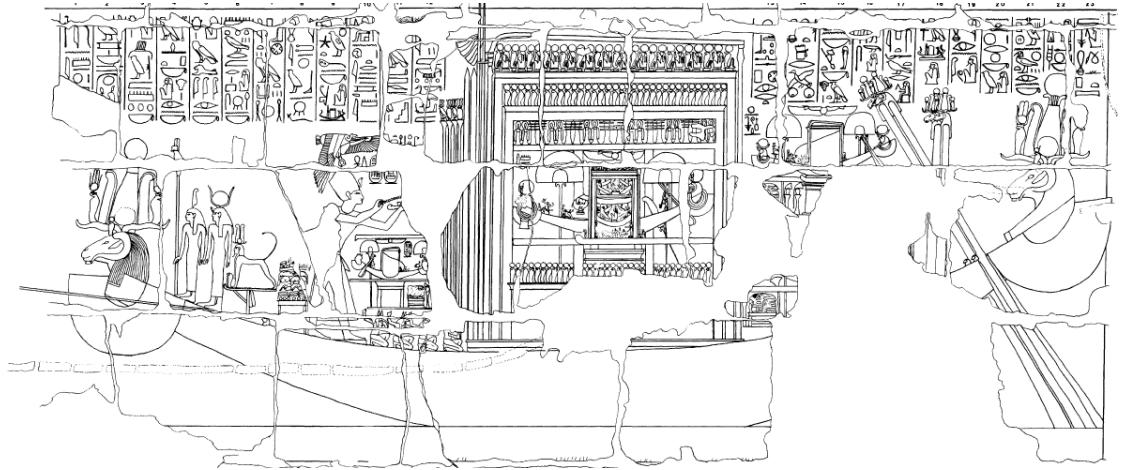
Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 76. PM II, 48.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 117, 118, south wall, east half, bottom register, west end.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses II thurifying and libating to the barques of the Theban triad that are housed inside a temple shrine and resting on plinths.



Catalog Bx0092

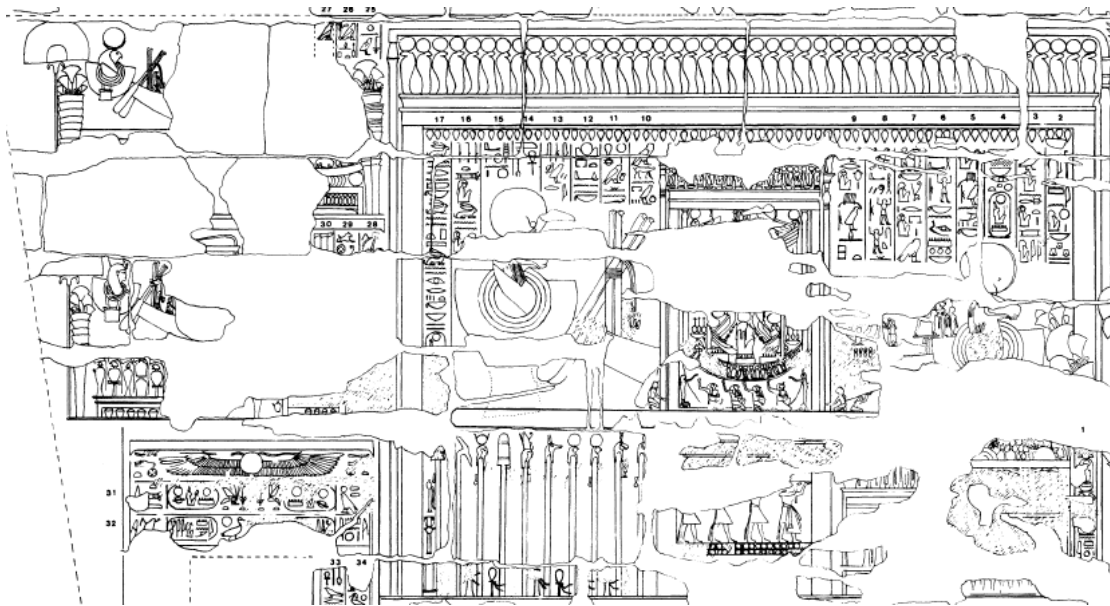
Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 152. PM II, 44.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Second Pylon, Karnak. B 234, west wall, north half, third register.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses II presenting incense to the barque shrine of Amun-Re aboard the river barge of Amun-Re. The sacred barque of Ahmose-Nefertari (identified by her cartouche) is between the king and Amun-Re's shrine and faces towards the barque of Amun-Re. The shrine of Khonsu is positioned behind the Amun-Re sacred barque facing towards the Amun barque.



Catalog Bx0093

Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 178. PM II, 44.

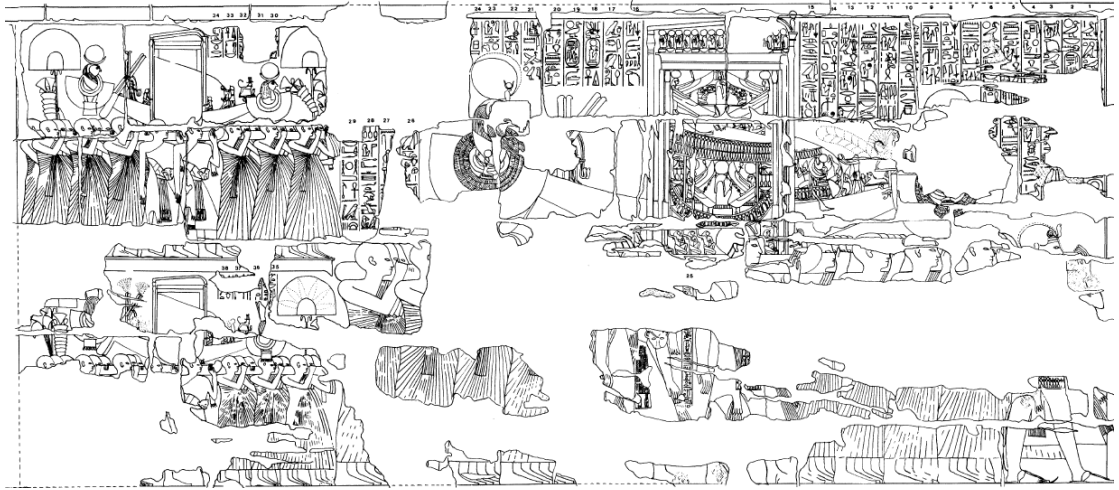
Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 274, 275 and 279, north wall, west side,
bottom register, west end.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I presenting flowers to the barques of the Theban triad.

(399)



Catalog Bx0094

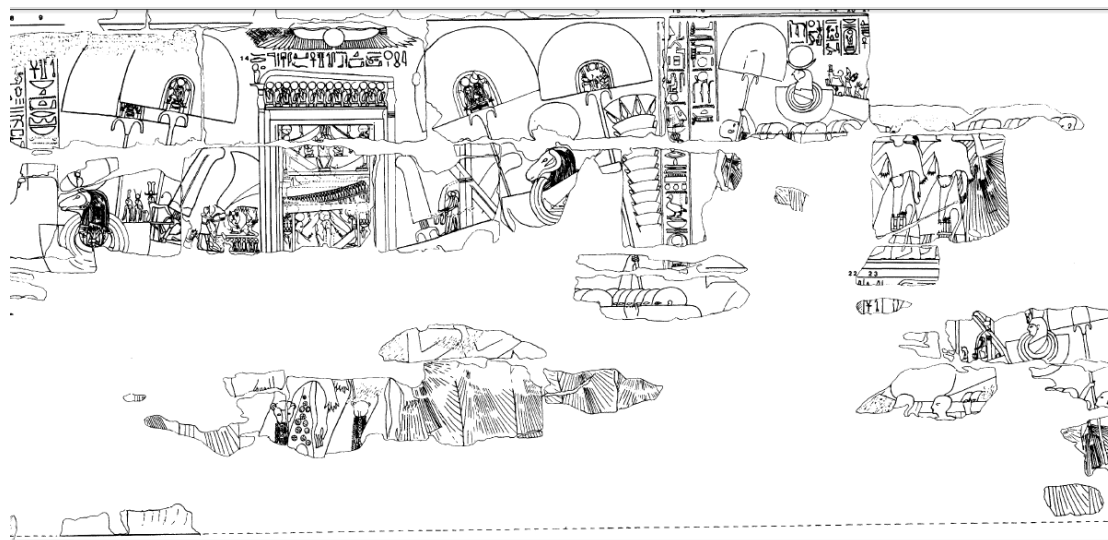
Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 180. PM II, 47.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 277 and 278, south wall, west side,
bottom register, east end.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I leading the Theban triad on procession.



Catalog Bx0095

Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 197. PM II, 44-45.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 291 and 292, north wall, east side, bottom register, west end.

Context: Temple

Description: Seti I offering incense to the Theban triad on procession.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0096

Source: Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, 228 note 2. PM II, 212.

Date: Ramesses II or later, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty, Karnak. Inner hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Graffito of barque of Re-Horakhty on the north side of the base of the southern Osiride colossi of Ramesses II.



Catalog Bx0097

Source: Legrain, *BIFAO* 13 (1917), pl. I. PM II, 309.

Date: Built by Hatshepsut, refurbished by Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Triple Shrine of Theban triad, Luxor Temple. West shrine of Mut.

Context: Temple

Description: King making offerings to barque of Mut.



Catalog Bx0098

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 310.

Date: Built by Hatshepsut, refurbished by Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Triple Shrine of Theban triad, Luxor Temple. Central shrine of Amun.

Context: Temple

Description: King venerating the barque of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0099

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 310.

Date: Built by Hatshepsut, refurbished by Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Triple Shrine of Theban triad, Luxor Temple. Central shrine of Khonsu.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Khonsu resting on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0100

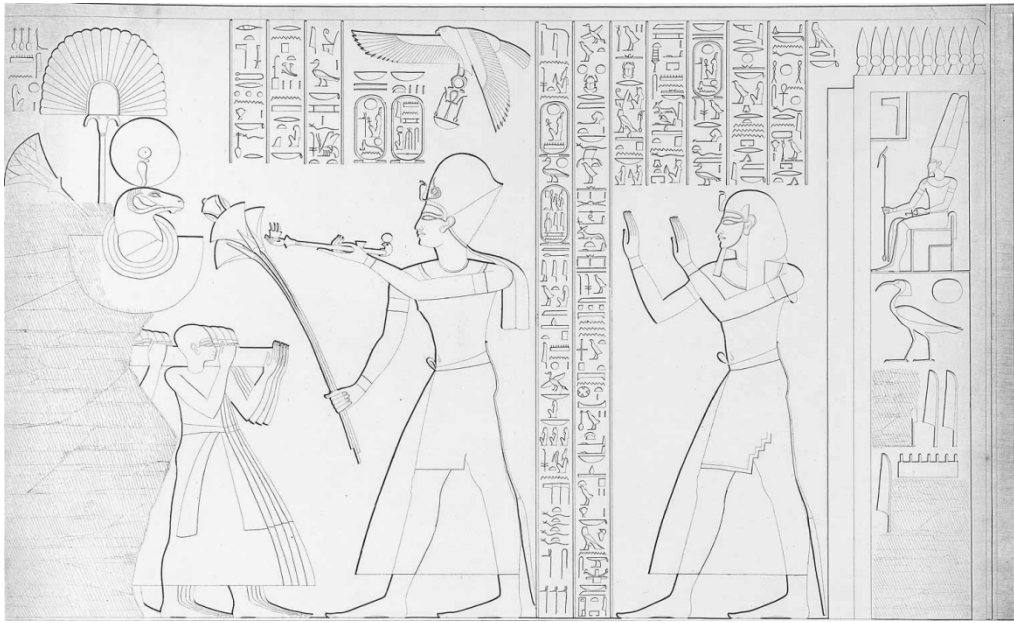
Source: Abney, *Thebes*, pl. XXII. PM II, 414.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Seti I, Qurna. Barque Chapel of Amun.

Context: Temple

Description: The king censuring before the barque of Amun-Re. The original photo was taken at an oblique angle; the perspective has been altered to make the relief visible.



Catalog Bx0101

Source: LD III, 150a. PM II, 408.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Seti I, Qurna. Porticos.

Context: Memorial Temple

Description: Barque of Amun-Re. The king thurifying and offering flowers.



Catalog Bx0102

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 439.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Ramesseum. Astronomical room, SE wall, upper right inside corner.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Ahmose-Nefertari carried by priests. The ascription in the utterance text reads *ḥnwt ntr mwt nsw ḥnwt wrt nbt t3wy ḥms-nfrtry*, “wife of the god, mother of the king, great wife, lady of the two lands, Ahmose Nefertari.”



Catalog Bx0103

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 439.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Ramesseum. Astronomical room, SE wall, upper right outside corner.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Khonsu (archetypal) carried by priests.

(409)



Catalog Bx0104

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 439.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Ramesseum. Astronomical room, SE wall, lower right inside corner.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Ramesses II carried by priests.



Catalog Bx0105

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 439.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Ramesseum. Astronomical room, SE wall, lower right outside corner.

Context: Temple

Description: The barque of Mut (archetypal) carried on procession. The ascription in the utterance text reads *mwt nbt pt*, "Mut, lady of heaven."



Catalog Bx0106

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 439.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Ramesseum. Astronomical room, SE wall, lower right outside corner.

Context: Temple

Description: The barque of Amonet carried on procession. The ascription in the utterance text reads *imnt ḥrt-ib ipt-swt n imn ḥq3 w3st*, "Amonet who resides in Karnak with Amun, ruler of Thebes."



Catalog Bx0107

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 439.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Ramesseum. Astronomical room, SE wall, upper left outside corner.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Khonsu (archetypal) carried by priests. A fragmentary inscription abover the barque reads [...] *nfr hnsu*, "[...] beautiful of Khonsu."

(413)



Catalog Bx0108

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 439.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Ramesseum. Astronomical room, SE wall, lower left inside corner.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Ramesses II carried by priests.

(414)



Catalog Bx0109

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 439.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Ramesseum. Astronomical room, SE wall, lower left outside corner.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Mut (archetypal) carried by priests.



Catalog Bx0110

Source: Schott photo 4216. PM I, 28.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Panehesi (TT 16), Dra Abu el-Naga. Hallway.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased and wife adoring Sokar barque.



Catalog Bx0111

Source: Photograph by Eva Hofmann. Source: http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/khonsou31/photo/khonsou31_gm_32.jpg. Accessed: 22-Dec-2013.

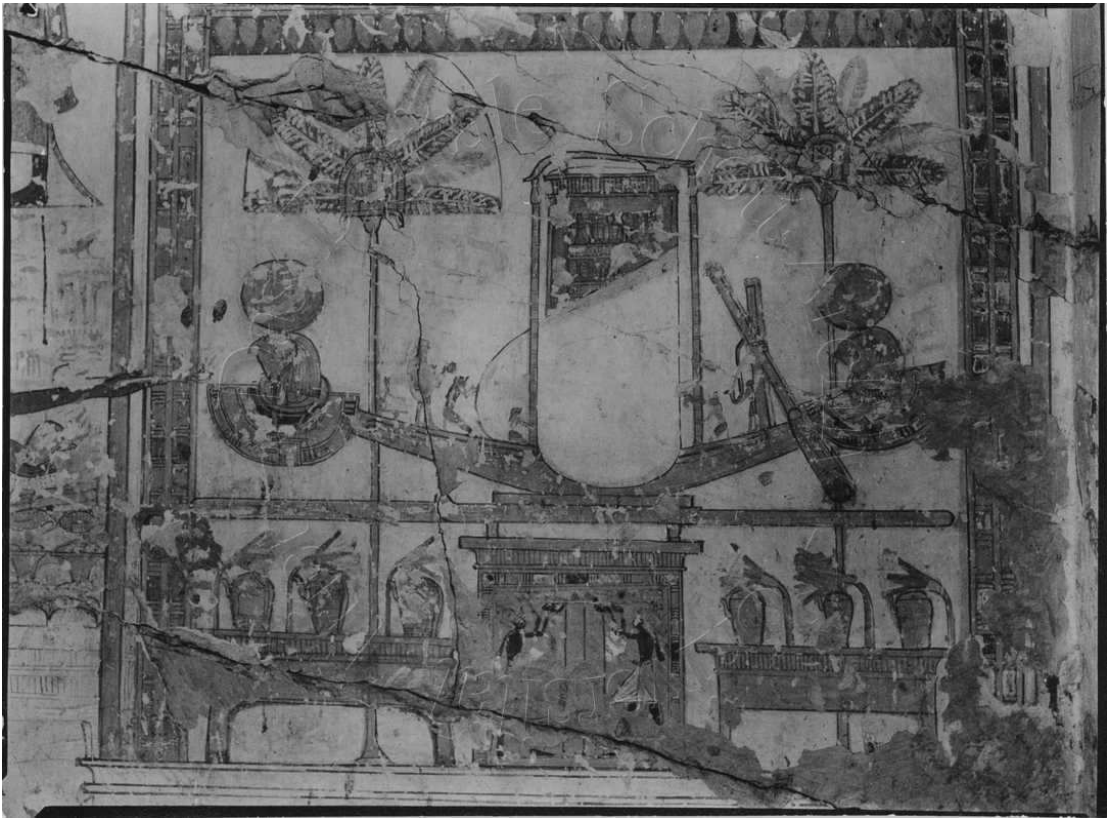
PM I, 48.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Khonsu (TT 31), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall, east wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque of Montu carried by priests. An utterance text in the register to the right of the prow is ascribed to Montu.



Catalog Bx0112

Source: Schott photo 5866. PM I, 48.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Khonsu (TT 31), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall, east wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque of Montu on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0113

Source: Schott photo 5872. PM I, 48.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Khonsu (TT 31), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall, east wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque of Montu.



Catalog Bx0114

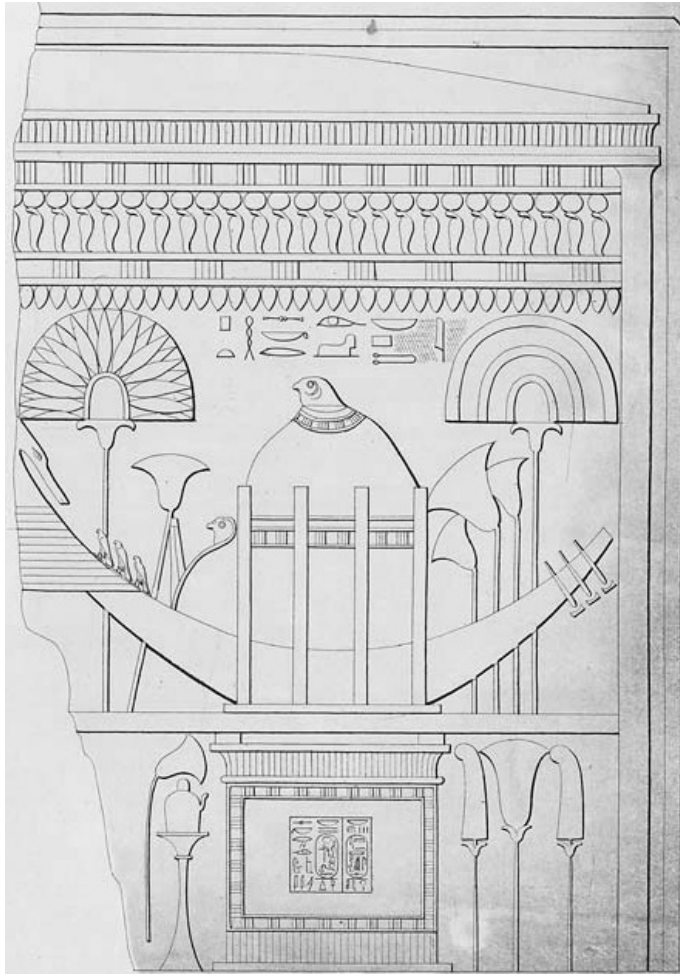
Source: Schott photo 2185. PM I, 85.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Djehuti (TT 45), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased and wife adoring Sokar barque in shrine.



Catalog Bx0115

Source: *LD* III, 173[a]. *PM* I, 223.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Paser (TT 106), Abd el Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Ptah-Sokar-Osiris barque resting on a plinth within a shrine.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0116

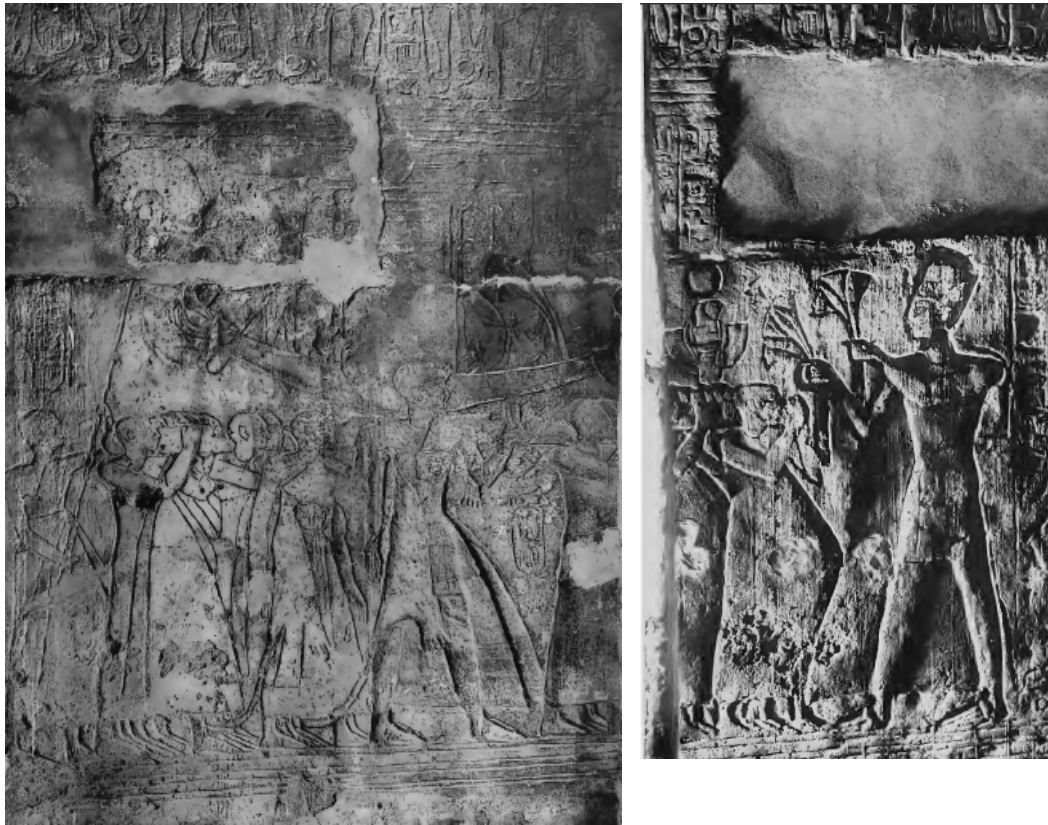
Source: Champollion, *Monuments De L'Égypt de la Nubia*, vol. I, 517-518. PM I,
459.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Harmosi (C 7), Thebes. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased adores the barques of Ramesses II and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.



Catalog Bx0117

Source: Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, pls. XXXI-XXXII. PM VII, 87.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Re-Horakhty, Derr. Second pillared hall, north wall.

Context: Temple

Description: King offering flowers to barque carried by priests.



Catalog Bx0118

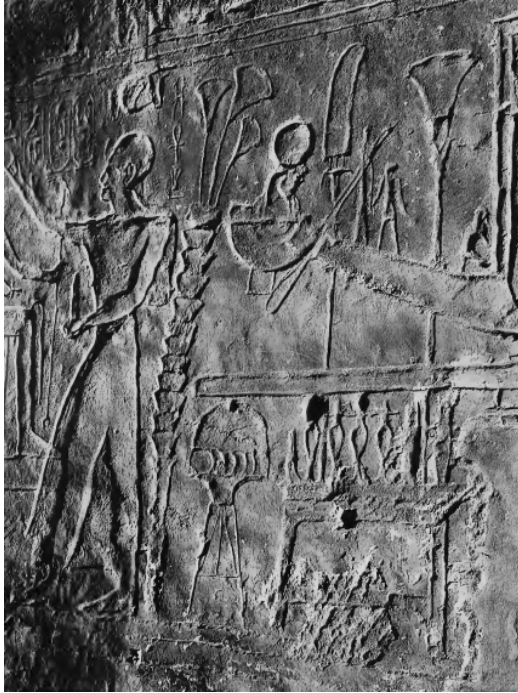
Source: Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, pls. LVIII-LIX. PM VII, 88-89.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Re-Horakhty, Derr. Sanctuary, north wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Deified king stands before the barque on a stand.



Catalog Bx0119

Source: Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, pls. LXII-LXIII. PM VII, 89.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Re-Horakhty, Derr. Sanctuary, south wall.

Context: Temple

Description: King offering incense before barque resting on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0120

Source: Photograph composited from Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, pls. XLI and XLII.

PM VII, 87.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Re-Horakhty, Derr. Second pillared hall, south wall.

Context: Temple

Description: King censuring before barque. The utterance text is ascribed to *sšm-ḥw n mry-[imn rꜥ-ms-sw]*,⁷⁹⁶ “the barque of Mery[amun Ramesses II]”.

⁷⁹⁶ Aylward M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr* (Cairo: Imprimerie de L’Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale, 1913), 54.



Catalog Bx0121

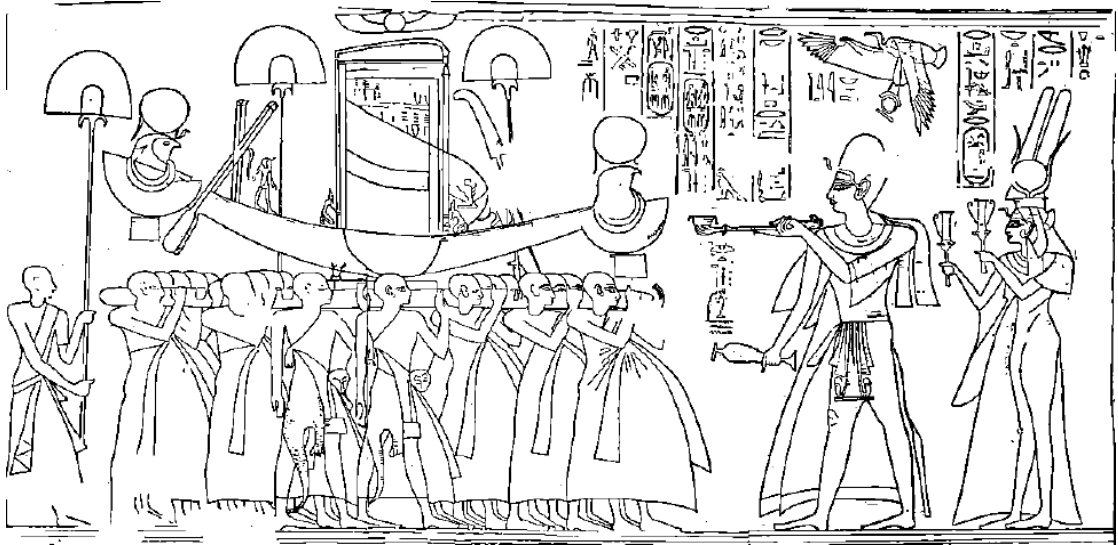
Source: Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, fig. 3. PM VII, 109.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Temple, Abu Simbel. Second hall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses II and Queen Nefertari censing before barque of Amun-Re carried by priests. The utterance text reads *dd-mdw in imn-r nb pt di.n n.k t3w h3swt*, “an utterance by Amun-Re, lord of heaven, who gave to you lands and foreign countries.”



Catalog Bx0122

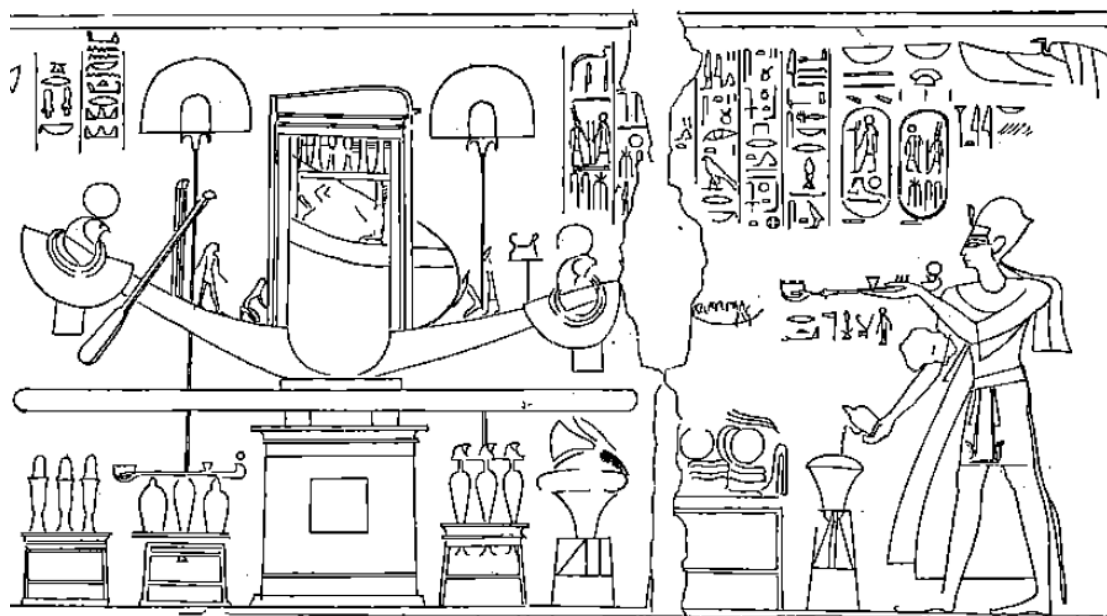
Source: Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, fig. 4. PM VII, 109.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Temple, Abu Simbel. Second hall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses II and Queen Nefertari censing before falconine barque carried by priests. The utterance text is ascribed to Ramesses II.



Catalog Bx0123

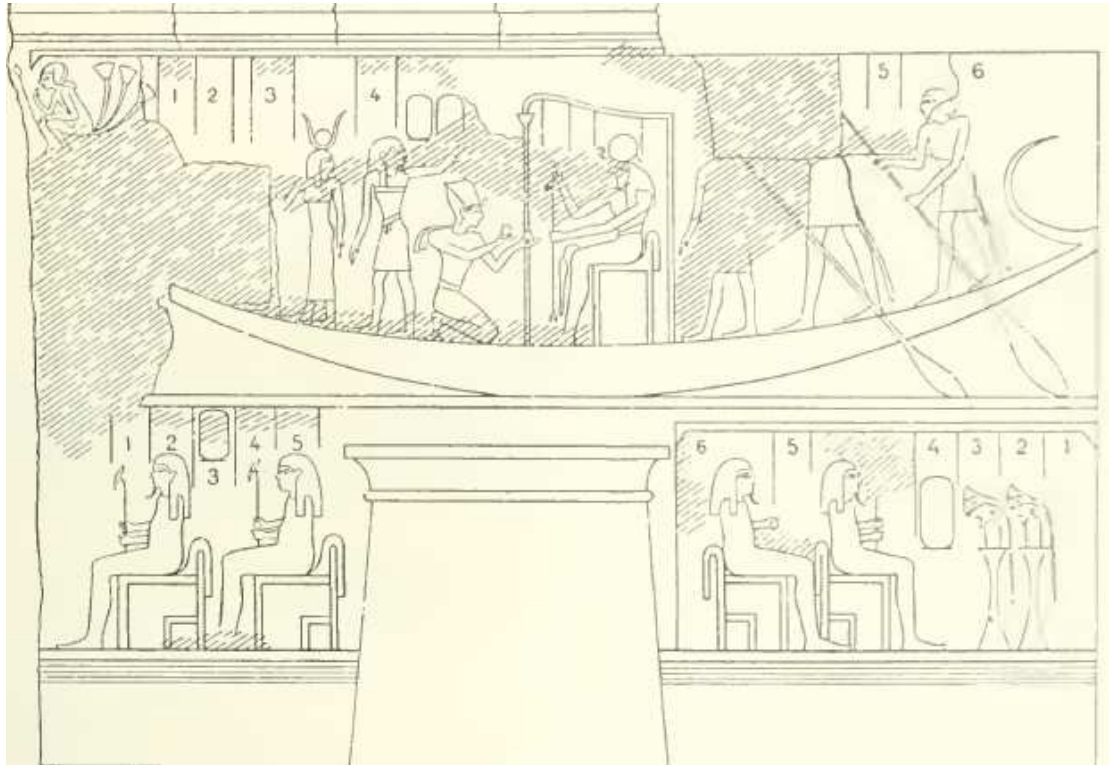
Source: Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, fig. 5. PM VII, 109.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Temple, Abu Simbel. Second hall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses II and Queen Nefertari censing before a falconine barque resting on a plinth. The utterance text is ascribed to Ramesses II.



Catalog Bx0124

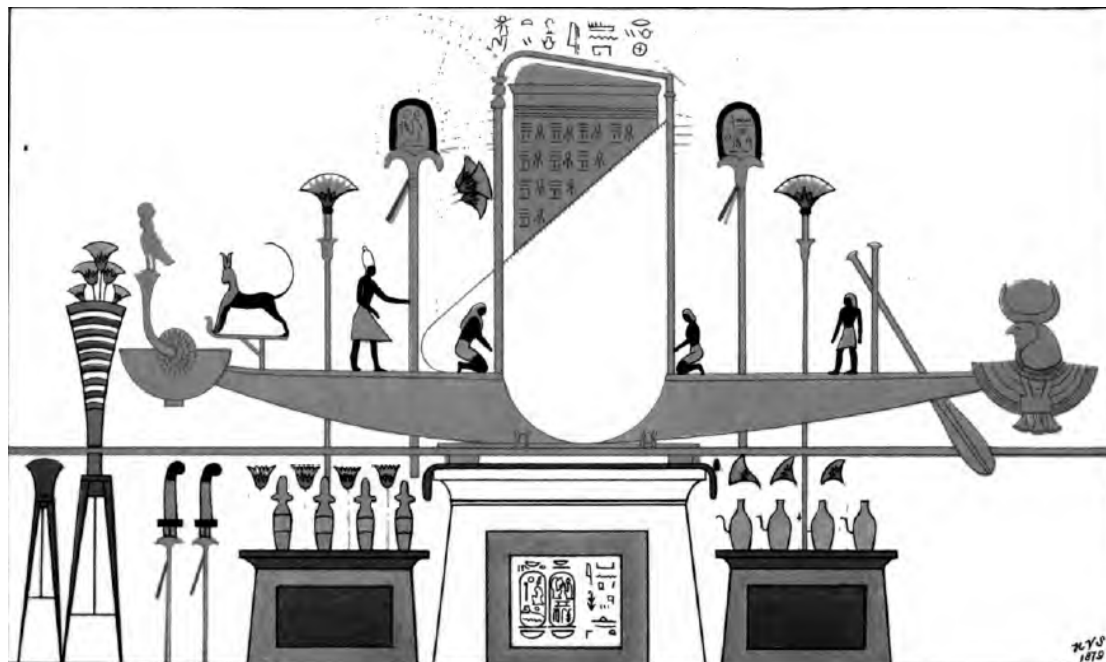
Source: Maspero, ed., *Rapports relatifs à la consolidation des temples*, vol. 1, 154-5
and fig. 12. PM VII, 99.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: North Chapel of the Great Temple, Abu Simbel. Interior.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Re-Horakhty resting on a stand. The presentation of this barque is semi-mythological. Figures are displayed larger than normal, and the barque is presented without carrying poles; however, the barque hovers over the plinth.



Catalog Bx0125

Source: Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*, pls. XLI opposite page 170. PM VII, 98.

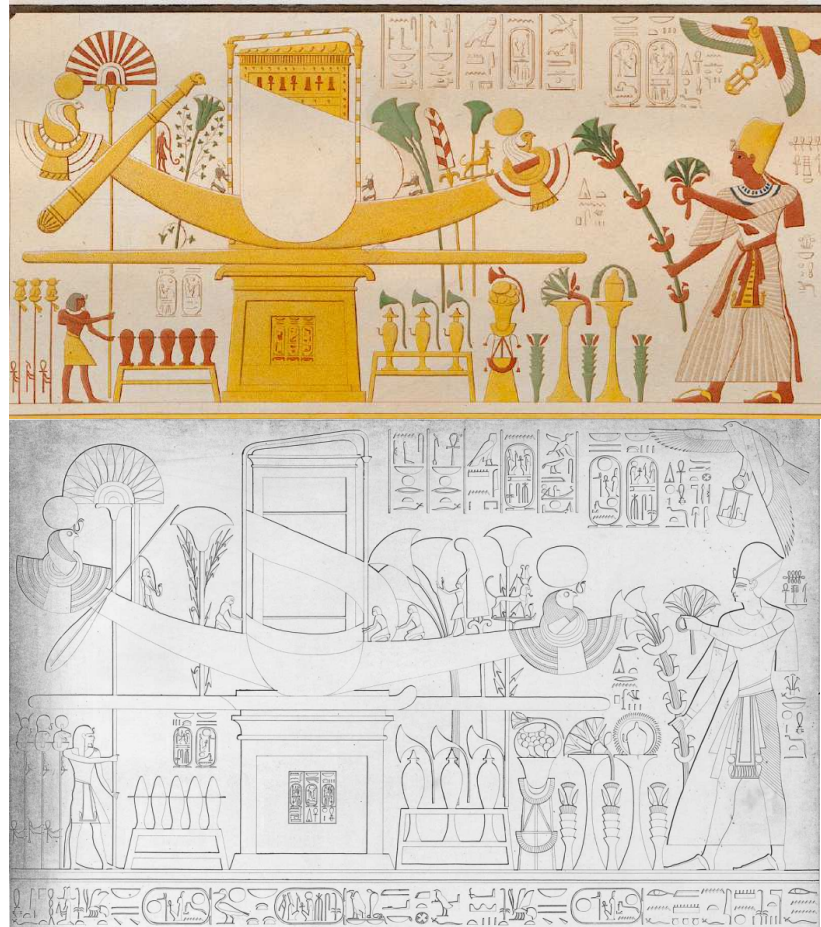
Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: South Chapel of the Great Temple, Abu Simbel. Entrance, interior.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque resting on a plinth with an inscription to *imun-r^c nsw-ntrw*,

“Amun-Re, king of the gods.”



Catalog Bx0126

Source: Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie*, pl. 45 [B]. LD III, 180a. PM VII, 62.

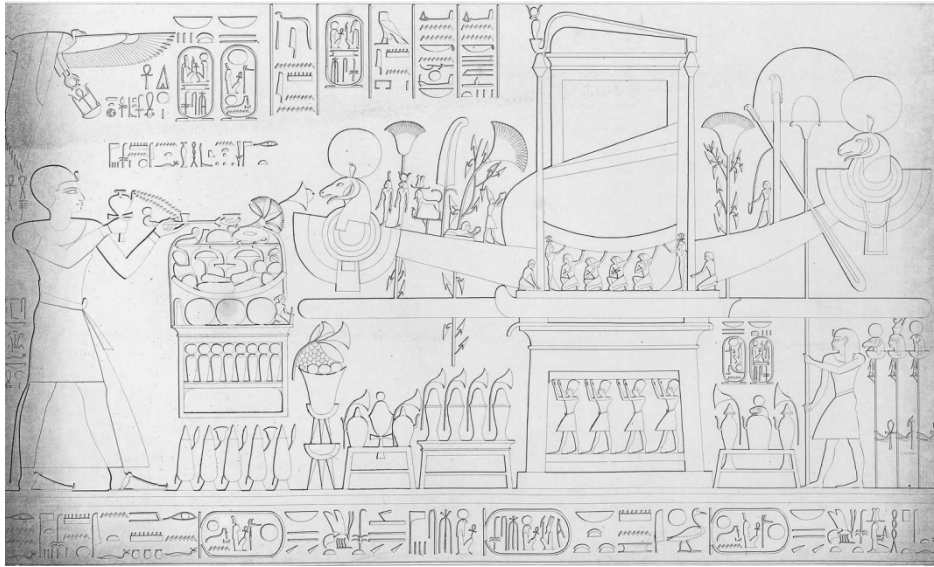
Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Amun and Re-Horakhty, Es-Sebua. Sanctuary, east side.

Context: Temple

Description: Falconine barque resting on a plinth. The barque has a label reading *p3 sšm-ḥw n rꜥ-ms-su mry-imn m pr*, “the sacred barque of Ramesses II in the temple of Amun.”

(432)



Catalog Bx0127

Source: LD III, 180b. PM VII, 62.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Amun and Re-Horakhty, Es-Sebua. Sanctuary, east side.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Amun-Re resting on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0128

Source: Schott photo 3612. PM I, 40.

Date: Merneptah, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Thay (TT 23), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Sokar barque resting on a plinth in a shrine. To the right is a simian statue of Thoth in a shrine.



Catalog Bx0129

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 25-26.

Date: Seti II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Triple Shrine of Seti II, Karnak. Chapel of Mut, east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Mut resting on plinth.



Catalog Bx0130

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 26.

Date: Seti II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Triple Shrine of Seti II, Karnak. Chapel of Amun-Re, west wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Amun-Re resting on plinth. An utterance text is ascribed to

imn-r^c nsw-ntrw, "Amun-Re, king of the gods."



Catalog Bx0131

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 26.

Date: Seti II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Triple Shrine of Seti II, Karnak. Chapel of Amun-Re, east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Amun-Re resting on plinth. An utterance text is ascribed to *imn-r^c nb nswt t3wy*, "Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands."

(437)



Catalog Bx0132

Source: Author's photograph. PM II, 26.

Date: Seti II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Triple Shrine of Seti II, Karnak. Chapel of Khonsu, west wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Khonsu resting on plinth.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0133

Source: PM I, 120.

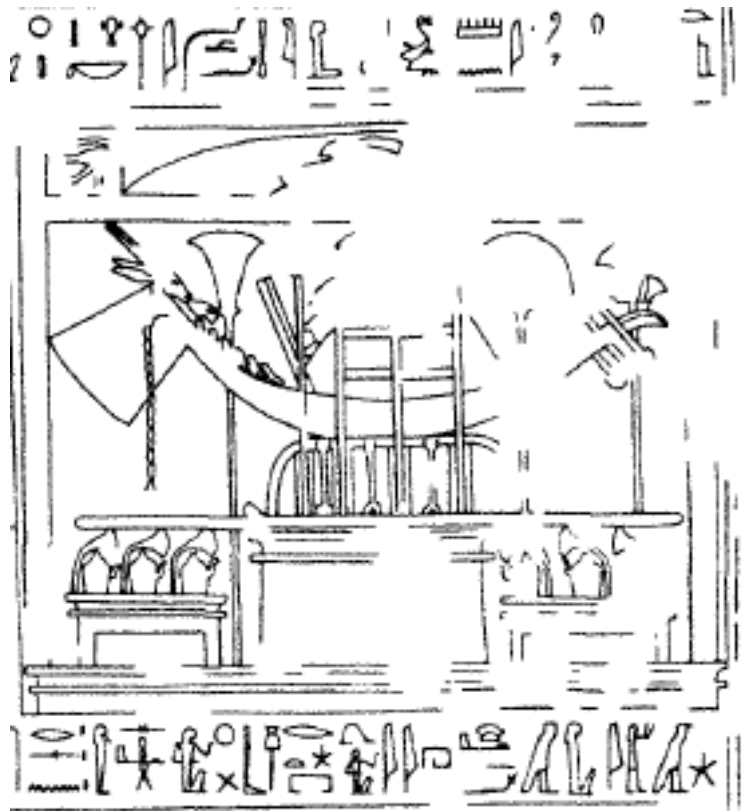
Date: Dynasty 20.

Locale: Tomb of an unknown, usurped by Amenhotep (TT 58), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Inner room.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased before a divine barque.



Catalog Bx0134

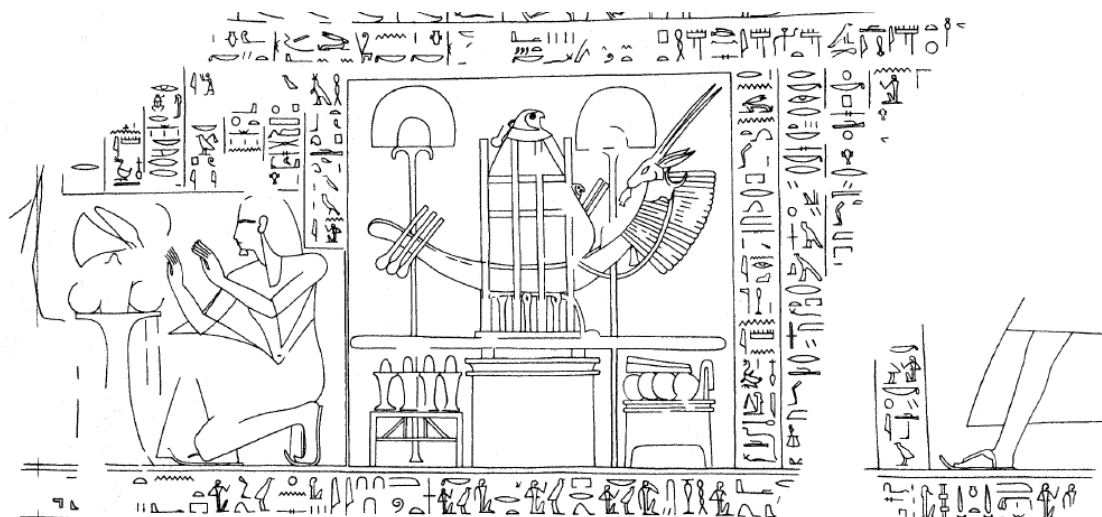
Source: Seele, *Tomb of Tjanefer*, pl. 4. PM I, 269.

Date: Dynasty 20.

Locale: Tomb of Tjanefer (TT 158), Theban Necropolis. Court, west wall, south side.

Context: Funerary

Description: Sokar barque resting on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0135

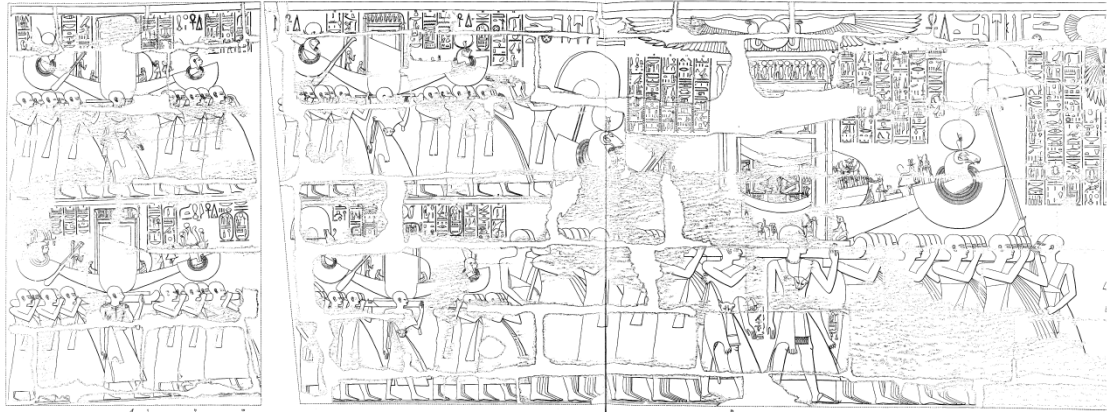
Source: Seele, *Tomb of Tjanefer*, pl. 36. PM I, 270.

Date: Dynasty 20.

Locale: Tomb of Tjanefer (TT 158), Theban Necropolis. Passage, north wall,
second section from east.

Context: Funerary

Description: Tjanefer presenting incense and offerings to the Sokar barque.



Catalog Bx0136

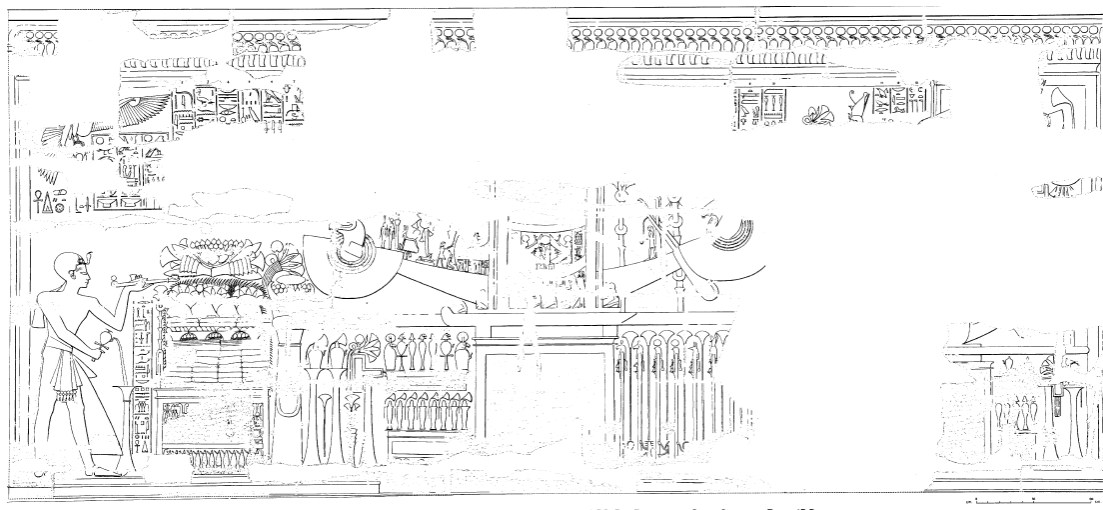
Source: Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, pl. 21. PM II, 28.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Karnak Temple of Ramesses III, inside the Great Inclosure. First court, east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses III (not shown) leads a procession of barques with the barque of Amun-Re in the lead. In the top left register are the barques of Amonet residing at Karnak (*imnt [hry-ib] ipt*) and Khonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep (*hnsu m w3st nfr-htp*), and in the bottom left register are the barques of Ramesses III and Mut the Great, lady of Ascheru (*mwt wrt nbt isrw*). The barque of Ramesses III is labeled but also has an utterance text above the prow which is ascribed to *imn-hnm-nhh*, “Amun-Khnum-Neheh”.



Catalog Bx0137

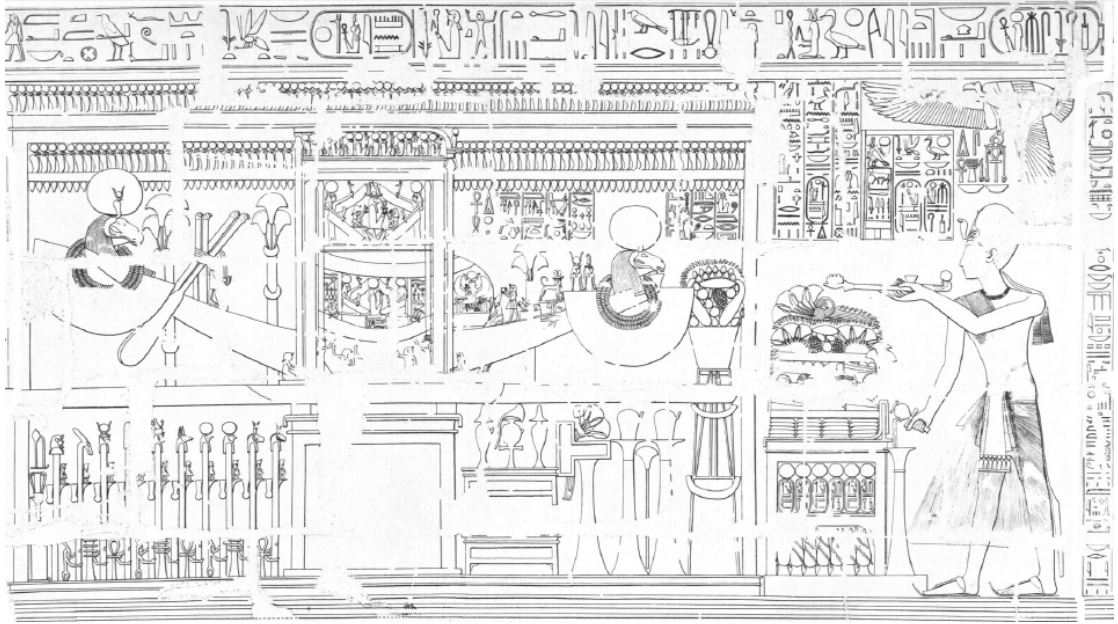
Source: Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, pl. 24. PM II, 28.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Karnak Temple of Ramesses III, inside the Great Inclosure. First court,
east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The barque of Amun-Re sitting on a plinth with the king offering
incense and libation.



Catalog Bx0138

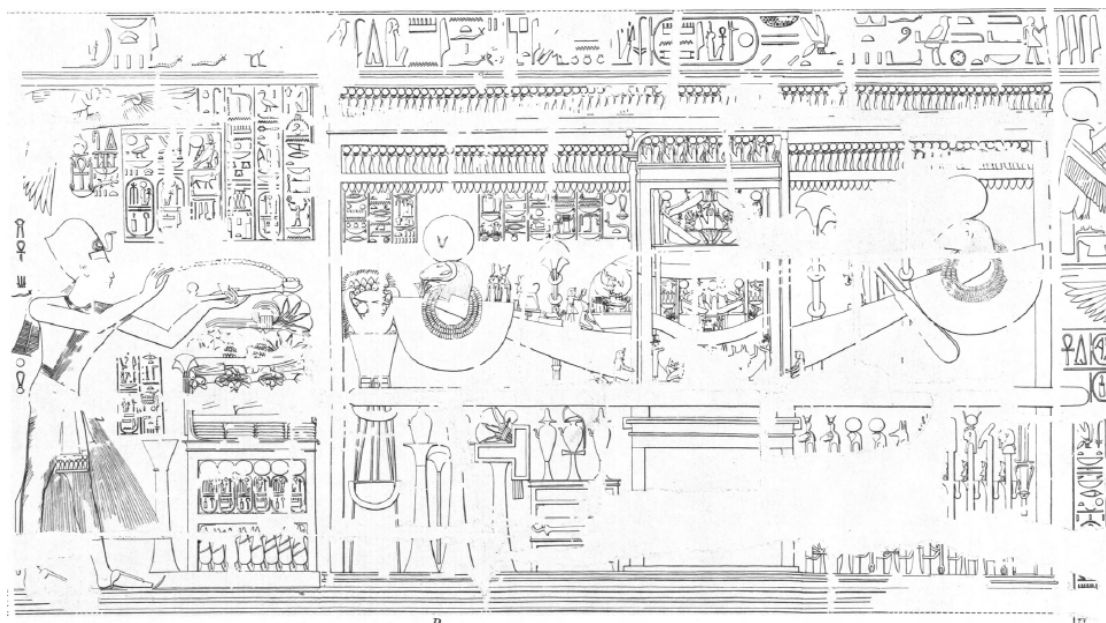
Source: Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, pl. 56A. PM II, 32.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Karnak Temple of Ramesses III, Shrine of Amun-Re. Interior, room B,
west wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses III presenting offerings before the shrine of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0139

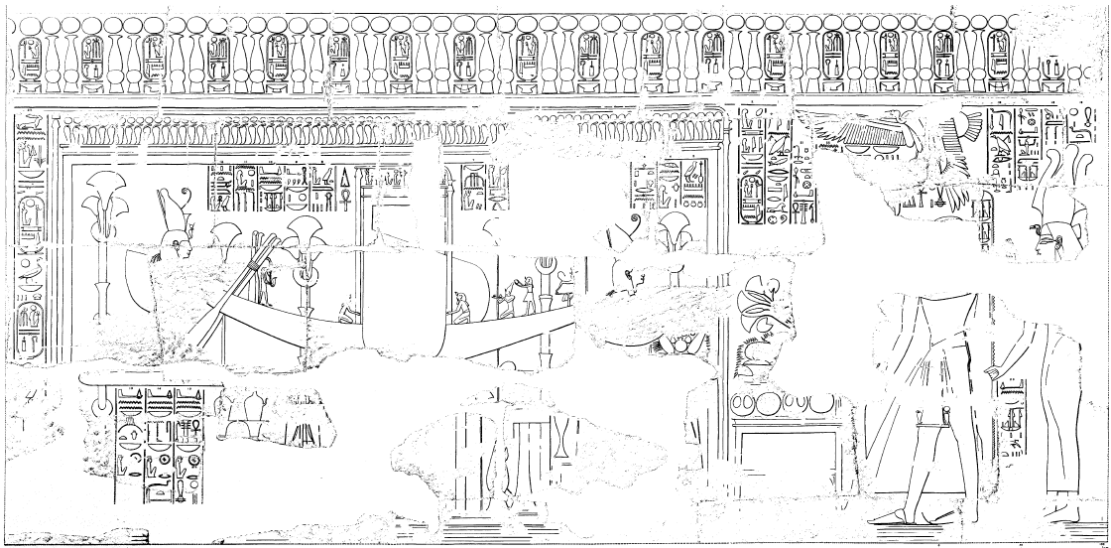
Source: Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, pl. 56B. PM II, 32.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Karnak Temple of Ramesses III, Shrine of Amun-Re. Interior, room B, east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses III presenting incense and offerings before the barque of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0140

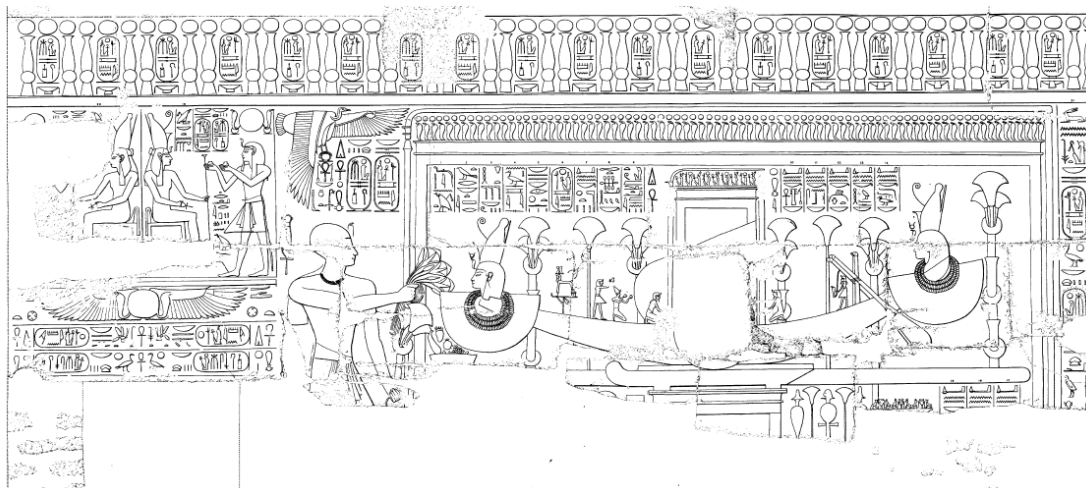
Source: Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, pl. 65. PM II, 32.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Karnak Temple of Ramesses III, Shrine of Mut. Interior, room A, west wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The king presenting offerings before the shrine of Mut. The utterance text before the shrine is ascribed to *mwt wrt nbt išrw*, “Mut the Great, lady of Ascheru.”



Catalog Bx0141

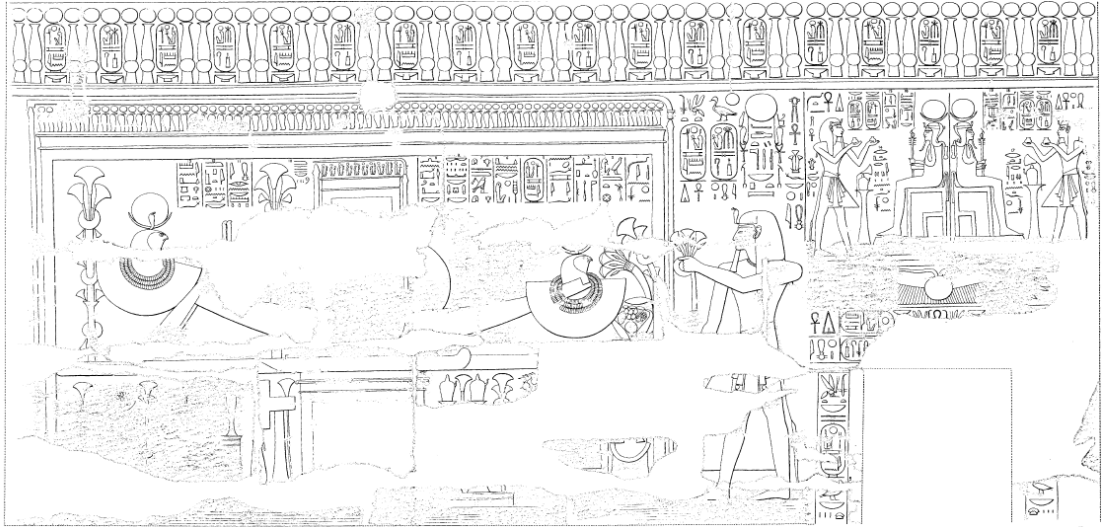
Source: Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, pl. 66. PM II, 32.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Karnak Temple of Ramesses III, Shrine of Mut. Interior, room A, east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Presenting offerings before the shrine of Mut. The utterance text inside the shrine is ascribed to *mwt wrt nbt išrw ḥnwt ntrw nbw*, “Mut the Great, lady of Ascheru, mistress of all the gods.”



Catalog Bx0142

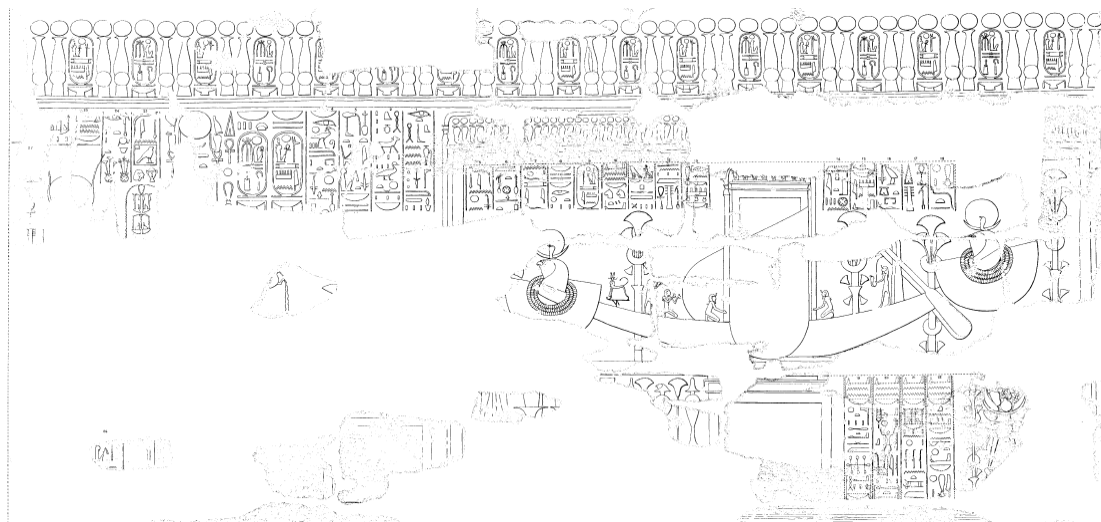
Source: Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, pl. 68. PM II, 32.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Karnak Temple of Ramesses III, Room devoted to Khonsu. Interior, room
E, west wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The king presenting a floral offering to the barque of Khonsu. The
utterance text is ascribed to *ḥnsw n w3st nfr-ḥtp ntr-ḫ3*, “Khonsu of Thebes,
Neferhotep, the great god.”



Catalog Bx0143

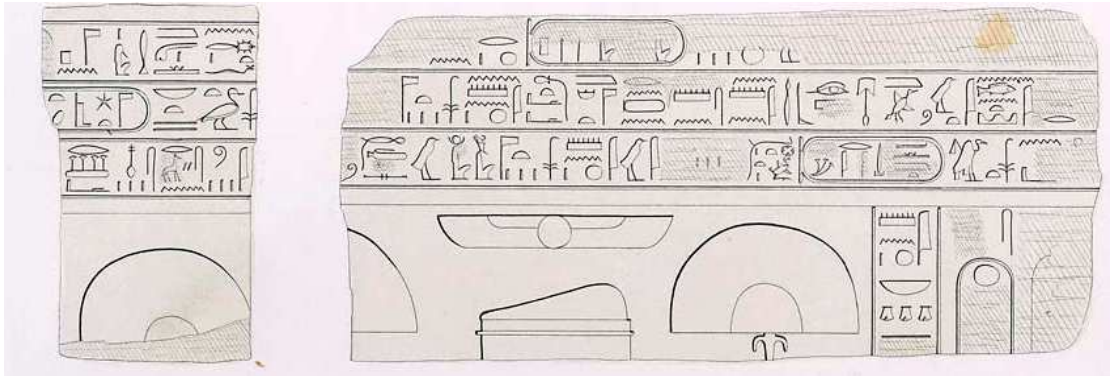
Source: Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple*, pl. 69. PM II, 32.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Karnak Temple of Ramesses III, Room devoted to Khonsu. Interior, room
E, east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The king presenting offerings to the barque of Khonsu.



Catalog Bx0144

Source: LD III, 218 [a,b]. Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), 31-32. PM I,613.

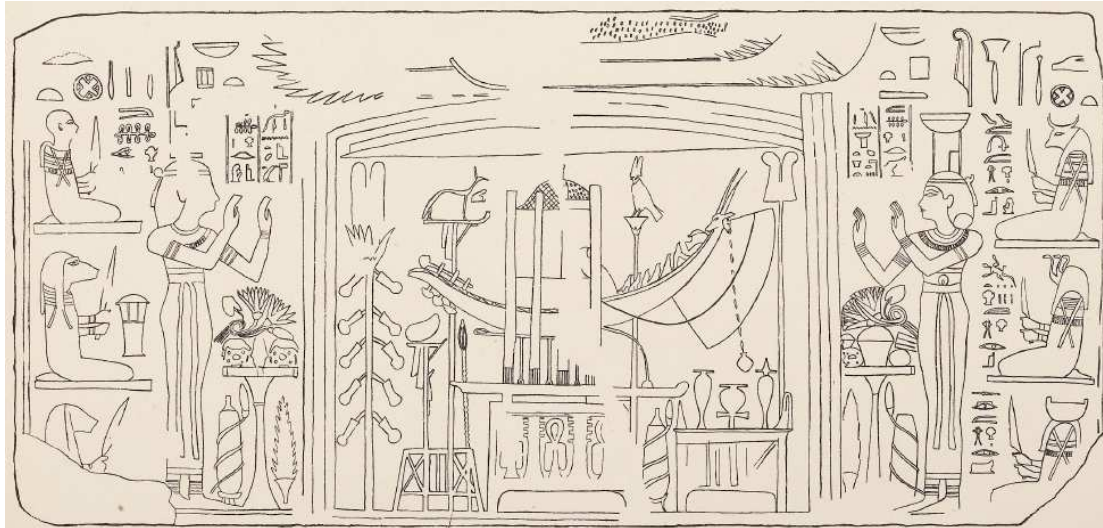
Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Found at Dra Abu el-Naga.

Context: Temple

Description: Two fragments from blocks showing a scene from the Valley Festival with the top portions of what is probably the sacred barque of Amun-Re. A nearby inscription reads *imn-r^c nb nswt t3[wy]*, “Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two la[nds]”.

(450)



Catalog Bx0145

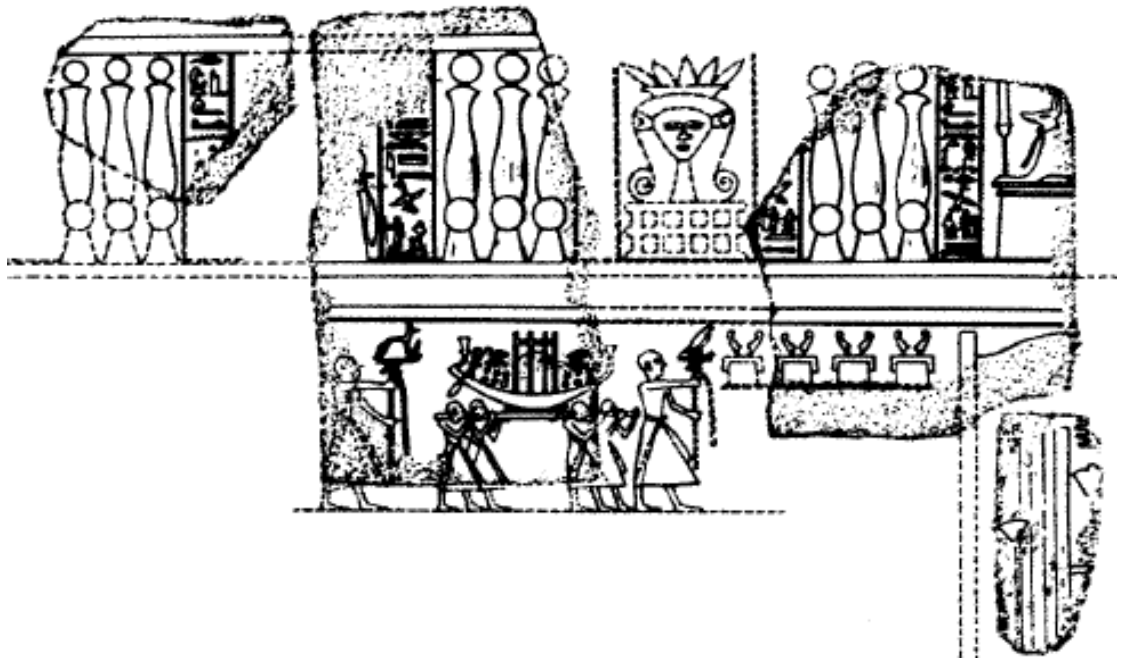
Source: Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. XIV. PM II, 443.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Lintel of Ramesses III, The Ramesseum.

Context: Temple

Description: Isis, Nephthys, and six gods adoring the barque of Osiris-Sokar.



Catalog Bx0146

Source: Schott, *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel*, pl. 2. PM I, 774.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Funerary Chapel of Paser, Medinet Habu. Wall II, outer court.

Context: Temple

Description: Procession of the Sokar barque preceded by four meret chests during Feast of Sokar.



Catalog Bx0147

Source: Schott, *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of Mayor Paser*, pl. 2. PM I, 774.

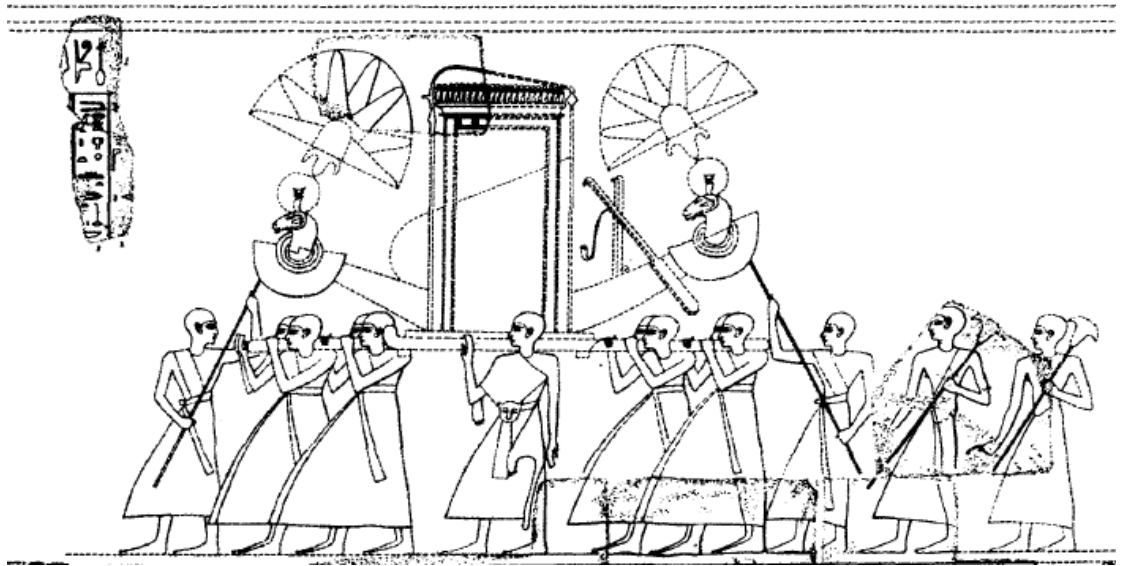
Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Funerary Chapel of Paser, Medinet Habu. Wall II, outer court.

Context: Temple

Description: Procession of barque of Isis and a second barque during Feast of Sokar.

The barque of Isis has a true label reading *ist wrt mwt ntr*, “Isis the Great, mother of the god.”



Catalog Bx0148

Source: Schott, *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel*, pl. 3. PM I, 774.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Funerary Chapel of Paser, Medinet Habu. Wall III, inner shrine.

Context: Temple

Description: Procession of priests carrying the barque of Amun-Re during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.



Catalog Bx0149

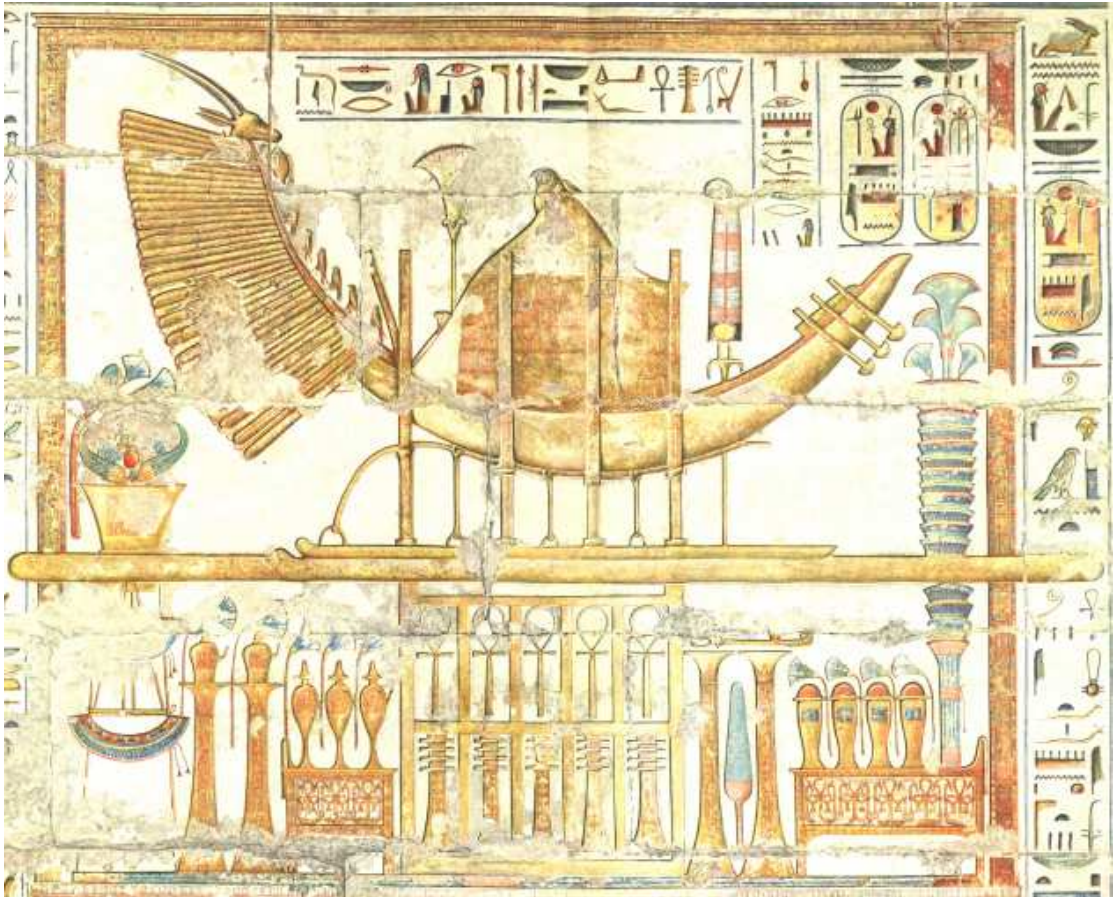
Source: Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pl. 193. PM II, 500-501.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu. Second court, north wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The barque of Khonsu resting on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0150

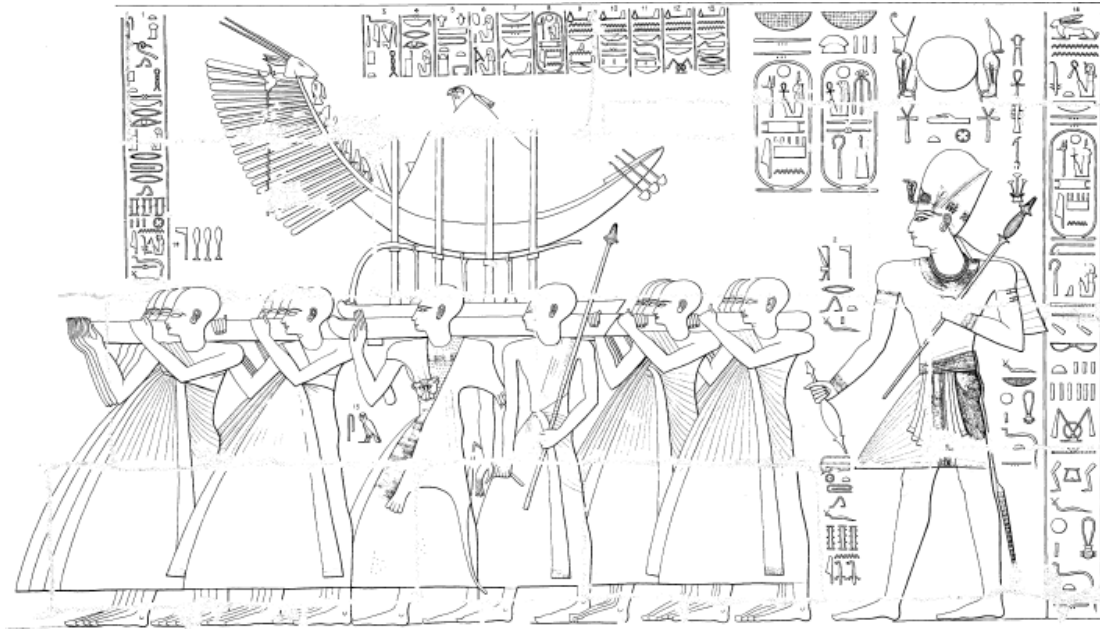
Source: Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pl. 222. PM II, 498.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu. Second court, south wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The *hnw*-barque of Sokar-Osiris with carrying poles resting on a plinth.



Catalog Bx0151

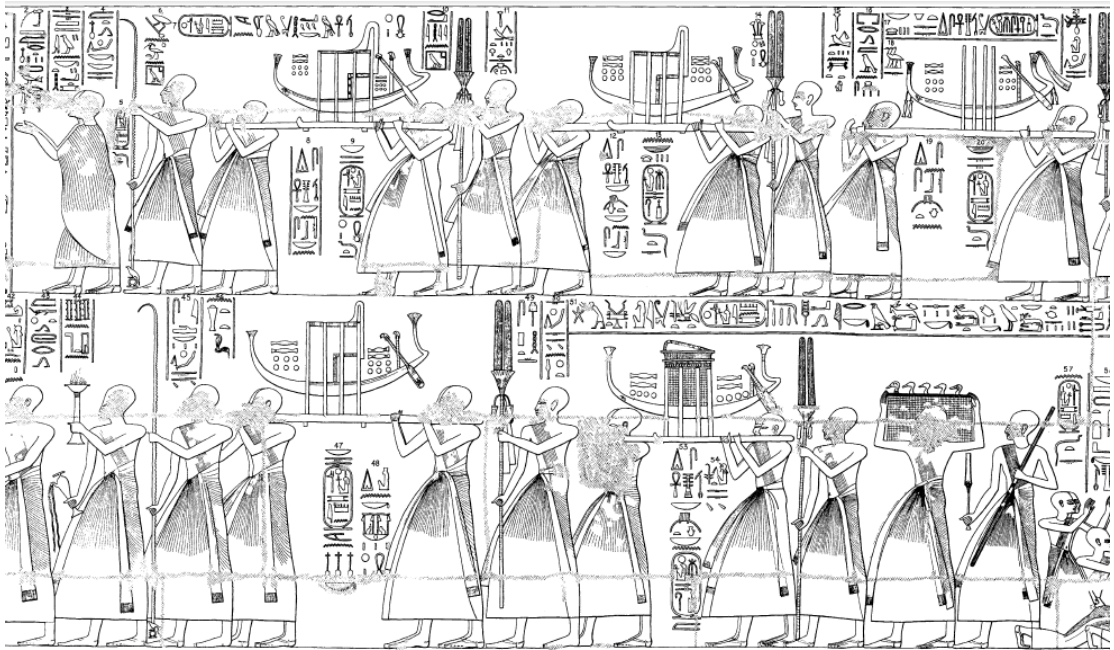
Source: Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pl. 223. PM II, 498.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu. Second court, south wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The *ḥnw*-barque of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris resting on a carriage with poles carried by priests and led by the king.



Catalog Bx0152

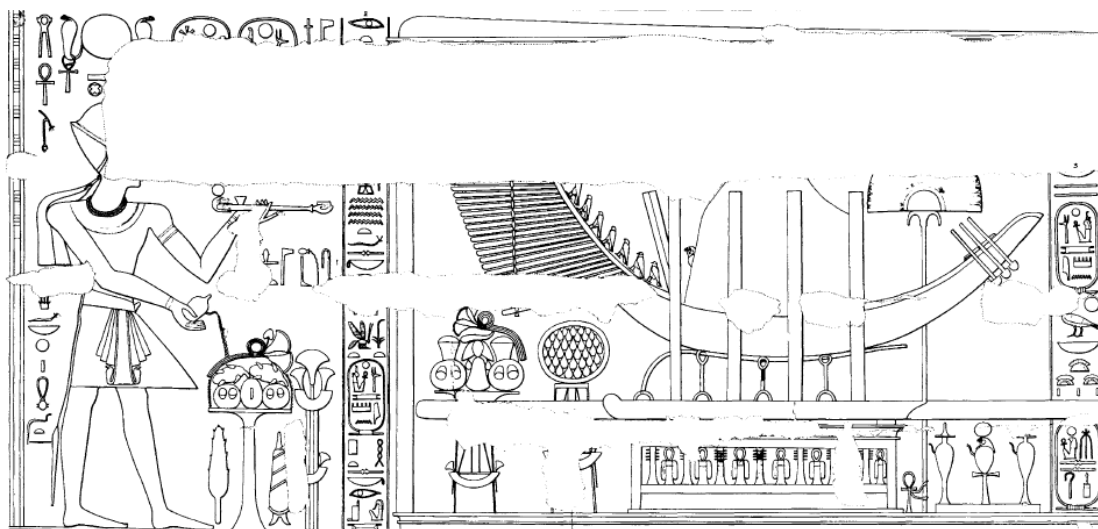
Source: Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pl. 226. PM II, 498.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu. Second court, east wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Priests carrying five sacred barques. Three of the barques have thrones on them with the *hwt* symbol. The last barque in the top register has vertical stakes but is empty. The last barque in the barque in the bottom register has a shrine cabinet.



Catalog Bx0153

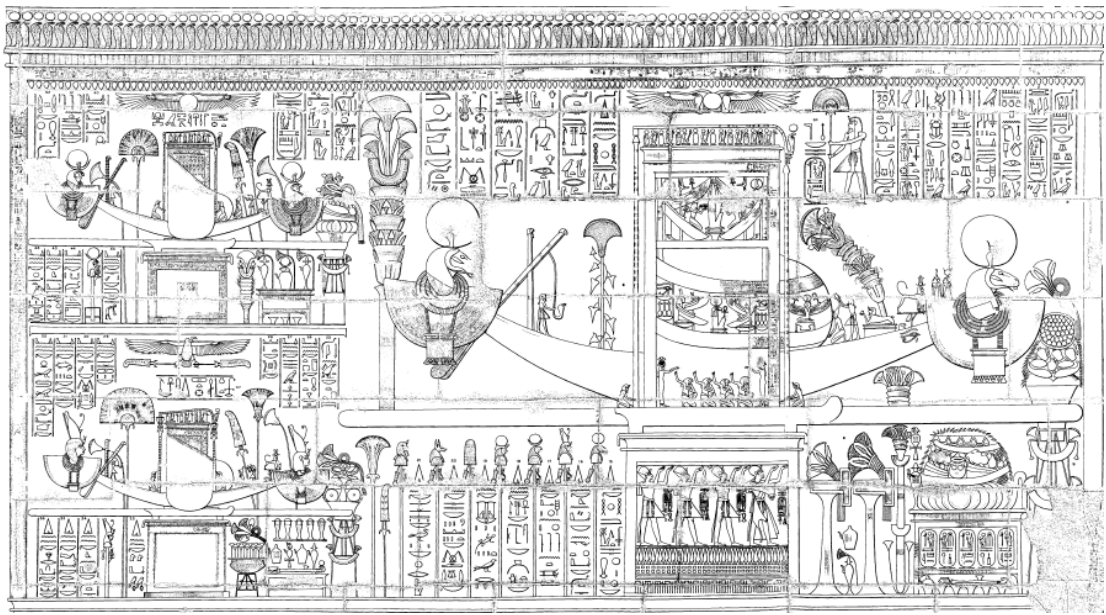
Source: Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pl. 227 [A]. PM II, 506.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu. Sokar Shrine, Room 4, west wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses III presenting offerings before the barque of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.



Catalog Bx0154

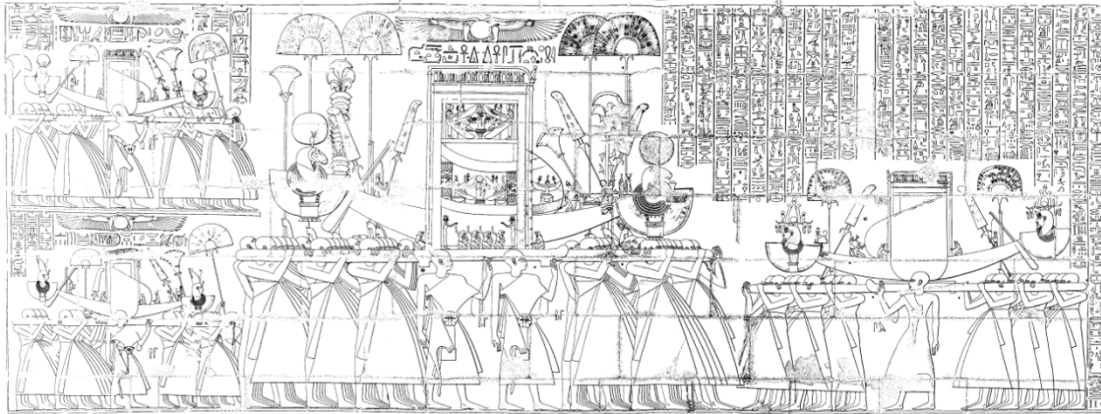
Source: Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pl. 229. PM II, 500.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu. Second court, north wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The barques of the Theban triad at rest.



Catalog Bx0155

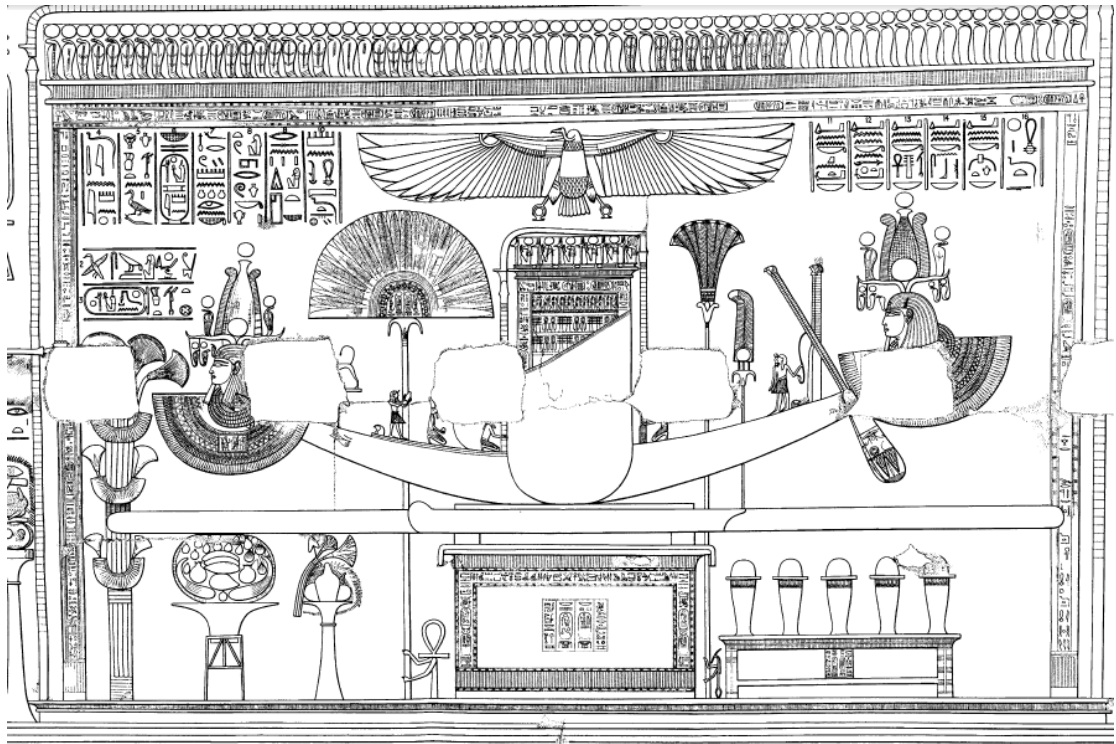
Source: Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pl. 231. PM II, 500.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu. Second court, north wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of the king meeting the barques of Theban triad.



Catalog Bx0156

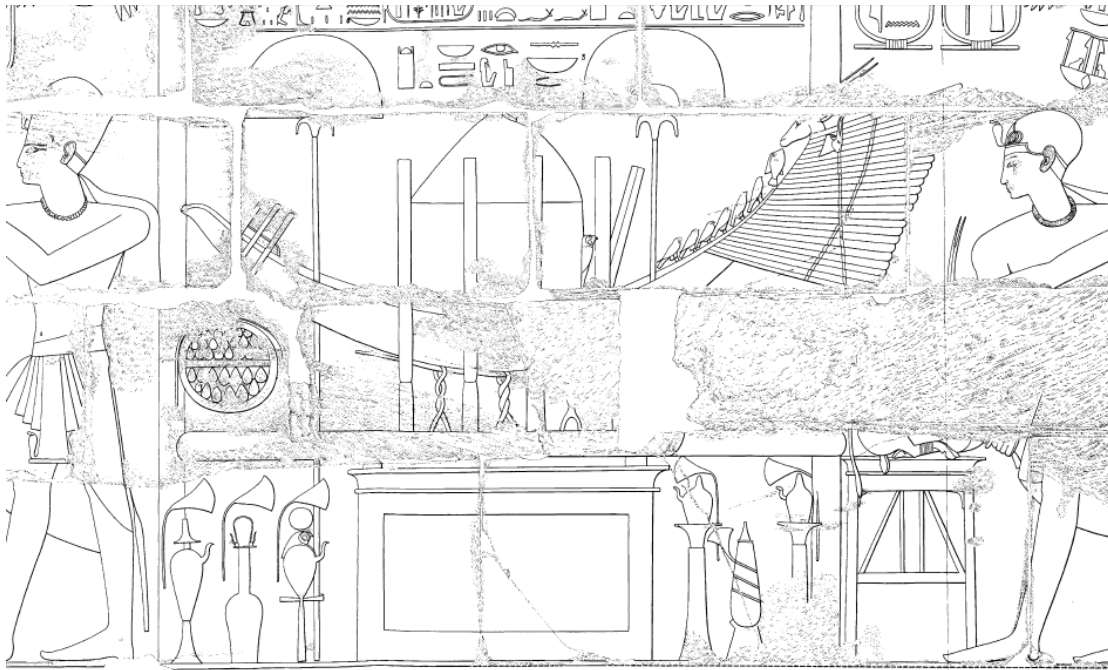
Source: Hughes, *Medinet Habu*, Vol. 5, pl. 335. PM II, 508.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Chapel of Ramesses II (14), Medinet Habu. East wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses III offering incense and libation to the cult image of Ramesses II of "United with Thebes" (The Ramesseum). While the label specifies that the barque is that of Ramesses II (*sšm-ḥw wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c*), the utterance text above the barque is ascribed to Amun-Re residing in the Ramesseum (*imn-r^c ḥry-ib ḥnm-w3st*).



Catalog Bx0157

Source: Hughes, *Medinet Habu*, Vol. 6, pl. 480. PM II, 511.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Royal Memorial Complex, Medinet Habu. Room 25, north wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses III sacrificing an oryx before the barque of Sokar-Osiris.



Catalog Bx0158

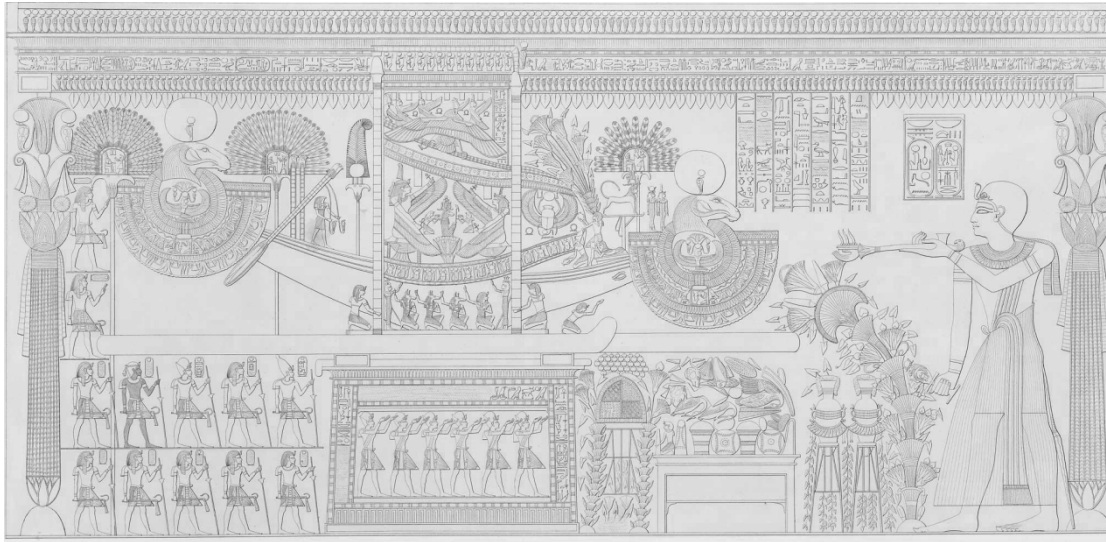
Source: Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, part II, fig. 244. PM I, 716.

Date: ca. Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Votive stela of Amennakht (M.M.A. 21.2.6).

Context: Temple

Description: Priests in procession carrying the barque of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0159

Source: Schott photo 6694, 6695, 6696. *LD* III, 235. *PM* I, 130.

Date: Ramesses IX, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Tomb of Nebamun (TT 65), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Ramesses IX presenting incense to Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0160

Source: Schott photo 6698, 6699. PM I, 130.

Date: Ramesses IX, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Tomb of Nebamun (TT 65), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Ramesses IX censing to the barque of Amun-Re.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0161

Source: Fairman, *JEA* 24 (1938), 155. PM VII, 159.

Date: Ramesses IX, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Amarah West Temple. Chapel.

Context: Temple

Description: King before a barque.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Bx0162

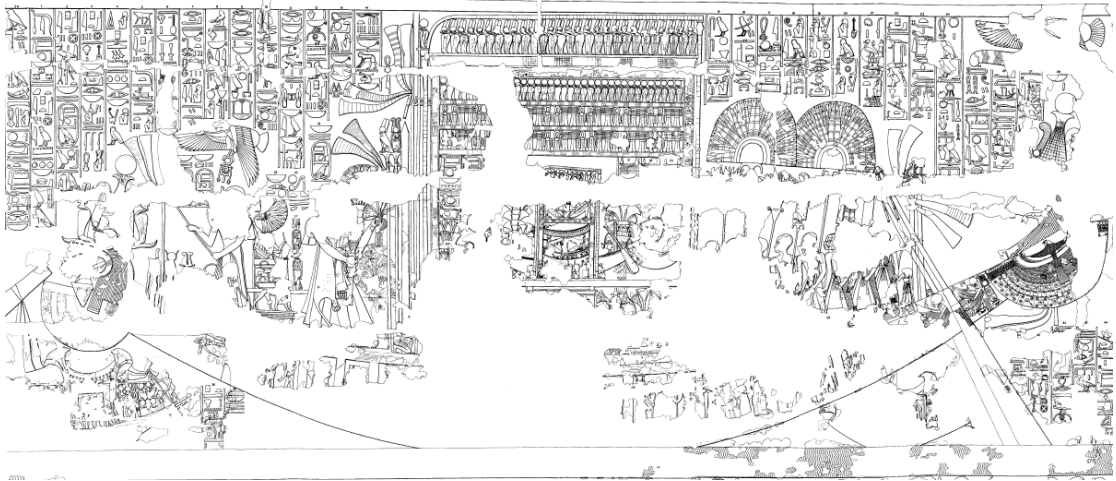
Source: PM I, 271.

Date: Dynasty 21.

Locale: Tomb of Raya (TT 159), Dra Abu el-Naga. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased adoring two barques.



Catalog Bx0163

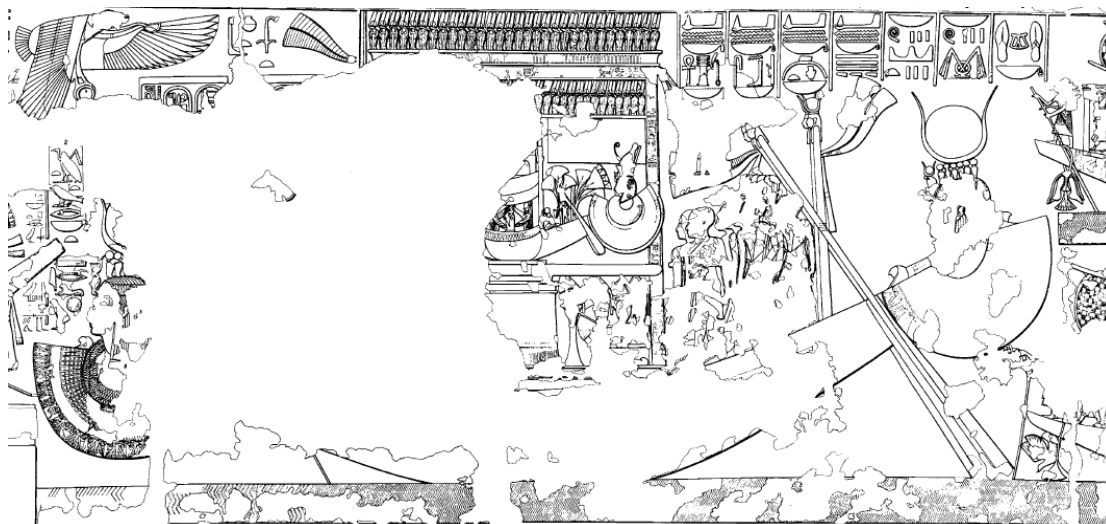
Source: Wente, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, pl. 21. PM II, 230.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu, Karnak. Court, west wall, bottom.

Context: Temple

Description: The barque of Amun-Re being transported inside the river barge of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0164

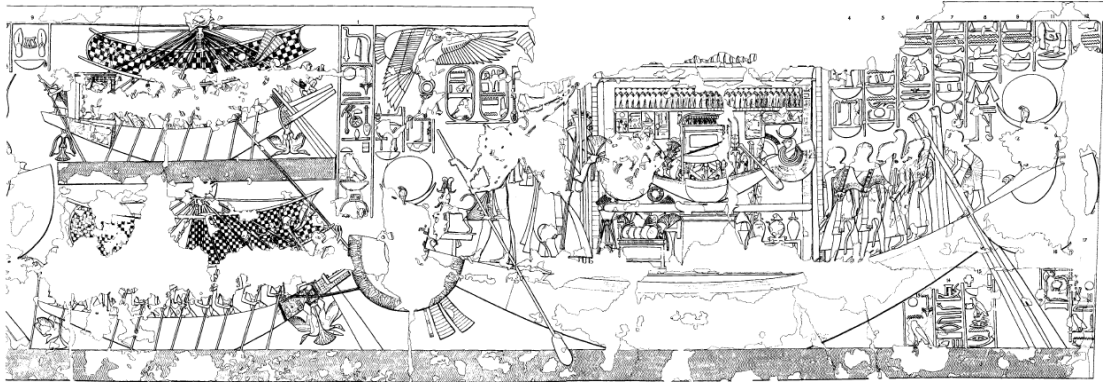
Source: Wente, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, pl. 22. PM II, 230.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu. Court, west wall, bottom.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Mut being transported on a plinth inside a shrine within a river barge.



Catalog Bx0165

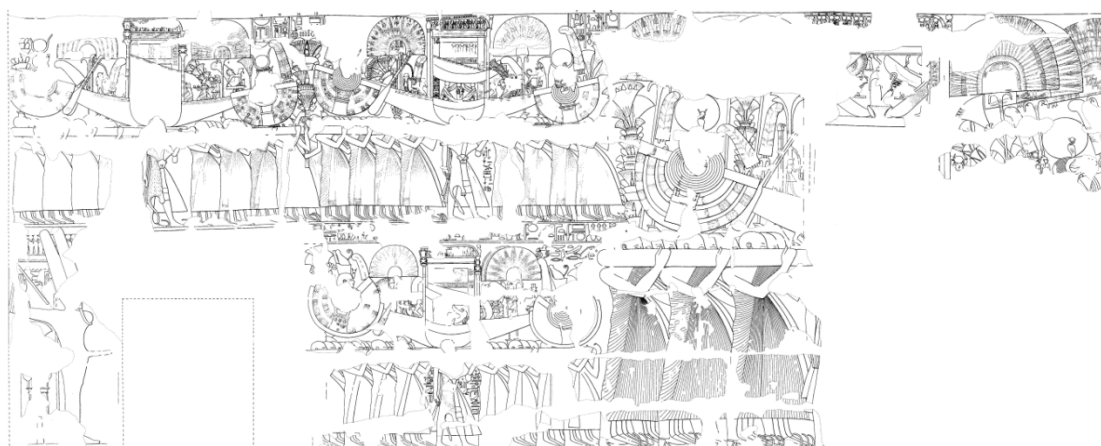
Source: Wente, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, pl. 23. PM II, 230.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu. Court, west wall, bottom.

Context: Temple

Description: Barque of Khonsu transported within the barge of Khonsu.



Catalog Bx0166

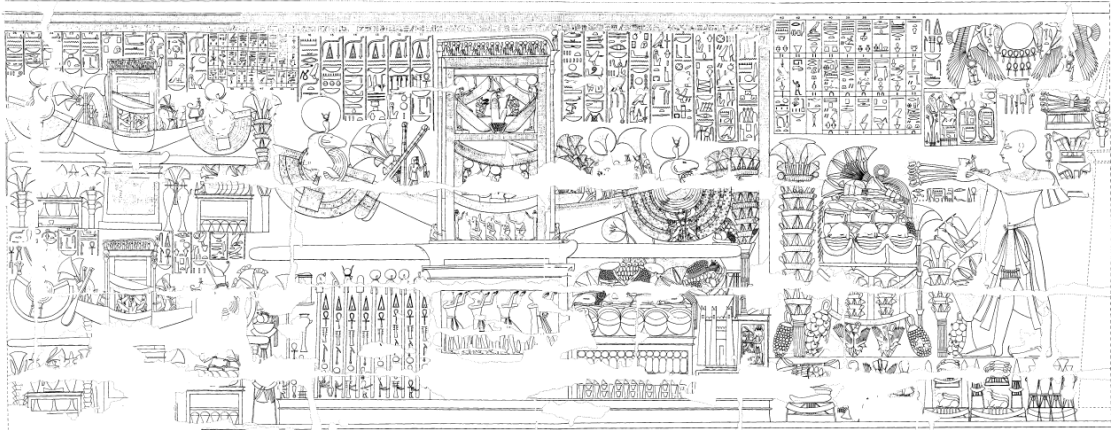
Source: Wente, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, pl. 44. PM II, 230.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu. Court, north wall, bottom register, from central doorway west to corner.

Context: Temple

Description: The Amonet and Khonsu barques are in the top register and the Mut barque is in the register beneath the Khonsu barque. The large barque is of Amun-Re.



Catalog Bx0167

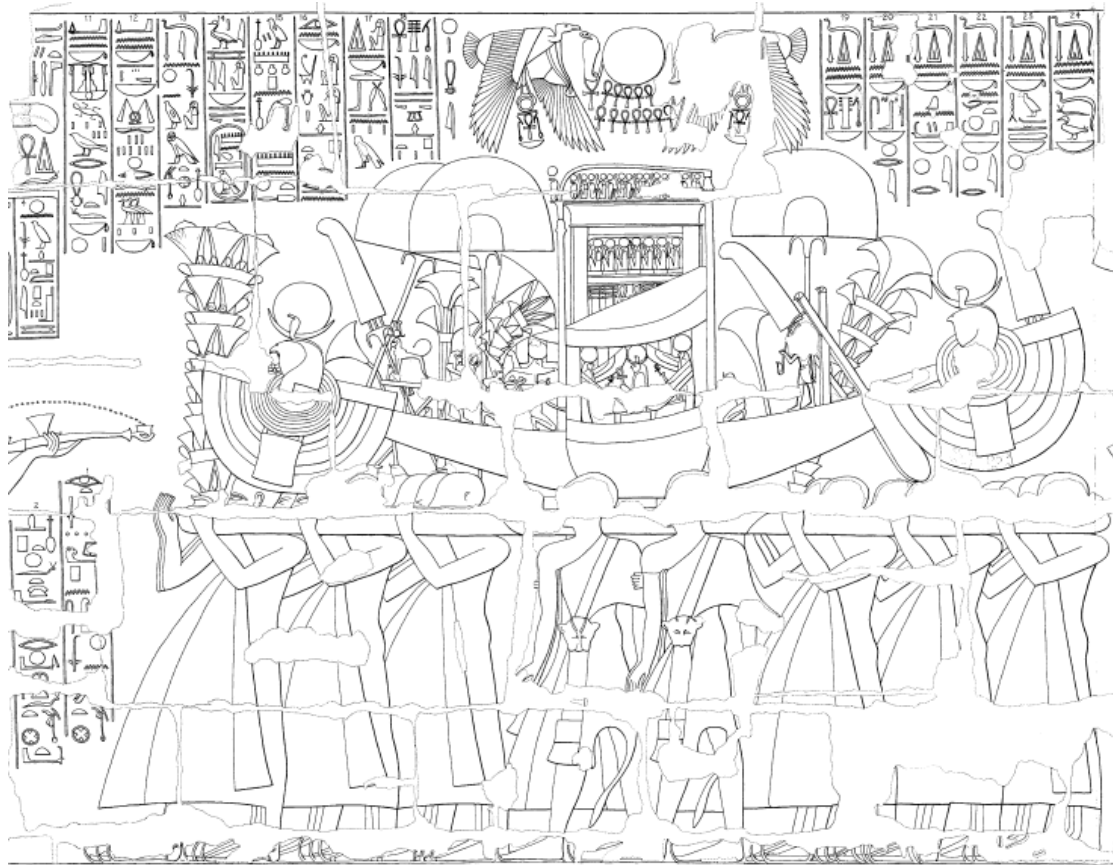
Source: Wente, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, pl. 53. PM II, 231.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu. Court, east wall, bottom register, second scene north of south door.

Context: Temple

Description: Herihor presenting offerings to the Theban triad.



Catalog Bx0168

Source: Wentz, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, pl. 69. PM II, 231.

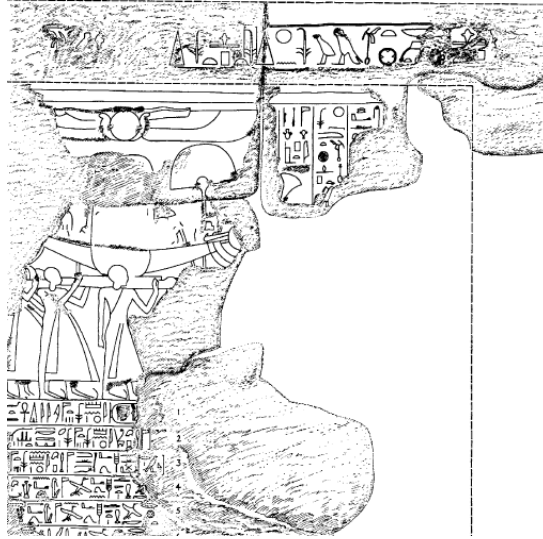
Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu. Court, north wall, bottom register, from central doorway east to corner.

Context: Temple

Description: Khonsu barque on procession.

(473)



Catalog Bx0169

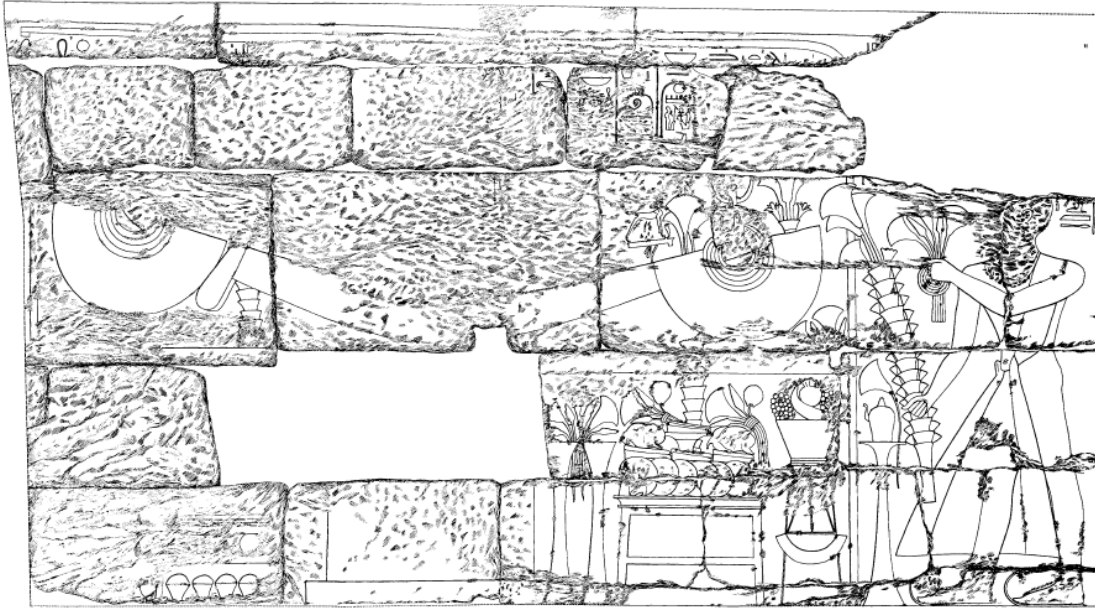
Source: Weeks, *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court*, pl. 132. PM II, 233.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu. Portico, north wall, east half.

Context: Temple

Description: A barque of the Theban triad on procession.



Catalog Bx0170

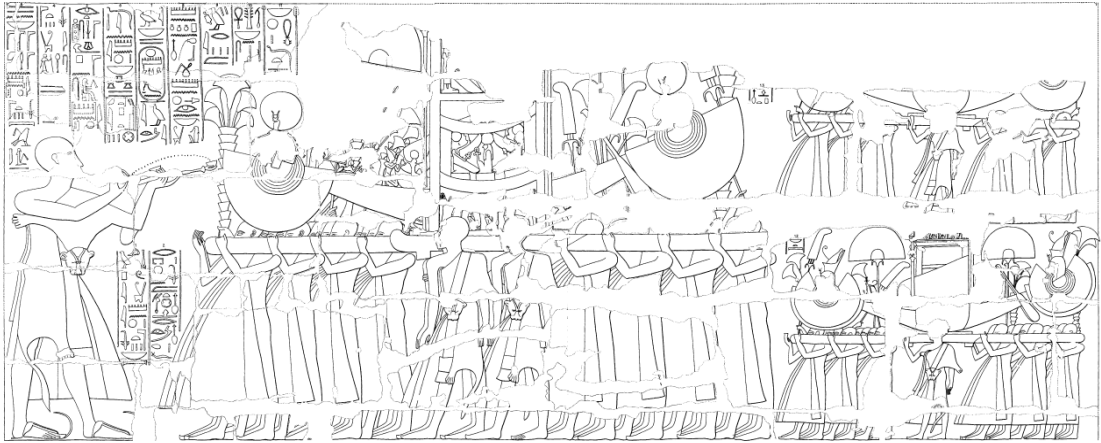
Source: Weeks, *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court*, pl. 156. PM II, 234.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu. First hypostyle hall, south wall, east half, lower register.

Context: Temple

Description: High priest Herihor presenting flowers to the barque of Khonsu.



Catalog Bx0171

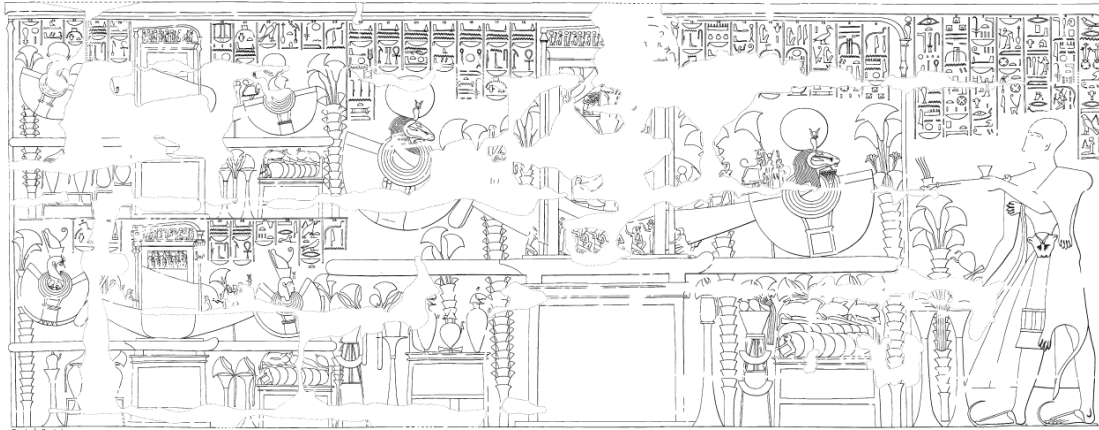
Source: Weeks, *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court*, pl. 166. PM II, 234.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu. First hypostyle hall, north wall, east half, lower register.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses XI presenting incense before the Theban triad on procession.



Catalog Bx0172

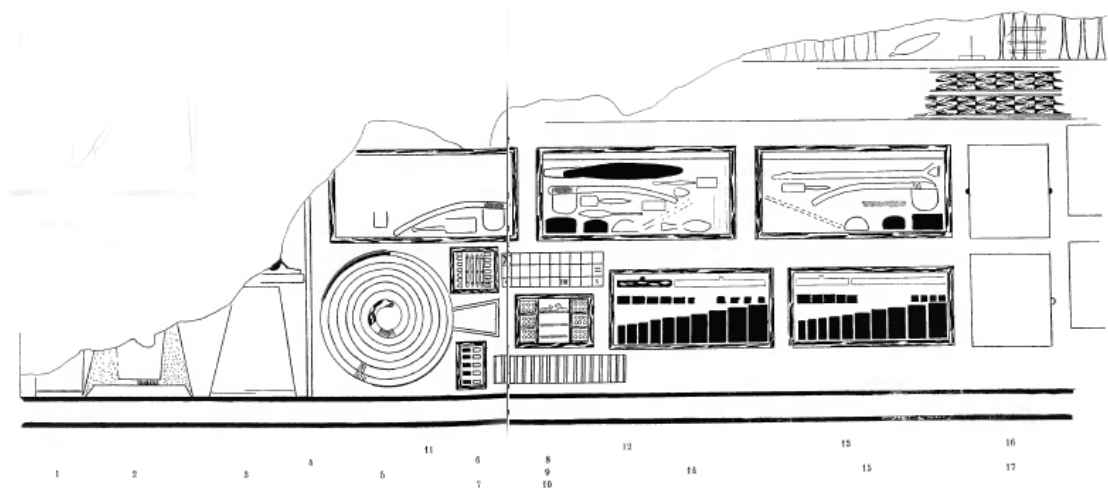
Source: Weeks, *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court*, pl. 185. PM II, 233.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu. First hypostyle hall, north wall, west half, lower register.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses XI thurifying and offering life (ankh) before the Theban triad.



Catalog Cx0001

Source: Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911-12)*, pl. XVI. PM III, 438.

Date: Djoser, Dynasty 3.

Locale: Tomb of Hesyre, Saqqara (S. 2405 [A3]). East wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Wall painting of tomb displaying grave goods in boxes.

(478)



Catalog Cx0002

Source: Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911-12)*, pl. XVIII. PM III, 438.

Date: Djoser, Dynasty 3.

Locale: Tomb of Hesyre, Saqqara (S. 2405 [A3]).

Context: Funerary

Description: Box with legs.

(479)



Catalog Cx0003

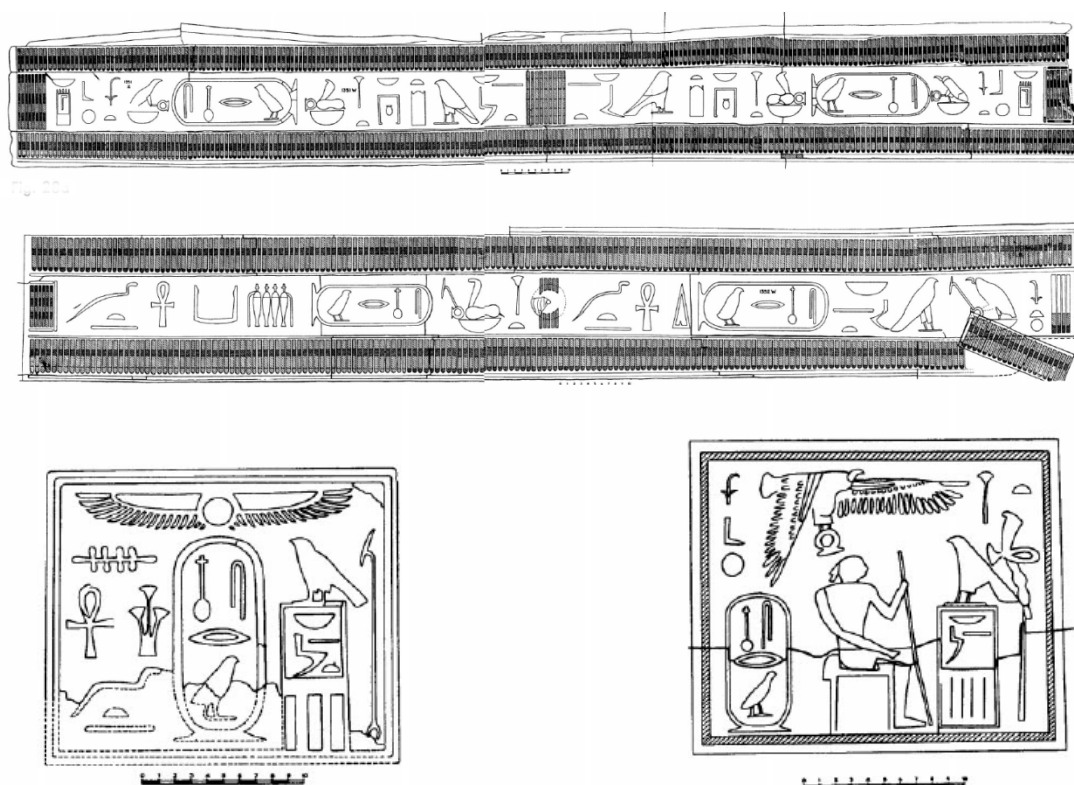
Source: O'Neill, *Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 418. Soprintendenza al Museo della Antichità Egizie, Turin S.15709.

Date: Dynasty 4 to 5.

Locale: Mastaba of Perim (S. 1570), Saqqara Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Wooden chest with ivory and faience inlays.



Catalog Cx0004

Source: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, 16, 23-27, and Fig 28-29. PM III, 180.

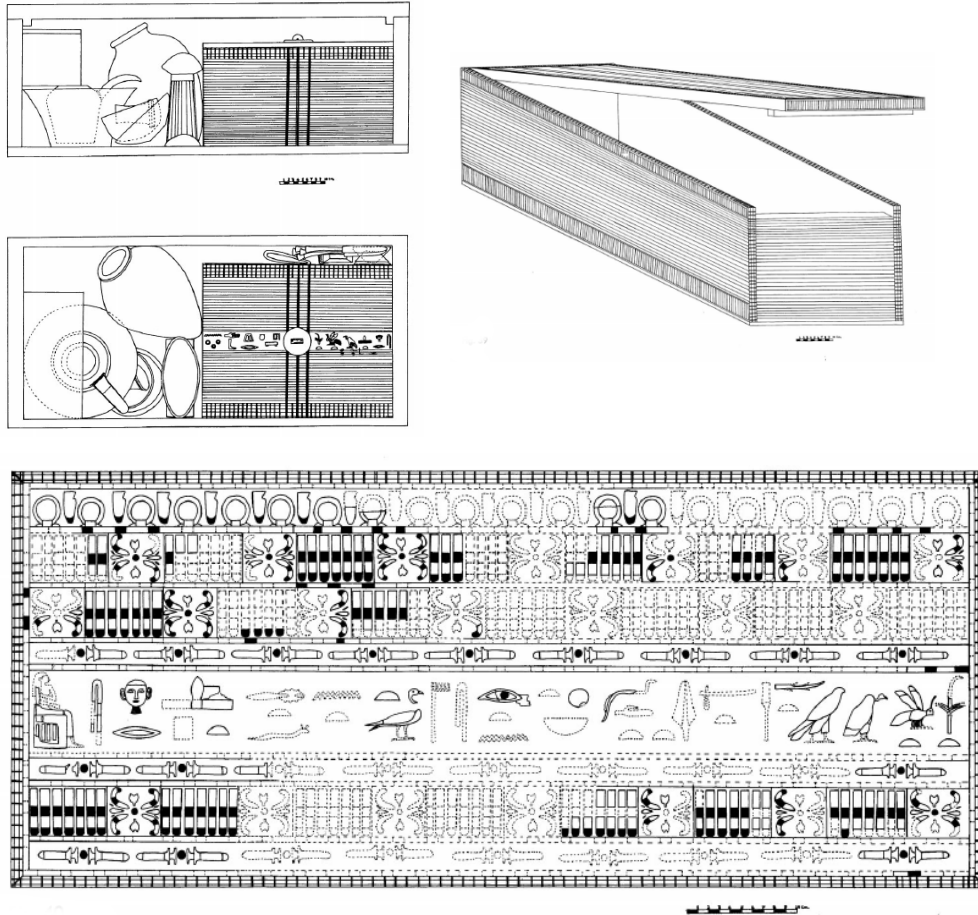
Date: Sneferu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepheres (G 7000 X), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Fragments of gold casing and copper fitting of wooden box used to hold curtains for the canopy of a bed. The item bears the cartouches of king Sneferu. The wood as well as the curtains it held have entirely decayed away.

(481)



Catalog Cx0005

Source: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, 17-18, 36-40 and Fig 38-40. PM III, 180.

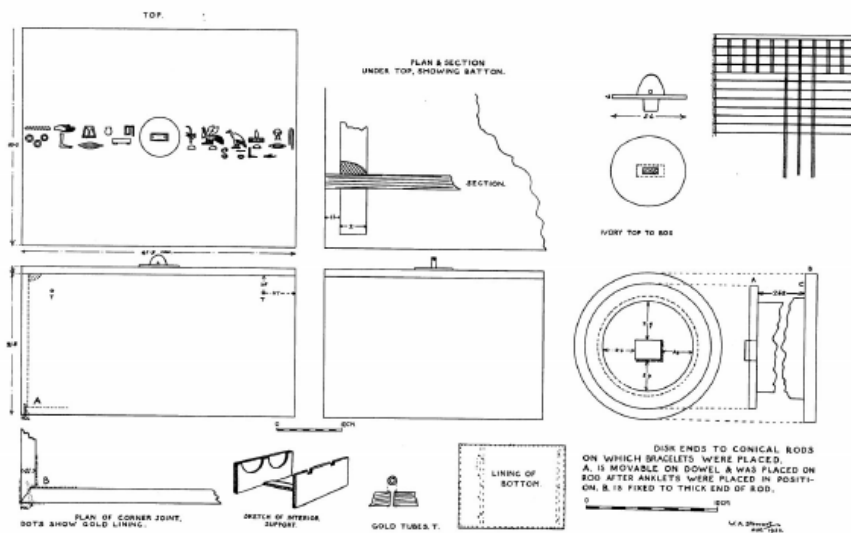
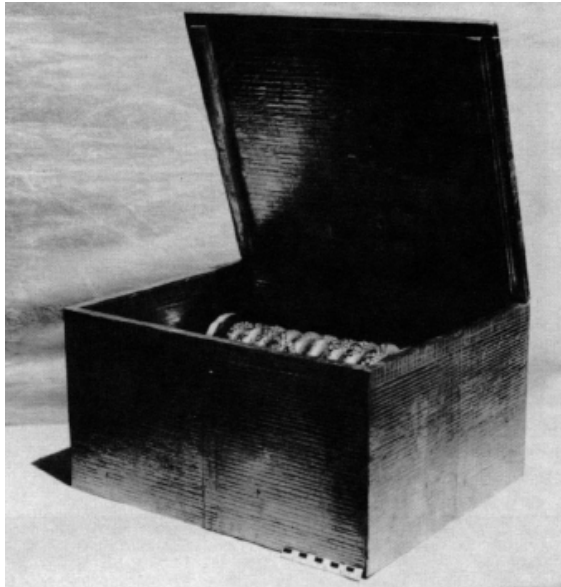
Date: Sneferu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepheres (G 7000 X), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: A large box covered in gold foil. The lid used a background sheet of silver. Min elements and *šn* signs are present as trim on the lid of this box.

Carnelian disks were used in the centres of the flower rosettes and Min elements (p. 39). Faience was used to add blue-green and black elements to the flowers and feathers. The box contained pottery and a second box <Cat. Cx0006>.



Catalog Cx0006

Source: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, 17-18, 43-44, pl. 37a, and Figs. 38 and 44.

PM III, 181-182.

Date: Sneferu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepheres (G 7000 X), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: A small *hww* box that contained silver bracelets (9 to 11 cm in diameter) arranged on rods held up by wooden supports. The alloy of the silver consisted of 90.1% Ag, 8.9% Au, and 1.0% Cu (p. 44). Inlays on the bracelets are

of carnelian, turquoise, and lapis lazuli. Small toilet items were found beneath the gold lining of the box including three small gold dishes, two badly decayed ivory bracelets, a copper needle, a gold manicuring tool, thirteen copper and gold bracelets, and a silver vessel probably for cosmetics.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Cx0007

Source: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, 20. PM III, 179.

Date: Sneferu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepheres (G 7000 X), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Five large chests holding linens were placed against the south wall of the tomb. Markings left by these boxes on the floor of the tomb as the wood decayed indicate their dimensions. A large box 90 x 59 cm supported a second box 58 x 43 cm. A third box measured 50 x 70 cm, a fourth 60 x 90 cm, and a fifth 40 x 120 cm. Pottery was found among the decayed linen inside the boxes.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Cx0008

Source: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, 21. PM III, 179.

Date: Sneferu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepheres (G 7000 X), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two boxes measuring 70 x 60 cm each were found containing stone vessels and a spouted gold cup.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Cx0009

Source: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, 21. PM III, 179.

Date: Sneferu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepheres (G 7000 X), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two large boxes measuring 100 x 55 cm each were found between the coffin and the boxes of <Cat. Cx0008>. These boxes contained pottery.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Cx0010

Source: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, 42-43. PM III, 179.

Date: Sneferu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepheres (G 7000 X), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Wood box that contained six alabaster ointment jars.



Catalog Cx0011

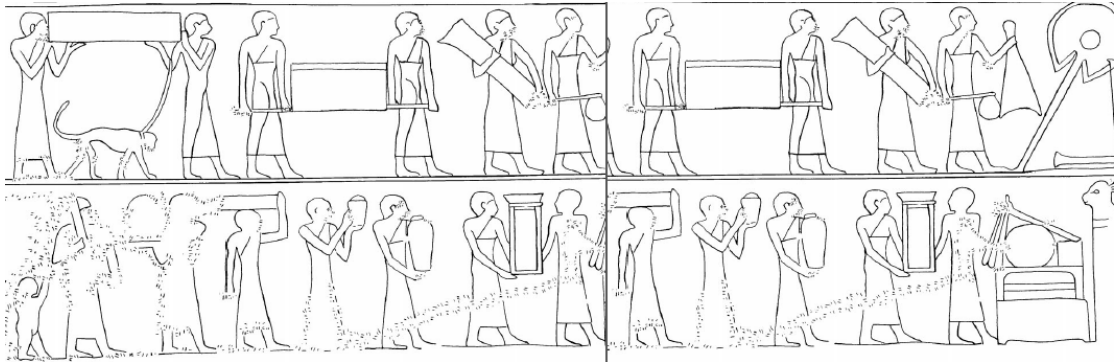
Source: Simpson, *Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, Fig 30. PM III, 188.

Date: Khufu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Mastaba of Khafkhufu I (G 7140), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: A man prepares a bowl of incense (*sntr*) above a chest with a flat lid and legs.



Catalog Cx0012

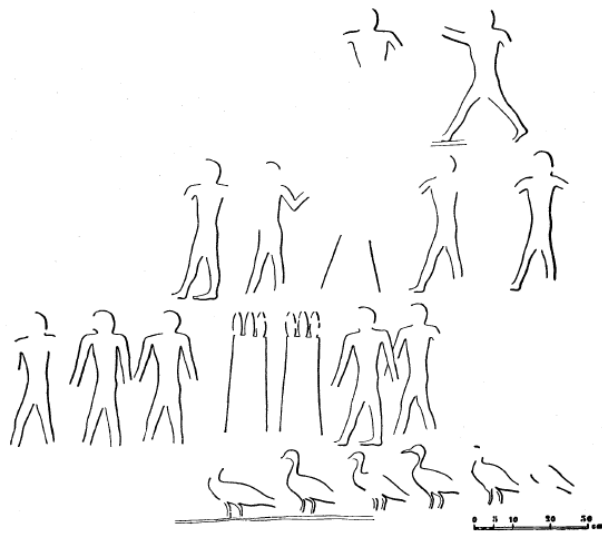
Source: Dunham and Simpson, *Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, Fig 8. PM III, 197.

Date: Menkaura, Dynasty 4. Main room, south wall.

Locale: Mastaba of Mersyankh (G 7530-7540), Giza Necropolis

Context: Funerary

Description: Servants carrying chests and statuary boxes.



Catalog Cx0013

Source: Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, vol. III, fig. 175. PM III, 259.

Date: Middle Dynasty 5

Locale: Mastaba of Nufer (LG 99), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Men dragging two *stt* chests.



Catalog Cx0014

Source: Hassan, *Giza*, vol.V, fig. 122. PM III, 252.

Date: Middle Dynasty 5 or later.

Locale: Mastaba of Itisen (G 4810), Giza. Eastern wall, right of the doorway.

Context: Funerary

Description: Itesen being carried in a palanquin. Servants are following carrying chests on their shoulders.



Catalog Cx0015

Source: Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, pl. 18. PM III, 343.

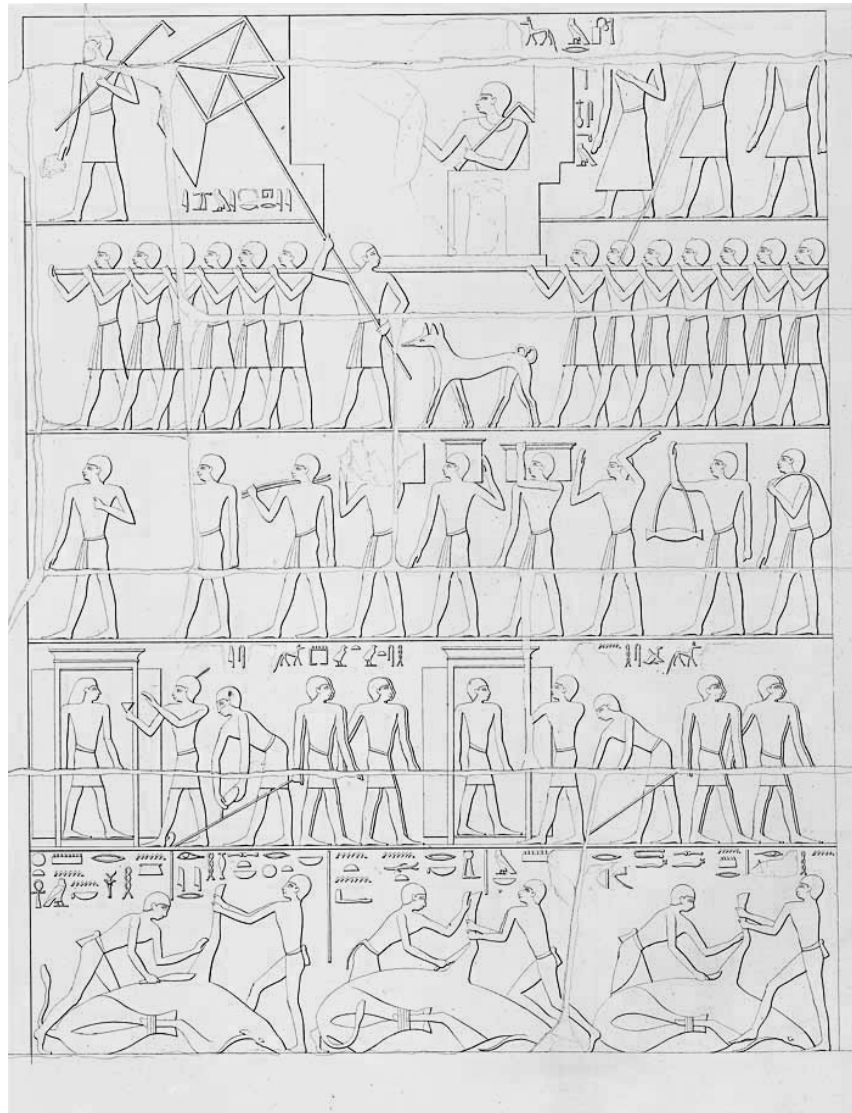
Date: Middle Dynasty 5

Locale: Tomb of Tepemankh, Abusir Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men dragging a *stt* chest.

(491)



Catalog Cx0016 (Tx0009)

Source: LD II, 78b. PM III, 85.

Date: Shepseskara, Dynasty 5.

Locale: Mastaba of Snedjem-ib Inti (G 2370), Giza.

Context: Funerary

Description: Snedjem-ib Inti sitting in a palanquin on procession. Chests and shrine cabinets with votive statues are below.



Catalog Cx0017

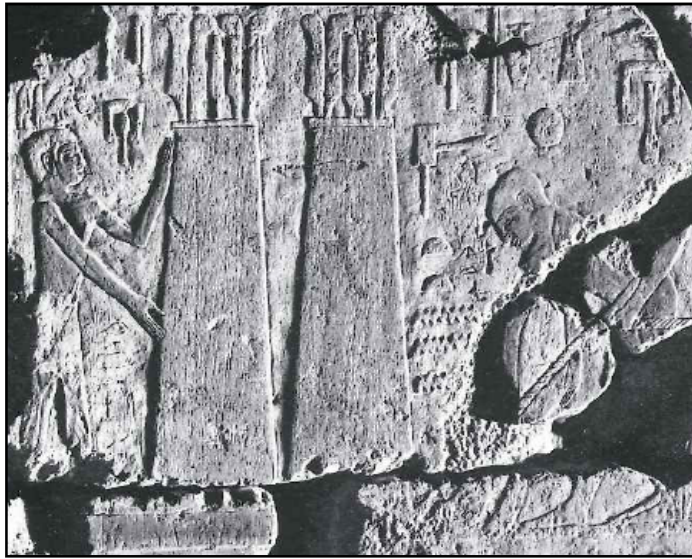
Source: Junker, *Giza*, vol. VII, 231-241 and Taf. xxxviii [b]. PM III, 161.

Date: Neferirkare or later, Dynasty 5.

Locale: Mastaba of Djaty (G. 5370), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Wooden chest with the sealings of lector priests of Sahure and Neferirkare.



Catalog Cx0018

Source: Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Niankhchnum und Chnumhotep*,

Taf. 16. PM III, 642.

Date: Nyuserra or Menkauhor, Dynasty 5.

Locale: Tomb of Niankh-khnum and Khnumhotep, Saqqara Necropolis near Unis

Pyramid complex. Vestibule.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men dragging a pair of *stt* chests.

(494)



Catalog Cx0019

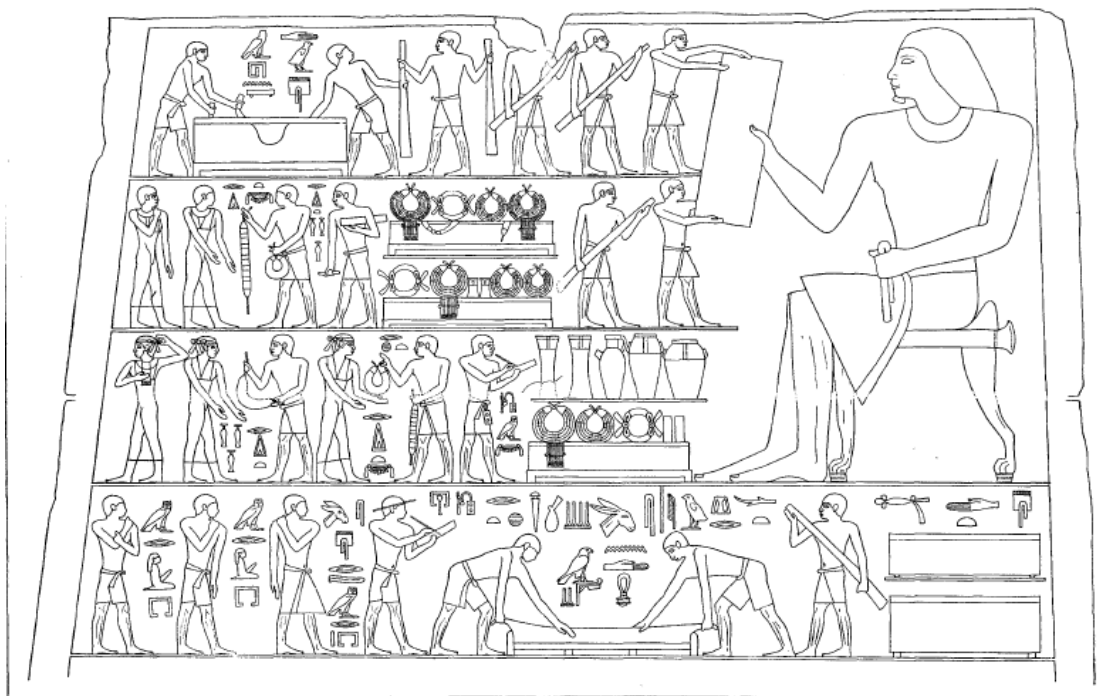
Source: Junker, *Gîza*, vol. III, Taf. IV. PM III, 154.

Date: Djedkara, Dynasty 5.

Locale: Mastaba of Seshemnefer III (G 5170), Giza Necropolis. North wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Women bringing offerings in baskets and chests.



Catalog Cx0020

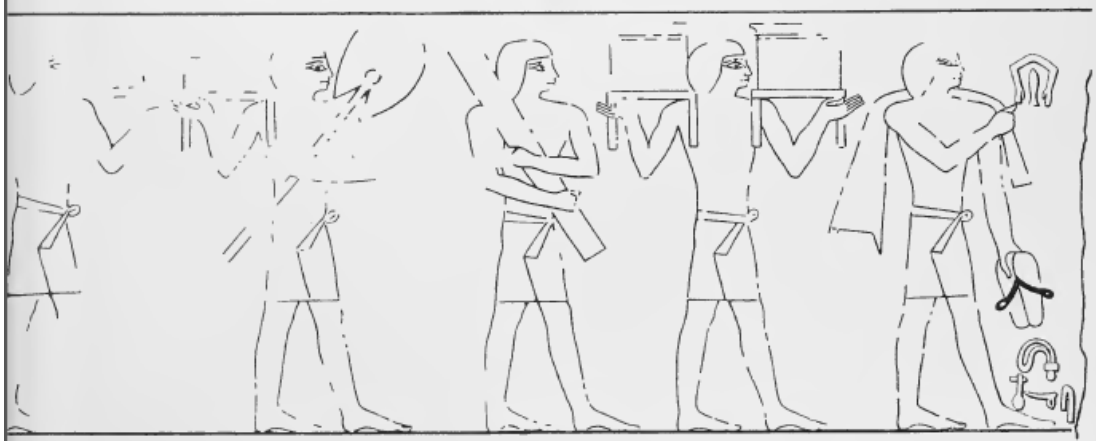
Source: Junker, *Gîza*, vol V, Abb. 9. PM III, 635.

Date: Djedkara to Unis, Dynasty 5.

Locale: Mastaba of Akhethetep, Saqqara.

Context: Funerary

Description: The workers remove the cloth from a *hnw* chest in order to present it to Akhethetep.



Catalog Cx0021

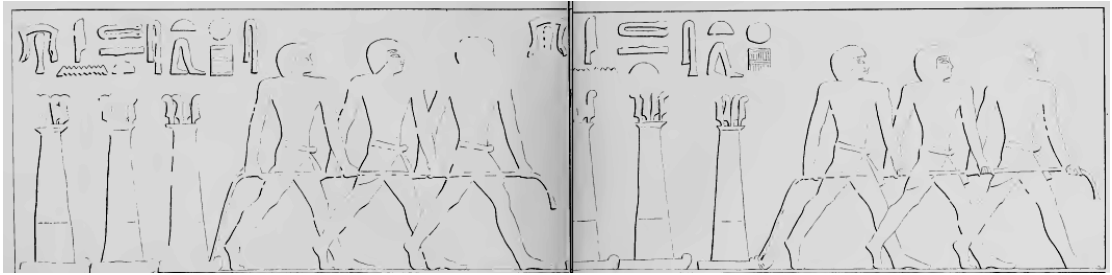
Source: Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, part II, pl VIII. PM III, 599.

Date: Djedkara to Unis, Dynasty 5.

Locale: Mastaba of Akhtihotep, Saqqara. Corridor, west wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: A man carrying two chests on his shoulders in the procession of Akhtihotep.



Catalog Cx0022

Source: Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, part II, pl XXII. PM III, 599.

Date: Djedkara to Unis, Dynasty 5.

Locale: Mastaba of Akhtihotep, Saqqara. South bay, south wall, upper half.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two groups of men dragging *sṯt* chests. The caption reads *shpt sṯt in ḥm-k3(w)*, “bringing of *sṯt* chests by the ka-priests.”

(498)



Catalog Cx0023

Source: Boston Mus. 13.4348.10. PM III, 90.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Meryre-Meryptahankh (G 2381/2382), Giza. Doorway to Room II.

Context: Funerary

Description: Men carrying chests with shrine-shaped lids.



Catalog Cx0024

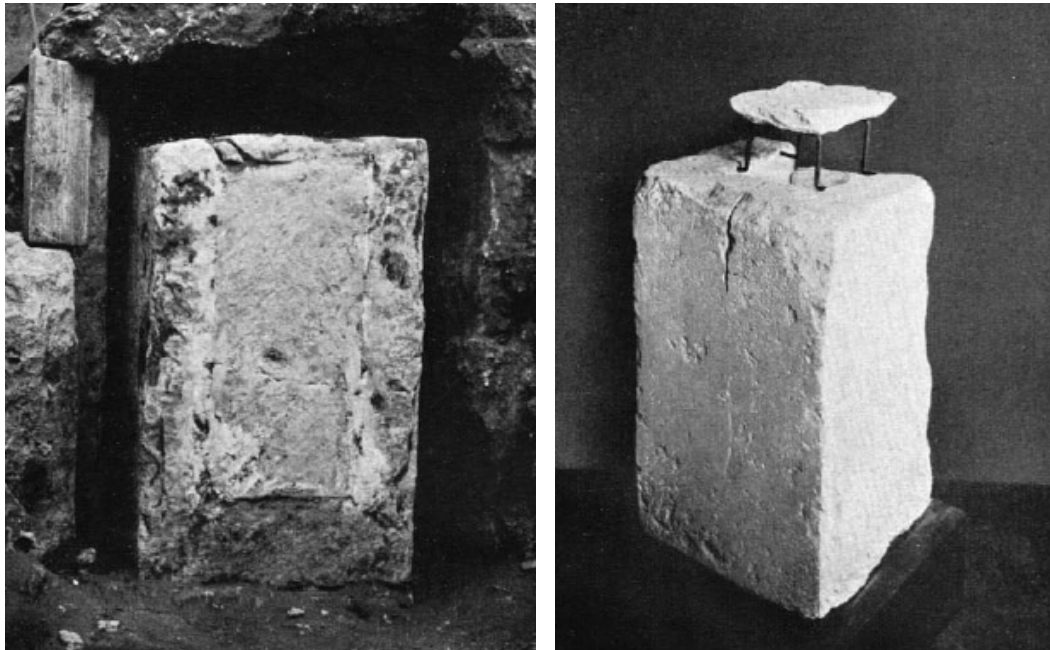
Source: Hassan, *Gîza*, vol.V, pl. VIII. PM III, 633.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ra-Khuef, Giza.

Context: Funerary

Description: Statue of a female servant carrying a chest on her head.



Catalog Cx0025

Source: Junker, *Gîza*, vol. V, Taf. VIII [b-c]. PM III, 102.

Date: Mid Dynasty 6 or later

Locale: Mastaba of Sonb (G 1036), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Stone chest containing a wood statue of deceased.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Cx0026

Source: Junker, *Giza*, vol. V, 121-122. PM III, 102.

Date: Mid Dynasty 6 or later

Locale: Mastaba of Sonb (G. 1036), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Funerary

Description: Fragment of stone chest along with an inscribed red granite base of a statue.



Catalog Cx0027

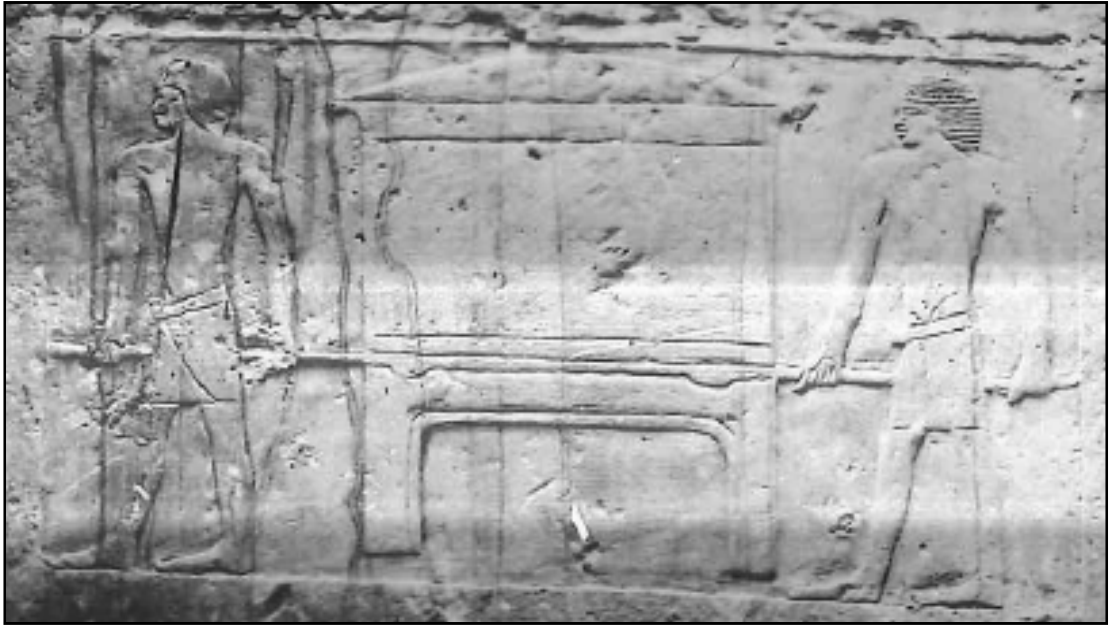
Source: Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*. Part 1, fig. B. PM III, 66.

Date: Late Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Tjetu I (G 2001), Giza Necropolis. Portico, west wall, south end.

Context: Funerary

Description: Wife of Tjetu seated with a chest and a mirror beneath her.



Catalog Cx0028

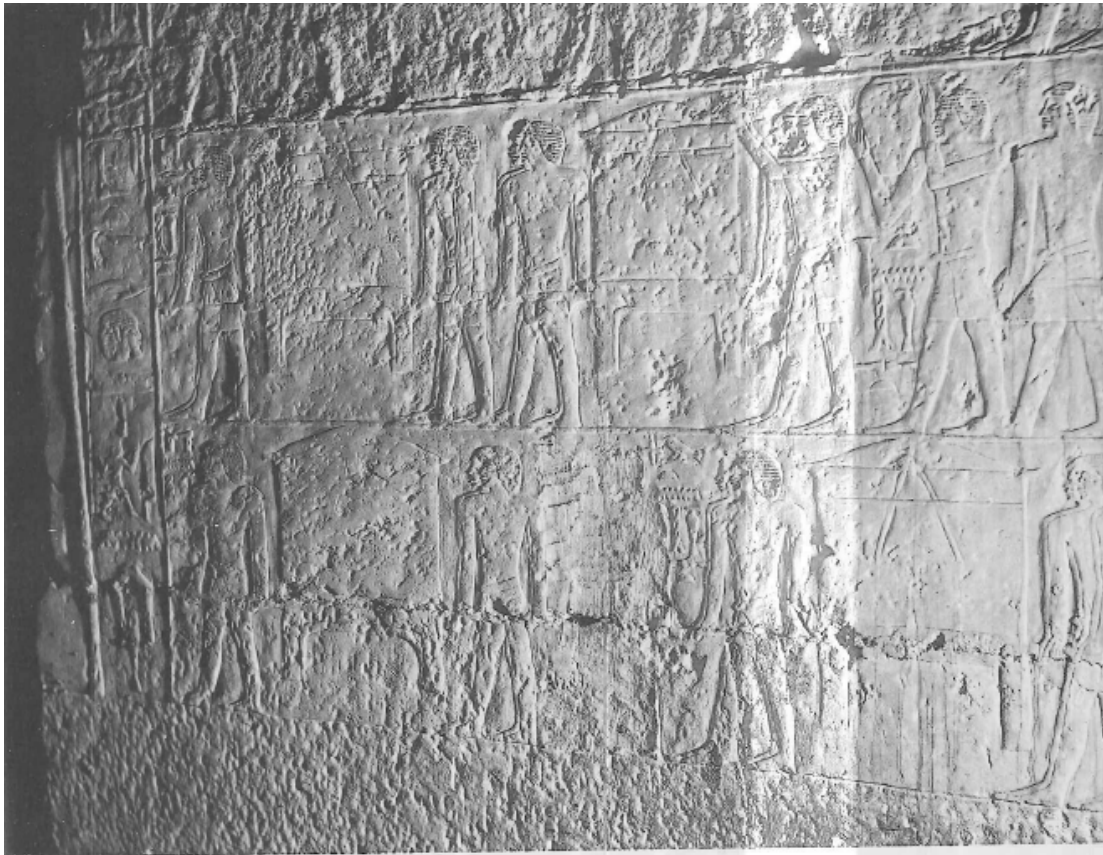
Source: Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*, pl. LXIV. PM III, 514.

Date: Early Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ankh-Ma-Hor, Saqqara Necropolis. Room V.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men carrying a chest with poles.



Catalog Cx0029

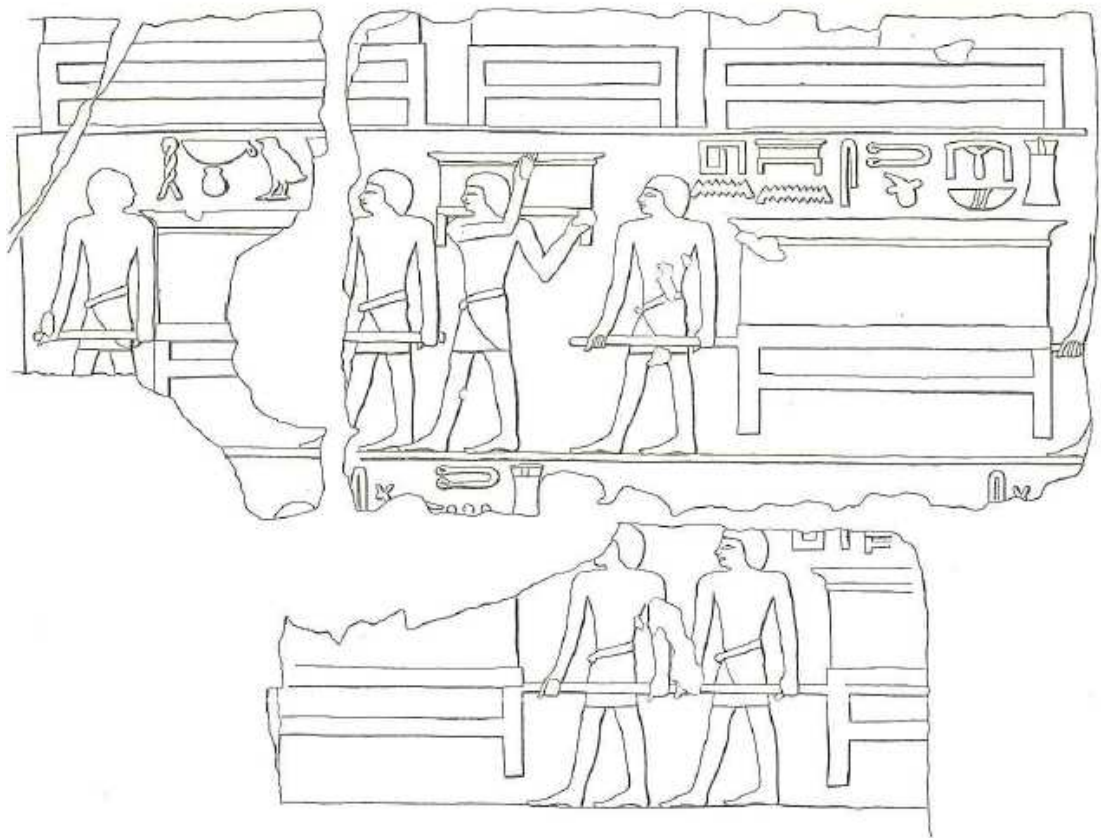
Source: Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*, pl. LXV. PM III, 512.

Date: Early Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ankh-Ma-Hor, Saqqara Necropolis. Room V.

Context: Funerary

Description: Four chests being carried on poles.



Catalog Cx0030

Source: Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout*, pl. X [B]. PM III, 618.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ihy near Pyramid of Unis, Saqqara. Room III.

Context: Funerary

Description: The top register shows three different chests being carried, two on poles; the bottom register shows two chests being carried by poles. The top left box has a label above that reads *ḥknw*, a sacred oil. The top right box has the caption, *hn n sti-ḥb*, “a chest of festal oil.”

(506)



Catalog Cx0031

Source: Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout*, pl. X [C]. PM III, 618.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ihy near Pyramid of Unis, Saqqara. Room III.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men building an offering chest.

(507)



Catalog Cx0032

Source: Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout*, pl.

XVI [C]. PM III, 619.

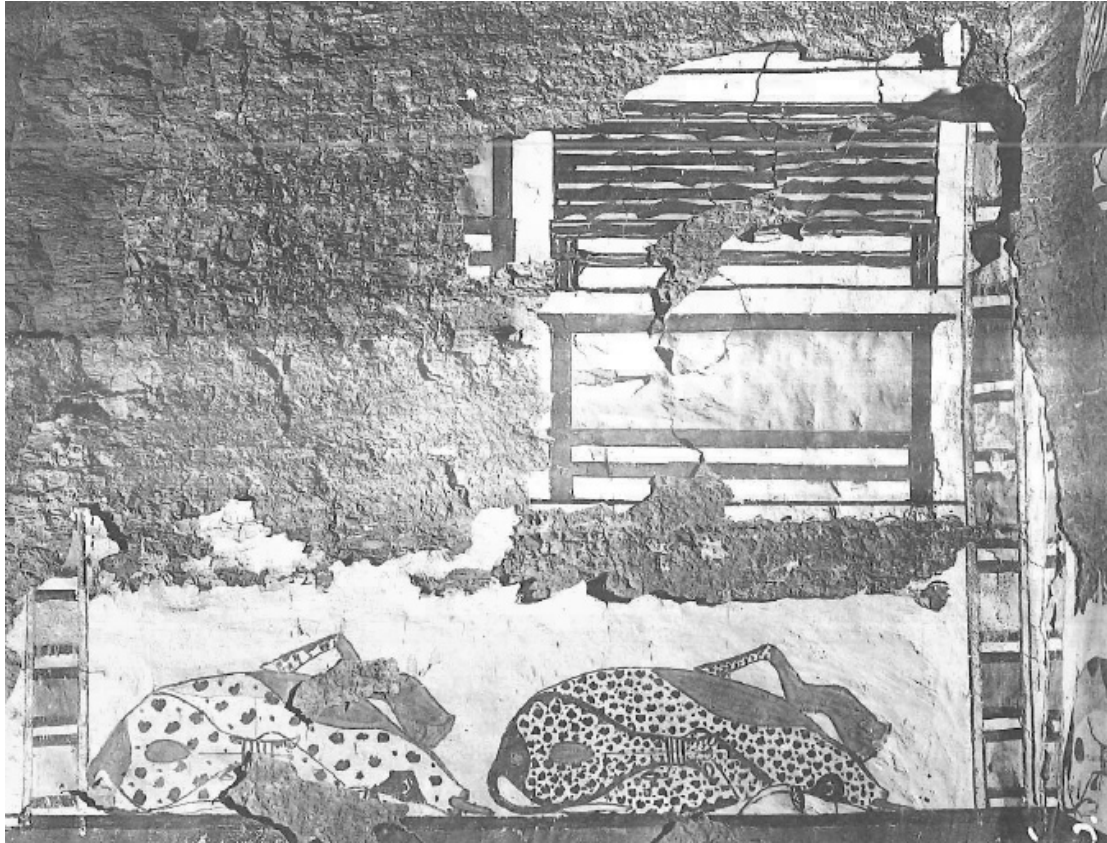
Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ihry near Pyramid of Unis,

Saqqara. Room V.

Context: Funerary

Description: Four offering chests.



Catalog Cx0033

Source: Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout*, pl. XXIII [B]. PM III, 619.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ihy near Pyramid of Unis, Saqqara. Burial Chamber.

Context: Funerary

Description: Three offering chests with two different designs.



Catalog Cx0034

Source: Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout*, pl. XXVI [lower]. PM III, 619.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ihry near Pyramid of Unis, Saqqara. Burial Chamber.

Context: Funerary

Description: Four *stt* chests.



Catalog Cx0035

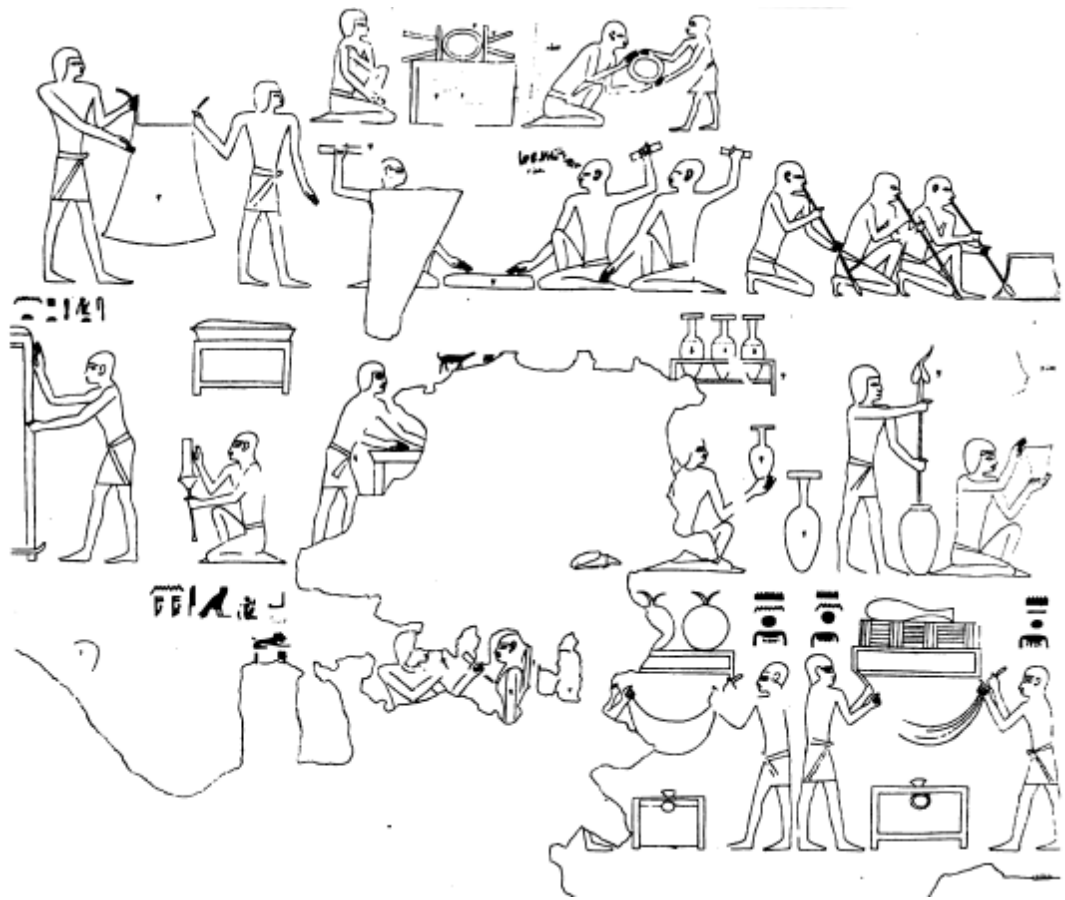
Source: Saad, *ASAE* 43 (1943), fig XXXIX [B]. PM III, 607.

Date: Late Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereri, Saqqara.

Context: Funerary

Description: Dwarf carrying a chest.



Catalog Cx0036

Source: Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, part I, pl. XXIV. PM IV, 244.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ibi (Tomb 8), Deir el Gebrawi. Shrine.

Context: Funerary

Description: Workshop with chests displayed in profile and end on.



Catalog Cx0037

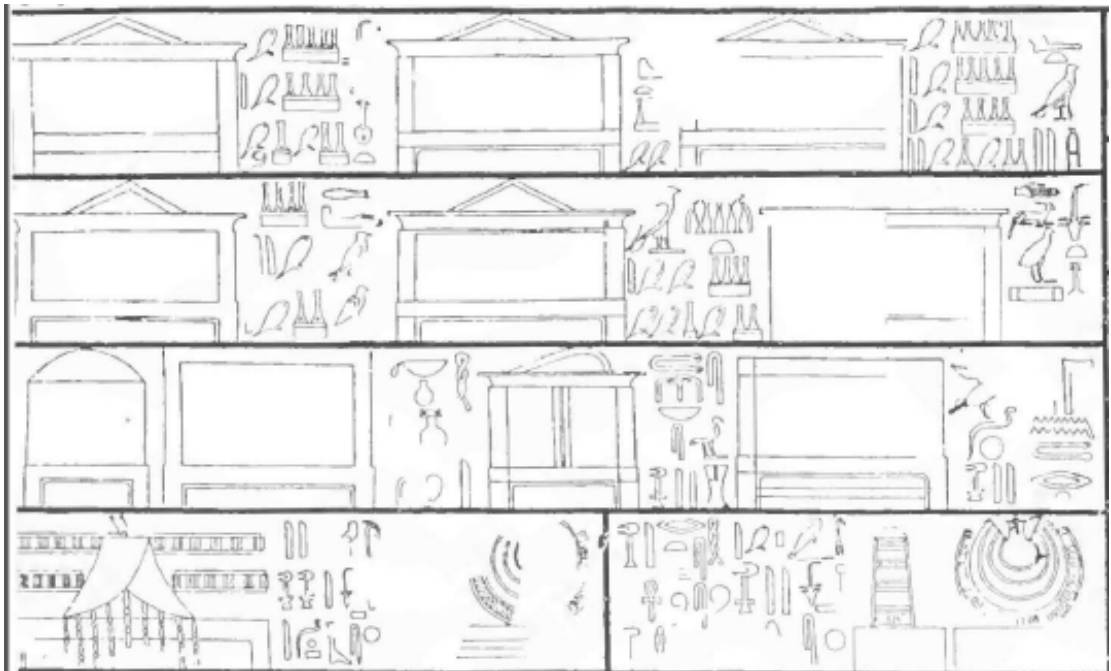
Source: Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, part I, pl. XXV. PM IV, 244.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ibi (Tomb 8), Deir el Gebrawi.

Context: Funerary

Description: Workshop with a chest displayed to the right of tanners and above a pair of stone cutters.



Catalog Cx0038

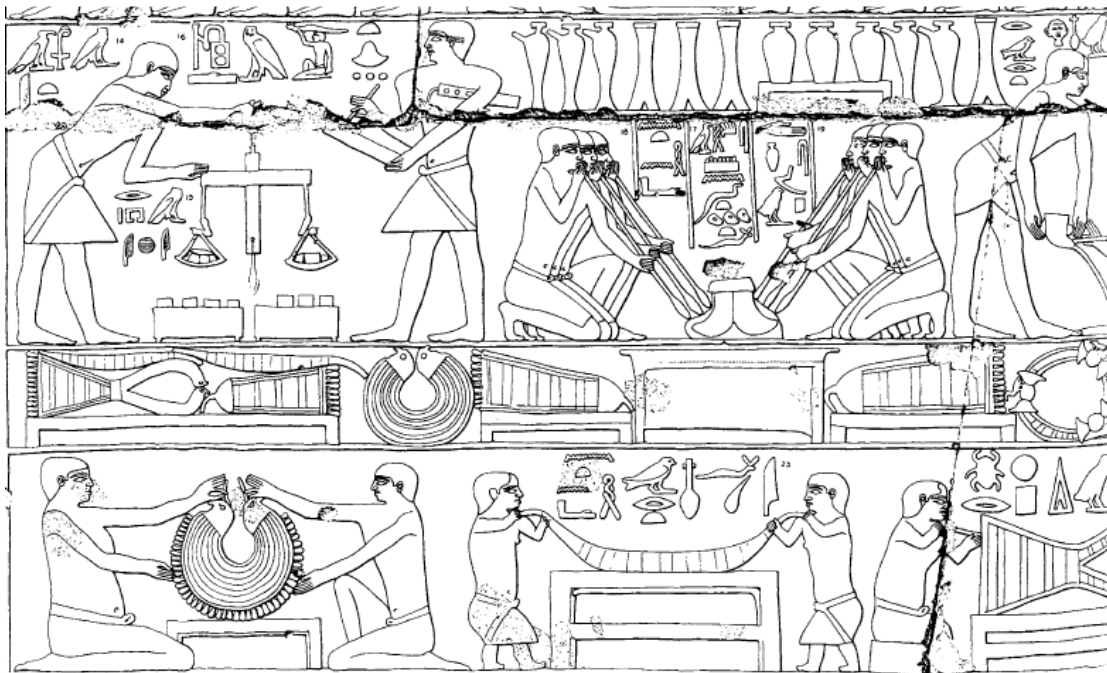
Source: Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. III. PM V, 110.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Meni, Denderah.

Context: Funerary

Description: Chests depicted on the side of Mena's sarcophagus. The chests contained garments and sacred oils.



Catalog Cx0039

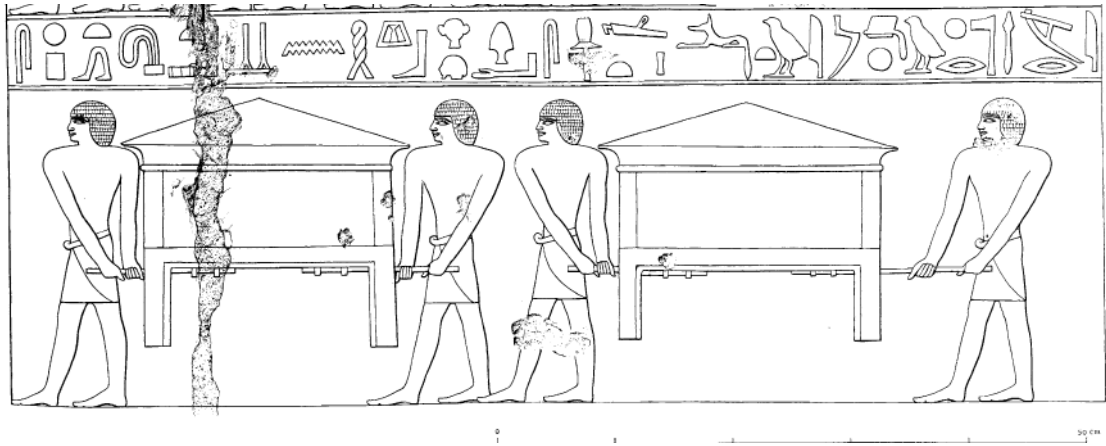
Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, part I, pl. 30. PM III, 528.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A3, east wall, scene 2.

Context: Funerary

Description: A workshop of goldsmiths. A chest is in the centre register with a flat corniced lid among grave goods.



Catalog Cx0040

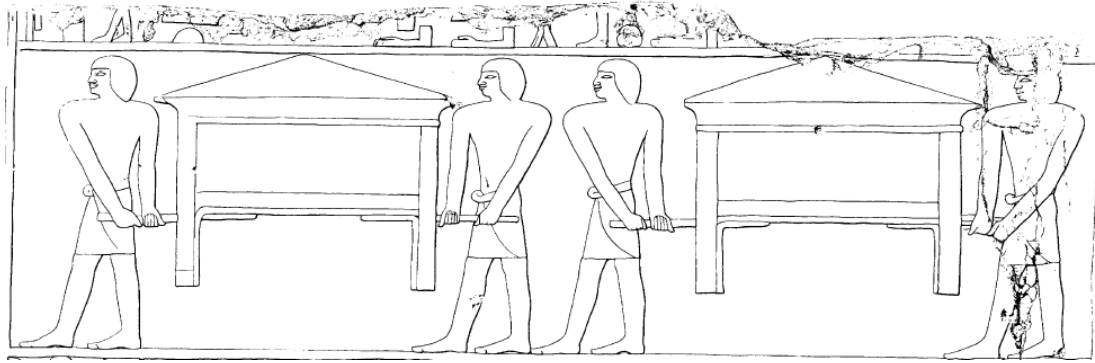
Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, part I, pl. 69. PM III, 530.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A9, south wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: A procession of goods given by the king. Servants carrying linen chests on poles.



Catalog Cx0041

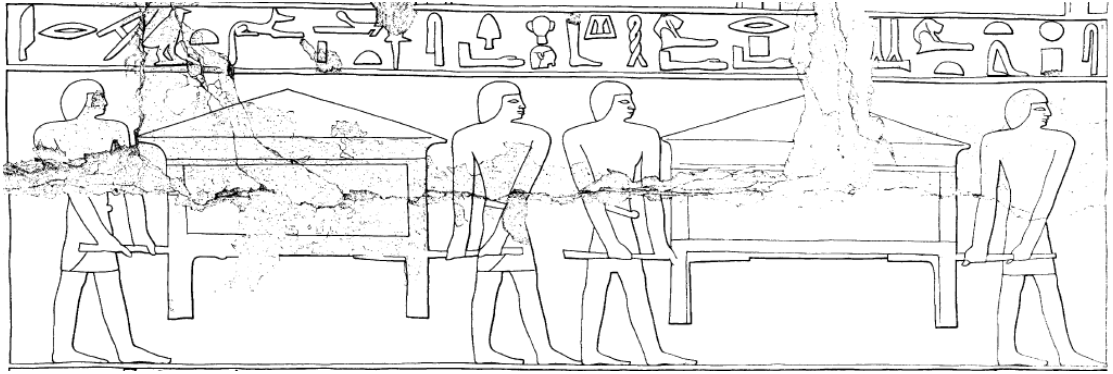
Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, part I, pl. 70. PM III, 530.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A9, west wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Servants carrying linen chests on poles.



Catalog Cx0042

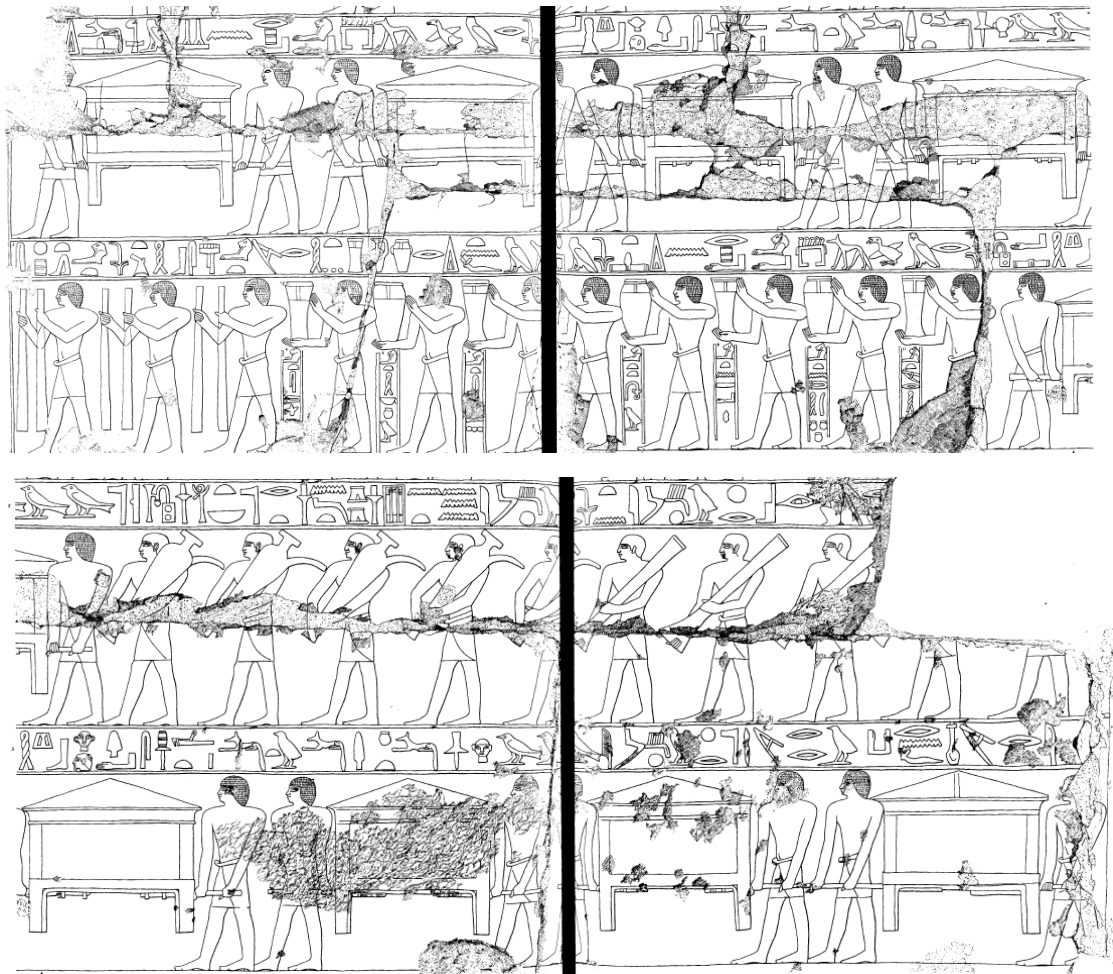
Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, part I, pl. 74. PM III, 530.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A9, east wall, scene 1.

Context: Funerary

Description: Servants carrying linen chests on poles.



Catalog Cx0043

Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, part I, pl. 75 & 76. PM III, 530.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A9, east wall, scene 3.

Context: Funerary

Description: Servants carrying linen chests on poles.



Catalog Cx0044

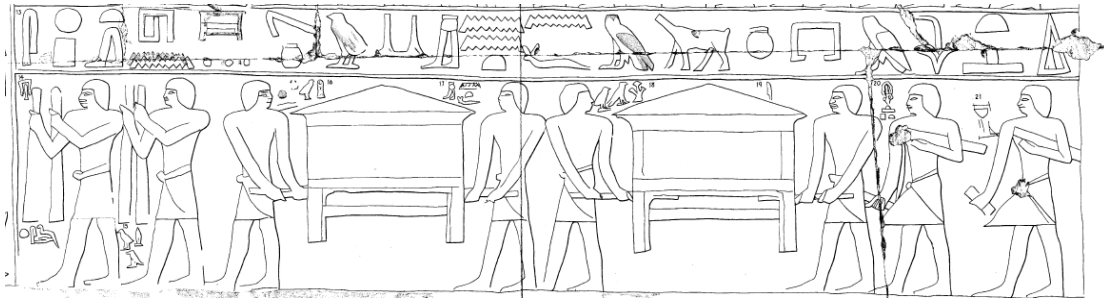
Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, part I, pl. 95. PM III, 530.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A10, west wall, scene 3.

Context: Funerary

Description: Tomb owner seated on a bed with funerary goods and chests beneath him. The text between the furnishing labels the goods as “gold, every kind of oil, and clothing.”



Catalog Cx0045

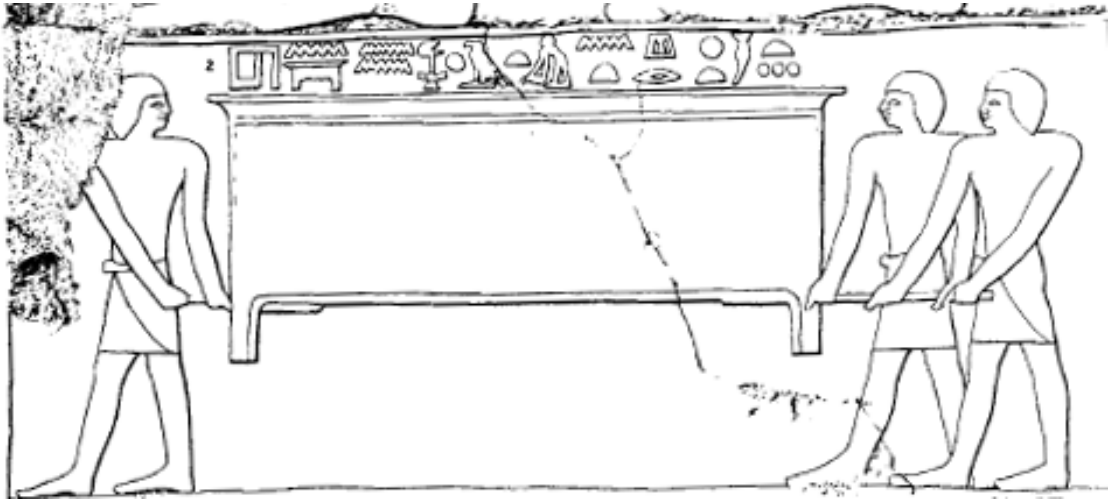
Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, part I, pl. 99. PM III, 530.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A10, west wall, scene 5.

Context: Funerary

Description: Servants carrying chests with garments in procession.



Catalog Cx0046

Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, part II, pl. 112. PM III, 531.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A12, west wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Three men carrying a flat topped chest containing sweet things.



Catalog Cx0047

Source: Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family*, part II, pl. 69. PM

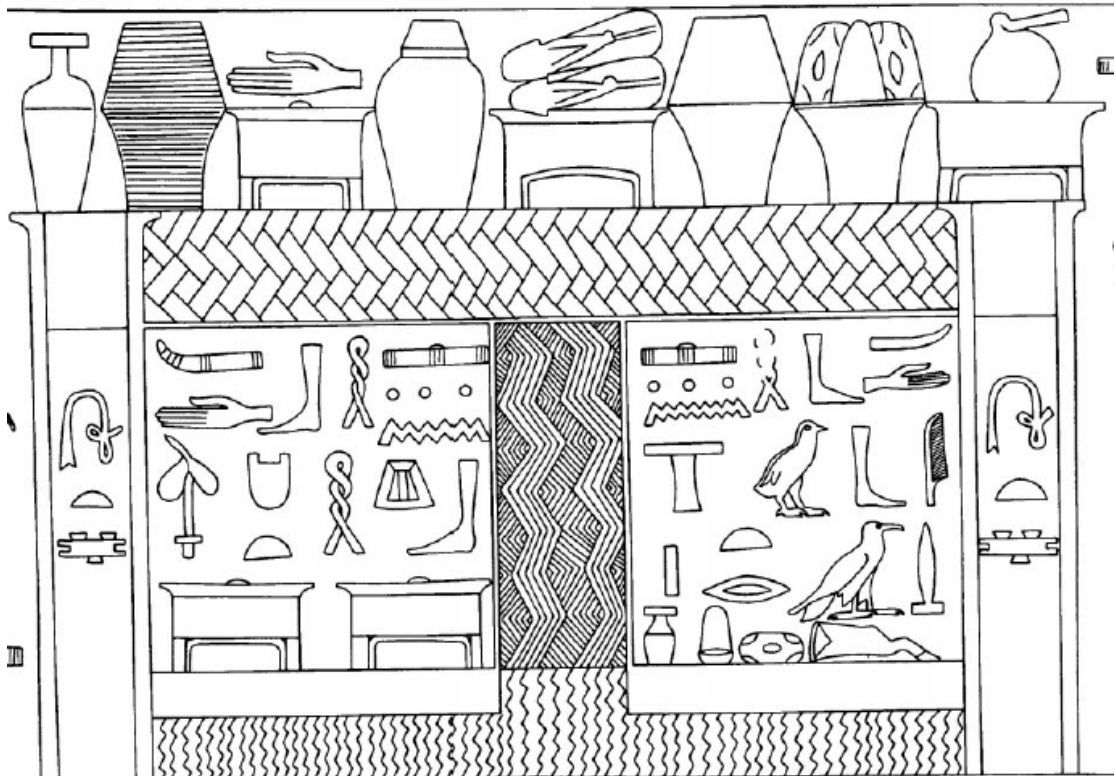
III, 535.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Waatetkhethor, Saqqara. Chamber B5, north wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Watetkhethor being carried on a palanquin. Men in the bottom register carrying incense and varnish in chests.



Catalog Cx0048

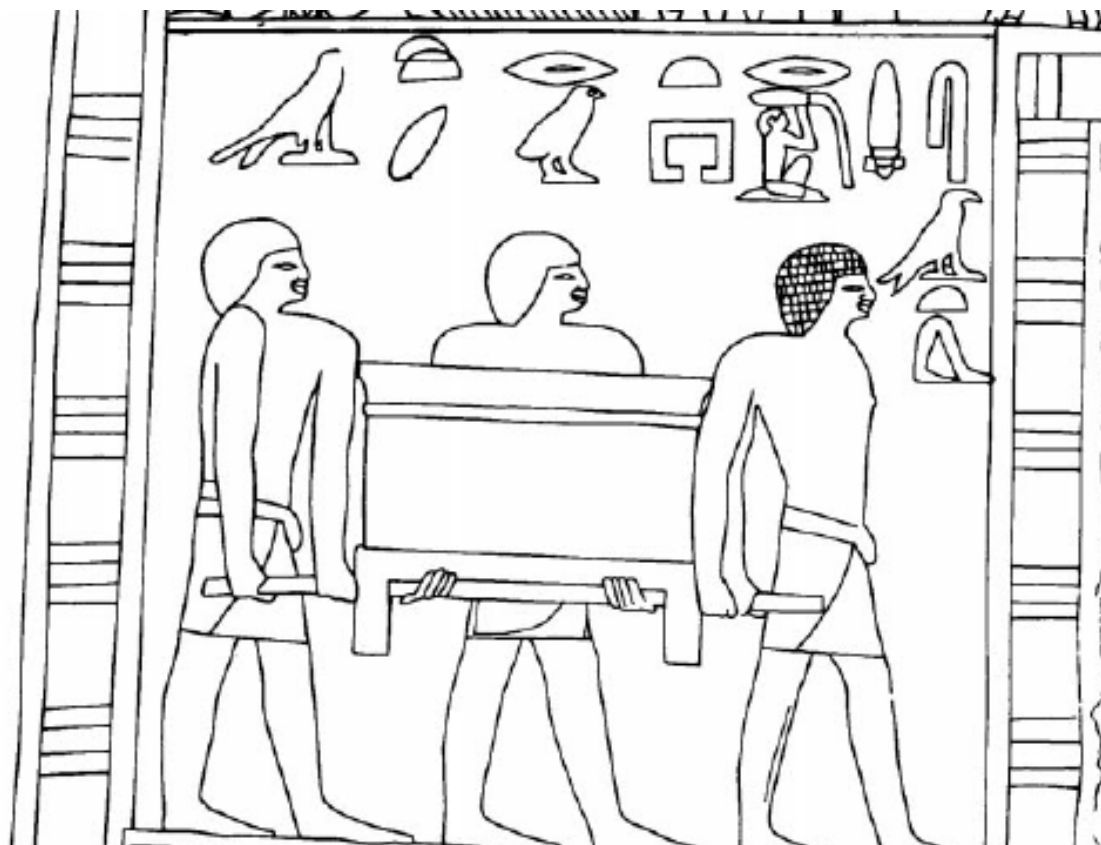
Source: Simpson, *Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, fig. 24. PM III, 186.

Date: Pepy I, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Qar (G 7101), Giza Necropolis. Court C, south wall, lower half.

Context: Funerary

Description: A landscape map showing chests of funerary goods.



Catalog Cx0049

Source: Simpson, *Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, fig. 35. PM III, 186.

Date: Pepy I, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Idu (G 7102), Giza Necropolis. North wall, sides of entrance.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men carrying a chest with a corniced lid and legs on full-length poles. A third man supports the weight of the chest in the centre.



Catalog Cx0050

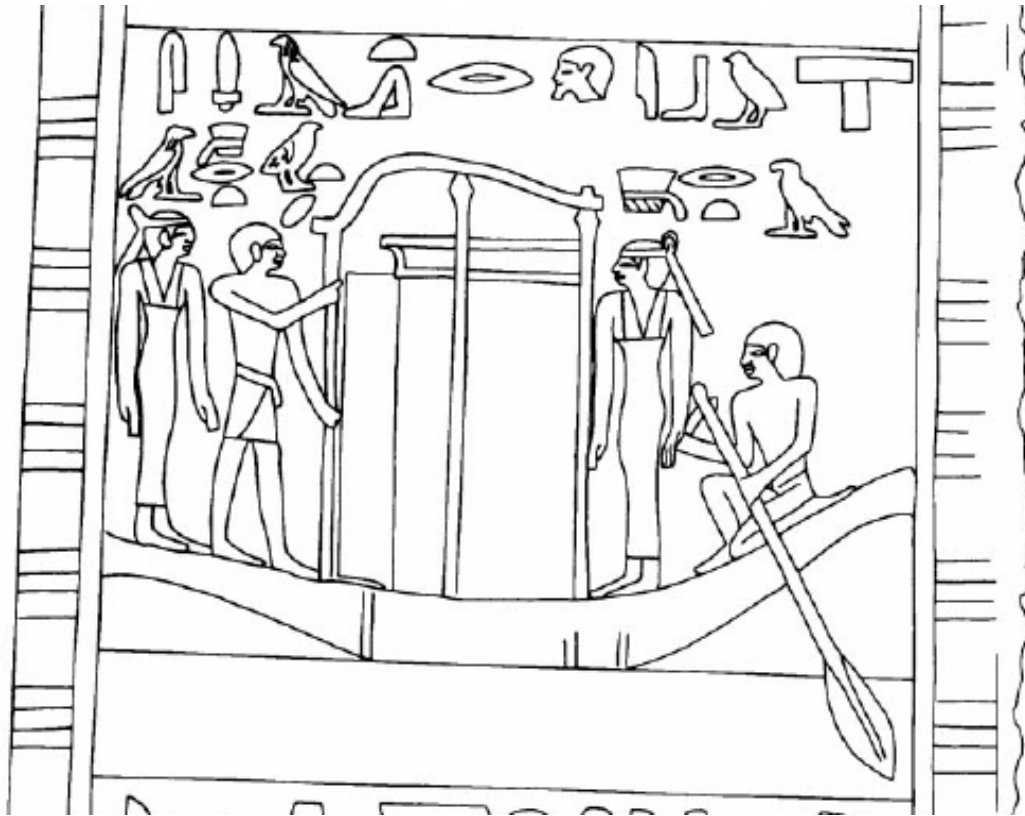
Source: Simpson, *Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, fig. 35. PM III, 186.

Date: Pepy I, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Idu (G 7102), Giza Necropolis. North wall, sides of entrance.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men carrying a chest with a corniced lid and legs on poles. A third man supports the weight of the chest in the centre.



Catalog Cx0051

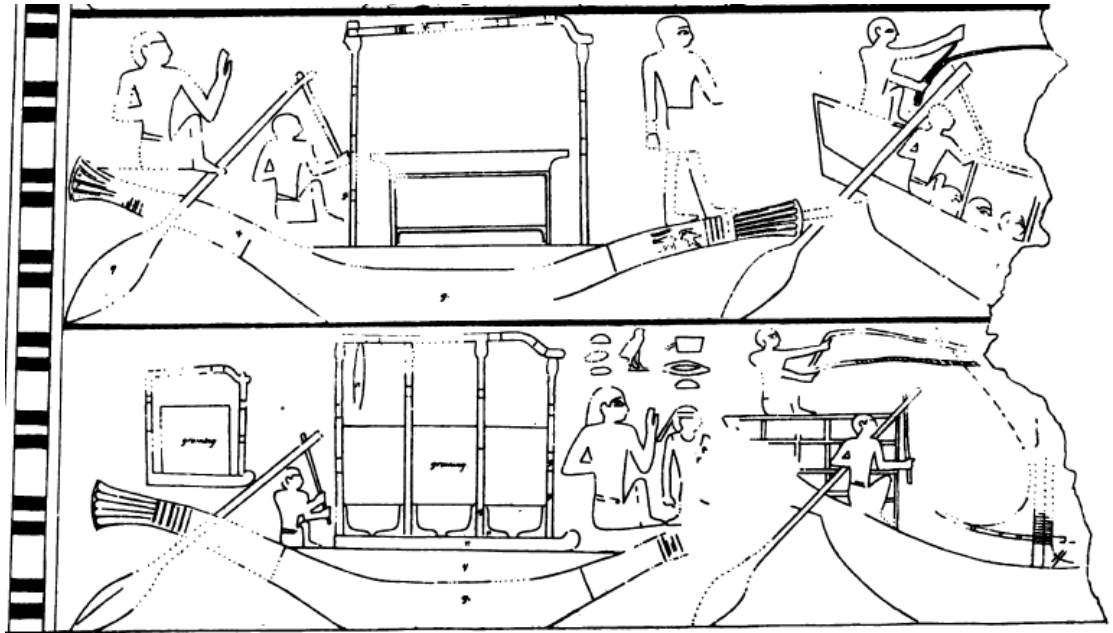
Source: Simpson, *Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, fig. 35. PM III, 186.

Date: Pepy I, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Idu (G 7102), Giza Necropolis. North wall, sides of entrance.

Context: Funerary

Description: A cabinet on a boat under a canopy, representing an early shrine cabinet. The mourners are labeled (*drt*).



Catalog Cx0052

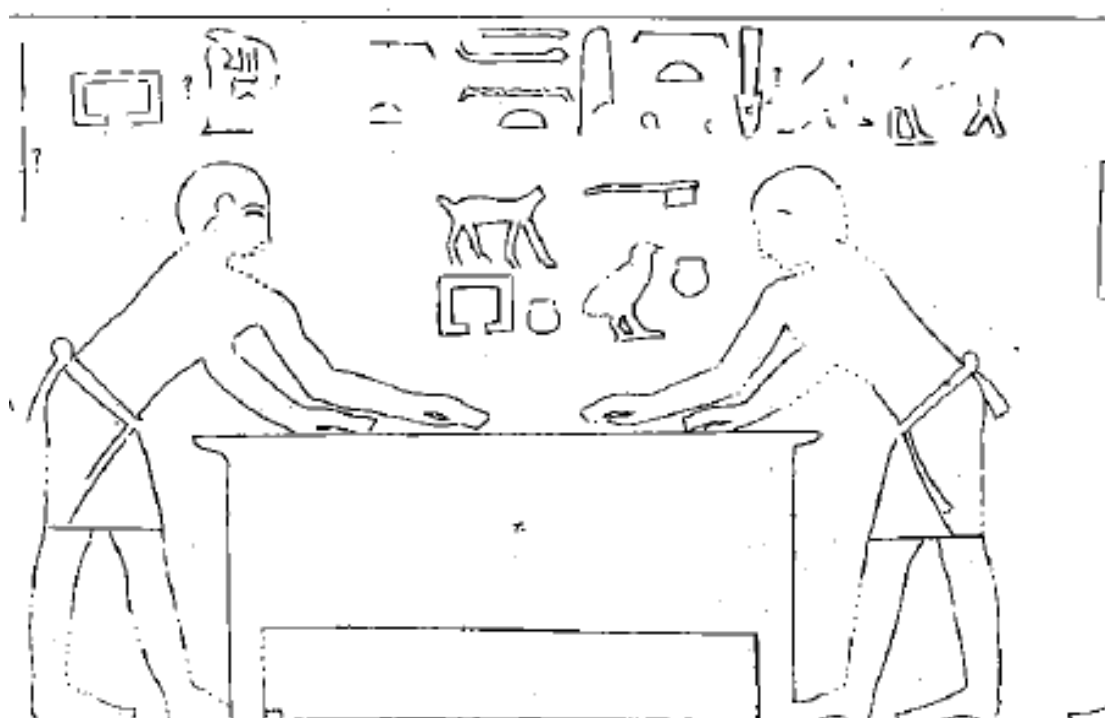
Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, part I, pl. X. PM IV, 244.

Date: Merenra or Pepy II, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ibi (Tomb 8), Deir el-Gebrawi. West wall, south portion.

Context: Funerary

Description: Funeral procession of Ibi involving several boats. In the top register is the funeral bier, and below is the canopic chest (left) and the coffin (middle), which is labeled *wt*, “sarcophagus.”



Catalog Cx0053

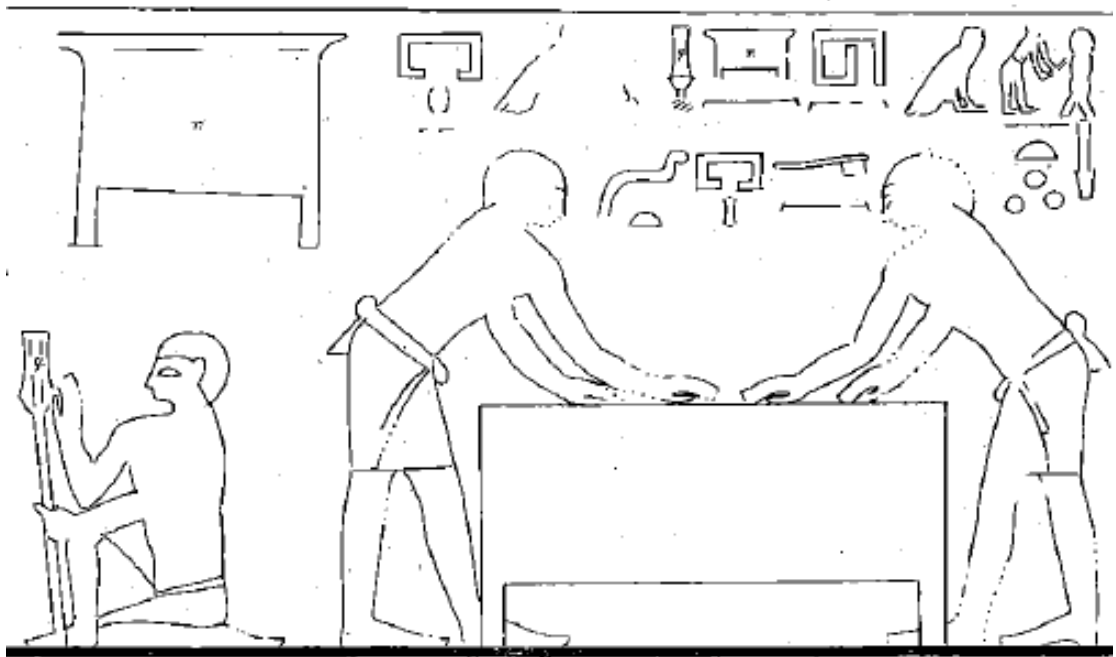
Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, part I, pl. XIV. PM IV, 244.

Date: Merenra or Pepy II, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ibi (Tomb 8), Deir el-Gebrawi. North wall, east side, upper registers.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men building a *itnt* chest. The caption reads *ḥw m sntr itnt nt [...]* *pr mdḥ nw ḥnnw*, “beating of varnish of the Itjnet of [...] house and hewing of the interior.”



Catalog Cx0054

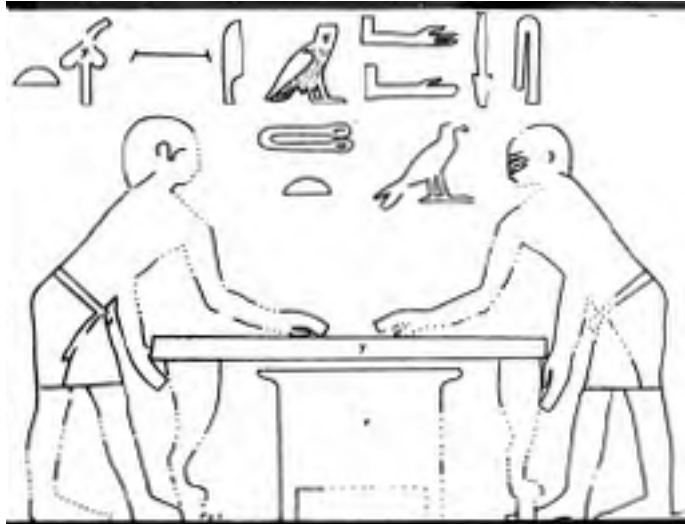
Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, part I, pl. XIV. PM IV, 244.

Date: Merenra or Pepy II, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ibi (Tomb 8), Deir el-Gebrawi. North wall, east side, upper registers.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men building a *hn* chest with a second unidentified chest in the upper left corner.



Catalog Cx0055

Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, part I, pl. XIV. PM IV, 244.

Date: Merenra or Pepy II, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ibi (Tomb 8), Deir el-Gebrawi. North wall, east side, upper registers.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men building a bed (*3tt*) with a small chest beneath it.



Catalog Cx0056

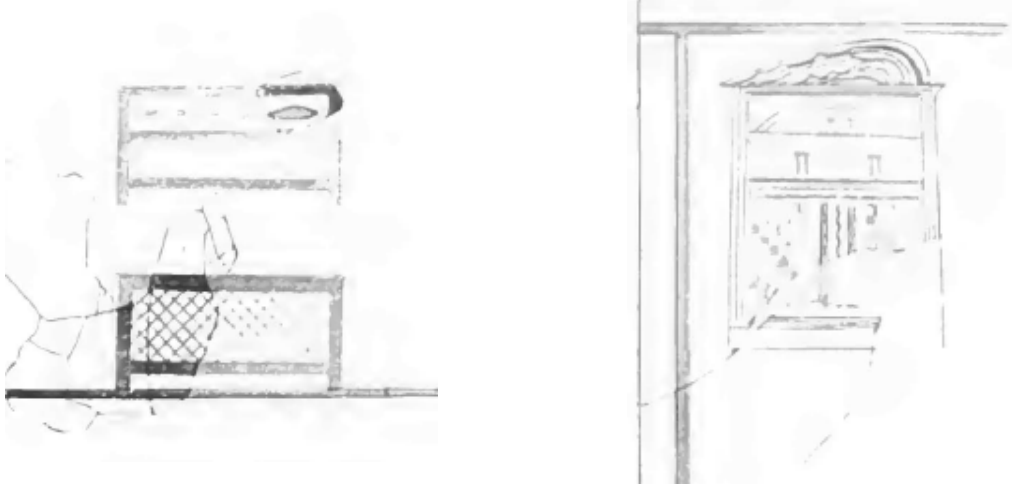
Source: Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari*, part I, pl. XX. PM II, 388-389.

Date: Mentuhotep II, Dynasty 11.

Locale: Sarcophagus of Kaut, Deir el Bahari.

Context: Funerary

Description: Depiction of a chest with vaulted lid containing jewelry.



Catalog Cx0057

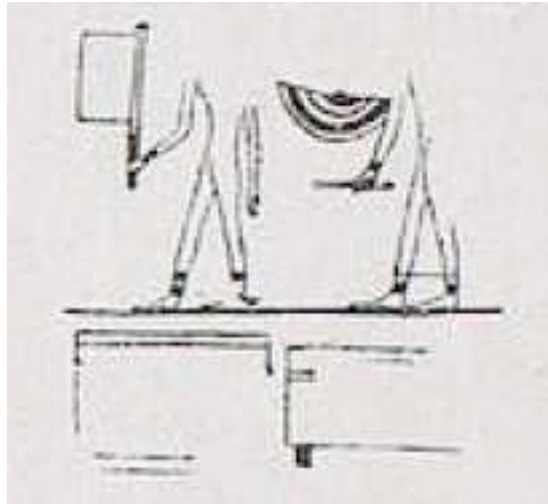
Source: Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari*, Part I, pl. XXII. PM II, 390.

Date: Mentuhotep II, Dynasty 11.

Locale: Sarcophagus of Kemsh, Deir el Bahari.

Context: Funerary

Description: Partial painting of a pair of chests and a shrine cabinet.



Catalog Cx0058

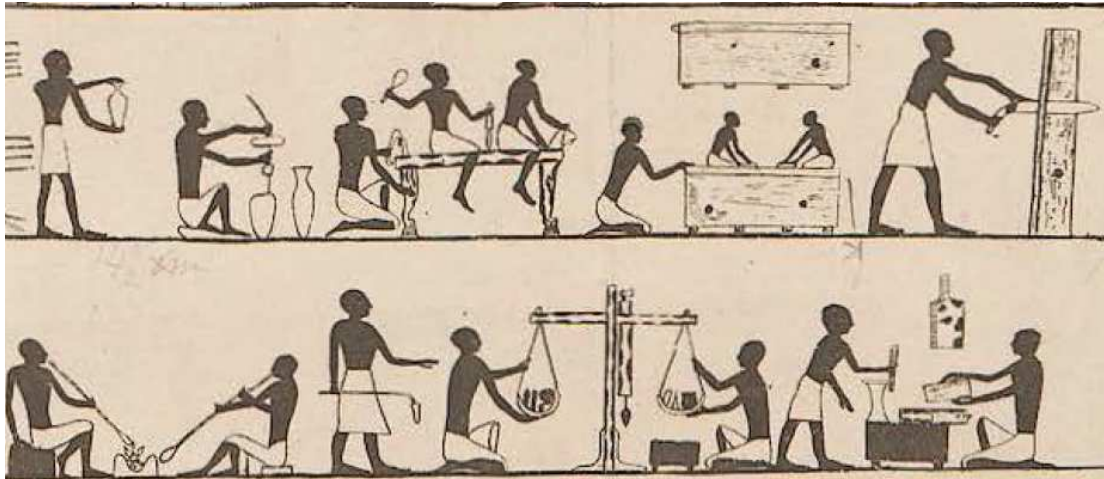
Source: Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, part. I, pl. XLVI. PM IV, 149.

Date: Amenemhat I, Dynasty 12.

Locale: Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Tomb 14), Beni Hassan. North wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two chests portrayed below six soldiers. The chest to the right has legs.



Catalog Cx0059

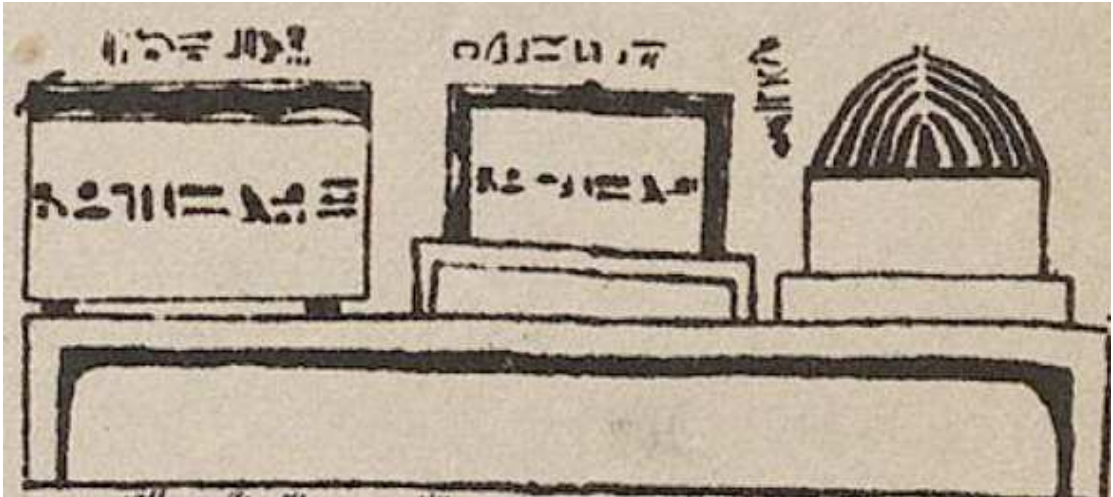
Source: Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, part I, pl. XI. PM IV, 141.

Date: Senwosret I, Dynasty 12.

Locale: Tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb 2), Beni Hassan. Main chamber, west wall, north side.

Context: Funerary

Description: Carpenters working on a wood chest or coffin.



Catalog Cx0060

Source: Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, part I, pl. XIII. PM IV, 142.

Date: Senwosret I, Dynasty 12.

Locale: Tomb of Amenemhat (Tomb 2), Beni Hassan. Main chamber, north wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Three chests portrayed and labeled behind a large figure of Amenemhat. An errata to the inscriptions for the plates can be found on Newberry, p. 38. The labels from left to right read *shdt nt hbsw*, “a *shdt* of clothes”; *pr-w^cb n h[b]ny*, “a *pr-w^cb* of e[bo]ny”; and *dwn ntyw*, “a *dwn* of myrrh”.



Catalog Cx0061

Source: Weill, *RdE* 3 (1938), 168-169. PM V, 167. Picture by RMN, Musée du Louvre/Les frères Chuzeville.

Date: Amenemhat II, Dynasty 12.

Locale: Temple of Montu, Tod. Foundation deposit.

Context: Temple

Description: Four copper chests were found in a foundation deposit containing silver, gold, and lapis objects. Largest chest is 20 x 45 x 20 cm.



Catalog Cx0062

Source: Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, part I, pl. XXIX. PM IV, 148.

Date: Senwosret II, Dynasty 12.

Locale: Tomb of Khnumhotep III (Tomb 3), Beni Hassan. Main chamber, west wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Lector priest leading a shrine cabinet with a statue being dragged.

(538)



A



Catalog Cx0063

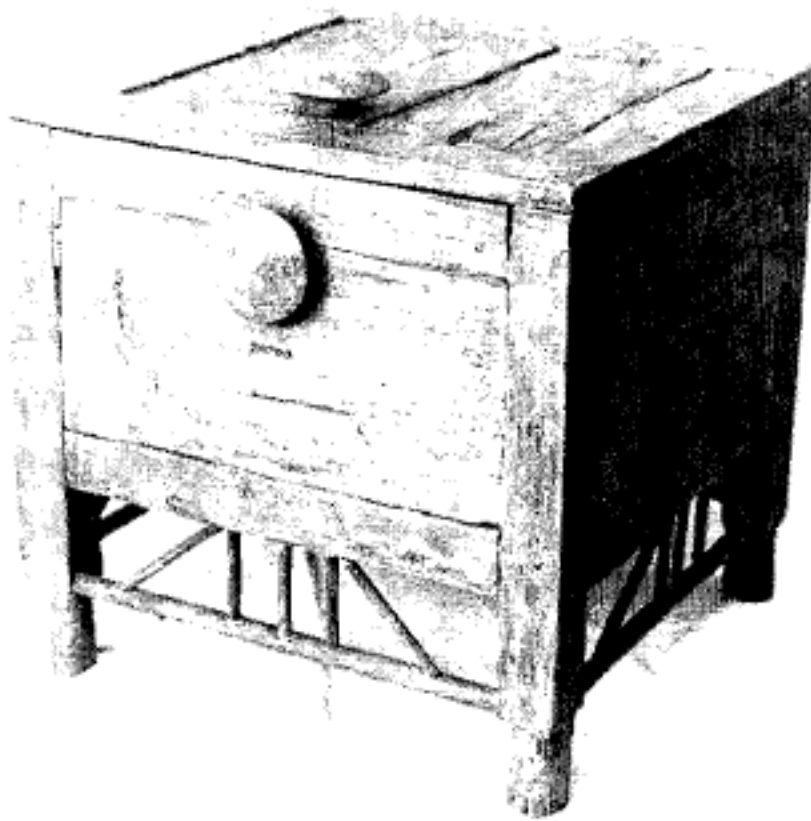
Source: Winlock, *The Treasure of El Lāhūn*, pl. I and pp. 12-22. PM IV, 109.

Date: Amenemhat III, Dynasty 12.

Locale: Tomb of Sat-Hathor-Ant, Lahun.

Context: Funerary

Description: A pair of jewel chests made of ebony with ivory inlays. The lower casket has braces under the long sides of wood sheathed in silver. The feet were clad in gold. Knobs were made of bronze. The upper casket contained oil jars.



Catalog Cx0064

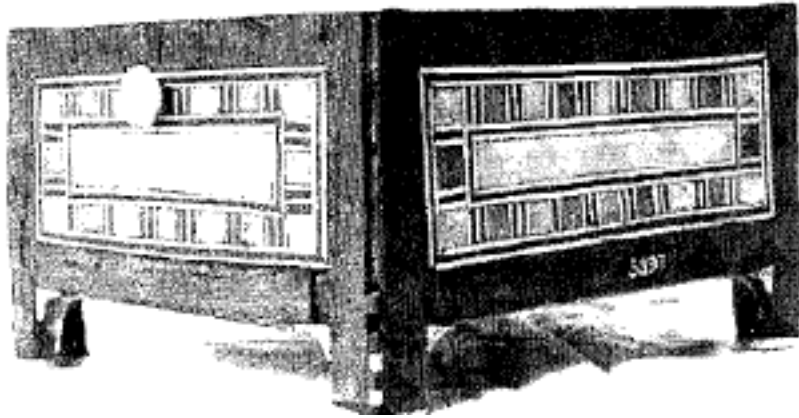
Source: Killen, *Egyptian Woodworking and Furniture*, fig. 60. British Museum,
24708. PM I, 838.

Date: Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Any, Thebes.

Context: Funerary

Description: Toilet box of lady Tutu.



Catalog Cx0065

Source: Killen, *Egyptian Woodworking and Furniture*, fig. 61. British Museum,
5897. PM I, 838.

Date: Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Any, Thebes.

Context: Funerary

Description: Toilet box of lady Tutu.



Catalog Cx0066

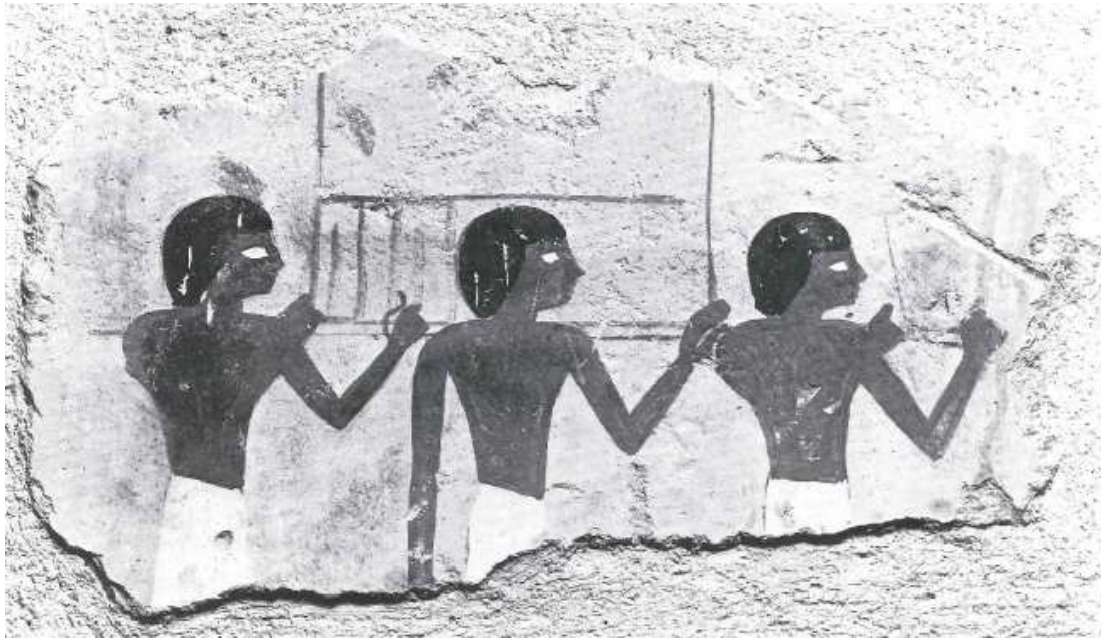
Source: Schott photo no. 7422. PM I, 339.

Date: Late Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Mosi (TT 254), Khokha.

Context: Funerary

Description: A storage chest (lower left) with a shrine-shaped lid.



Catalog Cx0067

Source: *Christie Sales Catalog*, June 14, 1978, no. 394, pl. 87.

Date: Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb wall painting.

Context: Funerary

Description: Three men carrying a chest.



Catalog Cx0068

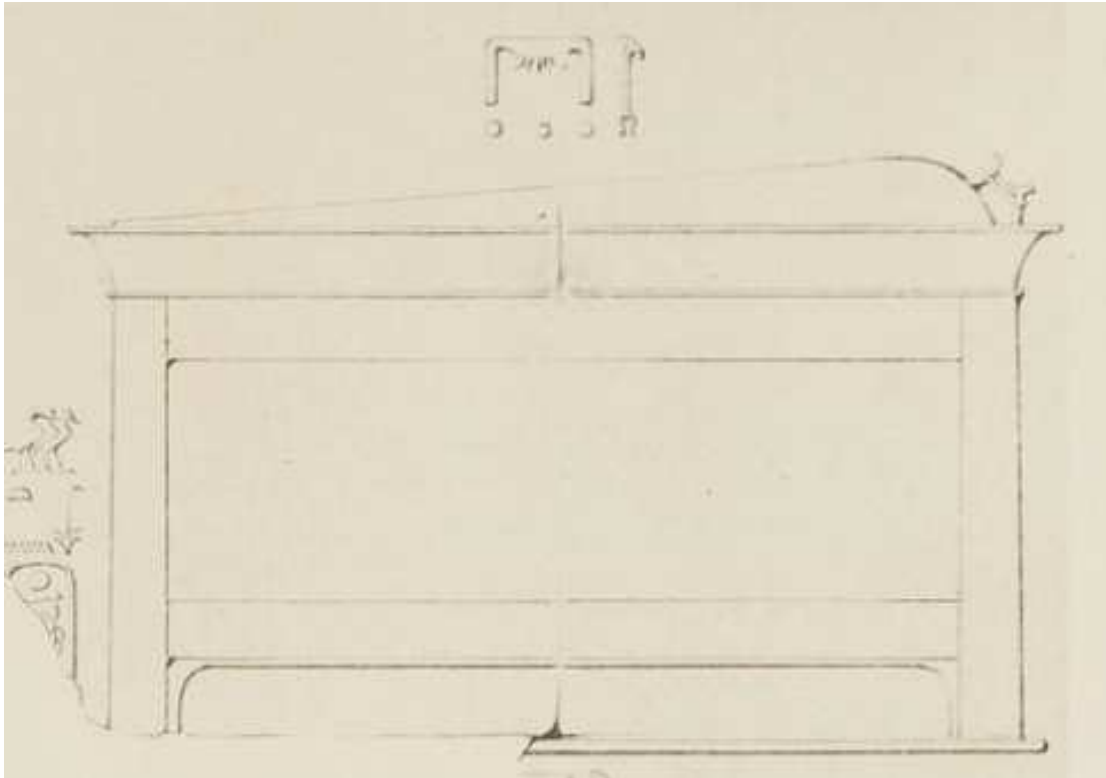
Source: Virey, *RecTrav* 20 (1898), fig 3. PM I, 200.

Date: Amenhotep II, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Sennufer (TT 96), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two different offering chests being carried.



Catalog Cx0069

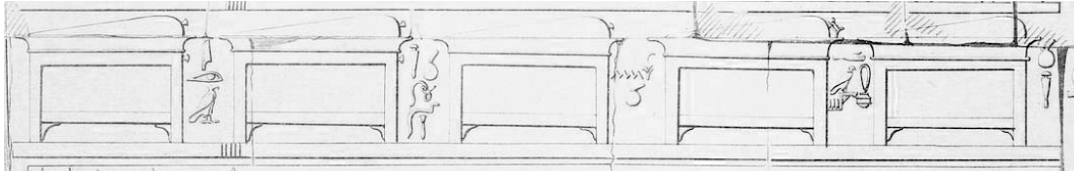
Source: Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part III, pl. LXXX. PM II, 346.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Deir el-Bahari. Middle colonnade, south wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The topmost of four ritual chests containing electrum (*dꜥm*). A tie is shown sealing the chest shut.



Catalog Cx0070

Source: Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part V, pl. CXXX. PM II, 361.

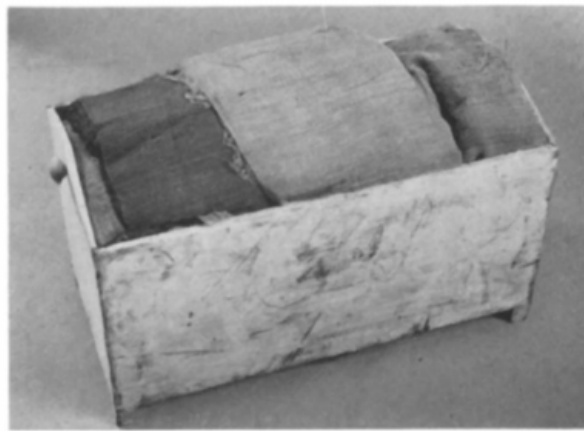
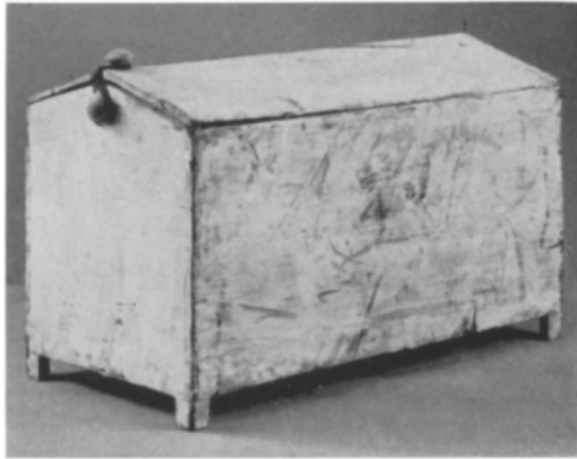
Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Deir el-Bahari. Chamber at south-west corner of upper court, entrance (Storeroom V).

Context: Temple

Description: Five chest that contain offerings including (from left to right), *irtyw* (“blue mineral”), *sšr-tp w3d* (“prime worked malachite”), *sšr-nsw* (“royal linen”), *dmi* (“clothing for a deity”), and *sšr-tp* (“prime things”).

(546)



Catalog Cx0071

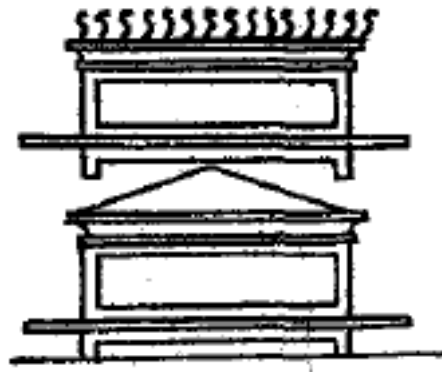
Source: Lansing and Hayes, *MMA Bulletin* 32 (1937), fig 37. PM I, 139.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Family Tomb of Senenmut (TT 71).

Context: Funerary

Description: Linen chest, lid mentions name of Minhotep, wab-priest and brother of Senenmut.



Catalog Cx0072

Source: Sethe, *Urk IV*, 630. PM II, 97.

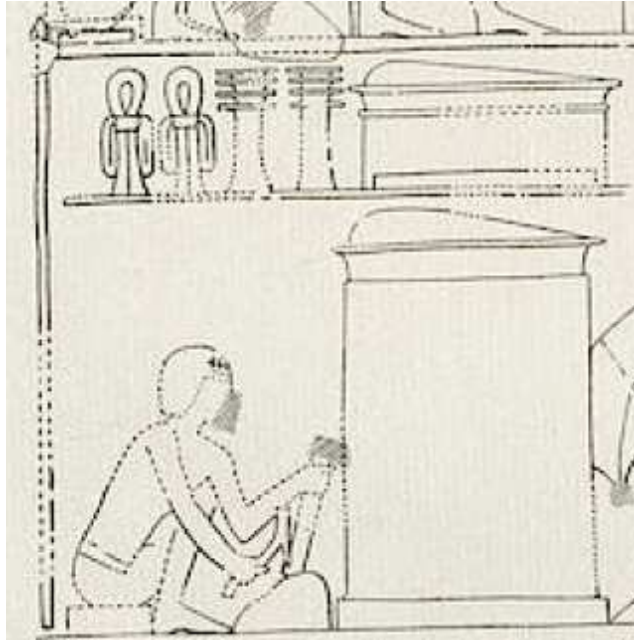
Date: Thutmosis III , Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Amun, Karnak. South court.

Context: Temple

Description: Votive offerings of the king to Amun-Re. Two chests are shown here: one with a peaked lid and one with a flat lid and uraeus frieze. Both chests have short legs, corniced lids, and poles that are full-length. Labeled *nbw pds n mnht*, “gold and chest of clothing.”

(548)



Catalog Cx0073

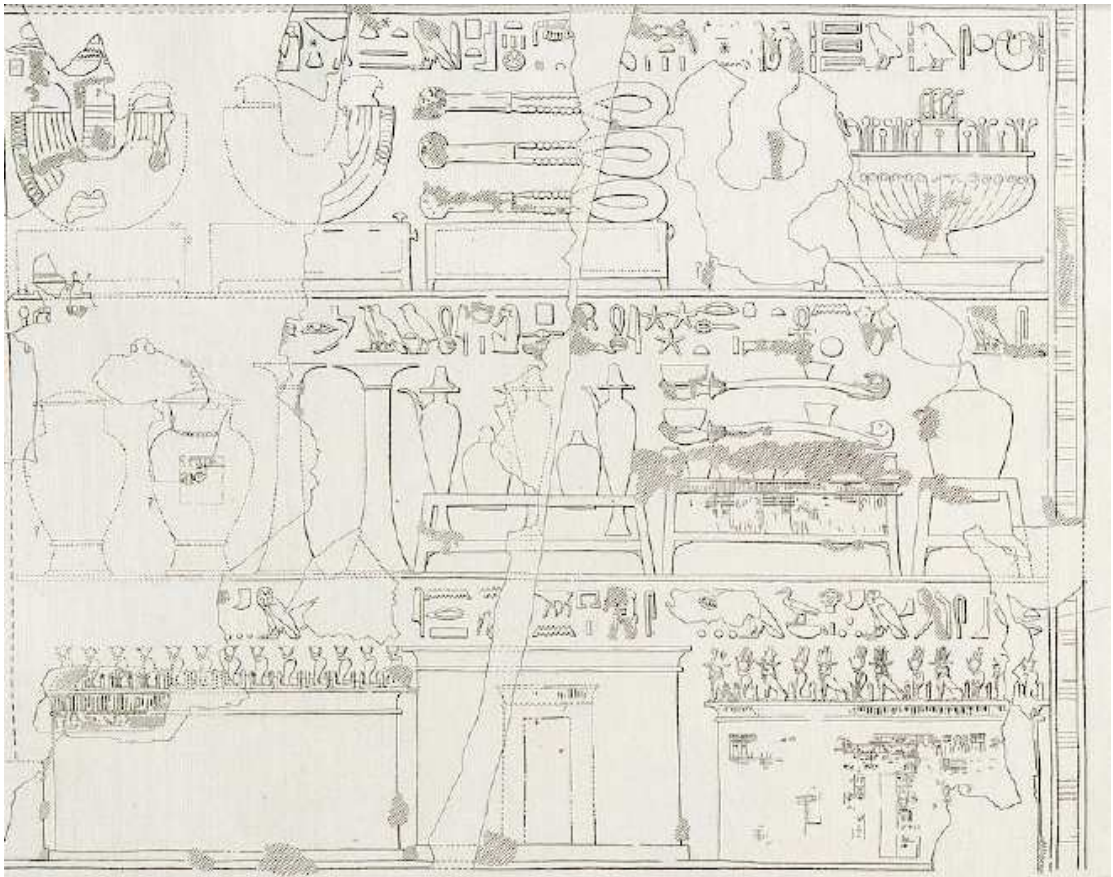
Source: Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê*, vol. I, pl. XXIII. PM I, 71.

Date: Thutmosis III , Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Puymire (TT 39). East wall, south side, lower scene.

Context: Funerary

Description: A chest among the grave goods portrayed in a workshop scene.



Catalog Cx0074

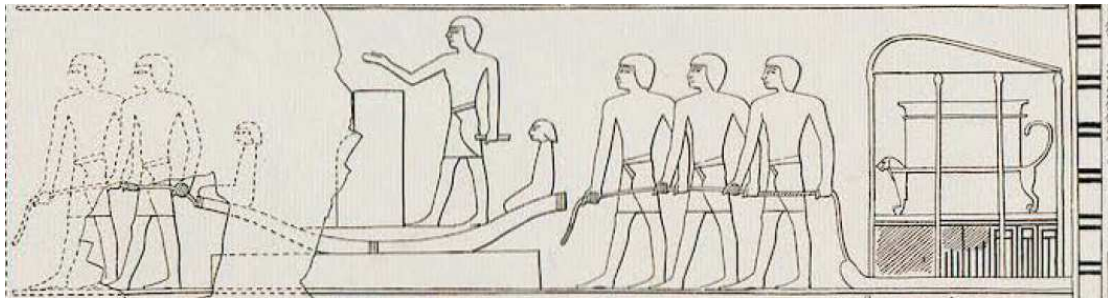
Source: Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê*, vol. I, pl. XXXVIII. PM I, 72.

Date: Thutmosis III , Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Puymire (TT 39). West wall, north of central doorway, upper scene.

Context: Funerary

Description: Three chests with twin handles and flat lids. Contents are displayed above the boxes.



Catalog Cx0075

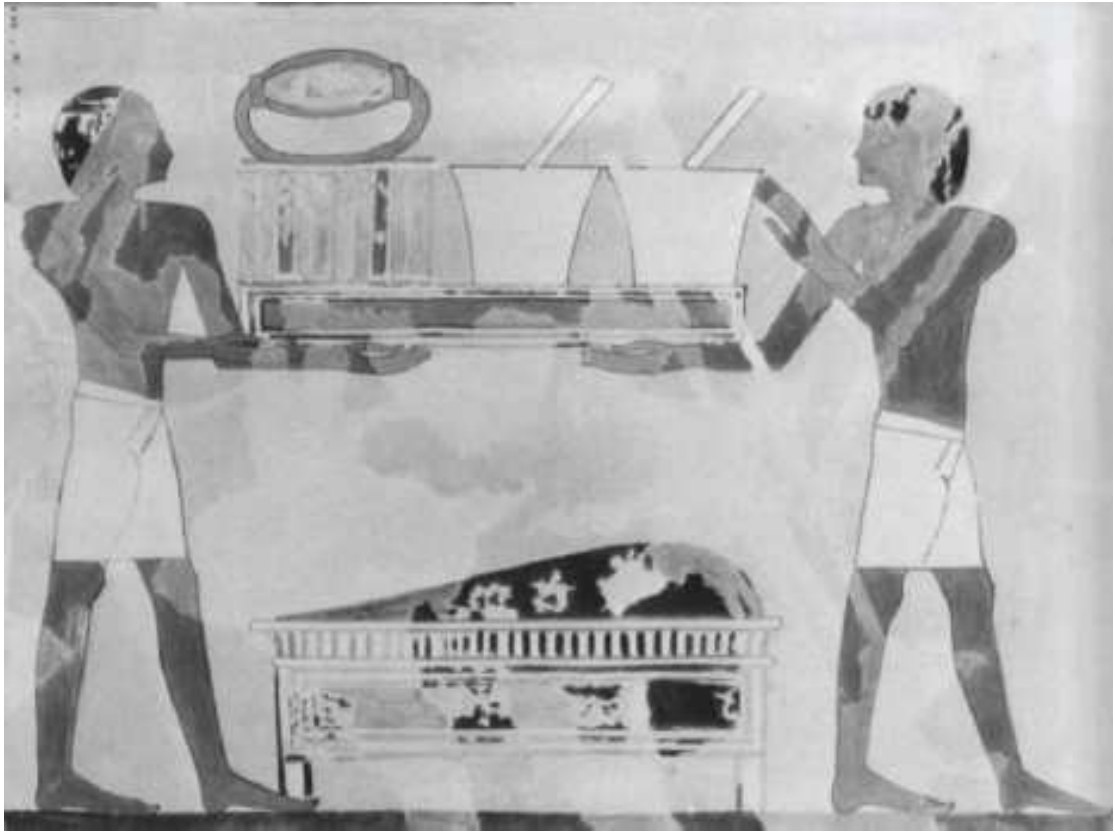
Source: Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê*, vol. II, pl. XLVII. PM I, 74.

Date: Thutmosis III , Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Puymire (TT 39). North chapel, north wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: A scene from the funeral procession with the funeral bier resting on a bed within a shrine.



Catalog Cx0076

Source: Wilkinson and Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, 84. PM I, 125.

Date: Thutmosis III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Amenemweskhet (TT 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Men carrying provisions past a chest.



Catalog Cx0077

Source: Teeter and Johnson, *The Life of Meresamun*, fig. 40. PM I, 179.

Date: Thutmosis III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Minnakht (TT 87).

Context: Funerary

Description: Two men carrying a chest with full-length poles.



Catalog Cx0078

Source: Wilkinson and Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, pl. 37. PM I, 209.

Date: Thutmosis III to Amenhotep II, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Men carrying chests for the funeral procession of Rekhmire.



Catalog Cx0079

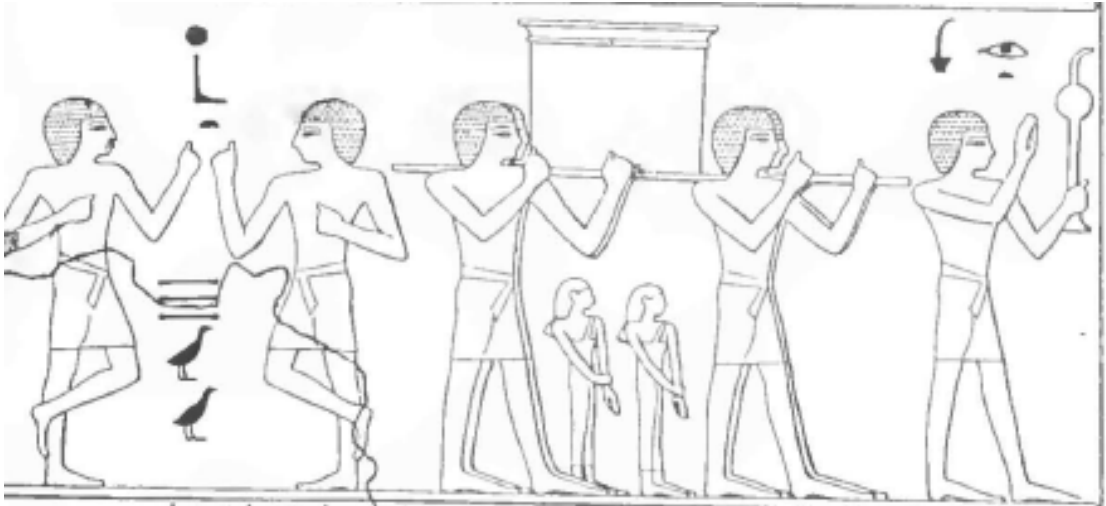
Source: Wilkinson and Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, pl. 58. PM I, 209.

Date: Thutmosis III to Amenhotep II, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Craftsman working on a cabinet with finished cabinet set above.



Catalog Cx0080

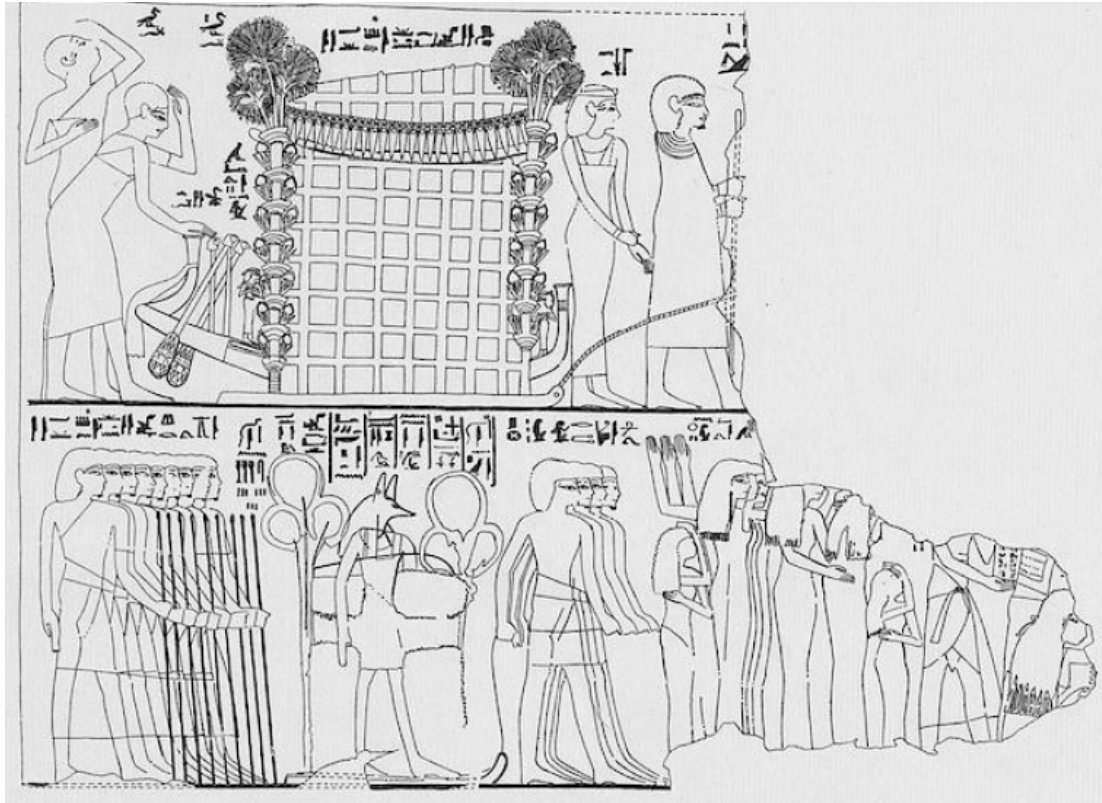
Source: Taylor and Griffith, *The Tomb of Pahari at El Kab*, pl. V. PM V, 180.

Date: Thutmosis III , Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Pahari (Tomb 3), El Kab. West wall, north end.

Context: Funerary

Description: Porters are carrying a chest on poles being led by a person censuring.



Catalog Cx0081

Source: Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, pl. XXXI. PM I, 104.

Date: Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Huy (TT 54), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: A funeral scene with deceased being dragged in a barque bier.



Catalog Cx0082

Source: Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. L. PM I, 135.

Date: ca. Thutmose IV, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Menna (TT 69), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Menna supervising grain harvest with a wooden chest for writing implements.



Catalog Cx0083

Source: Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, pl. XI. PM I, 288.

Date: Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III , Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Apuki and Nebamun (TT 181). South wall, east side, lower scene.

Context: Funerary

Description: Scene from a workshop. The bottom register shows two chests. The upper register shows a sphinx being crafted that may have been used on a lid.



Catalog Cx0084

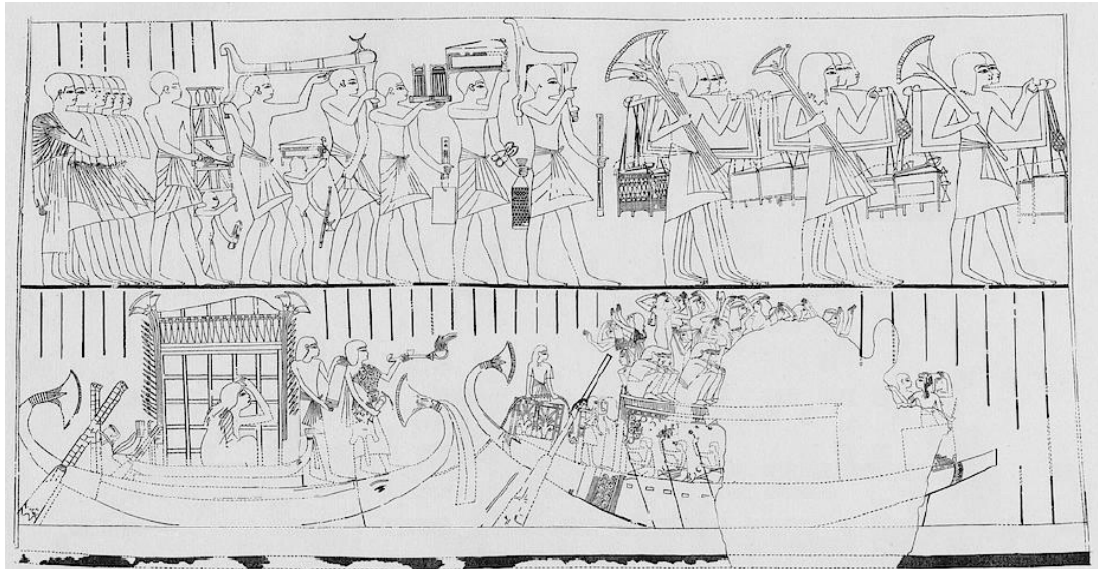
Source: Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, pl. XIV. PM I, 288.

Date: Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III , Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Apuki and Nebamun (TT 181). South wall, east side, lower scene.

Context: Funerary

Description: Scene from a carpenter's workshop with chests.



Catalog Cx0085

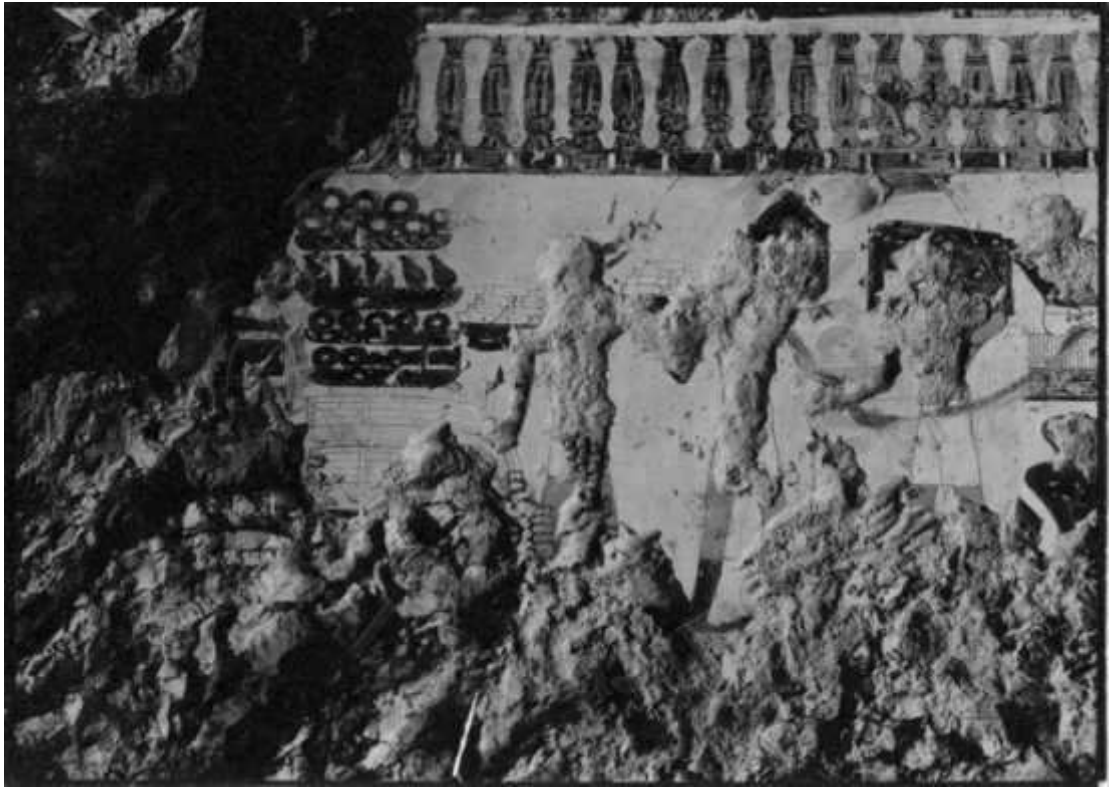
Source: Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, pl. XXIV. PM I, 287.

Date: Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Apuki and Nebamun (TT 181). West wall, lower registers.

Context: Funerary

Description: Funeral scene with a chest being carried in the upper register and a barque bier in the lower register.



Catalog Cx0086

Source: Schott photo 4866. PM I, 352.

Date: Thutmose IV (?), Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Amenemopet (TT 276), Quret Mura`i. Hallway.

Context: Funerary

Description: Nubian tribute with basket of gold rings and chests.



Catalog Cx0087

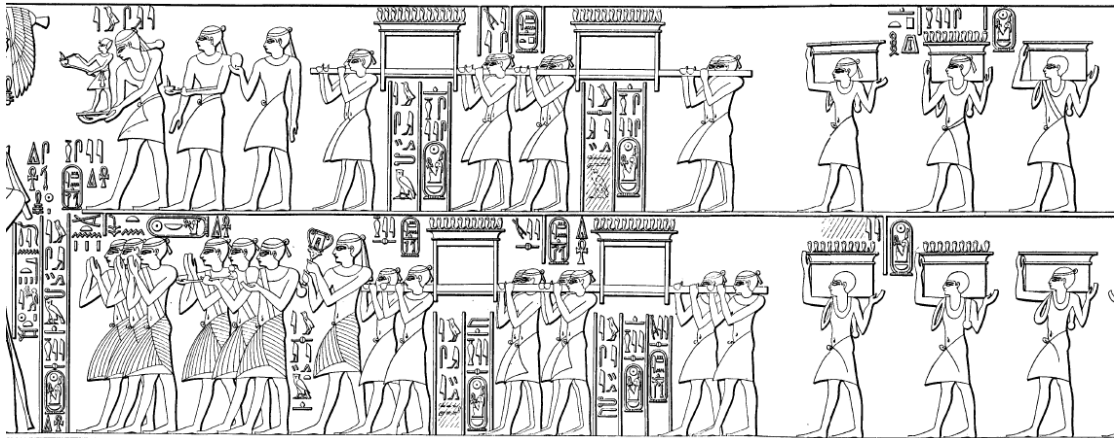
Source: Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. LXVII. BM 37978. PM I, 817.

Date: Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale:

Context: Funerary

Description: Scribe with two chests for writing materials recording a delivery of geese.



Catalog Cx0088

Source: Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, pl. XXXV. PM II, 321.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Sanctuary, second antechamber.

Context: Temple

Description: King leading a procession of offerings. Offering bearers are carrying chests, some of which were on poles and have uraeus friezes.



Catalog Cx0089

Source: Werbrouck, *Les pleureuses dans l'Égypte ancienne*, pl. XXXVI. PM III,
705.

Date: Probably Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Stela of Merymery.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque bier being carried.



Catalog Cx0090

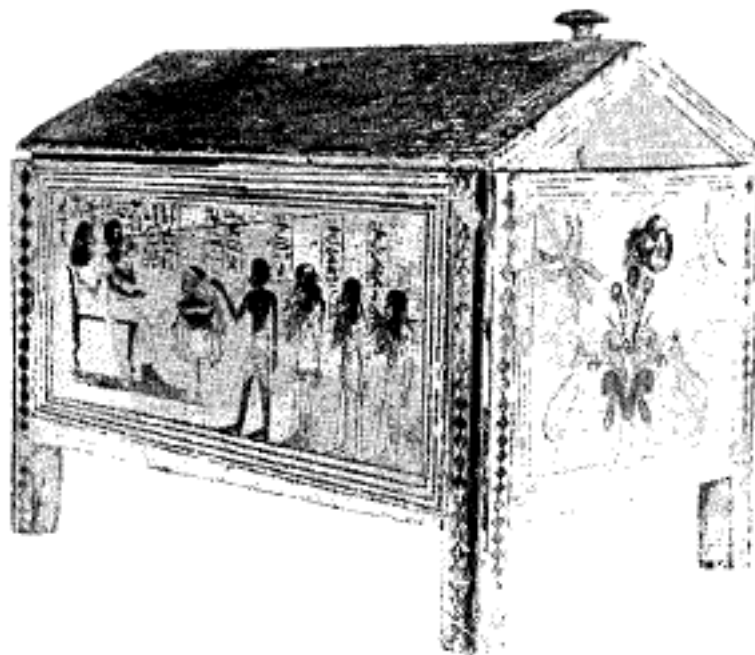
Source: Werbrouck, *Les pleureuses dans l'Égypte ancienne*, pl. XXXVI. PM III, 705.

Date: Probably Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Stela of Merymery.

Context: Funerary

Description: (Canopic?) chest being carried.



Catalog Cx0091

Source: Killen, *Egyptian Woodworking and Furniture*, fig. 58 and p. 50. Durham

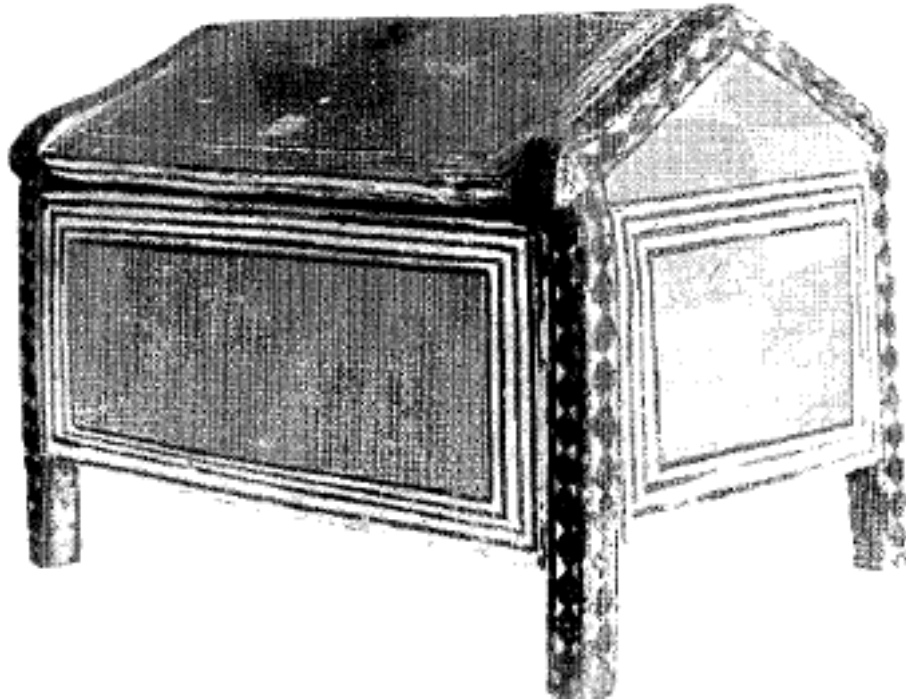
University Oriental Museum, 1460. PM I, 838.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Perpare, Thebes.

Context: Funerary

Description: Chest with a lid that slides along runners that when shut are locked into place by a latch that prevents the chest from being reopened. On the side panel, an offering is being presented to the deceased.



Catalog Cx0092

Source: Killen, *Egyptian Woodworking and Furniture*, fig. 59 and p. 51. Durham

University Oriental Museum, 1459. PM I, 838.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Perpare, Thebes.

Context: Funerary

Description: Chest with two handles, one at the centre of each panel of the peaked lid, painted with plaster and black lines with lozenge patterns.



Catalog Cx0093

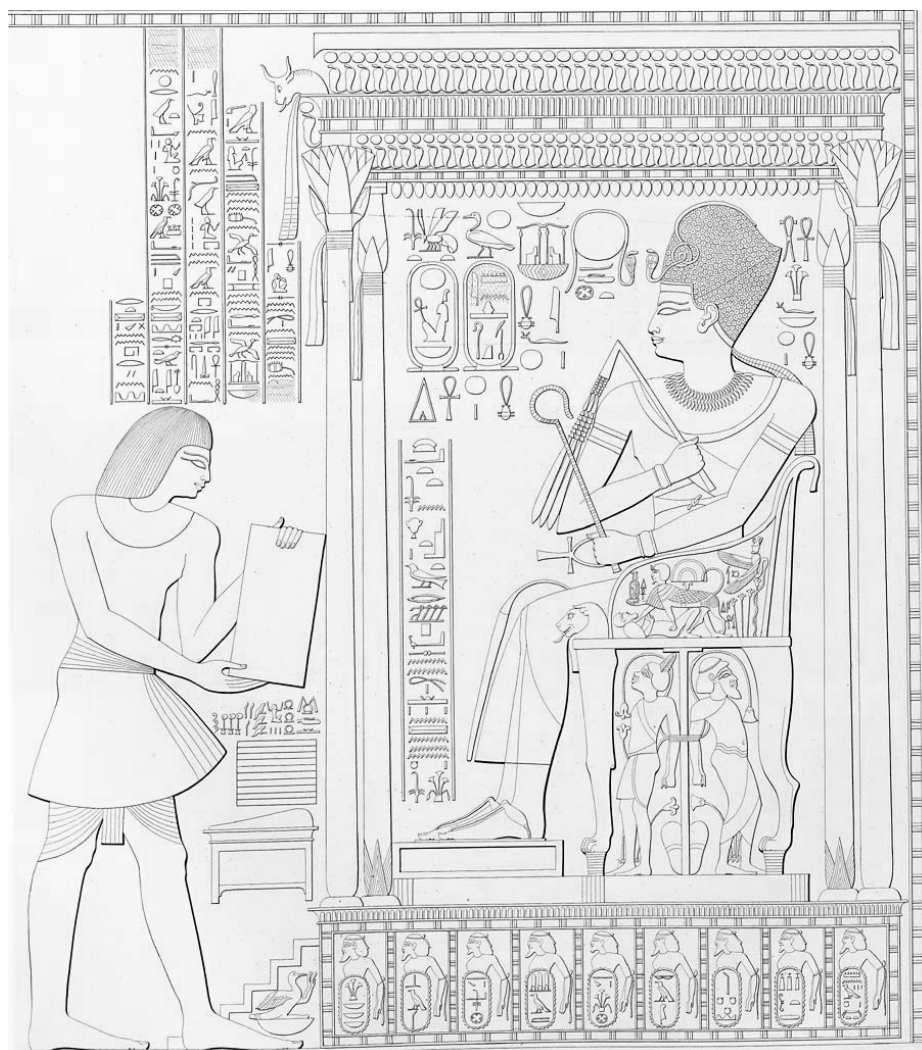
Source: Nims, *Tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 34. PM I, 298.

Date: Amenhotep III to Akhenaten, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Kheruef (TT 192). West portico, south of doorway, lower registers, long scene at south.

Context: Funerary.

Description: Dancers performing before an enthroned Amenhotep III. A shrine cabinet is before the dancers.



Catalog Cx0094

Source: LD III, 77c. PM I, 115.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Amenhotep III seated in a pavilion with a double uraeus frieze upon a stationary throne. A chest for writing implements is before the deceased. The deceased is holding a document. The writing beneath the document shows that it is an accounts letter which reads *dmd šnw 3,333,300*, "total 3,333,300 rings."



Catalog Cx0095

Source: Davis, *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou*, pl. XXXVIII. PM I, 564.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Yuya and Thuyu (KV46).

Context: Funerary

Description: Chest on tall legs with a corniced top and hinged lids with a cartouche of Amenhotep III.



Catalog Cx0098

Source: Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pl. LXXIII. PM I, 108.

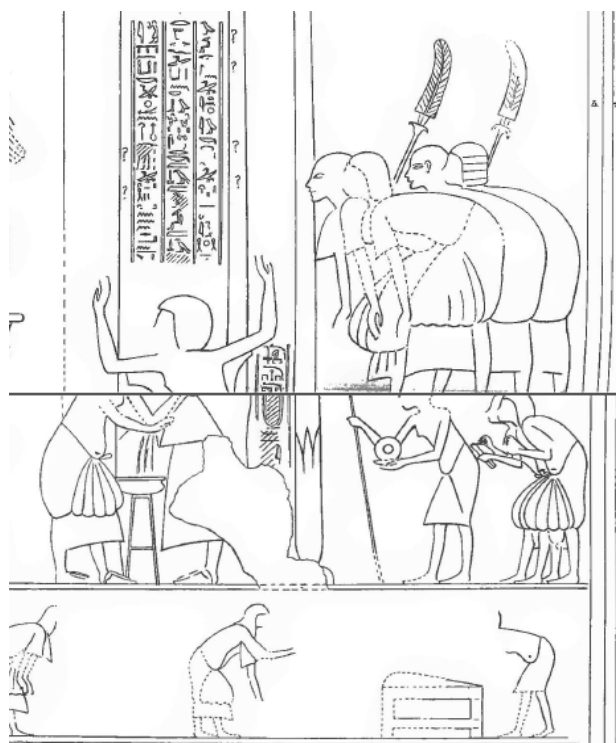
Date: Akhenaten, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Ramose (TT 55), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Four men carrying chests in the funeral procession of Ramose.

(572)



Catalog Cx0099

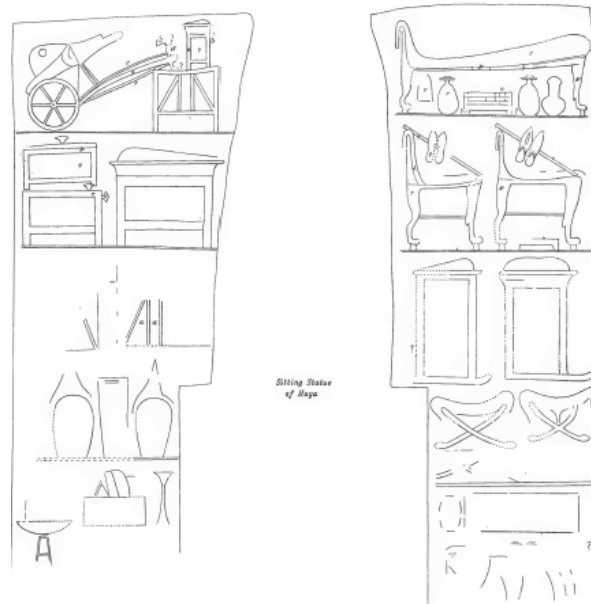
Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, part III, pl. XVI. PM IV, 212.

Date: Akhenaten, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Huy (Amarna Tomb 1). North wall, west side.

Context: Funerary

Description: The king rewarding Huy with his retainers behind him. In the register below are his attendants with a chest.



Catalog Cx0100

Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, part III, pl. XXIV. PM IV, 212.

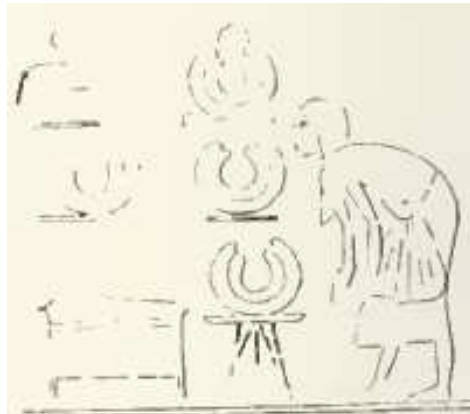
Date: Akhenaten, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Huya (Amarna Tomb 1). Shrine, north wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Images of funerary furniture flanking a votive statue of Huya. To the left of the statue are three chests. The largest has a corniced shrine lid. The chest on the lower left has two handles while the chest on the upper left is portrayed with only a handle on the lid, possibly this is similar to the lower chest viewed end on. To the right of the statue is a pair of shrine cabinets and perhaps a coffer under the bed.

(574)



Catalog Cx0101

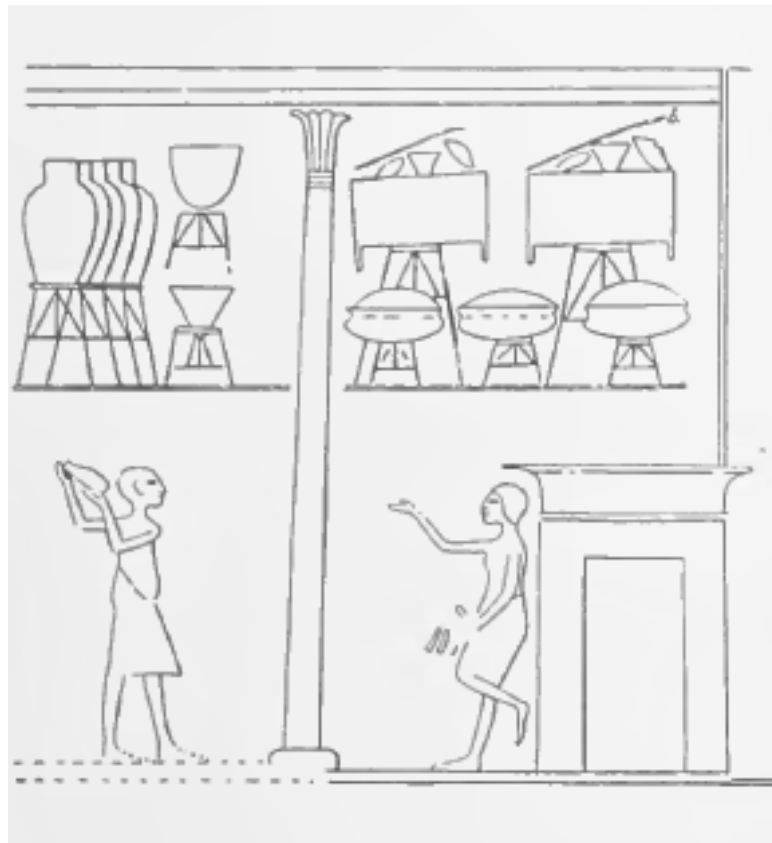
Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, part II, pl. XXXVIII. PM IV, 213.

Date: Akhenaten, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Meryra (Amarna Tomb 2), Akhetaten. East wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Part of a scene where tribute is brought to the king including collars and a chest.



Catalog Cx0102

Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, part II, pl. XXXVI. PM IV, 215.

Date: Akhenaten, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Meryra (Amarna Tomb 4), Akhetaten. South wall, north side.

Context: Funerary

Description: Meryra welcomed home with chests full of goods waiting for him.



Catalog Cx0103

Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, part II, pl. X. PM IV, 218.

Date: Akhenaten, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Panehesy (Amarna Tomb 6), Akhetaten. South wall, west side.

Context: Funerary

Description: Part of a scene where Panehesy is rewarded with gold chains by the royal family. His attendants follow after him bringing gold rings, collars, and a chest.

(577)



14 A

Catalog Cx0104

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 0073.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 14a. Small wood box with ivory, ebony and red wood veneer.

(578)



14 B

Catalog Cx0105

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 0074.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 14b. Small wood box in the shape of a cartouche.

(579)



Catalog Cx0106

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 0016. PM I, 577.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 21. Painted wood chest.

(580)



Catalog Cx0107

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1557. PM I, 578.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 32. Chest of ivory, ebony, and red wood with carrying poles.

(581)



Catalog Cx0108

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 0302. PM I, 585.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 37. Black shrine cabinet on sledge.



Catalog Cx0109

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 0095. PM I, 578-579.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18 .

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 40. Painted calcite box.

(583)



Catalog Cx0110

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 0137. PM I, 579.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 101. Round-topped chest of ebony and painted white wood.



Catalog Cx0111

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1118. PM I, 574.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 261 (=Cairo Museum JE 61444). Anubis shrine with sledge and carrying poles.



Catalog Cx0112

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1144. PM I, 573.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 266a. Canopic shrine upon a sledge.

(586)



Catalog Cx0113

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1153, 1155, 1836. PM I, 574.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

(587)

Description: Carter No. 266b. Calcite canopic chest with a sledge upon a wood sledge from the canopic shrine <Cat. Cx0112>.



Catalog Cx0114

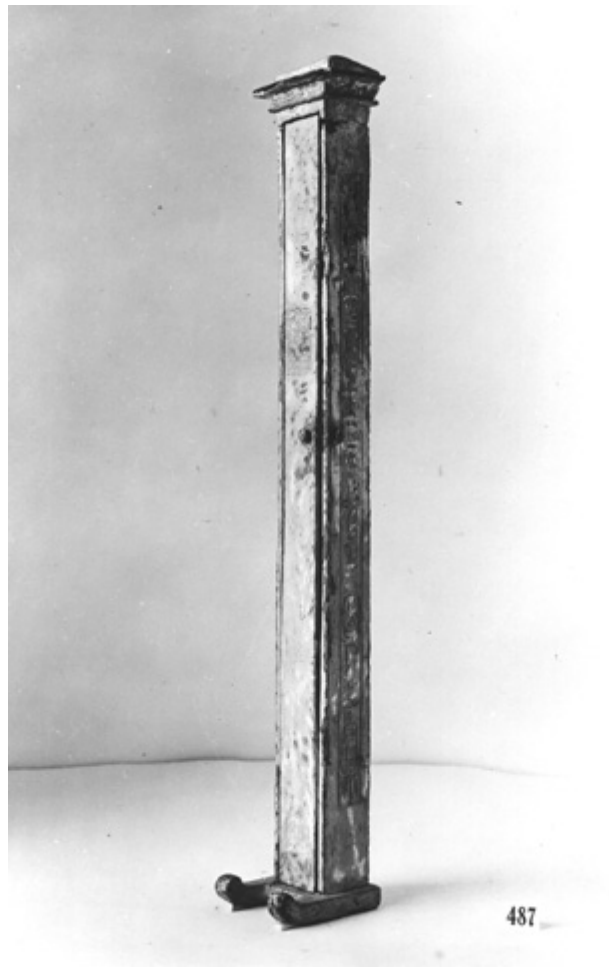
Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1307. PM I, 579.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 403. Table shaped box.



Catalog Cx0115

Source: Griffith Institute, Burton photo no. 1706.

Date: Tutankhamun, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62).

Context: Funerary

Description: Carter No. 487. Tall shrine cabinet with sledge.



Catalog Cx0116

Source: Schott photo XIV, 55 a. PM I, 339.

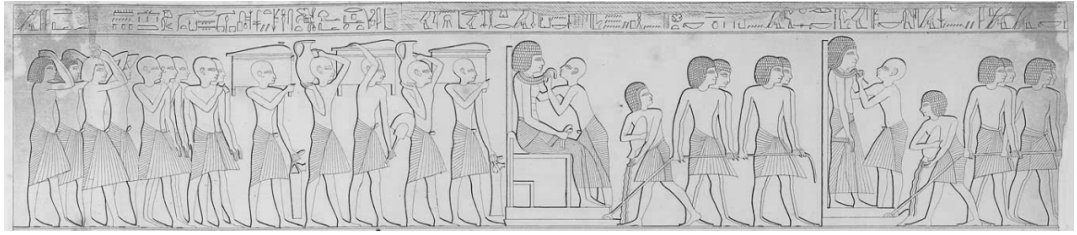
Date: Horemheb, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Roy (TT 255), Dra Abu el-Naga. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Mourners carrying an Anubis shrine.

(591)



Catalog Cx0117

Source: *LD* III, 242a. *PM* III, 662.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Maya (Lepsius Tomb 27), Pyramid field of Saqqara.

Context: Funerary

Description: Attendants carrying chests following enthroned statuary on procession.



Catalog Cx0118

Source: Baud, *Les dessins ébauchés*, fig. 34. PM I, 46-47.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Khenmosi (TT 30), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Barque bier pulled on a sledge by oxen.

(593)



Catalog Cx0119

Source: Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médinah, 1924-1925*, fig. 62.

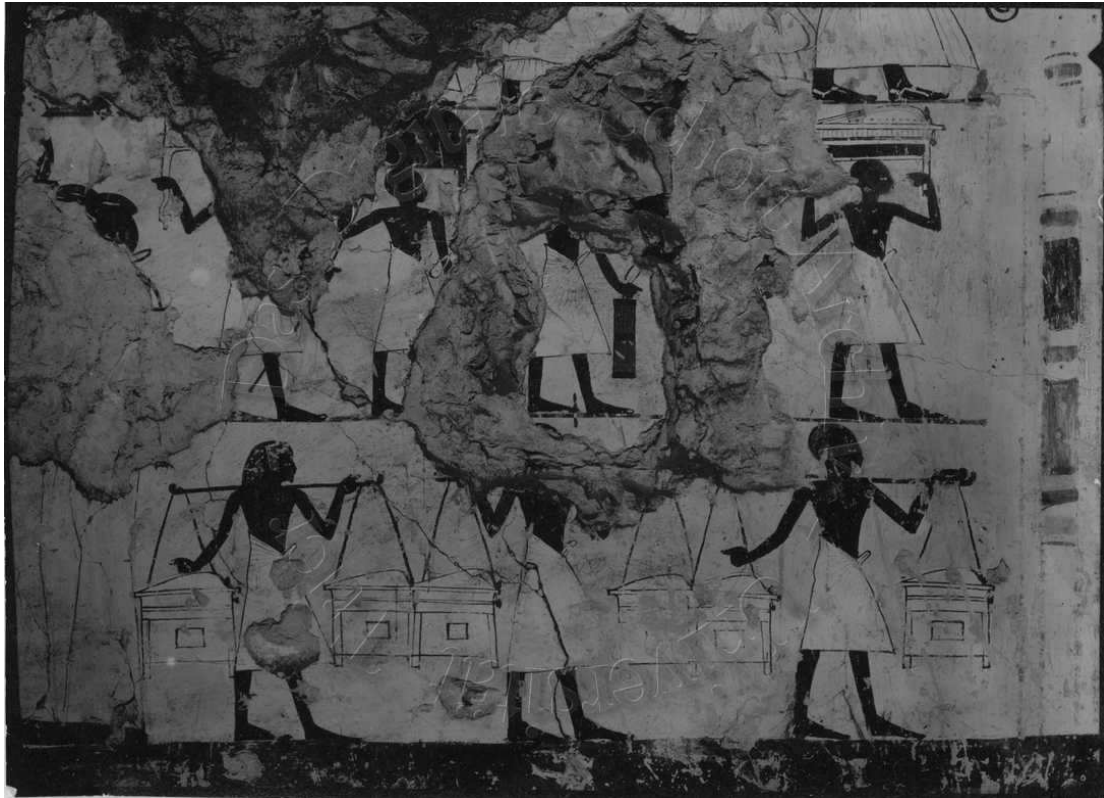
PM I, 405.

Date: Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Neferronpet (TT 336), Deir el-Medina.

Context: Funerary

Description: Man carrying Anubis shrine on his shoulder.



Catalog Cx0120

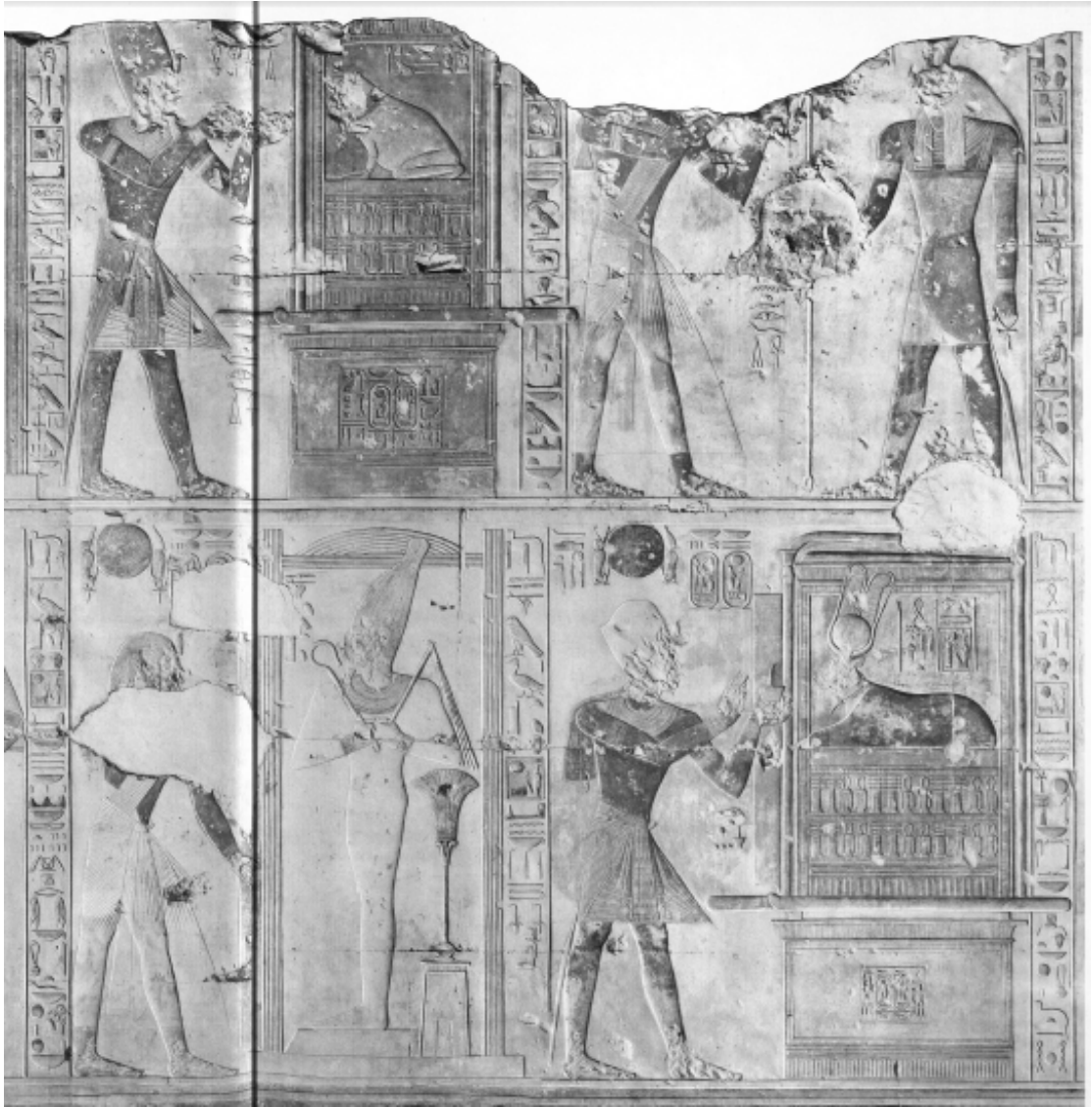
Source: Schott photo 4934. PM I, 33.

Date: Ramesses I to Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Amenmosi (TT 19), Dra Abu el-Naga.

Context: Funerary

Description: Goods in chests carried on shoulder yokes.



Catalog Cx0121

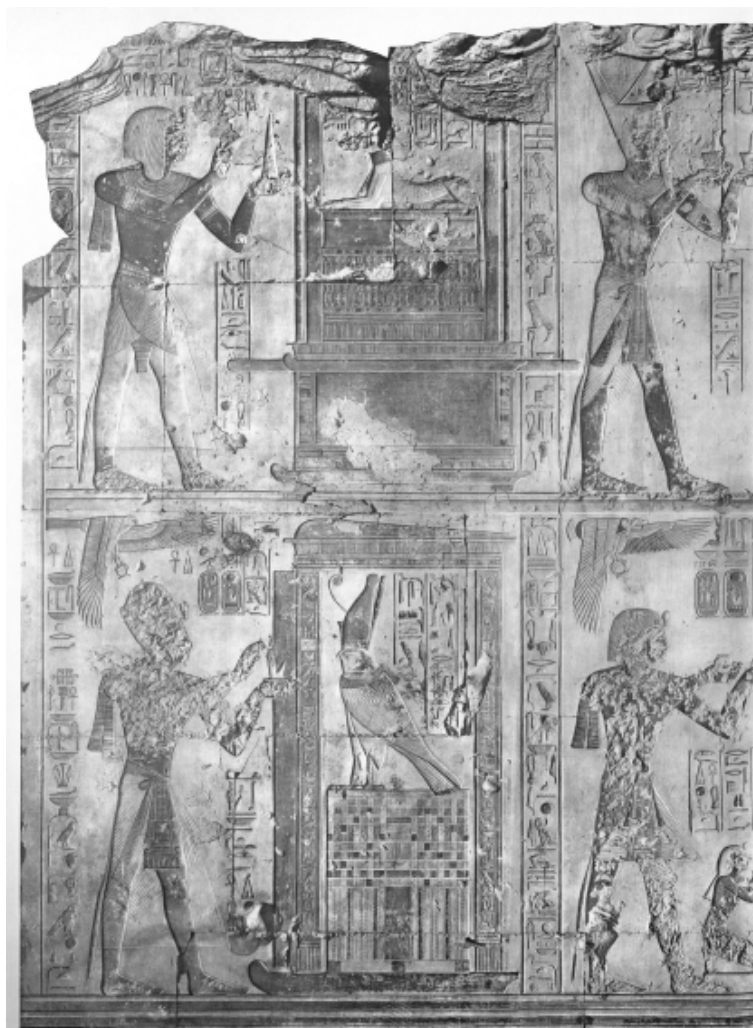
Source: Calverley, *The Temple of King of Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 3, pl. 14. PM VI,
19.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Seti I, Abydos.

Context: Temple

Description: A pair of shrine cabinets with carrying poles. The cabinet in the upper register contains a cult statue of Heket while the cabinet in the lower right has a cult statue of Hathor.



Catalog Cx0122

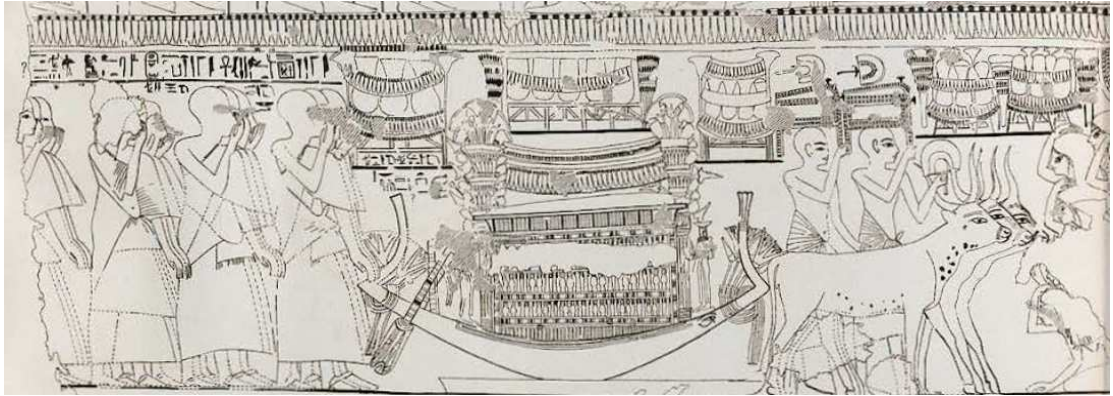
Source: Calverley, *The Temple of King of Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 3, pl. 16. PM VI, 19.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Temple of Seti I, Abydos.

Context: Temple

Description: Pair of shrine cabinets. The cabinet in the upper register contains a cult statue of Wepwawet and has carrying poles and a sled, which rests upon a box stand with a sled. The cabinet in the lower register contains a cult statue of Re-Horakhty upon a stand.



Catalog Cx0123

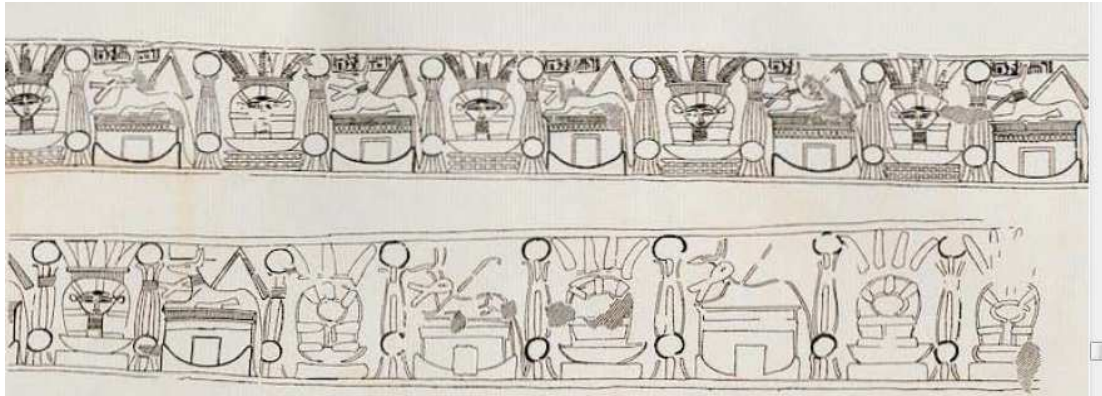
Source: Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XIII. PM I, 97.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Userhet (TT 51), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. South wall, west side.

Context: Funerary

Description: Funeral procession with barque bier pulled by oxen. Two attendants are carrying chests.



Catalog Cx0124

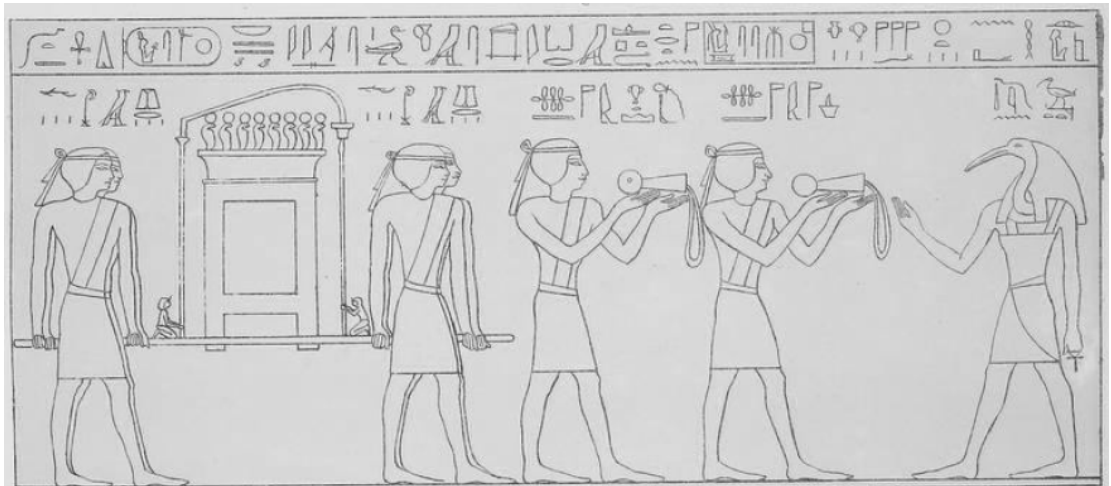
Source: Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XVIII. PM I, 99.

Date: Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Userhet (TT 51), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Frieze with interchanging Hathor faces and Anubis shrines.



Catalog Cx0125

Source: Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 19[c]. PM VI, 37.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

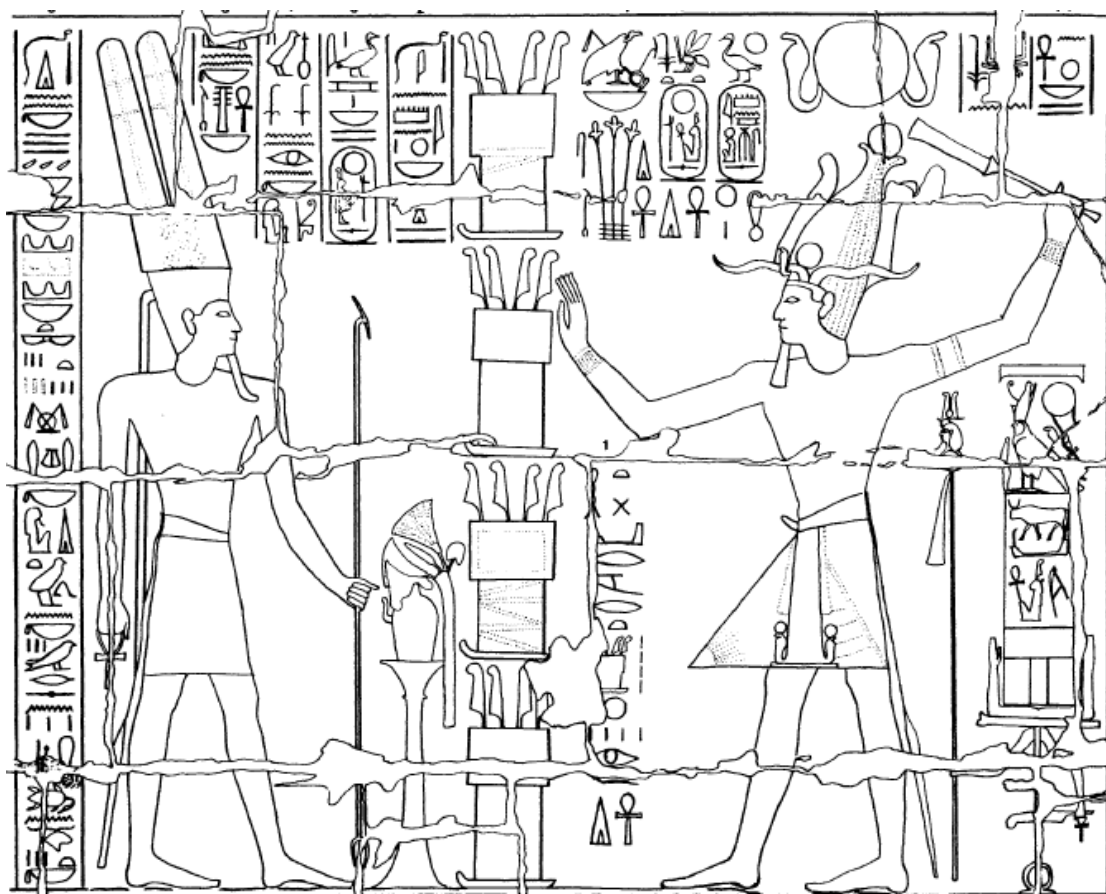
Locale: Temple of Ramesses II, Abydos. Room P.

Context: Temple

Description: Priests carrying a shrine cabinet. The caption above the scene reads

“Osiris and his sacred possessions residing in the temple of Ramesses Mery-Amun.

The goddess and your offering are in her shrine, united. Her beloved son, the lord of the two lands, Ramesses, given life forever.”



Catalog Cx0126

Source: Nelson, *The Wall Reliefs*, pl. 73. PM II, 48.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Hypostyle Hall, Karnak. B 114, south wall, east half, middle register.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses II presenting four meret chests to Amun-Re. The inscription to the right of the meret chests reads *ḥt r mrwt-h 4 ir.f di ʿnh*, “Striking against the four holy meret chests causing to be given life.”



Catalog Cx0127

Source: Nelson and Hölscher, *Work in Western Thebes 1931-33*, fig. 31. PM I, 28.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Panehesi (TT 16), Dra Abu el-Naga.

Context: Funerary

Description: Jar of Amun carried in procession out from a temple. The jar is carried on a box with a uraeus frieze and poles.



Catalog Cx0128

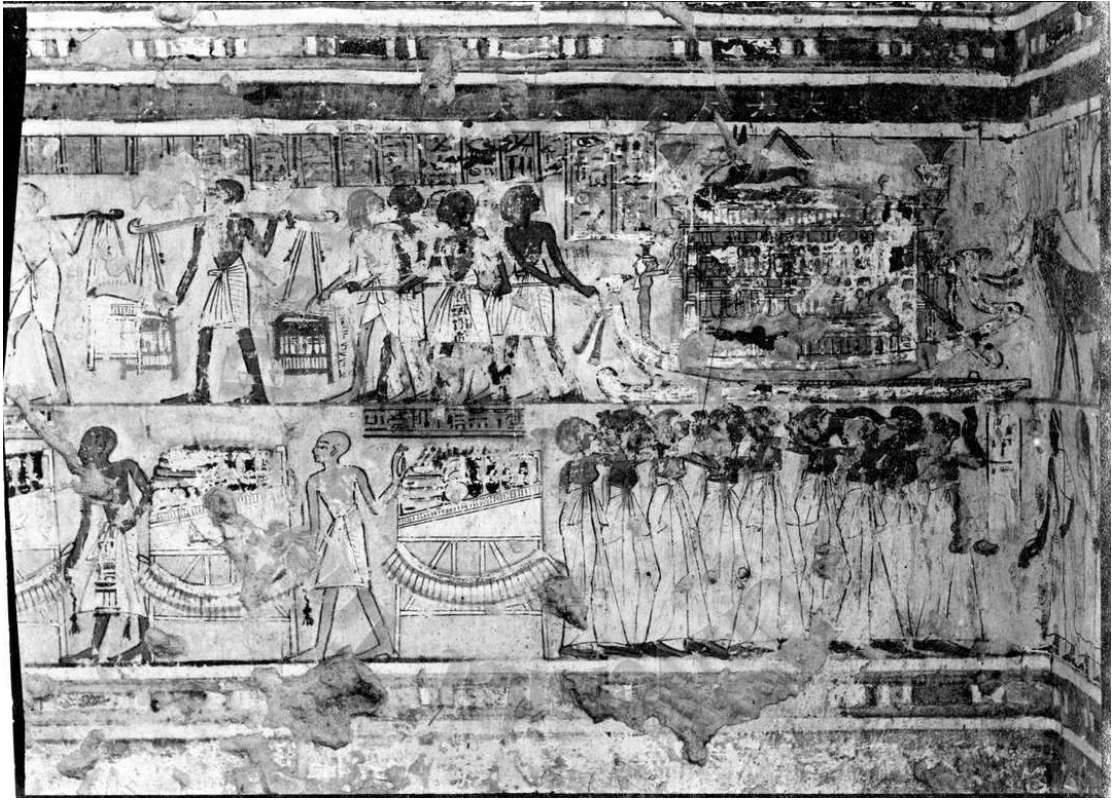
Source: Werbrouck, *Les pleureuses dans l'Égypte ancienne*, pl. XXVI [upper]. PM
I, 85.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Djouty (TT 45), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Mourners carrying a barque bier.



Catalog Cx0129

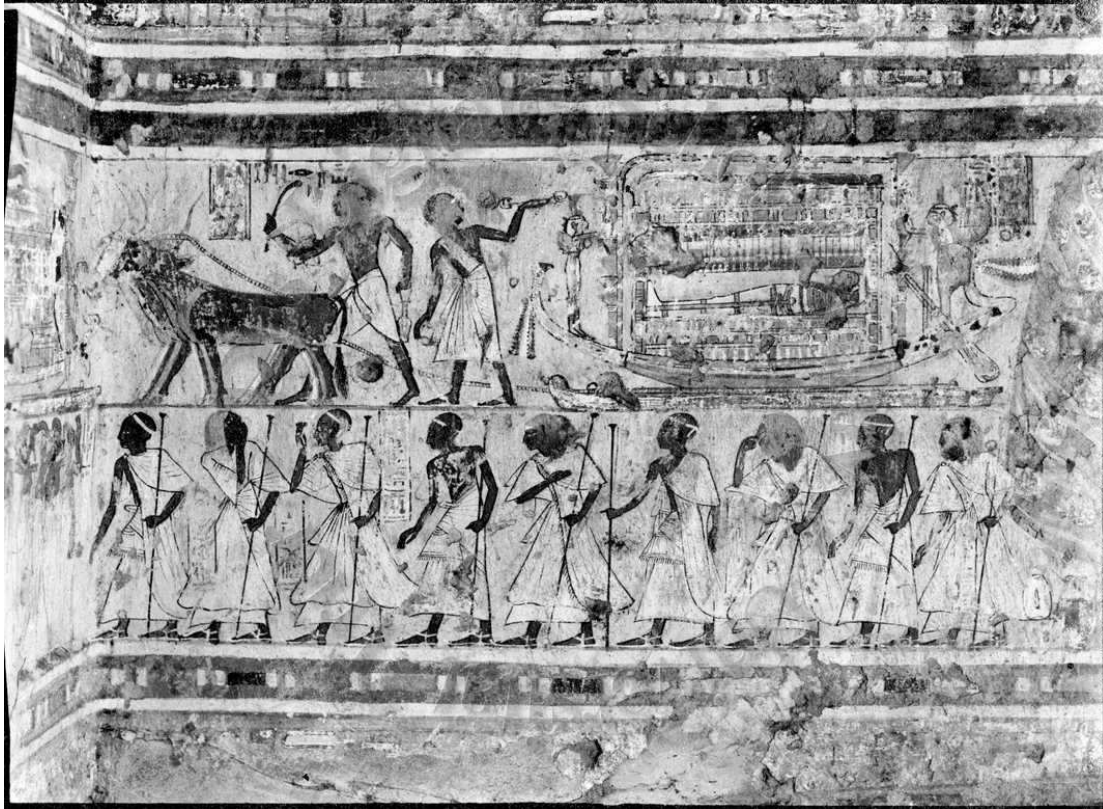
Source: Schott photo 3460. PM I, 284.

Date: ca. Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Neferronpet (TT 178) , Khokha.

Context: Funerary

Description: Funeral scene with chests carried on a yoke and barque bier.



Catalog Cx0130

Source: Schott photo 3461. PM I, 284.

Date: ca. Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Neferronpet (TT 178) , Khokha.

Context: Funerary

Description: The funeral scene showing the mummy of the deceased inside a barque bier.



Catalog Cx0131

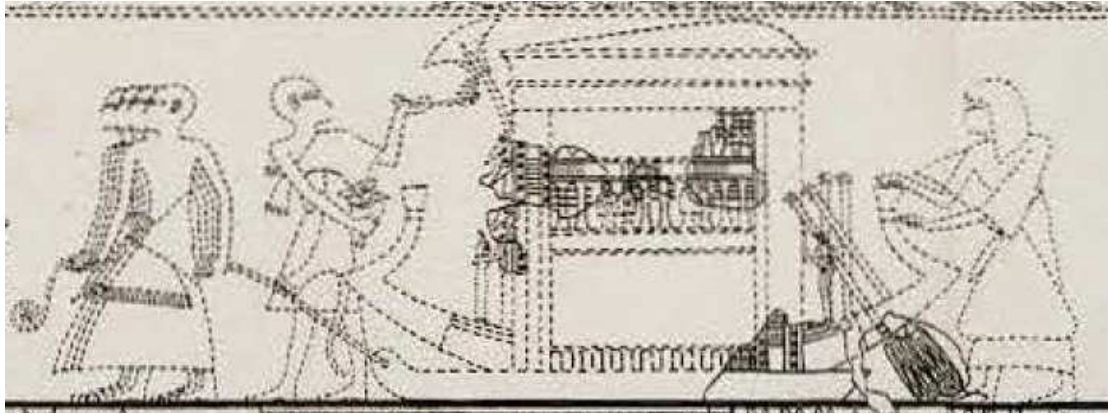
Source: Teeter and Johnson, *The Life of Meresamun*, fig. 49. PM I, 285.

Date: ca. Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Neferronpet (TT 178), Khokha.

Context: Funerary

Description: Scene inside the treasury overseen by Neferronpet. Four chests are shown in the upper room of the treasury.



Catalog Cx0132

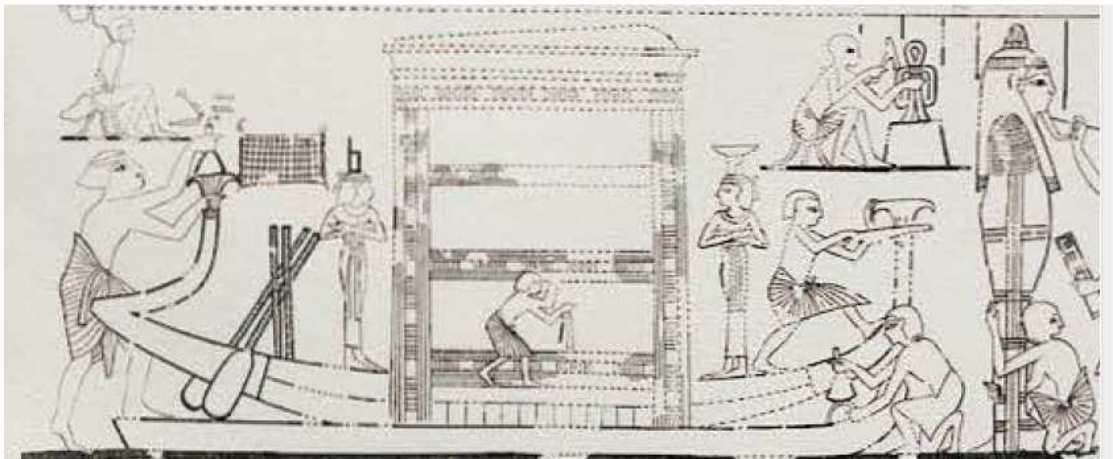
Source: Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXVIII. PM I, 315.

Date: ca. Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Ipuy (TT 217), Deir el-Medina. East wall, south side, lower part.

Context: Funerary

Description: Fragment of funerary scene with a barque bier.



Catalog Cx0133

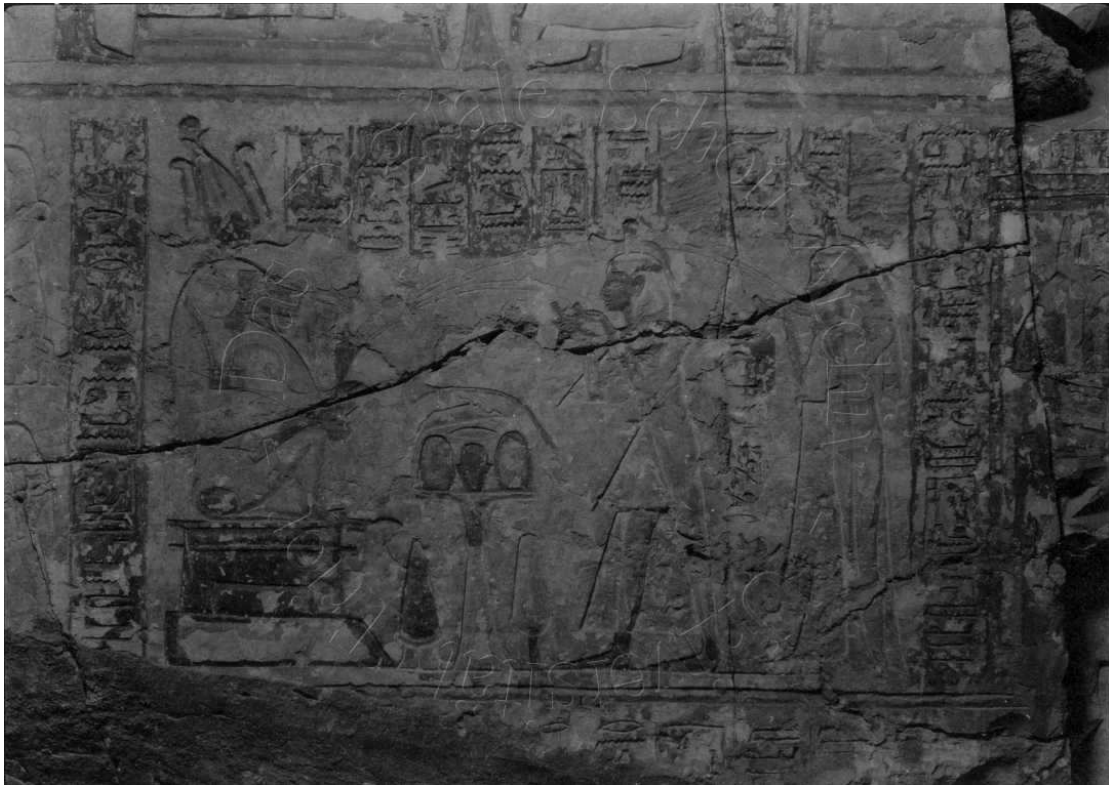
Source: Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXXVI. PM I, 316.

Date: ca. Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Ipuu (TT 217), Deir el-Medina.

Context: Funerary

Description: Craftsmen preparing a barque bier.



Catalog Cx0134

Source: Schott photo 3906. PM I, 342.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Neferhotep (TT 257), Khokha. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased and wife adore simian chest of Amun-Re.



Catalog Cx0135

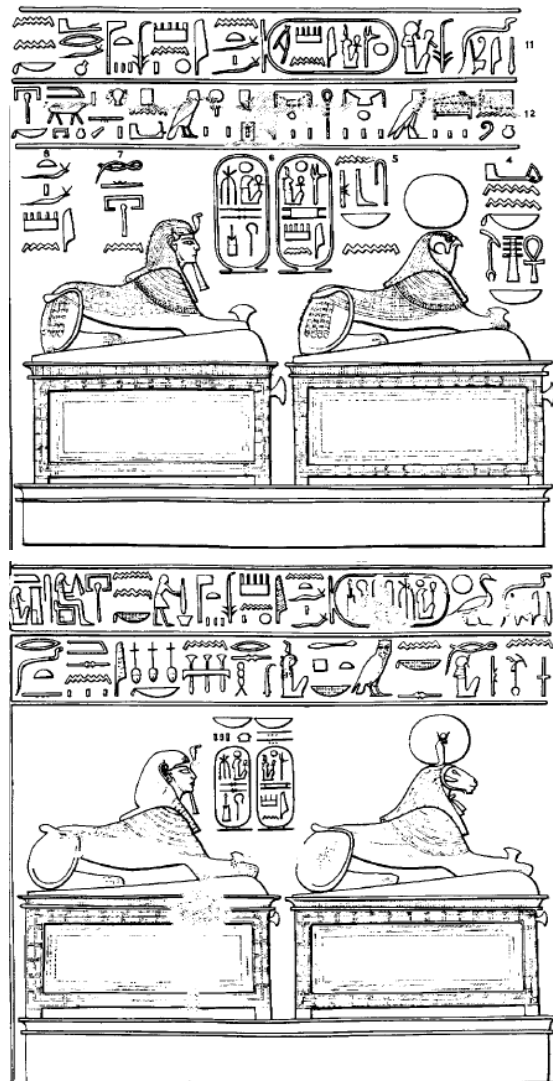
Source: Dawson, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. XVII. PM I, 39.

Date: Merneptah, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Thay (TT 23), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: Chests in use at mummification scene.



Catalog Cx0136

Source: Hughes, *Medinet Habu*, Vol. 5, pl. 325. PM II, 508.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Medinet Habu Temple of Ramesses III. Treasury, southeast room (Room 11), north wall.

Context: Temple

Description: The upper register has pair of *hnw* chests (with caption in line 12) with the statues of a Re and a sphinx on the lids. The chests contain gold (*nbw*), silver (*ḥd*) and bronze (*ḥmt*). The lower register has a second pair with the statues of Amun-Re and a sphinx.



Catalog Cx0137

Source: Hughes, *Medinet Habu*, Vol. 5, pl. 333. PM II, 508.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Medinet Habu Temple of Ramesses III,. Treasury, northwest room (Room 13), north wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses III presenting offerings of precious metals and stones in a *hwt* chest and three other varieties of ritual chests to Amun-Re.



Catalog Cx0138 (Tx0042)

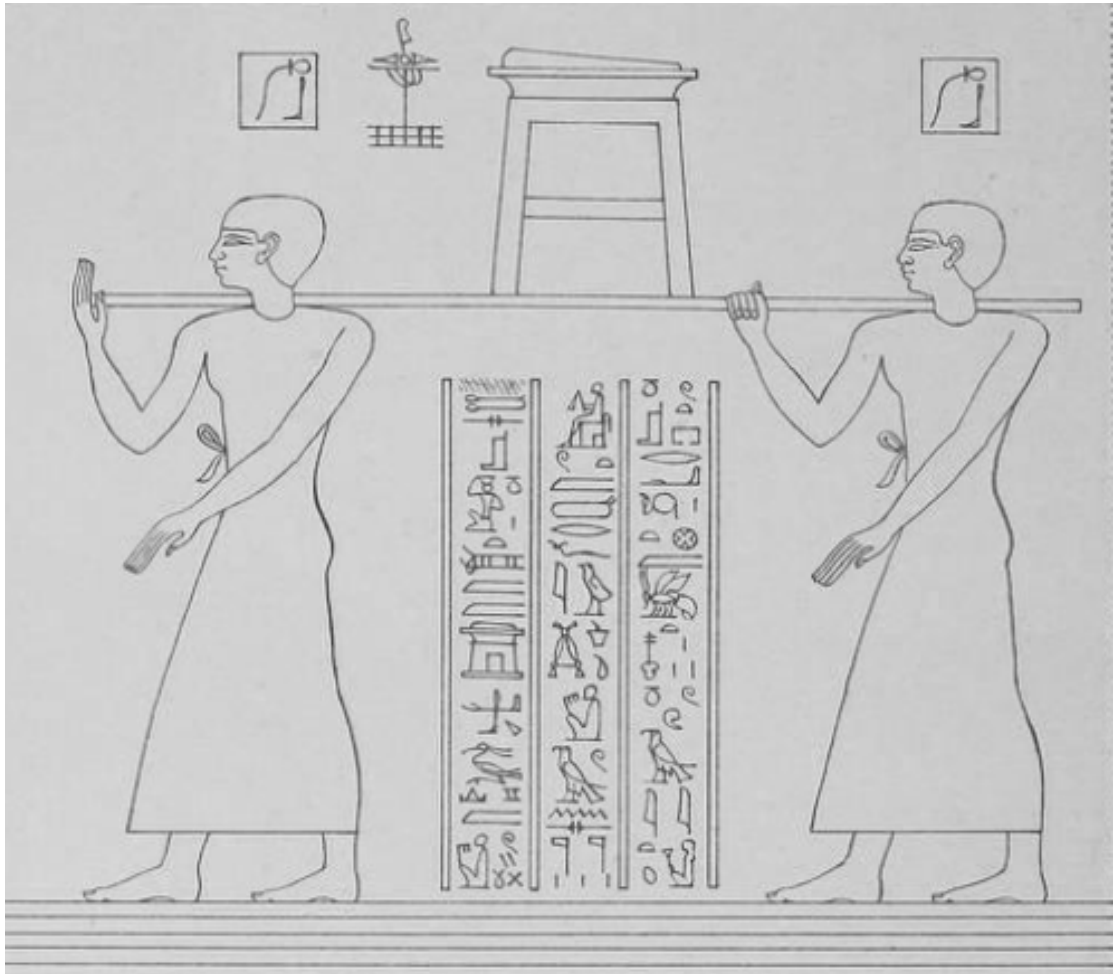
Source: Schott photo 4140. PM I, 131.

Date: Ramesses IX, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Tomb of Nebamun, usurped by Imiseba (TT 65), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: A portable shrine rests before a portable cult image. The shrine has a triple uraeus frieze, carrying poles, a sledge, and rests upon a plinth with an image of Amun.



Catalog Cx0139

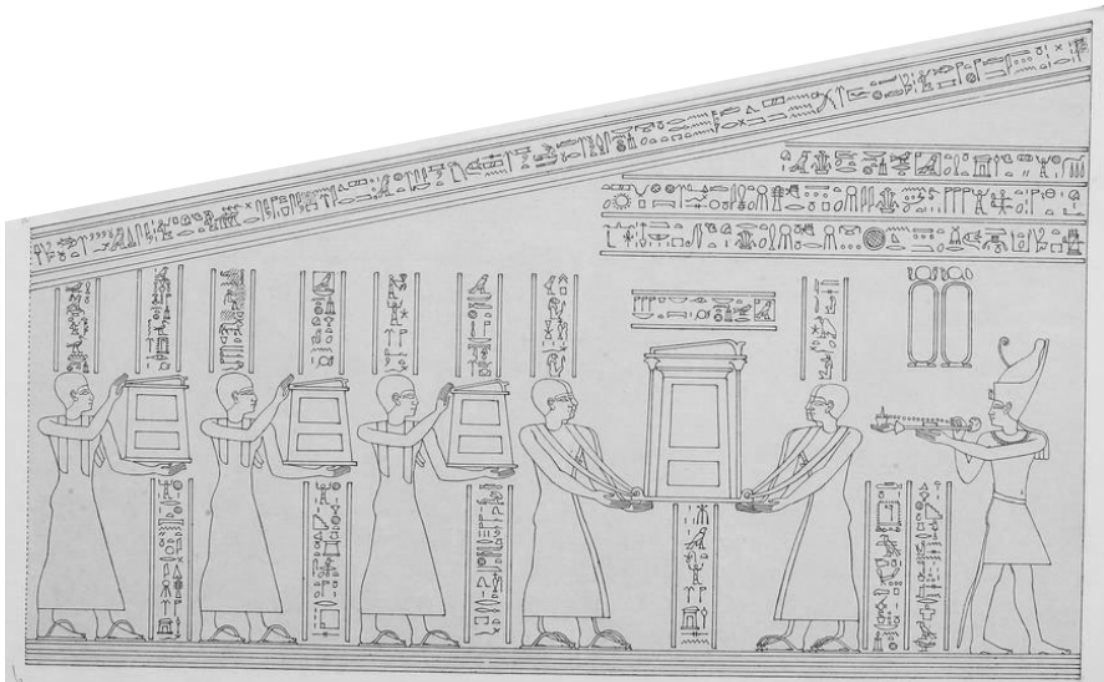
Source: Mariette, *Dendérah description générale*, vol. I, pl. 76. PM VI, 57.

Date: Late Period.

Locale: Temple of Hathor, Denderah. Inner court, chamber K.

Context: Temple

Description: Two wab priests carrying a shrine cabinet.



Catalog Cx0140

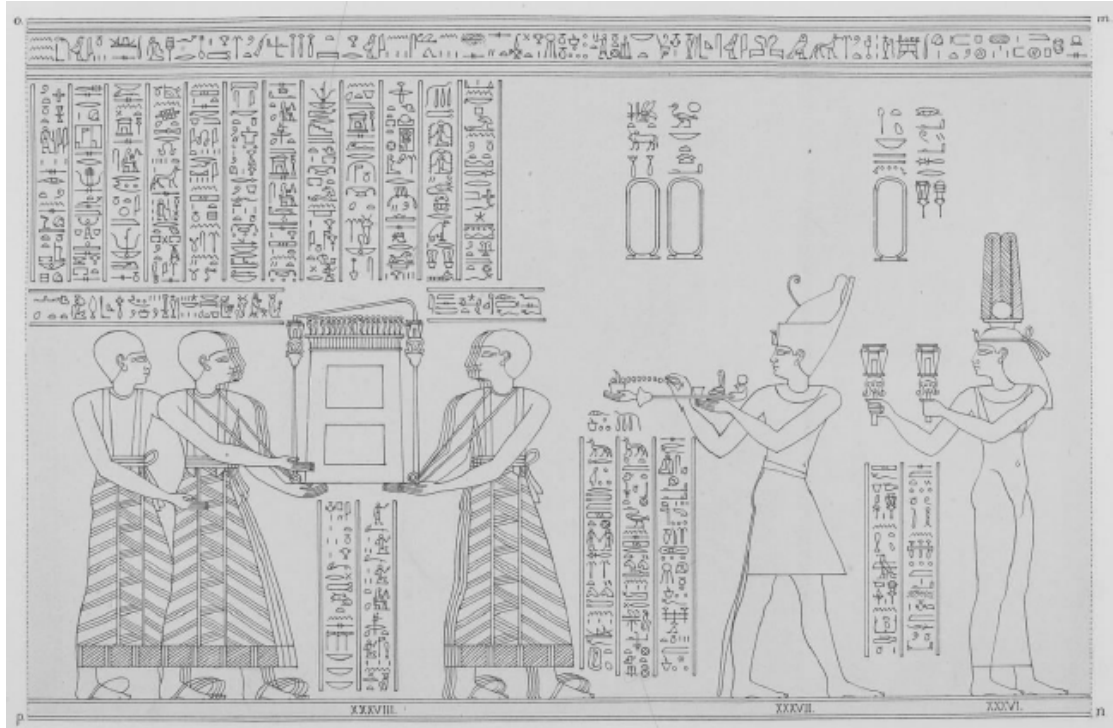
Source: Mariette, *Dendérah description générale*, vol. III, pl. 23. PM VI, 84.

Date: Late Period.

Locale: Temple of Hathor, Denderah. Crypt 2.

Context: Temple

Description: Priests carrying cabinet shrines.



Catalog Cx0141

Source: Mariette, *Dendérah description générale*, vol. IV, pl. 9. PM VI, 91.

Date: Late Period.

Locale: Temple of Hathor, Denderah. South staircase, left wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Eight priests carrying the cabinet shrine of Hathor.



Catalog Cx0142

Source: Mariette, *Dendérah description générale*, vol. IV, pl. 10 and 11. PM VI, 91.

Date: Late Period.

Locale: Temple of Hathor, Denderah. South staircase, left wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Priests carrying cabinet shrines.



Catalog Cx0143

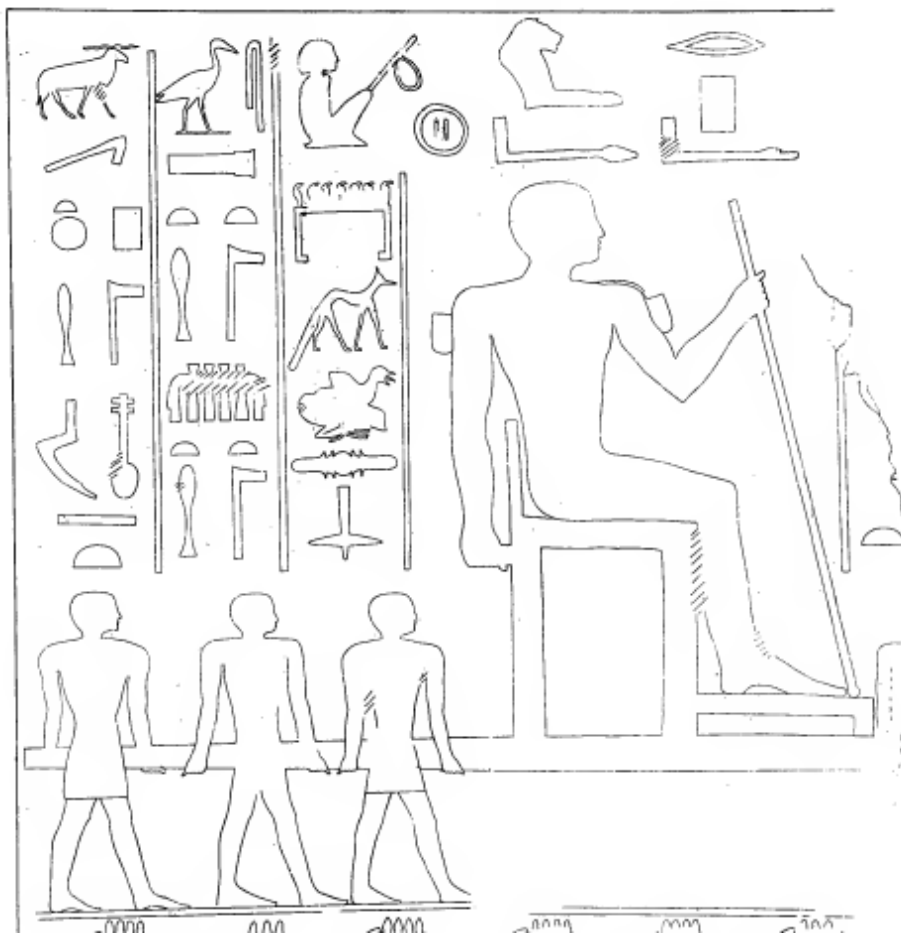
Source: Barsanti and Maspero, *ASAE* 2 (1901), fig. 6-7. PM III, 649.

Date: Dynasty 26.

Locale: Vaulted tomb of Pedeneit, near pyramid complex of Unis, Saqqara. Bottom of shaft.

Context: Funerary

Description: Anubis shrine shown in profile from both sides revealing the canopic jars inside.



Catalog Tx0001

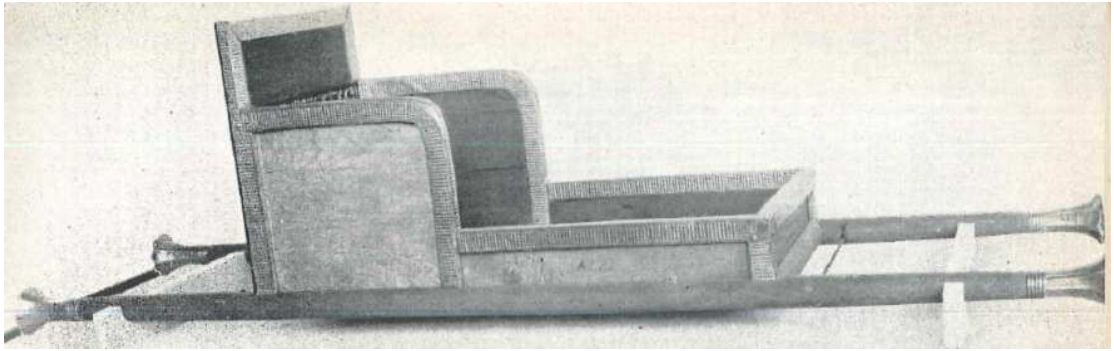
Source: Petrie, *Medum*, pl. XXI. PM IV, 93.

Date: Beginning of Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Nefermaat, Medum. Hall, south wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased in palanquin.



Catalog Tx0002

Source: *Furniture in Ancient Egypt*. PM III, 181.

Date: Khufu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepheres (G7000X), Giza. Complete object.

Context: Funerary

Description: A complete palanquin found in situ made of wood and covered in gold foil with a back painted black.



Catalog Tx0003

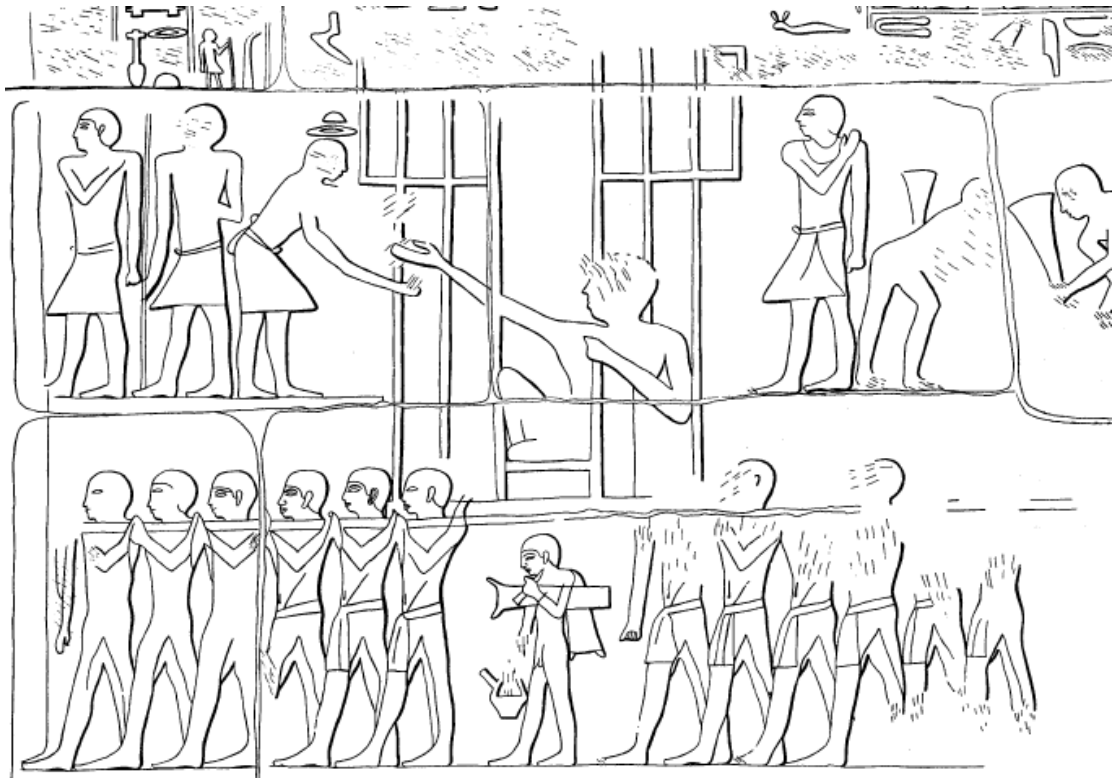
Source: Dunham and Simpson, *Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, pl.V [b]. PM III, 197.

Date: Khufu to Shepseskaf, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Meresankh (G 7530), Giza. Main room, east wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Men making palanquins.



Catalog Tx0004

Source: Hassan, *Giza*, vol. II, fig. 240. PM III, 283.

Date: Dynasty 5.

Locale: Tomb of Ni-Maat-Re, Giza. Eastern wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased carried in palanquin.

Catalog Tx0005 (see Cx0014)

Source: Hassan, *Gîza*, vol.V, fig. 122. PM III, 252.

Date: Middle Dynasty 5 or later.

Locale: Mastaba of Itisen (G 4810), Giza. Eastern wall, right of the doorway.

Context: Funerary

Description: Itesen carried in a covered palanquin.



Catalog Tx0006

Source: *LD Ergänzungsband*, pl. X [a]. PM III, 94.

Date: Late Dynasty 5 or Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepnptah (G 2430), Giza. Chapel.

Context: Funerary

Description: Men carrying a palanquin with dogs beneath.



Catalog Tx0007

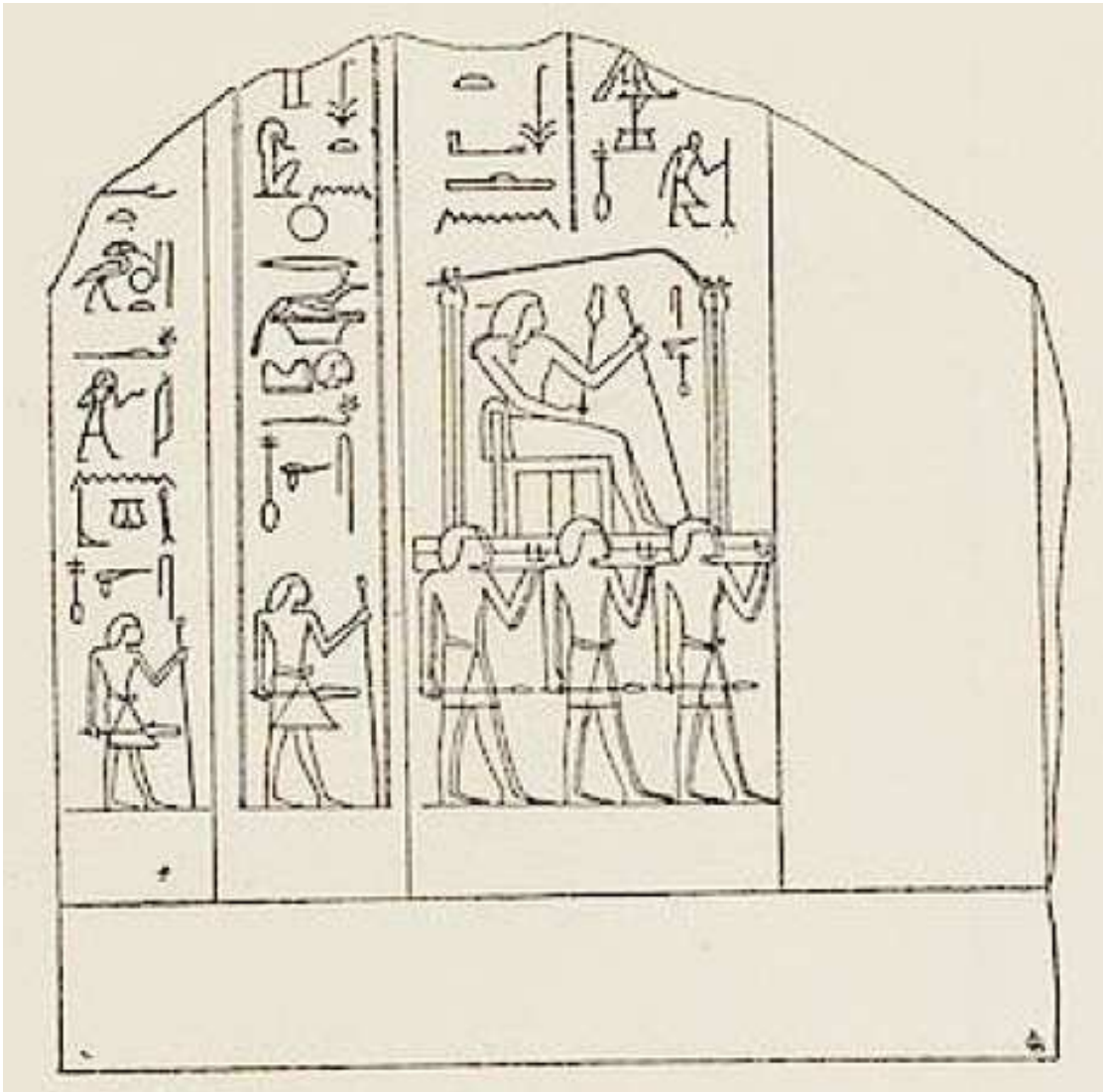
Source: Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. XVII [3(1)]. PM III, 579.

Date: Dynasty 5.

Locale: Tomb of Khnemhotep, Saqqara. Architrave, south wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased carried in palanquin holding a flail.



Catalog Tx0008

Source: De Morgan, *Dahchour*, vol. 2, fig. 3. PM III, 891.

Date: Late Dynasty 5 or Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Seshemnufer (Dahshur Tomb 1), Dahshur. Fragment from north false door.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased carried in palanquin with a canopy.

(626)

Catalog Tx0009 (see Cx0016)

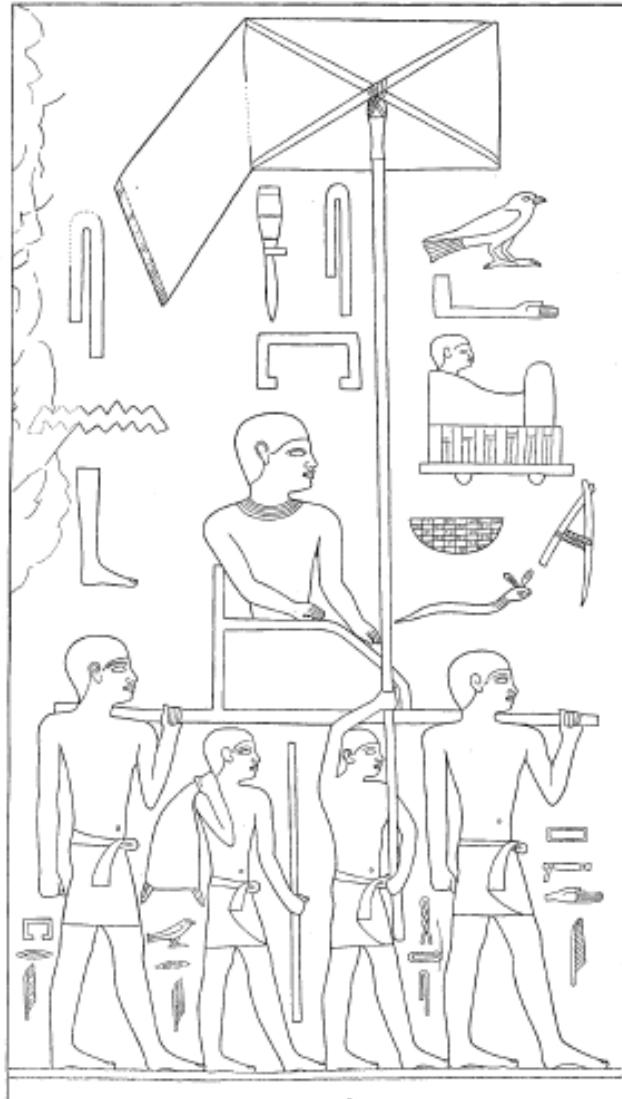
Source: *LD* II, 78b. *PM* III, 85.

Date: Shepseskara, Dynasty 5.

Locale: Mastaba of Snedjem-ib Inti (G 2370), Giza.

Context: Funerary

Description: The procession of a man sitting in a palanquin.



Catalog Tx0010

Source: Junker, *Giza V*, Abb. 20. PM III, 102.

Date: Middle Dynasty 6 or later.

Locale: Tomb of Sonb, Giza. Chapel, offering room.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased carried in a palanquin. The inscription to the right of the palanquin reads that Sonb is being carried in a *wrr*-palanquin.



Catalog Tx0011

Source: Junker, *Gîza*, Band XI, Taf. XXV[a]. PM III, 227.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Seshemnufer-Theti, Giza. Room I.

Context: Funerary

Description: Palanquin with a canopy

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Tx0012

Source: PM III, 596.

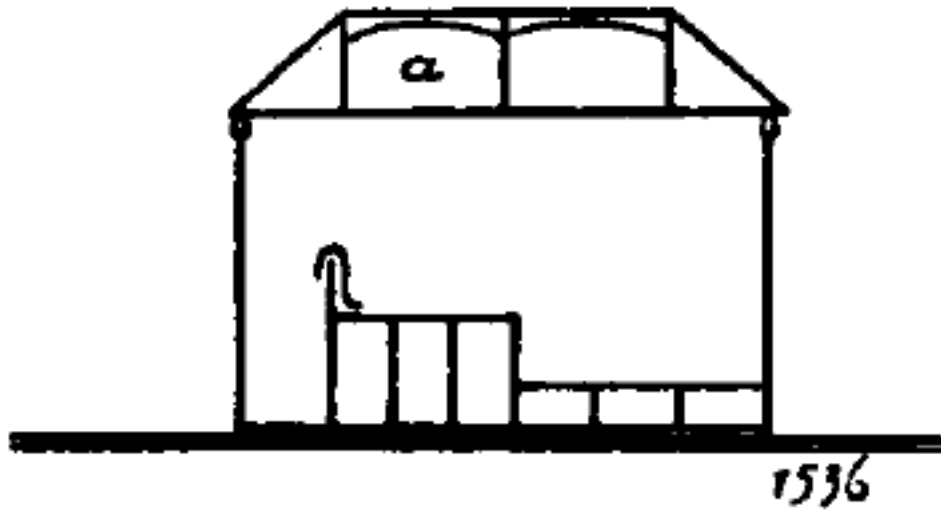
Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Pepyzedi, Saqqara. Inner room.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased carried in palanquin.

(630)



Catalog Tx0013

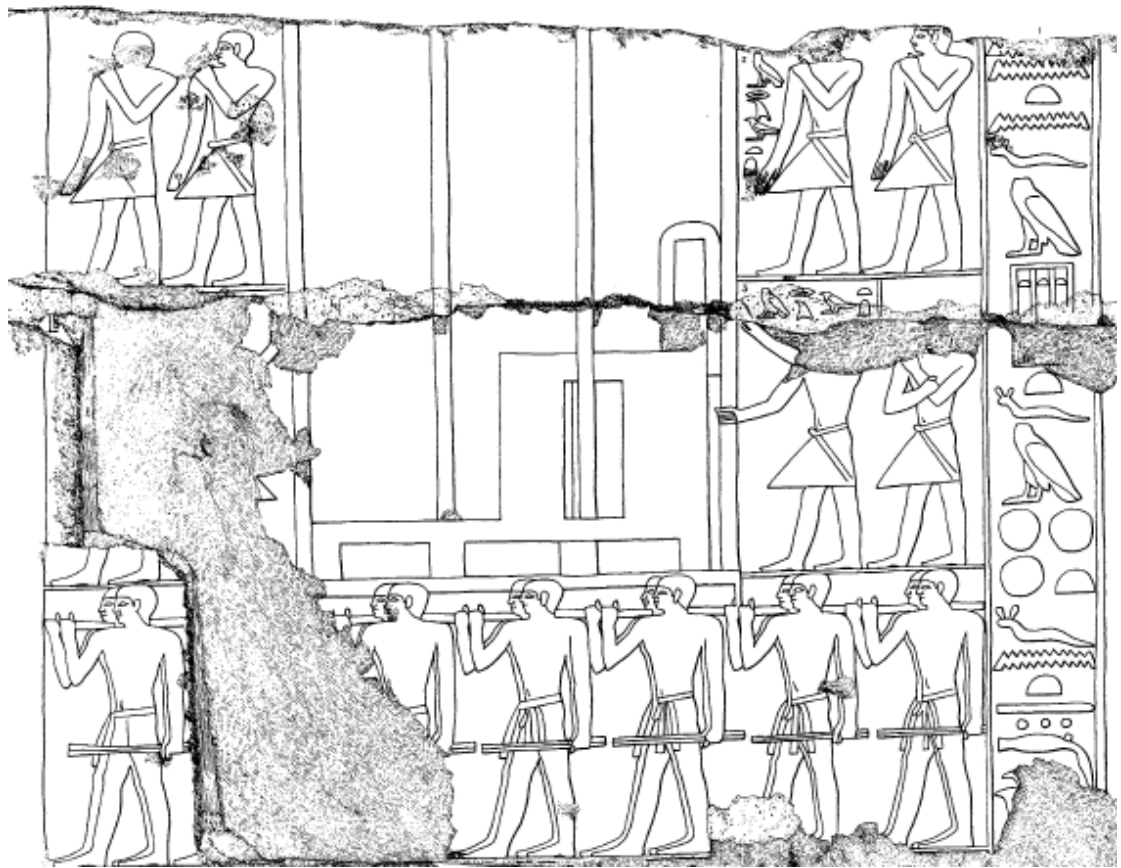
Source: Borchardt, *Denkmäler*, Teil I, 239 (=CG 01536). PM III, 672.

Date: Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Ipi, Saqqara. Tomb wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Palanquin with a canopy.



Catalog Tx0014

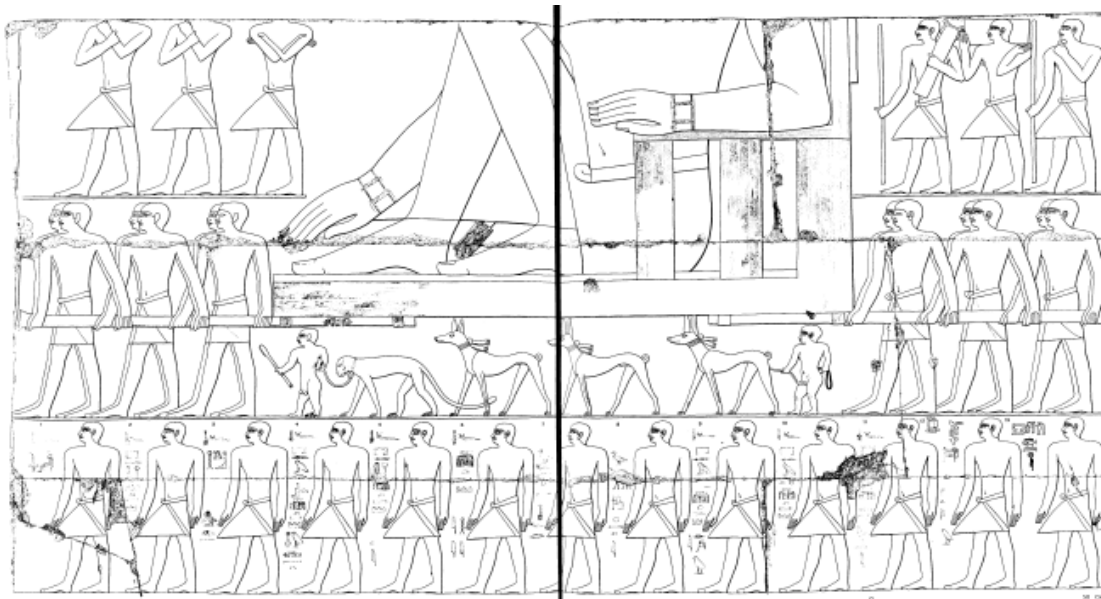
Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 14. PM III, 527.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A1, east wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Procession of servants carrying an empty palanquin.



Catalog Tx0015

Source: Duell, *Mastaba of Mereruka*, pl. 158. PM III, 532.

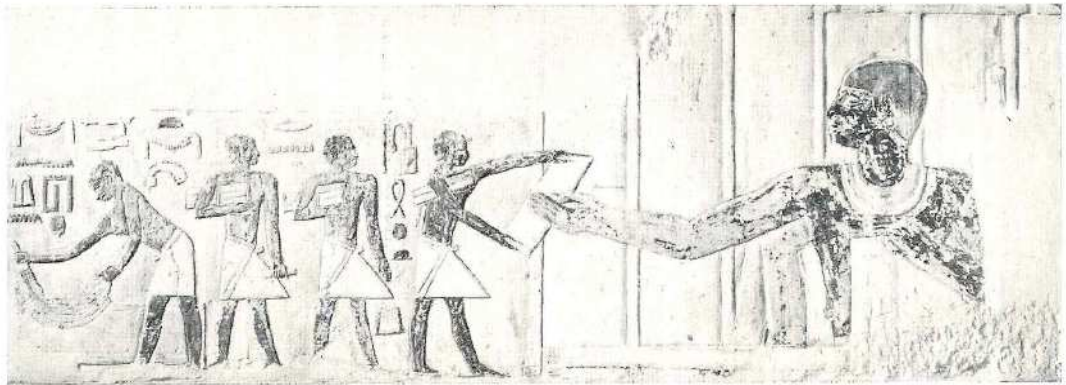
Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Mereruka, Saqqara. Chamber A13, north wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Procession carrying deceased in palanquin.

(633)



Catalog Tx0016

Source: Kaplony, *Orientalia*, 37 (1968), Tab. LXI. PM III, 647.

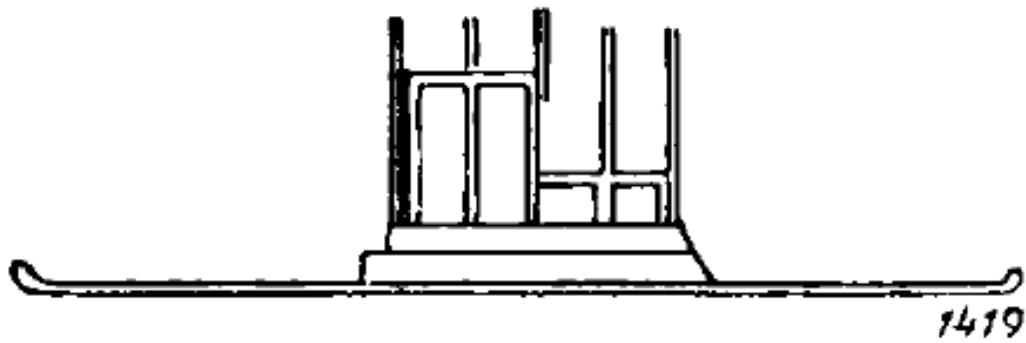
Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Methethi, near Pyramid of Unis, Saqqara. Blocks from tomb.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased seated in a palanquin.

(634)



Catalog Tx0017

Source: Borchardt, *Denkmäler*, Teil I, 96 (=CG 01419). PM III, 460.

Date: Teti or later, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Stela from the Tomb of Ptahhepses (Mastaba E1), north of step pyramid,
Saqqara.

Context: Funerary

Description: Palanquin with vertical staves.

Catalog Tx0018 (see Cx0047)

Source: Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family*, part II, pl. 69. PM
III, 535.

Date: Teti, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Mastaba of Waatetkhethor, Saqqara. Chamber B5, north wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Watetkhethor carried on a palanquin by female servants.



Catalog Tx0019

Source: Voss, *Phoenix* 14 (1968), fig. 48. PM III, 90.

Date: Pepi I or Merenra, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Meryre-Meryptahankh (G 2381), Giza. Forecourt.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased carried in a palanquin.

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Tx0020

Source: Riesner, *Giza Necropolis*, 368. PM III, 185.

Date: Pepi I or later, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Meryrenufer (G 7101), Giza. Pillared portico, east wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased seated in a palanquin “carried shoulder high by four pairs of men in front and six pairs at back” (Riesner, 368).

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Tx0021

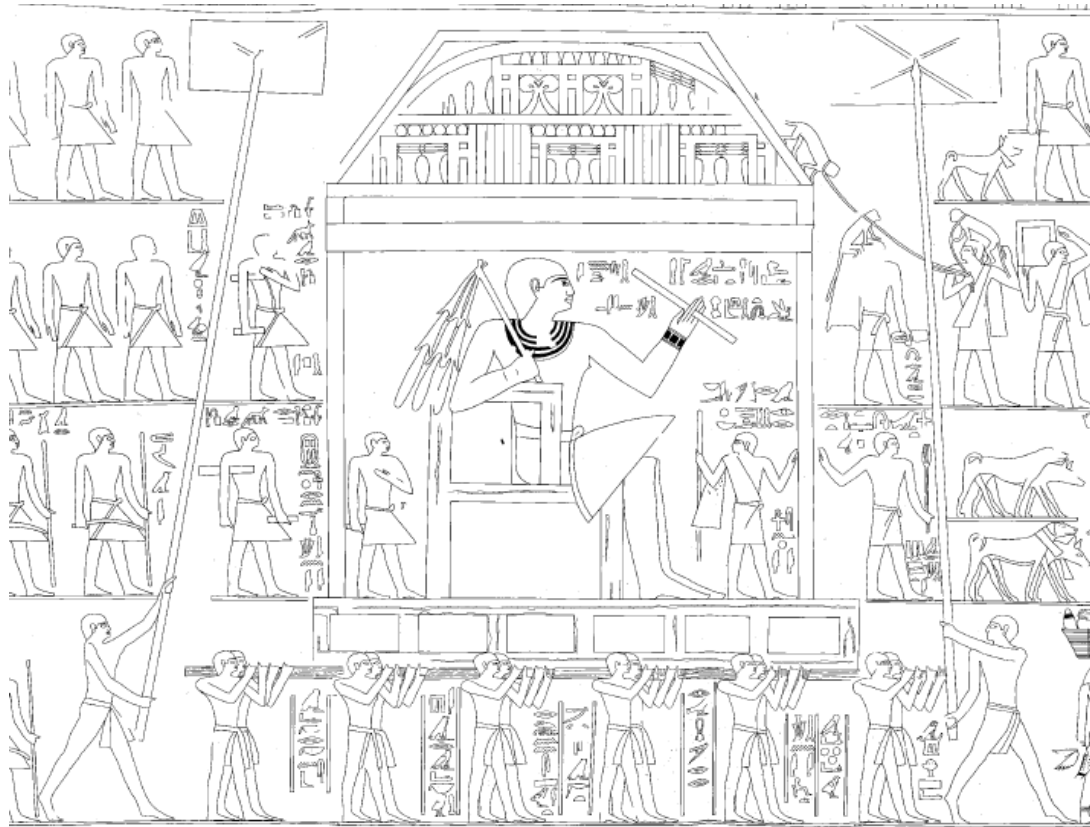
Source: Riesner, *Giza Necropolis*, 368. PM III, 186.

Date: Pepi I or later, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb of Idu (G 7102), Giza. Chapel.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased seated in a palanquin.



Catalog Tx0022

Source: Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, pt. V, pl. XXXI. PM IV, 247.

Date: Pepi II, Dynasty 6.

Locale: Tomb chapel of Pepiankh the Black (Meir A.2), Meir.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased seated in a palanquin.

(639)



Catalog Tx0023

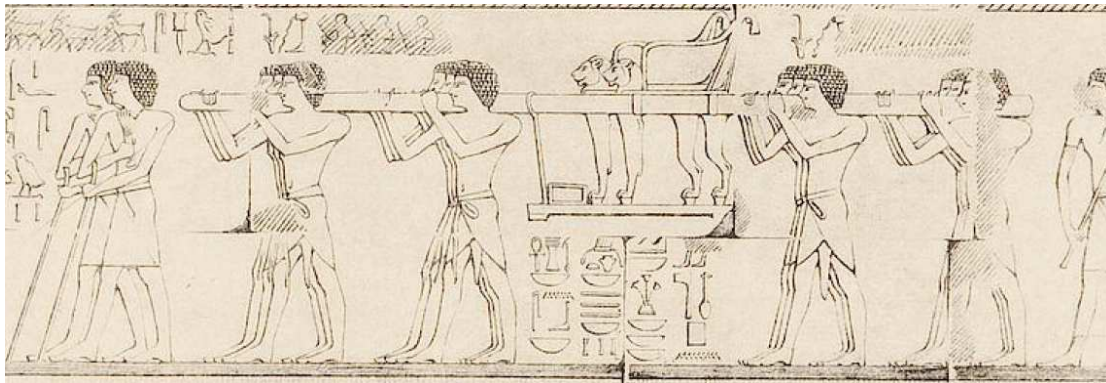
Source: Newberry and Griffith, *El Bersheh*, Part I, pl. XII. PM IV, 180.

Date: Senwosret II to Senwosret III, Dynasty 12.

Locale: Tomb of Dhutihotep II (Tomb no. 2), El Bersheh. Inner chamber, right hand wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Servants carrying an empty palanquin.



Catalog Tx0024

Source: Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part V, pl. CXXV. PM II, 357.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Temple of Deir el-Bahari. Upper court, east wall, south side of granite doorway.

Context: Temple

Description: Twelve servants (non-priests) carrying a royal palanquin. The throne has lions but no other iconography.



Catalog Tx0025

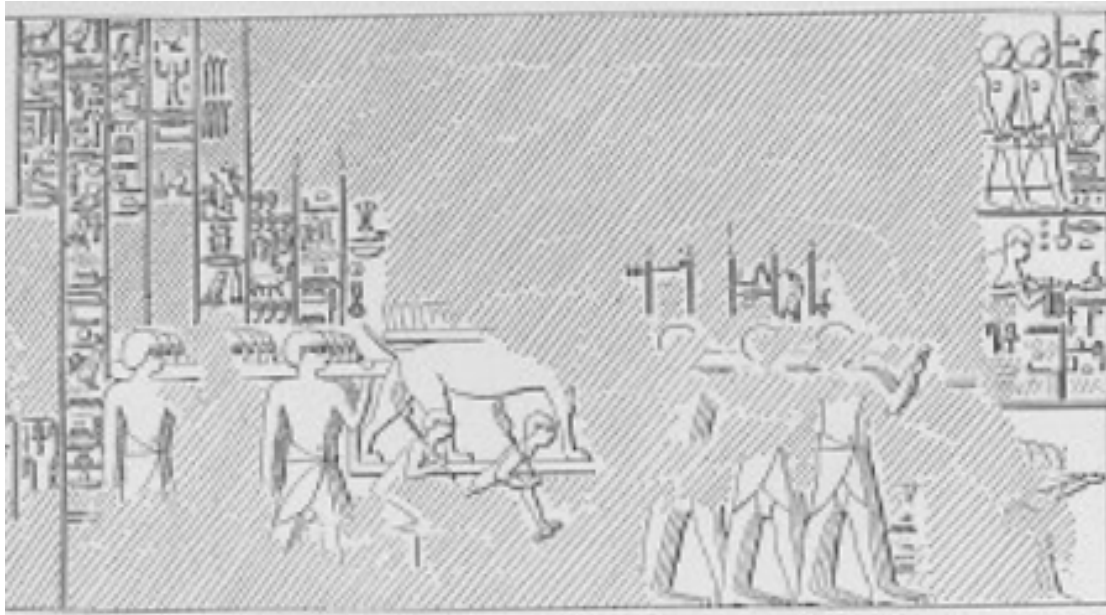
Source: Schott photo 8476. PM I, 143-144.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Amenhotep (TT 73), Sheik Abd el-Qurna. Hall, west wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: “Anukis nursing young Hatshepsut with Amun in palanquin” (PM I, 143 [3]).



Catalog Tx0026

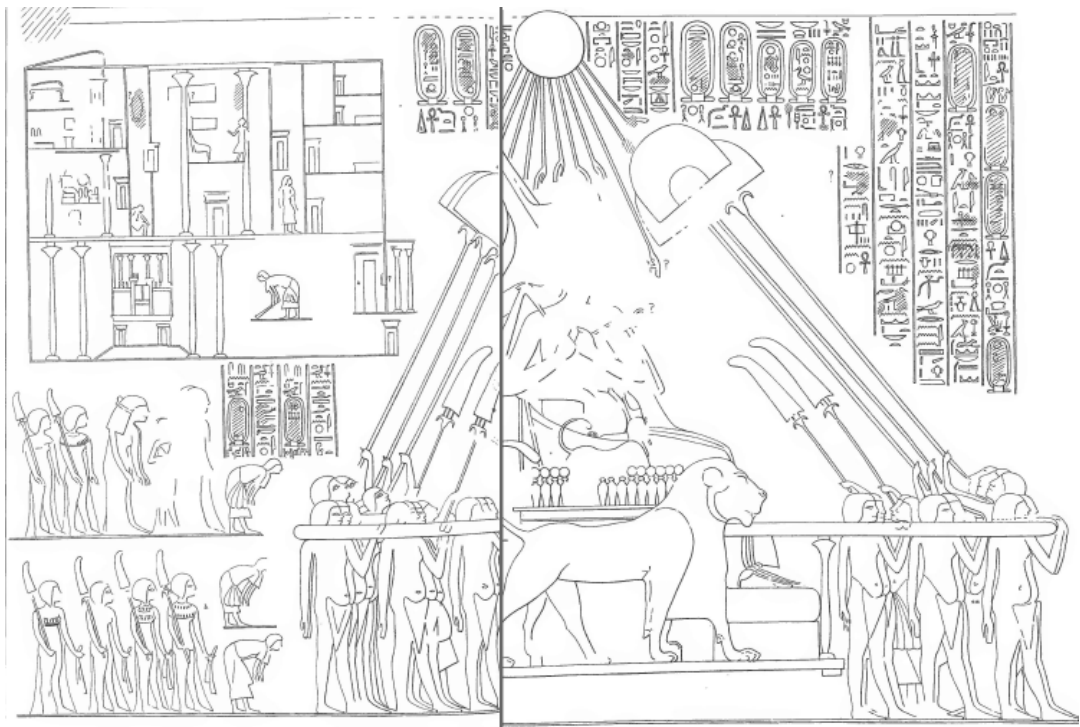
Source: Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, pl. XVIII. PM II, 320.

Date: Amenhotep III, Dynasty 18. Usurped by Ramesses II.

Locale: Luxor Temple. First Antechamber (= Gayet, Vestibule), Chapel of Mut.

Context: Temple

Description: King being carried in a royal palanquin.



Catalog Tx0027

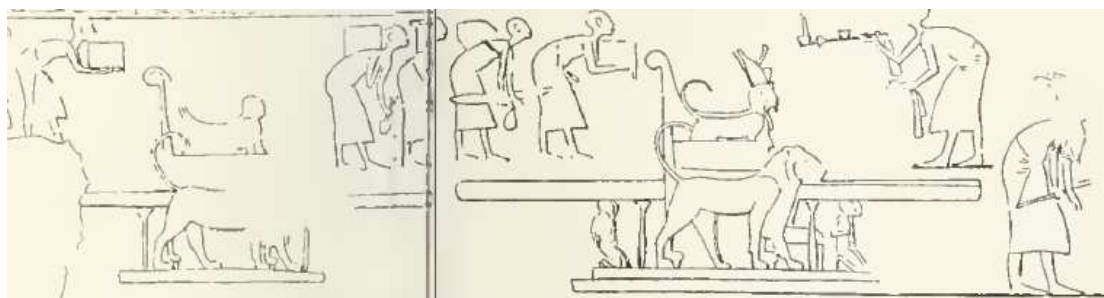
Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, part III, pl. XIII. PM IV, 211.

Date: Akhenaten, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Huya (Amarna Tomb 1). First room.

Context: Funerary

Description: Akhenaten [and the queen] in a palanquin.



Catalog Tx0028

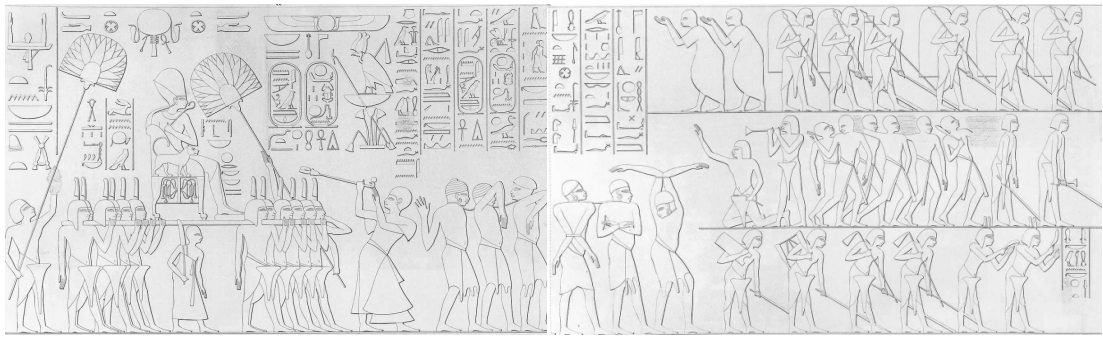
Source: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, part II, Plate XXXVII. PM IV, 213.

Date: Akhenaten, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Tomb of Meryra II (Amarna Tomb 2). East wall, lower registers.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two empty palanquin thrones being presented with offerings and thurified by priests. The palanquin throne to the right has a sphinx, royal lion, and figures bound representing the nine bows following chariots.



Catalog Tx0029

Source: LD III, 121a-b. PM V, 211.

Date: Horemheb, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Great Speos of Horemheb, Gebel el-Silsila. Gallery, west wall, southern part.

Context: Temple

Description: The king is sitting on a palanquin throne decorated with a lion and *sm3* symbols.



Catalog Tx0030

Source: Schott photo 4924. PM I, 26.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Huy (TT 14), Dra Abu el-Naga.

Context: Funerary

Description: Royal statues of Amenhotep I and [Ahmose-Nefertari] upon a palanquin.



Catalog Tx0031

Source: Schott photo 4925. PM I, 26.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Huy (TT 14), Dra Abu el-Naga.

Context: Funerary

Description: Two royal statues in palanquins.

(648)

<<Image Unavailable>>

Catalog Tx0032

Source: PM I, 366.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Pahemneter (TT 284), Dra Abu el-Naga. Hall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Deceased adores statues of King and Queen in palanquin.

(649)



Catalog Tx0033

Source: Petrie, *Qurna*, pl. XXXIX. PM I, 413.

Date: Ramesside.

Locale: Tomb of Piay (TT 344), Dra Abu el-Naga. North wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Priests carrying [statues of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari] in a palanquin.



Catalog Tx0034

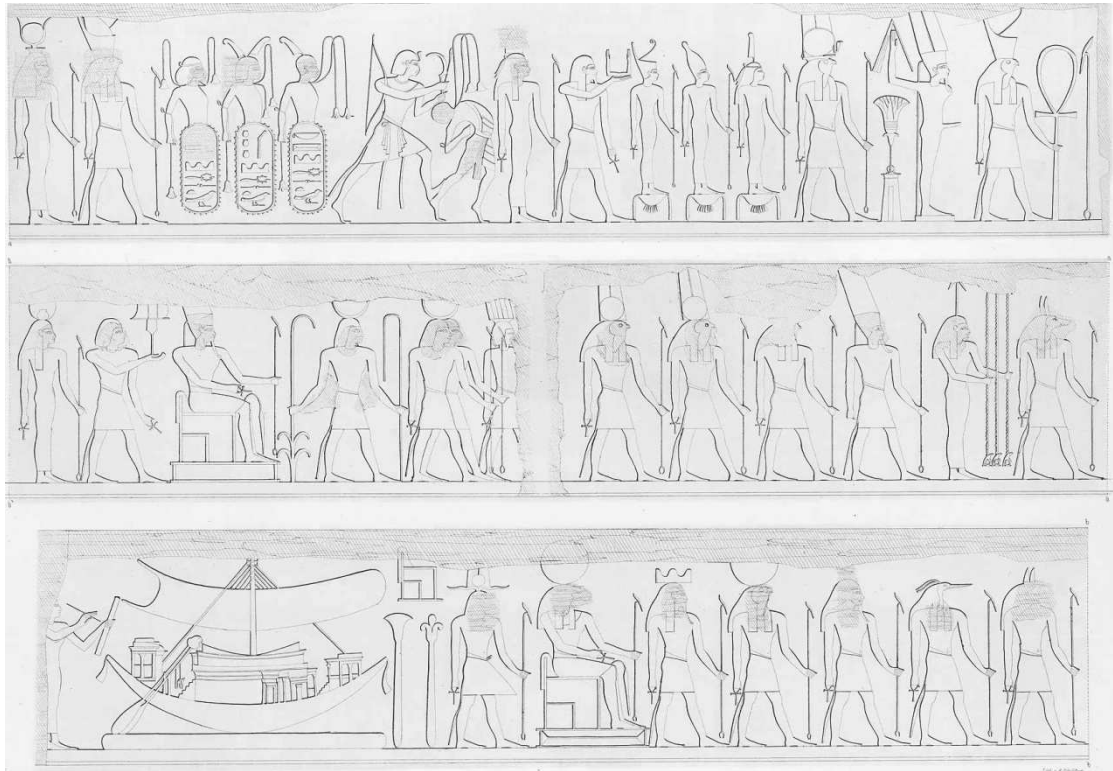
Source: Schott photo 4958. PM I, 34.

Date: ca. Ramesses I to Seti I, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Amenmosi (TT 19), Dra Abu el-Naga.

Context: Funerary

Description: Statue of Amenhotep I of the Forecourt in a palanquin carried by priest.



Catalog Tx0035

Source: LD III, 149b. PM II, 311.

Date: Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Luxor Temple. Architrave in the first court.

Context: Temple

Description: A procession of the gods being led by Horus. The bottom register is the beginning of the procession starting with a boat and an empty throne with a *hwt* symbol.



Catalog Tx0036

Source: Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), fig. 13. PM I, 7.

Date: ca. Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Khabekhnet (TT 2), Deir el-Medina. Chapel, east wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Amenhotep I upon portable throne decorated with lions and *sm3* symbols.



Catalog Tx0037

Source: Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), fig. 14. PM I, 7.

Date: ca. Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Khabekhnet (TT 2), Deir el-Medina. Chapel, north wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Amenhotep I upon portable throne decorated with a lion and uraeus.

This throne has an Nekhbet on the back facing inward with wings surrounding the king. Over the king's head is a shade that is part of the throne.



Catalog Tx0038

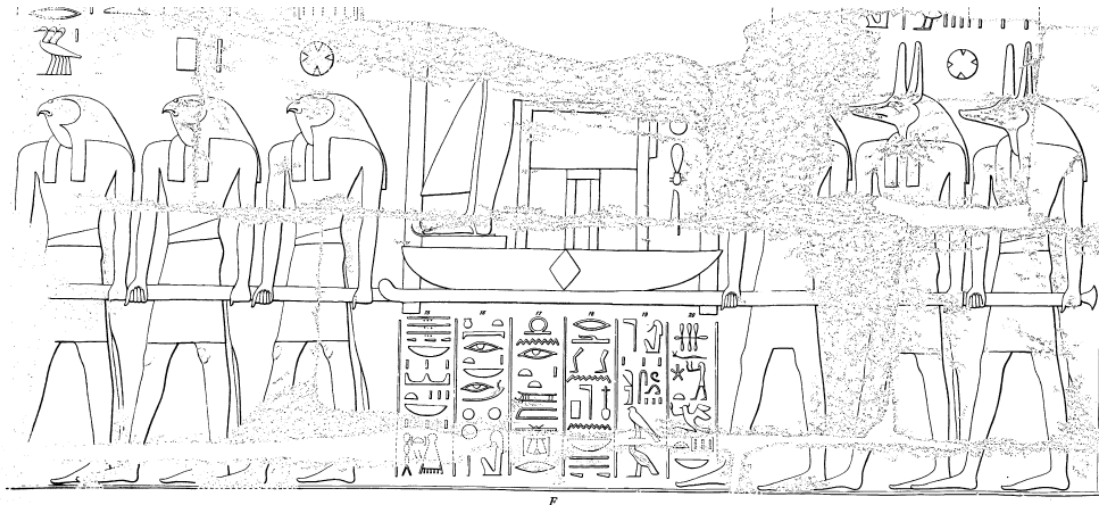
Source: Schott photo 4215. PM I, 28.

Date: ca. Ramesses II, Dynasty 19.

Locale: Tomb of Panehesi (TT 16), Dra Abu el-Naga. Hall, north wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Statue of Amenhotep I in a palanquin.



Catalog Tx0039

Source: Nelson, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, Part 2, pl.

101. PM 2, 33.

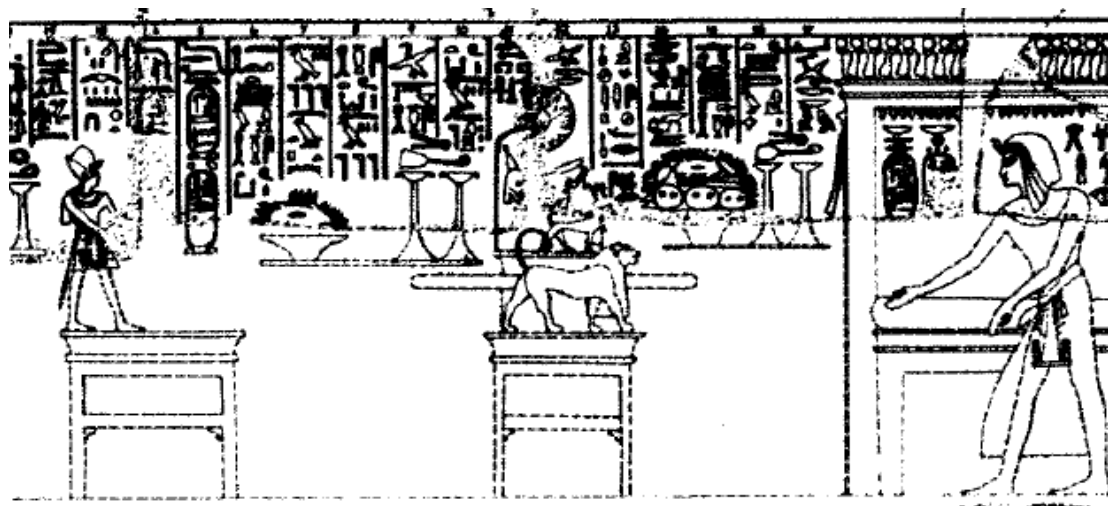
Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Temple of Ramesses III with the Great Inclosure of Amun, Karnak.

Exterior.

Context: Temple

Description: The king being carried in a palanquin by the spirits (*b3w*) of Buto and Hierakonpolis.



Catalog Tx0040

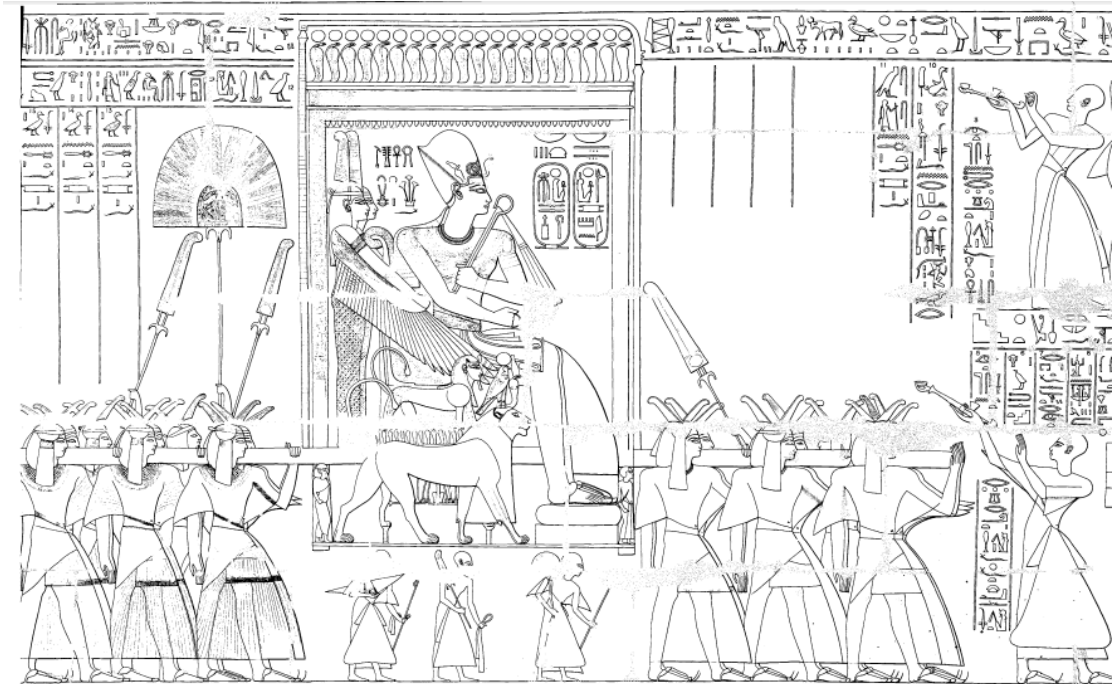
Source: Schott, *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel*, pl. 1. PM I, 774.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Funerary Chapel of Paser, Medinet Habu. Wall I, outer court.

Context: Temple

Description: Paser stands before the royal cult statue sitting upon a stand. The cult statue is augmented with royal lions, sphinxes, and the goddess Nekhbet.



Catalog Tx0041

Source: Nelson, *Festival Scenes*, pl. 197. PM II, 500.

Date: Ramesses III, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Medinet Habu Temple of Ramesses III. Second court, north wall.

Context: Temple

Description: Ramesses III is riding in a portable throne inside a kiosk. He is protected by the wings of dual Maat goddesses. A lion and a sphinx are on the sides of the throne. A uraeus frieze is on the top of the canopy.

(658)

Catalog Tx0042 (see Cx0138)

Source: Schott photo 4140. PM I, 131.

Date: Ramesses IX, Dynasty 20.

Locale: Tomb of Nebamun, usurped by Imiseba (TT 65), Sheik Abd el-Qurna.

Context: Funerary

Description: The portable throne is for the royal cult images and sits upon a box dais with a uraeus frieze, carrying poles, and lions.

Catalog Tx0043 (see Bx0163)

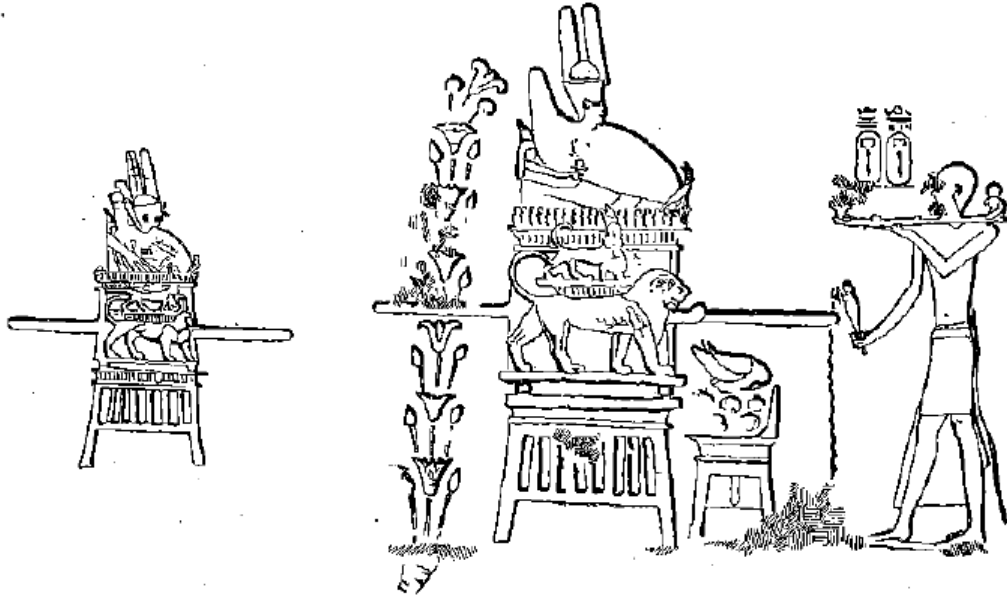
Source: Wente, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, pl. 21. PM II, 230.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu, Karnak. Court, west wall, bottom.

Context: Temple

Description: The royal palanquin is pictured on the bow of the river barge.



Catalog Tx0044

Source: Chevrier, *ASAE* 34 (1934), fig. 1. PM II, 24.

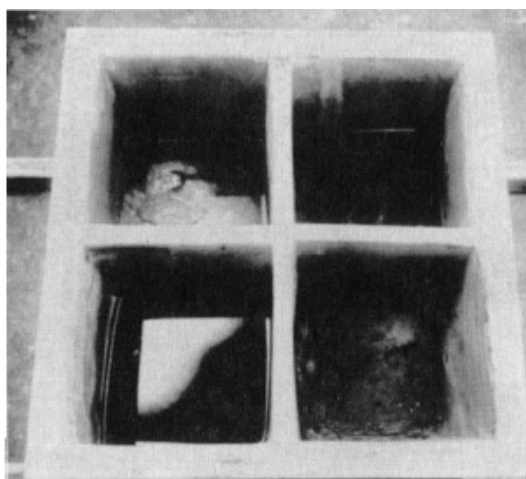
Date: Sheshonq I, Dynasty 22.

Locale: Great Temple of Amun, Karnak. Forecourt.

Context: Temple

Description: Symbols of Amun in a palanquin with a smaller one behind.

(660)



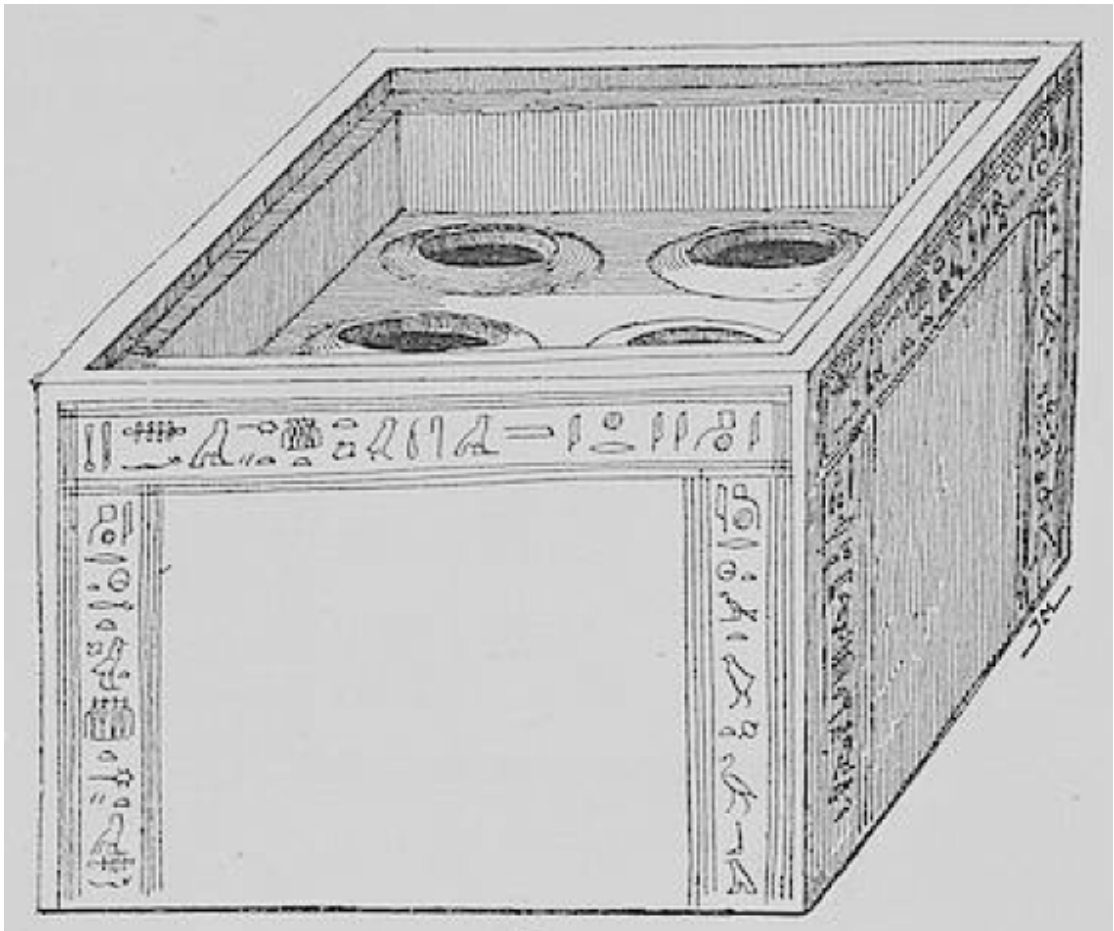
Catalog Zx0001

Source: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, 21-22, Fig 44[a]. PM III, 182.

Date: Sneferu, Dynasty 4.

Locale: Tomb of Hetepheres (G 7000 X), Giza Necropolis.

Context: Alabaster canopic chest 48 cm square and 35 cm high. The box had been placed upon a wood sledge that decayed beyond recovery.



Catalog Zx0002

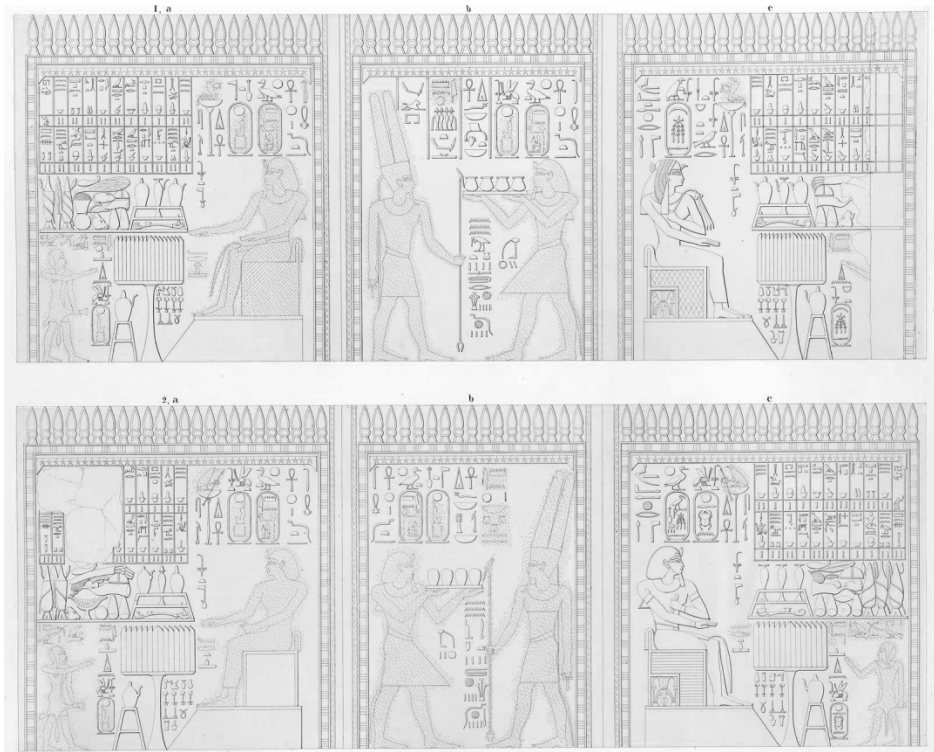
Source: De Morgan, *Dahchour*, vol. 1, fig. 54. PM III, 896.

Date: Senwosret III, Dyanasty 12.

Locale: Tomb of Khentekhatiesaf (Tomb 11), north of enclosure of Senwosret III, Dahshur.

Context: Funerary

Description: Canopic chest.



Catalog Zx0003

Source: LD III, 19. PM II, 366-367.

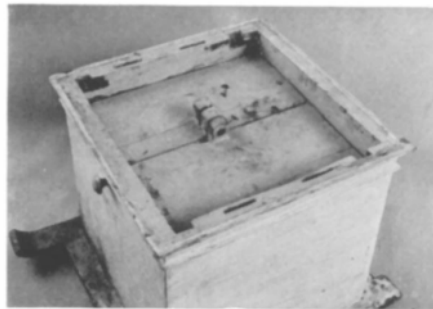
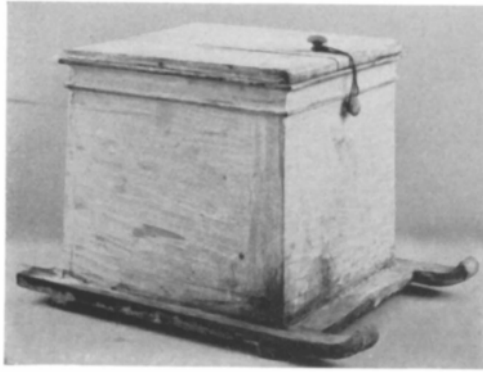
Date: Dynasty 18.

Locale: Deir el-Bahari. Sanctuary, Room X, niches in main hall.

Context: Temple

Description: The stationary throne in two of the niches has the *hwt* symbol. Two of the stationary thrones lack the glyph.

(663)



Catalog Zx0004

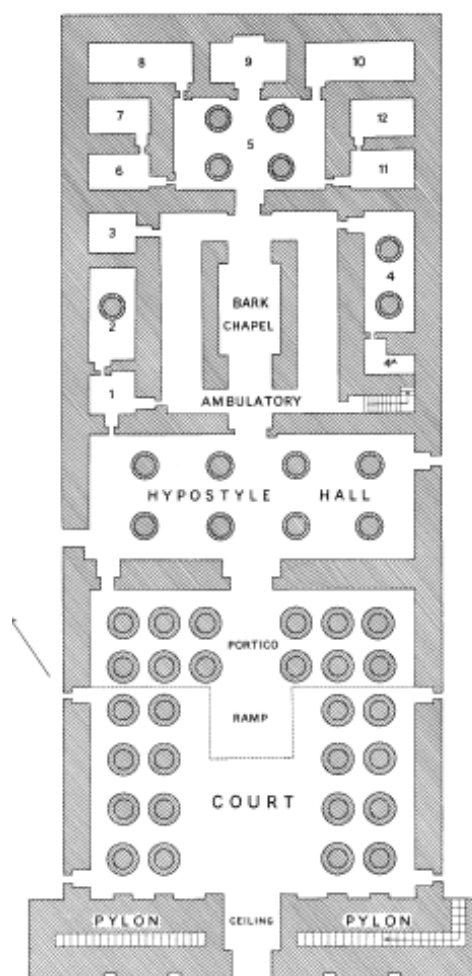
Source: Lansing and Hayes, *MMA Bulletin* 32 (1937), fig 36. PM I, 139.

Date: Hatshepsut, Dynasty 18.

Locale: Family Tomb of Senenmut (TT 71).

Context: Funerary

Description: Canopic chest on a sledge.



Catalog Zx0005

Source: Wentz, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, "Ground Plan of the Temple of Khonsu." PM II, 224.

Date: Herihor, Dynasty 21.

Locale: Temple of Khonsu.

Context: Temple

Description: Schematic of the chapel of Herihor. Wentz correctly identified the bark chapel; however, the modern reconstruction incorrectly places the barque plinth towards the rear of the inner chapel (room 5).



Catalog Zx0006

Source: LD III, 280c. PM III, 588.

Date: Dynasty 26.

Locale: Tomb of Ireahor (Lepsius Gave 23), Pyramid of Saqqara. West wall.

Context: Funerary

Description: Khnum and Kheper portrayed travelling upon mythological barques.

The barques are being towed by bird spirits.

(666)



Catalog Zx0007

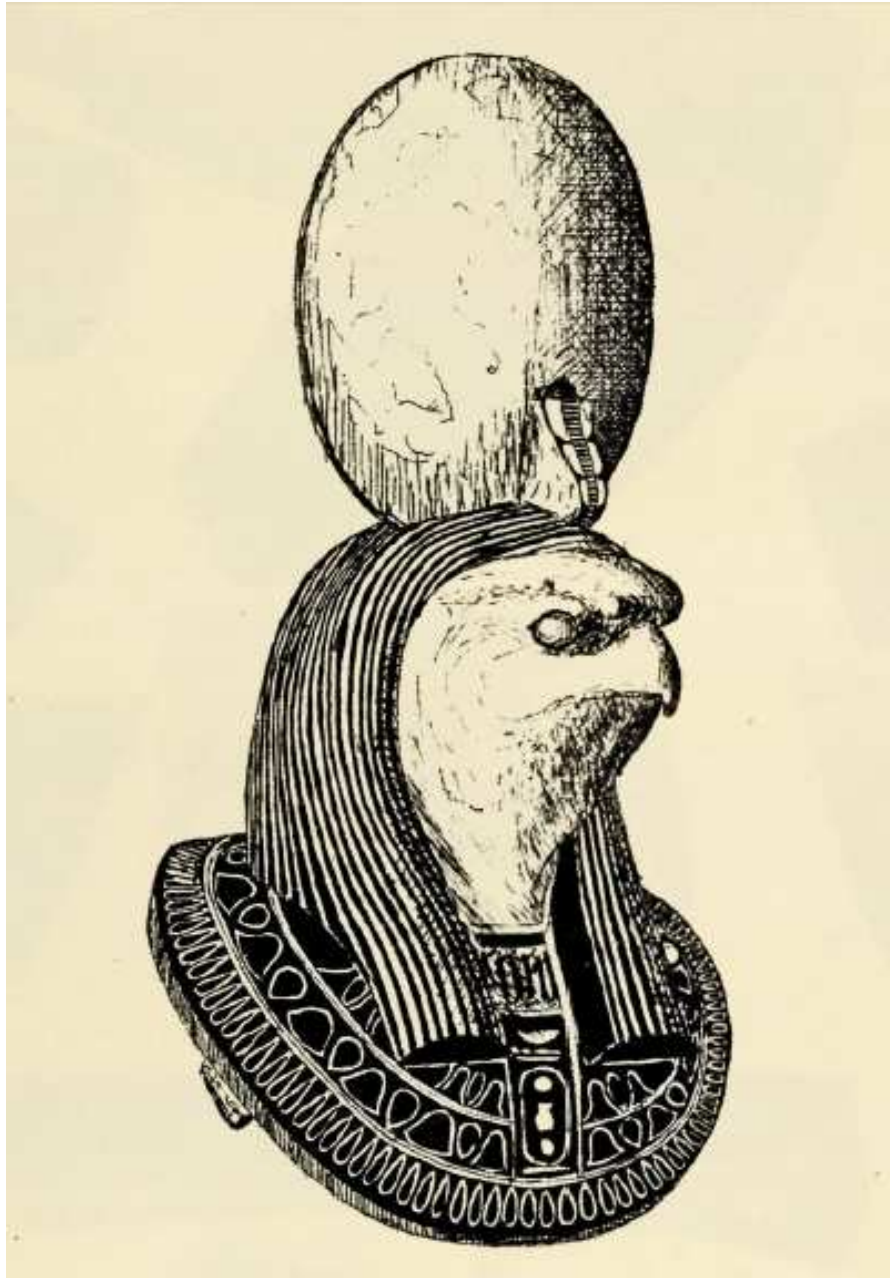
Source: Liverpool World Museum. Author's photograph.

Date: Dynasty 26.

Locale:

Context: Temple

Description: Bronze figurehead of barque of Amonet.



Catalog Zx0008

Source: Petrie, *Naukratis*, vol. I, pl. XII. PM IV, 51.

Date: Ahmose II, Dynasty 26.

Locale: Probably from Kom Firin.

Context: Temple

Description: Bronze figurehead of falconine barque with prenomen of Ahmose II.



Catalog Zx0009

Source: *Description de L'Égypte*, pl. 19 [2]. PM VI, 255.

Date: Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180).

Locale: Philae, Gate of Hadrian.

Context: Temple

Description: Osiris-Sokar carrying a chest.

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
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

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